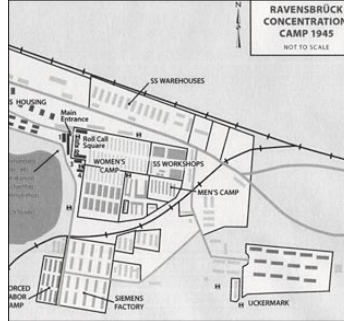


The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum
ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

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THE UNITED STATES HOLOCAUST MEMORIAL MUSEUM

Encyclopedia of CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

VOLUME II

Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe

Part B

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Once the German repressions started in Kiwerce, many Jews fled to the nearby Jewish rural settlement of Zofjówka, where the Jewish population increased to about 5,000 Jews. People thought that it would be easier for them to survive in a larger community. According to the testimony of Dr. Henryk Zajfen, “[T]here was no enclosed ghetto in Kiwerce, but there was some kind of Jewish quarter” (or open ghetto). There were a number of wooden barracks near the sawmill into which the Jews who had been expelled from their homes in town were resettled.³ This resettlement probably took place at the end of 1941 or at the beginning of 1942. All local Jews, except for the physicians, had to move into the ghetto.⁴

The Jewish community of Kiwerce was liquidated in May 1942, when 270 Jews were murdered. German security forces, consisting of a detachment of the Security Police and SD together with the 1st Motorized Gendarmerie Platoon, arrived in five trucks from Łuck. Assisted by units of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, they surrounded the barracks, woke the Jewish inhabitants, and herded them half-naked and barefoot onto the trucks. The Jews were largely surprised by the Aktion, as Kiwerce was one of the first ghettos in the region to be liquidated. The Jews were escorted into the forest in the direction of Łuck and murdered. Only the Jewish physicians who lived outside the ghetto were excluded from the Aktion.⁵

Over the following months, the German authorities shot most of the Jewish physicians and their families, although a few managed to escape. For example, Mala Berenblum and her husband, who was a doctor, fled in December 1942 after purchasing forged “Aryan” papers for a very large sum.⁶ Only a small number of Jews survived the German occupation in Kiwerce.

SOURCES An article on the history of the Jewish community of Kiwerce can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ba-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 176.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Kiwerce during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2162, 2167, and 2568); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-10); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt and Adam Kahane

NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/2568, testimony of Dr. Henryk Zajfen, June 5, 1946.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. AŻIH, 301/2568.
4. Ibid., 301/2167, testimony of Rebeka Peste, November 22, 1946; 301/2162, testimony of Mala Berenblum.
5. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29, report of the Higher-SS and Police Leader Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942. AŻIH, 301/2568, gives the date of May 10, 1942, for the liquidation of the ghetto.
6. AŻIH, 301/2162, 2167, and 2568.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

KLESÓW

Pre-1939: Klesów, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Klesov, raion center, Rovno oblast, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Klesow, Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Klesiv, Rivne oblast, Ukraine

Klesów is located about 21 kilometers (13 miles) east of Sarny. According to the 1921 census, 52 Jews lived in Klesów I, and 90 Jews lived in Klesów II, bringing the total to 142 Jews. By the late 1930s, there were about 700 Jews living in Klesów, including members of a Hehalutz kibbutz that was based there.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Klesów in the middle of July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town's affairs. Authority was transferred to a German civil administration in September 1941. Klesów was incorporated into Gebiet Sarny, and Kameradschaftsführer Huala became the Gebietskommissar. Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Schumacher became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 onward.¹ A post of the German Gendarmerie was also established in Klesów, which took command of the local Ukrainian police force.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Klesów. Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings in the image of the Star of David and later in the shape of a yellow circle. They also had to mark their homes with a blue six-pointed star. In addition, they were required to perform forced labor, prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and not permitted to buy goods from non-Jews. As a consequence, the Jews had to live in conditions of near starvation. In addition, the Ukrainian police subjected the Jews to systematic beatings and robberies.

On July 25, 1942, the Germans ordered the establishment of an open ghetto in Klesów into which Jews from the town



Group portrait of members of a Hehalutz Kibbutz (Zionist collective) in Klesów, 1930s.

USHMM WS #98726, COURTESY OF GFH

and the outlying villages were forcibly resettled. On August 25 or 27, 1942, the ghetto in Klesów was liquidated.² Early in the morning, the Germans ordered the Jews to assemble in the square by the railway station. Here the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie guarded them almost all day long. In the evening, they were loaded into cars of a train that had just arrived from Rokitno carrying other Jews. Before the train departed, a number of Jews deemed too ill or infirm were murdered on site in Klesów. Then the train brought the remaining 580 Jews to Sarny, where German forces and their collaborators murdered them on August 28, 1942. It is likely that among those taken to Sarny were some 150 Jews from the village of Tomashgorod, which lay in Rayon Klesow. Over the course of the next few days, the police also captured and shot 15 Jews who had been hiding in and around the ghetto.³

SOURCES An article on the annihilation of the Jewish population of Klesów can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ba-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 178.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Klesów can be found in the following archives: DARO; GARF (7021-71-52); and YVA (M-1/E-1269/1234; M-1/E-1222/1196).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 113/67 (II 204 AR 1088/64), Sachstandsvermerk, June 7, 1967 (Gebietskommissariat Sarny), p. 2.

3. GARF, 7021-71-52, pp. 11, 17, and reverse side; DARO, R534-1-3, p. 143.

KLEWAŃ

Pre-1939: Klewań, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Klevan', raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Klevan, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, General-kommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Klevan', Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Klewań is located about 20 kilometers (12.5 miles) west-northwest of Równe on the banks of the Stubli River. According to the 1921 census, the population of the town included 1,527 Jews. Allowing for an average rate of population increase of 9 per 1,000 per year, by 1941 there were probably about 1,800 Jews living in Klewań.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Klewań on July 3, 1941. Between July and August 1941, a German military administration was in charge of the town. Authority was transferred to a German civil administration in September 1941. Klewań was a Rayon center in Gebiet Rowno. An official named Beer became the Gebietskommissar.¹ In the town

of Klewań, the Germans established an outpost of the Gendarmerie, commanded by a man named Fischer, who was in charge of a squad of about 30 Ukrainian Auxiliary Police. Among those who served in the police were Alexander Yankevich, Kuz'menko, and Kulakovsky.²

On the second day of the occupation, German forces, together with local antisemites, organized a pogrom against the Jews in Klewań. The killings were probably intended as a reprisal for the shooting of a number of German soldiers by a straggling group of Soviet soldiers in the village of Bronniki just prior to this. The Germans and Ukrainians lined the Jews up on the main square in five rows and shot them with a machine gun and automatic rifles. Then they began dragging Jews from their homes to kill them. Jews were buried in mass graves in at least two or three locations, and a number of bodies were left lying in the streets. At the end of the pogrom, the local authorities ordered some Jews to drag these corpses into the synagogue. The doors were then locked and the synagogue set on fire. In total, about 500 to 700 Jews were murdered in Klewań during the first days of the occupation, and most of the others, like Abraham Kirschner, fled or were driven out of town.³

During the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Klewań. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established to pass on German orders. The small remaining Jewish population had to wear special patches in the shape of the Star of David (later a yellow circle) on their clothing. In addition, they were forced to perform physically demanding labor of various kinds. According to an order issued by the Gebietskommissar in October 1941, Jews were forbidden to leave their place of residence without official permission.⁴ In addition, the Jews had to endure widespread theft and physical abuse at the hands of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police and local antisemites.

By the spring of 1942, a number of Jews had returned to Klewań; about 700 Jews were living there, cooped up in only 13 houses that formed an open ghetto. There was a shortage of firewood, but the Jews were forbidden to go out into the woods to gather it. They lived together in overcrowded conditions, 20 people to a room, where they cooked, slept, ate, and bathed. According to one testimony, the Jews were starving and in rags, "people walked around dressed in sacks and barefoot, because the Ukrainians stole everything."⁵ The Germans based in Klewań arranged orgies from time to time. On one occasion, two Germans entered the home of a Jewish family where the mother was bedridden. They chased away the father and then raped their 15-year-old daughter in front of her mother's eyes.⁶

On April 11, 1942, German security forces arrested 48 people in Klewań: 18 Poles and 30 Jews. The Poles were arrested as nationalist activists. As all the arrested Jews were younger people, a number of older fathers voluntarily took the places of their sons. Shortly afterwards, the arrestees were led away and shot in the woods near the train station.⁷

The murder of the remaining Jews in Klewań probably took place in mid-May 1942.⁸ On May 13, 1942, the German

police commander, Fischer, issued instructions to the Judenrat for all the Jews to assemble at the station on the next day. Very few Jews obeyed this instruction, so Ukrainian policemen immediately started to search for those Jews in hiding. They discovered most of them. The Germans and their collaborators then shot those who had been arrested (probably about 600 Jews) in a forest about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside Klewań.⁹ The mass shooting was organized by members of the German Security Police from Równe, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police.

SOURCES A short article on the history of the Jewish community of Klewań can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ba-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 177–178. There is also a brief report on the fate of the Jews of Klewań in Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995), p. 135.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Klewań can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1190); DARO; GARF (7021-71-51); USHMM (RG-31.017M, reel 2); and YVA (M-2/200, O-3/2881, M-1/E/2215, and M-1/E/2142).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSOH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. AŻIH, 301/1190, testimony of Abraham Kirschner, November 10, 1945; and Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, p. 135.
3. GARF, 7021-71-51, pp. 11, 44, 61; AŻIH, 301/1190; and Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, p. 135.
4. USHMM, RG-31.017M, reel 2, Amtsblatt des Gebietskommissars in Rowno, announcement dated October 15, 1941.
5. AŻIH, 301/1190.
6. Ibid.
7. GARF, 7021-71-51, pp. 27, 37; AŻIH, 301/1190.
8. Some sources date it, however, in mid-July 1942.
9. AŻIH, 301/1190; GARF, 7021-71-51, pp. 1, 90. The ChGK report gives the figure of 1,500 victims, but this is probably too high (including the victims from the pogrom in early July 1941, as well as those killed in 1942).

KOBRYŃ

Pre-1939: Kobryn', town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Kobryn', raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kobryn, Rayon center, Gebiet Kobryn, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kobryn', Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kobryn' is located about 52 kilometers (32 miles) east-northeast of Brześć. In 1921, the Jewish population was 5,431, comprising two thirds of the total.

Kobryn' was occupied by German forces on June 24, 1941. Due to the town's proximity to the frontier and the suddenness of the invasion, most Jews were unable to evacuate.

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town until September 1941, when a German civil administration took over. Kobryn' became the administrative center of Gebiet Kobryn in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. In addition to Rayon Kobryn, Gebiet Kobryn initially included the Rayons of Antopol, Dyrwin, and Shabinka. On December 1, 1941, Rayon Shabinka was transferred to Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, and Rayon Drogitschin was transferred from Gebiet Pinsk to Gebiet Kobryn in its place. Further, in January 1942, Rayon Beresa-Kartuskaja, which initially had been part of Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, was also included into Gebiet Kobryn.¹

The Gebietskommissar in Kobryn' was Regierungssassessor Oscar Panzer.² There was also a German Gendarmerie post in the city, headed by a Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. The local police (Schutzmannschaft) was subordinate to the Gendarmerie.

In the summer of 1942, an SD-Aussendienststelle (outpost) was created in Kobryn'. It was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Julius Wangemann. This outpost was subordinate to the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Równe, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Pütz. In the summer and fall of 1942, the local SD outpost organized the anti-Jewish Aktions in Kobryn' and other towns of the Gebiet.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kobryn', including forced labor. The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) containing 24 members (chaired by the merchant Angelovich). Subsequently, including the Jewish Police, the Judenrat employed around 400 people in various departments.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the Bet Midrash Hayyei Adam was burned down. In the summer of 1941, between 150 and 200 Jewish members of the intelligentsia were shot by a squad of the SD near Patryka, just off the road to Brześć. The Jews were forced to surrender 6 kilograms (13.2 pounds) of gold and 12 kilograms (26.5 pounds) of silver as a "contribution."³ Subsequently in the fall of 1941, several hundred mentally ill Jews were also shot by German security forces.

In August 1941, hundreds of Jewish women and children were transferred to Kobryn' from liquidated Jewish communities to the north in the area of the Białowieża Forest.⁴

In September or October 1941, the Germans organized a ghetto in Kobryn'.⁵ It was divided into two parts: ghetto A, which was in the southern part of town, housed Jewish craftsmen and their families, and ghetto B, in the western part of the city, housed those Jews who were unable to work.⁶ Altogether, there were more than 7,000 Jews in the two ghettos, including Jews from the surrounding villages. The Judenrat established an office to assign living space to those moving into the ghetto. Overcrowding in the ghetto was severe, with 5 or 6 people forced to share each room. Shortly after its establishment, Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto, or even move from one part of the ghetto to the other, unless escorted in a group by the Jewish Police.⁷ Subsequently the area of the ghetto was reduced. Around the time of Passover in 1942

(April 2), the Germans began to construct a wall around ghetto B, making it much harder for Jews to escape.⁸

For many Jews in the ghetto, the main source of income was from selling their personal belongings. It was forbidden for Jews to do business with non-Jews, but much bartering went on nevertheless. The Jewish Police guarded the gates of the ghetto internally, so Jews were able to smuggle in some food. Despite food shortages, most families usually had some bread and potatoes, and there was almost no starvation in the Kobryń ghetto. Both Jews and non-Jews received ration cards. The Jews were to receive 70 grams (2.5 ounces) of bread per day. Supplies for the ghetto were secured because the Judenrat had good connections to the miller Józef Jadów, who was able to smuggle in considerably more flour than the Germans prescribed.⁹

In the first half of 1942, a number of mostly younger able-bodied Jews were rounded up from the ghetto and sent to labor camps around Kobryń. In Kobryń, around 500 Jews worked in a large craftsmen's workshop (the large *artel*) inside ghetto A, but many Jews were escorted daily by non-Jews to about 50 different work sites outside the ghetto. The Jews left the ghetto in columns, sometimes escorted by a 10-year-old non-Jewish boy. By 8:00 A.M., almost all the men had left the ghetto, and mainly women and children remained.¹⁰

On July 25, 1942, ghetto B was liquidated: approximately 200 Jews were shot near Mazura, and 1,800 people were taken by train to the Bronna Góra station and shot into large mass graves prepared nearby.¹¹ Jews from Antopol and Horodec who were not fit for work were shot on the same day. A squad of SD men carried out the shootings, assisted by Company 2 and Company 3 of the 320th Police Battalion: Company 3 transported the Jews in railroad cars to the station, and Company 2 was assigned to cordon off the place of execution, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) northwest of Bereza Kartuska.¹² Other Jews were shot inside the Kobryń ghetto over the following days as the Germans and Ukrainian police searched for people in hiding.

After this large-scale Aktion, which resulted in the dissolution of ghetto B, those Jews who had survived were registered and fingerprinted, then sent back to work. Children were employed to sort out the property of the Jews who had been shot. Shaken by the mass murders, the youth of the ghetto intensified efforts to organize armed resistance. A secret Jewish Committee was established. Conspiratorial cells of five people were established in four different sectors of the ghetto to limit the danger of being exposed. Arms were assembled or purchased clandestinely from local inhabitants. Small groups of armed Jews then escaped to the forests and operated as partisans, attacking outposts of the Ukrainian police and German grain stores. Initially the Judenrat was opposed to these resistance efforts, urging the youth instead to work in the workshops, as otherwise they might endanger the entire ghetto. Later the Judenrat cooperated with the resistance, and vague plans were made for Jews to escape to the forest in the event of a further Aktion. These remained largely unimplemented, mainly due to the lack of arms.¹³

On October 15, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators liquidated ghetto A. At a site 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) south of

the city, a squad of the SD, assisted by the 315th Police Battalion, shot 4,250 Jews.¹⁴ At this time those Jews who had been sent to camps in the surrounding area were also murdered. A number of Jews went into hiding in and around the ghetto, some remaining hidden for more than a week. Several hundred Jews may have escaped to the forest, but many of them were killed in the ensuing searches conducted by the Germans and Ukrainian police, and only a portion of them succeeded in joining the partisans.

After the liquidation of the ghetto, 72 Jewish craftsmen remained in the city for about another year; they were shot in the second half of 1943. In April 1944, Sonderkommando 1005c attempted to cover up the mass graves, removing the corpses from the ground and burning them. The 80 people who carried out this task were shot after the corpses had been burned.¹⁵

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Kobryń during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Betsal'el Shvarts and Yisra'el-Hayyim Biletski, eds., *Sefer Kobryn; megilat hayim ve-hurban* (Tel Aviv, 1951)—a translation of this book by Nilli Avidan and Avner Perry is available on jewshgen.org; Meylekh Glotser, ed., *Kobryn; zamlbukh (an iberblik ibern yidishn Kobryn)* (Buenos Aires: Kobryn Book Committee, 1951); "Kobryn," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter, 1972); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 5, Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 305–310; and Betzalel Shvartz and Israel Chaim Biltzki, eds., *Book of Kobryn: The Scroll of Life and Destruction* (San Francisco, CA: Holocaust Center of Northern California, 1992).

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Kobryń can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1072, 1970, 2212); BA-L (e.g., B 162/2882, 2903); GABO (514-1-336); GARF (7021-83-18); IPN; NARA; NARB; USHMM; VHF (# 17696, 34429); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 102, fr. 169.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 251; AŻIH, 301/1072, testimony of Józef Blinder; Shvarts and Biletski, *Sefer Kobryn*, p. 381.
4. *Voennyi dnevnik (Kriegstagebuch) 322-go politseiskogo batal'ona: Tsentral'nyi voennyi arkhiv v Prage: Dnevnik oberleitenanta politsii Ublia* (Warsaw: Za Wolność i Lud, 1965), no. 20, p. 9. AŻIH, 301/1970, testimony of Symcha Bursztajn; 301/1072; 301/1849, testimony of Szymon Kamiński; 301/2212, testimony of Benjamin Wolf, p. 4. Also see Berl Blustein, "The Destruction of Lineve," in Joseph Friedlaender, ed., *Pinkas Pruz'ani yeha-sevivah: (tol) dot ve-zikaron le-kehillot she-busbedu ba-Sho'ab* (Tel Aviv: Urgun yots'e Pruz'ani yeha-sevivah be-Yisrael uve-Artsot ha-Berit, 1983), pp. 151–153; and Glotser, *Kobryn; zamlbukh*, p. 253.
5. AŻIH, 301/1072, gives the date of September 1. I. Beil, "The Holocaust," in Shvarts and Biletski, *Sefer Kobryn*, pp.

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382–392, here p. 383, dates it two weeks after the introduction of the yellow star by the new civil administration in September.

6. M. Botvinnik, *Pamiętniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk, 2000), p. 105. A more precise description of the streets that formed the ghetto can be found in Glotser, *Kobryn*; *zamlbukh*, p. 252.

7. Glotser, *Kobryn*; *zamlbukh*, pp. 252–53; AŻIH, 301/1072.

8. Shvarts and Biletski, *Sefer Kobryn*, p. 386.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 383–384.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 384–385.

11. GARF, 7021-83-18, pp. 8–9, 63, 72.

12. Sta. Bielefeld, 5 Js 703/70, Vermerk, October 26, 1973.

13. AŻIH, 301/1072; Shvarts and Biletski, *Sefer Kobryn*, p. 388; Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), p. 458.

14. GARF, 7021-83-18, p. 9, and 7021-148-28, p. 62 (evidence of Zugwachtmeister Hermann Boltz, Company 7, 11th Police Regiment, taken prisoner in early 1944).

15. *Ibid.*, 7021-83-18, p. 9.

KOŁKI

Pre-1939: Kołki, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kolki, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Lutzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kolky, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Kołki is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) northwest of Równe. In 1921, 724 Jews were living in Kołki. By the end of 1937, there were 860 Jews in the village. According to the 1921 Polish census, the village of Czartorysk to the northeast had a population of 220 Jews, and Jews also lived in several other nearby villages, including Marjanówka (26), Komarów (15), and Kulikowicze (5).

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Kołki at the end of June or the beginning of July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village, and in September 1941, a German civil administration assumed authority in the region. Kołki became a Rayon center in Gebiet Lutzk, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Lutzk was Registrierungsassessor Lindner.¹

The following organizations were established in Kołki: a Ukrainian Rayon administration and a Ukrainian police force, subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post that consisted of several German Gendarmes. The chief of the Ukrainian police was D. Sachkovski.²

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) composed of five people was created in the village and was used by the German authorities to issue orders to the Jewish population; Jews were ordered to wear visible insignia in the form of a Star of David (after September 1941, in the shape of a yellow circle); Jews had to surrender all gold and valuables; they were compelled to perform forced labor without pay; and they were forbidden to leave the vil-

lage without permission. The Ukrainian police also repeatedly beat and robbed the Jews.

In the summer of 1941, the local Ukrainian militia conducted an Aktion in which about 50 Jewish youths from Kołki were taken ostensibly for work but then were shot outside the village.³

In October 1941, the German authorities established an open (unfenced) ghetto in the village. It held more than 2,000 Jews, not only local residents but also Jewish refugees from Poland and Jews brought in from nearby villages. Semyon Menyuk, who was transferred into the Kołki ghetto from Komarów, recalls that he could take only 4.5 kilograms (10 pounds) of possessions with him, and on arrival in Kołki, people were given only an hour to find a new place to stay. Rations in the ghetto were only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day, and even this stopped after a couple of weeks. Inmates then had to exchange their clothes with local inhabitants to get something to eat. The overcrowded living quarters (as many as six families living in each room) and unsanitary conditions caused infectious disease to spread inside the ghetto, resulting in a high mortality rate.⁴

Menyuk recalls two of the German officials in Kołki as Bartz and Georg: one was a Sonderführer (agricultural commandant) and the other probably a Gendarme. Together with police chief Sachkovski, these men had absolute power within the ghetto, sometimes entering it when drunk to shoot Jews with impunity.

In late July 1942, a Security Police/SD detachment from Łuck, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian police, liquidated the ghetto, shooting the majority of its inmates. The Jews were transported to the grave site on trucks. The mass shooting took place 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) west of the village along the Stir River, in a place called Belye Berega.⁵

Menyuk and his father survived this massacre, as they were kept alive to help sort the property remaining in the ghetto. A number of Jews also managed to hide and escape the liquidation. However, some of these Jews returned to the ghetto shortly afterwards, as they were unable to survive alone in the forests. The Germans also offered rewards, for example, of cigarettes or sugar, to peasants who captured Jews for them.⁶

A few weeks after the first Aktion, the SS, with the help of the Ukrainian police, carried out a second massacre in which more than 100 Jews were killed. This time Menyuk survived by jumping from the truck on the way to the pits. According to the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the occupiers and their accomplices murdered some 2,000 Jews in Kołki, accounting for more than 50 percent of the victims (3,949) of the “peaceful civilian population” under German occupation.⁷

According to one source, the Jews of Czartorysk (around 200) were murdered on August 24, 1942. It is more probable, however, that this Aktion was coordinated with (or was part of) the first massacre in Kołki, which took place in late July.⁸

Daniel Kats fled to the forests in the fall of 1941, where he joined forces with other partisans. Additional Jews from Kołki escaped to the forests at the time of the two massacres

in the late summer and fall of 1942. A group of Jewish partisans from the Kołki region reportedly joined the Kovpak unit of Soviet partisans, which raided the Carpathian districts of Ukraine in the summer of 1943.

SOURCES A brief history of the Jewish community in Kołki and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 166–168. In addition, there is also a yizkor book for Kołki, compiled by Daniel Kats, *Fun asb aroysgerufn* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1983), which provides a literary picture of the town before the war. Its wartime section deals only with the activities of the Jewish partisans.

Documentation and the witness testimony regarding the murder of the Jews of Kołki can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2889); DAVO (R2-1-196); GARF (7021-55-5); USHMM (RG-50.030*0159); and YVA (e.g., O-3/1312).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. USHMM, RG-50.030*0159, Oral History with Semyon Menyuk, October 25, 1990, p. 5.

3. It is not clear whether this Aktion was organized by the German authorities or by local Ukrainians acting on their own initiative.

4. USHMM, RG-50.030*0159, pp. 4–5.

5. See DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, Report to the Generalkommissar Wollhynien u. Podolien on gasoline supplies for the “special treatment” of Jews in the Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942, which notes that the “special treatment” of the Jews in the Rayons of Kołki, Zuman, and Olyka was conducted from July 26 to 29, 1942. Other sources also give late August as the date of the ghetto liquidation.

6. USHMM, RG-50.030*0159, p. 7; Kats, *Fun asb aroysgerufn*, p. 377.

7. GARF, 7021-55-5, p. 7.

8. See Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 285; it is also not clear from this source whether a separate open ghetto existed in Czartorysk or the Jews were brought into the Kołki ghetto before they were killed; see also note 6 above.

KORZEC

Pre-1939: Korzec (Yiddish: Korits), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Korets, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Komez, Rayon center, Gebiet Rovno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Korets', Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Korzec is located 66 kilometers (41 miles) east of Równe. According to the 1921 census, 4,120 Jews lived in Korzec. By late

1937, there were 4,895 Jews in the town out of a total population of 6,560.

Following the start of the war in September 1939, a number of Jewish refugees arrived from the west. Most Jews welcomed the arrival of the Red Army in 1939, as it offered them some security against the Germans. The new Soviet government eliminated private business in the town and established Soviet cooperatives. It also disbanded Jewish institutions and political parties, although some welfare work continued. Prior to the German arrival in July 1941, some 500 Jews managed to flee eastward.

Korzec was occupied by units of the German 6th Army following a heavy bombardment on July 7–8, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Korzec became a Rayon center within Gebiet Rowno. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Beer.¹ There was a German Gendarmerie post in Korzec, as well as a squad of Ukrainian police. The anti-Jewish Aktions in the town were organized by a team of Security Police from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans applied the same anti-Jewish measures in Korzec as in other cities and towns of Ukraine: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of five men was created, which was made personally responsible for the implementation of all German orders. There was also a Jewish police force subordinated to the Judenrat. Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first a Star of David armband and later a yellow circle); they were made to perform forced labor; and they were beaten frequently by the local Ukrainian police. Immediately after the arrival of the German forces, Ukrainian nationalist antisemites organized a pogrom in Korzec, during which several Jews were killed, synagogues were ransacked, Torah scrolls were burned, and Jewish homes were robbed.²

In the summer of 1941, two anti-Jewish Aktions were carried out in the town. During the first Aktion, on the fourth day of the occupation in July, the Germans shot approximately 120 Jewish intellectuals. They were arrested according to a list and shot 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town in a nearby forest.³

During the second Aktion in August 1941, Ukrainian nationalists led by Mitka Zavrivukha ran wild and harassed the Jews. Zavrivukha declared with great zeal that God had sent him to punish the Jews and eliminate them from the [Ukrainian] nation. On that day, SS men arrived and attacked Jewish houses, forcibly arresting Jewish men and taking them to an unknown destination.⁴ In total some 350 Jewish men, including three members of the Judenrat, were taken and shot 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) northeast of Korzec in a forest near the village of Sukhovol' (in the Zhitomir oblast).⁵ During the course of the Aktion, money, bond certificates, gold, and silver items were collected from 77 Jews and forwarded to Berlin by the Ortskommandant as “war booty.” Among the items collected were four gold

dental crowns taken from Goldar Gobulinik and Kopel Plosker.⁶

The Jews of the town suffered from a severe food shortage, as bread was distributed only to Ukrainians. Forced labor tasks performed by Jews during the winter of 1941–1942 included building shacks, digging underground tunnels, and excavating deep trenches. About 700 Jews were put to work at a sugar refinery. Many men were conscripted and sent to work in forced labor camps. This work was particularly arduous and dispiriting for the Jews, as they had been robbed of their warm clothes and were exposed to frost and snowstorms.

By the fall of 1941, the Jews were forced into an open ghetto. That is, they were made to live in one area of town and could leave this area only with special permission; however, the ghetto was not surrounded by a fence or physical boundary. Jews traded any clothing they had left for a little grain in order to bake matzot for Passover in April 1942.⁷

The third Aktion in Korzec took place on May 21, 1942, on the eve of the Jewish holiday of Shavuot. On this day, a team of SD men from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, as well as a platoon of the 1st Company, Police Battalion 33, roused families from their beds, shooting those who were too sick to walk. A group of about 200 young men and women were separated from the rest. The remainder, totaling some 2,500 Jews, including many women and children, were shot into previously dug pits in a forest near the village of Kazak, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) north of the town. Among those shot was the physician Dr. Hirshhorn, who decided to accompany his wife to the pits even though the Germans wanted to keep him alive for his skills.⁸

Following the Aktion, the German authorities ordered those Jews in hiding to gather in front of the synagogue. Then on May 22, 1942, a new enclosed ghetto was created on Synagogue Street. It contained about 1,500 inmates, including the 200 workers who had been temporarily spared, the Jews who had hidden, and some women and children brought in from nearby villages. The Jews were forbidden to leave the boundary of the ghetto.

In the meantime the houses of the Jews were robbed and plundered. Not one family had survived the massacre intact. Those remaining thought constantly of their lost loved ones and recited Kaddish for their souls. They all sensed that their days were numbered, too, anticipating the next attack.⁹

The ghetto existed for only four months, until September 25, 1942. Within the ghetto, Moshe Gildenman appealed to the Judenrat to take revenge on the Germans and escape to the forests. However, the Judenrat continued the practices of mediation and bribery in an effort to mitigate the fate of the community, meeting all the renewed German demands. An attempt to contact the Soviet partisans by nominating two youths, Rozenshteyn and Waynschelboym, was unfortunately betrayed. Both of them were arrested by the Ukrainian police and were killed while trying to escape from their escorts on the way to Równe.¹⁰

On September 24, 1942, it became known that pits were being dug nearby. On that day an SD squad arrived from Równe to surround the ghetto, together with the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. In response, the Judenrat member Moshe Krasnostavski deliberately set himself and his home on fire, and within a short time, the entire ghetto was ablaze, forcing the Germans and Ukrainians to retreat. Another Judenrat member, Yukel Marcus, also committed suicide, and in the confusion a number of people broke out of the ghetto and found temporary refuge in the cemetery and elsewhere.¹¹ The German forces and local police, however, rounded up most of the Jews and shot approximately 2,000 people in a forest near Kazak on September 25, 1942. At the time of the liquidation, a group of men led by Moshe Gildenman escaped to the forests to take up partisan resistance against the Germans. He was known as the partisan commander “Uncle Misha.”

Altogether, according to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 5,090 civilians were killed in Rayon Korez in 1941–1944; virtually all of them were Jews.¹²

SOURCES Articles about the destruction of the Jewish population of Korzec can be found in the following publications: Eli'ezer Le'oni, ed., *Korits (Voblin): Sefer zikaron li-kebilatenu she-'alah 'aleha ha-koret* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse-Korits be-Yisrael, 1959); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 171–175.

Documents of the ChGK and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Korzec can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/260 and 2756); BA-BL (R 2104/23); DARO; GARF (7021-71-54); USHMM (RG-02.208M*28); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. AŽIH, 301/260; Dov Bergl, “Thus Was the City Destroyed,” in Le'oni, *Korits (Voblin)*, pp. 338–347.
3. The dating is taken from the testimony of Nyuma Anapolsky in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zbivymy ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev, 1999), p. 5.
4. Bergl, “Thus Was the City Destroyed,” pp. 338–347.
5. See Zabarko, *Zbivymy ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 32, 34–35; K. Zakaluk, *Zbivy stablyat' pamyatnik zagiblit: Tsinogo blasnogo Zbityya* (Rivne: Uporyadnik Kirilo Kindrat, 1995), p. 98. According to the ChGK report, 250 Jews were shot on August 15, 1941, and another 80 on August 23, 1941 (GARF, 7021-71-54, pp. 27 and reverse). Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehillot*, vol. 5, gives the number of 472 Jews murdered by the Germans in August.
6. BA-BL, R 2104/23, pp. 972–989. The receipts of the “War Booty Office” (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle) list carefully all the items collected and give the names of the 77 Jews, who were probably among those shot.

7. Bergl, "Thus Was the City Destroyed," pp. 338–347.
8. *Ibid.*, and GARF, 7021-71-54, pp. 32–33.
9. Bergl, "Thus Was the City Destroyed," pp. 338–347.
10. Le'oni, *Korits (Voblin)*, pp. 338–347, 402–407.
11. *Ibid.*
12. GARF, 7021-71-54, pp. 1–3.

KOSTOPOL

Pre-1939: Kostopol, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kostopol', raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kostopol, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kostopil', raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Kostopol is located about 29 kilometers (18 miles) north-northeast of Równe. In the fall of 1939, under Soviet occupation, a number of Jewish refugees from western and central Poland settled in the town so that in mid-1941 approximately 4,500 Jews resided in Kostopol.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Kostopol in early July 1941. During the first two weeks of the war, prior to the occupation of the town, only a small number of Jews was able to evacuate to the east, so over 4,000 Jews remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

In July and August of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town, establishing a local administration and also an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Kostopol became the center of a Rayon and also a Gebiet, which also included the Rayons of Stepan, Beresno, and Derashne. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Standartenführer Löhnert, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wichmann.¹ In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was created in the town, and the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police was subordinated to it. Among the local Ukrainian policemen, Peter Ogrodnik was particularly notable for his sadism.²

Soon after the German occupation, a pogrom took place in Kostopol during which local Ukrainians beat many Jews, killing a few of them, and plundered Jewish houses. On August 16, 1941, a squad of the Security Police and SD arriving from Równe carried out the first Aktion in Kostopol. The Security Police assembled 460 Jewish men and 20 Jewish women from among the most affluent members of the community, including the head of the Judenrat, Dawid Dajan. These people were transported out of town and then shot. However, their family members were informed that they had been sent to work camps and were deceived into sending them money, which the German authorities confiscated.³

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kostopol: a Judenrat was created, Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols, and they were forbidden to leave the limits of the town without special permission. In addition, they were

compelled to perform forced labor in local sawmills, at the train station, at the sewage treatment plant, and in local offices, during which the Jews, including some female workers, were beaten and otherwise abused.

On October 5, 1941, a ghetto was created in Kostopol.⁴ Some 4,000 Jews who had been living in the town were given only three days to move into the ghetto. In addition, another 500 or so Jews from the surrounding villages were brought in, raising the total ghetto population to about 4,500. The overcrowding in the ghetto was such that 10 or 15 people had to live in each room. In fact, the ghetto was divided into three sections. The male Jews aged 16 to 60, who mostly had been brought in from other towns, were moved into one section known as the labor camp. This was located in the prayer houses, which were surrounded by barbed wire. The women, small children, and elderly were confined within the main ghetto. This was on the *sbister gas* (Cobbler's Street), which before the war had housed only about 20 families. It was also surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence, which extended down to the pond. Then the specialist workers (mostly craftsmen), members of the Jewish Council, and the Jewish Police and their families (altogether 100 families, or about 500 people) were issued special passes and lived outside the ghetto along the fence near the gate; thus, they had the opportunity to maintain connections with the non-Jewish population, exchange goods, and acquire food. Some people also bought passes to live outside the ghetto, and women even paid to enter fictitious marriages to gain this privilege, although such arrangements often worked out badly, as the men took advantage of the women.⁵

In the fall of 1941, probably on November 10, a second Aktion was carried out in Kostopol: the families of the Jewish men killed during the first Aktion were offered the opportunity to join their menfolk in the supposed "labor camps." Once they had assembled, however, they were escorted to a site 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. A squad of the Security Police and SD (part of Einsatzkommando 5, based in Równe), assisted by local Ukrainian police and the 1st Company of Police Battalion 320, which arrived from Sarny, shot approximately 1,400 people there into pits that had been prepared in advance.⁶

In the Kostopol ghetto, the Jewish workers received a daily bread ration of just over 200 grams (7 ounces), while the women and children received only half this amount. The Judenrat also established a public kitchen, which fed the families of those who went out to work during the day. Conditions in the ghetto were very dirty, leading to outbreaks of various diseases, which the Judenrat feared might lead to the liquidation of the ghetto. Just before the enclosure of the ghetto, the Gebietskommissar demanded a large "contribution" from the Jews, saying it would be used to maintain the ghetto, but in fact none of it was used for this purpose. The Jews had to surrender any valuable items they possessed, and later, in the depth of winter, they had to give up their furs and other warm clothing.⁷

The payment for work by inmates of the ghetto was 5.60 rubles per day, of which 20 percent was deducted for a "Jewish tax" and another 25 percent as "income tax." Jews were also

forbidden to eat any fat products, such as butter or lard. By May 1942, the Germans had concentrated all the young Jewish men from Gebiet Kostopol in the labor camp. This was probably intended to avoid any resistance at the time of the liquidation of the nearby ghettos.⁸

On August 26, 1942, a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by the German and Ukrainian police forces, organized the liquidation of the Kostopol ghetto. Ukrainian and German policemen surrounded the ghetto. Then they escorted the ghetto's inhabitants to the nearby village of Chotenka, about 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) to the south, where they shot them into ditches. In total, about 4,000 Jews were murdered during this Aktion (some 2,500 from Kostopol and the rest that had been brought in from Małe Siedliszcze and Antonówka, where Jews had continued to live as farmers outside the ghetto up to this time).⁹ A few Jews hid within the ghetto or managed to escape during the Aktion, but most of these people were soon caught by local Ukrainians and were handed over to the Germans, who shot them.¹⁰

Altogether, more than 13,000 Jews were murdered in Rayon Kostopol in 1941 and 1942.

In total, about 270 Jews from Kostopol survived the war, but most of them were people who successfully evacuated to the east in the summer of 1941. Only 15 or so of the Jews who endured the German occupation were still alive on the recapture of the town by the Red Army on January 31, 1944.

SOURCES The following published sources are of relevance for the history of the Kostopol ghetto: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 168–170 (an English translation of this article is available at www.jewishgen.org); Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 66, 196; the yizkor book edited by S. Brayer, *Ha-Mered be-Kostopol: Lo biskamnu la-lekhet ke-tson la-tevab* (Tel Aviv: Yaron Golan, 1996); and the memoir of Fayge Grinshpan-Milshtayn, *A lebn oyf rates: Oyentitshe sbilderungen fun der sbœ tekufe* (Tel Aviv: Naylebn, 1966), which presents a rare female perspective on the ghetto.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Kostopol can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1268); BA-L (ZStL, 202 AR-Z 210/67); DARO (R534-1-4); GARF (7021-71-55); USHMM; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E-1844, M-1/Q-30, M-1/E-1616, M/11/B-98, O-3/848, O-3/2902, O-3/2904, O-16/1805, and M.31).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Grinshpan-Milshtayn, *A lebn oyf rates*, p. 72.

3. GARF, 7021-71-55, p. 116, reverse side; another source gives only the number of 470 male Jewish victims.

4. AŻIH, 301/1268.

5. Ibid.; I.A. Volodarskaia, “Unichtozhenie evreev Zapadnoi Volyni 1941–1944 gg.” in *Katastrofa i opir ukrains’kobo*

evreivstva (1941–1944). Narysy z istorii Holokostu i Oporu v Ukraini (Kiev: Instytut politychnykh i etnonatsional’nykh doslidzhen’ NAN Ukrainy, 1999), p. 215; Grinshpan-Milshtayn, *A lebn oyf rates*, pp. 64–71. This latter chapter includes more detailed descriptions of the locations of the various parts of the ghetto.

6. According to evidence given on May 12, 1960, by the former commander of the 1st Company, Police Battalion 320, Captain Alfred Weber, the Aktion took place on November 10, 1941: this source states that there were only 300 to 400 victims (see BA-L, ZStL, 202 AR-Z 210/67). According to GARF, 7021-71-55, pp. 23, 88, the Aktion took place at the beginning of December 1941, and there were some 2,300 Jewish victims (this figure appears to be too high).

7. AŻIH, 301/1268; Grinshpan-Milshtayn, *A lebn oyf rates*, pp. 64–71.

8. AŻIH, 301/1268.

9. The settlement of Antonówka, a few kilometers to the south of Kostopol, had only about 20 Jewish residents in 1939 and should not be confused with the town of the same name close to Sarny (see separate entry in this volume); on the murder of the Jews of these two villages, see YVA, M.31 (award of the Righteous Among the Nations to Stanisław Jasinski and Emilia Słodkowska-Jasińska, February 28, 1985).

10. GARF, 7021-71-55, p. 22. AŻIH, 301/1268, dates the Aktion on August 22, 1942; another source gives the date of August 25.

KOWEL

Pre-1939: Kowel (Yiddish: Kovle), city, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kowel’, raion center, Volyn’ oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kowel, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kowel’, Volyn’ oblast’, Ukraine

Kowel is located about 69 kilometers (43 miles) northwest of Łuck. By 1921, the Jewish population of the city had reached 12,700 (60 percent), remaining at about this level until 1939 (13,200 in 1937, nearly half the total population of 27,677). After 1939, the number of Jews increased, as many Jews from the German-occupied zone of Poland took refuge in Kowel. By mid-1941, including the refugees, there were about 15,000 Jews in the city.

German forces occupied the city on June 28, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the city, and in September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kowel became the administrative center of Gebiet Kowel, which included the Rayons of Kowel, Ratno, Mazejewo, Sabolotje, Manewitschi, Sedlichsche, Goloby, and Turisk. The Kowel Gebietskommissar until June 1942 was Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Philipp Rapp.¹ In June 1942, Kämpf was arrested for taking bribes from Jews, and Erich Kassner became the Gebietskommissar.

In July and August 1941, an SD-Einsatztruppe detached from the Einsatzgruppe zur besonderen Verwendung (z.b.V.) was stationed in Kowel. One of the leaders of this detachment

was SS-Obersturmführer Erwin Gay. From mid-July until early September 1941, the headquarters of the 314th Police Battalion (commanding officer: Major der Polizei Dressler) and its 3rd Company were also located in the city.² From October 1941, the German Gendarmerie post in Kowel took over command of the local squad of Ukrainian police. The head of the Ukrainian police until late March 1943 was Polizei-Hauptwachtmeister Fritz Manthei.³

In October 1942, a Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussen dienststelle) was created in the city; it was subordinated to the chief of the Security Police and SD (Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD, or KdS) in Równe. SS-Hauptsturmführer Kurt Eggers was in charge of the Kowel outpost.

As recalled in the Kowel yizkor books, Kassner, as Gebietskommissar, and Manthei, as head of the local squad of the Ukrainian police, were most directly involved in persecuting the Jews of Kowel and in facilitating their annihilation. Kassner, a sadist, and Manthei, a virulent and committed antisemite, sought out and relished opportunities to brutalize, humiliate, and murder Jews.⁴

Except for the absence of a guarded fence surrounding the Jewish parts of town, all relevant aspects of a Nazi-ruled ghetto were present during this period. Jews were not allowed to leave the city limits (roads were patrolled); they were not allowed out on the streets between 6:00 P.M. and 10:00 A.M.; houses occupied by Jews had to be marked by yellow boards; Jews were required to display a yellow Star of David on the front and back of their clothes (replacing the initial white armband with a blue Star of David); and a 12-person Judenrat and a Jewish police unit reporting to the Judenrat were created almost immediately. The first chairmen of the Judenrat were B. Moroz and I. Sandler.⁵ Jews were also forced to pay the Germans large sums of money and to surrender their valuables. They were compelled to perform forced labor, during which the local Ukrainian police beat and otherwise abused them.⁶

Killings of Jews took place repeatedly from the very beginning of the German occupation, with the assistance of the Ukrainian police units. These were recruited from among Kowel residents and people from surrounding villages. Their leader was Dr. Progov (a Kowel resident, whose wife, according to the Kowel yizkor book, “distinguished herself with her murderous deeds against the Jews even more than her husband”).⁷ A few weeks after the arrival of the Germans, the head of Reb Velvele (the Trisker Rebbe) was cut off and displayed in the window of the Ukrainian cooperative.⁸

Very soon after the city was occupied, 60 to 80 Jews from the intelligentsia were arrested and later shot. The arrests and shootings continued during the following weeks. Altogether, about 1,000 Jews were killed in the summer of 1941. The shootings were carried out by the SD Einsatztruppe and the 3rd Company of the 314th Police Battalion, which were located in Kowel at this time. On August 31, 1941, this company shot 88 Jews in the city.⁹

In May 1942, two ghettos were created; according to one account, on May 27, 1942,¹⁰ it was officially announced that between 12:00 P.M. and 5:00 P.M. the Jewish population had to

complete its relocation to the two ghettos, which then were sealed. Gebietskommissar Kämpf was in charge of the operation, and he personally ensured that everything went according to plan. One ghetto was in the old city, where mostly Jews had lived before. The other ghetto was in the new city between the railroad and Warsaw Street, in the “Sand.” Wooden fences, over 2 meters (6.6 feet) in height and covered with barbed wire, surrounded both ghettos. Jews could enter or leave the ghettos only through the gates. At first, the guards at these gates were German Gendarmes; their posts were later taken over by members of the Ukrainian police. After this, the German Gendarmes only supervised the Ukrainian policemen and occasionally carried out patrols through the ghetto themselves. Order within the ghetto was kept by a Jewish police force. In the new city ghetto, the Jewish craftsmen lived with their families (approximately 3,500 people). The remaining Jewish population, which (including those brought in from surrounding villages) consisted of more than 10,000 people, lived in the old city ghetto.¹¹

On June 3–5, 1942, a team of Security Police from Łuck organized the first Aktion, assisted by the 1st Motorized Platoon of the Łuck Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. The victims were the residents of the old city ghetto, except for those few who were able to hide or escape, as well as the Judenrat (with the exception of its then chairman, Pommeranz) and the Jewish Police. The day before the Aktion, June 2, Pommeranz received an order to compile a list of those Jews living in the old city ghetto who were not to be deported and thus needed to move to the new city ghetto. The same evening, the Judenrat and Jewish Police received an order to arrive at 8:00 P.M. at the German Gendarmerie post on Łuck Street. They were ordered to go to the ghetto in the old city and announce to the Jews living there that they would be sent to work in the east. The Jewish residents thus had to gather on the streets immediately, with a small amount of baggage; those Jews who did not obey this order would be shot. The members of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police, accompanied by the German Gendarmes and Ukrainian police, announced the order to the residents. As they went from house to house, armed German Gendarmes and Ukrainian policemen stood on the ghetto streets and later also checked that all the Jews had left their houses. Men, women, and children had to form lines on the streets and were then taken to the railroad station under guard. Those who tried to hide or escape, as well as the elderly, ill, and children, were shot on the spot; approximately 300 Jews were killed in this manner. (A work party of Jews from the new city ghetto buried the victims in a pit in the Jewish cemetery. Later, peasants from the surrounding area dug up the bodies of these Jews and removed rings, gold watches, gold teeth, and their clothing, leaving many naked corpses scattered throughout the cemetery.)¹² From the station, Jews were taken in a freight train to the shooting place at a sandpit near Bachów, 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) north of Kowel. After their arrival, the Jews had to undress: men had to undress completely, and women had to undress down to their underwear. They were then forced to get into the pit in groups and

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to lie down on their stomachs, at which point they were shot in the back of the head. The freight train took the clothing of the victims to the Kowel railway station, where, after the clothing was unloaded, the train was filled with new victims. Thus, during the mass shootings, which lasted three days, about 9,000 Jews were killed (men, women, and children); each day, approximately 3,000 people were killed.¹³ However, more than 3,500 people, comprising mainly the craftsmen and their families, were excluded from the Aktion, while almost 1,000 Jews went into hiding in the city, and about 1,000 others escaped to nearby villages or into the forests.

On June 9, 1942, a few days after the liquidation of the old city ghetto, the German authorities imposed a "contribution" of 1 million rubles (soon increased to 1.5 million rubles) on the remaining Jews. This sum had to be paid by June 15. Besides this monetary penalty, Jews also had to surrender any gold, jewelry, or precious stones. Somehow the new Judenrat managed to meet these exorbitant demands, contributing 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of gold in addition to the required money.

After the liquidation of the old city ghetto, shootings of small groups of Jews regularly took place in the new city ghetto. In July 1942, Gebietskommissar Kassner personally shot 10 Jews near the Judenrat building because a search revealed that they were hiding money and foreign currency.¹⁴

On August 19, 1942, the ghetto in the new city was also liquidated: about 6,500 Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery, and 150 Gypsies were shot together with the Jews.¹⁵ A team of Security Police and SD from Łuck carried out the shooting, with the active participation of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police. Approximately 1,000 Jews managed to escape the initial liquidation, but most were soon captured by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie, which regularly searched the ghetto and the surrounding area for hidden Jews. Those they found were mostly brought to the Great Synagogue, where they were subsequently left for days without food and water before being removed to the Jewish cemetery and shot. Periodically, policemen would take out groups of young Jewish girls and rape them before returning them to the synagogue to await their deaths.¹⁶ In the days of their captivity in the synagogue, many people wrote wills, requests for vengeance, and pleas for life on the walls of the synagogue. Many of these inscriptions, in Yiddish, Hebrew, and Polish, were copied by survivors and are listed in the Kowel yizkor book.¹⁷

The last shooting took place on October 6, 1942, at the Roman Catholic cemetery, where graves were found, after the liberation of the city, containing the bodies of more than 2,000 people.¹⁸ According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, altogether in 1941–1942, about 18,000 Jews were killed in Kowel, including the Jews from the surrounding villages.¹⁹

At the beginning of May 1942, two emissaries from the underground movement in Warsaw, Frumka Płotnicka and Tema Sznajdermann, succeeded in entering Kowel. On their return to Warsaw, they reported on resistance groups in the Kowel ghetto who had smuggled out arms from warehouses and passed them on to Soviet partisans active in the area. The

hostile attitude of the partisan unit's commander (Nasyekin) foiled the resistance groups' efforts to leave the ghetto and go into the forests, and only a few succeeded in doing so.²⁰ Liuba Lederhendler, a native of Kowel born in 1921, managed to survive the liquidation of the ghetto and hide in the forests surrounding Kowel. She posed as a Christian and served as a courier for the partisan units in the area, which brought her into contact with Jewish partisans hiding in the forests. Two weeks before the entry of the Red Army into Kowel, the home she was living in was blown up by Russian shelling, and Liuba, forced to leave, was recognized by a Pole, denounced to the Gestapo, and subsequently shot.²¹

On September 28, 1966, Erich Kassner was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Regional Court in Oldenburg, West Germany. Erwin Gay was sentenced to 8 years and 6 months of imprisonment in 1967 in Darmstadt, and after a retrial in 1970, he was sentenced to 7 years and 8 months of imprisonment. On September 28, 1966, Fritz Manthei was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Regional Court in Oldenburg (case 2 Ks 1/64) in West Germany. Two former members of the Ukrainian police in Kowel were convicted: V. Lapchuk and P. Belograd. When questioned, they testified that the Ukrainian police in Kowel not only participated in the annihilation of the Jews in Kowel but also drove to Ratno, Jezierzany, Kupiczów, and Powórsk to take part in the shooting of Jews there.

SOURCES Firsthand accounts of the Kowel ghetto can be found in the city's two yizkor books: Betsalel Baler, ed., *Pinkes Kowel* (Buenos Aires: Aroysgegebn durkhn landsleyt fareyn fun Kowel un umgegnt in Argentine, 1951); and Eli'ezer Le'oni-Tsuperain, ed., *Kowel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron li-kebilatenu she-'alab 'aleb ha-koret* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kowel be-Yisrael, 1957). A short article on the Jewish community of Kowel can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 158–165. Additional information on Kowel during the wartime period can be found in Ruta Sakowska, ed., *Archiwum Ringelbluma: Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy* (Warsaw: Wydawn. Naukowe PWN, 2000), pp. 916–918; Shimon Huberband, *Kiddush Hashem: Jewish Religious and Cultural Life in Poland during the Holocaust* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Pub. House; New York: Yeshiva University Press, 1987), pp. 387–399; Joseph Kermish, ed., *To Live with Honor and Die with Honor: Selected Documents from the Warsaw Ghetto Underground Archives "O.S."* (*Oneg Shabbat*) (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1986), p. 33.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jewish population in Kowel can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1644, 2152); BA-L (Verdict of LG-Old, 2 Ks 1/64); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-13); USHMM (RG-50.030*0188); and YVA.

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. See the Judgement of LG-Trau on May 26, 1982 (5 Ks 11, Js 9437/78).
3. On September 28, 1966, Manthei was sentenced to life imprisonment by LG-Old (case 2 Ks 1/64) in West Germany.
4. Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, pp. 85, 92; Le'oni-Tsuperain, *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron*, pp. 447, 453–458.
5. Ia. Khonigsman, *Katastrofa evreev Zapadnoi Ukrainy* (L'vov, 1998), p. 152. See Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, p. 83.
6. Le'oni-Tsuperain, *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron*, p. 411.
7. Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, p. 83.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
9. Telegram no. 230 sent by the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, September 1, 1941, 09.30; see USHMM, RG-48.004M (VHAP), reel 1, Kommandostab des RFSS, Karton 2.
10. The sources differ on this date. The anonymous source published in Sakowska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, pp. 916–918, gives the date of May 27. Another source, Kermish, *To Live with Honor*, p. 33, gives the date of May 17. Other sources give the date of May 21.
11. Sakowska, *Archiwum Ringelbluma*, pp. 916–918.
12. See Le'oni-Tsuperain, *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron*, pp. 418–422.
13. Verdict of LG-Old, September 28, 1966 (2 Ks1/64), in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 638; GARF, 7021-55-13, pp. 217, 222, and reverse.
14. Verdict of LG-Old, September 28, 1966 (2 Ks1/64), in *JuNS-V*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 638.
15. GARF, 7021-55-13, pp. 222–223 and reverse. Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, p. 93, cites the August 19 date.
16. Baler, *Pinkes Kovel*, pp. 94, 98–99.
17. *Ibid.*, pp. 485–498.
18. GARF, 7021-55-13, pp. 213 and reverse.
19. *Ibid.*, pp. 215, 217.
20. See Le'oni-Tsuperain, *Kovel: Sefer 'edut ve-zikaron*, pp. 446–447.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 522.

KOŽANGRÓDEK

Pre-1939: Kožangródek (Yiddish: Koz'anborodok), town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kozhan-Gorodok, Luninets raion, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Koshangrudek, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kazhan-Haradok, Luninets raen, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kožangródek is a town located 5 kilometers (3 miles) west of Łachwa. In 1921 the Jewish population was 783.

The Red Army occupied Kožangródek on September 17, 1939, to the relief of the local Jews. In early July 1941, the Soviets fled, and the Germans captured the town. The Germans established a ghetto (probably around March 1942) in which approximately 950 Jews were incarcerated. The ghetto was liquidated in a single Aktion on the night of September 2–3, 1942, at the same time as the Łachwa ghetto. The German Gendarmerie and local police drove the Jews from the ghetto to a killing site near the Jewish cemetery. The Aktion

was probably coordinated by SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhem Rasp, the commander of the Security Police and SD office in Pińsk. Some 40 men from the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 69, stationed in Łachwa, together with a similar number from the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 306, assisted by cordoning off the ghetto and the killing site. According to Soviet sources, the Germans and their collaborators shot a total of 937 Jews (including 325 women and 301 children), who were buried in a large mass grave 12 meters long and 4 meters wide (39 by 13 feet).¹

It appears that there was only one survivor of the ghetto, Hershel Vilk. He recalled that many Jews tried to escape at the time of the Aktion, but the Germans and their collaborators managed to catch the others. The Red Army drove the German occupying forces out of Kožangródek in July 1944. By the end of the war, most Jewish houses were damaged or destroyed. No attempt was made to rebuild the Jewish community.²

SOURCES The yizkor book for Łuniniec and Kožangródek, edited by Yosef Ze'evi and others, *Yizkor Kheilot Luninyets—Koz'anborodok* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Luninyets ve-Koz'anhorodok be-Yisrael, 1952), includes a section on Kožangródek, but there are no accounts by survivors. There is also a short article on the Jewish community in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 5, Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 310. The ghetto in Kožangródek is also mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), p. 130. See also Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), pp. 718–719.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 393/59); GARF (7021-90-31); NARB (861-1-11); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. NARB, 861-1-11, p. 4; GARF, 7021-90-31, pp. 2 and reverse; see also Stephen Pallavicini, *The Liquidation of the Jews of Polesie* (Sydney University, 2003), chapter 6, which gives the number of only 500 victims of the Aktion, presumably from German investigative sources. Other sources date the Aktion on August 18, 1942.

2. Moyshe Tsipershteyn, “Der letzte kapitl,” in Ze'evi et al., *Yizkor Kheilot Luninyets—Koz'anborodok*, pp. 223–226, here p. 224.

KOZIN

Pre-1939: Kozin, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kosin, Rayon center, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kozin, Radyvyliv raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Kozin is located about 21 kilometers (13 miles) southwest of Dubno. The 1921 census recorded 550 Jewish inhabitants in

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Kozin. In 1931, there were 599, and in mid-1941, there were probably around 650 Jews living in Kozin.¹

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Kozin at the end of June 1941. A military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village in July and August 1941. The Ortskommandantur appointed a village elder (starosta) and recruited a local Ukrainian police force.

A few days after the Germans' arrival, they ordered all the Jewish men to assemble, and local Ukrainians identified alleged Soviet collaborators, who were then shot. A few weeks later, the German-appointed administration carried out atrocities against the Jews. They set fire to the synagogue and its Torah scrolls, and 20 Jews were murdered.²

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kozin: Jews were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David (later, a yellow circular patch); they were required to perform forced labor with little or no compensation; and they were forbidden to leave the village limits.

In September, a German civil administration took over. Kozin became the center of Rayon Kosin in Gebiet Dubno. The Gebietskommissar was a man named Brocks, and from the spring of 1942 the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant Eberhardt.³ There was a Gendarmerie post in Kozin, which took over responsibility for the Ukrainian police (renamed Schutzmannschaft).

On May 23, 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto⁴ that held Jews brought in from surrounding villages as well as the Jews of Kozin. The ghetto consisted of about 30 small houses. One week later, on May 30, the Germans carried out the first Aktion in the nearby village of Hranowka, just to the west of Kozin. From the ghetto they selected 372 Jews considered unfit for work,⁵ and these people were shot by a detachment of the Sipo and SD from Równe, with the assistance of the 1st Company, 33rd Reserve Police Battalion.⁶ Skilled workers and their families were exempted from this Aktion, and some Jews evaded the Aktion by hiding. Once the Aktion was over, many of those who had hidden returned to the ghetto under the illusion that those who were working were protected.⁷

On October 6, 1942, the German authorities liquidated the Kozin ghetto,⁸ shooting some 700 Jews in the village of Hranowka.⁹ Assisted by the Ukrainian police and members of the German Gendarmerie, a Sipo and SD detachment from Równe carried out the mass shooting. On the eve of this Aktion, several dozen Jews succeeded in fleeing the ghetto, but many of them were subsequently caught by the Ukrainian police and shot. All told, during the period from 1941 to 1944, the German occupiers and their collaborators killed 1,288 inhabitants among the civilian population of the Kozin raion, including 1,029 Jews.¹⁰ Jewish victims accounted for 79.9 percent of those killed.

Approximately 30 Jews were saved by Czech and Polish farmers who hid them. The Red Army drove the Germans out of Kozin in March 1944.

SOURCES A short article on the fate of the Jewish population of Kozin was published in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities, Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 165–166.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Kozin can be found in these archives: AŽIH; DARO; GARF (7021-71-53); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); VHF (# 33456 and 45524); and YVA (M-1/E/947, O-3/1302, 4152).

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NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 362.
2. "Kozin," in Spector *Pinkas ha-kebilot*, vol. 5, pp. 165–166.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. AŽIH (www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en/gminy/miasto/736.html); Spector, *Pinkas ha-kebilot*, vol. 5, pp. 165–166.
5. AŽIH (www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en/gminy/miasto/736.html).
6. See the report of the HSSPF in Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942, in TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29.
7. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kebilot*, vol. 5, pp. 165–166.
8. According to AŽIH data (www.jewishinstitute.org.pl/en/gminy/miasto/736.html).
9. GARF, 7021-71-53, p. 2.
10. *Ibid.*

KRASILOW

Pre-1941: Krasilov, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Krasilow, Rayon center, Gebiet Antoniny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Krasyliv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Krasilov is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) southeast of Równe. According to the census of 1939, 1,250 Jews lived in Krasilov (17.2 percent of the total). There were an additional 1,442 Jews living in the villages of what was then the Krasilov raion, including the village of Kul'chitsy.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east or were conscripted into the Red Army. Around 1,000 Jews remained in Krasilov at the start of the occupation.

On July 8, 1941, forces of the German 6th Army occupied Krasilov. In July and August 1941, a German military administration took control of the town. The military authorities appointed a mayor and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force.

In September 1941, Krasilov was placed under German civil administration and included in Gebiet Antoniny. Regierungsassessor Harald Schorer became the Gebietskommissar in Antoniny until 1943, when he was succeeded by Gerhard

Friedrich, who had served previously as his deputy.¹ A German Gendarmerie post with four Gendarmes was established in the town; it supervised the local Ukrainian police.

In the summer and autumn of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Krasilov. Soon after the arrival of the German military authorities, Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings in the form of the Star of David, and later the Gebietskommissar ordered them to sew yellow patches onto the back and front of their clothing. In addition, they had to perform forced labor and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town.

In or around October 1941, Mikhail Grinchuk, the head of the local Ukrainian administration in Krasilov, signed a public notice prepared by the Gebietskommissar informing all the Jews that they would have to live in a ghetto. Jews from the surrounding area were brought into Krasilov by the local police and were placed initially in three long one-story buildings next to where the market was located after World War II.² About two weeks after the announcement, Gerhard Friedrich, the deputy of the Gebietskommissar, arrived in Krasilov and organized the creation of the ghetto, personally choosing the section of town that was to be surrounded with barbed wire. The ghetto, consisting of about 25 houses, was located adjacent to the buildings that initially held the new arrivals. The Gendarmerie and local police assisted Grinchuk in obtaining barbed wire for the ghetto.³

All the Jewish residents of Krasilov had moved into the cramped space of the ghetto by January 1, 1942, with the exception of the Jewish craftsmen (shoemakers, glaziers, plumbers) and their families, who now lived in three buildings outside the fence. The perimeter of the ghetto was guarded day and night by two to four Ukrainian policemen. Jews were officially prohibited from visiting the market, and no rations were provided. The worst aspect was the lack of access to water in the ghetto. However, some Jews were able to trade items for food with the local population and also to obtain water after making arrangements with the guards.⁴ The local non-Jewish inhabitants of Krasilov became aware that Jews in the ghetto were dying, frequently from starvation or disease.

The Jews living in the ghetto were assigned forced labor tasks by the local administration, such as repairing roads or working in the sugar refinery, which was supervised by the Ukrainian police.

On April 25 or 26, 1942, the most respected and educated Jew in the ghetto, Moisha Hammerschmid, was summoned to the Gendarmerie post. On his return he bore the scars of beatings and torture and fainted into the arms of his fellow Jews. When he came round, he started to scream in Yiddish that everyone should try to get to safety wherever they could, as they all faced death. He then explained that the Gendarmerie had ordered all the ghetto inhabitants to assemble on the square next to the fence on the morning of May 1, as they were going to be resettled. They could take with them only property up to a weight of 16 kilograms (35 pounds) for adults and 8 kilograms (17.6 pounds) for children.

On May 1 and 2, 1942, most of the Jewish population of the ghetto was resettled into a "labor camp" in a stable in the village of Orlinty, close to Antoniny. At the end of May, the Germans also began to transfer the Jewish craftsmen to Orlinty. While escorting a group of 44 Jews on foot to Orlinty, Ukrainian police on horseback shot 8 Jews who fell behind the column, owing to weakness. In Orlinty at this time, some 100 Jews from various locations in Gebiet Antoniny were being held. From the labor camp, selected Jews were forced daily to drag heavy stones in a cart behind them for several kilometers. Subsequently, most Jews from the Orlinty camp were taken to Manivtsy to be killed. The Jewish survivor Moysey Katz managed to escape back to the Krasilov ghetto shortly after his transfer to Orlinty at the end of May.⁵

In Krasilov, Katz continued to live in the buildings for specialist workers, while some elderly Jews and children remained in the ghetto, as they were unfit for work, together with a few adults who had somehow avoided the transfers.

In July 1942, the ghetto in Krasilov was cleared. The Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police drove the Jews out of the ghetto and escorted them on foot to the village of Manivtsy. Those who were unfit were loaded onto carts. In Manivtsy, they were held for a few days and then shot along with other Jews from Gebiet Antoniny.⁶ The mass murder was organized by a detachment from the Security Police and SD outpost in Starokonstantinov. The Ukrainian police guarded the victims before they were shot and cordoned off the killing site during the shooting.⁷

The remaining 300 or so Jewish craftsmen with their families in Krasilov were then moved from the neighboring buildings into the ghetto, which was also reduced in size and now surrounded with two rings of barbed wire. On about September 10 or 12, 1942, the guard on the ghetto was strengthened, and about 30 Jews managed to flee at night, anticipating a final Aktion. The remaining craftsmen from the ghetto were also shot in Manivtsy. Many of those who escaped were subsequently also caught and shot.⁸

After the last Jews had been removed from the Krasilov ghetto, any remaining property of value was taken away by the Gendarmerie to Antoniny. The local population plundered the empty houses. With the permission of the Gebietskommissar, the local Ukrainian administration sold off some of the houses for local residents to live in, while others were dismantled either for firewood or as building material. Remaining items of lesser value, such as old furniture and crockery, were also sold to the local population. The proceeds from these sales, along with other local taxes, were booked to the account of the Gebietskommissar in Antoniny.⁹

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Krasilov can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (R863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-793, 800); and YVA (M-33). BA-L (II 204 AR-Z 442/67: Gebietskommissariat Antoniny) contains materials on the crimes committed by officials of the German police and civil administration in the Krasilov raion. In these files, there are some detailed

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descriptions of the persecution and massacres of the Jewish population.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Abschlussbericht, March 18, 1971, Verfügung, June 18, 1974.
2. Descriptions of the ghetto are all based on postoccupation testimonies.
3. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 199–203, statement of defendant Mikhail A. Grinchuk, March 30, 1947; see also vol. 1, p. 221, statement of Yakov M. Omelyaniuk, December 21, 1972; vol. 1, pp. 275–276, statement of Moyssey M. Katz, December 22, 1972.
4. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 275–277, statement of Katz.
5. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 277–279, statement of Katz. See also Abschlussbericht, March 18, 1971, Verfügung, June 18, 1974.
6. GARF, 7021-64-793, p. 95.
7. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Abschlussbericht, March 18, 1971, Verfügung, June 18, 1974.
8. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 280–281, statement of Katz.
9. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 199–203, statement of Grinchuk.

KRYMNO

Pre-1939: Krymno village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Zabolot'e raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Sabolotje, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Stara Vyzhivka raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Krymno is located about 53 kilometers (33 miles) northwest of Kowel. In mid-1941, approximately 500 Jews (about 70 families) resided in the Zabolot'e raion, primarily in Krymno.

German forces occupied the village on June 22, 1941. Until early September 1941, the village was governed by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), and then command was transferred to a German civil administration. Rayon Sabolotje was part of Gebiet Kowel. The first Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf, but in June 1942 he was replaced by Erich Kassner. The Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Philipp Rapp.¹ He was head of the Gendarmerie posts located in the former Soviet raion centers and of the Ukrainian auxiliary police. One of the Gendarmerie posts was located in Zabłocie (the center of Rayon Sabolotje), and in Krymno there was also a post of the Ukrainian auxiliary police.

In May 1942, on the orders of the Gebietskommissar, a ghetto was created in Krymno, into which Ukrainian policemen and German Gendarmes drove approximately 400 people from the villages of Rayon Sabolotje. Ukrainian policemen guarded the ghetto and repeatedly beat the Jews. The residents of the ghetto were forbidden to leave or to communicate with local non-Jews. Each resident of the ghetto received only a small portion of bread per day, as a result of a terrible shortage of food inside the ghetto.

On September 5, 1942, a ditch was dug near the village measuring 20 meters by 4 meters by 2 meters (65.6 by 13.1 by 6.6 feet). On September 6, Ukrainian policemen, led by the chief of the Ukrainian district police, N.G. Dufanets, as well as German Gendarmes from Zabłocie: Sitzler, Kaminski, and Wagner, shot all the residents of the ghetto (at least 386 people) in this ditch, on the orders of Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Rapp. Among those killed were Mindell Leizer and his wife, mother-in-law, and three children; Shana Goldman and his family of four; Borukh Roystenstein and his family of five; and many others.

After the liquidation of the ghetto, there remained a labor camp in Zabłocie in which Jewish artisans were kept with their families. On January 9, 1943, the camp was liquidated: Ukrainian policemen and German Gendarmes shot 101 Jews.²

On August 28, 1980, the Volyn' Regional Court handed down a death sentence to the former head of the Ukrainian police in Rayon Sabolotje, Dufanets, as well as to two former Ukrainian policemen in Krymno, A.L. Bubela and F.Ye. Rybachuk, who played an active role in the murder of the Jews of the Krymno ghetto. Kyrylo Zvarich, another local policeman who escaped to Britain after the war, died peacefully in Bolton in 1986 despite repeated Soviet requests for his extradition.³

SOURCES Information about the extermination of the Jewish population of Krymno can be found in the following archives: DASBU-Lu; DAVO; and GARF (7021-55-3). There are no publications specifically focused on the Krymno ghetto; more general publications containing information on the ghetto are cited in the notes.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; verdict of LG-Old, 2 Ks 1/64 (case against Erich Kassner and Fritz Manthei) on September 28, 1966.
2. Verdict of the Volyn Regional Court in the Case of Traitors of the Homeland N.G. Dufanets, A.L. Bubela, and F.Ye. Rybachuk, published in A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine 1941–1944. Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1987), pp. 345–352; P. Shafeta, *Stroku davnosti ne isnuie* (Kiev, 1984), pp. 68–78, 128–134.
3. David Cesarani, *Justice Delayed: How Britain Became a Refuge for Nazi War Criminals* (London: William Heinemann, 1992), pp. 195–196.

KRZEMIENIEC

Pre-1939: Krzemieniec (Yiddish: Kremenets), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Kremenets, raion center, Tarnopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kremenez, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kremenets', Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Krzemieniec is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) south-southeast of Łuck. In 1931, 7,256 Jews lived there (26.5 per-



Three young Luftwaffe personnel publicly humiliate an elderly Jew in the streets of Krzemieniec, ca. 1942.
USHMM WS #09527, COURTESY OF IPN

cent of the population). By 1941, the Jewish population exceeded 12,000, including more than 4,000 refugees. After the start of the German invasion, several hundred young Jews were able to flee into the Soviet Union.

The Germans occupied the town on July 3, 1941.¹ During July and August 1941, a German military administration temporarily governed the town; in September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The town became the administrative center of Gebiet Kremenez, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec was Regierungsrat Müller.² A Ukrainian local council and police force were created in Krzemieniec. The Ukrainian police, renamed the Schutzmannschaft, was subordinate to the German Gendarmerie post consisting of several German Gendarmes.

According to a report dated July 20, 1941, by Einsatzgruppe C based in Zhitomir, the Soviets had killed 100 to 150 Ukrainians just before their retreat from Krzemieniec. Some of these people were apparently thrown into a cauldron of boiling water, as evidenced by the fact that the corpses, when exhumed, had no skin. The German Einsatzgruppe report states that on July 3, 1941, “the Ukrainians killed 130 Jews with clubs as a form of revenge.”³ The account of B. Shvarts indicates that the pogrom lasted for several days. He reports that Jewish stores were robbed, and Jews were badly beaten and thrown in jail. The SS and “Gendarmerie” (probably “Feldgendarmerie” of the Wehrmacht) assisted the Ukrainians, who arrived in groups from the surrounding villages to beat and kill Jews. Shvarts writes that a group of Jews bribed the German commandant to stop the murders; he estimates that about 800 Jews died during the pogrom.⁴

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Krzemieniec: a

Judenrat was created, Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first a white armband with a Star of David on the right arm, and then a yellow patch sewn on the shoulder, a little below the collar), and they were compelled to perform forced labor during which they were beaten and otherwise abused. It was forbidden for Jews to use the sidewalks, and they had to take off their hats when passing a German.

On one occasion, a Jewish child who had tried to buy something in the marketplace was caught and forced to dance on a table and then lick a German’s spit off the table. On another occasion, German officials sent the beadle home and stole everything valuable from the synagogue. They then brought in barrels of kerosene and other flammable material and set the synagogue on fire. Only its stone walls were left standing. Afterwards, the Gestapo came to the Judenrat to “investigate” who had burned down the synagogue. They wrote an official report claiming that the Jews had burned it down themselves. Gebietskommissar Müller decided to pull down the walls of the burned-out synagogue and sow the place where it stood with grass. During the destruction of the walls, one wall fell and crushed some people.⁵

On July 23, 1941, the German Security Police arrested and killed members of the Jewish “intelligentsia” (several hundred people).⁶ According to Shvarts, the Gestapo arrived in Krzemieniec and ordered the Judenrat to collect people with an academic status for forced labor. Those gathered (mostly intelligentsia and religious leaders) were taken away to be shot: 800 people were killed, destroying the fabric of the Jewish community’s leadership.⁷

Soon after their arrival, the Germans appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The first chairman was Dr. Benjamin Katz, and other members included Dr. Buzi Landesberg and Dr. Lione Grinberg. The Judenrat consisted of well-respected individuals from the town as well as refugees from the west who knew German.⁸ After Katz was murdered for his refusal to collaborate with the Nazis, Bronfeld became the Judenrat chairman (in the summer of 1942). After Bronfeld was killed by the Nazis, Dr. Mandel became chairman. The Judenrat



The burning of a synagogue in Krzemieniec, 1941.
USHMM WS #09528, COURTESY OF IPN



Jews wearing circular badges walk through town during a deportation from the Krzemieniec ghetto, 1942.
USHMM WS #09524 COURTESY OF IPN

was responsible for supplying Jews for forced labor and for distributing the daily bread ration of 75 grams (2.6 ounces) per person.

The head of the Jewish Police was Dr. Mandel from Kraków, who spoke German well. Two of the Jewish policemen acted as German agents: Bronfeld, a Czech Jew (who later became Judenrat chairman), and a Jew from Łódź, Itsi Diamant. Diamant was connected to an international band of thieves and swindlers. He was shot when diamonds were discovered in his house. Before the establishment of the ghetto, the Jewish Police were responsible for collecting contributions and for ensuring that people went to work as instructed. The police would go from house to house, collecting people for forced labor. The workers were fed a half-liter (16.9 ounces) of soup and 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread per day. Cleanliness was very important and enforced by the Jewish Police, as was the 7:00 P.M. curfew. The police helped smuggle food into the ghetto at night because they were allowed past the ghetto guards.⁹

On March 1, 1942, the remaining Jews (about 8,000 people) were driven into a ghetto.¹⁰ The ghetto was located in the west part of town. It was 1.6 kilometers (1 mile) long and 100 meters (328 feet) wide. It was initially set up at the end of January 1942 and sealed off from the rest of the town on March 1. The ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence 3 meters (9.8 feet) high. Although Jews were allowed to bring in their belongings, the ghetto was so overcrowded that there was nowhere to put them, and much had to be left behind.¹¹

Some 10 to 12 people died of hunger every day, owing to the meager daily bread allotment. Gebietskommissar Müller issued some 500 death sentences based on false accusations of alleged “crimes.” The German authorities demanded a “contribution” of 25 tons of grain. Women and men were forced to have short hair. Jews had to dismantle the Jewish cemetery because the Germans needed the stones for their own construction projects. Müller ordered the Judenrat to set up a brothel for Jewish youths aged 16 to 19. Every youth was ordered to visit the brothel and received a special note acknowl-

edging his visit. This order was revoked for youths whose parents could afford to pay off the Germans. In August 1941, Jews had to “contribute” more than 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of gold and silver to Müller.

A standard day in the ghetto proceeded in the following way: first, people stood in line in the morning at one of the three wells for water. After cleaning and sweeping the streets, people went to the kitchen for soup and to distribution points for bread. Sometimes people fought for bread when there was not enough, and the police had to intervene. The youths were taken to their workplaces; people walked in columns, with a policeman at the head. On the way back from work, people were searched and beaten if the Germans caught them smuggling anything. The hospital was not assigned any food, so workers would sometimes bring some back for the sick. There was an illegal market in the ghetto.¹²

Once, a drunken German entered the ghetto. All the adults ran away, leaving only the children. The German gave them all candy and embraced and kissed them. Then he cried and lamented, “Poor Jewish children! Why does that damned Hitler persecute you?” The ghetto guards could sometimes be bribed to let wagons of food into the ghetto.

When the Jews in the Krzemieniec ghetto heard about killing Aktions in other towns, they began to look for ways to escape death. Some people escaped from the ghetto; others built hiding places underground (bunkers). The bunkers were so small, however, that people were unable to stay in them for an entire Aktion, and many ended up coming out. Others were able to build bunkers that had electricity and sewage facilities. In mid-1942, there were about 8,500 Jews in the ghetto.¹³

One week before the final Aktion (in August 1942), the German forces made announcements in the city, inciting the local population against the Jews. On Saturday, August 9, 1942, the workers received an order to report to the trains after work to load grain onto wagons. They worked half the night, which ensured that they would be even more exhausted than usual and unable to resist when the Aktion was carried out. During the night of August 9–10, loud shooting broke out in the ghetto. The ghetto fence was torn down, and Jews were dragged out of their houses. Some people were caught in the crossfire and died in the ghetto; some people escaped to their hiding places. About 60 Gendarmes and a force of Ukrainian Schutzmannen, mainly from the locally based battalion, entered the ghetto. The Nazis claimed that the shooting throughout the night was carried out by Jews who had initiated an uprising.

The Judenrat was ordered to gather all those capable of work at the gate. The Gendarmes and the Security Police performed a selection to determine who would be removed from the ghetto. People were lined up at the gates in two long lines, and the Ukrainians stood between the two lines. The security forces led people in groups of 400 from the gate to Belaia Krinitsa under heavy guard. Those who tried to escape were shot. According to one account, 1,500 able-bodied prisoners were dispatched to perform forced labor in Belaia Krinitsa,¹⁴ while another account gives the number as 1,200 Jewish craftsmen.¹⁵

The first victims of the Aktion (which took place on the following day) were the patients in the hospital and the poor, who occupied a former hotel. They were gathered in the synagogue square and taken from there to the old barracks behind the city in wagons or on foot. The victims were beaten and forced to undress and lie down in the ditches. Local Christians watched as the victims were shot. The German police and their collaborators returned to the ghetto to look for people hiding in bunkers. The cries of infants often gave people away. Sometimes the children were suffocated or poisoned by their desperate parents. Some people committed suicide with their families to avoid falling into the hands of the enemy.¹⁶ The Aktion was carried out by a team of Security Police and SD with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, including the 102nd Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft battalion, based in the town before its transfer to antipartisan operations in Belorussia. About 5,000 Jews from the ghetto and half the Jews in Belaia Krinitsa were killed.¹⁷

On August 14, 1942, 1,500 more Jews were shot, making a total of 6,402 people.¹⁸ A German report dated August 15 states that Jews from the small nearby ghetto in Berežce were brought in trucks to Krzemieniec and killed along with the local Jews. The victims were 2,322 men, 2,925 women, and 1,155 children.¹⁹ On August 16, 1942, about 400 Jews from Belaia Krinitsa were killed together with Jews captured in the ghetto and transported to the killing site in two cars. Some 200 craftsmen were brought from Belaia Krinitsa to the prison in Krzemieniec. On August 20, 1942, a team of Security Police and SD shot 1,210 more Jews (848 women and children and 362 men). During the night of September 2, 1942, Jews hiding in the ghetto set it on fire to cover their escape. Most of them were captured and shot (several hundred people).²⁰

Another account states that the Germans set the ghetto on fire to kill the Jews remaining in hiding. Firemen were brought in to make sure the fire did not spread outside the ghetto. The people escaping the fire from the bunkers were killed by the firemen, Germans, and Ukrainians.²¹ Additionally, 120 Jewish craftsmen from the prison were shot on September 2. Later the remaining craftsmen were killed.²²

Sixteen-year-old R. Kravets witnessed the slaughter on August 10, 1942, and recorded the following in his diary: “Behind the town there is an old entrenchment, about a kilometer [0.6 mile] in length . . . that is where the execution took place. The removal of the Jews from the ghetto began at approximately 3:00 A.M. and lasted until late in the night.” He writes that people were loaded into a truck in layers: the first people on the bottom of the truck, the next set on top of the first, and so on. There was absolute silence; no one talked or screamed or cried. Trucks returned, filled with clothing. The drunken Ukrainian policemen pocketed the victims’ watches and hid clothing in secure places in the forest to pick up later for themselves. At the site of the killings, the victims were unloaded from the truck, forced to undress, and led one by one to the entrenchment.

The entrenchment was filled with human bodies, covered with chlorine. People were forced to lie down on the corpses and were shot by two Gestapo men. Some Jews resisted, not wanting to undress or get into the ditch. These people were shot on the spot and thrown into the pit. When it seemed full, a policeman covered it with some earth, and the people were led to the adjacent ditch. The Ukrainian policemen were constantly given alcohol to keep them drunk. “People were completely apathetic—they just wanted it to end, and quickly: this is a result of the famine and beatings.”²³

It appears that only a handful of Jews from the ghetto survived.²⁴

SOURCES Several firsthand accounts of events in the ghetto can be found in the yizkor book, which contains material in Hebrew and Yiddish, edited by Abraham Stein, *Pinkas Kremenets: Sefer Zikkaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun ‘ole Kremenets be-Yisrael, 1954). There is also some material concerning survivors from Krzemieniec in M. Goldenberg et al., eds., *Kol yotsai Kremenits be-Yisrael v’batfutsot* (Booklet 11) (Tel Aviv: Organization of Kremenets Emigrants, 1974); see www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/kremenets1/kremenets1.html.

Documents on the annihilation of the Jews of Krzemieniec can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/1393); BA-BL; BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67); GARF (7021-75-3); IPN; and YVA (JM/324 and JM/10598).

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NOTES

1. Another source indicates that the Germans entered the town on July 4; see B. Shvarts, “Ghetto Martyrology and the Destruction of Kremenets,” in Stein, *Pinkas Kremenets*, pp. 416–435, here p. 416.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Übersicht über die besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 28, July 20, 1941. According to another source, 300 to 500 Jews were killed during the pogrom organized by local Ukrainian antisemites; see GARF, 7021-75-6, pp. 13 reverse, 20, and 49.
4. Shvarts, “Ghetto Martyrology,” p. 418.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 419–422.
6. GARF, 7021-75-3, p. 14.
7. Shvarts, “Ghetto Martyrology,” p. 420. According to Shvarts, the Aktion took place in August.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 418.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 423–426.
10. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheski spravochnik* (Kharkov: “Karavella,” 2001), pp. 173–174. Kruglov notes that the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report gives the figure of some 13,000 Jews enclosed in the ghetto. However, in light of subsequent reports on the fate of the ghetto’s Jews, this number is almost certainly too high.
11. Shvarts, “Ghetto Martyrology,” p. 421.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 423–425.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 428.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 431–433.
15. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, pp. 173–174.

16. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 434.
17. Evidence of the participation of the Ukrainian police battalion can be found in BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67, vol. 2, pp. 311–324, J.K.K. on February 14, 1969, and M.D.K. on February 19, 1969.
18. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, pp. 173–174.
19. IPN, Zbiór Zespołów Szczatkowych Jednostek SS i Policji—Sygnatura 77.
20. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, pp. 173–174.
21. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 435. This account also indicates that the Germans tried to spread rumors that the people hiding in the ghetto had started the fire, but the Ukrainians did not believe this, as they had seen the Nazis setting the ghetto on fire and forbidding anyone to put it out.
22. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*, pp. 173–174.
23. R. Kravchenko-Berezhnoi, *Moi XX vek (Stop-kadry)* (Apatity, 1998), pp. 118–119. See also A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 396–397.
24. Shvarts, "Ghetto Martyrology," p. 435.

KUL'CHINY

Pre-1941: Kul'chiny, village, Krasilov raion, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kul'schiny, Rayon Krasilow, Gebiet Antoniny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kul'chyny, Krasyliv raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Kul'chiny is located 107 kilometers (66.5 miles) south-southeast of Równe. In the 1930s, the village was the center of a Jewish rural sel'sovet. As of 1931, 1,060 Jews lived in Kul'chiny. As a result of the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and the movement of Jews to other regions during the early 1930s, the Jewish population decreased by several hundred persons.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, more than 100 Jews (about 20 families) were able to evacuate to the east, and some Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army. About 400 Jews (including some 40 craftsmen) remained in Kul'chiny at the start of the occupation.¹

In early July 1941, troops of the German 6th Army occupied Kul'chiny. In July and August 1941, the occupying German military authorities appointed a village elder (starosta) and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Kul'chiny became part of Rayon Krasilow in Gebiet Antoniny, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsassessor Harald Schorer became the Gebietskommissar in Antoniny.

The anti-Jewish Aktions in Gebiet Antoniny, which included Kul'chiny, were organized in 1942 by officials of the Security Police outpost (Aussendienststelle) in Starokonstantinov, headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf,² assisted by the chief of the Gendarmerie, Karl Otto Paul.³ The head of the Ukrainian police in Antoniny was named Galitzky.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Kul'chiny. The Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings, first in the shape of the Star of David, later patches in the shape of a yellow circle, sewn onto their clothes. In addition, they were required to perform arduous manual labor, prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and subjected to arbitrary robbery and humiliation by the Ukrainian police.

In late 1941 or early 1942, Gebietskommissar Schorer issued an order posted in public places to establish ghettos in Bazaliia, Krasilov, and Kul'chiny. The Jews of the Gebiet were ordered to move to one of these places, where they would be confined to a specific quarter (ghetto).⁴ Shortly afterwards, a ghetto was established in Kul'chiny, consisting of about 25 houses. The Jews were made to erect the barbed-wire fence themselves. The Jewish houses outside the ghetto area remained empty or were pulled down to make room for the fence or for other purposes. Initially there was no permanent guard around the ghetto, but the Jews were afraid to go into the village, as this was prohibited. According to one account, some Jews escaped from the ghetto, and those who were caught were shot by the German security forces. The Jews were also forbidden to converse with the local Ukrainian population.⁵

From time to time, the Germans and local police came to Kul'chiny and escorted groups of Jews to perform forced labor, such as road work in Antoniny or other places. The Jews received no rations but lived on whatever they could get from the local Ukrainian population. The Germans and local police humiliated the ghetto inhabitants in every conceivable way. When they were forced to dismantle their houses and load the materials onto carts for transport to Antoniny, Jews (even young Jewish girls) were forced to take the place of the horses that ordinarily pulled the carts. The precise number of Jews in the ghetto is not known, but it was about 400 or 500, probably including some brought in from nearby villages such as Kuz'min.⁶

Sometime around the end of May 1942, part of the Jewish population from the ghetto was resettled into a labor camp based in a stable in the village of Orlintsy, close to Antoniny, where they worked repairing roads and performing other tasks.⁷

In July 1942, the ghetto in Kul'chiny was liquidated. Members of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police from Gebiet Antoniny surrounded the ghetto and escorted the roughly 60 remaining Jews to the village of Manivtsy. Those unable to walk were loaded onto carts. In Manivtsy, many of the Jews of the Gebiet were collected before being taken out and shot, including those from the Orlintsy camp. Initially the Jews from Kul'chiny were held overnight in a stable in Manivtsy, and on the following day, once the grave was ready, the Jews were transported in trucks to a nearby wood.⁸ As they were being unloaded, a local resident of Manivtsy recognized the Jewish teacher Solomyonnaya from Kul'chiny, who used to teach his son. The woman was pulling her hair out and shouted to a local policeman that she was a teacher; she tried to show him a document, but the policeman

knocked her to the ground with a blow to the head from his rifle butt.⁹

A German SD man shot the Jews into a pit roughly 20 meters long by 4 meters wide (65.6 by 13.1 feet). Two Jews who attempted to flee were shot dead as they ran. There were probably several such mass shootings organized here by the Security Police and SD unit based in Starokonstantinov as successive groups of Jews arrived in Manivtsy. The Ukrainian police were responsible for escorting the victims before the shootings and for cordoning off the killing site.¹⁰ About 200 Jewish craftsmen from the Krasilov ghetto, together with some other Jews still held at Manivtsy, were shot on the grounds of the estate in Manivtsy in September 1942.¹¹

After the Jews had been removed from the Kul'chiny ghetto, the Gebietskommissar took over responsibility for the empty houses. Most were dismantled, and the materials were taken to Antoniny to be used by German officials as firewood. The local Ukrainian authorities sold only a few houses for local residents to live in.¹²

There were very few survivors of the Kul'chiny ghetto.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Kul'chiny is located in the following archives: BA-L (II 204 AR-Z 442/67); DAKhO (R863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-793); VHF (# 30137); and YVA (M-33).

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NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 315–316, statement of Mikhail I. Moskaliuk, March 21, 1973.
2. Graf died in 1953.
3. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Concluding Report, March 18, 1971, and Instruction (Verfügung), June 18, 1974. Schorer perished in 1943, and Paul died in 1969.
4. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 368–374, statement of Pyotr Tomchuk, December 18, 1972. Tomchuk dates the establishment of the ghetto in the summer of 1942.
5. GARF, 7021-64-793, pp. 95, 98; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, p. 209, statement of Yakov Y. Kondratiuk, December 19, 1972; and p. 217, statement of Moskaliuk, March 21, 1973.
6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, p. 217, statement of Domna Moskaliuk.
7. GARF, 7021-64-793, p. 95.
8. *Ibid.*; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, pp. 344–349, statement of Denis Paska (resident of Manivtsy), March 14, 1973; vol. 1, pp. 256–261, statement of Pyotr A. Doshchuk, January 19, 1973 (former local policeman in Gebiet Antoniny); vol. 1, pp. 287–299, statement of Vasily S. Lysink, February 1, 1973 (former local policeman from Antoniny).
9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, vol. 1, p. 214, statement of Nikolay S. Kravchuk, March 15, 1973.
10. *Ibid.*, Concluding Report, March 18, 1971, and Instruction, June 18, 1974; vol. 1, pp. 256–261, statement of Doshchuk.
11. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 344–349, statement of Paska.
12. *Ibid.*, pp. 199–203, statement of Mikhail A. Grinchuk in his own case, March 30, 1947.

KUPEL'

Pre-1941: Kupel', village, Volochisk raion, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kupel', Rayon Wolotschisk, Gebiet Proskurow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volochisk raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Kupel' is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) south of Równe. According to the 1926 census, there were 1,828 Jews living in the village (43.2 percent of the total population). In the years 1927–1941, the number of Jews in the village was almost halved as a result of emigration and the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Kupel' on July 5, 1941, two weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country, and men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army. Around 800 to 900 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. The Ortskommandant appointed a village elder (starosta) and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Kupel' became part of Gebiet Proskurow (Gebietskommissar: Hundertschaftsführer Schmerbeck), which in turn belonged to Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

At the start of the occupation, it was above all the rabbi of Kupel', 55-year-old Itzhak Meir Glaser, who was tortured and subjected to violations of dignity. He managed to escape and hide. Then the Germans took 51 hostages and declared that they would be executed unless the rabbi showed up. To save these people, Glaser voluntarily came out of hiding. Nevertheless, most of the hostages perished: they had been confined within a very small space, such that they were forced to lie on top of each other; the doors and windows of this tiny room were tightly closed, and as a result almost everyone, except those in the very top layer, suffocated during the night. The corpses were buried in a pit near the monument to Lenin, and sometime later, when the smell of putrefaction became noticeable, they were reburied in the Jewish cemetery. The rabbi was murdered and buried with the hostages.¹

In the summer of 1941 a "Jewish quarter" (an open ghetto) was established in the village. Mikhail Furman and his family, who arrived from the nearby village of Klininy shortly after the arrival of the Germans, lived there in a two-bedroom house together with two other families. He recalled that everyone in the ghetto had to wear a yellow star, and they were forbidden to go outside without wearing it—or they would be killed on the spot. The Jews were also required to perform various kinds of forced labor. Every day the local police would come around and demand any gold or valuable items from the Jews. If they did not surrender their possessions right away, they were shot.

There was not much to eat in the ghetto, and ghetto residents often went hungry. However, there was a market

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where they could buy or barter items for food. At the market, some Ukrainians still gave them food, even if they had no means to pay for it. The efforts of these Ukrainians saved them, as the Jewish Council (Judenrat) had requisitioned their remaining property to meet German contributions.²

The Kupel' ghetto was liquidated in August 1942 when about 600 Jews were resettled to Volochisk. On September 11, 1942, the Jewish New Year, they were murdered there, along with the other Jews gathered in that town. Some of the Jews managed to escape at the time of the roundup and were not resettled to Volochisk. The Ukrainian police regularly conducted raids in search of the Jews in hiding, and all those who were captured and brought to Kupel' were shot in the Jewish cemetery.³

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jewish community of Kupel' during the Holocaust can be found in the following sources: "Kupel," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 690; T. Perlshtein, "Kupel: In Memory of My Shtetl and the Dear Ones Who Died There" (unpub. memoirs, Oakland, 1996); and "Rav Itzhak Meir Glaser & Gitl Perelman," available at www.geocities.com/kuzja14/death_of_jews_kupel.doc.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews in Kupel' can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (R863-2-39); GARF (7021-64-795); VHF (# 39625); and YVA (M-52/179).

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NOTES

1. DAKhO, R863-2-39, p. 74; see also the letter of Kupel' native M. Adler to Bertha Glaser (the rabbi's daughter; at that time she was in the Kemerovo oblast', involved in Zionist activity) dated June 4, 1944 originally at www.geocities.com. These events, it seems, took place on the second day of the village's occupation, that is, on July 6, 1941, and at the same time, according to ChGK documents, 100 hostages were taken, of which 89 perished (GARF, 7021-64-795, p. 139). VHF, # 39625, testimony of Mikhail Furman, also mentions 50 or 60 Jews murdered in Kupel' at the start of the occupation.

2. VHF, # 39625.

3. GARF, 7021-64-795, pp. 139 and reverse. In all, it seems 172 Jews were captured and shot.

ŁACHWA

Pre-1939: Łachwa, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Łachwa, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Łachwa, Rayon Luninez, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Łachwa, Bera's'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Łachwa lies on the Smierc River, 80 kilometers (50 miles) east of Pińsk. In the late 1930s, Łachwa had a total population of

about 3,800. Approximately 2,300 Jews were living in Łachwa on the eve of World War II. In September 1939, approximately 350 Jews who had managed to escape from Poland found refuge in Łachwa.¹

The first German troops reached Łachwa on July 7–8, 1941. A Judenrat was set up, headed by Dov Lopatin, who had been the chair of the Zionist organization in Łachwa before the war. Jews were compelled to wear an armband bearing the Star of David and were conscripted for forced labor.²

The ghetto in Łachwa was established on April 4, 1942.³ It consisted of 45 one-story houses. About 2,350 people were forced into the ghetto, which, as in Pińsk, amounted to roughly 1 square meter (10.8 square feet) per person.⁴ The ghetto was located on the river and was divided by a road that split it into a larger and a smaller part. Jews from the surrounding villages were also confined there. The ghetto was fenced in and guarded by the police force recruited from local Ukrainian and Belorussian residents. The meager food allowance for Jews in the ghetto (200 grams [7 ounces] of bread per day) drove Jews to seek food outside the ghetto. Leaving the ghetto without permission was punishable by death.

In August and September 1941, news of massacres in the surrounding towns spread in Łachwa. Beginning in January 1942, Jewish youth organized underground groups, with the first group of 5 youths coming together under the leadership of Isaac Roszczyn, the head of the Revisionist Betar youth group. Soon five more groups of 5 formed, bringing the total of underground members to 30. Other members of the resistance included Asher Hafets, Hersz Migdalowicz, Icie Slucki, the brothers Fajnberg, Lejzor Romanowski, and Lopatkin.⁵ The groups established contact with partisans in the area and with the Judenrat to secure funding and weapons, although antisemitism among local partisan groups limited the effectiveness of such contacts. While efforts to secure firearms were largely unsuccessful, members did manage to acquire axes, knives, and iron bars. Some firearms and grenades, which had been purchased, were hidden in the village of Liubka Lachowska. The Judenrat and the youth movement cooperated closely. The Judenrat also had offered money to purchase arms. Some members of the youth movement were also members of the Jewish Police who worked with both the Judenrat and the underground movement.

The liquidation of the Łachwa ghetto, which lay in the administrative area of the Łuniniec Security Police (Sipo) outpost (Aussendienststelle), began on September 2, 1942. SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp and his assistant Petsch led the Aktion; SS men Patik, Balbach, and Dohmen were among the hands-on executioners.⁶ All these men were part of the Sipo outpost in Pińsk. Support was given by the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 306 and by the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 69. Wehrmacht forces stationed in Łuniniec cordoned off the ghetto. The Judenrat was told to assemble all the Jews on the streets.

During the previous month, August 1942, the Jews in the Łachwa ghetto received news of the fate of the Mikaszewicz ghetto.⁷ At the time this information arrived, some local

farmers had already excavated large pits in the vicinity of the town on the banks of the Smierc River. The pits were dug at night, and the victims knew full well that a mass grave had been prepared.⁸

Knowledge of the impending liquidation prompted different responses within the Jewish population. In general there was a feeling of helplessness and confusion within the community. Roszczyn and other members of his organization began to prepare for armed resistance. Although Roszczyn wanted to break out of the ghetto the night before, Lopatin asked him for time so that he could learn more about the Germans' intentions. The Judenrat raised the issue of the continued existence of the ghetto with the Germans at two levels, first, with Ebner of the Gebietskommissariat, who informed the Judenrat that the same fate awaited the Łachwa ghetto if its inhabitants attempted to escape. He demanded and received from the Judenrat a list of the names of the ghetto inhabitants. Second, the chairman of the Judenrat, Lopatin, made inquiries with the Wehrmacht and was told that "the Jewish population has an important task ahead of them" and that the pits were purely for military purposes. Lopatin was summoned to Ebner just prior to the ghetto liquidation. Ebner waived all pretense and informed him that the ghetto was to be liquidated and, in an attempt to obtain cooperation, proposed a deal whereby the doctor, the members of the Judenrat, and 30 artisans of Lopatin's choosing would be spared. Lopatin declined the offer and refused to cooperate with the Germans, choosing instead to initiate the uprising that Roszczyn had demanded.

When the liquidation Aktion commenced, trucks were parked on the street dividing the ghetto. The smaller part of the ghetto was to be liquidated first. Immediately after the Sipo forces entered the ghetto, Lopatin set fire to the Judenrat headquarters, which was the signal to begin the uprising. Other buildings in the ghetto were then set alight, and the Jews tried to escape while the ghetto was burning. Thus the Łachwa Judenrat made a conscious decision to forego the illusion of salvation and to share the fate of the Jewish population. The Sipo forces retaliated with machine gun and rifle fire⁹ in an attempt to herd the Jews already assembled onto the trucks. Members of the underground attacked German forces, using axes, stones, and cleavers. Roszczyn killed a Gestapo officer with an ax and jumped into the river but was shot in the head.¹⁰ Lopatin, who had joined the fighters, was injured in the hand but managed to flee to the forest. The Jews had some hand grenades, which they used against the Germans.¹¹ Chajm Chajfec was able to get the gun of a dead Gendarme and returned fire on the Germans. The resistance managed to kill six German and eight Belorussian policemen and injure some others. Approximately 1,000 Jews broke out of the ghetto, but hundreds were killed by German machine-gun fire, and only 600 managed to reach the Pripjet River. Others died in the flames, which enveloped the ghetto, and those who did not escape in the flight from the ghetto were brought to the pits and shot. Kopel Kolpanitzky recalled his flight from the ghetto: "The machine guns on the other side

of the river opened fire along the length of Rinkowa Street, wounding fleeing Jews and killing them. . . . I also ran quickly, as the people who ran in front of me were shot and killed, their bodies falling next to me and their blood sprayed on my body." Many of the 600 Jews who escaped into the forests tried to join the partisans, but at least 120 died or were captured before contact could be made.¹² In the first few days after the escape, many were hunted down by the Germans and killed or handed over by local farmers.¹³ Some did succeed in joining the partisans. In the ghetto, the shooting was over by early afternoon. At least 300 were murdered at the pits. Another 1,500 Jews were killed during the uprising. At the end of the war, only 90 of the escapees from the Łachwa ghetto were still alive.

The Łachwa Judenrat acknowledged the reality of the imminent murder of the Jews and rebelled. It is interesting that such rebellions mostly took place in the smaller towns. This can perhaps be explained by the more tightly knit community and less-stringent control by the Germans, which meant that the Jews had more opportunity to resist than in the larger towns. In some other ghettos, better contacts with people outside enabled more of the young Jews to arm themselves.

SOURCES Published sources include the Łachwa yizkor book: H.A. Mikhaeli, Y. Lichtshtein, Y. Moravtsik, and H. Shklar, eds., *Risbonim la-mered: Labva* (Tel Aviv: Entsyklopedyah shel Galuyot, 1957). Also useful are the memoirs of Kopel Kolpanitzky, *Nigzar le-bayim: sipuro shel nitsol geto Labva* (Tel Aviv: Ministry of Defense, 1999), now also available in English as *Sentenced to Life: The Story of a Survivor of the Labwab Ghetto*, trans. Harold Jacobson (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2007). Another relevant publication used for this entry is Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 5, Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 261–262.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/286, 2441, and 3087); BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59); Sta. Braunschweig; USHMM (RG-50.030*0260); VHF; and YVA (O-3/475, 481, 487-90, and 496).

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NOTES

1. Kolpanitzky, *Nigzar le-bayim*, p. 34.
2. Michaeli et al., *Risbonim la-mered*, pp. 44–45.
3. Izak Lichtenberg, AŽIH, 301/2441; also Leja Romanowska, 301/286. Mikhaeli notes in *Risbonim la-mered* that the Jews were forced into the ghetto on April 4, 1942 (14 Adar, 5702), the eve of the holiday of Passover; see p. 54.
4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 16, p. 4449, and vol. 19, p. 4711.
5. Leja Romanowska, AŽIH, 301/286.
6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, statement of Otto Scholl, April 4, 1963, 2538.
7. *Ibid.*, statement of Leon Slutzky, 9637. See also Mikhaeli et al., *Risbonim la-mered*, pp. 58–59.
8. AŽIH, 301/3087.
9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, statement of Bakalczuk, February 5, 1972, 6792.
10. Kolpanitzky, *Nigzar le-bayim*, p. 61.

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11. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, statement of Scholl, April 4, 1963, 2538.

12. Mojżesz Romanowski says that, in addition, 150 Jews were murdered by the partisans.

13. Kolpanitzky managed to hide in the pig shed of a local farmer before joining a group in the forest; see his *Nigzar le-bayim*, pp. 65–66. See also USHMM, RG-50.030*0260.

ŁANOWCE

Pre-1939: Łanowce, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Lanovtsy, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lanowczy, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Lanivtsi, raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Łanowce is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) southeast of Krzemieniec. At the end of 1937, the number of Jews in Łanowce stood at 760.¹ In the fall of 1939, several hundred Jewish refugees from western and central Poland arrived in Łanowce, but during 1940 some of these people were deported to the interior of the USSR.

After the German attack on the USSR on June 22, 1941, several Jewish families managed to evacuate to the east. However, most Jews did not want to leave or were unable to flee because of the rapid advance of the German troops. Therefore, the majority of the town's Jews came under German occupation.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Łanowce on July 3, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Łanowce became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kremenez. Regierungsrat Fritz Müller was the Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec.² The German commandant soon named the Ukrainian Jakov Sutski as the town's headman (sołtys) and organized a local Ukrainian police force. In the fall of 1941, the Ukrainian police was renamed the Schutzmannschaft and subordinated to the post of the German Gendarmerie established in the town, which consisted of several German Gendarmes. The senior German official in Łanowce was a man named Richter, who had a reputation among the Jews as a brutal sadist.³

Soon after the occupation of the town by German troops, a group of Ukrainian antisemites organized a pogrom that left 60 Jews dead, Jewish girls raped, and Jewish homes looted. Local Ukrainians also used this opportunity to settle their own personal scores.⁴ A few days later, 10 respected Jews were arrested and held as hostages in prison, where they were also starved. Persons alleged to have cooperated with the Soviets were also arrested. According to local Ukrainians, the prisoners were later escorted to the nearby village of Białozórka, where they were murdered. One Jewish survivor recalls that during these initial days the Ukrainian headman announced that "Jews were forbidden to have children and that the punishment would be for the man to be castrated and the woman made barren."⁵

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Łanowce. Jews were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David (later replaced by a yellow patch sewn onto their chest and back). They had to surrender all gold and valuable items, and they were made to perform forced labor. The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to transmit their orders to the Jewish population and to ensure their prompt enforcement. The active members of the Judenrat were Yerukham Forman (the son of Ben Avraham Mash'hes) and Abramov, a refugee from Katowice.⁶

On February 28, 1942, the German authorities ordered the Jews to construct a ghetto fence between 2 and 4 meters (6.6 and 13.1 feet) high, made of wooden planks. The work took several days to complete under the supervision of the Ukrainian police. Within two or three days of this initial order, all the Jews of Łanowce were forced into the designated ghetto area, together with the Jews from Białozórka, other nearby villages, and also some Jews from the towns of Krzemieniec and Katrynborg. In total, there were about 2,000 inhabitants of the ghetto. The Jews were permitted to take into the ghetto only what they could carry in their arms. At this time there was much theft and looting by the Germans and Ukrainians, who took valuables and furniture for themselves. The ghetto was in a small area around Targowa and Ogródowa Streets, incorporating the Bet Midrash but only part of the large synagogue (which had been converted into a granary). Most of the houses vacated by the Jews remained unoccupied. Conditions were very crowded in the ghetto, with five or six families (about 25 people) sharing an apartment, but people tried to find room for the additional occupants as best they could.⁷

Almost from the first day, the Jews in the ghetto suffered from hunger, and a number of people starved to death. Many of those who died were buried in mass graves inside the ghetto area. To ameliorate the hunger, the Jewish Council organized a soup kitchen for the needy, and the ghetto was able to obtain some food by bartering items with local peasants.

Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto only to perform forced labor. The Judenrat had to organize a certain number of laborers each day to work outside the ghetto. The Jewish Police, headed by Raphael Krepman, assisted them, using force if necessary to assemble the contingent demanded by the Germans. Those who performed forced labor were paid in the form of a bread ration, but people also used the outside work details as an opportunity to barter for extra food. On returning to the ghetto, Jews were searched by the Ukrainian police to ensure that they were not smuggling anything. Some policemen, however, were susceptible to bribes. In the spring of 1942, the Germans demanded that 20 youths be sent to Równe for forced labor. On one occasion the Germans demanded that the Judenrat supply a number of pretty Jewish girls. The community raised a large bribe to get this demand revoked, anticipating that the girls would be defiled.⁸ In the depressed atmosphere of the ghetto, religious life also declined, mainly out of fear. After 10 Jews were arrested and

shot for saying Kaddish, only a few, mostly older Jews continued to pray publicly, although others continued behind closed doors.⁹

The German police liquidated the ghetto in mid-August 1942. First the ghetto was sealed off and surrounded by German and Ukrainian police. No Jews were permitted to leave for work for about four days before the Aktion. At this time people in the ghetto heard rumors that large pits were being prepared and became increasingly fearful, but few managed to escape. Then on August 14, the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, including members of the Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 102 based in Krzemieniec,¹⁰ assisted by dogs, rounded up the Jews and escorted them to the two mass graves in the new Jewish cemetery. Here the Jews were forced to undress. The men were shot first into one mass grave and then the women and children into the other. The whole Aktion was organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Równe.¹¹

According to a Security Police report, 1,833 Jews (589 men, 783 women, and 461 children) were shot in Łanowce.¹² A small group of Jews hid and managed to escape the shooting. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police later captured most of them and shot them at the new Jewish cemetery.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report estimated the overall Jewish losses somewhat higher. It stated that the occupiers and their accomplices murdered in total 2,535 people (2,143 of them being Jews) in Rayon Lanowzy during the occupation. According to this estimate, Jews comprised 84.5 percent of all the victims.¹³ Among the few Jews who survived was Moshe Rosenberg, who evaded the searches of the Ukrainian militia with the aid of local “Stundists” (Baptists) who were favorably disposed towards the Jews.¹⁴ The Red Army recaptured the town from the Germans in early 1944.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Haim Rabin, *Lanovits: Sefer zikaron le-kedoshei lanovits she-nispu be-sboat ha natsim, 1941–1942* (Israel: Association of Former Residents of Lanowce, 1970), includes several personal accounts by survivors of the ghetto and others who fled to the east. A short article on the Jewish community in Łanowce can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 102–103.

Documents on the ghetto and the extermination of the Jews in Łanowce can be found in the following archives: DATO; GARF (7021-75-211); IPN; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 362.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432. Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Meir Beker, “Kh’ bin antlofn fun geto Lanovits (a kind derzeylt),” in Rabin, *Lanovits*, pp. 329–338, here p. 329; Moshe Rosenberg, “Lanovitser in umkum,” in Rabin, *Lanovits*, pp.

313–328, here p. 316. It is not clear whether Richter was an official of the civil administration or the senior Gendarme in the town. He was not traced by postwar German investigations into crimes in the Krzemieniec district.

4. Rosenberg, “Lanovitser in umkum,” p. 314.
5. Ibid., pp. 315–316; Beker, “Kh’ bin antlofn fun geto Lanovits,” p. 329.
6. Beker, “Kh’ bin antlofn fun geto Lanovits,” p. 331.
7. Ibid., pp. 329–330; Rosenberg, “Lanovitser in umkum,” pp. 316–317. In 1921, there were 869 Jews living in Białozórka. Krzemieniec and Katrynborg both had their own ghettos (see the respective entries in this volume), so these were probably relatives returning to join their families.
8. Beker, “Kh’ bin antlofn fun geto Lanovits,” pp. 330–331.
9. Ibid., pp. 332–333.
10. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 163/67, vol. 2, p. 469.
11. Ibid., pp. 334–335; Rosenberg, “Lanovitser in umkum,” pp. 324–326.
12. IPN, GKŚZpNP Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 3, transcription of a Security Police report from Untersturmführer Selm, of the Rowno SD, August 15, 1942, concerning the “special treatment of the Jews.” According to the materials of the ChGK (GARF, 7021-75-211, p. 7), the shooting of the Jews in Łanowce took place on August 2, 1942; 2,143 people were shot.
13. GARF, 7021-75-211.
14. Rosenberg, “Lanovitser in umkum,” pp. 327–328. On the help given by Baptists to save a Jewish child, see Shalom Segal, “How My Daughter Was Saved,” in Rabin, *Lanovits*, pp. 95–97.

LETICHEV

Pre-1941: Letichev, town, Proskurov oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Letischew, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Letychiv, Kbmel’nyts’kyi oblast’, Ukraine

Letichev is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) to the east of Proskurov. In 1939, the Jewish population of Letichev was 1,946 (36.4 percent of the total).

The German army reached the Letichev area during the first week of July 1941. The XLIX Mountain Corps, the 4th Mountain Division, and the 97th Light Division were involved in the capture of the town. From July 8 to July 17, major battles took place. Letichev itself was a Soviet defensive strongpoint along the main route between the cities of Proskurov and Vinnytsa, and it held out until July 17.¹ Celia Michelson reported that during the first few days of the occupation, the Germans rounded up Jewish children in a church. They forced these children, her brother Mutty Burshteyn included, to carry hot asphalt with their bare hands.² Shortly after capturing Letichev, Pinkhas Michels and Froim Burshteyn reported that the Germans summoned the Letichev rabbi and about 25 young and prominent Jews. These people were shot in a mass grave in Zavolk on the outskirts of Letichev.³

On September 20, 1942,⁴ the Germans and their collaborators shot about 3,000 people in a mass grave in Zaletichevka,

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on the outskirts of Letichev. In November 1942, approximately 4,000 people were shot at the same site, effectively eliminating the Letichev ghetto. In November 1943, the slave labor camp at the church was liquidated, and 200 people were shot within the camp. Including non-Jews, approximately 7,200 people were massacred in the Letichev raion.⁵

The Nazi official responsible for the massacre is reported to be Leutnant Gasha. The local Gendarme was named Peterman. A Ukrainian policeman named Sobchik was reported to have commanded some of the killings.⁶

The Gebietskommissar for Gebiet Letischew, according to documentation, was Regierungsrat Hammer.⁷ According to Vladimir Goykher, who worked for German administrators making official stamps, the Gebietskommissar was named Frieber.⁸ Another German, by the name of Koch (apparently Reichskommissar Erich Koch's brother), was a high-ranking administrator involved with agriculture.⁹ A Ukrainian policeman by the name of Ivan Kupriyan was active in Letichev and was particularly cruel.¹⁰

The castle and Catholic church complex was established early in the German occupation as a prison camp, probably occupied at first by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). This fortresslike complex had thick masonry walls with two rows of barbed wire on top and was well suited for the purpose.¹¹ The church had a well.

On September 22, 1941, Germans rounded up Jews in the community and established a ghetto in the central part of town. This was the main Jewish ghetto. It was surrounded by barbed wire and had a main gate. During the first week in the ghetto, the Germans and their allied Hungarian troops did not guard the ghetto. On the first Sunday in the ghetto, Frieber made an address to all the Jews. Afterwards, Jews were required to wear a yellow circle with a Star of David. The gate to the ghetto was guarded.¹²

At that time, the population of the ghetto had swelled to about 7,500, owing to the clearing out of nearby towns and villages. The population of the ghetto was mostly local Jews. These prisoners suffered greatly because of disease, starvation, and violent acts by the guards. Ukrainian peasants were given passes to enter the ghetto to obtain goods and services from Jewish craftsmen, for which they paid in currency and food. Later, the German administration ordered that Jews should train Ukrainians in various trades in preparation for their replacement.¹³

The prison camp was a separate facility, located only a few hundred meters from the ghetto. Jews from Bessarabia, Bukovina, and more distant parts of Podolia were interned there in a population that ranged from 200 to 1,500 prisoners. It was guarded by Lithuanian policemen. Most of the prisoners worked at hard labor on a road-building project, starting in the spring of 1942. At first, the prisoners worked side by side with ghetto work crews; later, they had more difficult labor and were kept separated. The prison camp was emptied every day. Those too sick to leave were shot. Jews were brought in from the south periodically as replacements. The prisoners were fed 200 to 300 grams (7 to 10.6 ounces) of bread a day

and some soup. Conditions in the prison camp were appalling. Lithuanian guards killed people at the slightest provocation. Burials were conducted next to the kitchen.¹⁴

The winter of 1941–1942 was a particularly difficult time in the ghetto. Disease was rampant. Inmates stripped houses of their wood to burn as fuel. In the spring of 1942, work commenced on the road-building project, and many people from the ghetto were also requisitioned. Unlike their counterparts in the prison camp, the ghetto Jews were paid for their work.¹⁵

The elder of the ghetto was named Mendel. By all accounts he was an honorable person who did his best for the Jews.¹⁶ The elder of the prison camp was Nachman. He was a young man in his thirties, supposedly a lawyer from Vinnitsa, who apparently took advantage of the women prisoners. His assistant was Moshe, a strict disciplinarian.¹⁷

Starting in April 1942, the ghetto and prison camp in Letichev were controlled by the Organisation Todt (OT) for the purpose of constructing the main highway between Proskurov and Vinnitsa (the location of Hitler's Werewolf bunker). The administration of the road-building project was called Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV. The Bauabschnittsleiter (section leader) who supervised work crews in Letichev was named Otto Fach.¹⁸ According to Goykher, the OT officers in Letichev included Franz, Hainy Keller, Feltzman, Herman Meyer, Immy Ertle, and Karl.

Ghetto workers received 117 to 124 grams (4.1 to 4.4 ounces) of bread a day, and their families received 64 grams (2.3 ounces). They were paid 225 to 564 rubles a month or 30 rubles per day for day labor. Work consisted of quarrying stone, shoveling sand, and pouring asphalt. In the winter, crews were assigned to clearing snow to keep the roadway open for military traffic.¹⁹

The local OT unit mobilized out of the Letichev area around October–November 1942 and relocated to the main battlefield near Donetsk.

In August 1942, the Nazis quarantined the ghetto and the prison camp for several days. Local policemen disappeared, and German gate sentries doubled. A motorcade arrived with high-ranking Nazis to inspect both the ghetto and the prison camp. Jews were required to remain inside their quarters. Moshe Rekhman remembered the visit but did not know who the Nazis were. Goykher climbed up into the attic of his house to watch; this gave him an excellent view. He later asked Mendel, the ghetto elder, who the dignitaries were. Goykher reports that Mendel told him one was Reichskommissar Erich Koch.

By late summer 1942, the ghetto was split into two. Skilled laborers were assigned to Ghetto 2, the rest to Ghetto 1. In September, Ghetto 1 was liquidated over a two-day period. The Jews were marched out of the ghetto in large groups towards a mass grave in Zaletichevka, on the edge of town. Over the next two days, Germans and their collaborators tore apart Ghetto 1, looking for goods and for hidden Jews. Afterwards, Frieber assembled all the Jews in Ghetto 2 and demanded that everyone who should have been assigned to Ghetto 1 step forward. About 40 did so, and they were marched off to be shot. Ghetto 2 was commanded by an official named Koch to train

Ukrainians in different skills and crafts.²⁰ Two months later, this ghetto, too, was liquidated.

The Germans apparently used gas vans to kill a small number of prisoners from the prison camp around September 1942. They loaded the vans with the sick or weak inmates and drove around to gas them. They would then dump the bodies in the forest. This occurred on at least three different occasions.²¹

Unusual for this region, the prison camp survived for almost a year after most of the Jews in Letichev were killed.²² Perhaps this was because of the strategic nature of the road, which required constant maintenance. There are no known survivors from the period after January 1943.²³

There was no known resistance in the area. The survivors escaped during work details or through the relatively light security surrounding the ghetto. Most sought sanctuary in nearby Romanian-controlled Transnistria. The relatively long life of the prison camp and ghetto enabled a number of people to survive the occupation.

Survivors include Vladimir Goykher, who served as an orderly for OT officers and was mobilized from Letichev with them to the front. He escaped across the front line. Moshe Rekhtman escaped from a prison work detail and fled to Transnistria. Boris Levin was interned in the prison camp after the ghettos were liquidated. In January 1943, he escaped from a group execution of prisoners and fled to Transnistria. Moishe Einhorn and Rose Huberman spent some time in the Letichev prison camp but escaped together from the Proskurov ghetto to Transnistria. Abraham Shmeis, a prisoner in the camp, escaped in the fall of 1942 to Transnistria. Another prisoner in the camp, Manya Laster, also escaped to Transnistria.

There were three large-scale war crimes trials conducted by the West German government relating to OT activities on the Durchgangstrasse IV, which included the Letichev road construction project. The first took place in Lübeck in 1965. Those indicted included SS officers Franz Christoffel and Oskar Friese.²⁴ Otto Fach was tried in Bremen in 1970.²⁵ The third trial took place in Dortmund in 1971. It centered on the execution of the Jews in 1942, including those in Letichev. The defendants are not specified in the published record.²⁶ In all three trials, the defendants were found not guilty due to “lack of evidence,” partly because eyewitness evidence could not be obtained from people who lived in the Soviet Union.²⁷

SOURCES In the book by David Chapin and Ben Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe*, vol. 2 (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2000), chapter 16 on the Holocaust includes English translations of the archival testimonies from Jewish survivors cited in this article. Vladimir Goykher also published his own memoir, *Tragedy of the Letichev Ghetto* (New York, 1992).

Relevant documentation, mainly from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports and other postwar investigations, can be found in the following archives: BA-L;

DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-92); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 2; and Acc.1997.A.0305); and YVA (e.g., O-3/7064 and 1266).

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NOTES

1. Newspaper *Za Chest' Rodiny*, no. 27, March 30, 1944.
2. YVA, O-3/7064, Manya Laster testimony.
3. Ibid. Also from a letter by Pinkhas Michelson, Bnei-Brak, Israel, dated May 29, 1994. Leonid Rapoport also confirms this account. Among those executed were Velvel Michelson and a relative of Leonid Rapoport.
4. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
5. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-64-92, p. 2. Also see DAKhO, Fond 363, case 50, p. 7; case 38, pp. 115-118; case 39, p. 76: “About concentration camps and places of mass killing of Soviet people by the Fascists in the Territory of Khmelnytsky Oblast at the time of the Fascist occupation.”
6. Lev Goldenberg testimony, 1995, PADC. Goldenberg claimed that Sobchik was never caught.
7. “Vorläufige Übersicht über die Generalbezirke und Kreisgebiete in der Ukraine,” Reichskommissar, February 15, 1942, Rowno.
8. Goykher, *Tragedy*. See also USHMM, Acc.1997.A.0305, Moshe Rekhtman testimony, 1995.
9. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
10. Ibid., confirmed by Rekhtman. Kupriyan was rumored to have survived the war and fled to Australia.
11. Rekhtman testimony.
12. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
13. Ibid.
14. Testimonies of Rekhtman and Moishe Einhorn—see 1981 edition of the Yiddish-language periodical *Sovietish Heimland*. See also YVA, O-3/1266, Abraham Shmeis testimony.
15. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
16. Ibid.
17. YVA, O-3/7064.
18. BA-L, ZStL, 213 AR-Z 20/63, see pp. 2854, 2953, and 3351-3352. Another German witness alleged that Fach conducted a selection at the Jewish forced labor camp in Letichev in the fall of 1942.
19. “Handbook of the Organisation Todt,” a recently declassified U.S. military intelligence report available at the U.S. Army Military History Institute; Goykher, *Tragedy*, confirmed by many others.
20. Goykher, *Tragedy*.
21. Rekhtman testimony.
22. DAKhO, Fond 363, case 50, p. 7; case 38, pp. 115-118; case 39, p. 76, indicate that the prison camp was liquidated in late 1943.
23. The last known survivor was Boris Levin.
24. Sta. Lübeck, 2 AR 711/65 (BA-L, ZStL, 213 AR-Z 20/63).
25. Sta. Bremen, 29 Js 120/70 (BA-L, ZStL, 213 AR-Z 886/70).
26. Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 10/71 (BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 440/67).
27. Karl Sauer, “Am Jom Kippur wüteten Erschiessungskommandos,” *Die Tat*, December 7, 1974. See also Herman Kaienburg, “Jüdische Arbeitslager an der ‘Strasse der SS;’” in *Zeitschrift für Sozialgeschichte des 20. und 21. Jahrhunderts* 11, *Jahrgang*, Januar 1996, Heft 1 (Hamburg, 1999), pp. 13-39.

LIAKHOVTSI

Pre-1941: Liakhovtsi, village and raion center, Khmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lachowzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Isjasslaw, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Bilobir'ia, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Liakhovtsi is located 51 kilometers (31.7 miles) east-southeast of Krzemieniec. According to the 1939 census, 908 Jews were living in the village of Liakhovtsi (51.5 percent of the total population). An additional 331 Jews lived in what were then the villages of the Liakhovtsi raion.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the village on July 3, 1941. In the intervening two weeks from the start of the German invasion, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 700 Jews remained in Liakhovtsi under the German occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the village. The German commandant chose a village elder and organized an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village became a Rayon center in Gebiet Isjasslaw. SA-Oberführer Knochenhauer was the Gebietskommissar.¹

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in the village. A Judenrat was formed. Jews had to wear distinguishing markings: initially armbands bearing the Star of David, and then later a yellow circle. Jews were not permitted to leave the borders of the village.

In September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Liakhovtsi. Hundreds of Jews were also resettled there from the nearby small towns of Iampol' and Kornitsa. (In 1939 the Jewish population of Iampol' was 1,058; in 1923 the Jewish population of Kornitsa was 322.) Two streets, which included about 50 mostly older houses with mud floors, were assigned for this purpose. The ghetto area was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by Ukrainian police with dogs. The Germans were rarely visible to the inhabitants of the ghetto, who were escorted by the local police to the fields of a nearby kolkhoz to harvest potatoes and sugar beets.²

During the winter of 1941–1942, there was great cold and hunger in the ghetto. Some Jews were able to smuggle food into the ghetto illegally when they returned from work outside, which helped their families to survive. In addition, a few Jews who had non-Jewish friends outside the ghetto had left some of their possessions with them when the ghetto was formed. Some of these non-Jews in turn brought food to the ghetto and threw it over the fence.³

At the end of 1941 and the start of 1942, the first shootings were carried out in the village. More than 160 persons were killed.⁴

On July 27, 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto in Liakhovtsi.⁵ About 2,300 people were shot in the meadow near the village of Trostianka.⁶ The mass shooting

was probably carried out by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from an outpost (Aussendienststelle) in Starokonstantinov, with the aid of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.

There were very few survivors from the ghetto. Ida Kritman managed to escape one week before the ghetto liquidation, with the aid of a school friend who bribed a local policeman by giving him a new bicycle. Kritman remained in hiding in sheds, attics, haystacks, and pits until the Red Army and the partisans drove out the Germans and their collaborators in early March 1944.⁷

SOURCES Publications concerning the ghetto in Liakhovtsi include Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 147–148.

Documents relating to the persecution and murder of the Jews of Liakhovtsi can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-801); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Testimony of Ida Kritman, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 147–148.
3. Ibid.
4. GARF, 7021-64-801, p. 356.
5. Testimony of Ida Kritman. According to another source, the shooting took place in June 1942; GARF 7021-64-801, p. 373.
6. GARF, 7021-64-801, pp. 354, 373. It is possible that this figure for the number of victims is too high.
7. Testimony of Ida Kritman.

ŁOKACZE

Pre-1939: Łokacze (Yiddish: Lokatsb), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Lokachi, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lokatschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Gorochow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Lokachi, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Łokacze is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) to the west of Łuck. According to the 1921 census, the Jewish population of Łokacze was 1,265. The total population of the town in 1937 was 1,790 inhabitants.

Units of the German army entered the town on June 23, 1941. Shortly after their arrival, the German military authorities appointed a Judenrat, headed by Moshe Pechornik and a man named Shainer. Expropriation, forced labor, abuse, and killing soon followed.

By August 1941, a permanent Gebietskommissar, Härter, had been appointed for Gebiet Gorochow to replace the temporary military authorities. Łokacze became a Rayon center within Gebiet Gorochow. The commander of the Gendar-

merie in Horochów was Krause, who was represented by a Wachtmeister in charge of the Gendarmerie post in Łokacze.¹

At the beginning of November 1941, the Jews of Łokacze were forced to move into a ghetto, concentrated around one of the synagogues. As a result, about half of the Jewish houses were confiscated. The ghetto itself initially remained open. Jews from other small towns and villages nearby (including Świniuchy, Kopytów, Błudów, and Markowicze) also were forced into the ghetto. These Jews had to leave almost all their property behind, apart from bedding and a few potatoes, as almost no wagons were made available for the move. In addition to the 1,400 Jews already residing in Łokacze, another 800 were brought in from outside. This resulted in terrible overcrowding: some people moved into rooms without windows or had to live in stables.²

Shortly after the establishment of the ghetto, all the Jews were registered, including about 200 craftsmen who received a special status. On this basis, the Judenrat issued ration cards for an allowance of 140 grams (5 ounces) of bread per day. All Jews aged between 18 and 55 were placed on a schedule for forced labor. About 150 men were requested daily, mainly working as personal servants for those in power in the town. After a time, forced labor was divided into more arduous tasks out of town, such as loading grain sacks and transportation work, while those remaining in Łokacze conducted street sweeping, road repairs, and tree cutting. Favoritism shown by the Judenrat in the allocation of work caused great bitterness.³

A special area adjoining the ghetto was established for the Jewish craftsmen. The craftsmen also received larger rations—250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread—and were able to demand “gifts,” mostly in the form of produce from local peasants, in return for their work. This in turn provided a vital source of extra supplies that could be traded within the ghetto. In the winter, firewood was in short supply as this was difficult to smuggle into the ghetto. As the Germans also carefully restricted access to mills in the area, some Jews built improvised hand mills to grind flour or prepare vegetable oil inside the ghetto.⁴

On December 20, 1941, posters were put up demanding that Jews surrender all furs, sweaters, stockings, and gloves. These items were then collected by the Judenrat and handed over to the Gendarmerie. Owing to the lack of medicine, the death toll from scabies and other diseases in the ghetto began to rise.

On January 5, 1942, the town authorities informed the Judenrat that it would have to supply laborers to build a fence around the ghetto. Shortly after this, the ghetto enjoyed a brief respite, as the local Gendarmerie chief went home on leave for 15 days, and his replacement was much more lenient. The stand-in permitted some Jews to go to the villages to obtain supplies, and he even reprimanded the Ukrainian police for beating Jews. Even the construction of the fence was briefly halted during this period.

In January, the Jewish Council in Łokacze received instructions from the Gebietskommissar to collect a poll tax of 20 rubles from all ghetto inhabitants. Michael Diment re-

corded in his contemporary diary: “[T]he Judenrat and the [Jewish] militia with an additional 15 Jewish musclemen called on those who had not contributed. . . . They broke into homes, shouting: ‘Give us the money!’ . . . All valuables found were confiscated; they also took food and flour. . . . Everyone was very angry at the way the Judenrat handled the situation. They were very bitter, but the money had to be turned over.”⁵

By February the construction of the ghetto fence was completed. It was 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and wrapped in barbed wire. The enclosure of the ghetto made trade with the local peasants much more difficult, and the punishment for leaving the ghetto without permission also became more severe. Whereas initially the Judenrat had been able to ameliorate punishments by bribing the local police chief, now the Ukrainian police began to shoot on sight Jews caught outside the ghetto or even while they were working. For example, a Jew named Matis was shot for leaving the ghetto on March 16, which instantly caused black market prices in the ghetto to rise by 50 percent.⁶

On April 16, 1942, the Gendarmerie requested 30 Jews from the Judenrat to bury a group of 114 Gypsies that they had shot. News of this terrible massacre had a terrifying effect on the ghetto.⁷ On April 22, the Judenrat received a demand from the Gebietskommissar to produce 523 people for work by April 25. With bribes, the Judenrat managed to bargain down the number required so that on the appointed day only 200 had to leave. However, again the Judenrat was criticized, as favoritism clearly influenced the selection of those affected. The work conditions in the labor camp at Wynice were very harsh, as the workers received only the food that was sent to them from the ghetto.⁸

The town authorities also required 250 Jewish workers every day for road repair, street sweeping, and peat digging. Jews were frequently beaten and humiliated by the local Ukrainian police while performing these duties. The German authorities also ordered the dismantling of Jewish homes outside the ghetto to make use of the wood.⁹

Inside the ghetto, the Jews at least felt safe from their Ukrainian tormentors, who were not permitted to enter the ghetto. At the beginning of July, the Jewish militia scoured the ghetto searching for grain and even destroyed any hidden flour mills they found. The Judenrat had received a demand to produce 7 tons of grain and with the aid of bribes ultimately got away with surrendering only 1.6 tons. After this, flour was in very short supply. On July 10, a group of Jewish workers was sent to the Jewish cemetery to break up the tombstones and level the graves. The stone was used for paving roads.¹⁰

In mid-July 1942, the Germans conducted another detailed registration exercise that resulted in several additional groups of Jews being sent away from the ghetto to work. Most of the remaining craftsmen were transferred to Horochów, leaving only 36 in the craftsmen section, and of the 750 laborers registered, some 200 were sent in four detachments to various work sites away from Łokacze. Mothers feared they would never see their children again. Another 250 Jews were

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assigned to peat-digging gangs, leaving the ghetto each day and returning in the evening.¹¹

On one occasion, a Ukrainian farmer told the peat workers from Łokacze that Jews in other communities were being systematically murdered. The news was greeted in the ghetto with some disbelief but also concern. People argued: “the Germans need our labor, and we must continue to prove our value to them.” In response, the Judenrat requested that the spreading of such demoralizing rumors should cease. The debate about these disturbing reports continued, as news came in by late August of the massacre of entire communities in neighboring towns, such as Łuck, Kowel, and Torczyn.¹²

The end came on September 9, 1942, two days before the start of the Jewish High Holidays. The German Gendarmerie and the local police first isolated the ghetto. Many Jews went into hiding or tried to flee, and some even burned their last possessions to prevent their falling into the hands of the murderers. The ghetto was emptied, and its inhabitants were driven into an open field, where they were shot and thrown into a large pit that had been prepared in advance. The Ukrainian police continued to hunt down those Jews hiding in the ghetto and in the surrounding forests for weeks after the Aktion. In total, probably about 1,500 Jews from the Łokacze ghetto were murdered, as several hundred had been transferred to other work camps or the Horochów ghetto before the Aktion.¹³

SOURCES There is a very detailed account of events in the Łokacze ghetto in English, *The Lone Survivor: A Diary of the Łokacze Ghetto and Svyniukby, Ukraine* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1992), based on the contemporary diary of the author, Michael Diment, which he was able to preserve. Some additional information on the town and the fate of its population can be found in the yizkor book in Hebrew and Yiddish edited by Eliezer Verba and Shimon Matlofsky, *Sefer Yizkor li-kehillat Lokats’ (Polin)/Gedenk bukht far di shtetl Lokatsht* (Jerusalem: Le-ha’sig etsel Sh. Matlovski, 1993).

Documents relating to the persecution and destruction of the Jews in the area around Łokacze can be found in the following archives: DAVO; GARF (7021-55-2); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 14); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. ChGK report for Gorokhov, GARF, 7021-55-2, p. 20a.
2. Diment, *The Lone Survivor*, pp. 38–45; see also *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 212–228.
3. Diment, *The Lone Survivor*, pp. 45–50.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 54–57.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–65.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 62–72.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 76–78.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 78–84; on the selection of forced laborers to work in the peat bogs, see also Verba and Matlofsky, *Sefer Yizkor li-kehillat Lokats’*, pp. 43–45.
9. Diment, *The Lone Survivor*, pp. 94–95.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 96–99.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 100–105.

12. Verba and Matlofsky, *Sefer Yizkor li-kehillat Lokats’*, p. 48.

13. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001) gives the figure of 1,350 victims and dates the Aktion on September 13, 1942. Verba and Matlofsky, *Sefer Yizkor li-kehillat Lokats’*, p. 21, give the figure of 3,000 Jewish victims, but this is almost certainly too high. A memorial erected in Baltimore in 1983 also dates the liquidation of the ghetto on September 9.

LUBIESZÓW

Pre-1939: Lubieszów, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Liubeshov, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ljubeschow, Rayon center, Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Liubeshiv, raion center, Volyn’ oblast’, Ukraine

Lubieszów is located 25 kilometers (16 miles) east-northeast of Kamień Koszyrski on the Stokhod River. By 1936, the Jewish population of Lubieszów stood at about 1,500. This number probably increased by a few hundred during the Soviet occupation from September 1939 until the end of June 1941, as a number of refugees arrived from the west.¹

At the beginning of July 1941, the first German forces entered the settlement, though a permanent German military presence probably was not established until the end of July 1941. Shortly after the start of the occupation, local antisemitic Ukrainian nationalists seized power and carried out a pogrom. Many Jews were robbed, and a number were killed. Local Jews also organized a self-defense force.²

At the end of July 1941, a squadron of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment arrived in the town. On the next day they arrested 43 male Jews, including Rabbi Yitzhak Aron Weingarten, and locked them in a cellar, accusing them of having collaborated with the Communists. One of the arrestees, Gershon Shniadower, succeeded in escaping and killed a Ukrainian guard in the process. Shortly afterwards the cavalry forces took the remaining 42 Jews outside the town and shot them.³

In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Lubieszów became part of Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Kameradschaftsführer Fritz Michaelis was the Gebietskommissar in Kamień Koszyrski.⁴ A Ukrainian local administration was formed in Lubieszów. A Ukrainian police unit headed by a man named Wieromiejczyk served under the command of the German Gendarmerie post, which consisted of several German Gendarmes, and was based in the former monastery building.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a number of discriminatory measures against

the Jews: they forced them to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David (subsequently replaced by yellow patches on their clothes); Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits; and they were subjected to beatings by the Ukrainian police. In the fall of 1941, the Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Lubieszów, which had to transmit and take responsibility for the implementation of all the orders and regulations issued by the German authorities with regard to the Jewish population. From the start of the occupation, Jews were made to perform forced labor. Among the tasks performed were washing and cleaning and also loading wood at the railway station. Ukrainians and Germans watched over the Jews while they worked.⁵ Between July 1941 and February 1942, the Jewish community was subjected to a series of demands for monetary contributions amounting to some 30,000 rubles.⁶

In April or May 1942,⁷ the Gebietskommissar ordered the creation of a ghetto into which all the Jews of the town and also the surrounding villages of Rayon Ljubeschow were relocated. For example, the Jews from Pniewno were brought into the Lubieszów ghetto at this time. Around 2,000 Jews were confined within the ghetto.⁸ The exact size of the fenced area was 450 meters (1,476 feet) long and 300 meters (984 feet) wide. Jews lived 20 per room within the ghetto.⁹

On August 10, 1942, the Germans conducted an Aktion in which most of the Jews from the ghetto were shot.¹⁰ Apparently it was the Sipo/SD detachment from Brześć that carried out the Aktion, assisted by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie. About 1,700 Jews were shot. Some 280 were murdered inside the ghetto itself; about 500 or 600 people were shot near the village of Wólka-Lubieszowska. The Germans took 1,100 people into the synagogue and made them undress there. Of these Jews, about 230 people were able to escape, but 870 of them were shot.¹¹ After this Aktion, about 70 craftsmen remained alive, and they were soon joined by most of the 230 escaped Jews, whom the Ukrainian police had rounded up. These people were moved back into the ghetto at the end of the Aktion.¹² Among the tasks these surviving Jews performed were collecting and burying the bodies of many of the Jews who had been shot and searching them at the same time for any valuables, which were also surrendered to the Germans.

The ghetto was liquidated at the beginning of November 1942. On the eve of the liquidation, the German and Ukrainian police tightened the guard around the ghetto and repaired any holes found in the barbed-wire fence.¹³ During this last Aktion, one of the Jews, Machmändler, threw himself at Michaelis, the Gebietskommissar, and managed to wound him in the throat with a knife.¹⁴ Of the roughly 300 Jews in the ghetto before the final liquidation, only about 10 survived.¹⁵ Among the few survivors was Sara Szulman, who hid with her family in a concealed bunker within the ghetto and escaped during the night three days after the Aktion.¹⁶

In the postwar period, at the site where the Jews were shot in August 1942, the bodies were exhumed, and the remains of the victims were reburied in a new cemetery.

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Lubieszów and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: A.A. Stein et al., eds., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehillat Kamien Koszyrski ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Kamin Koshirsky and Surroundings in Israel, 1965); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 108–109.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Lubieszów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/549); BA-L (B 162/6338); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-11); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/2283).

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NOTES

1. AŻIH, 301/549, estimates that about 2,000 Jews lived in Lubieszów just prior to the German invasion in 1941.

2. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 66; BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 200; AŻIH, 301/549.

3. AŻIH, 301/549, testimony of Gershon Shniadower, July 20, 1945. Shniadower is probably the most reliable witness, as he was among those arrested but managed to escape. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 200; also Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehillat Kamien Koszyrski*, pp. 329–330. This last source indicates that there were 70 victims of the Aktion, dating it incorrectly at the time of Purim. All three sources mention the death of the rabbi.

4. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

5. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 200.

6. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 96.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 366, gives the date of May 1942. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 199, dates the establishment of the ghetto as around Easter. According to another source (GARF, 7021-5-11, p. 111), the ghetto was established in February 1942.

8. Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehillat Kamien Koszyrski*, pp. 179–184, 741. The ChGK materials indicate that there were 2,500 people in the ghetto (GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 11). However, this number appears to be too high.

9. YVA, O-5/2-4 (JM/267), testimony of David Epstein; see also Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, pp. 122, 129.

10. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 199. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 111, dates the Aktion on August 15, 1942.

11. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 113. DAVO, R66-1-4, p. 118, gives the figure of 1,760 Jewish victims. Other sources give different figures.

12. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 111.

13. BA-L, B 162/6338, pp. 201–202.

14. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 112, 350.

15. Stein et al., *Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehillat Kamien Koszyrski*, p. 741.

16. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 202.

LUBOML

Pre-1939: Luboml (Yiddish: Libivne), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Liuboml', raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Luboml, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Liuboml', raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Luboml is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) west of Kowel. At the end of 1937, 3,162 Jews lived in the town.¹

German forces occupied the town on June 23, 1941. In July and August of 1941, the town was run initially by a German military administration (Ortskommandantur). In the first days of the occupation, the military authorities put up posters in the town requesting Ukrainians to report for police duty in return for wages and food. They also ordered Jews to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David, imposed a curfew on them from 7:00 P.M. to 7:00 A.M., and demanded that Jews surrender all gold objects and other valuables on pain of death. The town commandant also ordered the Jews to elect a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The chairman was Kalman Kopelzon. The Judenrat created a Jewish police force and a labor department headed by Eliyohu Hershenhorn.²

During the summer of 1941, German security forces, assisted by the Ukrainian police, conducted a series of Aktions



Survivors pose in front of a monument they are constructing in memory of Holocaust victims in Luboml, late 1944.

USHMM WS #61732, COURTESY OF NATHAN SOBEL

against the Jews of Luboml in which up to 900 Jews were murdered. On July 2, 1941, the Nazis shot 5 Jews they selected after ordering Jews to gather in front of the cinema.³ In a second Aktion conducted on July 22, 1941, units of the 1st Company of the 314th German Police Battalion stationed in Luboml, assisted by the Ukrainian police, rounded up and shot about 300 Jews.⁴ Another large Aktion started on August 21, 1941, and went on for several days. On this occasion, most men went into hiding except for those issued special work permits. However, the Germans also rounded up women and girls. The Jewish Council tried to obtain the release of those arrested by offering bribes, but only a few were released. It is probable that about 400 Jews were murdered at this time.⁵

From the beginning of September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Luboml became the administrative center of Gebiet Luboml. Besides the Luboml Rayon, Rayons Schazk and Golowno also formed part of the Gebiet, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Kameradschaftsführer Uhde was appointed the Gebietskommissar in Luboml, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Kurz.⁶ The German occupying authorities also established a local Ukrainian administration in the town and a unit of Ukrainian police that was subordinated directly to the German Gendarmerie post based in Luboml. Sergei Kowalczuk was the Rayon commandant of the Ukrainian police.⁷

After the initial Aktions, the German authorities ordered Jews to surrender all livestock to the German army. At this time, Jews who lived on streets that also had non-Jewish homes were forced to move to purely Jewish streets, which caused considerable overcrowding. The civil administration then took over the vacated Jewish houses. Jews aged between 12 and 60 were also subjected to forced labor. Those working received small rations of bread while those not working received even less. However, these regulations and rations were constantly changed. As a result of the shortage of food, Jews suffered from malnutrition, and some later starved to death. In late September 1941, the Gebietskommissar ordered that Jews should now wear yellow circles on their clothes instead of armbands. The German authorities also demanded a “contribution” of 250,000 rubles, 30 pieces of gold, and 30 pairs of leather boots to be produced by the next morning—failure, they threatened, would result in another Aktion.

On December 6, 1941, on the order of Gebietskommissar Uhde, a ghetto was created in Luboml. The ghetto was located around Kusnitcher (November 11), Ribne, and Koshtshelna Streets. It was not surrounded by a fence but was guarded by several sentries (Ukrainian police) who ensured that nobody left. In the ghetto, 12 to 15 people had to share each room. The Jewish craftsmen issued with red work cards lived in a separate “ghetto” along Koleova, Chelm, and Ludmir Streets.⁸

During Passover in early April 1942, the Jews bribed Gebietskommissar Uhde to be able to bake matzot. Those leaving the ghetto without permission or breaching other German regulations faced a summary death penalty. During the existence of the ghetto, several small groups of Jews were shot for

such violations. For example, 6 Jews were shot in July 1942, and 20 in August 1942, not far from the village of Sciba.⁹ Jews leaving the ghetto to work also traded small items, such as tobacco or matches, for food.

Two small armed underground groups were formed in the ghetto in 1942. They manufactured false documents giving permission to leave the ghetto, procured weapons, organized escapes, and planned armed resistance. Both groups fled to the partisans around the time of the liquidation Aktion, but only a few members of the resistance organization are known to have survived.¹⁰

On October 1, 1942, the Germans commenced the liquidation of the ghetto.¹¹ A few months before, Jews had been used to dig four large pits about 3.5 kilometers (2.2 miles) outside the town, near the village of Borki. When the Aktion started, Ukrainian police came in from surrounding towns such as Szack and Kowel, and together with the German Gendarmerie they rounded up the Jews at the marketplace and escorted them to the pits. The Germans ordered the Jews to undress and gathered up the clothes. The naked Jews were forced to stand in groups around the edge of the pit and then were shot.¹²

The Germans and their collaborators shot some 3,000 to 4,000 Jews in the process.¹³ Many Jews hid in the ghetto in prepared hiding places. The Ukrainian police tore out floors and destroyed walls in the search for hidden Jews. Local peasants also sneaked into the empty ghetto to loot Jewish property. Despite these searches, some Jews evaded detection and managed to escape to the surrounding countryside. Over the following months, however, most were denounced by the local population or captured by the German and Ukrainian police. By the time the Red Army liberated the area in 1944, only about 35 Jews from Luboml (apart from those who managed to emigrate or flee before the arrival of the Germans in 1941) were still alive.

SOURCES Publications on the destruction of the Jewish population of the town include the following: Berl Kagan, *Luboml: The Memorial Book of a Vanished Shtetl* (Hoboken, NJ: Ktav Publishing House, 1997), which is an English translation, edited by Nathan Sobel, of the yizkor book edited by B. Kagan and Y. Hetman, *Sefer yizkor li-kehillat Luboml* (Tel Aviv: Luboml Memorial Book Committee, 1975); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ba-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 103–108.

Documents describing the fate of the Jews of Luboml can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; DAVO; GARF (7021-55-7); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 362.

2. N. Sobel, “Chronology of Destruction,” pp. 247–253, here p. 247, and Chayim Rozenblit(z’l), “Behind the Barbed

Wire of Death,” pp. 254–260, here p. 254, both in Sobel, *Luboml: The Memorial Book*.

3. Rocha Gutman (Sandlboym), “Rescued from the Big Fire,” in *ibid.*, pp. 285–289, here p. 285; Rozenblit(z’l), “Behind the Barbed Wire of Death,” pp. 254–256.

4. Sta. Traunstein, LG-Trau, 5 Ks 11 and Js 9437/78, Verdict, May 26, 1982. According to ChGK materials (GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 155 with reverse side, 168 with reverse side), on July 22 about 400 Jews were shot in Luboml. This figure is also given by Sobel, “Chronology of Destruction,” in Sobel, *Luboml: The Memorial Book*, pp. 247–253, here p. 247.

5. GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 155 and reverse side, gives the figure of 53 deaths; Rozenblit(z’l), “Behind the Barbed Wire of Death,” pp. 254–256, indicates that many more than that were killed, estimating about 900 deaths before the establishment of the ghetto; Sobel, “Chronology of Destruction,” p. 247, indicates some 500 Jews murdered at this time.

6. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

7. After the war Kowalczyk migrated to the United States and was the subject of a denaturalization case in the 1980s conducted by the U.S. Office of Special Investigations.

8. Rozenblit(z’l), “Behind the Barbed Wire of Death,” p. 256, and Sobel, “Chronology of Destruction,” p. 248, both give this date; Gutman, “Rescued from the Big Fire,” p. 286, dates the establishment of the ghetto after the high holidays in the fall of 1941. Rochl Leichter, “Witness to the Destruction of Luboml,” in Sobel, *Luboml: The Memorial Book*, pp. 276–278, notes that the ghetto was not surrounded by a fence.

9. GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 155 and reverse side.

10. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, pp. 215, 219, 229; Sobel, “Chronology of Destruction,” p. 249.

11. GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 155 and reverse side, 181 and reverse side.

12. M. Lifshitz, “The Journey from Spiritual Destruction to Total Annihilation,” in Sobel, *Luboml: The Memorial Book*, pp. 244–245.

13. GARF, 7021-55-7, pp. 96, 155 with reverse sides, 168 with reverse side, 181 with reverse side, 194. According to the ChGK reports, 4,073 Jews were killed in Luboml in 1941–1942. Leichter, “Witness to the Destruction of Luboml,” pp. 276–278, indicates more than 7,000 Jewish victims in Luboml altogether, but this is most probably too high.

ŁUCK

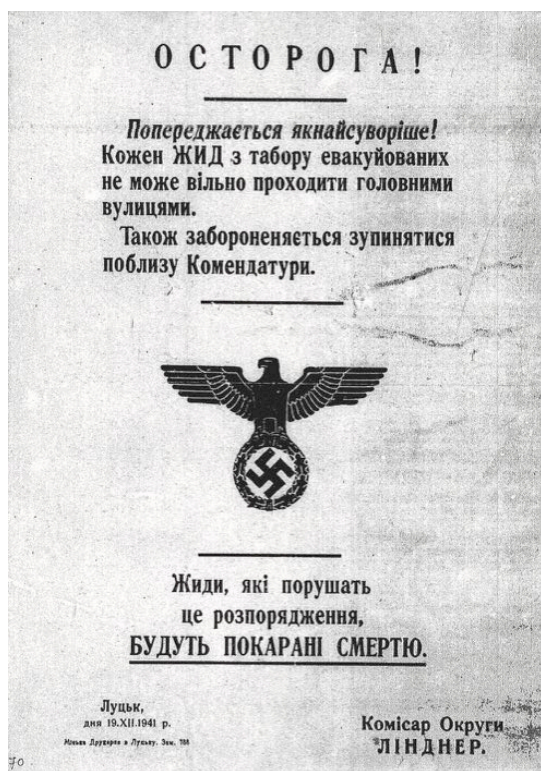
Pre-1939: Łuck, city, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Lutsk, raion center, Volyn’ oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Luzk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Luts’k, Volyn’ oblast’, Ukraine

Łuck is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) west of Równe between two branches of the Styr River in southern Volhynia in what is today northwestern Ukraine. From 1921, Łuck was the capital of the Volhynian province of the independent Polish Republic. After 1928 provincial governor Henryk Józewski offered the Jews in Łuck participation in national

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politics through a nonparty bloc. In 1936, the Bund organized a strike to protest antisemitism. In 1931, Jews comprised about half of the city's population of 35,600; by the end of the decade the percentage was probably closer to 40 percent, roughly equal to the Polish population. The rest were Ukrainians, with a sprinkling of Czechs and Germans.

After the German attack on Poland of September 1, 1939, several thousand Jews from western and central Poland fled to Łuck. After the Red Army invaded Poland from the east on September 17, the Soviets made Łuck the center of the Volhynian oblast'. During the period of the German-Soviet division of Poland, Poles in Łuck were the primary target of Soviet repression. Some Jews were drafted into the Red Army, others, mainly refugees, were deported to Kazakhstan or Siberia. Some 19,500 Jews were living in Łuck in 1941 when Germany invaded the Soviet Union.



Ukrainian sign from Łuck, December 19, 1941:

"Caution!

Warning to the highest degree!

Any JEW evacuated from the camp may not freely pass the main streets.

Likewise it is forbidden to stop near the Kommandantur.

Jews who violate this order will be punished by death.

Luts'k

19.XII.1941

Gebietskommissar"

USHMMA/RG-31.023

The Wehrmacht reached the city on June 26, 1941. By this time much of Łuck had caught fire due to heavy German bombardments, and many shops were plundered. Very few people were able to flee the city in time.¹ The Germans discovered that the Soviet People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) had murdered some 2,800 prisoners in Łuck. Most of the victims were Ukrainians. Paul Blobel, the commander of Sonderkommando 4a, arrived in Łuck in early July 1941. On July 2, notices appeared in the city summoning Jewish males of the ages 16 to 60 to appear the following day in the courtyard of the Lubart Castle with shovels to repair drainage systems. Instead, they were forced to dig a long trench, which was to become their own mass grave. Over four hours they were shot in groups of 10 to 30 by members of Sonderkommando 4a, Order Police, and army volunteers. Einsatzgruppe C reported the Aktion as a reprisal for the NKVD mass murder, among the victims of which were thought to be 10 German soldiers. The report recorded that 1,160 Jews were murdered in early July, in addition to 300 that had been shot on June 30.² During the first weeks, Jews were forbidden to use the sidewalks, they were only permitted to shop in the marketplace between the hours of 10:00 A.M. and noon, and they were beaten by Ukrainian policemen at every opportunity.³

Within the German civil administration of Reichskommissariat Ukraine, Łuck was the center of Gebiet Łuck, headed by Gebietskommissar Heinrich Lindner. He ordered the Jews of Łuck to choose their own representatives. The Judenrat was thus composed of interwar social and political activists: the head was Frysberg; other members were Lejzor Dal, Rozenkranc, Korczebny, Henig, Hoffman, Rawicz, and one woman, Ojchmanowa. At some point Frysberg, Rozenkranc, and Rawicz were beaten by the Germans while being forced to recite that "a German officer never beats anyone." Dal and Rozenkranc resigned from the Judenrat. As of August 1941, all Jews had to wear a white armband, replaced in September by two yellow patches, one to be worn on the chest, the other on the back.⁴ In October 1941 Jewish skilled laborers were taken to an SS workshop on Krasne Street. About 450 people of various professions worked there under miserable conditions.⁵

At the end of November 1941, the Gebietskommissar issued an order for the establishment of a ghetto in an old part of the city, where Jews had lived before. On December 11, 1941, the Jewish population was marched, under the eyes of their Polish and Ukrainian neighbors, to a ghetto between the two branches of the Styr River. Jews were allowed to take only what they could carry, often a child. The terrain was marshy, and the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian militiamen shot many stragglers. Jewish Police carried some of the children. On December 12, these Jews were joined by the Jews of the nearby suburb of Krasne.⁶ Not everyone managed to find suitable housing; the homeless were moved into schools, synagogues, and former stores and warehouses.⁷

Henceforth the Judenrat supplied daily labor brigades to perform jobs outside the ghetto. Each morning, workers were escorted through the gate of the walled ghetto by the Jewish Police. Jewish women also had to work, many of them as ser-

vants for German officials. Jews who had regular employment were issued identity cards, which in part protected them from being assigned to other forced labor tasks.⁸ The ghetto was guarded internally by the Jewish Police and externally by the Ukrainian policemen and German Gendarmes.

In the ghetto, Jews suffered from cold, hunger, and overcrowding. Łuck was warmed by wood rather than coal, and there was no wood inside the ghetto. Food rations were 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread for workers, 75 grams (2.6 ounces) for nonworkers, and 30 grams (1 ounce) for children. People soon swelled from starvation. About 30 to 40 people had to share a single room. Due to these conditions, typhus spread (despite attempts to check it with medication). Each day the dead were removed from the ghetto by horse-drawn wagon.⁹ Due to the fear of typhus spreading to the non-Jewish population, notices were posted around the ghetto banning members of the Wehrmacht from entering.¹⁰

In the ghetto there was an orphanage, a public kitchen, and an old age home run by the Judenrat. During the initial five months of 1942, the Germans demanded regular “contributions” of money, valuables, furniture, warm clothing, and other items, holding hostages as guarantees of delivery.¹¹ Raising taxes to pay these fines made the Judenrat unpopular, but they knew they had little choice, as their own lives were on the line. Ojchmanowa of the Judenrat was killed as a hostage.

By the summer of 1942, the Jews in the ghetto had become aware of the mass shootings of Jews in other nearby towns and started to look for an escape route from the ghetto. Dr. T. Kunitsa-Goldshteyn recalled that

a group of youths tried to join the partisans, but every attempt to establish contact with them led nowhere. Those who escaped to the forests never returned. . . . Many people who had no chance of getting on the list of the “fortunate” [categorized as skilled workers] and did not have enough money to buy Aryan papers or take refuge with Poles dug out bunkers and hiding places inside the ghetto. These people planned to defend themselves to the bitter end. But their arms consisted of no more than axes or bottles of sulfuric acid. It was difficult even to acquire that much—it cost a large amount of money. Thus began the hunt for false Aryan papers. They were very expensive and could only be purchased with gold pieces. In addition, the documents were not a free pass out of the ghetto. It was very important to have “good looks”—i.e., to resemble the Aryan type. Women dyed their hair so it would resemble that of non-Jewish women.¹²

The Łuck ghetto was liquidated on August 19–23, 1942, by the German civilian authorities and police, with the help of Ukrainian policemen. First the Jewish Police was ordered to find all Jews in hiding, and Jewish men were sent to Hirka Polanka, 8 kilometers (5 miles) to the southwest. There they dug a trench 150 meters long and 6 meters wide (about 492 by

20 feet), with steps leading down into it. The Germans told them to dig well, laughingly explaining they were preparing the graves of their wives and daughters.¹³ The men were taken to the courtyard of Lubart Castle and shot the next day. Then the women and children were taken to Hirka Polanka. The first group knelt naked in front of the pits and fell or were pushed in after being shot. Succeeding groups had to lie facedown on the corpses. Younger children were thrown into the pits alive. Around 14,000 people in total were killed during the main part of the Aktion. However, up to another 4,000 or so Jews were pulled out of bunkers or uncovered around the city by Ukrainian policemen over the ensuing days and weeks and then shot as well.¹⁴ On December 12, 1942, the Germans killed the 500 or so laborers of the workshop. During this Aktion, the Jews offered resistance, shooting at the SA man Glück, who was the assistant of the Gebietskommissar.¹⁵

The number of survivors appears to be few: Shoshana Yakubovitsch was rescued by Witold Fomienko in nearby Podhajce; Fanye Pasht, by another Ukrainian peasant named Lavrov;¹⁶ Yoshke Liberman, by his German wife; the convert Bronisława Szczubińska, by her sister who identified her, at Hirka Polanka, as a “Polish Catholic.” A few Łuck Jews survived in the ranks of the Soviet partisans. A few Volhynian Jews probably fled to Łuck in 1943, along with Poles with whom they had been hiding, to escape Ukrainian nationalist partisans. By then German authority had weakened, and some Jews may have survived in hiding in Łuck to see the arrival of the Red Army in February 1944.

SOURCES The following publications contain useful information regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Łuck: C.F. Rüter and D.W. De Mildt, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 694; *Sefer Lutsk* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Lutsk be-Yisrael, 1961); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkiv: Tarbut Laam, 2005); R. Metel'nits'kii, *Deiaki storinki ievreiskoi zabudovy Luts'ka* (Kiev: Dukh i Litera, 2001); and Timothy Snyder, “The Life and Death of West Volhynian Jews, 1921–1945,” in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, and Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008), pp. 77–113.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AAN (Urząd Województwa Wołyńskiego, 979/85/9, “Strajk pracowników Żydów”; KPZU, 165/VII-1 t. 10 24, “Zvit z zhovtnevoi konferentsii OK KPZU”); AŽIH (301/1982, 301/2565, 301/4000, 301/4941, 301/5657); BA-DH (ZA VI 322, A. 3, Heinrich Lindner); DAVO; GARF (7021-71-7); NARA; USHMM; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/1446).

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NOTES

1. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 399.
2. NARA, T-175, reel 232, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 24, July 16, 1941.
3. AŽIH, 301/4941, testimony of Jankiel Baran; *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 401.

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4. AŽIH, 301/4941; USHMM, RG-31.017M (DARO), reel 2, Amtsblatt des Gebietskommissars in Rowno, April 1, 1942: Bekanntmachung, Generalkommissar Schoene, September 6, 1941.

5. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 441.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 398, 401, 418; YVA, M-1/E/1446, testimony of Fanya Pasht; AŽIH, 301/4941.

7. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 420.

8. YVA, M-1/E/1446; *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 418.

9. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 401; YVA, M-1/E/1446.

10. See the photograph reproduced in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 81.

11. *Sefer Lutsk*, pp. 398, 402.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 422.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 402.

14. GARF, 7021-71-7, pp. 29–30, estimates some 20,000 victims. A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond “Pamiat’ zhertv fashizma,” 2000), p. 30, estimates that the actual number was probably closer to 15,000. *Sefer Lutsk*, pp. 441–42, estimates 14,000 killed in the main Aktion and 4,000 subsequently.

15. *Sefer Lutsk*, p. 399.

16. YVA, M-1/E/1446.

LUDWIPOL

Pre-1939: Ludwipol, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Liudvipoľ, Rovno oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ludwipol, Rayon center, Gebiet Kostopol, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Sosnove, Rivne oblast’, Ukraine

Ludwipol is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) northeast of Równe, on the Stucz River. In 1941, according to one source, there were as many as 3,000 Jews living in the town, including refugees from central and western Poland. After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, a few Jewish families managed to evacuate to the east, but the vast majority of Jews either did not or could not leave and so remained trapped under German occupation.¹

On July 6, 1941, units of the German 6th Army occupied Ludwipol. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Ludwipol became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kostopol, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. SA-Standartenführer Löhnert became the Gebietskommissar, and Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wichmann became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.²

A Ukrainian local authority was also formed in Ludwipol. From September 1941 onward, the Ukrainian police unit was subordinated to the local post of the German Gendarmerie.

Just after the occupation of the town by the German army, local Ukrainians channeled their antisemitic mood into a program in which a number of Jews were robbed and assaulted.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces instituted a series of antisemitic measures in Ludwipol. Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing the Star of David, and they were compelled to surrender all money and valuable items and to perform hard physical labor. They were also prohibited from going beyond the borders of the town and were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the Ukrainian police. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed in Ludwipol through which the German authorities passed on their orders and instructions to the Jewish population.

A ghetto was formed in Ludwipol in October 1941; Jews from the surrounding villages were also concentrated there. Altogether there were about 1,500 Jews in the ghetto.³ On September 26, 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto. On that day, a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe shot more than 1,000 Jews with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the local Ukrainian police.⁴ Initially, some 300 to 400 Jews were able to escape. Most, however, were ultimately captured and shot by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.

Of those who escaped successfully, crossing the Stucz River, a number managed to survive in camps protected by the growing Soviet partisan movement. Among the survivors from Ludwipol was Mordechai Kleinman who as a 12-year-old boy fled to work on a Polish farm in the countryside when the ghetto was set up. Eventually he had to leave, as his employer was afraid of being denounced by Ukrainian neighbors. Mordechai then served in the Medvedev Soviet partisan unit, which included as many as 150 Jews. A partisan detachment led by Alter Fiklin burned the police station and stole German food supplies in 1943. When the Red Army liberated the town on January 10, 1944, about 40 Jewish survivors emerged from the forests.⁵

SOURCES Relevant information on the Jewish community of Ludwipol can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 109–111; Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 66, 199, 366; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 761.

Documents on the persecution and extermination of Jews in Ludwipol can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/75, 1268, 2189, 2883, and 3298); DARO; GARF (7021-71-57); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
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NOTES

1. AŽIH, 301/2883.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. AŽIH, 301/1268, gives October 5, 1941, as the date for the establishment of ghettos in all the Rayon towns of Gebiet Kostopol, including Ludwipol.

4. According to ChGK materials, during the period of the occupation, 1,297 people were murdered. GARF, 7021-71-57, p. 1.

5. AŽIH, 301/75, testimony of Mordechai Kleinman.

ŁUNINIEC

Pre-1939: Łuniniec, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Luninets, raion center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Luninez, Rayon center, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Luninets, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Łuniniec is located approximately 55 kilometers (34 miles) east-northeast of Pińsk. On the eve of World War II, there were more than 2,000 Jews living in the town, above 20 percent of the overall population.

The Red Army seized Łuniniec in September 1939, shortly after the outbreak of war. The Soviet troops retreated near the end of June 1941, and during the first days of July, forces of the Wehrmacht occupied the town. Shortly after their arrival, the Germans killed all the Jewish doctors. They also ordered all Jews to wear yellow patches on their clothing—one patch on the chest and one on the back—and forbade them to walk on the sidewalks. The Germans then made the Jews form a Judenrat, which consisted of four men. The Judenrat was responsible for providing the Germans with Jewish goods and laborers on demand. Jews were not compensated for their labor. In addition, a non-Jew had to get special permission from the authorities to employ a Jewish artisan.¹

On August 10, 1941, a special German unit arrived in Łuniniec to carry out the first anti-Jewish Aktion. In all likelihood this was the 4th Squadron of the 2nd Regiment of the 1st SS-Cavalry Brigade.² They gathered together all the Jewish men aged 14 and older, announcing on placards that they were going to be taken to work, then took them outside the town and shot them in pits that had been dug in advance. They allowed a handful of tailors and cobblers to live. Although the Germans went from house to house looking for Jews, several managed to hide successfully. Many of the men who survived, and some of the women, were sent to the forced labor camp in Hancewicze during the winter of 1941–1942. Meanwhile, the Germans continued to confiscate Jewish property.³

In the first days of March 1942, a ghetto was formally established in Łuniniec. There had never been a Jewish quarter or neighborhood in Łuniniec, so many Jews and even some Christians were forced to relocate. The remaining Jewish populations of the surrounding villages—including Łunin, Wólka, Działłowicze, and Bostyń—were concentrated in the ghetto. It was surrounded by barbed wire, and the local police guarded it. There was tremendous overcrowding in the barracks-like buildings. The daily ration was 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per person. Artisans, who were allowed to leave the ghetto to perform work, were carefully searched upon returning. If they were caught trying to smuggle food back into the

ghetto, the police would beat them severely. To prevent the spread of lice and disease, the Germans shaved the heads of Jewish children. They also called for the formation of a new Judenrat to direct Jewish forced labor.⁴

In May 1942, a Security Police and SD Aussendienststelle (outpost) was set up in Pińsk, under the command of SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhem Rasp. Rasp's office in turn set up branch offices in the outlying Rayon capitals, including one in Łuniniec under the command of Otto Scholl. In June 1942, the Reich Security Main Office (RSHA) in Berlin issued a special order to Rasp to liquidate all the Jews under his jurisdiction.⁵ The second anti-Jewish Aktion in Łuniniec took place on September 4, 1942. Scholl and his men, with the help of the Gendarmerie, the local police, and Reserve Police Battalion 306, rounded up the Jews and brought them to pits outside the town. Rasp himself appeared with a small detachment of his men and auxiliary police. A unit of Reserve Police Battalion 69 and members of the Organisation Todt (OT) also participated, at the request of the Security Police. About 2,800 Jews were killed in this massacre. Some 100 craftsmen were permitted to remain alive, but they were killed in a subsequent Aktion in October 1942.⁶

Just prior to the mass shooting, Susi Grunberg-Gelbard wrote a letter to her husband, dated September 1, 1942, describing the situation she faced in the ghetto:

I am sitting perhaps for the last time in this room, in which we were so happy, and write you a few parting words. I feel that you are still alive and hope that these lines come into your hands. The graves are prepared; sooner or later, probably tonight, the inevitable will happen. I don't want to die, but I will die like a "man," if I don't succeed in escaping. What I will do with the child is still not decided. The noose is so tightly closed that one cannot escape.⁷

SOURCES The yizkor book for Łuniniec and Kożangródek, edited by Yosef Ze'evi et al., *Yizkor Kibilot Luninyets—Koz'anborodok* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Luninyets ve-Koz'anhorodok be-Yisrael, 1952), has several useful survivor testimonies. There is also a short article on the Jewish community in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 263–264.

The investigative records and verdict from the trial in Braunschweig, concluded in 1964, of several members of the SS-Cavalry Brigade contain key information on the first Aktion. The verdict has been published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979) vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 570. Information on the second Aktion can be found in BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 393/59) and also in the records of LG-Bo [see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005) vol. 34, Lfd. Nr. 741].

Documentation on the fate of the Jewish community in Łuniniec can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/3042, 3087); GARF; NARB; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. A.P., "Kilyon ha-yishuv ha-Yehudi," in Ze'evi et al., *Yizkor*, p. 66. Also in *Yizkor* see Lipe Yosilevski, "Der Untergang," pp. 178–179, 181; and Rivka Yosilevski-Brevda, "Ma she-'eynay ra'u," pp. 67–68.
2. The verdict of the trial of leading perpetrators of the SS-Cavalry Brigade (LG-Braun, April 20, 1964) describes a shooting Aktion and states it is very probable that the place concerned was Łuniniec and that the 4th Squadron carried out the shooting. The details of the Aktion fit closely with descriptions of the massacre in Łuniniec from other sources. In any event, it was almost certainly a unit of the 2nd Regiment that was responsible for the shootings. LG-Braun, 2 Ks 1/63, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, Lfd. Nr. 570a, 20:54–55.
3. Ibid.; Yosilevski-Brevda, "Ma she-'eynay ra'u," pp. 68–69; Khayem Rubinraut, "Luninyets in di letste 25 yor," in Ze'evi et al., *Yizkor*, p. 120; Yosilevski, "Der untergang," pp. 179–181; see also AŻIH, 301/3087 (Mikolaj Sierzan).
4. Yosilevski-Brevda, "Ma she-'eynay ra'u," p. 69; Yosilevski, "Der untergang," p. 180.
5. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2, p. 868, testimony of Wilhelm Rasp, December 18, 1961.
6. Ibid.; BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2, Ghetto Vernichtung in Raum Pinsk, p. 1100; A.P., "Kilyon ha-yishuv ha-Yehudi," p. 66; Rubinraut, "Luninyets," p. 120; Yosilevski, "Der untergang," p. 180.
7. AŻIH, 301/3042. This document is in German but may be a transcript or translation of the original. It is presumed that Susi Grunberg-Gelbard was murdered with the other Jews of Łuniniec on September 4, 1942.

MACIEJÓW

Pre-1939: Maciejów, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Matsiov, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mazejewo, Rayon center, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Matseiv, Turii's'k raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Maciejów is located about 28 kilometers (17.4 miles) west of Kowel. According to the 1921 census, 2,206 Jews lived in Maciejów. Based on a natural growth rate of 9 or 10 people per 1,000 annually, it is estimated that approximately 2,600 Jews were living there in mid-1941.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town in late June 1941. Within a few days, the German occupation forces established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) from among the wealthier Jews. The Jewish Council informed the male Jews where and when to report for work every day. Among the initial work tasks Jews performed was clearing the roads of small mines left behind by the Soviets as they retreated.¹

In July and August, the town was administered by a German military commandant, then from early September 1941, by a civil administration. Maciejów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kowel. The Gebietskommissar in Kowel was Arno Kämpf until June 1942, while the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant Philipp Rapp of the German Gendarmerie.²

Kämpf was arrested in June 1942, and Erich Kassner succeeded him as Gebietskommissar.

The Germans also set up a local Ukrainian administration and a Ukrainian police force, which was subordinated to a local German Gendarmerie post of several Gendarmes. In the summer of 1942, the Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft Battalion 103, recruited from the region's inhabitants, was also stationed in the town, primarily on railway protection duties.³

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the first anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Maciejów. The German authorities ordered Jews to wear yellow patches on the front and back of their clothes. Jews were instructed to surrender all valuables via the Judenrat. The German authorities also threatened that if any valuables were subsequently found in a Jewish home, the people who lived there would be shot. In addition, the Germans demanded large monetary "contributions," and on one occasion they burned the Torah scrolls from the synagogue and beat the old men.⁴

In the summer of 1941, the first killing Aktions were carried out in Maciejów. These Aktions were organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Kowel together with parts of the 1st and 4th Platoons, 1st Company, Police Battalion 314 (Order Police from Vienna), assisted by the local Ukrainian police. The two Order Police platoons were in Maciejów from mid-July until early September 1941.

The first Aktion took place on July 18, 1941. The Germans collected about 400 Jewish men on the pretext of registration and took them to the former nunnery that served as a German headquarters. Here a form of "selection" took place, and those with useful skills were put to one side, while the larger group was attacked with dogs, beaten, and then shot behind the nunnery. Men of the Security Police and SD squad and the Order Police shot 325 Jews. According to survivor Jacob Biber, in the course of a subsequent Aktion about one month later, 300 Jewish women were arrested and shot in the same place. On another occasion the Germans also beat and murdered the rabbi of the town, apparently when their demands for money could no longer be fulfilled.⁵

In August 1941, the Germans and their collaborators declared a virtual "open season" on the Jews. The German police battalion and especially the local Ukrainian police (Miliz) rounded up hundreds of Jews, whom they then shot in the lime mines close to the town. Many Jews hid or fled to the surrounding countryside, but the local police still hunted them down, boasting about how many Jews they had killed. Apparently the Germans had offered a reward for every Jew discovered. The local population also plundered the abandoned Jewish houses. At least one Jew, the blacksmith Manashe, offered resistance, grabbing a rifle from his Ukrainian police escorts and battling his pursuers in a rye field before he was overpowered. After several weeks of this killing spree, the German police battalion left the town in early September, and the newly established civil administration ordered that the killing of Jews be stopped temporarily.⁶

The first Judenrat had been completely eliminated during the massacres, and a new one was appointed. It made a report

to the newly arrived German commandant, whose office was also based in the nunnery, about a German soldier who had stabbed and robbed the Jewish photographer Lichtenstein. To set an example, the new commandant court-martialed the soldier and sentenced him to death. News of this event caused even the Ukrainian police to reduce their harassment of the Jews. A number of Jews then emerged from hiding and were even joined by refugees from nearby towns, including Kowel.⁷

In the fall of 1941 the remaining Jews were made to perform forced labor without pay. Among the tasks assigned to the men were working in the sawmill, cleaning the streets, and loading freight cars, while women also worked as cleaners for the Germans. After mid-November, the trains passing through increasingly carried wounded German soldiers rather than Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), and this also changed the attitude of the Ukrainian overseers, who became somewhat more amenable.⁸

According to *Pinkas ha-kebilot*, at the end of 1941, a ghetto was created in Maciejów into which Jews from the surrounding villages were resettled. In late May or early June 1942, the 1st Motorized Gendarmerie Platoon from Łuck, together with the local police battalion of Ukrainians, carried out an Aktion against “bandits,” the official word for partisans but often applied as a euphemism for Jews. In the course of this operation, four “bandits” were killed, three or four wounded, and one arrested.⁹ At about this time, 200 young Jews were shot, presumably for providing alleged assistance to the “bandits” (partisans).

In mid-September 1942, word spread that the ghetto would soon be liquidated, and most Jews scattered to prepared hiding places. A detachment of Security Police and SD men arriving from Łuck, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian local police, rounded up all the Jews they could apprehend in the ghetto and shot them in the lime pits on the edge of town. The number of victims of this Aktion is unclear, but it probably lies between 1,500 and 2,500.¹⁰ Most of those who hid initially were denounced or captured by the local police over the following days and months.

Very few Jews managed to survive the German occupation in and around Maciejów. Including several who had escaped into Russia, only about 10 survivors came back to the town after its liberation by the Red Army on July 18, 1944.¹¹ Those who did survive, such as Jacob Biber, relied heavily on their good pre-war relations with individual local peasants and had to change their hiding places often, owing to the generally hostile atmosphere in the area. Jacob and his wife also lost their infant son, Shalom, when surprised in the woods by Ukrainian policemen.¹² From March 1943, many Ukrainian policemen deserted and established their own Ukrainian nationalist (Ukrainian Insurgent Army, or UPA) partisan formations, but most remained antisemitic and killed any Jews they encountered. It was not until 1944 that the emergence of strong Soviet partisan units in the area offered a potential refuge for the few surviving Jews.

SOURCES Information about the persecution of the Jewish population of Maciejów can be found in the memoir written

by Jacob Biber, *Survivors: A Personal Story of the Holocaust* (San Bernardino, CA: Borgo Press, 1986). There is also a personal testimony by his wife, Eva, in the same author’s anthology of survivor accounts, *A Triumph of the Spirit: Ten Stories of Holocaust Survivors* (San Bernardino, CA: Borgo Press, 1994), pp. 97–122. A brief history of the Jewish community is available in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 137–139. Additional information can be found in Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 366.

Documents about the persecution of the Jews of Maciejów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-BL; BA-L; DAVO (R66-4-15); GARF (7021-55-9); TsDAVO; and YVA.

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trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 42–43.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. BA-BL, R 19/266, report on the strength of the Schutzmannschaft as of July 1, 1942.
4. Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 49–51.
5. LG-Trau, verdict of May 26, 1982 (forthcoming in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, case no. 878); Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 43–50.
6. Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 52–66.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 64–67.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 70–72.
9. See the report of the Higher SS and Police Leader in Ukraine, BdS Ukraine, June 1–30, 1942, TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 42.
10. The figure is derived from the number of Jews in Maciejów before the war, an estimate of the number of Jews killed before September 1942, and allowing for the number of Jews resettled to Maciejów from surrounding towns and villages. According to material from the ChGK (January 24, 1945), around 4,000 Jews and Ukrainians were killed in the Maciejów raion during the occupation; see GARF, 7021-55-9, p. 3. This figure is probably an overestimate. Martin Gilbert gives the figure of 1,500 for the number of Jews killed in “August 1942”; see Gilbert, *Endlösung. Die Vertreibung und Vernichtung der Juden. Ein Atlas* (Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1982), p. 115.
11. “Eva Cherniak Biber” [survivor account] published in Biber, *A Triumph of the Spirit*, pp. 97–122, here p. 118.
12. Biber, *Survivors*, pp. 88–89.

MAŁORYTA

Pre-1939: Małoryta, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Malorita, raion center, Brest oblast, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Maloryta, Rayon center, Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Maloryta, Beraś’ŭe voblasts, Republic of Belarus

Małoryta is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) southeast of Brest. Just before the German invasion of the Soviet Union,

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some 4,000 people lived in Małoryta, of which more than 1,000 were Jewish.

German forces occupied Małoryta on the first day of the invasion, June 22, 1941. A number of buildings in the town were damaged in the initial German bombardment. A few days after the Germans arrived, they announced they needed volunteers to join the police. A Ukrainian police unit was set up, and the police station was located in a private house, which had previously belonged to a Jewish person but was confiscated in 1939 by the Soviets. It was situated on the street that the Germans called Dorfstrasse, which was later called Sovetskaia. There were about 30 people in the Ukrainian police. Yarmoshuk was the commandant; he had also used the surname of Kwiatkowski under Polish rule, as before the war the Ukrainians were not allowed to serve in the Polish police. He was sacked from the Polish police when this deception was uncovered. Another policeman was Filipp Samosiuk. The policemen wore uniforms similar to the greatcoats worn by Soviet soldiers, made of a dark gray material.¹

In the fall of 1941, a German civil administration took over responsibility for the region from the military authorities. Małoryta became a Rayon center in Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, subordinated to the Gebietskommissar (Brest-Land) Curt Rolle. In the fall, a training school for the local police was established in Małoryta, to which policemen from the entire Gebiet were sent to be trained as noncommissioned officers (NCOs). The local German agricultural leader (Landwirtschaftsführer) in Małoryta was Wilhelm Zinn, and the village head (sołtys) was Konrad Strunec, who had also held this position under Polish rule.

Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Germans set up a Jewish ghetto, and all the Jews of Rayon Maloryta were moved into it. The Ukrainians who used to live in houses within the ghetto area were resettled to former Jewish-owned houses outside the ghetto. The ghetto consisted of about 50 houses in the northwestern part of town, surrounded by barbed wire. It was guarded by the local police, though not very closely. Despite official prohibitions and beatings from the local police, the Jews were still able to barter items for food with the local population. The extreme overcrowding resulted in very dirty, unsanitary conditions in the ghetto, and a number of people died.² The Jewish population of Rayon Maloryta was reported by the German authorities to be 1,210 in early 1942.³

According to a German report from March 1942, artisan workshops had been established for blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, and other craftsmen in Małoryta in order for “Aryans” to be trained, presumably by Jewish specialists.⁴ Some able-bodied Jews from the ghetto were assigned to forced labor under arduous conditions on road construction projects and other work at various sites in the Gebiet, where many died from the inadequate food and poor conditions.⁵

The ghetto was liquidated in July or August 1942, probably by a detachment of the Security Police, assisted by men from the Police Company Nuremberg, the German Gendarmerie, and the local Ukrainian police. The massacre of the Jews was carried out over at least two days. First the remaining male Jews

were taken in groups to the ditches prepared on Pieszczałka Hill, which was about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) from the ghetto in a northwesterly direction, where they were shot. A few men tried to escape, but the escorting guards shot them as they fled.⁶ The women and children were held overnight at an assembly point, and then the Germans and their collaborators escorted them to the mass graves in groups of 40 or 50 during the next morning. The victims had to remove their outer clothing and their shoes before being shot in three mass graves. The remaining Jewish property in the ghetto was plundered by the Germans and the local policemen. Among those who participated in the Aktion was the Ukrainian nationalist Markowski, who had been head of the Maloryta Rayon a short time before.⁷

According to the monthly report of the Gebietskommissar dated August 22, 1942, the Jews in Małoryta had been “evacuated” during the previous month; approximately 1,000 people being affected.⁸

SOURCES Captured German documents on the fate of the Jews of Małoryta can be found in BA-BL (R 94). Materials from the various ChGK reports can be found in GABO (514-1-258, p. 38); GARF (7021-83-25, pp. 64–74); TsGAMORF (32-11302-244, pp. 151–160); USHMM; and YVA. Interviews conducted in the 1990s by Britain’s New Scotland Yard War Crimes Unit (WCU) in preparing for the trial of Andrei Sawoniuk, a policeman from the nearby town of Domaców, also contain some information on the fate of the Jews in Małoryta. These records are now located in the NA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. NA, WCU, Sawoniuk investigation, statement of Vladimir Kharczuk, February 1997.

2. Ibid; GARF, 7021-83-25, p. 64; USHMM, RG-22.008 (TsGAMORF), 32/11302/244, p. 157.

3. BA-BL, R 94/7, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid., R 94/6, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, Labor Office, July 6, 1942.

6. NA, WCU, Sawoniuk investigation, statement of Vladimir Kharczuk, February 1997; USHMM, RG-22.008 (TsGAMORF), 32/11302/244, p. 157, and 233/2374/58, pp. 152–155. Both these sources date the Aktion in June 1942 and name Major Rose of the Gestapo arriving from Lutsk [*sic*] as being in charge. This was probably, however, Major of the Gendarmerie Rohse, who was at that time based in Brest-Litowsk.

7. USHMM, RG-22.008 (TsGAMORF), 32/11302/244, pp. 157 and reverse.

8. BA-BL, R 94/7, Report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, August 22, 1942. According to Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 789, “883 Jews (including some from neighboring villages) were executed by SD troops and Ukrainian police in Maloryta on July 7, 1942”; unfortunately, it is not clear on what source this information is based. GARF, 7021-83-25, p. 64, gives the figure of 2,500 Jewish victims from the ghetto, but this is certainly too high.

MANIEWICZE

Pre-1939: Maniewiczze (Yiddish: Manievich), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Manevichi, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Manewitschi, Rayon center; Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Pryliske, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

The town of Maniewiczze is located 59 kilometers (37 miles) east-northeast of Kowel. According to the 1921 census, there were 462 Jews living there.¹ Following the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, Maniewiczze was occupied by the Soviets. Its Jewish population was swelled by several hundred refugees from the German zone of occupation, primarily Jews from Terespol, a town near Brest, reaching a total of almost 2,000 people.²

The Soviet army and local authorities evacuated Maniewiczze in the direction of Kiev on June 25, 1941; the German army entered the town on June 28. In the intervening days, peasants from neighboring villages conducted extensive looting in the town. Some local Jews tried to leave with the escaping Soviets, but many stayed behind. The Lorber family, for example, could not leave, as the head of the family remained undecided and soon found that escape was no longer practical.³

The Germans ordered the creation of a Judenrat in July 1941, headed by a refugee lawyer, Dr. Frucht. The local Ukrainian police commander was Mikolai Slipchuk, formerly a teacher in a nearby school for deaf children. His assistant was Andrei Pestrak.

The first killing Aktion, directed mainly against the Jewish intelligentsia, was organized by the Germans on August 25, 1941, when 327 Jews, mostly men, many of whom were heads of families, were arrested and allegedly taken to a work camp; but in fact they were killed that day.⁴

Local Jews were allowed to remain in their homes but were restricted to the area of the town, and a curfew was imposed after dark. They were allocated 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per person per day, distributed by the Judenrat. Jews suffered from hunger. Some Jewish artisans went to nearby villages secretly to work and obtain food for their families. Seven Jewish children were murdered by the chief of police Slipchuk when caught returning from a village in search of food.

The Judenrat organization included a Jewish police force. Comments by survivors indicate that the head of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police behaved properly and tried to alleviate the suffering of the community members. Suffering from cold and hunger was worst during the winter of 1941–1942. Comments by survivors regarding the local population are mixed. Some neighbors, both Poles and Ukrainians, helped with food, goods, and information. Others ignored previous good relations and allowed friends to suffer.

According to some accounts, an “open ghetto” was formed in Maniewiczze in the spring of 1942 between the police station and the railway station. Some Jews were brought there from neighboring villages. It was not closed off and was guarded only ineffectively by the Ukrainian police.⁵ The Ger-

mans maintained a skeleton staff of Gendarmes in the town to support the Organisation Todt (OT) civil engineering corps. Several “Todtniks” were tenants in Jewish homes; the homes were comfortable, and the Jews understood German. The Nazis set up a self-financing scheme to cover the costs of administering the ghetto. The Maniewiczze Judenrat was forced to collect and “contribute” the funds, a practice employed throughout Volhynia.

Maniewiczze Jews were not permitted to leave the area of the ghetto, and the Ukrainian police had the power to shoot violators on sight. Nevertheless, it was possible to escape under cover of darkness if one was careful. Faye Merin Porter (the coauthor’s mother) escaped the night before the second Aktion but left behind her two young daughters, sister, and mother. She hid in a barn and later entered the forest, where she was reunited with her husband, Yisroel Puchtik (Porter).

Jewish men worked in the local parquet-flooring factory and in the loading of railroad ties. Women worked at “Polska Góra,” to which they commuted by a local train. Their task was the repair and maintenance of the rail line. These women were employed by the OT, the German government contract firm dealing with large-scale military construction projects. German officials of the OT helped these women by providing them secretly with food rations. They also warned them in time of the impending liquidation of the ghetto.⁶

As a result of these warnings, 70 Jews were able to escape to the nearby forest on September 3 and 4, 1942, at the end of the work shift at the parquet factory. Some hid with a local Polish forest ranger named Słowik. This group met up with another group of young Jews from Lishnivka, a neighboring village in the forests.

One such Jew was Dov Lorber, 27, who first escaped from Maniewiczze to Lishnivka, the village where his father was born. Another man from Gródek, who was warned early on, was Yisroel Puchtik. He also avoided the first Aktion. Eventually they and others joined a partisan group led by a local Ukrainian leader, Nikolai Konishchuk, aka “Kruk,” the former Communist head of the village of Gryva. Kruk readily agreed to accept these young Jews in his partisan unit. Older Jews, women, and children were also accepted into a “family camp” within the forest. Another group under “Maks,” a Polish commander, a major named Joseph Sobesiak, operated in the same area. Eventually several hundred Jews survived as partisans in this family camp guarded by the two partisan groups, later commanded by Soviet Colonel Anton Brinski. They later came under the command of Major General Vasily Begma and were part of the Rovno Division.

Food and other provisions were commandeered from neighboring villages under partisan control. Military supplies were dropped periodically by parachute. The Soviet army liberated the area in February 1944.

A few days before the second and last Aktion, the town’s Jews were forced to move to an enclosed ghetto area in Maniewiczze. The Germans liquidated the ghetto on September 5, 1942. As many as 300 Jews from the nearby village of

Trojanowka were brought into the Maniewiczze ghetto just prior to this, on September 3.⁷ On the eve of the liquidation, German and Ukrainian police guards, including some brought in from Kowel and Powursk, surrounded the ghetto. Then some 2,000 Jews slowly marched through the town and were escorted to a site in the direction of Czerewucha. Here they were made to strip naked and then slaughtered in four mass graves near the Christian cemetery in a wooded area called *ferdishe mogiles* (Horse Graves). The Germans gathered watches, gold teeth, and other valuables in a silk bag at the killing site. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, there was a total of 1,840 “primarily” Jewish victims, of whom the children were buried alive.⁸

Andrei Pestrak was under investigation by the British War Crimes Inquiry when he died in the United Kingdom in the late 1980s.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Yehuda Merin, *Sefer yizkor li-kehillat Manyevits’, Horodok, Trojanovkah, Lisbnivkah u-Povursk* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots’e Manyevits’, Horodok, Trojanovkah, Lisbnivkah u-Povursk voha-sevivah ba-Erets, 2002), contains a number of relevant testimonies. The International Association of Volhynian Jews also publishes its own journal, *Yalkut Volyn*, in Givatayim, Israel. This magazine includes an article on “Maniewiczze” by Yehuda Merin in vol. 45 (1989), p. 17.

On partisan activity in the area, see Jack Nusan Porter and Yehuda Merin, eds., *Jewish Partisans: A Documentary of Jewish Resistance in the Soviet Union during World War II*, 2 vols. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1982; repr., Newton, MA: Spencer, 2002). Another relevant publication is the collection in Hebrew edited by Nathan Livne, *Tall as Pine Trees: Jewish Partisans in Volhynian Forests* (Tel Aviv, 1980). Finally, there is a self-published article by Joseph M. Voss (with the assistance of Dr. Levis Kochin), “Nekamah mit sekhel,” which is the transcript of a lecture and memorial to the life of Dov Lorber, given at the Congregation Bikur Cholim, Seattle, WA, on February 12, 1997.

Documentation on the Holocaust in Maniewiczze can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/926); GARF (7021-55-8); MA (A.103); NA (Home Office War Crimes Inquiry); USHMM; and YVA (e.g., O-3/1332, 2367).

Jack Nusan Porter and Yehudah Merin

NOTES

1. *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 212–228. In 1921 in the nearby village of Trojanowka, there were 212 Jews, and in Powursk, 37.

2. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 790, gives the figure of 1,900 Jews under Soviet rule in 1939–1941.

3. Information from Dov Lorber, who later became a Jewish partisan commander in the region. For his testimony, see YVA, O-3/2367.

4. AŽIH, 301/926, testimony of Samuel Melchior; GARF, 7021-55-8.

5. Interview with Vasili Nesterovich Kulchitski conducted by Sir Thomas Hetherington in Lutsk, Ukraine, January 27, 1989. See also interview with Sevastian Stanislavovich Solubchuk by Hetherington on January 28, 1989. These records are currently located in the NA.

6. See Tzvi (Vora) Verba, “Deeds of a Child,” in Porter and Merin, *Jewish Partisans*, 2:115–122; his testimony can be found in file YVA, O-3/1332.

7. Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 317; interview with Arhip Anyisomich Mifanik conducted by Sir Thomas Hetherington in Lutsk, Ukraine, January 27, 1989; interview of Isaac Kirzner and Ben Finkel by William Chalmers on September 8, 1988; interviews in the NA. See also V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zbertvy i pamiat’* (Lutsk, 2003), p. 33; and AŽIH, 301/926.

8. The ChGK report, GARF, 7021-55-8. See also the interview with Aleksei Stepanovich Slipchuk conducted by Sir Thomas Hetherington in Lutsk, Ukraine, January 26, 1989, NA.

MEDZHIBOZH

Pre-1941: Medzhibozh, town and raion center, Proskurov oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Medsibosb, Rayon center, Gebiet Letischew, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Medzhybizh, Kbmel’nyts’kyi oblast’, Ukraine

Medzhibozh is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) east of Proskurov, at the confluence of the Southern Bug and Buzhok Rivers. Just prior to the German invasion, the Jewish population of Medzhibozh was approximately 5,000.¹

The German army occupied Medzhibozh on July 8, 1941.² On the first day of the occupation, the Germans forced Jewish men to shovel sand. Others were required to lie facedown in the mud so that officers could walk across their backs as a bridge. Others were required to sing, grovel in the grass, and dance for photographers.³

Within a few days, SS men came and formed a ghetto in the main part of town. The Jews were driven to one of the worst streets of the town—Bath Street—with 15 to 20 people squeezed into each room of a number of small houses. There was also considerable plundering of Jewish property during the move, as the Gestapo allowed only a short time for the move to be completed. Everything that was left behind was lost. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. Those who went too close to the fence were severely punished. The German captain in charge was Willy Kepke.⁴ The head Ukrainian local policeman was named Pavlovsky. Another local policeman was named Blonsky.⁵

The elder of the ghetto was Moishe Viener.⁶ Work consisted of clearing snow in the winter. In the spring of 1942, work details were involved in hauling stones (in a quarry 14

kilometers [9 miles] outside of town) and road construction.⁷ Workers at the quarry not only had to walk all the way there and back but also received terrible beatings. On April 14, 1942, 200 men were transferred from the ghetto to work at the front as slave laborers. What remained of Jewish property was consumed by contributions, taxes, bribes, and robbery. Food rations got smaller and averaged 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day. Some Jews left the ghetto to beg or barter remaining items for food. By 1942, the Jewish inhabitants of the ghetto began to die of starvation. Initially people were taken out on a cart to be buried in the cemetery. Local inhabitants who observed these frequent processions became aware of the high rate of mortality in the ghetto. However, once the authorities began demanding money for this, they were buried in a yard.⁸ Several weeks before the mass shooting in September, the Ashkenazi synagogue was razed to the ground, and fragments of the Sefer Torah were scattered to the winds.

On September 21, 1942,⁹ more than 1,000 people were shot at a mass grave near Rusanovtsy, on the western outskirts of Medzhibozh at a ravine leading to the Southern Bug River. By November 2, 1942, the ghetto was completely liquidated. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reports, the Germans and their collaborators massacred 2,558 to 2,588 people in total, in three trenches at the mass killing site.¹⁰

In the predawn hours of September 21, a truck unloaded 50 SS men at the gate of the ghetto. Fearing another pogrom (there were several perpetrated during the month of August), many people hid in bunkers they had prepared. People were so anxious that they slept in their clothes. At dawn, more than 1,000 people were driven to the mass killing site and shot. By noon, the killings were completed. SS soldiers tore apart the ghetto looking for valuables and hidden Jews. That afternoon, approximately 250 Jews were found and brought to barracks in the castle. About 80 were selected for a work detail the next morning; the rest were shot. Throughout the next three days, more Jews were discovered in the ghetto and brought to the barracks. During their time in the barracks, workers were fed 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread a day. The work detail was transferred to the prison camp at Letichev.¹¹

There was no known resistance in the area. Moishe Einhorn and Rose Huberman spent some time in the Medzhibozh ghetto and were part of the work detail transferred to Letichev after the first mass killing. They escaped from Letichev and sought refuge in Proskurov. Later, they escaped together from the Proskurov ghetto to Transnistria.¹² Huberman returned to live the rest of her life in Medzhibozh.¹³ Thirteen-year old Bronya Zats ran from the mass killing site during the executions. She swam across the Southern Bug River, and presumably the Nazis thought she had drowned. She was helped by Ukrainian farmers, and her identity was hidden throughout the rest of the occupation.¹⁴ These three are the only survivors of the ghetto on whom documentation

could be found. Apparently some Jews may also have survived by passing as Ukrainians and being sent to Germany as forced laborers in the mines.¹⁵

A Ukrainian policeman named Blonsky was arrested in Medzhibozh and sentenced to 25 years in prison by the Soviet authorities after the war.¹⁶ Pavlovsky was rumored to have fled to Canada.

SOURCES Translations of many of the relevant testimonies used for this article can be found in David Chapin and Ben Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe*, vol. 2 (Lincoln, NE: iUniverse, 2000), chap. 16, "Holocaust."

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-92); USHMM; and YIU (no. 618).

David Chapin and Ben Weinstock

NOTES

1. Computed by adding 9 percent to the 1926 figures, accounting for population growth.
2. Newspaper *Za Chest' Rodiny*, no. 27, March 30, 1944.
3. Testimony of Moshe Einhorn, from the 1981 edition of the Yiddish-language periodical *Sovietish Heimland*, published in translation in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road*, pp. 683–696. The photographs could not be located.
4. *Ibid.*; YIU, Témoin no. 618.
5. Tevye Goldberg, interviewed by Yuliy Lifshits, Jewish Preservation Committee of Ukraine, 1998. Translated in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road*, pp. 805–810.
6. Einhorn testimony.
7. I. Goland and V. Dymshits, "Report of a Trip to Staray Sinyava and Pilyava: An Interview with Bronya Khal'fina July 31, 1989," in V. Dymshits, *The History of Jews in Ukraine and Byelorussia, Expeditions, Monuments, Finds* (St. Petersburg: Petersburg Jewish University, History and Ethnography, Series Issue 2, 1994). Translated in part by Chapin and Weinstock in *The Road*, pp. 697–698. Note: Bronya Zats Khal'fin was very sick at the time of the interview, and her thoughts are somewhat incoherent. A better source may be Hershel Polianker, "In Medzhibozh," *Sovietish Heimland*, no. 1 (1982): 148–158.
8. Einhorn testimony; Khal'fin testimony; YIU, Témoin no. 618.
9. Einhorn testimony.
10. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-64-92, p. 2. See also DAKhO, Fond 363, case 39, p. 78, "About concentration camps and places of mass killing of Soviet people by the Fascists in the Territory of Khmel'nitsky Oblast' at the time of the Fascist occupation." Summary translations in English are available in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road*, pp. 746–750.
11. Einhorn testimony.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Sonya and Charles Bick visited her in Medzhibozh on July 26, 1990.
14. Khal'fin testimony.
15. *Ibid.*
16. Goldberg testimony.

MIĘDZYRZECZ

Pre-1939: Międzyrzecz, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Velikie Mezhirichi, initially, raion center, Rovno oblast', then, village, Korets raion, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mesbiritschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Velyki Mezhyrichi, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Międzyrzecz is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) east of Równe. According to the 1921 population census, 1,743 Jews lived in the village. By the middle of 1941, allowing for a population growth of 0.9 percent per annum, there would have been approximately 2,108 Jews living there.¹

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the village on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration (the Ortskommandantur in Korzec) governed the village, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Międzyrzecz (renamed Meshiritschi) became a Rayon center in Gebiet Rowno. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Beer.² There was a German Gendarmerie post in Międzyrzecz, as well as a Ukrainian police squadron.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, an antisemitic mood prevailed in the village, and Ukrainian nationalists organized a pogrom. Many Jewish homes were looted, and a number of Jews were assaulted.³

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in the village. A Judenrat was formed. Jews had to wear distinguishing marks in the form of the Star of David.⁴ They were ordered to perform heavy labor, mostly without pay. Jews could not leave the borders of the settlement. They were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the local Ukrainian police.

According to Isaiah Trunk, the chairman of the Jewish Council, Abraham Shvets, committed suicide after the Germans ordered him to deliver more than 100 young and healthy Jews, ostensibly for labor in Kiev. Reports from local non-Jews indicate that these Jews were subsequently killed in a mass grave.⁵

On May 22, 1942, an SD detachment arrived from Równe and directed an Aktion against the Jews in the village, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian police. Around 1,000 Jews were killed.⁶ The 37 members of the 1st Company of the 33rd Police Reserve Battalion also took part in the Aktion.⁷

Shortly after this Aktion, the Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of an open ghetto in Międzyrzecz. All the Jews who had survived the Aktion on May 22, and also a number from surrounding villages, were forcibly resettled into an area composed of a few empty dwellings on only two streets. The ghetto probably remained unfenced, but it was closely guarded by the Ukrainian police, so it was impossible for the Jews to leave.⁸ According to Trunk, there was a youth resistance group in the ghetto, which planned to escape to the

forests, but when they consulted the new chairman of the Judenrat, Isaiah Rubinstein, he replied: "Believe me, I too would have escaped together with you, but how can one abandon the ghetto? You may escape, but next day the Germans will kill everyone, including your families." Thus the German policy of threatening reprisals, if any Jew went missing, held back the youth of the Międzyrzecz ghetto from executing their escape plans.⁹

On September 26, 1942 (the Sukkot holiday), the ghetto was liquidated. The SD unit from Równe together with the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police shot around 800 or 900 Jews altogether.¹⁰ Only a few Jews managed to evade the initial roundup and ensuing searches. Some of them found refuge with local peasants and managed to survive until the end of the German occupation in early 1944.

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jewish population of Międzyrzecz can be found in the following publications: "Miedzyrzec," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 127–130; B.H. Ayalon-Baranick, *Mezeritch gadol be-vinyana u-be-hurbana* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Mezhiritch, 1955); Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Councils in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), pp. 444, 462; and "Velikie Mezhirichi," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos." 2000), 4:223.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Międzyrzecz under German occupation can be found in the following archives: DARO (R48-1-10); GARF (7021-71-58); TsGAVO (3676-4-317); VHF (e.g., # 1222, 40997); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2218, 3479-80).

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NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 363.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 66.
4. See the order of the Ortskommandantur Korez of August 6, 1941, for the Rayons of Beresowo, Hoschtscha, Korez, and Meshiritschi, DARO, R48-1-10, p. 16.
5. VHF, # 1222, testimony of Samuel Honigman.
6. According to *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:223, the number of Jewish victims was 950.
7. See the report of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer in Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942, TsGAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29.
8. VHF, # 40997, testimony of Mordekay Tenen'om; # 1222, Honigman, however, states that the ghetto was fenced.
9. Questionnaire 815, as cited by Trunk, *Judenrat*, pp. 444, 462.
10. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:223, gives the figure of 900 victims. VHF, # 40997, estimates that there were around 800 Jews in the ghetto prior to the liquidation Aktion.

MIELNICA

Pre-1939: Mielnica (Yiddish: Melnitsa), village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mel'nitsa, Goloby raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mielniza, Rayon Goloby, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mel'nytsia, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Mielnica is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) east of Kowel. According to the population census of 1921, 875 Jews lived in Mielnica. The town came under Soviet control in September 1939 and received an influx of refugees from western and central Poland. In 1941, just prior to the German invasion, there were probably slightly more than 1,000 Jews in the village.¹

German military forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Mielnica. Authority passed to a German civil administration in September 1941. Mielnica was included in Gebiet Kowel, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf became the Gebietskommissar, a position he held until June 1942. Leutnant Philipp Rapp became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.² In July 1942, Kämpf was arrested and executed for taking bribes from the Jews. He was replaced as Gebietskommissar by Erich Kassner, Kämpf's former chief of staff (Stabsleiter).

An elder was named to run local matters in the village. A number of Ukrainian policemen were also appointed. They served under the command of the German Gendarmerie outpost, based in Hołoby.

In July 1941, the first two Aktions were carried out against the male Jewish population in Mielnica: 56 young Jewish men were shot in the course of the "first Aktion," which took place at the start of the month. Some of them were betrayed by a local Polish antisemite who had been a headmaster under Polish rule and alleged that they had been Communists and political activists. The second Aktion took place in the middle of July, when some 280 men were killed. The Aktion was probably conducted by the 2nd Company of the 314th Police Battalion, which was deployed in Hołoby on July 14, 1941.³

In the summer and autumn of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Mielnica. First the Jews were registered and ordered to wear distinctive markings on their clothing. According to Leya Rog, their food ration was limited to 90 grams (3.2 ounces) of pumpernickel bread mixed with straw each day. Jews were forced to give up the land surrounding their houses to Ukrainians, including their vegetable gardens, and were compelled to cease their previous professions and other paid work. The Germans also demanded a ransom in money and gold from the Jews. A Judenrat was established that organized forced labor for the Jews, mostly in the form of cutting peat. The Jews were otherwise more or less confined to their houses and had to rely on any food that neighbors periodically brought to them secretly.⁴ The remaining Jews from the Rayon town of Hołoby were brought to Mielnica in late 1941.⁵

In the middle of August 1942, a ghetto was created in the village. It was established on Bozhichnaia Street, where two synagogues were located, and was cordoned off from the rest of the village.⁶ The Jews were given only a few minutes to leave their homes and all the contents. They were made to run as they carried their meager possessions with them into the ghetto, being beaten and threatened by shots fired into the air. Several families were now crammed into each house.⁷

The total number of Jews in the ghetto may have been as many as 1,200, including Jews brought in at this time from surrounding villages, such as Kaszówka. These Jews brought with them the disturbing news that non-Jews had been preparing pits on the outskirts of town.⁸ The Jews were left to starve for a number of days, as they could not leave the ghetto either to work or to beg for food. At the end of August 1942, the Germans demanded a further ransom, and when the Jews were unable to meet this demand, the Germans murdered the rabbi and the head of the Judenrat.⁹

On September 3, 1942, at 4:00 A.M., five Germans and around 100 Ukrainian policemen surrounded the ghetto. They gathered the Jews at an assembly point and then marched them out to a sand quarry near the southwestern border of the village, where they shot them all. Those in hiding heard the desperate prayers of old people, the crying of children, and the constant sound of gunshots. After the Jews had been murdered, the local police continued to search for Jews hiding in and around the ghetto, murdering any they could find. Local Ukrainians also looted the empty houses, and some subsequently took them as their own homes. Only a few Jews were able to escape the mass shooting. Among them was 12-year-old Zoja Baler, who, after hiding for a few days in the empty ghetto and fleeing to the forests, found shelter for some time in a family camp protected by a well-disposed Soviet partisan commander named "Max."¹⁰ Some escapees were murdered by Ukrainian bandits (*Banderowcy*) who roamed the forests and also killed Poles in 1943, after deserting from the local police. On March 16, 1944, when Mielnica was liberated by the Red Army, only six Jews returned to the town.

In 1974 the Ukrainian policeman Ivan A. Klomivich returned to Mielnica and was arrested by the Soviet authorities. He was tried together with his accomplices, P.D. Pravoshchik, Volka Redoshinsky, S.S. Zagurski, and A.D. Gogolyuk, for participation in the murder of Jews, Poles, and Soviet partisans in Mielnica, Kowel, and the surrounding area. All were initially sentenced to death, but for two of them the sentences were reduced on appeal to 15 years' hard labor.¹¹

SOURCES The yizkor book for Mielnica contains a section in English that includes several personal accounts and articles on the Holocaust period: Joshua Lior, ed., *Melnitsab: Pelekh Voblin, Ukra'inab: Sefer bantsabab, 'edut ve-zikaron li-kehilat Melnitsab* (Tel Aviv: yots'e Melnitsah be-Yisrael uva-tefutsot, 1994). A short article on the fate of the Jewish population of Mielnica can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ba-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 5, Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 134–135. The testimony of Leya Rog has been published in Boris Zabarko, ed.,

Holocaust in the Ukraine (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 246–247. Additional information can be found in Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 73, 363.

Documentation and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews in Mielnica can be found in the following archives: AZIH (301/299 and 2871); DAVO; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Lior, *Melnitsab*, pp. 19–45; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 820. A colorful impressionistic sketch map of the village as it was in the 1930s, including all the houses, can be found in the USHMM Archives, RG-03.017*01.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. Zelda Baller Lior, “A Childhood without Childhood,” in Lior, *Melnitsab*, pp. 54–60.

4. Testimony of Leya Rog, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 246–247; Lior, *Melnitsab*, p. 78.

5. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukraïnskogo evreïstva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskiï spravocnik* (Kharkov: “Karavella,” 2001), p. 84. In 1931, 350 Jews were residing in Hołoby.

6. Testimony of Rog, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 246–247.

7. Lior, “A Childhood without Childhood,” p. 55.

8. Ibid., and Leya Rog, “In the Footsteps of the Ukrainian Murderers,” in Lior, *Melnitsab*, pp. 48–52. In this testimony, Rog dates the establishment of the ghetto on September 1, 1942.

9. Lior, *Melnitsab*, p. 78.

10. Testimony of Rog, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 246–247; Rog, “In the Footsteps of the Ukrainian Murderers,” pp. 48–52; AZIH, 301/299, testimony of Zoja Baler (born 1930); and Lior, “A Childhood without Childhood,” pp. 54–60. According to some sources, approximately 200 Jews from Powórsk were also brought to Mielnica and killed at this time: see Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1019. The Jewish survivor Basia Katz, however, maintains that the Powórsk Jews were killed in trenches dug to hold gasoline tanks close to the village of Powórsk; see interview by Mr. William Chalmers on September 9, 1988.

11. Rog, “In the Footsteps of the Ukrainian Murderers,” pp. 48–52.

MIKASZEWICZE

Pre-1939: Mikaszewicze, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mikashevichi, Luninets raion, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mikashevitsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mikashevichy, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mikaszewicze is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) east-northeast of Pińsk. According to the 1921 population census,

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

there were 178 Jews living in Mikaszewicze. By June 1941, allowing for an annual increase of 9 or 10 persons per 1,000, there would have been more than 200 Jews in the town. The actual number was probably higher, owing to the arrival of a number of Jewish refugees from western and central Poland in the fall of 1939.

German forces occupied Mikaszewicze at the start of July 1941. In July and August, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled Mikaszewicze. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Mikaszewicze was incorporated into Gebiet Pinsk in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Mikaszewicze. They established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) as an intermediary body between the Jewish population and the German authorities. In November 1941, the civil authorities in Mikaszewicze issued an order that Jews over the age of 10 must wear yellow markers on the front and back of their clothes and that Jews were forbidden to use the sidewalks.¹ Jews were also required to perform forced labor and were robbed and beaten by the local police.

At some date before July 1942, probably in May 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Mikaszewicze into which some Jews were also resettled from nearby villages.² Between March and May of 1942, a number of men capable of work and aged between 14 and 60 years were selected from among the Jews in Mikaszewicze and, together with Jews from Lenin and Łachwa, were transported in railroad cars to a forced labor camp in Hancewicze.³

On August 6, 1942, a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Pińsk traveled to Mikaszewicze to conduct an Aktion against the ghetto. Assisted by forces of the Gendarmerie and the local police (Schutzmannschaft-Einzeldienst), officers of the Security Police shot the Jews next to the railway line. After the slaughter and in accordance with standard practice, the Security Police commander in Pińsk, SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp, prepared a report for the Commanding Officer of the Security Police (KdS) in Równe in which he stated that on August 6, 1942, 102 men, 159 women, and 159 children (420 Jews in total) were “executed” (shot) in Mikaszewicze. For economic and hygiene-related reasons, three engineers and two doctors were temporarily spared.⁴ On the day of the massacre, the local factory in Mikaszewicze ordered that the medical instruments of one of the doctors, the female doctor, Epshtein, be collected from her house in the ghetto, as they were necessary for her work at the factory.⁵

A Jewish photographer from the nearby ghetto of Lenin, Faye Schulman, took photographs for the Germans in the summer of 1942. After she escaped to the partisans in September 1942, she was able to save some of her photographs, including one of the bodies of the Jews shot in Mikaszewicze.⁶

SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jews in Mikaszewicze can be found in “Mikaszewicze,” in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities:*

Poland, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 269. The ghetto in Mikaszewicze is mentioned in V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Staatskomitee für Archive und Aktenführung der Republik Belarus, 2001), p. 91.

Documents concerning the extermination of the Jews in Mikaszewicze can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/2441); GABO (2733-1-5, 36, and 40); IPN; USHMM (Acc.1996.A.0169, reel 22); and YVA (e.g., M-41/1024 and 1026-27).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0169 (YVA, M-41/1026), Order issued by the local authorities in Mikaszewicze, November 17, 1941.

2. *Ibid.*, Acc.1996.A.0169 (YVA, M-41/1024), an order issued by the local authorities in Mikaszewicze, dated July 25, 1942, mentions the existence of a ghetto in the town. The ghetto in nearby Lenin was established on May 10, 1942.

3. L. Bakal and Z. Tsukerman, eds., *Poslednie svideteli* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 223–230; Shalom Cholowsky, *The Jews of Belorussia during World War II* (Amsterdam: Harwood, 1998), p. 109.

4. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szcążkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 2, report of Sturmscharführer Rasp to Kds Rowno, August 8, 1942.

5. USHMM, Acc.1996.A.0169 (YVA, M-41/1027), factory in Mikaszewicze, order regarding the collection of medical instruments belonging to the Jewish female doctor Epshtein, August 6, 1942.

6. See Faye Schulman, *Die Schreie meines Volkes in mir: Wie ich als jüdische Partisanin den Holocaust überlebte* (Munich: Lichtenberg, 1998), p. 99.

MIKHALPOL'

Pre-1941: Mikhalpol', village and raion center in Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Michalpol, Rayon center, Gebiet Jarmolinzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mikhal'ivka, Iarmolintsy raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Mikhalpol' is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) south-southeast of Proskurov. In 1897, the Jewish population was 1,392. Under Soviet rule in the 1930s, there was a Jewish kolkhoz close to the village. According to the 1939 population census, there were 728 Jews living in Mikhalpol' (34 percent of the total population) and 909 Jews within what was then the Mikhalpol' raion. After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, more than 100 Jews managed to evacuate to the east or joined the Red Army. Not more than 600 Jews are estimated to have remained in Mikhalpol' at the start of the occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Mikhalpol' on July 11, 1941. In July and August, a German military com-

mandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. A local Ukrainian named Nachubski was appointed as mayor of the town. In September 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. Mikhalpol' became a Rayon center in Gebiet Jarmolinzy, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Kameradschaftsführer Ernst Mertzes was the Gebietskommissar in Iarmolintsy. Under the civil administration, the only Germans based in Mikhalpol' were the agricultural leader (Sonderführer [Landwirtschaft]), Wilhelm Knöchelmann, and his assistant, who were responsible for the various estates in Rayon Michalpol and were subordinated to the Kreislandwirt, Karl Wiegmann, in Iarmolintsy. There was also a squad of more than 10 Ukrainian police based in Mikhalpol', subordinated to the head of the Ukrainian police in Iarmolintsy. A German Gendarmerie post was not established in the village until after the increase in partisan warfare in the region during 1943.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Mikhalpol'. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up as an intermediary body between the Jewish population and the German authorities, and Jews were ordered to wear identifying badges. In addition, Jews were ordered to perform forced labor and forbidden to leave the limits of the village. According to a Soviet postwar publication, in the middle of July 1941, the Ukrainian Nachtigall Battalion arrived from Lwów, and its members took part in the shootings of Jews in the village.¹

According to the postwar testimony of German agricultural leader Wilhelm Knöchelmann, there was already a ghetto for the Jews in Mikhalpol' on his arrival there (in around November 1941). He estimated that there were about 100 to 150 Jews in the ghetto, but the actual number was most probably higher. The ghetto was a part of the village, and the Jews were housed separately from the rest of the population. "The 'commandant' of these Jews [head of the Judenrat], himself a Jew, often came to me and placed Jews at my disposal for work." The Jews were used mainly in agricultural work in and around the village.²

In late October 1942, the Jews from the ghetto in Mikhalpol' were rounded up and transferred under close escort to Iarmolintsy by forces of the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, including about 14 members of the local police in Mikhalpol'. In Iarmolintsy, all the Jews gathered from Gebiet Jarmolinzy were confined within a derelict barracks compound close to the railway station for a number of days.³ On the arrival of a detachment of Security Police and SD from Starokonstantinow, under the command of SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf, the Jews were shot in groups into three pits prepared nearby. The Ukrainian police were stationed around the execution site to isolate it and to prevent the prisoners from escaping. In total about 6,400 Jews were shot there over the course of about six hours.⁴

During the occupation, which lasted from July 11, 1941, to March 27, 1944, there were 662 residents of the village killed altogether, the majority of whom were Jews.⁵ Some 60 Jews were shot in Mikhalpol' itself.⁶ The remainder was killed in

Iarmolitsy. Very few Jews from Mikhalpol' are known to have survived.

SOURCES Documents of the ChGK and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the extermination of the Jews of Mikhalpol' can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5072); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-802, 818); VHF (# 8453); and YVA (M-52/179).

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NOTES

1. Krovavye zlodeianiia Oberlendera: Otchet o press-konferentsii dlia sovetskikh i inostrannykh zhurnalistov, sostoivsheisia v Moskve 5 aprelia 1960 g. (Moscow, 1960), p. 16.

2. BA-L, B 162/5072, pp. 394–395, statement of Wilhelm Knöchelmann, September 19, 1967. The existence of a ghetto and the use of Jews for forced labor are also mentioned in VHF, # 8453, testimony of Sonia Bershtein.

3. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 203. See also BA-L, B 162/5073, pp. 649–657.

4. BA-L, B 162/5071, pp. 89–92, statement of Wilhelm Kurt Paul Grosse, January 8, 1960.

5. M.I. Mekheda, ed., *Istoriia mist i sil Ukrain'skoi RSR: Khmel'nyts'ka oblast'* (Kiev: Holovna Redaktsiia Ukrain'skoi Radians'koi Entsiiklopedii Akademii Nauk URSR, 1971), pp. 655–656.

6. YVA, M-52/179, p. 19.

MIN'KOVTSY

Pre-1941: Min'kovtsy (Yiddish: Minkovits), village and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Minkowzy, Gebiet Dunajewzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Min'kovtsy, Dunaivtsi raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Min'kovtsy is approximately 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,635 Jews living in Min'kovtsy, accounting for 46.6 percent of the total population, and another 777 Jews in the rest of what was then the Min'kovtsy raion (2,412 Jews in total).¹

German armed forces occupied the village on July 12, 1941, three weeks after their invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In these three weeks, a small number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and some of the men were conscripted into or volunteered for military service in the Red Army. At the same time, some Jewish refugees arrived in the village.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. It appointed a village elder (starosta) and formed an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Min'kovtsy became a Rayon center in Gebiet Dunajewzy, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

In July and August 1941, the German military authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Min'kovtsy: a

Judenrat was set up; Jews were required to wear distinguishing markings bearing the Star of David; they were used for forced labor, such as carrying stones; they were forbidden to leave the village; and they were systematically robbed, beaten, and mocked by the Ukrainian police.

According to the *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, in early August 1941, all the Jews remaining in the village were forced to move into a ghetto.² Jews from the surrounding villages, and most likely the Jewish refugees as well, also were herded into the ghetto.

The ghetto was in existence only for about three weeks; it was liquidated on August 30, 1941, when the 320th Police Battalion (commanded by Police Major Kurt Dall) shot 2,200 Jews.³ According to a local witness, Ivan Bodnar, the German and local police rounded up all the Jews on the main street and escorted them to three large pits, which had been prepared nearby. There the Jews were forced to undress and were shot in the pits in groups of 10 to 15 people. The local policemen played an active role in the shooting. Local inhabitants looted the Jewish houses, and some were sold to people in need of a place to live.⁴

After the Aktion, the Ukrainian police caught another 70 or so Jews who had been hiding in various places. According to Bodnar, these Jews were not shot but were placed in a single building, marked with a yellow Star of David on the front door, forming a remnant ghetto. The building was not guarded, but all the Jews were registered and had to wear distinguishing markings on their chest and back. Some local inhabitants gave food secretly to the Jews, who suffered from hunger.⁵

Initially these Jews were used for various types of forced labor, and then they were sent to the Dunaevtsy ghetto and shot there in October 1942, along with the other Jews in that ghetto.⁶

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Min'kovtsy can be found in Avraham Rozen, H. Sarig, and Y. Bernshtain, eds., *Kaminitz-Podolsk u-sevivatah: Sefer-zikaron li-kebilot Yisrael ba-'arim Kaminitz-Podolsk, Balin, Dunivits, Zamibov, Zvanits, Minkovits, Smotrits', Frampol, Kupin, Kiteygorod she-bushmedu bi-yeme ha-Sho'ah 'al-yede ha-Natsim bisbenat 701/arukh bi-yede* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Kamenets-Podolsk u-sevivatah be-Yisrael, 1965). The Min'kovtsy ghetto is mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 826.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Min'kovtsy can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-802); YIU (no. 684); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 50.

2. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 826.

3. VHAP, Kommando-Stab Reichsführer SS, Radiogram from the HSSPF Russland Süd, no. 56, August 31, 1941, published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob уничtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 gg* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 247. According to ChGK documents (GARF, 7021-64-802, p. 88), 1,840 people were shot in Min'kovtsy on August 31, 1941.

4. YIU, Témoin no. 864, Ivan Timofevich Bodnar (born 1924), February 5, 2009.

5. Ibid.

6. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 826.

MIZOCZ

Pre-1939: Mizocz, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mizoch, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Misotsch, Rayon center, Gebiet Sdolbunow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mizoch, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Mizocz is located on the Stubła River, about 26 kilometers (16 miles) south–southwest of Równo. In 1921, the town's Jewish population was 882. By June 1941, it had increased to more than 2,000, including a number of refugees from the German-occupied region of Poland. When Germany attacked the Soviet Union, a few Jews fled with the retreating Red Army.

Under the Soviets, as many refugees from German-occupied Poland fled German atrocities, the Jewish population of Mizocz swelled considerably. Many of the newcomers, however, were deported into the Soviet interior before the German invasion.¹

On June 29, 1941, two days after the Germans entered Mizocz, “local Ukrainians carried out a pogrom against the Jews” in which several Jews were killed.² The German military stopped it. Almost immediately, a curfew was established, and Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. This was replaced later by patches, two yellow circles, one to be worn on the left side of the chest and the other on the right side of the back. Jews had to step down from sidewalks when encountering a German. Men had to take off their hats. Signs such as “Nicht für Juden” (Jews prohibited) were posted in public areas around town. Relations with Ukrainians had also changed; many refused to acknowledge their former Jewish friends, and for their own safety they needed to act like everyone else and express their hatred for the Jews.³ The Germans established a Ukrainian police force, headed by Mizoczyk; its main purpose was to persecute and rob the Jews.

The Judenrat was established shortly after the arrival of the Germans. According to Asher Gilberg, Aba Shtivl was the chairman.⁴ Its members included Shmuel Bunis, Melekh Gusak, Moshe Berez, Yona Nemirover, Avraham Vaynshteyn, and Hirsh Goldbrener, who represented the refugees. Moshe

Rudman served as secretary. There was a Jewish police force, headed by Goldbrener. Gilberg comments positively on the heads of the Judenrat and the Jewish Police. In the summer and fall of 1941, the Jewish Police assisted in collecting money, valuables, and other items demanded by the Germans as a “contribution.”

In the spring of 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Zdołbunów announced that a ghetto would be established in Mizocz. All Jews from Mizocz and the surrounding villages were ordered to move into the ghetto, but the actual transfer was probably not completed until June.⁵ The precise number of Jews in the ghetto is not known, but the number probably exceeded 2,500, with some sources putting it as high as 3,500. The ghetto was located in the old part of town called “miasto” (the town). It bordered on the Market Square on one side and the Stubła River on the other. It remained an open ghetto and was not surrounded by a wall or other physical barriers and was not closely guarded. People were able to move in and out rather freely, conduct business, buy food, and trade belongings. There was no starvation in the Mizocz ghetto. According to Asher Gilberg, the area of the ghetto was actually enlarged after its initial establishment.⁶

From the very beginning, Jews had to perform forced labor. The work included washing wounded soldiers' laundry, snow removal, farmwork, and construction work in nearby Zdołbunów for the German firm Josef Jung from Solingen.

Despite the public hanging of Zeyde Gelman for illegal slaughtering, and several arrests, the German administration of Mizocz was relatively benign.⁷ The Germans promised members of the Judenrat and others who worked for them that their lives were safe because they were needed. Despite the slaughters that were taking place in surrounding areas, the Jews of Mizocz largely believed the Germans.

Early in the morning of October 13, 1942, the ghetto was cordoned off and surrounded by a combined force of the SD from Równe, German Gendarmerie, and armed Ukrainian Schutzmannen. Everyone was herded to the “Platz” in the market square with the assistance of large dogs. Helen Segall recalls that “the crowd of people moved as one huge body as they were being chased to the market square by Ukrainian Schutzmannen, and that the collective scream of the victims sounded inhuman, deafening, and unbearable.” She also remembers that as she and her Aunt Natalie ran back to the house where they had been staying, to the safety of a hiding place located between the walls of two buildings, she saw a man in brown trousers, a trench coat, and a fedora hat pouring gasoline from a large rectangular can onto the houses as he ran in the opposite direction. Segall further recalls that later as smoke began to penetrate their hiding place, they had to leave it. They discovered that the whole town was a burning inferno. Surrounded by burning buildings, together with others, they ran along the widest street downhill towards the river. They were flanked on both sides by walls of raging hot flames.⁸

Late the same afternoon, people herded to the Platz were organized into a column and marched under guard to the end of town where, on a knoll opposite the sugar factory, a huge

2-meter-deep (6.6-foot-deep) trench dug for the neighboring brick factory had been prepared, awaiting its victims. As in other Volhynian towns, people had to undress and walk in small groups into the trench and lie facedown, where they were shot by an SS man helped by a Ukrainian Schutzmann.⁹ The slaughter lasted long into the night and continued the next day as people trying to escape were caught and brought there. Thus, after two days, October 13 and 14, 1942, the Jewish community of Mizocz ceased to exist.

During the summer and fall of 1942, there seems to have been the beginning of a planned resistance movement in Mizocz, when a number of young people attempted to buy weapons in Zdołbunów, but they did not succeed. Thus, the major signs of resistance were the huge fire set by ghetto residents and a brief struggle with blunt weapons while the ghetto was in the process of being liquidated. Spector and others describe the Mizocz fire as an act of resistance intended to create panic and confusion, to make it possible for a large number of people to escape. Segall writes that “at the time I resented the fire which forced us from the seeming safety of our hiding place. I believed that the fire was set to destroy all material goods and possessions so that they would not fall into German and Ukrainian hands.” Actually, there is little doubt that the fire did cause panic and commotion and indeed helped a large number of people escape, although many were later caught and shot. The next day (October 14, 1942) dead bodies were strewn on the banks of the river and on both sides of the road leading from Mizocz. One of the side tragedies caused by the fire was that about 200 people died in the flames, most probably caught in their hiding places.

The Soviet army liberated Mizocz in February 1944. Very few Jews had survived. Those who survived had hidden in the forests, joined the partisans, or were concealed by their Polish, Czech, and Ukrainian friends. In 1963–1964 a series of trials of the German Gendarmerie officials were held in Nürnberg-Fürth. Joseph Paur and Wilhelm Wacker were tried and convicted for their role in the ghetto liquidations in Zdołbunów, Mizocz, and Ostróg. Paur received a seven-year prison sentence, and Wacker was sentenced for three years.¹⁰

Thus, the Jewish community of Mizocz, which had been there for 300 years, was exterminated during those two days in October 1942. After the old town and its ghetto were reduced to ashes, Mizocz lost its “town status.” It is now listed as “a settlement with urban characteristics.”

SOURCES Relevant publications regarding the Mizocz ghetto include the following: Asher ben-Oni, ed., *Mizocz: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots’e Mizots’ be-Yisrael, 1961); Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 553, pp. 319–361; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1003; and A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa*

ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik (Kharkov: “Karavella,” 2001), p. 209.

Relevant documentation on the fate of the Jews of Mizocz during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/1795); BA-L (B 162/1585-1601, 4691, 14154); DARO; GARF (7021-71-59); USHMM; and VHF (e.g., # 7722, 46341). In addition, reference has been made to the author’s own unpublished manuscript, Helen Segall, “When the Lilacs Bloom: A Memoir.”

Helen Segall

NOTES

1. Yehuda Bronshteyn, “The Judenrat in Mizocz,” in ben-Oni, *Mizocz*, pp. 90–94.
2. Nachum Kopit, “In the Ghetto, Forced Labor, and in the Forests,” in *ibid.*, pp. 33–53.
3. Bronshteyn, “The Judenrat in Mizocz,” pp. 90–94.
4. Asher Gilberg, “The Life and Death of Mizocz,” in ben-Oni, *Mizocz*, pp. 5–28.
5. *ŻuNS-V*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 553, p. 328.
6. Gilberg, “The Life and Death,” pp. 5–28. Bronshteyn, “The Judenrat in Mizocz,” pp. 90–94, gives the figure of 3,500.
7. Gilberg, “The Life and Death,” pp. 5–28; *ŻuNS-V*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 553, p. 329.
8. Segall, “When the Lilacs Bloom.”
9. The document compiled by the ChGK (GARF, 7021-71-59) erroneously states that “the police consisted of Germans and Hungarians.” The interrogation of Vinogradski and the entry in the Diary of a Young Man located in Rivne Archive (DARO) confirm that the Schutzmannen were Ukrainians.
10. *ŻuNS-V*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 553, pp. 323–334.

MŁYNÓW

Pre-1939: Młynów (Yiddish: Mlinov), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mlynov, Rovno oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mlinow, Rayon center, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mlyniv, raion center, Rivne oblast’, Ukraine

Młynów is located approximately 40 kilometers (25 miles) southwest of Równe. According to the 1921 census, 615 Jews were residing in Młynów; allowing for a natural growth rate of 9 people per 1,000 per year, it is estimated that there were some 730 Jews in the town in 1941. Besides the local Jews, several hundred Jewish refugees from the western parts of Volhynia settled in Młynów, so that there were approximately 1,500 Jews in the town at the start of the occupation. The Jewish population of Murawica (Yiddish: Muravits), the other main settlement in the Rayon, was 167 (total population, 376) in 1921.

Młynów was occupied by units of the German 6th Army on June 24, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German local commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur) governed Młynów, and in September 1941, authority was transferred to a civil administration. Młynów then became part of Gebiet Dubno.

The Gebietskommissar was Nachwuchsführer Broks, and from the spring of 1942, the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Eberhardt.¹ There was a Gendarmerie post in Młynów, as well as a squad of local Ukrainian police.

Soon after the occupation, Jews were ordered to wear a white armband with a blue Star of David, and they were also assigned to compulsory work. Notices posted on the streets required that Jewish men and women of ages 14 and older had to present themselves in the market square for labor, equipped with tools and cleaning equipment. Anyone who did not show up would be shot. In general, Jewish women were sent to do cleaning work and the men to work in the fields of the estate of Count Hudkiwicz. About 200 men were sent to work on the estate of Count Liudochowski, in the village of Smordwa. Jews were also brought there from the neighboring villages of Boremel and Demidówka. The director of the estate was an ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*) named Grüner, a cruel sadist who made the men run downstairs and beat them in the middle of the night.

Immediately upon the arrival of the Germans, a Ukrainian police force was organized. They wore a blue and yellow armband on their left sleeves. On July 5, 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in the town: more than 10 Jewish youths were shot as alleged Soviet activists, including Chaya Kupergloz, Rivka Bar, Freydl Rivits, and Yentl Mendlkern.² A few weeks later, between 10 and 15 Polish political activists (together with 1 Jew) were arrested and murdered. The town's rabbi, Yehuda Gordin, was also among the first victims in the summer of 1941. He was imprisoned by the Germans and interrogated for several days before he was killed. During August 1941, the mayor of Młynów collected Jewish gold, silver, and other valuable items, which were forwarded to Berlin via Równe by the Wehrmacht.³ Official receipts were even issued for the items collected. In a subsequent Aktion, Germans and hundreds of Ukrainian police with wagons confiscated everything they could get their hands on: bicycles, sewing machines, and furniture belonging to the Jews. This operation ended suddenly when a whistle was blown, causing some furniture to be left behind, as there was insufficient time to load it all.

In the fall of 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force were set up. The former shopkeeper Hashas was appointed as the first chairman of the Judenrat; other members included Mordekhai Litvak, Chaim Yitskhak Kupergloz (the former kehillah chairman), Mordekhai Liberman, and Moshe ben Yaakov Holtsker. Among the policemen were Zelig Zider, Shlomo Shakhman, Perets Tesler, and Tsvi Gring. At this time the civil administration ordered the replacement of the white armbands for Jews with a yellow patch sewn on the chest and back.

In the fall of 1941, the Gebietskommissar in Dubno ordered the recruitment of about 50 Jews from Młynów for construction work in Równe. Ukrainian and Jewish police went from house to house looking for the men, using a list drawn up with the help of the Judenrat. Some of the men fled

to the surrounding fields and villages. In place of those who had fled, the police took whomever they could find. The families of these men wept bitterly on their departure. The Germans murdered all the men once they had finished their work.

Prior to the construction of the ghetto, there was no acute lack of food, as most Jews still had some stores at home. However, in the fall of 1941, a Hungarian army unit came and confiscated the remaining stores of grain and beans from the Jews. Jews were still able to barter for food with the peasants after that time, in spite of the official ban.

At the end of 1941, the Judenrat announced that people with work certificates would not be taken into the planned ghetto. Therefore, Jews did everything they could to obtain these work certificates. There were also different categories of certificates. The “best” were “iron certificates,” which were issued to dentists, goldsmiths, doctors, and other craftsmen employed personally by the Germans. In Młynów it was difficult to obtain these certificates, so some Jews traveled to Dubno with Ukrainian peasants, risking their lives to get them. On one of these illegal journeys, Yaakov Nudler—who was trying to obtain arms for the resistance—was discovered and killed.

On May 22, 1942, a ghetto was established. Two streets served as its borders: Szkolno and Duwinska. Permission was given for Jews from other streets to take their personal belongings with them. Those who were expelled from their homes moved into the houses on these streets. In a few instances, the Judenrat determined where people would stay. At this time the Jews of Murawica (about 150 people) were also brought into the Młynów ghetto. Owing to the overcrowding, the sanitary conditions worsened severely. In general, 7 or 8 people shared each room. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and had two gates guarded by Ukrainian police. The Jewish Police usually accompanied those leaving the ghetto to work. Except for those who left to do work, nobody was allowed to leave the ghetto.

Immediately after the ghetto was set up, a general feeling set in that this was the prologue to the ghetto's liquidation. A few youths, among them Moshe Mendlkern, the Nakunitshnik brothers, the Liberman sisters, and several Jewish Police tried to organize resistance. At the head of the group was Avraham Ben-Tsion Holtsker. Shlomo Nakunitshnik had connections with people in the forests who had weapons. One of the partisans, a Pole, promised to provide arms for the Jewish youth in Młynów. The youth also prepared gasoline to burn down the ghetto in order to create confusion so they might escape during the liquidation. The group obtained two rifles, which they carefully hid, but ultimately they were unable to take concerted action.

In September 1942, rumors came of the ghetto liquidations in other towns nearby, and it was discovered that local peasants had been ordered to prepare a large pit in the valley between the towns of Młynów and Murawica, known as the *kruzbuk*, about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from town. The first victims killed in this pit were the Taytman brothers, Fishl and Shlomo, who had left the ghetto without permission.

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Before the liquidation, all the Jews who worked outside the ghetto on various farms were ordered to return. Some returned willingly to be with their families, while others had to be brought forcibly by the Ukrainian police.

The Ukrainian police, under German command, then surrounded the ghetto. Loudspeakers announced that it was forbidden to leave. Men, women, and children went out onto the streets. Panic and hysteria broke out. People prayed, wept, screamed, and reunited with their families. From time to time, lone gunshots and the rattle of the police motorcycles were heard. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), on September 22, 1942, a team of the Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, shot 980 Jews, and in October of 1942, another 520 Jews (sources differ as to the exact dates).⁴

On the liberation of Młynów by the Red Army in February 1944, only some 35 survivors returned to the town, and they all had moved to Równe by the end of the year.

SOURCES Much reference has been made in this article to the yizkor book edited by Yitshak Siegleman, *Sefer Mlinov-Muravits* (Haifa: Va'ad yots'e Mlinov-Muravits be-Yisrael, 1970); a brief article on the town can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 133–134.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Młynów can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/2882); DARO; GARF (7021-71-60); TsDAVO (4620-3-367); and YVA (O-3/3247, O-3/1878, M-1/E/1443, M-1/E/816).

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-71-60, p. 5.
3. BA-BL, R 2104/21, pp. 341–462.
4. GARF, 7021-71-60, pp. 5–6. See also TsDAVO, 4620-3-367, pp. 5–6.

MOKROWO

Pre-1939: Mokrowo, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Mokrowo, Pinsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mokrow, Rayon Luninez, Gebiet Pinsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Mokrowo, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mokrowo is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) east of Pińsk. In the 1930s, there were around 250 Jews altogether living in Mokrowo and the neighboring village of Sienkiewicze.

German armed forces first occupied the two villages on July 3, 1941. Soon after the start of the occupation, all Jewish men over the age of 16 had to register for hard labor, and much Jewish property was confiscated.

According to the postwar testimony of Wilhelm Rasp, the head of the Security Police outpost (Aussendienststelle) in Pińsk from May 1942 until December 1943, a ghetto had been established in Mokrowo for the Jews living there (probably together with the Jews from Sienkiewicze), at some date before August 1942, probably in the spring of 1942. At that time there were about 280 Jews living in the ghetto. The Jews had been left in Mokrowo, rather than being transferred to a larger ghetto, as there was a plywood factory in Mokrowo, which belonged to a Jewish engineer and probably supplied war materials for the German army.

According to Rasp, in around June 1942 he received a written order from Adolf Eichmann that all the Jews in his area of command were to be liquidated. The Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei (Sipo) und SD (KdS) in Równe, Dr. Pütz, Rasp's immediate superior, also confirmed this order verbally. When Rasp objected that he had neither appropriate weapons nor ammunition for this task, he received a visit from the Befehlshaber der Sipo und SD (BdS) in Kiev, SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Max Thomas, who accused him of disobeying orders and tasked him with counting the number of victims and securing the valuables during the ghetto liquidation Aktions. It was also his job to ensure that about one third of the Jews were kept back as workers and that there were no excesses of cruelty.

At the beginning of August 1942, Rasp traveled to Mokrowo together with the deputy Gebietskommissar in Pińsk, Alfred Ebner, to liquidate the ghetto. Ebner had received an order from Dr. Pütz to this end and insisted that Rasp and some of his men accompany him. According to Rasp, the Jew who owned the plywood factory in Mokrowo had refused to sell an industrial patent to the Germans, and this provoked the order to liquidate the Mokrowo ghetto first. Rasp and Ebner traveled by train, accompanied by a couple of Rasp's subordinates and about 5 or 6 Gendarmes, as well as around 10 or 12 members of the Ukrainian police. In Mokrowo, pits had been prepared in advance by the local mayor.

On the next morning, men of the Ukrainian police and Gendarmerie drove the Jews out of their houses and escorted them in a column to the site in the forest where the pits were ready. Here the Jews had to undress and surrender their valuables. Then they were forced to lie down in a pit and were shot in the back of the head by Petsch of the Security Police and one of the Gendarmes. Each successive group had to lie down on top of the corpses of those already shot. In total, 280 people were shot. According to Rasp, the Jewish engineer/previous owner was not shot on this occasion; he lived at this time outside the ghetto in the factory.¹

SOURCES Some information on the Jewish communities of Mokrowo and Sienkiewicze can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities:*

Poland, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 268–269. This source, however, indicates that the Jews of the two villages were transferred to the Łachwa ghetto in April 1942, where they shared the fate of the other Jews there.

The main sources for this entry are the interrogations of Wilhelm Rasp, which were conducted by the West German authorities in 1961 and 1962 as part of a larger investigation into the ghetto clearances in the Pińsk region. Rasp himself was not tried, as he committed suicide before he could be brought to trial. The interrogations can be found in BA-L (B 162/4949-4971).

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NOTE

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59 (B 162/4952-60), statements of Wilhelm Rasp, December 18, 1961, November 22, 1962, and letter of Rasp, May 14, 1962.

MOROCZNA

Pre-1939: Moroczna, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Morochnoe, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Morotschnoe, Rayon center, Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Morochne, Zarechnoe raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Moroczna is located about 32 kilometers (20 miles) south-southwest of Pińsk. On the eve of the German invasion of June 1941, in what was then the Morochnoe raion, there lived around 2,000 Jews. Many of these Jews resided in the village of Serniki (987 people, according to the 1921 census) and in the village of Pohost-Zarzeczny (264 people, according to the same census).

German forces first passed through the village at the start of July 1941, but authority in the region was initially seized by local Ukrainians. In August 1941, a German military administration ran the settlement. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civilian administration. Moroczna became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk, which in turn became part of the Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Kameradschaftsführer Fritz Michaelis was named Gebietskommissar in Kamień Koszyrski.¹

A local Ukrainian administration was formed in the village, along with a Ukrainian auxiliary police squad, which served under the German Gendarmerie.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Moroczna: Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks in the shape of the Star of David (later a yellow circle). They were compelled to perform forced labor. They were not permitted to leave the boundaries of the settlement without permission. Finally, the Ukrainian police robbed and beat them more or less at will.

In early 1942, a ghetto was created into which the Jews of Moroczna and some of the surrounding villages were forcibly

resettled. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the ghetto was liquidated in August or September 1942, when a unit of the Security Police and SD from Brześć shot 542 Jews in the village (121 men, 147 women, 274 children) with the help of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.² At around the same time, 140 Jews were killed in the village of Pohost-Zarzeczny, where, according to *Pinkas ha-kebilot*, an open ghetto also existed,³ and the ghetto in the village of Serniki was liquidated a few weeks later.

According to another source, however, Jews brought in from Moroczna were among some 1,600 to 1,700 Jews who were murdered by the Security Police and SD from Brześć in mid-August 1942 during an Aktion conducted against the ghetto in Lubieszów.⁴ Some corroboration for this version of events is given by a report of the Security Police based in Równe that a verbal communication had been received from the Security Police outpost in Brześć that 3,399 Jews in Gebiet Kamen Kaschirsk had been given “special treatment” (*Sonderbehandlung*).⁵

SOURCES Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Moroczna can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/6338); DARO; GARF (7021-71-121); and IPN.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-71-121, p. 7.
3. *Ibid.*; Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 5, Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 275.
4. BA-L, B 162/6338, p. 350; see also GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 111, which dates the Aktion in Lubieszów on August 15, 1942.
5. IPN, GKŚZpNP Zbior Zespolow Szczatkowych Jednostek SS i Policji, Sygn. 77, report dated August 17, 1942.

MUROVANNYE KURILOVTSY

Pre-1941: Murovannye Kurilovtsy, town (PGT) and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Murovanny Kurilowzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Murovani Kurylivtsi, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Murovannye Kurilovtsy is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Vinnitsa. According to the census of 1939, there were 1,014 Jews living in Murovannye Kurilovtsy (25 percent of the total population). In the villages of Murovannye Kurilovtsy raion there lived an additional 1,065 Jews.

Following the German occupation of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, several hundred of the local Jews managed to evacuate. Men were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Only about 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish

population remained in Murovannye Kurilovtsy at the start of the occupation.

Axis forces occupied Murovannye Kurilovtsy on July 19, 1941. In July and early August 1941, the settlement was initially administered by seven Hungarian soldiers, and a local Ukrainian militia had not yet been organized. At this time, Feldkommandantur 675 in Vinnitsa was responsible for the military administration of the region and had appointed Anton Kornitzki as the Rayonchef in charge of the local Ukrainian administration.¹

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Murovannye Kurilovtsy became a Rayon center in Gebiet Bar, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. A German civil servant, Regierungsassessor Steffen, served as the Gebietskommissar in Bar.² Leutnant der Gendarmerie Petrich served as the head of the German Gendarmerie in Gebiet Bar. Subordinated to him were several Gendarmerie posts, including the post in Murovannye Kurilovtsy. Subordinated to this post in turn was a detachment of Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (Schutzmannschaft).

At the end of July 1941, the German military administration registered 4,800 inhabitants in Murovannye Kurilovtsy, including 600 Jews.³ During the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures. Initially the German military authorities ordered that the Jews were to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David. Those caught disobeying this order were severely beaten.⁴ Under the German civil administration, these armbands were later replaced by a yellow circle to be worn on the chest and back of outer clothing. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established under the leadership of Iosik Gas. The Judenrat had to enforce German orders, especially the collection of money, valuables, and clothing to be given to the Gendarmerie. It was assisted in this task by an unarmed Jewish police force.⁵

At some time between October 1941 and January 1942, a ghetto was established for the Jews in Murovannye Kurilovtsy.⁶ Most of the Jews were confined in a small area near the market square, which was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. The ghetto was overcrowded, with three or four families sharing each small house with only about one room per family. One survivor mentioned that due to lack of space some additional barracks were built for the Jews, and another stated that there were two ghettos separated by a road.⁷

Jews from the ghetto were required to perform forced labor. The tasks included work at a local quarry, in warehouses, at a grain silo, digging military fortifications, and agricultural work at a kolkhoz. Only those who worked in the offices of the "Kommandantur" (headquarters) received anything to eat. Food was scarce, and people had to eat rotten potatoes and other scraps. Once a week Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto for one hour to barter remaining possessions for food at the market. Some Jews working outside the ghetto were also brought food and clothing by Ukrainian acquaintances

while at work. In the winter of 1941–1942, some Jews from Bukovina and Bessarabia arrived in the ghetto.⁸

On August 20, 1942, the Jews of the Snitkov ghetto were rounded up and transferred to the ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy. Children and the elderly were transported by horse and cart, and people were instructed to take enough food for two days. On arrival they were assigned to a few buildings, each holding 50 or 60 people.⁹

On Friday, August 21, 1942, the German police organized a large-scale Aktion against the Murovannye Kurilovtsy ghetto.¹⁰ Men of the Gendarmerie and local police surrounded the ghetto. Then all the Jews were ordered to assemble at a central square with food for three days and all their valuables, as they were told they would be relocated. Once they had assembled, the Jews were first required to surrender their valuables to the local police. Then a number of Jews were selected out as capable of work and were allowed to return to the Murovannye Kurilovtsy ghetto. The remaining 1,170 Jews were escorted about 3 or 4 kilometers (2 or 2.5 miles) outside the settlement to the Iankovo Forest, where they were all shot in three large pits that had been prepared a few days in advance. The men, women, and children were each shot in separate pits.¹¹ The Aktion was organized by an SD detachment from the office (Aussendienststelle) of the Security Police in Kamenets-Podolskii, headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police assisted in rounding up the Jews, escorting them to the place of mass killing, and searching for those who had gone into hiding or escaped.

Of those selected out, about 80 young Jews were sent to the Bar ghetto in early September, where they were used to unload coal at the railroad station until the liquidation of that ghetto on October 15, 1942. On Friday, October 16, 1942, the ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy was liquidated, and all the remaining 120 Jews were shot.¹² After the liquidation Aktion, Ukrainians came into Murovannye Kurilovtsy from the surrounding villages to loot any remaining Jewish property. Only a few Jews managed to escape the roundups and find refuge in the countryside or by escaping into the Romanian-occupied zone, where by the end of 1942 the chances of survival for Jews were considerably better.

Among those tried by the Soviet authorities for collaboration with the German occupants was Valentina Iosifovna Mohyla-Sternat, who was accused of serving as a translator for the German Gendarmerie in Murovannye Kurilovtsy and benefiting from Jewish property. In February 1948, she was sentenced to 25 years in prison and the loss of her citizen's rights.¹³

SOURCES The ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 41; and in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 861–862.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Murovanye Kurilovtsy can be found in the following archives: DAVINO (R6023-4-28506); GARF (7021-54-1244); IPN; RGVA (1275-3-662); USHMM (RG-31.018M, reel 28); VHF (# 20754, 25153, 34310, 46977); and YVA (M-33).

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NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, Report of the Feldkommandantur 675 (V), Abt. VII in Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 11, 1941.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. RGVA, 1275-3-662, Report of the Feldkommandantur 675 (V), Abt. VII in Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 11, 1941.
4. Ibid.; VHF, # 20754, testimony of Zoia Korenblit.
5. VHF, # 46977, testimony of Lina Laterman; # 20754.
6. DAVINO, R6023-4-28506, dates the ghetto from January 1942; VHF, # 20754, dates it from October 1941.
7. VHF, # 20754, on overcrowding; # 46977, mentions two ghettos separated by a main highway; # 25153, testimony of Leonid Garfinkel, mentions the construction of additional barracks.
8. Ibid., # 20754, # 46977, # 25153; # 27207, testimony of Sofia Nudel'man; # 20062, testimony of Boris Vaitsman; # 43183, testimony of Polina Zil'berman.
9. Ibid., # 34310, testimony of Dina Bril.
10. GARF, 7021-54-1244, p. 3.
11. IPN, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, k. 10, Petrich Report, August 27, 1942; this figure includes the Jews of Murovanye Kurilovtsy, Snitkov, and other nearby locations. VHF, # 20754; USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 28, Vinnitsa oblast', Delo 21215, trial of Valentina Iosifovna Mohyla-Sternat in 1948.
12. VHF, # 20754.
13. USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 28, Vinnitsa oblast', Delo 21215, trial of Valentina Iosifovna Mohyla-Sternat.

NOVAIA USHITSA

Pre-1939: Novaia Ushitsa, village and raion center, Kbmel'nitskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1944: Nowaja Ushitsa, Rayon center, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Nova Ushytsia, Kbmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Novaia Ushitsa is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) east-northeast of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the 1939 census, 1,547 Jews (55 percent of the total population) were living in Novaia Ushitsa, and 1,059 more in the villages of the Novaia Ushitsa raion. These included the villages of Kalius and Zamekhov.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate. Men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. More than 1,000 Jews are estimated to have remained in Novaia Ushitsa at the start of the occupation.

This figure includes some Jewish refugees who arrived from Bessarabia.

German forces occupied Novaia Ushitsa in mid-July 1941. In the rest of July and in August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. The German military authorities appointed a village elder (starosta) and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, which was headed by a man named Semenov. The new local authorities took over the buildings used previously by the Soviet authorities.

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village became a Rayon center in Gebiet Bar, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.¹ The German Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar in 1942 was Leutnant Willi Petrich. Several Gendarmerie posts, including the one in Novaia Ushitsa, served under his command. The Ukrainian auxiliary police was subordinated to the Gendarmerie post in Novaia Ushitsa.

Mass-shooting Aktions against the Jewish population in Gebiet Bar were carried out in 1942 by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kamenets-Podolskii. This Aussendienststelle was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Andreas Fermer.

In the summer of 1941, Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing a Star of David; in the fall, these were replaced by yellow patches on their chests and backs. A few individual Jews were killed during the initial months of the occupation, including a man who was hanged and a 16- or 17-year-old boy, Itzek, who was shot by Germans or local policemen who caught him observing them robbing Jewish apartments. In addition, the authorities arrested a number of Jews, including Rabbi Shai Ruva, demanding a large ransom payment for their release. When Roitman, who was ordered to collect the ransom from the Jewish community, tried to escape, he was caught, and all those under arrest were shot.²

In September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Novaia Ushitsa. The ghetto was located on part of the market square up to the ravine, including the synagogue courtyard and Pochtovaia Street. A 2-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) barbed-wire fence enclosed the ghetto, and there was a gate near the entrance to Pochtovaia Street. The gate was guarded constantly by the Ukrainian police. Ukrainian families living within the ghetto area had to move out, and Jewish families outside the ghetto had to move in. The overcrowding was such that many people had to live in basements. As soon as the ghetto gates were closed, the police and other local inhabitants burst into the abandoned Jewish homes and stole whatever they could find.³

After the arrest of Roitman, the German authorities appointed Chaim Dinits to serve as the Jewish elder (starosta). He was an observant Jew of 50 years of age. As his assistants he selected two of his sons, Yankel and Moishe, and other relatives. Among his first tasks was organizing the transfer of the Jews into the ghetto. Subsequently he also assisted the Germans in selecting younger Jews to be sent to forced labor camps in Letichev to work on road construction projects.⁴

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Up until the spring of 1942, a few hundred Jews from nearby villages and settlements were resettled into the ghetto. The villages included Ol'khovets, Zamekhov, Pilipkovtsy, Kucha, Slobodka, Pesets, and Pilipy-Khrebtiievskii. These resettlements brought the Jewish population in the ghetto to around 1,500. The ghetto population consisted primarily of women, children, and the elderly, as well as some artisans, such as tailors and glove makers.

Anyone caught trying to leave the ghetto faced the death penalty, which was also the penalty for starting a fire in the evening or early morning hours or even for allowing children to cry. Once a week, however, the Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto on Sundays, in columns of four people, hand in hand, to go to the market to exchange their personal items for food. Before they left, the police conducted an inspection. They confiscated any valuable items they found. Once per day, for 15 or 20 minutes, the Jews were allowed to leave to get water from a well located in the ravine near the ghetto. This usually resulted in a mad scramble, due to the limited time. Some Jews also left the ghetto illegally through the barbed-wire fence in search of food. Most Jews had non-Jewish acquaintances, former coworkers or neighbors, who did what they could to help them. Some had buried valuables, as a safeguard against an uncertain future.⁵

Each day, all the able-bodied Jews who were not craftsmen left the ghetto at 7:00 A.M. to perform various kinds of forced labor, including road repairs, street cleaning, chopping wood, cleaning the homes of local administrators, and farmwork. They returned again at 6:00 P.M. Those whose work was deemed inadequate were beaten. This work was unpaid, but leaving the ghetto provided an opportunity to exchange items for food. Inside the ghetto, a group of "concubine girls," all Bessarabian refugees, were kept for the pleasure of the police and the Germans. These girls were not required to perform physical labor, and they were fed and clothed. There were also periodic raids by the Germans and local police in the ghetto, during which they robbed and beat the Jews. In the winter of 1941–1942, the officers and policemen arrested several Jews in the ghetto. They were tortured and then murdered in a nearby forest.⁶

There was no organized resistance within the ghetto, but some Russian newspapers were smuggled in, and one group of men was arrested and shot for listening to an illegal radio after the Germans had ordered all radio sets to be surrendered. The ghetto inhabitants were aware of the destruction of the Jews in Min'kovtsy, Kamenets-Podolskii, and other places, and this made them uneasy.

On August 20, 1942, German security forces conducted a large Aktion against the ghetto in which 707 Jews were shot.⁷ The Aktion was carried out by the Sipo-Aussendienststelle in Kamenets-Podolskii with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police. First the Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto during the night. Then in the morning, assisted by Dinits and his helpers, they drove the ghetto inhabitants from their homes. The Germans conducted a se-

lection on Pochtovaia Street. A few hundred of the younger, able-bodied Jews were sent to the labor camp in Letichev, and the craftsmen with valid work papers and their families were also selected out. Then those not selected were escorted out of the ghetto. They were informed that they would be sent to Palestine. Initially they were led along the road to Dunaevtsy, but when they turned left off the road into the forest, behind the Catholic cemetery, the Jews understood that they would be shot. The Ukrainian police took an active part in the shooting. First the Jews were made to undress, and then they were shot in groups of 5. The children were buried alive to save ammunition.⁸

After this Aktion, the Jews who remained consisted of the artisans and their families, a few hundred people in total, plus a few others who had successfully hidden during the Aktion. These Jews were then resettled into a remnant ghetto, known as the small ghetto, which consisted of only 15 houses in the original ghetto area. Each family had their own room. All of these Jews were shot during a second Aktion, on October 15, 1942.⁹

After the liquidation of the ghetto, a search for Jews in hiding was ordered. Those who were captured were sent to prison and then shot near the tile factory.¹⁰ It is estimated that only about 15 former inmates of the ghetto survived the German occupation, including a few who successfully escaped into the Romanian-occupied zone known as Transnistria.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Novaia Ushitsa and several personal testimonies of Jewish survivors can be found in Anatolii Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa* (Novaia Ushitsa and Ramat Gan, 1976 and 1999), pp. 105–147. The testimony of Mikhail Borisov Eisen, "Hard Memory: WWII Memoir [Nova Ushitsa]," 1997, has been published on the Web by Jewishgen.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Novaia Ushitsa can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-803); IPN; and YVA (M-33/97, M-52/179, O-3/1266).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 134–138.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 108–118, 134–138; Eisen, "Hard Memory," pp. 1–2.
4. Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 134–138. In 1944, Dinits was sentenced to 10 years in prison for collaborating with the occupiers. After serving his sentence, he returned to Novaia Ushitsa.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 108–118; YVA, M-33/97, M-52/179, O-3/1266.
6. Shtarkman, *Novaia Ushitsa*, pp. 108–118, 134–138; Eisen, "Hard Memory," p. 3.
7. Report of the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Bar, Leutnant Petrich, August 27, 1942, regarding the anti-Jewish

Aktion, IPN, Zbiór zespołów szcztąkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 10. According to the materials of the ChGK (GARF, 7021-64-803, p. 77), 2,620 persons were shot in four ditches to the west of the village. This figure is probably too high.

8. Shtarkman, *Novaia Usbitsa*, pp. 108–118, 122–130, 134–138; Eisen, “Hard Memory,” pp. 4–5.

9. YVA, testimony of Maria Laster, O-3/1266; Shtarkman, *Novaia Usbitsa*, pp. 108–118, 134–138.

10. After liberation of the settlement, 15 corpses were found in two ditches near the fence. GARF, 7021-64-803, p. 77.

OŁYKA

Pre-September 1939: Ołyka, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Volyn’ oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volyn’ oblast’, Ukraine

Ołyka is located 33 kilometers (21 miles) east of Łuck. According to the 1921 census, 2,086 Jews lived in Ołyka. By mid-1941, assuming a natural growth of 0.9 percent per year, there were probably about 2,500 Jews in the town at the outbreak of the war. Besides these Jews, there were many Jewish refugees from central and western Poland who settled in the town in the fall of 1939, as well as 60 Jewish refugees from Czechoslovakia.¹ After Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, and as the German forces approached Ołyka, about 150 Jews evacuated eastward,² but the vast majority of Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army entered the town on June 27 or 28, 1941. The town was caught in the fighting for several days and was severely bombarded by the Germans. By the time they had gained control of Ołyka, most of the houses had been destroyed, and many people had been killed or wounded.³ In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Ołyka was a Rayon center in Gebiet Luzk, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Lindner.⁴ Survivor testimonies mention the important role played by a local administrator named Max Tauber, but they do not mention his exact rank.⁵ A Ukrainian local council was set up in Ołyka as well as a local police force, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post (created in the fall of 1941), consisting of several German Gendarmes.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Ołyka: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created in the town (chaired by Faya Borodata), through which the Germans transmitted orders and commands to the Jewish population. The Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first an armband with a Star of David, later a yellow patch) and to surrender all gold and valuables. They were also compelled to engage in forced labor and were forbidden to leave the town. In addition,

the Ukrainian police subjected them to systematic robberies and beatings.⁶

In August 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in Ołyka: 682 Jewish men were caught and collected in the Radziwiłł Castle, where they were told they would perform forced labor. But instead they were escorted to the Jewish cemetery and shot.⁷ A squad of the Security Police and SD from Łuck probably carried out this Aktion, with the assistance of the local Ukrainian police.

On March 13, 1942, a ghetto was created in Ołyka⁸ into which Jews from the surrounding villages were also brought. The ghetto was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence. A Jewish police force, headed by Rosenzweig, was created to maintain order in the ghetto. The ghetto residents were forced to do various unpaid jobs. For instance, 120 people loaded timber into railroad cars at the Ołyka station 10 kilometers (6 miles) from the town; other Jews performed the same jobs at the Cuman and Rudoczka railroad stations; many Jews were also employed in agriculture.⁹

In late July 1942, a squad of the Security Police and the SD from Łuck, together with the German Order Police and Ukrainian police, liquidated the ghetto. On the night of July 25, 1942, Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. The next morning, July 26, all the ghetto residents were rounded up at the castle of former Polish duke Radziwiłł; they were told that they were going to be resettled. Meanwhile, Ukrainian police killed several sick, elderly, and disabled people in the ghetto and on the way to the castle. The attempt of several Jews to organize resistance was impeded by the Judenrat. After the liquidation of the ghetto, Ukrainian police looted all the houses in the former ghetto. Of the Jews gathered in the castle, a small group of specialists was separated from the others, and the women and children were then placed in an enormous garage in the castle, while the men were herded into a wooden barracks nearby. The doors and windows of the garage were tightly closed, and the shortage of air, intolerable heat, and overcrowding caused several women and children to suffocate there; others had been crushed as the Ukrainian police chased them into the garage, beating them cruelly. The Ukrainian police took their bodies in large wagons to the cemetery and buried them there. On July 27, the shootings began, in ditches on the former shooting range near the village of Czemeryn. Ukrainian police drove the Jews in groups of 50 to the ditch; the Jewish Police forced them to undress and to lie in the ditches facedown, after which drunken German and Ukrainian policemen shot them in the back of the head. Ukrainian peasants covered the bodies of those killed and wounded with a layer of earth, at which point a new group of Jews was brought in. At the end of the Aktion, the Jewish Police were ordered to undress. When they refused to do so, Ukrainian policemen brutally beat them, ripped off their clothing, and shot them.¹⁰ A small number of Jews, who hid in the former ghetto or fled during the night from the barracks, were able to survive. In early 1943, the 130 remaining Jewish artisans were shot in Ołyka.¹¹

According to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 5,500 civilians were killed in the Olyka raion during the occupation, including 5,220 Jews: 720 in early August 1941 and about 4,500 in late July 1942.¹²

SOURCES Information about the ghetto in Olyka can be found in the yizkor book edited by Natan Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehillot Olyka: Sefer yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Olika be-Yisrael, 1972); and in an article by Shmuel Spector in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 27–31.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Olyka can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/2859); DAVO (R2-1-196); GARF (7021-55-11); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Elisheva Kohan, “Shnatayim goraliyot be-Olika (1939–1941),” in Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehillot Olyka*, pp. 271–272; Yitshak Lapid, “Va-yehi bi-yemey ha-Rusim,” in *ibid.*, p. 291.

2. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 53.

3. Mikha’el Grinshteyn, “ha-Kivush ha-Germani,” in Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehillot Olyka*, p. 311; Shloyme Tsam, “Di letste date: T’v bov tsh’b,” in *ibid.*, p. 331.

4. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

5. Tsam, “Di letste date,” pp. 331 ff.; Dvoyre Nakonetshnik, “A meydele fun unter der erd,” in Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehillot Olyka*, p. 341.

6. Tsam, “Di letste date,” p. 332. Also see Berl Gal, “Di toyt-marsh fun Olikar Yidn,” pp. 301–302; and Hayim Hayat, “Yeled ba-Sho’ah,” p. 323—both in Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kehillot Olyka*.

7. Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 73; according to other sources (GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 133) on August 1, 1941, 720 Jews were shot in Olyka; Gal, “Di toyt-marsh,” pp. 298–299; Grinshteyn, “ha-Kivush,” pp. 312–313; Tsam, “Di letste date,” p. 332.

8. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 133.

9. Gal, “Di toyt-marsh,” pp. 300–302; Hayat, “Yeled,” pp. 323–324.

10. Gal, “Di toyt-marsh,” pp. 302–309; Grinshteyn, “ha-Kivush,” p. 314; Hayat, “Yeled,” p. 324; Tsam, “Di letste date,” p. 333. See also DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, Report to the Generalkommissar Wollhynien u. Podolien on gasoline supplies for the “special treatment” of Jews in Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942, which notes that the “special treatment” of the Jews in the Kolkki, Zuman, and Olyka Rayons was conducted from July 26 to 29, 1942.

11. Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 186.

12. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 126, 130. According to other sources, on July 27–28, 1942, 5,673 Jews were shot (Spector, *Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 185; testimony of Tsam); this figure is probably exaggerated, as other witnesses mention 3,000 to 4,000 victims.

OPALIN

Pre-1939: Opalin, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Liuboml’ raion, Volyn’ oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Golowno, Gebiet Luboml, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vysbnička, Liuboml’ raion, Volyn’ oblast’, Ukraine

Opalin is located in northwestern Ukraine, on the Bug River, 24 kilometers (15 miles) west-northwest of Luboml. According to the 1921 census, 516 Jews were living in the village out of a total population of 1,226. In September 1939, as per the agreement between Germany and the Soviet Union, Opalin was occupied by the Red Army and subsequently incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR. By the middle of 1941, it is estimated that there were probably about 600 Jews in the village.

At the end of June 1941, soldiers of the German 6th Army occupied Opalin. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Opalin was a village in Rayon Golowno, in Gebiet Luboml. Kameradschaftsführer Uhde was appointed as the Gebietskommissar in Luboml, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Kurz.¹

In the summer and fall of 1941, German occupying forces in Opalin introduced a number of antisemitic measures. Jews initially had to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and, from September 1941 onward, yellow patches sewn onto the front and back of their outer clothing. Jews had to hand over all money, gold, and valuables; they had to perform forced labor for little or no pay, probably in agriculture; they were prohibited from leaving the boundaries of the village; and they were subjected to systematic robbery and assaults by Ukrainian policemen.

At the end of 1941, the Jews of Opalin were resettled into a ghetto, probably around the same time as in Luboml, where the ghetto was formed on December 6, 1941. Those leaving the ghetto without permission faced the death penalty.

The ghetto was liquidated on October 2, 1942. According to testimonies given at the trial in March 1945 of the head of the local Ukrainian police, Omlian Timoshvits, five Germans and several dozen Ukrainian police officers from Luboml arrived in Opalin on October 2, 1942. The Germans and Ukrainians gathered 582 Jews (305 men and 277 women) and brought them to a large pit prepared in the Jewish cemetery. The Jews were forced to undress and were then shot and buried in the pit.

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jewish community of Opalin during the Holocaust include the following: “Vishnevka,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, “Epos,” 2000), 4:263; and “Opalin,” in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities:*

Poland, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 41–42.

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NOTE

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

ORININ

Pre-1939: Orinin, village and raion center, Kbmel'niiskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Orynyn, Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Orinin is located 16 kilometers (10 miles) northwest of Kamenets-Podolskii. According to the population census of 1939, 1,508 Jews lived in Orinin, or 25.3 percent of the total population. There were 115 additional Jews living in the villages of what was then the Orinin raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east or were inducted into the Red Army. Around 1,300 to 1,400 Jews remained in Orinin at the start of the occupation.

In early July 1941, troops of the Hungarian army occupied Orinin. In August 1941, a few hundred Jews arrived in Orinin, having been deported from Hungary for being of alleged questionable citizenship. They found refuge with the Jews of Orinin, who had been living since before the war in a section of the village apart from the non-Jewish population. The Jews of Orinin worked as shopkeepers and artisans, and there was also a Jewish kolkhoz nearby. The Hungarian Jews tried to support themselves by working mainly as laborers in agriculture.

After only a few weeks, the Hungarian Jews were assembled, having been told they would be allowed to return to Hungary. They were escorted in a column to an earthwork, which had been prepared before the war as a form of defensive entrenchment. Then a number of armed Germans arrived in vehicles and quickly surrounded the Jews. A few of the younger Jews attempted to flee, but most were recaptured or shot. A local peasant working in the fields nearby was also killed by a stray bullet. Then the Germans shot all the remaining Hungarian Jews in the entrenchment, and the grave was filled in by local non-Jews. There were probably about 250 victims of this Aktion.¹

In September 1941, authority passed to the German civil administration. Orinin was included in Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsrat Reindl became the Gebietskommissar in Kamenets-Podolskii. Leutnant der Polizei Albert Reich was appointed as the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in the spring of 1942.² A German Gendarmerie post was established in Orinin, to which the Ukrainian auxiliary police was subordinated.

In the late summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Orinin. The Jews were ordered to wear distinctive marks in the form of a yellow patch on their chest and back. The Jewish elder was required to collect a certain sum of gold and other valuables from the Jews and deliver it to the Germans. The Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and they were forbidden to have any contacts with the non-Jewish population.³ As the Jews already lived apart from the non-Jews, these regulations established a form of “open ghetto” in Orinin. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor tasks, which included clearing snow from the main roads in the winter.⁴

At some time during the summer of 1942, the Germans liquidated the open ghetto in Orinin. The Jews of the village had an idea of what would happen, as a few days before they received news that the Jews of the neighboring village of Liantskorun' had been shot.⁵ First the village was surrounded by Ukrainian and German policemen early in the morning. Then the Jews were driven out of their houses and assembled. With the aid of the Jewish elder a number of skilled workers and their families were separated out and permitted to remain in Orinin. The main group of Jews, composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly, was formed into a column and escorted out of the village, having been told they were going to Kamenets-Podolskii. When after a short time they turned away from the direction of Kamenets-Podolskii, the Jews realized that they would be shot, and they started to tear up their money. They were led to a large pit that had been dug by local peasants about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside of Orinin. There they were made to strip naked and were shot in the pit. One Jew who was naked managed to flee during the Aktion and was given some clothing and shelter for a time by local non-Jews who lived nearby. In total, up to about 1,000 Jews were shot. The Jews who were spared from this Aktion, about 250 people, were escorted to the Kamenets-Podolskii ghetto about one month later.⁶ The mass murder was carried out by a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Kamenets-Podolskii, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.

SOURCES A brief article on the fate of the Jews of Orinin can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 943.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Orinin can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-799, 803); YIU (nos. 638–642); and YVA (M-33).

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NOTES

1. YIU, Témoins nos. 638, 639, 640, 641, 642.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. YIU, Témoins nos. 639, 642.
4. Ibid., Témoins no. 639.
5. Ibid.
6. GARF, 7021-64-803, p. 261; also 7021-64-199, p. 194 (testimony of the former policeman I.P. Chaikovskii, May 14, 1944). The records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) indicate that 1,700 Jews were murdered: 480 men, 650 women, and 570 children. This figure probably includes the Hungarian Jews killed in 1941 but may still be too high. On the specialists, see also YIU, Témoins no. 639.

OSTRÓG

Pre-1939: Ostróg (Yiddish: Ostrab), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostrog, Rayon center, Gebiet Sdolbunow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ostroh, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Ostróg is located 37 kilometers (23 miles) southeast of Równe. In 1921, there were 7,991 Jews living in Ostróg (62 percent of the total); in 1931, there were 8,171 (62 percent). In September 1939 it fell within the Soviet zone of control.

After Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, a substantial proportion of the population was able to evacuate eastward, so that about 7,000 Jews remained in the town. On June 28, 1941, German forces captured the southern part of the town, but Soviet troops continued to hold the western part of Ostróg, and the fighting lasted until July 3. In this fighting, the town was badly damaged. In July and August 1941, the town was administered by a German military administration. In September 1941, Ostróg was placed under civil administration, becoming a Rayon center in Gebiet Sdolbunow, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Sdolbunow was Hundertschaftsführer Georg Marschall.

In Ostróg, a Ukrainian Rayon administration and a Ukrainian police force (commanded by Stefan Tkachenko) were established. The Ukrainian police received orders from the German Gendarmerie post, which consisted of three German Gendarmes, whose leader was Komorowski. The Ostróg post was subordinated to the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Sdolbunow, who from May 1942 was Bezirksleutnant der Gendarmerie Josef Paur.¹

During the first week of the war, about 1,000 Jews managed to leave Ostróg—some as conscripts in the Red Army, while others fled eastward together with the Soviet authorities.² In the summer and autumn of 1941, the German authorities implemented a number of anti-Jewish measures in Ostróg. During the very first days of the German occupation, all Jews aged 16 to 60 were ordered to report to work (on pain of death). Men were put to work clearing the streets of debris and corpses, washing military vehicles, and doing other menial tasks, while women were made to clean German offices and so forth. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was set up; Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing symbols such as the Star

of David (later on, a simple yellow patch); and they were not allowed to leave the boundaries of the town. They were also subjected to beatings by the Ukrainian police. In August 1941, units subordinated to German Security Division 213 collected more than 64 kilograms (141 pounds) of ritual items from the synagogues and prayer houses in Ostróg.³

The first anti-Jewish Aktion conducted in the town occurred soon after its capture: 300 Jews from the intelligentsia were arrested and shot at the old Jewish cemetery.⁴ On August 4, 1941, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in Ostróg. On this day, the 3rd Battalion of the 10th Regiment, 1st SS-Motorized Infantry Brigade, assisted by Ukrainian police, gathered the entire Jewish population in the town square and marched them through what was known as the New Town to a forest southwest of Ostróg. The SS then counted and sorted them by gender, marital status, and ability to work. Women with children were sent back to town. Over the course of that afternoon, between 1,000 and 3,000 of the remaining Jews were shot, primarily those who were ill or elderly. The Aktion was overseen by the battalion commander, SS-Obersturmbannführer Emil Sator.⁵

On September 2, 1941, the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, commanded by Major der Polizei Besser, entered Ostróg in the early hours of the morning and rounded up the Jewish males, who were preparing to report for their forced labor duties. Women and children were ordered to remain at home. The men were told that they were being sent for 10 days of forced labor outside of Ostróg. The Ukrainian police then led them to the sawmill outside of town. This time, many of the Jews were not deceived by the Germans' ruse, and a large number managed to escape on the way.

At the sawmill, the Jews were surrounded by members of the 45th Battalion, who sorted them by age, profession, marital status, and so forth. The Jews were then taken on trucks, in shifts, to pits in the forest where they were shot. While the Aktion was taking place, Christian leaders in Ostróg, having realized what was happening, intervened with the Germans on behalf of the Jews. It seems that this intervention may have led the Germans to release about 500 Jews who had been designated for execution. Approximately 2,500 Jews were killed in this Aktion.⁶ Altogether, in the second half of 1941, around 3,500 Jews were killed in the town.

Shortly after the September Aktion, the Germans ordered that a new Judenrat be formed, as the members of the first had all been killed. Avraham Komendant was made chairman. A Jewish police force, consisting of five policemen with special uniforms, was later organized as well.⁷

In the spring of 1942, the Germans informed the Jews that they would be transferred to a ghetto. The transfer was carried out in June 1942. Non-Jews were evicted from the area of town that had been most severely damaged by the bombing, and the Jews were concentrated therein. It was then surrounded by a high barbed-wire fence. At this point, there were approximately 3,000 Jews remaining in Ostróg.

On October 12, 1942, the Jews of nearby villages were moved into the ghetto, and on October 15, a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe, with help from the Ukrainian

police and the German Gendarmerie, liquidated the ghetto by shooting about 2,000 Jews in the forest near Novogo. Some Jews hid or ran away. The Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie conducted intensive searches to capture these Jews. Thus, in the second half of October 1942 around 1,000 Jews were captured and shot (October 16—about 200, October 17—about 300, October 20—about 600, October 29—about 150).⁸ The commandant of the Ukrainian police, Stefan Tkachenko; his deputy, Artem Meshva; the policemen Peter Tkachenko, Artem Gulichku, Ivan Martinovski, Pavel Gomenok, and others played an active role in these operations.

All in all, between 1941 and 1942, at least 6,500 Jews were killed in Ostróg. A few hundred were able to flee into the forest. Some of them died from hunger or were captured during the searches, while others survived by joining partisan detachments. Among the most notable partisans were Yakov Kaplan, Mendel Treiberman, and Pesach Eisenstein.

The Red Army recaptured the town on February 5, 1944; about 30 Jews who survived by hiding in the vicinity returned to the town, as well as a similar number from the partisans. After the war, many evacuated families returned but did not stay, leaving soon for Poland, then on to Israel and the United States.

SOURCES Publications on the destruction of the Jewish population of Ostróg include the following: M. Grinem, *Ven dos lebn hot geblit* (Buenos Aires, 1954); H. Ayalon-Baranick, ed., *Pinkas Ostra: Sefer Zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Association of Former Residents of Ostrog, 1960); Judah Loeb Levin, *Ostrea: Megilat Polin* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Yad Yehadut Polin, 1966); Y. Alperowitz, ed., *Sefer Ostrog (Voblin): Matsevet zikaron le-Kehilah kedoshah* (Tel Aviv: The Ostrog Society in Israel, 1987); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 34–41; and R. Shpizel', *Katastrofa evreev Ostroba: Katastrofa evropeiskoho evreistva nid chas Druhoy svitovoy viiny. Refleksii na mezhi stolit'. Zbirnyk naukovykh prats'. Materialy konferentsii 29–31 serpnia 1999 g.* (Kiev, 2000), pp. 141–145.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Ostróg can be found in the following archives: AŽIH; DARO; GARF (7021-71-62 and 64); TsDAVO; USHMM (RG-50.226*013); VHF (e.g., # 5883, 1692); and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/144).

Alexander Kruglov and Andrew Koss
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Verdict against Joseph Paur (January 26, 1899) and others, LG-Nürn-Fü, 1070 Ks 7/62, May 27, 1963.
2. "Ostrog," in Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehillot*, 5:39.
3. BA-BL, R 2104/21 (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle reports), p. 256.
4. Shpizel', *Katastrofa evreev Ostroba*, p. 142; Aharon Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," in Alperowitz, *Sefer Ostrog*, p. 175.
5. See report of I. SS Mot. Brigade, August 3–6, 1941, in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii*

natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 232–233. According to other sources, between 1,600 and 1,800 Jews were shot (GARF, 7021-71-64, pp. 14 and reverse, 29, 31); Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," pp. 175–178. Also see Shmuel Klipatsh, "Unter der Daytshishe Okupatsye in Ostra," p. 196; Bet Ayzenshteyn-Kashav, "Di Yidn in Volin 1941–1944," p. 229; Tova (Gitele) Shteynberg-Re'uvani, "Zikhronot mi-yemey ha-Shoah," p. 250; and "Mikhtavah shel Bluma Shtirnberg," p. 245—all in Alperowitz, *Sefer Ostrog*.

6. Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," pp. 181–182; and Ayzenshteyn-Kashav, "Di Yidn in Volin 1941–1944," p. 230.

7. Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," pp. 184, 186; Sima Klipatsh, "17 Khodshim in a Bunker in Ostra," in Alperowitz, *Sefer Ostrog*, p. 192.

8. GARF, 7021-71-64, pp. 20–21; Valdman, "Di Oysgemordete Yidishe Ostra," pp. 188–189; Shteynberg-Re'uvani, "Zikhronot mi-yemey ha-Shoah," p. 241.

OSTROPOL' [AKA STARYI OSTROPOL']

1930–1941: Ostropol', village and raion center, Kamenets-Podol'skii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostropol', Rayon center, Gebiet Starokonstantinow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ostropil', Starokostiantyniv raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Ostropol' is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) west-northwest of Vinnitsa. By 1897, the Jewish population had grown to 2,714 (36 percent of the total population). According to the 1939 population census, 1,063 Jews lived in Ostropol'. An additional 256 Jews lived in the villages of the Ostropol' raion.

Units of the German army occupied the village on July 9, 1941. During the two and a half weeks since the start of the invasion, part of the Jewish population fled to the east, and some Jewish men were conscripted or enlisted voluntarily into the Red Army. About 70 of the Jews who attempted to flee soon became trapped by German forces in the town of Liubar on the main road towards Zhytomyr, where they shared the fate of the Jews there. Around 650 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. The occupying forces appointed a village elder and formed an auxiliary police squad. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Ostropol' became a Rayon center in Gebiet Starokonstantinow. Regierungsrat Schröder became the first Gebietskommissar; he was later succeeded by SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle. Leutnant Otto Gent was named Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in the spring of 1942. There were only about five or six Germans based in Ostropol', including several members of the German Gendarmerie who supervised the local Ukrainian police.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Ostropol'. Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing a Star of

David and were not permitted to leave the limits of the settlement. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was also appointed. In August 1941, local police from Ostropol' arrived in the village of Khizhniki and ordered the 12 Jews residing there to move to Ostropol', where they moved in with other Jewish families already living there.¹

Living conditions deteriorated over the following months. In the fall of 1941 or in early 1942, the German authorities established an open ghetto in the village. A number of Jewish houses were demolished, and all the Jews were moved together into the remaining Jewish dwellings. The ghetto, however, was unfenced and unguarded. By the spring of 1942, there were as many as 20 people sharing one room. Some Jews died of illness and starvation.²

All adult Jews had to report to the local administration each day and perform various forced labor tasks, including excavation work for the men and cleaning for the women. Only a few were lucky enough to receive some food in payment. Others had to survive on potato peelings or whatever they could find.³

The Germans liquidated the Ostropol' ghetto on May 20, 1942. On May 19, members of the Jewish Council passed on German orders for all Jews to assemble at the school at 6:00 A.M. the next morning. Once the Jews had assembled, a German accompanied by an Alsatian dog gave a speech and ordered the Jews to form a column 4 abreast to march to Starokonstantinov. On the road to Starokonstantinov, in the village of Ladygi, around 40 elderly and infirm Jews were put onto carts, ostensibly to convey them the rest of the way. Instead, they were shot in the village once the main column had moved on. On that day, more than 400 Jews were conveyed to Starokonstantinov, guarded by German and Ukrainian police.

According to Anna Nasarchuk, on their arrival they were placed into the empty ghetto in Starokonstantinov, which had just been cleared by the shooting of most of its inhabitants.⁴ Almost all of the Ostropol' Jews in the Starokonstantinov ghetto were shot over the ensuing months. At the time of the liquidation of the Ostropol' ghetto, the Germans selected a number of craftsmen to remain in Ostropol' to work. These Jews were also shot in turn sometime later.⁵

SOURCES Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Ostropol' can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-804); USHMM (RG-22.002M); VHF (# 33782); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 328–340, statement of Anna Nasarchuk, March 28, 1973. According to the ChGK report, GARF, 7021-64-804, pp. 50–62, 117–122, in 1942, 12 Jews from Khizhniki and 6 Jews from the village of Korzhovka were shot in 1942.

2. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 328–340.

3. Ibid., and pp. 267–273, statement of Sophija Kamenjezkaja, April 2, 1973; and VHF, # 33782, testimony of Liudmila Blekhan.

4. GARF, 7021-64-804, p. 124, gives the date of June 23, 1942, and reports that 581 Jews were sent to Starokonstantinov. According to another source, the ghetto was liquidated on May 20, 1942; see ZSSStA-D, Ermittlungsverfahren 45 Js 20/73 StA Dortmund, Abschlussverfügung, August 10, 1976, p. 7.

5. VHF, # 33782.

OSTROŻEC

Pre-1939: Ostrożec, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Ostrozbets, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostroshez, Rayon center, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ostrozbets, Mlyniv raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Ostrożec is located about 16 kilometers (10 miles) from Łuck. According to the 1921 population census, 632 Jews were living in the village.¹ By mid-1941, assuming an annual growth rate of 0.9 to 1 percent, there probably were about 750 Jews in Ostrożec. In the area around Ostrożec, many Jews also lived in the village of Targowica (located about 16 kilometers [10 miles] to the southwest). According to the 1921 population census, 660 Jews were living in this village. By mid-1941, assuming an average rate of population increase, there probably were slightly more than 750 Jews in Targowica. A few more Jews lived in other nearby villages, including the village of Peremiłowka to the southeast of Ostrożec (which in 1921 had a Jewish population of 16). Witnesses confirm that Ostrożec was an entirely Jewish shtetl on the eve of the German occupation; the non-Jews lived in a more or less separate village nearby, also called Ostrożec.²

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Ostrożec at the end of June 1941. At first, in July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the village. Then authority was transferred to a German civil administration in September 1941. Ostrożec became the center of Rayon Ostroshez in Gebiet Dubno. Nachwuchsführer Brocks became the Gebietskommissar. Leutnant der Gendarmerie Eberhardt was appointed the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Dubno in the spring of 1942.³ A village elder (starosta) was appointed for Ostrożec by the German military administration. A local Ukrainian police unit was also recruited.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Ostrożec. Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings: according to one witness, the Star of David was later exchanged for yellow patches to be worn on the front and backs of their clothes.⁴ They were required to perform forced labor, prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and subjected to systematic beatings and robberies by the Ukrainian police.

In August 1941, German security forces carried out a first Aktion in Ostrożec in which 40 Jews were shot.⁵ On August 1, 1941, 130 Jews were also shot in the village of Targowica.⁶

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established on German orders, which had to collect “contributions” in the form of money and goods for the German authorities and supply Jews for forced labor. During the winter of 1941–1942, Jews sneaked out of the village to collect firewood, but if caught, the Ukrainian police shot them. Only a few Germans were based in the village, including an officer named Vogel. Witnesses state that Vogel had sexual relations with one or more Jewish women; as a result, allegedly he tipped off the Judenrat in advance of German roundups.⁷

In the spring of 1942, probably in April, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Ostrożec. According to Jewish survivor Anatoly Burstein, his family was transferred to the Ostrożec ghetto from Peremiłowka in March or April 1942.⁸ At around this time, the Jews of Targowica were also transferred on foot to the Ostrożec ghetto, carrying what they could in their arms.⁹ Local witnesses from Ostrożec disagree about when the ghetto was established, with dates ranging from late 1941 to the summer of 1942; this was perhaps because Ostrożec was a completely Jewish shtetl before the war, and the ghetto was set up incrementally, first confining Jews to the village and later bringing in Jews from outside and erecting a fence.¹⁰

The ghetto consisted of about half of the shtetl surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. Living conditions were very overcrowded, with about four or five people sharing a room. The Judenrat assigned the newcomers to private homes, trying to distribute them evenly among the local Jews. There was no medical assistance available in the ghetto, but some women gave birth successfully despite this. According to one witness, Jewish girls were raped by drunken members of the Ukrainian police. Jews were starving but were able to exchange possessions with local inhabitants for food.¹¹

After the ghetto was set up, forced labor tasks included sorting potatoes, moving stones, and road construction. Some Jews continued to work for farmers in the surrounding area—a circumstance that proved fortunate for those who were still outside the ghetto when the final roundup took place. The Jews quickly received news about local farmers digging huge graves at the Jewish cemetery, and at least 200 Jews managed to flee from the ghetto in the hours before the final roundup.¹²

On October 9, 1942,¹³ German police assisted by the local Ukrainian police began the liquidation of the ghetto. Detailed accounts of the ghetto liquidation have been provided by local witnesses interviewed by Father Patrick Desbois in 2007. First Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto, and then the Jews were rounded up and put onto black trucks. The trucks were then driven to the prepared pits, where the Jews were forced to disembark in a column with the rabbi at its head. Then the Jews were made to undress. They placed their clothes and valuables into a cart, on which these items were subsequently transported back to the ghetto. The Jews were

then shot in groups of five people in the main pit. Small children were simply thrown into the pit, and some Jews were only wounded, so many of the victims were probably buried alive. One or two individuals attempted to flee, but the guards shot them and their bodies were brought back and buried with the others.¹⁴

According to witnesses, many of the Jews who escaped initially were found hiding in the ghetto, were denounced, or returned of their own free will over the following days and weeks. Shooting Aktions against smaller groups of Jews carried on for at least two more weeks. Once the main mass grave had been filled in, the earth continued to move eerily for several days. In total, at least 700 Jews were shot. The Aktion was carried out by a detachment of the Sipo and SD from Równe, with the assistance of local Ukrainian police and the German Gendarmerie.

Local witnesses state that a few Jewish girls were kept alive after the massacre and cooked for the German officer Vogel, who had intimate relations with them but more or less kept them as his prisoners. These last Jews, as well as other Jews found in hiding, were shot in the smaller pit at the Jewish cemetery at some time in the fall of 1942.¹⁵ A few Jewish escapees managed to survive with the help of local farmers, including some from the Czech minority that lived in the area.

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish communities of Ostrożec and Targowica and their fate during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), pp. 73, 363, 367; and Leonid Koval, ed., *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2:307–308.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Ostrożec can be found in the following archives: DARO; GARF (7021-71-61); VHF (# 3150, 21494, 22892, 44907); YIU (nos. 78–79); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 363.
2. VHF, # 21494, testimony of Pola Grinstein; YIU, Témoin no. 78, Leonid Khvil (born 1935), March 27, 2007.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. VHF, # 21494.
5. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 73.
6. *Ibid.*
7. VHF, # 21494; see also YIU, Témoin no. 79, Leonid Khvil (born 1935) and Mykola Krystitch, March 2007, who accuses Vogel of exploiting Jewish girls.
8. Anatoly Burstein, in Koval, *Kniga spaseniia*, pp. 307–308, states April; VHF, # 44907, testimony of Anatoly Burstein, states March 1942.
9. VHF, # 22892, testimony of Irvin Miller, who was among those transferred, dates it in the spring of 1942.
10. *Ibid.*, # 3150, Nathan Peters, dates its formation in late 1941; # 21494, dates it in the summer of 1942.

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11. *Ibid.*, # 3150; # 44907, mentions cases of rape.
12. *Ibid.*, # 3150; # 22892.
13. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 367.
14. YIU, *Témoins* nos. 78 and 79.
15. *Ibid.*

PIŃSK

Pre-1939: Pińsk, city and powiat capital, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pinsk, oblast' capital, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: raen center, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Pińsk is located at the confluence of the Pina and Pripet Rivers, 222 kilometers (138 miles) south-southwest of Minsk.

The Soviet army occupied Pińsk on September 20, 1939, in accordance with the terms of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact.

On Friday, July 4, 1941, 13 days after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union, the first advance units entered Pińsk. According to German estimates, Pińsk had around 80,000 inhabitants, of whom 35,000 to 40,000 were Jews.¹ This estimate is probably too high, however. The historian Tikva Fatal-Knaani suggests a lower figure of about 26,000 Jews.

Immediately upon the German arrival, Jewish men were seized in the streets and arrested as “Bolshevists,” “looters,” and “partisans,” including 16 young men who were taken out of their houses on Listovskaia Street under false pretenses and subsequently shot and buried. Only 1 of them survived by hiding, wounded, under a pile of dead bodies, and reported the events to town leaders. Antisemitic decrees made normal life impossible. On the second day of the occupation, Jewish bakers were required to supply bread for the German army under threat of the execution of 10 Jews for each missing loaf of bread. Survivors testified that Jews were forbidden to leave the city or to be seen on the streets after 6:00 p.m. or to shop in the marketplace. All Jewish men, women, and children were ordered to wear a white armband with a Star of David on their left arm;



A view of Pińsk during World War I; the photo caption reads, “Russian Jews fish on the frozen Pina.”

USHMM WS #48262, COURTESY OF TOMASZ WISNIEWSKI.

noncompliance was punishable by death. German soldiers entered homes at will and engaged in spontaneous looting. Later, there were frequent official demands for items such as radios, clothing, fur coats, fabric, gold, and china. Each requisition order carried threats of reprisal. Men were often abducted for labor details and hence avoided the streets. Those abducted returned starving after a long hard day, often bruised from beatings. Jews were afraid to go to synagogues. The streets emptied, and shops, offices, and schools closed. The Tarbut High School was used to accommodate German staff. Those working in free professions lost their livelihood, and only factory and some workshop workers received work permits.²

Christian inhabitants welcomed the end of Soviet rule and greeted the Germans with bread, salt, and flowers, while Jews watched in fear behind closed shutters. Many in the non-Jewish population collaborated with the occupation forces and observed the altered status of their Jewish neighbors with glee. Non-Jews in Pińsk did their share of looting. Soon the Nazis forbade all contacts between Jewish and Christian residents of Pińsk.

On July 30, 1941, the Ortskommandant issued an order to establish a Jewish Council (Judenrat) consisting of 24 Jews, whose chairman was personally responsible for receiving orders and guaranteeing their “conscientious and timely implementation.”³ David Alper, principal of Tarbut High School, was chosen as first chairman of the Judenrat. He resigned two days later, realizing the nature of his task, and was killed along with 20 other Judenrat members during the first Aktion. The remaining 8 members of the Judenrat continued in this capacity until the end. Vice-chairman Motl Minsky served as acting chair because of his fluent German. Benjamin Bokshansky was nominal chairman; Efraim Feinbron was responsible for finance; Menahem Goldman, for legal affairs; Mendl Cooper, for labor; and Moshel Aizenberg, Jechiel Zilverblat, and Meir Greenstein, for supplies. The Judenrat was organized into departments providing basic services, such as labor, sanitation, health, judiciary, supplies, and welfare. After the establishment of the ghetto, the Judenrat operated a soup kitchen and the Chevra Kadisha burial society. The Judenrat's main source of income was a bread tax, used to comply with German demands, pay salaries of employees, and provide social services. Many documents in the State Archives of the Brest Oblast' (GABO) record the Judenrat's persistent negotiations to establish bakeries, increase the flour supply, and secure bread for the orphanage and hospital.

The Jewish Police maintained order, especially around the Tarbut school, where the Judenrat offices were located and thousands of people converged to arrange their affairs. The chief of police (Asher Feldlait, later replaced by Goldberg) and 12 policemen were paid by the Judenrat. After the establishment of the ghetto, the number of policemen grew to 50. On the whole, witnesses did not recall them as cruel or abusive.

On the night of August 4, 300 men were detained as hostages to force the Judenrat to comply with the order to assemble all men between 16 and 60 for a three-day work detail. Thousands of men were herded to the railway station, robbed

of their belongings, and arranged in two long columns of 5 abreast. They were forced almost to run to Posenichi, an hour march outside Pińsk. Photos of this Aktion taken by a German soldier show the bodies fully dressed in open pits.⁴ A small number escaped after being wounded and buried alive under dead bodies in the pits. One survivor, Arye Dolinko, informed the Judenrat, but this information was kept quiet to avoid endangering escapees and living witnesses.⁵ During the next two days, the Nazis rounded up more Jews, including younger boys and older men as well as some women. On August 7, 2,500 more people were shot in the village of Kozliekovich. By Thursday, August 8, at least 8,000 people had been murdered, and the community's leadership was especially hard-hit. Most cultural, educational, and religious activities came to a halt. The vast majority of the survivors were women and children. Abruptly, the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment left Pińsk on August 9.⁶

On August 11, the Ortskommandant decreed forced labor ("without wages . . . food may be given")⁷ for all men between 14 and 60 and all women between 15 and 50. The German civil administration arrived in Pińsk during September 1941. The first Gebietskommissar was Römpler. Upon his death in late 1941, he was replaced by Paul Gerhard Klein; the deputy Gebietskommissar was Alfred Ebner. During the winter of 1941–1942, the community's members suffered from hunger, looting, and summary murders, but remained in their homes.

The German authorities did not establish a ghetto in Pińsk until relatively late, that is, on May 1, 1942.⁸ On April 30, the Jews were ordered to move to the ghetto within 24 hours. Few belongings were permitted, although people brought more than was officially permitted. Non-Jewish neighbors took advantage of this sudden evacuation to steal and loot. The assigned area was the poorest and most crowded part of town, shaped roughly like a rectangle. It was enclosed by a barbed-wire fence measuring 2,345 meters (1.5 miles) in length and had three gates.⁹ The ghetto contained 240 wooden, one-story houses on 23 streets, with only two water pumps. The allocation of living space per person was about 1.2 square meters (almost 13 square feet), and each room was occupied by at least 10 people.¹⁰ Health conditions deteriorated drastically, and documents from the Jewish clinic and the Gebietskommissariat health department record dysentery, typhus, and starvation-related illnesses.¹¹

A list of ghetto inhabitants compiled by German authorities registered nearly 18,300 people by surname, given name, date of birth, street address, and occupation. Statistical analysis shows that men over the age of 15 made up 14 percent of the ghetto population; women over 15, 50 percent; and children, 36 percent. A total of 5,112 people were listed with workplaces: of these, 1,944 were men, and 3,168 (62 percent) were women. There were 44 distinct places of employment for ghetto workers. The Judenrat employed 1,175 people in its diverse departments. There were 999 workers who provided services to the Germans, while another 1,284 supplied the city's residents with goods and services; among them, 364 women worked in Christian households. Another 859 people labored in factories and lumber mills, and 795 in various workshops.¹²

The Judenrat offices moved to the ghetto and operated several stores to distribute daily food rations. Judenrat workers on payroll raised vegetables in a lot near the Judenrat building. Bakers were allowed a weekly excursion to bring in flour, and they often smuggled in an extra quantity, to be sold as black market bread.¹³

Some people from Pińsk joined the partisans; however, no significant military resistance is recorded for Pińsk itself. The Judenrat's members discouraged young people from fighting for fear of reprisals and because they believed German reassurances that work performed in the ghetto was essential and would ensure survival. Although some young people had managed with great difficulty to collect weapons, their plans were postponed until it was too late.¹⁴ Some residents escaped into the swamps of Polesia and tried to join the partisans before the destruction of the ghetto, but many died in the attempt. There was very little assistance from non-Jews in Pińsk, and after the war only 17 Jews are recorded as emerging from hiding in and around Pińsk. A few righteous non-Jews had risked their own lives to save them.¹⁵

On October 27, 1942, Heinrich Himmler gave the order to "liquidate and destroy the ghetto of Pińsk immediately."¹⁶ The ghetto in Pińsk was one of the last to be destroyed in Reichskommissariat Ukraine. Preparations, including the digging of pits, had been under way. According to Himmler's order, 1,000 men were to be kept alive as laborers, but in the end only 60 to 70 men and women survived the massacres between October 29 and November 1, 1942.

The killings are described in Captain Helmut Saur's "Experience Report."¹⁷ On October 29, SS and police units arrived in Pińsk at 4:00 A.M. and sealed off the ghetto by 4:13 A.M. Many Jews gathered voluntarily in the streets, still believing that reporting for work might spare their lives. Others tried to break out of the ghetto but were shot trying. Alfred Ebner had prepared a list of 400 workers for the plywood and match factories who would be spared. Captain Saur reports that nearly 10,000 Jews were killed on that first day, but his numbers are ambiguous and can be read as referring to either 16,200 or 26,200 victims. Given the list of residents dated January 1942, a total death toll of 20,000 people by November 1 appears probable.¹⁸ The ghetto was searched four times, and many sick and elderly were killed inside the ghetto. Patients and preselected skilled workers, temporarily housed on hospital grounds, were shot in the hospital yard. All the others were marched to Dobrovalia, a village 5 kilometers (3 miles) outside the ghetto, where a pit 40 meters long, 4 meters deep, and 3 meters wide (131 by 13 by 10 feet) had been dug by local peasants. People were ordered to strip, walk into the pit, and lie facedown on top of the previously murdered; then they were shot in the head.

Those selected for work were held in jail for 11 days and then moved to a new "small ghetto" near the former Karlin Yeshiva building. Approximately 140 people lived there, including some who had survived the massacres in hiding. The medical doctors among this group were selected and killed after being denounced by local non-Jewish doctors.

People knew their end had come when tailor Leibl Sherman's workshop stopped receiving new work orders and customers came to pick up their unfinished clothing. On December 23, 1942, the remaining Jews were murdered in the Karlin cemetery.¹⁹

Franz Magill was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for his role in the first killing wave (2 Ks 1/63, LG-Braun).²⁰ Gebietskommissar Paul Gerhard Klein died in 1945. The trial of Kuhr et al. (4 Ks 1/71, LG-Frank) resulted in short prison sentences for members of Police Battalion 306, engaged in the second killing wave, but for medical reasons there was no conviction of deputy Gebietskommissar Alfred Ebner.²¹

SOURCES Survivor accounts are collected in the *Pinsk Memorial Book* (hereafter *PMB*), published in three volumes by the Association of Pinsk-Karlin and the Vicinity in 1966–1977, including the testimony of David Gleibman-Globe, Yehoshua Naidich, Motl Schukhman, Haya Sherman, Golda Sherman-Galetzky, and Tzila Dolinko. Published memoirs include: Arye Dolinko, *How Pinsk and Karlin's Communities Were Destroyed* (Tel Aviv: Society of Former Residents of Pinsk and Karlin in Eretz-Israel, 1946); and Werner Müller, ed., *Aus dem Feuer gerissen: Die Geschichte des Pjotr Ruwinowitsch Rabzewitsch aus Pinsk* (Cologne: Dietrich, 2001). Nahum Boneh's *The Holocaust and the Revolt, Offprint from the Pinsk Memorial Book*, vol. 1, pt. 2 (Tel Aviv: Association of the Jews of Pinsk-Karlin in Israel, 1977) relies on survivor testimony. E.S. Rozenblat and I. Elenskaia's *Pinskie evrei: 1939–1944* (Brest: Brestskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet, 1997) is based on documents in GABO, as is the more recent analysis by Tikva Fatal-Knaani, "The Jews of Pinsk, 1939–1943, through the Prism of New Documentation," *Yad Vashem Studies* 29 (2001): 149–182. Stephen Phillip Pallavicini's "The Liquidation of the Jews of the Polesie: 1941–1942: A Case Study: Pinsk and Surrounding Areas" (Ph.D. diss., Macquarie University, Sydney, Australia, 2001) also uses German postwar criminal investigations. In Polish, there is: Fanny Sołomian-Łoc, *Getto i gwiazdy* (Warsaw: Czytelnik, 1993).

Documents from the ghetto are kept in GABO and are available on microfilm at Yad Vashem (YVA) and USHMM as Record Group M-41. The Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen in Ludwigsburg (now BA-L) holds much of the documentation used to prepare the trials against Magill (Braunschweig) and Kuhr et al. (Frankfurt/Main) (see, for example, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59). The full trial records are kept in the relevant state archives of Lower Saxony and Hesse. Survivor testimonies taken by Israeli police are located in the Moreshet Archives (MA) in Givat Haviva, Israel; additional survivor testimonies can be found in YVA.

Web sites: www.pinskjews.org.il; www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/pinsk1/pinsk1.html; www.jewishgen.org/databases/PinskGhetto.htm; and www.jewishgen.org/databases/Belarus/PinskGhetto-YalkutMoreshet.htm.

Katharina von Kellenbach, Nahum Boneh, and Ellen Stepak

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 393/59, Ghetto Vernichtung im Raum Pinsk (28 März 1963), Abschlussbericht Dr. Arzt.

2. Cf. David Gleibman-Globe, New York, 1962; Haya Sherman, Tel Aviv, 1955; Melekh Bakalchuk, Buenos Aires, 1958, and Arye Dolinko—all in *So Perished the Communities of Pinsk and Katolin* (Moscow, 2005) [English], pp. 102–103.

3. YVA, M 41/945, Ortskommandantur Pinsk (OK II/333), July 30, 1941.

4. Erich Mirek, "Enthüllung faschistischer Grausamkeiten," in Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim Zentralkomitee der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands, ed., *In den Wäldern Belorusslands: Erinnerungen* (Berlin: Dietz, 1976), pp. 172–177.

5. Dolinko, *How Pinsk and Karlin's Communities Were Destroyed*, p. 14.

6. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999), pp. 560–566; Nahum Boneh, "Pinsk Jews in the Ghetto: Current State of Affairs," *Yalkut Moreshet* (Mordechai Anilevich Study and Research Center, Israel), no. 64 (November 1997).

7. YVA, M-41/942, Ortskommandantur Pinsk an Bürgermeister in Pinsk, August 8, 1941.

8. Pallavicini, "The Liquidation," pp. 88–100.

9. In 1993 N.M. Polehovich, a Polish Christian resident of Pinsk, drew a map that can be accessed at jewishgen.org/database/Belarus/PinskGhetto.htm.

10. Müller, *Aus dem Feuer gerissen: Die Geschichte des Pjotr Ruwinowitsch Rabzewitsch aus Pinsk*; Boneh, "Pinsk Jews in the Ghetto."

11. Fatal-Knaani, "The Jews of Pinsk," pp. 172–173.

12. Boneh, "Pinsk Jews in the Ghetto."

13. Boneh, *PMB* [English], 1:113.

14. *Ibid.*, 2:343 (chap. 6).

15. *Ibid.* [English]: 1:129.

16. The order was received by the HSSPF in Ukraine, Prützmann, on October 27, 1942 (BA-BL, R 19/319), and involved units of the KdS Aussendienststelle Pinsk, Security Police, Order Police, and Ukrainian Schuma. Cf. Dr. Yosef Kermish, *Yad Vashem News* (Jerusalem), nos. 6–7 (January 1956).

17. GARF, 7021-148-2, pp. 355–356, Saur Erfahrungsbericht.

18. Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 720–723.

19. Boneh, *PMB* [English]: 1:126–129.

20. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 570.

21. Katharina von Kellenbach, "Vanishing Acts: Perpetrators in Postwar Germany," *Journal of Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17:2 (2003): 305–329.

POCZAJÓW

Pre-1939: Poczajów (Yiddish: Potchayev), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pochaev, Tarnopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Potschajew, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Pochaiv, Ternopil oblast', Ukraine

Poczajów is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) north of Tarnopol'. According to the 1921 census, 1,083 Jews lived in the town. By mid-1941, assuming a natural growth of 0.9 percent

per decade, there were probably about 1,300 Jews in Poczajów. After the beginning of the war, in late June 1941, several dozen Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army, and a number of others were able to evacuate to the east, so that just over 1,000 Jews came under German occupation in the town.

The Germans occupied Poczajów on June 30, 1941. During July and August, a German military administration governed the town, and in September 1941, authority was transferred to a civil administration. Poczajów was a Rayon center in Gebiet Kremenez, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Kremenez Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Müller.¹ A Ukrainian local administration and police were created in Poczajów. The Ukrainian police were subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post in the town, which was manned by several German Gendarmes.

Soon after the establishment of the German administration, three Jews from Poczajów went to the Gebiet center in Krzemieniec on behalf of the Poczajów Jewish community. Here they received instructions to create a Judenrat consisting of 12 members and a Jewish police force of 30 people in Poczajów.²

The first German repressive measures were directed against members of the Communist youth organization, whom they rounded up, tortured, and shot. Then on July 8, 1941, the Ukrainian police and a few Germans collected 106 Jews and imprisoned them in the cellar of the police station. After being beaten, the victims were taken out at night and shot in a nearby forest.³

In the summer and fall of 1941, a succession of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Poczajów: Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (a Star of David), they were compelled to engage in forced labor, they were forbidden to leave the village, and they were subjected to systematic robberies and beatings by the Ukrainian police. In addition, an order was issued to establish a brothel for the Germans, employing 20 girls aged 18 to 20. Fathers and mothers bribed the authorities to keep their daughters from being taken. On another occasion, 10 alleged young Communists were arrested, and a ransom of 50,000 Reichsmark (RM) was demanded from the Jewish community. When the money was paid, however, it was discovered that the 10 victims had already been shot.⁴

In January 1942, a ghetto was established in the town, which contained approximately 1,000 Jews.⁵ The ghetto was surrounded by a 2-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) wooden fence with barbed wire on top. The Jews were compelled to erect the fence themselves. Inside the ghetto, conditions were very overcrowded, and there was a severe shortage of water. Jews were permitted to get water from the well outside the ghetto only during a two-hour period each day. Some Jews paid bribes to get permission to use horses for the collection of water.

As Jews no longer had access to the mills, inside the ghetto people used stones to make flour from wheat. At the beginning, residents of the ghetto received 150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread per day. Subsequently, for two months the ration was reduced to 120 grams (4.2 ounces) per day, and finally it was abolished altogether. To prevent Jews from smuggling food into the ghetto, there were Ukrainian guards on the outside

of the ghetto and Jewish Police on the inside. Sometimes the Jewish Police bribed the Ukrainian guard to allow people to smuggle in food. About 200 or 300 men performed forced labor daily, usually working on road construction or cleaning up vacated Jewish houses. Work outside the ghetto presented an opportunity to find food or firewood. Nothing could be bought for money. However, despite strict regulations to the contrary, Jews were able to barter food from the peasants in exchange for clothing or other items.

On one occasion, 40 people who were working near a village paid off the guard to let them go to the village to forage for food. In the village, Ukrainian policemen caught them and took them to the German civil administration. The German official then selected 19 of the youngest people and ordered the Judenrat to dig a grave in which the victims were buried alive.

After the Germans denied the ghetto further bread rations, the Jews formed a committee that collected money from those who still had some left and set up a soup kitchen. People waited daily outside the canteen in long lines for a bowl of soup. In this way the ghetto inmates were able to ameliorate the effects of starvation.⁶

At the beginning of August 1942, 200 Ukrainian policemen arrived in Poczajów and stayed for several days. On Saturday, when everyone had returned from work, they sealed off the ghetto. When the Judenrat asked why nobody was allowed to leave, they were told that it was a punishment for smuggling food into the ghetto.

On the following Tuesday, two vehicles containing 30 men under the command of the Security Police (Sipo) and SD arrived. The head of the Sipo ordered the Judenrat and Jewish Police to come to the gate of the ghetto. He asked the Judenrat how many Jews were in the ghetto. The Judenrat and Jewish Police then received instructions to gather all the Jews at the ghetto gate. Not all Jews came voluntarily, however, and members of the German and Ukrainian police drove people out of their homes, beating and killing those who refused to come along.

At the ghetto gate, the men and women were separated, and the sick were loaded onto wagons. The people were then escorted through the fields to a grave that had been prepared in advance. Here they had to undress. Then the Germans lined them up in groups and shot them into the grave. Finally, a few grenades were thrown in to finish off any people who were only wounded.⁷

According to internal German documentation, the ghetto was liquidated on August 12, 1942,⁸ when a squad of the SD, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, shot 794 people (182 men, 374 women, and 238 children).⁹ About 30 Jewish craftsmen were kept alive for various tasks. Once they had cleaned out the ghetto, they were made to dig their own graves and were also shot. Some of the Jews hid and were able to escape the shootings on August 12. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police hunted for these people and shot any Jews they found at the Jewish cemetery. Only a few young Jews managed to survive until the arrival of the Red Army.

SOURCES A detailed article by A. Kuperman and V. Veytsman, “The Death of Pochayev’s Jews,” can be found in the yizkor book for the town: H. Gelernt, ed., *Pitchayever Yizkor-bukh* (Philadelphia: Pitchayever Wohliner Aid Society, 1960), pp. 165–174. There is also a brief entry in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 150–152.

Documentation regarding the extermination of Poczajów’s Jews can be found in the following archives: DATO; GARF (7021-75-11); IPN; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. See Kuperman and Veytsman, “The Death of Pochayev’s Jews,” pp. 165–174.

3. *Ibid.* This source also includes a list of some of the victims of this Aktion.

4. *Ibid.*

5. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 363–366.

6. These internal details about the ghetto are all taken from Kuperman and Veytsman, “The Death of Pochayev’s Jews.”

7. *Ibid.*

8. R. Kravchenko-Berezhnoi, *Moi XX vek (Stop-kadry)* (Apatity, 1998), p. 121. Before the Aktion in Poczajów, a squad of the Security Police and SD conducted a mass shooting of Jews in Krzemieniec on August 10, 1942, and on August 11, 1942, they left for Poczajów and Wiśniowiec, where they also murdered the Jews.

9. IPN, GKSZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szcztatkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, pp. 2–3, transcription of a Security Police report dated Rowno, August 15, 1942, on the “special treatment” of Jews in the Krzemieniec district. Poczajów is listed in third place after Krzemieniec and Wiśniowiec. It is known that the Aktion in Poczajów occurred after the Aktion in Wiśniowiec. According to materials found in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for the Poczajów (Pochayev) raion and town, in August 1942, up to 1,900 Jews were shot; later over 500 Jews were caught and executed in the cemetery (GARF, 7021-75-11, p. 10). It appears that these numbers are much too high. According to Kuperman and Veytsman, “The Death of Pochayev’s Jews,” there were some 800 victims of the ghetto liquidation.

POLONNOE

Pre-1941: Polonnoe, city and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Polonnoje, Rayon center, Gebiet Schepetowka, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Polonne, raion center, Khmel’nyts’kyi oblast’, Ukraine

Polonnoe is located 83 kilometers (52 miles) west of Zhitomir. In 1897, the Jewish population was 7,910. According to the 1926 census, 5,337 Jews resided in Polonnoe. The January 1939

census recorded 4,171 Jewish residents; they comprised 30.2 percent of the total population. In addition, 675 Jews lived in the town of Poninka, and another 883 Jews lived elsewhere in the Polonnoe raion, mostly in the settlement of Novolabun’.

After Nazi Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army; other Jews were able to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union. It seems likely that about 4,000 Jews remained in the Polonnoe raion at the start of the German occupation.

Polonnoe was occupied by units of the German 17th Army on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, the city was governed by a series of German military commandant’s offices (Ortskommandanturen). The military administration formed a local authority and an auxiliary police force recruited from local non-Jewish inhabitants. Polonnoe became a Rayon center within Gebiet Schepetowka. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Worbs, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Richard Höse.¹

In early August 1941, German security forces murdered 19 Jews in Polonnoe as alleged Communist activists. On August 23, a German police cavalry squadron, subordinated to the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland Süd, Friedrich Jeckeln, shot 113 Jews in the city.²

On September 2, 1941, a mass shooting of the Jews was carried out by German Police Regiment South, assisted by their accomplices in the local police. The Jews were hunted down, loaded onto trucks, taken to the woods near a railway station, then shot and buried in pits. Before they were killed, they were made to strip naked, and gold teeth were removed from their mouths. According to German records, approximately 2,000 people were killed on this occasion. At the same time, in all likelihood most of the Jews of Poninka, about 500 in all, were murdered by the same police regiment.³ More than 80 Jews from Labun’ and Novolabun’ were murdered in the nearby forests in the summer and fall of 1941.⁴

Another 15 families (about 50 Jews) from Polonnoe were shot in the nearby town of Liubar on September 13, 1941, by the German 45th Reserve Police Battalion.⁵

During October and November 1941, a ghetto was created in Polonnoe in three or four barracks at the granite quarry on Berezovskaia Street, which were fenced in with barbed wire. Subsequently all the Jews from Poninka, Novolabun’, Bereznia, Vorobevka, and Kotelianka who were still alive were brought to the ghetto. According to Maria Tribun, in the barracks Jews slept on the concrete floor and on shared bunks; there was no heat, and food was sparse. Some local residents tried to help by bringing potatoes, beets, and bread for those in the ghetto. Nevertheless, disease, including typhus, spread among the ghetto inhabitants as a result of the miserable conditions.

Nobody was permitted to leave the ghetto, and on the way to work the local police guarded the Jews. The ghetto inhabitants were ordered to wear a special symbol on their clothes: yellow circles on the front and back, which replaced the white armbands with a Star of David initially ordered by the military authorities. Anyone deemed guilty of the slightest misdeed

was subjected to corporal punishment or even shot dead. Among the forced labor tasks was the carrying and destruction of Jewish gravestones in the cemetery.⁶ In the recollection of Boris Timoshenko, “[T]he conditions of life there were terrifying—cold and hunger were common.”⁷

According to Anna Kalika, the remaining Jews of Labun’ were brought into the Polonnoe ghetto in mid-February 1942. “While letting us through the gate into the ghetto, we were repeatedly hit by clubs; our valuables were taken away; those who dared to disobey were shot dead right on the spot.”⁸

As mentioned, most of the Jews of Poninka had been murdered before the winter of 1941–1942, and the remaining Jews, except for three families, were sent to the Polonnoe ghetto. These last three families, except for Yasha the barber, who escaped, were then escorted to the ghetto by the local police in mid-March 1942.⁹

On June 25, 1942, the German police from Shepetovka and local collaborators surrounded the ghetto. First they shot several people to intimidate the Jews. Then they selected about 15 young men and women to be sent to the Shepetovka ghetto a week later to work as craftsmen. Then the remaining people, mainly women, children, and the elderly, about 1,270 in total, were shot near Poninka.¹⁰

Maria Tribun escaped from the ghetto before the liquidation and was hidden with her sister in the village of Kotelianka by the family of Radion Ianiuk, whom they had known previously. Anna Kalika was transferred to Shepetovka in July 1942, where she survived the mass shooting by hiding in a ditch and was subsequently helped by forest wardens. Maria Shafranskaia was hidden by Anastasia Boriskina, even though part of her house was for a time occupied by the local chief of police and those found to be hiding Jews were threatened with the death penalty.¹¹

SOURCES Several personal accounts by survivors of the Polonnoe ghetto and other information on the fate of the Jews of the Polonnoe raion can be found in the yizkor book edited by S.L. Bentsianov, *Sefer Zakorrem: Book of Memory. Suffering of Jews that Died during the Nazi Occupation: History of Polonnoye Jews* (1993), which has been translated into English and made available on the Web by Jewishgen. There is also a survivor testimony concerning the ghetto in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 288–291.

Additional information on the Jewish communities in the Polonnoe raion and their fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1012; A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond “Pamiat’ zhertv fashizma,” 2000), pp. 181, 185–186, 197, and 230.

Relevant documentation on the anti-Jewish Aktions carried out by the German police under the authority of the HSSPF Russland Süd, Friedrich Jeckeln, in the Shepetovka-Polonnoe region in August and September 1941 can be found in the following archives: VHAP; and USHMM (RG-

48.004M). Additional information can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF; VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHAP (USHMM, RG-48.004M), HSSPF Russland Süd, Jeckeln Telegram, no. 154, August 24, 1941.
3. Ibid., HSSPF Russland Süd, Jeckeln Radiogram, no. 61, September 4, 1941; Mariya Moiseyevna Tribun, “I Ought to Tell . . .” in Bentsianov, *Sefer Zakorrem*, pp. 27–28. The ChGK report gives the figure of some 4,000 Jews murdered in Polonnoe on this occasion.
4. O. Lochkin, “On the Roads of War,” p. 49; Anna Moiseyevna Kalika, “Memoirs of a Former Prisoner of a Jewish Ghetto,” pp. 29–30—both in Bentsianov, *Sefer Zakorrem*.
5. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944gg. Entsiklopedicheski spravochnik* (Kharkov: “Karavella,” 2001), p. 197.
6. Tribun, “I Ought to Tell . . .,” pp. 27–28.
7. Testimony of Boris Timoshenko, in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, p. 289.
8. Kalika, “Memoirs,” pp. 29–30.
9. “Fight with Death,” in Bentsianov, *Sefer Zakorrem*, pp. 43–46.
10. “The Tragedy of Black September,” in *ibid.*, p. 78.
11. “The Saviour,” in *ibid.*, p. 49.

PORYCK

Pre-1939: Poryck, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pavlovka, raion center, Volyn’ oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Porizk, Rayon center, Gebiet Wladimir-Wolynsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Pavlivka, Volyn’ oblast’, Ukraine

Poryck is located on the Luga River, 29 kilometers (18 miles) south-southeast of Włodzimierz Wołyński. In 1921, there were 1,205 Jews living there. By mid-1941, allowing for an annual increase of 9 to 10 persons per 1,000, there would have been about 1,500 Jews in Poryck and about 1,000 more living in the villages of the Pavlovka raion.¹

Forces of the German 6th Army occupied Poryck on June 23, 1941. At first, in July and August 1941, a German military commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the town. Authority was transferred to a German civil administration in September 1941. Poryck became a Rayon center in Gebiet Wladimir-Wolynsk, where Nachwuchsführer Wilhelm Westerheide was the Gebietskommissar from late 1941.² The leader of the Gendarmerie (SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer) from July 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Grigat. He was in command of 18 Gendarmerie officials spread over several Rayons, including Poryck. Several German Gendarmes and a local Ukrainian police unit (consisting of a few dozen members) were stationed in the town.

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At the beginning of September 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in Poryck. German forces arrested about 100 Jewish men and then shot them.³

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Poryck. A curfew was imposed on the Jews at night, and they were ordered to wear distinctive markings, initially armbands bearing the Star of David, then later a yellow circle sewn onto their chests. They were called on to perform heavy forced labor, prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and subjected to systematic beatings by the Ukrainian police. The Germans also established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to transmit their orders to the Jewish population. From the summer of 1941 and into 1942, the German authorities imposed a series of “contributions” on the Jewish population, compelling them to surrender all valuables and fur clothing.

In the winter of 1941–1942 or the spring of 1942, the Germans established some form of ghetto in Poryck (possibly an “open ghetto”), as they resettled the Jews from the surrounding villages into the town. This resulted in considerable overcrowding and the spread of disease, including cases of typhus. A hospital existed inside the Jewish quarter of Poryck to deal with those who fell sick.

On September 1, 1942, Ukrainian local police, supervised by the German Gendarmerie, encircled the Jewish houses early in the morning. Then the Ukrainians burst in, driving out the Jews, shooting immediately the elderly and those too sick to walk, including all the occupants of the hospital. The remaining Jews were escorted to a farm surrounded with barbed wire, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town. The Ukrainian militiamen beat them and stabbed them with bayonets on the way, killing anyone who fell down wounded, such that the route was littered with corpses. At the farm the Jews were held for three days in the open air without food or drink and were brutally beaten and humiliated by the Ukrainian guards, who also robbed them of any remaining valuables. About 300 Jews, including many babies, died under these conditions or were shot during the course of these humiliations. Then the Ukrainian police chief, Pasalski, gave the order for the remaining Jews to be taken to the pits that had been prepared. Pasalski and his assistant Mojch then shot the Jews personally, after the small children had been bayoneted and thrown into the grave first. Ukrainians had gathered from the surrounding villages in search of loot and assisted the German forces by filling in the graves. One Ukrainian woman even asked for the pretty woolen dress that one of the Jewish victims was wearing as she waited to be shot.⁴

The Aktion was concluded on September 5, 1942, and in total at least 1,800 Jews from Poryck and the surrounding Rayon were murdered.⁵ About 100 Jews had fled from Poryck at the start of the Aktion, but most were soon recaptured and brought back into the town. There the Ukrainian police murdered them in a most brutal way, cutting off their hands or other limbs and then burning them alive in the remaining Jewish houses.⁶ This report appears to be corroborated in the diary of Michael Diment, who records an encounter with an-

other Jewish survivor, Yankel, who had briefly hidden in the burned-out homes in Poryck after the mass killing there.⁷ Sonie Rubinsztejn, who fled successfully at the last moment before the mass shooting, found refuge with a local priest whom she knew near Łokacze, who gave her shelter and trained her to pass as a Christian.⁸ The Red Army liberated Poryck on July 18, 1944.

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Poryck can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 152–153.

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Poryck can be found in the following archives: DAVO; GARF (7021-55-11); MA (A262); and YVA (M-1/E/1494). Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Among the villages in the raion were Iwanicz (Jewish population of 61 in 1921) and Litowiz (Jewish population of 32 in 1921). See *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 216–219.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 6, 8.
4. YVA, M-1/E/1494, testimony of Sonie Rubinsztejn, August 1, 1947.
5. GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 6, 8. Other sources put the number of Jews in the Poryck ghetto at around 3,000; YVA, M-1/E/1494.
6. YVA, M-1/E/1494.
7. Michael Diment, *The Lone Survivor: A Diary of the Łokacze Ghetto and Szymiukhy, Ukraine* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1992), p. 150.
8. YVA, M-1/E/1494.

POWÓRSK

Pre-1939: Powórsk, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Povorsk, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Poworsk, Rayon and Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Povors'k, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Powórsk is located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) to the east of Kowel. In 1921, the Jewish population was only 37, but by the 1930s it had increased to more than 200.¹ In September 1939, the village fell within the Soviet occupation zone.²

German forces occupied the village on June 26, 1941. There was no permanent German garrison in the town, but a Ukrainian police force was recruited from local inhabitants, led by a man named Zakuta.

In late August or early September 1942, the Ukrainians received an order from the Germans to establish an “open ghetto” in Powórsk, and all the Jewish families came to live

on one street. There were three or four families living in each house. Just before the Jewish holidays in early September 1942, the Germans and their collaborators murdered all the Jews of the village (about 200 in total). On either September 2 or September 4, 1942, the Ukrainian police rounded up the Jews and escorted them to ditches that had been prepared previously by the Soviet occupying forces to hold gasoline tanks. Before they were shot, the Jews had to sit on the ground and were made to surrender any jewelry or valuables they possessed. The rabbi was the first to be led to the pits and also the first to be shot.³

Among the Jewish survivors from Powórsk were Basia Katz (née Eisenberg), who escaped with her entire family and migrated to Canada after the war, and Bella Fleishman.

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Yehuda Merin, *Sefer yizkor li-kehillat Manyevits', Horodok, Troyanovkah, Lishnivkah u-Povursk* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Manyevits', Horodok, Troyanovkah, Lishnivkah u-Povursk veba-sevivah ba-Erets uve-hu.l., 2002) [in Hebrew, Yiddish, and partly in English], was first published in 1980 and republished in Givatayim, Israel, in 2002.

The Jewish survivor Basia Katz was interviewed in 1988 by the British Home Office War Crimes Inquiry. The original transcript of this interview is now held at the British National Archives (NA) in London.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), pp. 212–228; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 1018–1019.

2. This entry is based mainly on the recollections of Basia Katz, a Jewish survivor from Powórsk, interviewed by William Chalmers for the British Home Office War Crimes Inquiry on September 9, 1988.

3. Testimony of Basia Katz, interviewed by William Chalmers on September 9, 1988, gives the date of Friday September 4, 1942; A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kbolokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), p. 34, gives the date of September 2, 1942.

PROSKUROV

Pre-1941: Proskurov, city and raion center; Kamenets-Podol'skii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Proskurov, Rayon and Gebiet center; Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Kbmel'nyts'kyi (Proskurov), Kbmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Proskurov is located about 340 kilometers (211 miles) southwest of Kiev, on the Bug River. In 1939, 14,518 Jews lived in the city (38.7 percent of the total).

Units of German Army Group South entered Proskurov on July 8, 1941. Between June 22 and July 8, only a few Jewish families left the city. Able-bodied men aged 19 to 36 volun-



A mass grave in Proskurov, 1941–1942.
USHMM WS #17880, COURTESY OF JULIUS SCHATZ

teered for or were drafted into the Red Army. Precise figures are unavailable, but it appears that around 10,000 Jews remained in Proskurov at the start of the occupation.

Proskurov became the center of Gebiet Proskurov in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Proskurov, Hundertschaftsführer Schmerbeck, made his residence on Aleksandrovskaia Street.

From the start of the German occupation, a pattern of plunder, humiliation, abuse, and murder of Jews emerged. Units of Einsatzgruppe C, as well as a self-organized Western Ukrainian Bukovina Battalion, headed by Peter Voinovsky, carried out these measures.

The Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Proskurov, and Liza Lindenboym was appointed its chairwoman. She was responsible for implementing all the directives issued by Gebietskommissar Schmerbeck. She appointed 10 other Jewish men and women to serve on the Judenrat. Its main function was to provide Jewish forced laborers for the Germans. Many Jews hated Lindenboym. Most survivors maintained that there was no Jewish police force in Proskurov. Iosif Groysman, however, stated that “Jewish policemen” assembled the Jews for work.¹

In September 1941, Gebietskommissar Schmerbeck ordered Jews to assemble in a ghetto—two blocks on Kupecheskaia and Remeslennaia Streets—near the open market, surrounded by barbed wire with only one gate. Prisoners failing to appear would be shot. Ukrainian policemen supervised the assembly. The majority of people did not resist the order. The barbed wire gave the Jews a false sense of security that it “protected” them from the Germans and hostile Ukrainians. Most of the residents on Kupecheskaia and Remeslennaia Streets were Jews. Jews from other parts of the city moved in with them. Three to five families crowded into each house, 15 to 20 people per room. No one was allowed to leave the ghetto without a permit. Ukrainian policemen guarded the ghetto.²

The first ghetto existed less than four months. Jews worked as forced laborers. The work included harvest collection, fruit

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concentration, demolition of the Jewish cemetery, the clearing of ruined houses, shoveling snow in winter, and other jobs outside the ghetto. Unless they possessed their own tools, the laborers performed nearly all work manually. Ukrainian and Lithuanian policemen guarded the Jews to and from work. They beat men and women with whips and occasionally shot those who were unable to work any longer. Shoemakers, tailors, tanners, welders, coopers, and other skilled workers labored inside the ghetto, and many received permission to work in shops outside the barbed wire, under close supervision. Children of the specialists worked with their parents. Elderly Jews, the sick, and toddlers lived in constant fear of the Germans and policemen when the able-bodied Jews left for work.³

Forced laborers received 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread daily. The nonworking Jews were not entitled to food. Skilled laborers, also not entitled to food, received food in compensation for their work from local non-Jews and Germans. Townspeople and villagers traded food at the barbed-wire fence for clothing, utensils, and any commodities that the Jews still owned. Both sides risked being beaten or shot. Volodymyr Lanko, a Ukrainian agronomist, helped many people in the ghetto. Young people crawled out of the ghetto at night and begged their former non-Jewish neighbors for food. The barbed wire hardly presented an overwhelming physical barrier to young people, and the Stars of David were easy to remove; however, by daylight, the local policemen knew the faces of the Jews and would shoot anyone without a permit. Jews who did not live in the city before the war and those youths who could pass as non-Jews had a better chance of smuggling themselves in and out of the ghetto.⁴

In the first ghetto, radios and newspapers were confiscated. News passed through the barbed-wire fence by word of mouth. Ukrainian pottery makers, who traveled from town to town, carried letters and messages. The Jews in Proskurov knew that throughout the region Jews were subjected to the same conditions. In the fall of 1941, the Germans shot a Jewish minyan in the center of the ghetto. Nazi officers and administrators raped Jewish women. To protect themselves, Jewish girls smeared their underwear with lipstick; Germans cringed from the site of "blood." Following the orders of Schmerbeck, Lindenboym collected gold, jewelry, and valuables from the Jews. The Jews perceived the collection of valuables as a "contribution" to stay alive. Young people got married, and women bore children. They still believed they would survive.⁵

On November 4, 1941, SS-Obersturmführer Theodor Salmanzig organized a large-scale Aktion against the Jews in which the main ghetto was liquidated. The pretext for the Aktion was the discovery, in the basement of the State Political Directorate (GPU) building, of 25 to 30 corpses of German servicemen. On Hermann Göring's orders, a special commission headed by Salmanzig was sent to Proskurov to investigate the circumstances of these deaths. Several days later, Salmanzig reappeared in the town with a detachment of 20 to 30 men to "restore order," which meant that the Jews would be shot.⁶

Just before the Aktion, Gebietskommissar Schmerbeck ordered the Judenrat to distribute a limited number of "work certificates" to the skilled workers. The certificates contained two words (*Jude* and a trade), Schmerbeck's signature, and no names. Not every specialist received a work certificate. On November 4, 1941, after the skilled laborers left the ghetto for work, their wives, parents, and children woke up surrounded by the SS. The members of the Judenrat circulated on the street, ordering Jews to come out with their belongings, documents, and jewelry, for resettlement to Kamenets-Podolskii. A pogrom was threatened if they failed to come out. The majority of people hid in shelters in their houses. Those who came out and hundreds who were discovered were driven on foot to the textile factory on Kamenetskaia Street. Those who tried to resist or to escape on the way to the factory were shot by the SS and local policemen.⁷

Inside the textile factory, Jews left their documents, valuables, and other possessions on long tables. Nazis and policemen then drove the Jews on foot to Ruzhichnoe on the city's outskirts. The people were forced to undress before being shot. The Nazis and policemen with machine guns and dogs lined up wailing people in a long line on the edge of a natural ravine. At the edge of it, they shot rows of 15 to 20 people in the back of the head or in the back of the neck. Most executioners were drunk. After the war, the Soviets found 5,300 corpses at Ruzhichnoe, some embracing and others clutching tightly to corpses of children. Everyone in Proskurov heard and saw that the Jews were being driven to be shot that day. Some indigenous non-Jews rejoiced and plundered abandoned Jewish homes. Others were powerless to help. Approximately 20 Jews remained at the textile factory on the evening of November 4. About 5,300 Jews from Proskurov were killed.⁸ In late December 1941, a new census recorded only 3,040 Jews in the city.

Two days after the first pogrom, Schmerbeck ordered the partitioning of the first ghetto into an "old" ghetto, which remained behind the barbed wire, and a "second" ghetto located across the street between Remeslennaia and Kupecheskaia Streets and Aptekarskaia and Sobornaia Streets. The skilled workers moved into the second ghetto along with specialists from neighboring towns who were resettled into the same ghetto. The Jews left in the old ghetto shoveled snow on the highway throughout the winter of 1941–1942. Germans confiscated winter clothing from Jews, non-Jews, and Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Ukrainians continued to toss food over the barbed-wire fence of the old ghetto. During the first winter, some Jews were killed at work, others died from exhaustion, and still others died from hunger and cold.⁹

In the spring and summer of 1942, it became easier to obtain food because of new crops. Germans confiscated horses from kolkhozy in Gebiet Proskurov and conscripted approximately 70 Jews, selected by the Judenrat, to drive the horses to the Donbass front line.¹⁰

Concurrently, throughout 1942, the Germans gathered and concentrated young Jewish men and women remaining in the Proskurov region in several camps along the main

road from Proskurov to Vinnitsa (Durchgangsstrasse [highway] IV). They used these people as forced laborers and hired Ukrainian workers for wages to do construction work for the Organisation Todt (OT) highway construction project.¹¹

The Jews in the old ghetto were ravaged by typhus and famine fever in November 1942. Dr. Khromoy took care of the sick, although no medicine was available. Famine fever did not spread to the second ghetto. A number of escapees from nearby camps, ghettos, and mass shootings hid in Proskurov temporarily.

Rumors about an imminent pogrom spread in Proskurov in the late fall of 1942. Approximately 80 to 100 Jews fled the ghetto before the second pogrom and hid with Ukrainian friends. Many were discovered and shot, sometimes together with their hosts. Only Jews with no family left attempted to flee in the snow to Transnistria, 90 kilometers (56 miles) southeast of Proskurov.¹²

The Jews in Proskurov had no weapons for an uprising. Many able-bodied Jewish men and women wanted to join underground partisan brigades, which they believed to exist in the woods. After the war, E. Lantsman testified that in Proskurov “the shooting lasted several hours. Jews killed three SS men and five policemen recruited from the local population. Several young people succeeded in breaking through to the forest and escaping.” However, it is unclear when and under what circumstances this incident took place.¹³

There is no consensus on the exact date of the second large-scale Aktion. More than 7,000 people who remained in the two ghettos of Proskurov, from the labor camps, and from the nearby village of Nikolaev were killed. The murder Aktion lasted more than one week. Most probably, it began on the night of November 30–December 1. SS men, Lithuanian Schutzmannen, and local policemen broke into the homes of the Jews in the old ghetto and into the homes of the specialists. Crying, beatings, shouts, pleading, and shootings accompanied the roundup of the Jews. People were driven daily to the execution pits dug in the village of Leznevo. Mikhail Orlov, a local policeman, testified after the war that Germans “shot them [Jews] point-blank in the back of the head and threw the children alive into pits.”¹⁴

Including those brought into the city from outside, more than 12,000 Jewish civilians are believed to have perished in Proskurov. Only some 60 Jewish men, women, and children from Proskurov are known to have survived the Holocaust.¹⁵

For days after the start of the second pogrom, more than 100 Jews remained in hiding without food or water. One by one, they tried to sneak away, but most were immediately picked up by local policemen and the Germans. Policeman Ivanov saved the life of Hana Gritsershteyn by sneaking her into the house of Volodymyr Lanko, who hid Hana and Byata Beyter for 11 months. At the end of 1943, both Hana and Byata fled to Transnistria.¹⁶

By December 1942, Romanian-governed Transnistria offered the best possibility of survival. Iosif Groysman and Veniamin Grinberg were among those Jews who escaped to

Transnistria. However, some escapees were betrayed by the locals. Every Jew who reached Transnistria met a non-Jew who helped him or her with a piece of bread or advice or simply did not betray them. The Blekhman family bribed a Ukrainian train conductor to smuggle them onto a train to Zhmerinka. In Transnistria, the survivors from Proskurov then found shelter with the local Jews.¹⁷

After the Soviet victory on May 8, 1945, the few Jews who had evacuated from Proskurov before July 7, 1941, gradually returned home. Only a few Jewish soldiers came back from the front alive. Three monuments, established by Jews after the war, commemorate those who perished in the Holocaust in Proskurov.

SOURCES Most of the information for this entry came from the author’s unpublished M.A. thesis, “The History of Jews in Proskurov, Ukraine” (master’s thesis, Union College, 2001). The article by P.M. Shkrobot, “Navichno v pam’iati narodnii,” in A.G. Filiniuk, ed., *Ploskyriv, Proskuriv, Khmel’nyts’kyi, 1493–1993* (Khmelnitskyi: Podillia, 1993), pp. 46–53, includes some relevant information on the fate of Proskurov’s Jewish population. The book by David A. Chapin and Ben Weinstock, eds., *The Road from Letichev* (San Jose: Writer’s Showcase presented by Writer’s Digest, 2000), also includes several testimonies that touch on events in Proskurov.

Documents and testimonies in relation to the Proskurov ghetto and the fate of the city’s Jewish population can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-9-813); USHMM (e.g., RG-31.002M); VHF (# 44315); and YVA (O-3/3734, 3766). A number of oral testimonies, videos, letters, and telephone interviews with survivors from Proskurov have been collected by the author and are in her own personal archive (PADV).

Diana Voskoboinik

NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/3766, Hana Vaiskop, p. 5; Etya B., letter to the author, January 8, 2000; Lyusya Blekhman, personal interview, October 14, 2000; Iosif Groysman, personal interview, January 2, 2001; Veniamin Grinberg, personal interview, January 7, 2001.

2. Tatyana Uzenkel, letter to the author, December 2000; VHF, # 44315, Lyusya Blekhman, May 17, 1998; Iosif Groysman; Moishe Einhorn, “In the Medzhibozh Ghetto,” in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, p. 693.

3. Etya B.; VHF, # 44315; Iosif Groysman; Lazar Bover, letter to the author, December 15, 2000; Klara Melamud, telephone interview concerning her husband, Mikhail Melamud, a Holocaust survivor, January 21, 2001.

4. YVA, O-3/3766, Hana Vaiskop, p. 9; VHF, # 44315; Yefim Lerner, personal interview concerning his late wife Sima Lerner (Blekhman), a Holocaust survivor, December 16, 2000.

5. Etya B.; VHF, # 44315; Iosif Groysman; Yefim Lerner; Klara Melamud; Tatyana Uzenkel.

6. BA-L, B 162/20816, pp. 165ff, testimony of Karl Bauernfeind, December 22, 1964.

7. Iosif Groysman; YVA, O-3/3766, Hana Vaiskop, p. 4. Available sources disagree about the precise date of the first pogrom. The testimony of Hana Vaiskop is probably the most reliable source, as she was a high school graduate at the time.

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8. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 2, 7021-9-813, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, Act of the Judicial-Medical Committee for Investigation of the German-Fascist Atrocities in Proskurov; VHF, # 44315; Lazar Bover; Iosif Groysman; Klara Melamud; YVA, O-3/3766.

9. Einhorn, "In the Medzhibozh Ghetto," p. 693; Iosif Groysman. Although in Letichev and Zinkov (neighboring towns) there were no pogroms in the fall of 1941, the Jews of those towns survived the first winter under conditions similar to those of the remaining Jews in Proskurov; see the testimonies of Vladimir Goykher and Semyon Gluzman, in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 710–714 and 730–736, respectively.

10. Iosif Groysman; Veniamin Grinberg.

11. Veniamin Grinberg; Goykher, in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 712–714. Also see Moyshe Rekhtman, "Hard Labor in the Letichev Camp," testimony on file in USHMM; also Rekhtman, in *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 701–702.

12. VHF, # 44315; Lyusya Blekhman, October 14, 2000; Etya B.

13. Iosif Groysman; Shkrobot, "Navichno v pam'iaty narodnii," pp. 48–53.

14. Veniamin Lukin and Boris Khaymovich, eds., *Sto evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Podol'ia*, ser. 1 (Jerusalem and St. Petersburg, 1997), p. 184. There is no consensus on the start of the second pogrom. Witnesses give various dates in November and December. Since the pogrom lasted more than a week, November 30, 1942, seems most plausible as the first night of the pogrom; Mikhail S. Orlov, protocol of interrogation, May 10, 1944, ChGK materials, USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-9-813).

15. ChGK report, USHMM archives, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-64-792); list of the inmates of the ghetto and concentration camps who belong to the Khmel'nyts'kyi Oblast' Organization, signed by Boris Levin, September 11, 1994; Etya B.; Lyusya Blekhman, October 14, 2000; YVA, O-3/3766, p. 13.

16. Veniamin Grinberg; Klara Melamud; Eva Oksman testimony in PADV; YVA, O-3/3766, pp. 10–13.

17. Veniamin Grinberg; Iosif Groysman; VHF, # 44315; Lyusya Blekhman, October 14, 2000; YVA, O-3/3766, p. 11; Etya B.; Einhorn, "In the Medzhibozh Ghetto."

RADZIWIŁÓW

Pre-1939: Radziwiłłów, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Chervonoarmeisk, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Radziwilow, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Radiviliv, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Radziwiłłów is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) southwest of Równe. At the end of 1937, there were 3,120 Jews living in the town. The town came under Soviet occupation in mid-September 1939. The Soviet authorities deported many Jewish refugees from western and central Poland to the Soviet interior when these people opted not to take Soviet citizenship.

Forces of the German 6th Army occupied Radziwiłłów at the end of June 1941. In July and August, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the settlement. A man named Matejko was appointed as mayor, and initially Misza Zalewski was head of the local Ukrainian police. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Radziwiłłów became a Rayon center in Gebiet Dubno. Nachwuchsführer Brocks was the Gebietskommissar. In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post consisting of six to eight Gendarmes under the command of a man named Krause was established in Radziwiłłów in the house of a Jew named Fidel. The Gendarmerie assumed control of the Ukrainian police, now renamed the Schutzmannschaft. In the spring of 1942, Polizeileutnant Eberhardt became the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer.¹

In the first days of the occupation, local Ukrainians and Germans robbed the Jews. On July 15, 1941, a German SS unit arrived in Radziwiłłów and organized the first Aktion, in which 27 Jews were murdered allegedly as Communist activists. Among those killed were also some wealthy Jews who had given property to local Ukrainians for safekeeping but were denounced to the Germans. On July 16, 1941, Ukrainian



A blue and white child's dress worn by Sabina Heller (née Kagan), while in hiding with the Roztropowicz family in Radziwiłłów, during the Holocaust. Sabina and her parents escaped from the Radziwiłłów ghetto. Sabina's rescuers made the dress from doll clothing.

USHMM WS #N09622, COURTESY OF SABINA HELLER

thugs organized the public burning of prayer books and Torah scrolls from the synagogue and forced the rabbi to dance a jig around the bonfire. Then on August 15, all the Jews were ordered to wait in the market square for two to three hours, during which time their houses were ransacked and looted of all valuable possessions.²

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Radziwiłłów. The Jews were ordered to wear distinctive markings (initially white armbands with a blue Star of David; later, yellow circles on their chest and backs); they were prohibited from leaving the town without permission, from using the sidewalks, or from trading with the local non-Jews; and most items of Jewish property were confiscated or used to pay a succession of onerous “contributions” imposed on the community.³

Soon after their arrival, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Jakob Furman took over as chairman of the Judenrat in the summer of 1941 after its first head, Viderhorn, an assimilated Jew from Hungary who spoke German, resigned his post once he realized the Judenrat was only a tool for the Germans to extort money from the Jews. In February 1942, a number of Jewish workers were rounded up and sent to a labor camp near Vinnitsa. In March 1942, the Germans, assisted by mayor Matejko, conducted a “robbery Aktion” against the Jews, seizing any remaining valuables from Jewish houses.⁴

On April 9, 1942, the Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of a ghetto in the town, and Jews from the surrounding villages also had to move into it. In total, 2,600 Jews were registered in the ghetto.⁵ The ghetto was located in the poorest Jewish houses close to the market square. It was split into two sections divided by Poczajowska Street. About 400 Jews with certificates designating them “productive” Jews lived in the “Karee,” and the remaining 2,200 “unproductive” Jews lived in the “Teich.” Both ghetto sections were surrounded with barbed wire and were guarded internally by the Jewish Police and externally by the Ukrainian police. Due to the extreme overcrowding, with people sleeping on bunk beds and living in attics and cellars, disease and hunger were rife in the ghetto. Some Jews performed forced labor every day outside the ghetto and were escorted to their work sites by the Jewish Police. Forced labor tasks included work for the Organisation Todt (OT) on construction projects such as at the airfield, while others worked at the railroad station or for various German offices.⁶

On May 29, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators conducted an Aktion against the “unproductive” section of the ghetto (those Jews not issued with work cards by the Judenrat). A detachment of the Security Police and SD, assisted by men of the 1st Company of Reserve Police Battalion 33, local Gendarmes, and Ukrainian police, surrounded this section of the ghetto early in the morning.⁷ Those unable to walk or who attempted to escape were murdered inside the ghetto. First the Jewish men who had been rounded up were escorted out of town past the railroad station to a sandy

place known as Suchodolie. Here the Germans forced them to undress and shot them with machine guns into large ditches prepared in advance by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). Then they did the same with the women and children. Altogether, the German-led forces shot about 1,350 people. A number of Jews managed to escape and hide on the eve of the Aktion.⁸

In the summer of 1942, Jews faced the death penalty if caught outside the ghetto without permission. Those working outside continued to smuggle food in, and some local peasants threw food over the ghetto fence. However, the Ukrainian guards now began to punish non-Jews who came too close to the fence.⁹ In August 1942, two Jewish girls who were caught traveling from Dubno on “Aryan papers” were handed over to the Gendarmerie in Radziwiłłów and shot on orders from the German police.¹⁰

By late September 1942, news of the complete liquidation of other nearby ghettos convinced the Jews that their days were numbered. As there was little chance to hide in the forests, since most non-Jews were either hostile or too scared to protect Jews, people built hiding places or sought “Aryan papers.” Some hid their children during the day, fearing an Aktion while they were out at work. Then news came that Soviet POWs were again preparing ditches nearby. To preserve some record of the community, the Radziwiłłów Jews prepared lists of those who had died and those who were still alive and buried them near the Great Synagogue. When the Germans and their collaborators surrounded the ghetto, a number of Jews committed suicide, and others went to their hiding places or tried to escape.¹¹

On October 6, 1942, German Security Police subordinated to the outpost in Równe organized the liquidation of the Radziwiłłów ghetto, shooting about 950 Jews at Suchodolie with the assistance of the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie. About 500 Jews managed to escape on the night before the Aktion.¹² Many of these runaway Jews were subsequently caught and shot by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police at the Jewish cemetery. A few managed to escape to the town of Brody in Distrikt Galizien, where a formal ghetto was only established in early December 1942. Only 51 Jews from Radziwiłłów managed to survive until the Red Army drove out the Germans after fierce fighting around Brody in the summer of 1944.¹³

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Radziwiłłów under German occupation can be found in the following publications: Ya'akov 'Adini, ed., *Radzivilov: Sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Radzivilov be-Yisrael, 1966); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 5, Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 189–192. A personal testimony by Simon Winston, “I Was Born in Radzivilov,” was published in *The Holocaust Centre* (Laxton, Notts., UK: Beth Shalom, 2001), pp. 16–20. Reference has also been made to the unpublished manuscript of Yitzhak Veinshein, “The Destruction of the Radzivillover

Ghetto,” made available to the authors by his son Simon Winston.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Radziwiłłów during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/5211-14); DARO; GARF (7021-71-56); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); VHF (# 8639, 14471, 30242, 30256, and 46396); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; “Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt,” in ‘Adini, *Radziwilov: Sefer zikaron*, pp. 329–331, 336; BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimony of Jafa Oks, June 26, 1963.

2. Veinshein, “The Destruction of the Radzivillover Ghetto”; “Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt,” p. 330, dates the Aktion in mid-July 1941. GARF, 7021-71-56, p. 15, dates it on July 4, 1941. BA-L, B 162/5211, pp. 153–154, letter of Jack Donick, Ohio, December 12, 1964, dates the Aktion at the end of June and notes that a woman was among the victims. Other sources date this (or another) Aktion in early August 1941.

3. BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimony of Anita Goldgart, June 4, 1963; and “Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt,” pp. 329–330.

4. “Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt,” pp. 329–333.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 333.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 333–334; BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimonies of Anita Goldgart, June 4, 1963, and Mendel Turczyn, June 10, 1963.

7. BA-L, B 162/5211, p. 155, letter of Jack Donick, Ohio, December 12, 1964, dates the Aktion precisely on May 29 (day 13 of Sivan). See also the report of the HSSPF and BdS Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942, in TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29. “Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt,” pp. 335–336, however, dates the Aktion on June 29, 1942.

8. GARF, 7021-71-56, p. 17; BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimony of Mendel Turczyn, June 10, 1963.

9. “Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt,” pp. 333–334.

10. BA-L, B 162/5214, Zwischenbericht Nr. 1, Tel Aviv, July 3, 1963, and testimony of Cwi Kiperman, June 19, 1963.

11. “Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt,” pp. 336–337.

12. BA-L, B 162/5211, p. 156, letter of Jack Donick, Ohio, December 12, 1964, dates the Aktion precisely on October 6 (day 25 of Tishrei). GARF, 7021-71-56, p. 18. See also Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 199. According to Spector’s sources, there were 600 Jews who escaped. “Yitzhak Weinstein dertseylt,” p. 337, states that the Aktion started on September 29, 1942.

13. “Radziwillow,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd ed. (Detroit: Thomson Gale, 2007), 17:60. This source dates the final Aktion on October 5, 1942. BA-L, B 162/5211, p. 157, letter of Jack Donick, Ohio, December 12, 1964.

RAFAŁÓWKA

Pre-1939: Rafałówka, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Rafalovka, Volyn’ oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rafalovka, Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rafalivka, Rivne oblast’, Ukraine

Rafałówka is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) west of Sarny. According to the 1921 census, 556 Jews lived in the town: 224 people resided in Nowa Rafałówka (the new part of the town) and 332 people in Wielka Rafałówka (the large part). The two parts were about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) apart. Based on an average natural growth rate of 9 persons per 1,000 per year, it is estimated that in 1941 about 660 Jews would have been living in Rafałówka at the time of the German invasion.

Following the German invasion of Poland on September 1, 1939, many Jewish refugees from western Poland arrived in Rafałówka. After the Soviets occupied the area in mid-September, private enterprise was abolished. After war broke out on June 22, 1941, the Soviets did not allow people to cross the former 1939 border of the USSR. However, as the Soviet forces began their withdrawal on July 4, a number of Jews managed to escape to the east. Most of these people survived the war.

Units of the German 6th Army did not occupy Rafałówka until mid-July 1941, several days after the Soviet authorities had left. In the interregnum, a Ukrainian authority and local militia took charge. In these days, robbery, abuse, and occasional murders of Jewish townspeople were widespread. When representatives of the Jewish community sought protection, the response was scornful and negative. During the remainder of July and August 1941, a German military administration controlled the area. In September 1941, a German civil administration took charge of local affairs. The town of Rafałówka was incorporated into Gebiet Sarny, and Kameradschaftsführer Huala was appointed as the Gebietskommissar. In Rafałówka, a police station comprising several German Gendarmes was established, which also supervised the local Ukrainian auxiliary police, commanded by Rivachevski. Among other Ukrainians remembered for their crimes were the brothers Vladimir and Arseni Panasiok, the brothers Georgi and Ivan Palamarchok, and Aleksei Skivchok.¹

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupation forces imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures in Rafałówka. Jews were forced to wear distinctive markings; they had to perform forced labor; and they were forbidden to leave the town without special permission.

Soon after the start of the occupation the Germans ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to serve as an intermediary authority, which also included representatives from the neighboring small Jewish communities in Olizarka and Zoludsk. The members included Her-

shel Brezniak (chairman), Zelig Lesnik, Yosef Morik, David Tanenbaum, and Gershon Gruber. The Judenrat sought to ameliorate the suffering resulting from increasingly draconian German decrees.² On the orders of the local German authorities, the Jews had to collect a poll tax (*Kontribution*) of 5 gold rubles (1.5 grams [.05 ounces]), or 5,000 rubles per person. Some gave more than requested, while others had to be coerced into giving. An unending stream of German demands followed: the confiscation of silver items, furs, coffee, pepper (a scarce commodity) and an order to knit socks, gloves, and sweaters for German soldiers. For almost a year the Jews stayed in their own homes, obeyed the curfew, and submitted to the German demands, including monthly roll calls.³

On May 1, 1942, the Germans established a ghetto in Rafałówka around the area of the community synagogue and school building, which was surrounded by barbed wire. This area contained not only the local Jews of the town but also Jews from the neighboring villages, including Nowa Rafałówka, Olizarka, Wielkie Zoludsk, and Bielska Wola.⁴ Altogether about 2,500 Jews were confined within the Rafałówka ghetto. People who lived within the ghetto confines remained in their own houses but had to take in those who were displaced from other neighborhoods and villages. Each family, regardless of size, was given one room. With each passing day, life grew harsher and increasingly bitter. Those who arrived without extra food were afflicted by hunger; those who had no goods to barter for food from the non-Jewish local inhabitants faced starvation. A few Jews planted vegetables in their yards. Gangs of forced laborers were sent out to work from the ghetto, cutting lumber in the forests, loading trains, and repairing roads and bridges.⁵

A Ukrainian guard overseeing one group of Jewish workers told a female acquaintance that the Germans were preparing pits where the Jews would be murdered and buried. When she reported this in the ghetto, her story was met with denial and disbelief. On Monday, August 24, 1942, the ghetto was closed off and surrounded by Ukrainian police, and no one was allowed in or out. Most people chose to remain with their families; only a few hundred Jews tried to hide or escape, as they suspected their impending fate. Zelig Lisak, who headed the Judenrat in the last days, took poison to end his life at home. On Saturday, August 29, the day set for the liquidation of the ghetto by the Gebietskommissar, the Jews were ordered into the central square for a roll call. Panic seized them when they saw military vehicles with German and Ukrainian police that had just come from the massacre of Jews in Sarny. The remaining inmates of the Rafałówka ghetto were held in the blazing sun as they waited for their deaths. Then in groups of 100 people they were escorted to a forest some 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) north of the ghetto towards Nowa Rafałówka. There they were forced to undress, and each was shot in the back of the head into two large pits. Farmers brought in from the surrounding area covered the bodies, whether dead or alive, with a layer of sand. Police deputy Aleksei Shivchok was assigned

to collect the victims' clothing and other belongings and bring them to a German warehouse.⁶

During the days after the liquidation, Ukrainian police tracked down Jews still in hiding and delivered them to the Germans. They were rewarded well for their efforts with large quantities of salt for each captive. Most of the escapees were captured and killed. The area was liberated by the Red Army on February 5, 1944. Those who survived the remainder of the German occupation hid in dugouts in the forests, found shelter with Ukrainian Baptists ("Shtundists") or local farmers, or connected up with small partisan bands. Among the Jewish partisan leaders remembered were "Yudl" (from the village of Sopaczew) and Pesach Bindes. Only some 30 Jews from the Rafałówka ghetto survived the war.⁷

At a war crimes trial conducted in June 1972 in the nearby town of Włodzimierzec, several of the Ukrainian perpetrators were convicted and punished for their murderous acts.⁸

SOURCES Personal accounts of the fate of the Jewish population of Rafałówka during the Holocaust can be found in the yizkor book edited by Pinhas Hagin and Malkah Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarat Rafalowka ha-yeshenah, Rafalowka he-badasbah, Olizarka, Zoludzk veba-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotse Rafalowka ha-yeshenah, Rafalowka he-hadashah, Olizarkah, Zoludzk veba-sevivah, 1996). A brief summary in Hebrew of the main events can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 5, Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 204–205.

Documents and testimonies concerning the persecution and murder of Rafałówka's Jews can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/291 and 1487); BA-BL; BA-L; DARO; GARF (7021-71-66); USHMM (RG-50.120*0197 and RG-31.018.M [DASBU-Ri, Case No. 19090, vols. 1–15]); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; Hagin and Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarat Rafalowka*, p. 16.

2. Hagin and Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarat Rafalowka*, p. 176.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

4. According to the 1921 census, Olizarka had a Jewish population of 321, and Wielkie Zoludsk, 418.

5. Hagin and Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarat Rafalowka*, pp. 145, 177–179.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17, 161, 192; GARF, 7021-71-66, pp. 12, 28, 32; BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 113/67 (II 204 AR 1088/64), Sachstandsvermerk (Gebietskommissariat Sarny), June 7, 1967, pp. 4–8; USHMM, RG-50.120*0197.

7. AŻIH, 301/1487.

8. Hagin and Hagin, *Sefer zikaron le-'ayarat Rafalowka*, p. 18.

RATNO

Pre-1939: Ratno, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ratne, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Ratno is located 51 kilometers (32 miles) north-northwest of Kowel. In late 1937, there were 2,140 Jewish residents in the town.

German forces captured Ratno at the end of June 1941. In July and August, a German military administration governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Ratno was a Rayon center in Gebiet Kowel, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Kowel until June 1942 was Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Philipp Rapp.¹ In June 1942, Kämpf was arrested for taking bribes from Jews, and Erich Kassner took over the duties of Gebietskommissar. The Germans established a local administration and recruited a Ukrainian police force in Ratno. The local police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post consisting of several German Gendarmes.

During the brief power vacuum after the Soviet forces had retreated, but before the German administration had been established, there was some looting of Jewish property by local Ukrainians from the villages, during which one Jew who resisted was killed. On July 6, 1941, local Ukrainian peasants organized a pogrom in Ratno, again looting property and killing several more Jews. However, on July 7, a platoon of German soldiers arrived from Kowel. Local Ukrainians initially mistook the Germans for armed Jews and opened fire. The Germans, returning fire, killed 10 Ukrainians. The German forces then conducted a reprisal Aktion, alleging that the Jews had fired on them. The Jews were made to parade on the square near the monastery, and about 30 Jews were selected and shot. The Germans shot roughly the same number of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) at the same time.²

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures in Ratno: on July 14, Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (a Star of David), and a curfew was imposed; on July 17, a Judenrat was established, headed by David Shapiro; Jews were compelled to engage in forced labor without pay, they were forbidden to leave the village, and they were subjected to systematic beatings by the Ukrainian police. The German authorities also confiscated all the livestock of the Jews and successively took most of their valuables, furniture, and clothes. In November 1941, workshops were set up in the town for skilled Jewish workers. Survivor accounts also mention that heating materials were scarce and that the murder of Jews became almost a daily occurrence.

The fragmentary accounts in the yizkor book make no explicit mention of a ghetto in Ratno, but other sources indicate that probably in the spring of 1942 the Germans estab-

lished a ghetto, which held up to 2,500 Jews (including Jews from the surrounding villages, such as Chocieszów, which had 20 families in the 1930s, and 60 families from Kortelisy).³ In June 1942, there was a partisan raid on Ratno in which two German agricultural leaders (Sonderführer) were killed. The partisans called on the youth of the town to join them, but there was no response.⁴

A variety of dates are given in the sources for the liquidation of the ghetto in Ratno, but it probably took place in July or August 1942, when approximately 1,500 Jews were shot near the village of Prokhd.⁵ The shooting was carried out by a squad of the Security Police and the SD, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, who searched the attics and cellars for several days, looking for Jews in hiding. A few hundred Jews were able to escape initially, but many of them were betrayed to the Germans by local peasants and also shot. Some managed to join those Jews who had fled to the forest earlier.⁶

About 30 Jews who remained alive after the massacre continued to work for the Germans in an *artel*, or group of craftsmen. Jacob Shteingarten, who survived, recalls that he hid in the cellar of his house during the Aktion before fleeing to a forest warden whom he knew, where he worked for a while. At one point he was also denounced and brought to Ratno, but fortunately he was permitted to continue working for the warden. When he heard in early 1943 that the remaining Jewish artisans had been shot, he fled to the forests, where he joined the Soviet partisans.⁷

Some of the Jews who fled successfully from Ratno fought in the Komarov unit of Soviet partisans around Pińsk. When Ratno was liberated on March 22, 1944, 14 survivors initially returned to the town, but most left for other countries shortly afterwards.

On August 11, 1942, the Security Police shot several Jews in the Ratno district, in the villages of Staroścín and Koniszczce,⁸ and the 9th Company of the 15th Police Regiment shot 74 Jews in the village of Samary on the border with Rayon Dywin on October 31, 1942; one Ukrainian family (six people) was shot together with the Jews, for hiding a Jewish woman.⁹

According to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 5,960 civilians were killed in the Ratno raion between 1941 and 1944, including some 2,600 Jews.¹⁰

SOURCES The yizkor book available in Yiddish, edited by Ya'akov Botoshanski and Yitshak Yanasovitsh, *Yizkor-bukh Ratne: Dos lebn un der umkum fun a Yidish sbtetl in Volin* (Buenos Aires: di Ratner landslayt fareyen in Argentine un Nord-Amerike, 1954), contains one or two fragmentary personal accounts of the Holocaust period. Another version of the yizkor book was subsequently published in Hebrew: Nahman Tamir, ed., *Ratnab: Sipurab shel kebilab Yehudit she-bushmedab* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ratnah be-Yisrael, 1983). An article about the Jewish population of Ratno can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 187–189. There is a survivor testimony

published in Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995), pp. 80–81; and some additional information in Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), pp. 73, 363.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the extermination of the Jews of Ratno can be found in the following archives: DAVO; GARF (7021-148-2); and YVA (e.g., O-3/2950; O-22/53).

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSOH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Botoshanski and Yanasovitch, *Yizkor-bukh Ratne*, pp. 519–533, 581. See also T. Denysiuk and I.O. Denysiuk, *Ratnivsbchyna: Istoryko-kraieznavchy narys* (Lutsk, 1998), p. 66. According to Spector, there was another Aktion by the German Security Police in which they shot 280 Jews as Soviet activists; see Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 73, but he gives no precise date for this, so it may be the same Aktion.
3. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik* (Kharkov: Karavella, 2001), p. 270; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 254, 660.
4. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 80–81, testimony of Leon Ginzburg, explicitly mentions a ghetto, noting that it did not exist for very long.
5. Denysiuk and Denysiuk, *Ratnivsbchyna: Istoryko-kraieznavchy narys*, pp. 68–69, gives the date of July 14, 1942. A memorial was erected at the site of the shooting of the Jews in 1995. According to Botoshanski and Yanasovitch, *Yizkor-bukh Ratne*, pp. 581–583, the shooting took place on August 26, 1942: of 1,500 Jews, 1,000 were shot and 500 initially managed to escape.
6. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 80–81, testimony of Leon Ginzburg, mentions that 30 Jews fled to the forest before the creation of the ghetto, and 50 more escaped just prior to the Aktion.
7. Botoshanski and Yanasovitch, *Yizkor-bukh Ratne*, pp. 581–583, testimony of Jacob Shteingarten.
8. BA-BL, R 58/222, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten, no. 19, September 4, 1942.
9. GARF, 7021-148-2, pp. 346–347, Report of 9th Company, Police Regiment 15, November 1, 1942.
10. *Volyn' Radians'ka (1939–1964): Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv*, *Chastyna 3* (Lviv, 1971), p. 124.

ROKITNO

Pre-1939: Rokitno, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rokytno, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Rokitno is located 43 kilometers (27 miles) east of Sarny. On the eve of World War I, 400 Jews lived in Rokitno, and by



Early 1930s view of the Rokitno market place. The synagogue is visible in the background.

USHMM WS #42694, COURTESY OF ANTONINA CHRUPALA

1921, the census listed 663 Jews in the town. Assuming a natural growth rate of 9 persons per 1,000 per year, this number would have increased to about 800 by 1939.

The Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939 assigned eastern Poland to the Soviet Union, and on September 17, 1939, the Red Army arrived in Rokitno. The Jews were forced to adapt to a new Soviet regime; several men involved in Zionist and Hebrew teaching were arrested and sent to Sarny for “reeducation.”¹

With the beginning of the German invasion in late June 1941, key targets in Rokitno, including the train station and the Huta glass factory, were bombed by the Luftwaffe. Following the Soviet retreat from Rokitno, the town was in a state of anarchy, and roving gangs assaulted and robbed Jewish residents. Units of the German 6th Army occupied Rokitno in the middle of July 1941.

According to the Rokitno yizkor book, during the temporary interregnum, an ethnic German named Ratzlaw offered to go to the German army in Sarny to persuade them to come and establish order in Rokitno. He demanded and received a wagonload of “gifts” from the Jews—fine foods and liquor—to help make the case. After three days, Ratzlaw returned and announced he had been appointed chief of police in Rokitno. The Jews were ordered to organize daily work teams to clear out the bombed glass factory, repair the train tracks, and clean Ratzlaw’s headquarters. Ten German officers arrived to inspect the situation but departed shortly afterwards. Then a German police unit commanded by an officer named Henkel Sokolowski arrived to restore order and temporarily disarmed the Ukrainian police.²

In August 1941, a German military commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. In September 1941, it was replaced by a German civil administration. Rokitno became part of Gebiet Sarny. Kameradschaftsführer Huala was the Gebietskommissar. In the fall of 1941, a local Gendarmerie post consisting of five men was established in Rokitno. The German Gendarmerie also assumed control over the local Ukrainian police, which was still commanded

by Ratzlaw. In the spring of 1942, Leutnant Schumacher of the Schutzpolizei became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer based in Sarny.³

In the summer and fall of 1941, the respective German authorities introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures in Rokitno. The Jews were ordered to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and, later, patches on their clothes in the shape of a yellow circle. They had to mark the entrance to their house with a light-blue six-pointed star. The Jews were forced to perform hard physical labor, for which they received only half a loaf of black bread per day. Jews also were forbidden to buy groceries in shops run by non-Jews. In this way, the Jews were condemned to a food ration of only half that received by the rest of the population. Further, the Jews suffered various forms of maltreatment at the hands of the Ukrainian auxiliary police, who took the opportunity to loot and beat the Jews with impunity.⁴

Following an order issued by the chief of the Gendarmerie in Rokitno, the Jews had to hand over all their gold, silver, and other valuables. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) under the leadership of Aharon Slutzki was established in Rokitno. It had four other members: Betzalel Kokel, Avraham Binder, Nachum Katznelson, and Noah Soltzman.⁵ The Judenrat had to intercede between the German occupation authorities and the Jewish population, transmitting the orders issued by the German leadership. To assist the Judenrat, a Jewish Order Police (Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst), consisting of only a couple of individuals, was established to enforce the orders of the German police.⁶

The boundaries of the Jewish ghetto were established by April 1942. On May 1, 1942, Jews were forced to move into the “open ghetto” in Rokitno. About 50 houses on the main street of the town and about 10 houses on the main market square became part of the ghetto area. The ghetto held not only the Jews of Rokitno but also Jews brought in from the surrounding villages. From its inception, the ghetto was very overcrowded; each room held at least one family, sometimes more. Soon after its establishment, the Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto area. The daily rations consisted of only 40 grams (1.4 ounces) of bread per person per day and 400 grams (14 ounces) of thin, watery porridge or millet every week.⁷ A second, smaller ghetto was established to alleviate the crowded conditions. There was no access between the two ghettos without permission from the Judenrat.⁸

Soviet partisans were active in the area, sabotaging rail lines and bridges. Their operations agitated the Germans and led to increased cruelty towards the Jews, whom they accused of collaborating with the partisans. During this period, roll calls began, allegedly to determine whether any Jews had fled to join the partisans. Every Jew was ordered to report to the market square to be counted. After the first two roll calls, they were sent back to the ghetto. Then, on August 25, 1942, a third roll call was announced.⁹ On that day, the Jews were ordered to gather the next morning for registration on the main square. Almost all the residents of the ghetto appeared on this occasion: altogether 1,630 people were counted.¹⁰ Af-

ter the registration, the Jews were not allowed to return to their apartments in the ghetto. The Germans split them into two separate groups, men in one, women and children in the other. Some Jews who suspected the seriousness of the situation tried to escape. At this point, the German and the Ukrainian police started firing at the Jews who had gathered on the market square. About 300 people were murdered at this location, about 700 people managed to escape, and about 600 people were deported in freight cars to Sarny, where they were shot on August 27, 1942.¹¹

Although many Jews who managed to flee Rokitno during the third roll call were turned over by the local population to German and Ukrainian forces, others managed to find shelter by joining the partisans or through the protection of peasants, some of whom were members of the Baptist church of Russia, referred to locally as “Shtundists.”¹²

SOURCES The yizkor book for Rokitno edited by Eliezer Leoni, *Rokitno: (Voblin) veba-sevivah; sefer 'edut ve-zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yots'e Rokitno veba-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1967), includes several accounts dealing with the wartime period. A survey of the history of the Jewish community can also be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 5, Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 200–204. An analysis of the fate of the Jews in Rokitno can be found in Yehuda Bauer, “Sarny and Rokitno in the Holocaust: A Case Study of Two Townships in Wolyn (Volhynia),” in Steven Katz, ed., *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Rokitno can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/317, 717, 719, 955, 1046, 2865, 2899, and 3179); DARO; GARF (7021-71-65); USHMM (RG-50.030*0160); and YVA.

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Leoni, *Rokitno*, p. 237.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 260–263.
3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. According to the Rokitno yizkor book, these anti-Jewish edicts commenced in mid-September; see Leoni, *Rokitno*, p. 264.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 266.
6. Baruch Shehori (Schwarzblat), “The Destruction of Rokitno,” in *ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*; see also p. 271.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 272.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 273.
10. See testimony of B. Schwarzblat (AŽIH, 301/317) for a description of the August 26, 1942, Aktion.
11. *Ibid.*; according to the ChGK report (GARF, 7021-71-65, pp. 32 and reverse), there were 1,649 people in the ghetto, of whom 411 were murdered in Rokitno, 238 managed to flee, and about 800 were taken to Sarny and killed. According to Schwarzblat’s testimony (AŽIH, 301/317), 700 people

were brought from Rokitno to Sarny. Altogether, the Germans murdered approximately 14,000 Jews of Sarny and its vicinity on August 27–28, 1942. See also Leoni, *Rokitno*, pp. 274, 301–335.

12. Leoni, *Rokitno*, p. 334.

RÓWNE

Pre-1939: Równe, city and powiat center, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Rovno, raion and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rowno, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien, and capital, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Rivne, raion and oblast' center, Ukraine

Równe is located about 62 kilometers (39 miles) southeast of Łuck. At the end of 1937, about 25,000 Jews were residing in Równe, and by mid-June 1941, due to a large influx of refugees from parts of Poland occupied by the Germans, the Jewish population had increased to 28,000, despite the deportation of many refugees to Siberia for refusing to take Soviet citizenship. After the invasion of the Soviet Union by German troops on June 22, 1941, several thousand Jews managed to escape to the eastern regions of the USSR. Around 23,000 Jews remained in Równe at the start of the occupation.

Równe was occupied by units of the German 6th Army on June 28, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration controlled the area. It was replaced by a German civil administration in September 1941. Under the German authorities, the city became the administrative center of Gebiet Rowno, which also included the following Rayons: Meshiritschi, Klewan, Korez, Alexandria, Hoschtscha, and Tutschin. Regierungsrat Beer became the Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Rowno was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien, and the city also served as the capital of Reichskommissariat Ukraine and the residence of the Reichskommissar, Gauleiter Erich Koch.¹ In July and August 1941, an operational unit (Einsatztrupp) of the Security Police (Sipo)



A group of religious Jews pose outside a building in the Równe ghetto, ca. 1941–1942.

USHMM WS #50152, COURTESY OF IPN

and SD was based in Równe. Between September 1941 and February 1942, the headquarters of the 320th Police Battalion, commanded by Major der Polizei Dall, and its 3rd Company (commanded by Hauptmann der Polizei Scharway) were deployed in Równe. As of October 1941, the 33rd Reserve Police Battalion under the command of Major der Polizei Braschnewitz was present there. In October 1941, a Security Police detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 was sent to Równe. The head of this detachment was SS-Sturmbannführer Herrmann Ling. In February 1942, this detachment was reorganized as an office of the Kommandeur der Sipo und SD (KdS) in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Karl Pütz served as the KdS until October 1943.² It was this office that organized and carried out anti-Jewish Aktions in Równe and in the entire region of Wolhynien und Podolien. Under the Sipo and SD in Równe, there was also a Ukrainian Criminal Police force, headed by Petr Grushevski. Between August 1941 and February 1942, Równe was also the location of the headquarters of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer, SS-Brigadeführer Gerret Korsemann.

The first Aktion against the Jews of Równe was carried out on July 8 and 9, 1941. On the evening of July 8, members of Sonderkommando 4a, in collaboration with Ukrainian auxiliary police units, arrested 130 Jews. They forced the victims to spend the night in the courtyard of the building of the State Bank. On the morning of July 9, the victims were shot on the edge of the city.³ The headquarters of Einsatzgruppe C, located in Równe on July 12, 1941, carried out the shooting of about 100 more Jews on the grounds of a brickyard about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Równe.⁴ Several hundred more Jews were killed by a Sipo and SD squad of the Einsatzgruppe Special Duty (z.b.V).⁵ Altogether, about 1,000 Jews were killed in the city in the summer of 1941. During the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Równe. Initially Jews were forced to wear armbands bearing a Star of David. In September 1941, this was replaced by circular yellow patches worn on the chest and back of their outer clothing. The Jewish population was forced to carry out physically demanding work. They were not allowed to leave the city. In addition, the Jews were forced to pay the German occupation authorities 12 million rubles (1.2 million Reichsmark [RM]) as a so-called contribution. Jews were systematically robbed and beaten by the Ukrainian auxiliary police.⁶ A Jewish Council (Judenrat), with 12 members, and a “Jewish Order Service” (Jewish police force) consisting of 20 people (reporting to the Judenrat) were established in Równe. The head of the Judenrat was Dr. Moshe Bergmann, the headmaster of a local *gymnazium* (high school).

In early November 1941, a major Aktion took place in Równe. The victims were mostly those unable to work. On November 5, notifications were distributed directing all Jews who had no work permit to appear in the Church Square (Kostel'nyi Ploshchad') at 6:00 A.M. to wait for their resettlement. After the Jews had gathered, they were ordered to leave their luggage in the square and were herded in columns to the

village of Sosenki. Near the village were several pits, dug by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) in late October. Over the course of two days, all the Jews who had assembled for “re-settlement” were shot in these pits.⁷ Ereignismeldung UdSSR [Union of Soviet Socialist Republics] no. 143, dated December 8, 1941, states that “between November 6 and 7, 1941, a long-planned anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out, during which about 15,000 Jews were killed. On the orders of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF), the Order Police was in charge of its organization. The detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 in Równe actively participated in its execution.”⁸ The organizer of the Aktion was HSSPF z.b.V. SS-Brigadeführer Korsemann. The 315th Police Battalion (under the command of Hauptmann der Polizei Klaus) and the 320th Police Battalion, assisted by the Ukrainian auxiliary police and at least one company of the 33rd Police Reserve Battalion (company commander Hauptmann der Polizei von Wiekmann), took part in the Aktion.

In December 1941, a ghetto, declared the “Jewish residential area” (an open ghetto), was established on the edge of the city of Równe. The Jews were given several days to resettle there. In this ghetto there were about 5,200 Jews, including 1,182 children under the age of 14.⁹

In April 1942, the German mayor of the city ordered the Judenrat to have all Jews clean up the streets and yards of the Jewish quarter on Sundays, or they would face the stiffest punishment.¹⁰ On May 7, 1942, the head (*Obmann*) of the Judenrat, Dr. Bergmann, was instructed to appear before the German mayor the following day to discuss a specific matter. Presumably as a result of this meeting, the mayor issued a written order to Dr. Bergmann on May 8, stating that the 2,000 Jews still fit for work had to perform compulsory labor on two Sundays every month to clean up the Jewish quarter.¹¹

On May 10, 1942, Dr. Bergmann replied in a surprisingly sharp tone to the German mayor that the German offices that employed the 2,000 able-bodied Jews were opposed to their use for unskilled cleaning tasks on Sundays, as it adversely affected their ability to do their normal work. Dr. Bergmann stressed that in accordance with his responsibility for maintaining cleanliness and other public works within the Jewish quarter, he had already instructed the sanitary commission of the Judenrat to perform a variety of tasks. The few able-bodied Jews available for work on Sundays were already employed in carrying out the sanitary work required. In view of these circumstances, Dr. Bergmann noted that he had reached an agreement with the Distribution Office for the Jewish Workforce—which received its instructions from the supervisory German Labor Office—by which 100 to 150 workers would be available for the two days of work each month. He concluded: “as I ask you, Mr. Mayor, to please revise your instruction, I hope that this number, in view of the advanced spring season, will prove to be adequate for the task.”¹²

On June 19, 1942, the Judenrat in Równe complained to the German mayor that unknown persons were frequently entering the Jewish cemetery illegally and destroying or

damaging gravestones. The Judenrat wanted to erect a sign warning that entering the Jewish cemetery without permission was strictly forbidden on the orders of the German mayor.¹³

The liquidation of the Równe ghetto came during the night of July 13–14, 1942. Refusing to assist the German authorities in the killing of Jews, Dr. Bergmann and another Judenrat member, Leon Sukharchuk, both committed suicide around this time.¹⁴ The 1st Company of the 33rd Reserve Police Battalion, units of the German Security Police, and members of the Ukrainian auxiliary police forced the Jews to leave their houses in the ghetto. The police herded the victims to the railroad station and forced them into freight cars. The trains transported the Jews in the direction of Kostopol. At a quarry outside the city, the Jews were shot by the German Security Police and Ukrainian auxiliary police units.¹⁵ The chief engineer of the German construction company Josef Jung of Solingen, Hermann Friedrich Graebe, was an eyewitness to the liquidation of the Równe ghetto. On November 10, 1945, he testified under oath:

Shortly after 10:00 PM, the ghetto was surrounded by a large SS detachment and three times as many Ukrainian auxiliary policemen. After that, the spotlights installed inside and around the ghetto were switched on. Groups of four to six SS men and policemen broke into or tried to break into the houses. If the windows and doors were locked and the residents were unwilling to open up, the SS and police units broke down the doors and forced their way in. The people living there were driven into the street just as they were, regardless of whether they were dressed or not. Because most Jews refused to leave their homes and offered resistance, the SS and police employed force. Finally, using whips, kicks, fists, and rifle butts, they managed to empty the houses. The victims were chased out of their homes with such haste that in some cases small children were left behind in their beds. In the streets, the women called their children, and the children called their parents. That did not keep the SS men from beating the victims to make them run along the road until they reached the freight train. One freight car after another was filled, as the women and children screamed, whips cracked, and rifle shots rang out. Because some Jewish families barricaded themselves in especially strong buildings and attempts to open the doors with crowbars and beams failed, the doors of these buildings were blown open with hand grenades. Because the ghetto of Rovno was located close to the railroad station, the younger people tried to escape over the railroad line. Since the spotlights could not illuminate this sector, it was lit up with signal flares. All night long, persecuted, beaten, and wounded people moved through the illuminated streets. Women carried their dead children in their

arms. Some children were dragged to the train hanging on to the legs or the arms of their parents. The entire time, the ghetto was filled with shouts: "Open the door, open the door!"¹⁶

While the ghetto was under siege, dozens of the residents tried to escape. Some victims also attempted to jump off the moving trains. Most of the escapees were young people, who formed groups or roamed in the forests on their own. Before long they joined up with Soviet partisan units, especially that of Major General Vassily Begma. After the liquidation of the Równe ghetto, the German and Ukrainian police systematically searched the ghetto territory for hidden Jews. Those found and captured were shot in the area of Belaia Street in Równe. The number of victims is not known. Altogether in the city of Równe between 1941 and 1943, between 22,000 and 23,000 Jews were murdered.

During the liquidation of the Równe ghetto on July 13 and 14, 1941, a few dozen Jews managed to hide with Graebe's help. From the chief of staff of the Gebietskommissar, Ordensjunkker Beck, Graebe obtained a document stating that Jewish workers of the Jung company (100 people) were not subject to the Aktion, and during the night he protected a house in which Jewish workers were sleeping from intrusion by the Ukrainian police and SS. After the Aktion was over, he sent the Jewish workers to Zdobunów.¹⁷ Another small group of Jews from the Równe ghetto was saved by the initiative and support of some Ukrainian civilians. One of them, Iakov Sukhenko, was shot in 1943 for helping the Jews.¹⁸

In 1947, Gerret Korsemann was sentenced to 18 months in prison. He was released in 1949 and died in Munich on July 16, 1958.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Równe can be found in the following publications: Y. Margulyets et al., eds., *A Zikorn far Rovne* (Rovner Landsmanschaft in Daytshland Amer. Zone, 1947); A. Avitachi, ed., *Rovneh, sefer zikaron* (Tel Aviv: Hosa'at "Yalkut Vohlin," Irgun yotse Rovneh be-Yisrael, 1956); *Rovno 700 Rokiv. 1283–1983. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Kiev, 1983); Barbara Baratz and Ruth Oelschlaegel, *Flucht vor dem Schicksal: Holocaust-Erinnerungen aus der Ukraine, 1941–1944* (Darmstadt, 1984); Douglas Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno. The Stirring Story of Fritz Graebe, a German Who Risked His Life to Lead Hundreds of Jews to Safety during the Holocaust* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1985); Barbara Barac, *Escape from Destiny* (Melbourne, Australia, 1990); Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 192–220; Varvara Barats, *Begstvo ot sud'by, vospominaniia o genotside evreev na Ukraine vo vremia vtoroi mirovoi voiny* (Moscow: "Art-biznes-centr," 1993); Khaia Musman, *Gorod moi rasstrel'anny* (New York: Kh. Musman, 1994).

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Równe can be found in the following archives: AŽIH; BA-L; DARO; GARF (7021-71-67); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

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trans. Katrin Reichelt and Samuel Fishman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Pütz died in Poznań in February 1945.
3. Ereignismeldung (EM) UdSSR, no. 19, July 11, 1941, and no. 28, July 20, 1941, in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 30, 37. See also Barats, *Begstvo ot sud'by*, pp. 11–12.
4. See Sta. bei dem Landgericht Itzehoe, 9 Js 766/67, Indictment, November 30, 1971, in the case against Dr. Phil. Hans Krieger and Alois Köldorfer, in the archive of Sta. bei dem Landgericht Itzehoe. See also testimony of Kiebach, the former telegraph operator at the headquarters of Einsatzgruppe C, November 1, 1963, in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov*, p. 31.
5. See diary of Wehrmacht Hauptmann Hanns Pilz, in E. Klee and W. Dressen, *"Gott mit uns." Der deutsche Vernichtungskrieg im Osten 1939–1945* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), p. 141.
6. "The Holocaust," in Avitachi, *Rovneh, sefer zikaron*.
7. See testimony of Kristina Novakovskaia, in Yitskhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoj okkupatsii (1941–1944). Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), pp. 151–152.
8. EM, no. 143, in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov*, p. 105. According to ChGK materials, 17,500 Jews were shot in Rovno (see *Rovno 700 rokiv*, pp. 96–99). There is a monument at the site where the Jews were killed.
9. DARO, R22-1-19, p. 14.
10. USHMM, RG-31.017M, reel 2, p. 5, German mayor of Rowno to Judenrat, April 16, 1942.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 12–13, letters of German mayor of Rowno to Judenobmann, Dr. Bergmann, on May 7 and 8, 1942.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 14, Judenrat in Rowno to German mayor of Rowno, May 10, 1942.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 21, Judenrat to German mayor of Rowno, June 19, 1942.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Sta. Bielefeld, Vermerk, October 26, 1973 (5 Js 703/70) in the case against Dr. Med. Fritz Pustkuchen.
16. Statement under oath of Hermann Friedrich Graebe on November 10, 1945, N-Doc. 2992-PS.
17. See Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno*. The document Graebe obtained from Beck stated: "To the Jung company, Rowno. The Jewish workers at your firm are not subject to the Aktion. You have until Wednesday, July 15, 1942, to move them to the new worksite."
18. See Baratz and Oelschlaegel, *Flucht vor dem Schicksal*; Barac, *Escape from Destiny*; Barats, *Begstvo ot sud'by*.

ROŻYSZCZE

Pre-1939: Rożyszcze, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Rozhysbche, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Roshitschtsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rozhysbche, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Rożyszcze is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) north-northwest of Łuck and 51 kilometers (32 miles) southeast of Kowel.

According to the 1921 census, 2,686 Jews were residing in Rożyszcze.

Following the German invasion of Poland in mid-September 1939, a few local Communists organized a militia to welcome the expected arrival of the Red Army. However, they clashed first with a retreating Polish force before the Red Army entered the town. The Jewish population of the town was increased by the arrival of hundreds of refugees from central Poland, but the Soviets also deported some Jews to Siberia, which paradoxically saved their lives. The Soviet authorities also expropriated land around Rożyszcze, establishing kolkhozy for agricultural production.¹ In mid-1941, there were in excess of 3,000 Jews living in the town.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Rożyszcze on June 25, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, and from September 1941, power was transferred to a civil administration. Rożyszcze was a Rayon center in Gebiet Łuzk, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Łuzk was Regierungsassessor Lindner.²

A Ukrainian local authority and a local police force were formed in Rożyszcze. The local police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post (established after September 1941), which consisted of several German Gendarmes.

As soon as the Germans occupied the town, they killed several Jews, and Ukrainian nationalistic antisemites also started victimizing Jews through robbery, extortion, and cruelty.³ Within a few days, the temporary German military authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and a Jewish police force. During July 1941, there followed a series of round-ups of Jews, supposedly for work assignments outside the town. First a group of about 80 of the wealthiest and most influential Jews were escorted out of town and were never heard of again. A few days later, the Germans and local police rounded up several hundred Jewish men, who also did not return. In a further roundup, the Germans took away even old people, women, and children, as all the men had gone into hiding. These people were all murdered and buried in a pit outside town.⁴ These Aktionen were probably conducted by a squad of the Security Police and SD, which was based in Łuzk, assisted by the local Ukrainian police. Another Aktion was carried out in Rożyszcze in October 1941, when 603 people were shot (600 men and 3 women).⁵

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Rożyszcze. Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols, and they were forced to surrender horses, cows, bicycles, and radios. They were compelled to perform work, organized by the Jewish Council, during which they were beaten and otherwise abused. According to German regulations issued by the new civil administration in September 1941, Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits without special permission.

In the fall of 1941 (according to another source, on February 15, 1942), a ghetto was established in Rożyszcze. The Jews were given only two hours to move into the ghetto, taking

only what they could carry with them. As the Jews entered the ghetto in the northern section of town, "Oyfn Barg" (On the Hill), most were severely beaten.⁶ The ghetto, consisting of 60 one-story houses, had to accommodate not only the local Jews but also Jews brought in from surrounding villages (such as Kopaczowka Nowa and Wołnianka).⁷ This influx resulted in considerable overcrowding in the ghetto's small confines, with several families sharing a single room. Altogether, there were about 4,000 Jews in the ghetto, which was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence.

The food allocation in the ghetto was only 50 grams (less than 2 ounces) of bread per person per day. Those assigned to work outside the ghetto were sometimes able to smuggle in extra food, which they obtained by bartering. One enterprising group of Jews even risked going to the Kowel ghetto to obtain rare items such as needles and thread, which were much sought after by the local peasants. However, Jews caught smuggling were severely beaten by the Ukrainian police.⁸

Among the tasks performed by Jews in the ghetto were sweeping the streets around the town, cooking for the Germans, and working in the wool factory. The German authorities also demanded "contributions" from the Jews in the form of money or leather goods. In the summer of 1942, the Jewish Council was arrested to ensure the collection of an additional tribute. Even though the "contribution" was delivered on August 10, 1942, most members of the Jewish Council were shot anyway, including Spector, Bruner, Klimbord, and Kleisman.⁹

The ghetto was liquidated about 10 days later, on or around August 22, 1942,¹⁰ when a unit of the Security Police and SD from Łuzk, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, shot most of the Jews: in excess of 3,000 people. The Jews were transported from the ghetto to the killing site in trucks, with logistical support provided by the Łuzk Gebietskommissar. Some Jews also were collected from surrounding kolkhozy or work camps. Local workers dug the grave in advance in a sandpit 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town.¹¹ As the Jews received some warning of the impending Aktion, several hundred of them were able to hide or escape to the forest. Most of these Jews who evaded the initial roundup were captured by the Ukrainian police and subsequently shot at the Jewish cemetery.¹² A few dozen Jews managed to survive in the forests, receiving food and shelter from Polish farmers or Seventh-Day Adventists living in the vicinity.

After the liberation of Rożyszcze by the Red Army, a group of Jews returned and lived together in one house. Some of them tried to harass those who had assisted the Germans until the Soviet authorities started putting the collaborators on trial. However, a local Ukrainian murdered one Jewish woman when she tried to retrieve her family's possessions.¹³ Within a few years after the war, there were no Jews living in Rożyszcze.

SOURCES The following published sources include sections on the ghetto in Rożyszcze: Gershon Zik, ed., *Rożyszcze*

'ayarati/Mayn shtetl Rozshishtsb (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Roz'ishtsb' be-Yisrael vaha-irgunim be-Artsot ha-berit, Kana-dah, Brazil, ve-Argentinah, 1976); and "Rozyszczce," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 200–202.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Rozyszczce can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/2172 and 2435); DAVO (R2-1-196); GARF (7021-55-11); NARA (N-Doc., PS-302); and YVA (e.g., testimony of Eva Tuzhinska Trauenstein).

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Zik, *Roz'ishtsb' 'ayarati*, pp. 10–30 [English section].
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Zik, *Roz'ishtsb' 'ayarati*, pp. 31–32; AŽIH, 301/2435, testimony of Zofja Finkelsztayn.
4. Zik, *Roz'ishtsb' 'ayarati*, pp. 31–32, 38.
5. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 66. According to another account, the Aktion took place in December 1941 when the Germans in 10 vehicles rounded up and shot some 600 Jews in the villages of the Rayon; see GARF, 7021-55-11, pp. 68–69. The shootings were probably carried out by the 2nd Company of the 320th Police Battalion, which was based in Łuck from early September 1941 until February 1942. The commander of the company was Hauptmann der Polizei Hans Wiemer.
6. Berl Schneider, "The Rozhishch Ghetto," in Zik, *Roz'ishtsb' 'ayarati*, p. 33, dates the formation of the ghetto in about November 1941 ("four months after the German conquest"); AŽIH, 301/2435, testimony of Zofja Finkelsztayn, gives the date of February 15, 1942. The discrepancy could perhaps be explained by a time lapse between the establishment of the ghetto and its enclosure with barbed wire.
7. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 129; according to the 1921 census, there were 274 Jews residing in Kopaczówka Nowa and 266 in Wołnianka (Mała and Wielka).
8. Zik, *Roz'ishtsb' 'ayarati*, pp. 33–34, 37.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 38.
10. This date for the massacre of the Jews can be found on the monument at the site of the mass grave. The yizkor book also gives the dates of August 20 and August 23, 1942, in separate accounts; see Zik, *Roz'ishtsb' 'ayarati*, pp. 15, 39.
11. DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, Report to Generalkommissar Wolhynien u. Podolien on gasoline supplies for the "special treatment" of Jews in Gebiet Łuck, August 27, 1942; in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for the Rozhishche raion, mention is made of 4,600 Jews being shot (GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 66), but this figure appears to be too high. Zik, *Roz'ishtsb' 'ayarati*, p. 42, mentions trucks collecting Jews who had been working in the surrounding villages.
12. GARF, 7021-55-11, p. 66.
13. Zik, *Roz'ishtsb' 'ayarati*, p. 44.

SARNY

Pre-1939: Sarny, city and powiat center, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: center, Rayon and Gebiet Sarny, General-kommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Sarny is located 83 kilometers (52 miles) north-northeast of Równe. The Jewish population numbered 2,808 people in 1921 (47 percent of the total population); 3,414 (45 percent) in 1931; and 4,950 (45 percent) in 1937.

After the start of World War II in 1939, many Jewish refugees from central and western Poland arrived in Sarny. Under Soviet occupation from September 21, 1939, Jewish communal property was confiscated and Jewish institutions were disbanded. More than 1,000 of the refugees from western and central Poland, together with a few local Jews accused of "crimes against the state," were transported to the Soviet interior. In June 1941, there were about 6,000 Jews living in the city.¹

German armed forces occupied Sarny on July 5, 1941. Following the departure of the Soviets, local Ukrainians and Poles went on a killing spree for three days, murdering a number of Jews. In July and August 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the city. In September 1941, a German civil administration was established. Sarny became the administrative center of Gebiet Sarny, which also included Rayons Klesow, Wladimirez, Dombrowiza, Rafalowka, and Rokitno, as well as Rayon Sarny. Kameradschaftsführer Huala was appointed Gebietskommissar. Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Albert Schuhmacher was made the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in the spring of 1942.²



A view of Ul. Handlowa [Commerce Street] in Sarny during the 1920s. USHMM WS #08011, COURTESY OF BRENDA SZYR BENDERS

In the city of Sarny itself, a German Gendarmerie post was established, along with an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. The Germans appointed a lawyer named Mariniuk as city mayor, and a man named Kostermann served as the labor supervisor. From the beginning of September 1941 to March 1942, the 1st Company of German Police Battalion 320 was stationed in Sarny. It was commanded by Hauptmann der Polizei Alfred Beber.

Almost immediately upon their arrival, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to implement their demands. A regime of forced labor was imposed on the Jews. Men were put to work clearing the destruction at the train depot and repairing the rail lines, which had been blown up by the retreating Soviet army. Women were forced to clean toilets with their bare hands. The daily quota of forced laborers organized by the Judenrat was 300 males and 100 females. The Judenrat was also ordered to deliver 70 suits, 100 pairs of boots, and 50 sets of silverware for the officers' club, as well as an unspecified number of gold watches, chains, diamonds, and pearls.

Initially Jews were ordered to wear blue-and-white armbands with an identifying Star of David. On October 1, 1941, the armbands were replaced with a yellow circular patch on the front and back of their clothes. Jews also had to mark their homes with a blue six-pointed star. In addition, they were prohibited from leaving the limits of the city and from buying goods from non-Jews. A "contribution" of several rubles per head also was demanded from the community. Forced laborers received no monetary payment, only about 80 grams (less than 3 ounces) of bread per day. Hunger set in as the community was deprived of most basic necessities.

As additional Germans arrived, their demands increased. They required new quarters with fine furnishings. On October 28, 1941, the German Wirtschaftskommando (Economic Office) in Sarny issued an order to the Jews, giving them until October 31 to hand over all of their livestock: horned cattle, sheep, pigs, geese, and ducks. The livestock that the Ukrainians had purchased from Jews also had to be turned over. Jews were subject to a curfew from 6:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. The synagogues were seized and turned into stables and warehouses. In December, all fur coats had to be surrendered for the use of German soldiers at the front, and in 1942 the German authorities demanded 36 kilograms (79 pounds) of gold from the Jewish population.³

The Judenrat served as the means of communication between the occupying authorities and the Jewish population, passing on and implementing German orders and regulations concerning the Jews. A Jewish police force, headed by Yona Margulies and small in size, was organized to assist the Judenrat in its tasks.

Around Passover, on April 2–4, 1942, a ghetto was created in Sarny. It existed for four and a half months. The area was surrounded by barbed wire, and Ukrainian guards were stationed at intervals of 100 meters (328 feet).⁴ Any Jew who crossed over the fence was shot on the spot. In April 1942, Jews were forcibly resettled into the ghetto from the outlying

villages of Niemowicze, Czudel, Głuszycza, Horodec, Antonówka, Bielatycze, Lubikowicze, Cepcewicze, Strzelsk, and Luchcze.⁵ About 8 to 10 people had to live in a single room, and sanitary conditions were unspeakable. Sickness went untreated in the absence of medical help and drugs. A number of Gypsies—around 200 to 300 people—also were resettled into the ghetto.⁶ According to historian Yehuda Bauer, there was also a separate ghetto for craftsmen and their families, which was liquidated at the same time as the main ghetto.

On August 25, 1942, the Judenrat was summoned to receive a demand for a third "assessment" of 7 gold rubles per person. Utterly lacking such resources, people had to surrender the gold in their teeth to fulfill the quota. Worthy of note is the general respect accorded to members of the Judenrat in recognition of the impossible circumstances in which they found themselves. On that day, Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto, and no one was sent out to perform forced labor.⁷

Yitzhak Geller organized a few men into a resistance group, named for Samson's final cry: "Let my soul perish with the Philistines!" Among the members were Portnoy, Simcha Monk, and Moshe Pikmann. With a few rifles, pistols, and grenades stolen from the Ukrainians, they planned to blow up the power station, burn the houses in the ghetto, and create confusion so that people could run for their lives. But Neumann, the secretary of the Judenrat, threatened them with arrest and prevented them from taking any action.⁸

On the night of August 25–26, 1942, several people committed suicide. The next day, starting at 5:00 a.m., additional Jews from a number of surrounding towns in the Gebiet were brought to Sarny and held captive in a staging area next to the regional administrative center. There were 2,800 Jews from Dąbrowica, around 600 from Rokitno, 580 from Klesów, 1,000 from Bereznica, and 150 from Tomaszgorod. The addition of these arrivals (in excess of 5,000 people) brought the total Jewish population assembled in Sarny to around 14,000.⁹

The slaughter began on August 27, 1942, at 2:00 p.m. The Jews from Rokitno were ordered to deliver the first 500 people to four pits that had been dug outside the town; then came the turn of the Jews from Klesów. At this point, 2 Jews with wire clippers and an axe cut a hole in the barbed-wire fence. Three buildings of the administrative center were set on fire.¹⁰ As people fled through the opening in the fence, they were fired on with machine guns and hand grenades. Survivors estimate that some 2,500 people were shot in the rush to the fence. Another 1,000 perished in the burning buildings. Several hundred managed to escape. The rest, about 13,000 in total, were murdered and thrown into the pits. Among the victims were about 100 Gypsies, who died protesting that they were not Jews. The local people rushed to loot whatever Jewish property was left.¹¹

The mass shootings were organized by a squad of the Security Police and SD from Równe, assisted by German and Ukrainian police.¹² The forces that participated in the shootings included part of German Police Battalion 323, subordinated to Security Division 68. The unit of this battalion, commanded by Unterführer Willi Meyer, killed around 1,400

people with machine guns in the course of two days. Meyer personally shot around 200 of them.¹³

Of those Jews who managed to escape from the ghetto before and during the Aktion, many were captured and killed by the Ukrainian and German police thereafter, but some managed to organize a partisan detachment within Rayon Sarny in October 1942. This unit was based mainly in and around the village of Karasin.¹⁴ Other escapees went into hiding if they could find sympathetic local peasants. One group of survivors mentions the courage of the “Shtundists” (Baptists), who were especially favorable towards Jews seeking help. Others found refuge with Polish villagers who feared attacks from Ukrainian nationalist partisans.¹⁵ At the end of the war, a few survivors returned to Sarny to provide a decent burial for the victims of the massacre and to erect a memorial stone in their memory.

SOURCES Articles about the fate of the Jewish population of Sarny during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Yosef Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kebilat Sarni* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; Tel Aviv: Irgun yots’e Sarni vaha-sevivah be-Yisrael, 1961); Yehuda Bauer, “Sarny and Rokitno in the Holocaust: A Case Study of Two Townships in Wolyn (Volhynia),” in Steven Katz, ed., *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); and “Sarny,” in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 5, Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 140–143.

Documents and testimonies regarding the persecution and destruction of the Sarny Jews can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/707, 1237); BA-BL; BA-L; DARO; FVA (HVT-1457, 2484, and 2819); GARF (7021-71-70); USHMM (RG-06.025*02); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-71-70, p. 11; Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kebilat Sarni*, pp. 266–268.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. DARO, R293-2-2a, p. 49; Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kebilat Sarni*, pp. 272–274. Also see statement by witness Josef Wolf on December 19, 1945, USHMM, RG-06.025*02 Kiev, 1945–1946 (N-18762, vol. 10).
4. GARF, 7021-71-70, p. 15; Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kebilat Sarni*, p. 274.
5. In 1921, there were 774 Jews residing in these villages and therefore probably about 1,000 Jews in 1941.
6. GARF, 7021-71-70, pp. 24, 46.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 15; Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kebilat Sarni*, p. 275.
8. Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kebilat Sarni*, pp. 276, 318.
9. See also BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 113/67 (II 204 AR 1088/64), Sachstandsvermerk, June 7, 1967 (Gebietskommissariat Sarny), pp. 1–8.
10. Kariv, *Sefer yizkor li-kebilat Sarni*, pp. 276–277.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 278.
12. GARF, 7021-71-70, pp. 46 and reverse side.

13. Willi Meyer’s interrogations on October 3, 1945; on December 29, 1945; and on January 9, 1946: USHMM, RG-06.025*02 Kiev, 1945–1946 (N-18762, vol. 10).

14. *Ibid.*, statement by witness Josef Wolf on December 19, 1945.

15. See, for example, AŽIH, 301/1237, testimony of Gitla Szwarcblatt.

SERNIKI

Pre-1939: Serniki, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Pinsk oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Wysozk, Gebiet Stolin, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Sernyky, Rivne oblast’, Ukraine

Serniki lies in the southern sector of the Pripet marshes, just on the Ukrainian side of the border with Belarus, about 30 kilometers (19 miles) south of Pińsk. According to the 1921 census, the Jewish population was 987.

Thanks to its remote location, Serniki was largely ignored by the advancing German forces in July 1941. According to witness reports, local Ukrainians seized power on the retreat of Soviet forces and took part in the looting and murder of Jews in Serniki at the end of July 1941.¹ In late July 1941, the 3rd Squadron of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment also began its murderous sweep through the Pripet marshes in the Ratno area, advancing via Kamień Koszyrski, Kuchekawola, Łachwa, Serniki, and Dawidgródek.² It probably passed through Serniki during the first week of August 1941. According to local witnesses, more than 100 Jewish men were arrested at the synagogue in early August 1941. They were then taken to the local schoolhouse, where they were ridiculed and humiliated for three days before being taken to the Jewish cemetery in Serniki to be shot by German-led forces.

Initially, the Germans did not have a permanent garrison in the village, but the Ukrainian police commanded by Ivan Polyukovich (known as Polivik) administered the village, and German officials visited periodically to check on things. It is not clear exactly when the ghetto was established, but Jews from the surrounding villages were forced to move into the ghetto, which definitely had been set up by April 1942 and was probably surrounded by barbed wire.³ Jews in the ghetto were taken for forced labor, mostly felling trees in the surrounding forests. By the end of the summer, the remaining men looked like “skeletons,” owing to the hard labor and insufficient food. The bulk of the ghetto’s population consisted of women, children, and the elderly.

The Jews of Serniki had some intimation of the impending Aktion in the fall of 1942, as most of the other surrounding ghettos had already been liquidated. Among the warning signs was the fact that Jews no longer were sent to work outside the ghetto, and the owners of items delivered to Jewish craftsmen for repair collected them, regardless of whether the work was finished. By early September, there also were rumors that pits were being prepared nearby. Then local policemen,

reinforced by the German Gendarmerie, surrounded the ghetto at night.⁴

The liquidation of the ghetto in Serniki took place in September 1942, when about 850 Jews were murdered. Local villagers had dug the pits in the forest some 3 or 4 kilometers (1.9 to 2.5 miles) outside Serniki beforehand. The exact units responsible cannot be ascertained from German sources. On the basis of Jewish eyewitness statements, however, it is possible to conclude that between September 9 and 29, 1942, the Serniki ghetto was liquidated on the instructions of the SD in either Stolín or Lubieszów, with the support of the Gendarmerie, local militia units, and other local helpers.⁵ On the day the ghetto was liquidated, a number of Germans arrived in Serniki by truck. According to one eyewitness, who also filled in the pit, some 50 Germans and policemen escorted the Jews to the pit, with the Germans at the head and the rear of the column, while Ukrainian police guarded the flanks.⁶ As the column made its way to the pit, two Jewish boys broke away from the column, fled down towards a nearby river, and were shot by the armed escorts as they ran.⁷

The size of the ghetto did not warrant calling in elements of Polizei Reiterabteilung II or other police battalions in the area. However, since about one quarter of the ghetto inhabitants managed to escape, the German forces probably regretted not arranging for more reinforcements. According to one account, the Gestapo chief made a speech before the mass shooting, chastising the assembled Ukrainian police and local peasants (who had come in search of loot) for failing to guard the ghetto effectively. After this speech, the Stoliner Hasidic rabbi, Meir Viener, led the condemned Jews in a confessional (*vidui*) prayer, which many small children repeated after him word for word.⁸

The head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat), Shlomo Turkenitz, assisted the flight of many ghetto inhabitants on the eve of the liquidation, although he remained behind for family reasons. About 272 people, more than half of them men between the ages of 8 and 40, managed to escape and reach the forests. The close proximity of dense forests to the ghetto, which bordered on the Stubło River, helped many Jews to escape. Of the escapees, 102 perished in the forests: between 10 and 12 died fighting as partisans; and the rest succumbed to hunger, cold, and illness or were killed by police and other local inhabitants.⁹

Forensic investigations conducted by the Australian Special Investigations Unit revealed that the victims were forced down a ramp into the pit. Some were forced to the left and others to the right. The majority were shot in the head, but some were clubbed to death. The bodies were aligned face-down, parallel, and in rows. At one end, the bodies were disorganized, suggesting that there had been some panic. The bodies that lay in the middle tended to have fewer bullets to the head. Clothing was found scattered throughout the grave, which suggested that after the executions the grave had been picked over. The investigations revealed that the perpetrators used German ammunition manufactured in the years 1939 to 1941.¹⁰

After the Aktion, the Jews hiding in the forest continued to be hunted down by local police and other available forces loyal to the Germans, including local foresters receiving German pay. For example, shortly after the massacre in Serniki, a neighbor observed a local forester escorting a group of Jews at gunpoint: "There were 13 people. I recognized the wife of a former [Jewish] resident of Serniki and his seven daughters, who were 10 to 20 years old. All of them lived in Serniki. The forester herded his victims up two high hills. I heard sub-machine gun fire shortly after. I was terrified. He returned alone."¹¹

SOURCES Information about the Serniki ghetto and its destruction can be found in the following publications: Meylekh Bakalchuk-Felin, *Zikbroynes fun a Yidishn partisan* (Buenos Aires, 1958), pp. 9–19; and D. Bevan, *A Case to Answer: The Story of Australia's First European War Crimes Prosecution* (Kent Town: Wakefield Press, 1994).

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Serniki can be found in the following archives: ANA; AŽIH; BA-L; DAVO; USHMM; and YVA (e.g., O-3/1138; M-1/E/457, 550, and 2306).

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NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990), p. 66.
2. BA-L, ZStL, 2 Ks 11/63, Magill Trial, Hans Schmidt testimony, March 12, 1964, p. 62.
3. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 366, dates the establishment of the ghetto in January 1942.
4. Bakalchuk-Felin, *Zikbroynes fun a Yidishn partisan*, pp. 9–19.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 18, dates the mass shooting on September 9, 1942 (three days before Rosh Hashanah). Other sources give the date of September 29, 1942.
6. ANA, SIU investigation into the case of Ivan Polyukovich (Ivanechko), witness statement of Stepan Sidorevich Polyukovich. Ivan Polyukovich was acquitted by a court in Adelaide in 1993 on two counts of murder under the Australian War Crimes Act.
7. Witness testimony regarding this incident is quoted in Mark Aarons, *War Criminals Welcome: Australia, a Sanctuary for Fugitive War Criminals since 1945* (Melbourne: Black Inc., 2001), p. 480.
8. Bakalchuk-Felin, *Zikbroynes fun a Yidishn partisan*, p. 19.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 17, 176; YVA, O-3/1138, testimony of D. Saltzman (Gavish), gives the figure of 300 fugitives; see also M. Kahanovich, *Milbemet ba-Partanim ba-Yehudim be-Mizrah Eirogab* (Tel Aviv, 1954), p. 93.
10. ANA, SIU investigation into the case of Ivan Polyukovich. Excavations by the SIU in 1990 determined that the pit in which the Jews were murdered was some 40 meters (131 feet) long and 5 meters (16 feet) wide. It was about 2 meters (6.6 feet) deep. The bodies in the pit were stacked like wood.
11. ANA, SIU, Soviet allegation in the Australian case of Ivan Polyukovich.

SHEPETOVKA

Pre-1941: Shepetovka, city and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Schepetowka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Shepetivka, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Shepetovka is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) east-southeast of Równe. According to the 1939 census, 4,844 Jews (19.5 percent of the total population) were living in the city. Another 1,621 Jews lived in what was at the time the Shepetovka raion. This included 1,311 Jews in the village of Sudilkov.

Shepetovka was occupied by units of the German 6th Army on July 5, 1941. In the two weeks following the German invasion on June 22, probably about 1,500 Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 3,200 Jews remained in Shepetovka at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the city. The Ortskommandantur formed a local authority and established a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Shepetovka became the administrative center of Gebiet Schepetowka, which included the neighboring Rayons of Polonnoje, Slawuta, and Beresdow, as well as Rayon Schepetowka. Regierungsassessor Worbs was appointed as the Gebietskommissar, and Leutnant Höse became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.¹

A German Gendarmerie post was established in the city in the fall of 1941, when it assumed control over the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft. The first head of the Ukrainian police was Stanislav Kashperuk. At the end of 1941, he was relieved of his duties because his wife was Jewish. (In May 1942, Kashperuk was shot along with his wife, two children, and mother-in-law.) The deputy head of the police was an ethnic German, Eduard Miller, who replaced Kashperuk as the head of the police. In 1942, a Ukrainian Criminal Police (Kripo) unit was also set up, and it was headed by an ethnic German named Konstantin Neyman. Among the Ukrainian police, a man named Boleslav Kovalevskii personally killed dozens of Jews and earned a reputation for his cruelty.

Cleansing Aktions against the Jewish population in Gebiet Schepetowka, including the city of Shepetovka, were carried out by the Security Police department (Sipo Aussendienststelle) based in Starokonstantinov. The department was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian auxiliary police also played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Shepetovka. During the summer, Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings bearing the Star of David, later a yellow circle. They had to perform heavy physical labor, frequently without pay, and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the city. Survivors mention that young girls were threatened and

abused by the Ukrainian police. Jews also had to surrender their valuables and pay onerous "contributions."

On July 28, 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the city. The 2nd Company of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion rounded up more than 800 Jews on the pretext of forced labor and then shot them.² On August 23, the same battalion shot 61 Jews in Shepetovka and Korzec.³ On September 1, another 45 Jews were shot in Shepetovka.⁴

On December 20, 1941, a ghetto was created in the city, and three streets of one-story houses were cordoned off for this purpose. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and closely guarded by the Ukrainian police. In January 1942, more than 600 Jews were brought into the ghetto on foot from Sudilkov⁵ and dozens more from other nearby villages. The living conditions in the ghetto were atrocious—five to six families (35 to 45 people) lived in each house, and people had to sleep on the floor. The Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto, and some of those who were caught outside illegally were shot. Each morning, a guard detachment manned by the Ukrainian police would arrive, and Jews would be escorted away in groups to be exploited for different kinds of labor. The growing of food in the ghetto was forbidden, as was the exchange of personal belongings for products—although this continued to some extent illegally. The main sources of nourishment were potato peelings and other leftovers. The ghetto population suffered from typhus and other diseases. The infirm were not quarantined from the rest of the population, and the German authorities did not provide any medicine to treat serious illnesses. Instead, they undertook regular searches and shot those who were sick.⁶

The doctor, O. Stetsiuk, who on the orders of the city administration surveyed the ghetto, could only conclude that sick people should not be sent out to work, to ensure that the infectious diseases were not spread outside the ghetto. Officially, the provision of help to the infirm inside the ghetto was forbidden. Nevertheless, she wrote prescriptions for the Jews in the ghetto under Ukrainian surnames, collected the medicine from the pharmacy, and distributed it inside the ghetto, providing considerable help to the Jews. The same kind of help was given by N. Ivanets, the doctor's assistant.

On June 25, 1942,⁷ under the supervision of the Gebietskommissar, the first large-scale Aktion was carried out against the ghetto in which probably around 2,500 people were shot. After this operation, only artisans and their families (about 500 people) remained in the ghetto. They were also shot on September 6 and September 10, 1942.⁸ Following the last Aktion, Ukrainian police continued to search for Jews hidden in the ghetto and the surrounding area for days afterwards. Genia Bryla, one of the few survivors of the ghetto, managed to escape from her hiding place in the ghetto at night, after creating a hole in the barbed wire with her bare hands.⁹

In total, there were around 4,000 Jews killed in 1941–1942 in Shepetovka, although Soviet sources generally place the number of victims somewhat higher.¹⁰

On October 21, 1944, a Soviet tribunal sentenced Neyman to death. In 1963, Kovalevskii was sentenced to death and shot.

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SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jewish population of Shepetovka can be found in the publication of Deko O. Kedoishim, *Povist'-kbronika Shepetiv'skoho hetto* (Kiev, 1995).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Shepetovka can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (863-2-44); GARF (7021-64-818); DASBU-Kh (No. 25883); NARA (NO-4818); VHF (# 3403, 5914, 32022, 34306); and YVA (M-33/104, M-52/182, M-53/164, M-53/105).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. See the indictment on February 2, 1970, in the case of Rosenbauer, Besser, and Kreuzer (Sta. Regensburg). The indictment was published in part in A. Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 290–291. See also Kedoishim, *Povist'-kbronika Shepetiv'skoho hetto*, p. 32.

3. Telegram from the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Jeckeln (no. 154), August 24, 1941, VHAP, file "Kommando-Stab Reichsführer-SS." The telegram is published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, p. 242.

4. Telegram from the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Jeckeln (no. 242), September 2, 1941, VHAP, "Kommando-Stab Reichsführer-SS." The telegram is published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, pp. 248–249.

5. GARF, 7021-64-818, p. 57; VHF, # 5914, testimony of Anna Kalika, # 34306, testimony of Genia Bryla.

6. DAKhO, 863-2-44, p. 14; YVA, M-33/104, M-52/182, M-53/164, M-53/105; VHF, # 3403, testimony of Maria Tsimberg.

7. Kedoishim, *Povist'-kbronika Shepetiv'skoho hetto*, pp. 85–86.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 103.

9. VHF, # 34306.

10. According to the ChGK materials in GARF, 7021-64-818, pp. 9 and 14, around 9,000 Jews were killed in Shepetovka. This would have meant that there were 6,000 Jews in the ghetto and another 2,000 who were brought in from Sudilkov. Based on pre-war and postwar population data, this figure is probably too high.

SIENKIEWICZÓWKA

Pre-1939: Sienkiewiczówka (Yiddish: Senkevitshivka), village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Senkevichevka, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Senkewytschivka, Rayon center, Gebiet Lutzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Senkezychivka, Horokhiv raion, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Sienkiewiczówka is located about 38 kilometers (24 miles) southwest of Łuck. After World War I, the Jewish population

was 120 out of a total of 500 inhabitants. On the eve of World War II, there were about 60 Jewish families living in the village.

Forces of the German 6th Army occupied Sienkiewiczówka on June 26, 1941. In July and August 1941, the village was controlled by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Sienkiewiczówka became a Rayon center in Gebiet Lutzk, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Lutzk was Regierungsassessor Lindner.¹

In Sienkiewiczówka, the Germans set up a local Ukrainian administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. The Ukrainian police was subordinated to the local Gendarmerie post that consisted of a few German Gendarmes.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a number of antisemitic measures in Sienkiewiczówka. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) of five people was created, through which the Germans passed on instructions and regulations to the Jewish population. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings in the image of the Star of David and, after September 1941, in the form of a yellow patch. They were ordered to hand over all hard currency and items of value. Jews had to perform forced labor, and they were not permitted to leave the limits of the village.

According to Jewish survivor Sonia Resnick-Tetelbaum, in February 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Sienkiewiczówka. All the Jews were collected together on a few streets, and additional Jews from the surrounding villages were also resettled there. About 500 people lived in the ghetto altogether. There was considerable overcrowding in the ghetto, with entire families having to share one room. The ghetto was subjected to blackout restrictions at night, and Jews were forbidden to trade with non-Jews. Despite these restrictions that threatened the death penalty, Czech farmers living nearby would bring the Jews food.² Information gathered by Rafael Noachowicz from local non-Jewish inhabitants indicates that the ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police. Twice a week the peasants were allowed to enter the ghetto to sell bread or flour to the Jews, but otherwise all contacts were forbidden. Jews were rationed to 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread per person. Nonetheless, Jewish craftsmen manufactured items to trade with the local farmers illegally.³

On or around October 5, 1942, a unit of the Security Police and SD, assisted by the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian local police, surrounded the ghetto. The Jews from the ghetto were rounded up, loaded onto trucks, and taken to a site at a railway crossing near the railway station, where two large trenches had been prepared. Here the Jews were made to undress and then forced to lie down flat in the trenches in groups of 4. Then a German dressed in an apron stepped on top of the Jews and shot them in the back of the head. In the very first truck were women carrying children in their arms. Before going into the trench the names of all the Jews were recorded. Thus, the Germans would know how many Jews were miss-

ing so that they could search for them. In between groups the German marksman would take swigs to drink before reentering the trench.⁴ Soviet sources indicate that more than 800 Jews were shot in the Senkevichevka raion, but this figure may be too high.⁵

In 1942, there were 11 Jews killed in the village of Uhrynów, 6 Jews killed in the village of Hubin, and 6 Jews killed in the village of Dębowa Korczma.⁶

SOURCES Some brief information about the Jewish community of Sienkiewiczówka can be found in the following publications: “Sienkiewiczówka,” in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ba-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 148–149; and V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zbertyv i pamiat’* (Lutsk, 2003), p. 24.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Sienkiewiczówka can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/2814); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-13); VHF (# 9702); YIU (no. 458); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. VHF, # 9702, testimony of Sonia Resnick-Tetelbaum (born 1924), 1995.

3. AŽIH, 301/2814, information gathered from local non-Jews by Rafał Noachowicz.

4. Ibid.; YIU, Témoignage no. 458.

5. P.T. Tron’ko et al., *Istoriia mist i sil URSR, Volyns’ka oblast’*, (Kiev, 1970), 26:201. This source gives the number of 800 victims. A memorial stone placed at the site in 1990 is inscribed with the number of 1,293 Jewish victims, but this figure is considerably too high; see Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zbertyv i pamiat’*, p. 24.

6. GARF, 7021-55-13.

SLAVUTA

Pre-1941: Slavuta, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Slavuta, Rayon center, Gebiet Schepetowka, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Slavuta, raion center, Khmel’nyts’kyi oblast’, Ukraine

Slavuta is located 18 kilometers (11 miles) northwest of Shepetovka. According to the census, 5,102 Jews lived in Slavuta in January 1939, and 1,410 additional Jews resided in the Slavuta raion (primarily in the village of Annopol’). Thus, there was a total of 6,512 Jews in the raion. Additionally, in 1939, 2,106 other Jews resided in the Berezdov raion (primarily in the villages of Berezdov, Krasnostav, and Kilikiev), which currently belongs to the Slavuta raion. Many of the Jews of this raion were massacred together with the Jews of Slavuta.

In 1939, then, more than 8,600 Jews lived in Slavuta and the surrounding area. After Nazi Germany attacked the

USSR on June 22, 1941, several hundred Jewish men were drafted into or volunteered for the Red Army, and several hundred more Jews were able to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union. As German forces occupied the Slavuta area only two weeks after the start of the war, the majority of Jews were unable to escape. Approximately 8,000 Jews remained in Slavuta at the start of the occupation.

Units of the German army occupied Slavuta in early July 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was governed by a series of German military commandant’s offices (Ortskommandanturen), which formed a local administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from local citizens. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Slavuta became a Rayon center in Gebiet Schepetowka. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Worbs, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Richard Höse.¹ The Ukrainian police and Gendarmerie posts were under his command, including the Gendarmerie posts in Slavuta and Berezdov. In the summer of 1942, Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Mohngach replaced Höse.

Gebiet Schepetowka was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. SA-Obergruppenführer Heinrich Schöne served as the Generalkommissar and the immediate superior of Worbs. Höse was subordinated to the Kommandeur der Gendarmerie (KdG) in the region, Major der Gendarmerie Rohse.

On July 28–30, 1941, the 1st SS-Motorized Infantry Brigade swept through Rayon Slavuta. This unit shot several dozen Jews altogether in various villages of the Rayon, ostensibly for supporting the Bolshevik system.

From August 15 until September 3, 1941, the 2nd Company of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion was located in Slavuta; the company commander was Oberleutnant der Polizei and SS-Obersturmführer Engelbert Kreuzer.² This company conducted several Aktions in Slavuta: on August 18, they shot 322 Jews; on August 29, they shot 65 Jews; and on August 30, they shot 911 Jews—making a total of 1,298 Jewish victims.³

In August 1941, shootings of Jews, conducted primarily by the 45th Reserve Police Battalion (commanded by Major der Polizei and SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Besser), also took place in Berezdov (152 people),⁴ in Annopol’ (over 100 people),⁵ and in Kilikiev (several dozen people).⁶ In Krasnostav (Rayon Beresdow), almost all of the Jews were murdered (approximately 800 people).⁷ Altogether, about 2,500 Jews were killed in Slavuta and the surrounding area in the summer of 1941.

On March 1, 1942, a ghetto was established in Slavuta; it was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by Ukrainian policemen. Besides Jews resident in the town, Jews from the Slavuta and Beresdow Rayons were also brought into the ghetto. For example, on March 2, 1942, Jews from Annopol’ (Rayon Slavuta) were driven into the ghetto, while the elderly and handicapped were selected out and shot immediately.⁸ On March 4, 1942, the remaining 175 Jews of Krasnostav were brought to the Slavuta ghetto via Berezdov.⁹ Jews from

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Kilikiev were not transferred to Slavuta, and approximately 150 of them were shot near the village in early 1942.¹⁰

Some 500 Jews from the Slavuta ghetto were sent to work in Berezdov and Pechivody in March 1942. Of this number, several dozen people died of hunger and illness or were shot for being unable to work. The remaining Jews were returned to the Slavuta ghetto in late June 1942, and those who were too emaciated to walk back were shot on the way. For example, 7 Jews were killed near the village of Zhukov.¹¹

The Slavuta ghetto was liquidated on June 25, 1942. On this day, a squad of Security Police and SD men, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, shot the majority of the Jews in a deep hollow near the water tower on the edge of town; approximately 300 children were drowned in a well in the ghetto.¹² On June 25, 1942, a total of about 5,000 Jews were killed. Only Jewish craftsmen and their families (several hundred people) were temporarily spared; they were shot in September 1942.

On August 5, 1971, the regional court in Regensburg (Germany) sentenced the former commander of the 2nd Company of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, Kreuzer, to seven years' imprisonment. The court refrained from punishing the former commander of the 45th Police Battalion, Besser, taking into consideration his advanced age (in 1971, Besser was 79 years old) and poor health.

SOURCES The author published several documents regarding the annihilation of Slavuta Jews in August of 1941; see A. Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 239, 246, 247, 291.

Documents and the testimonies regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Slavuta can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-64-794 and 814); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. For extracts of the indictment issued on February 2, 1970, by the Sta. Regensburg against the defendants Rosenbauer, Besser, and Kreuzer, see Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, p. 290.

3. Telegrams nos. 113 and 208 sent by HSSPF Russland Süd on August 19, 1941, and August 30, 1941, and radiogram no. 56 of August 31, 1941, published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, pp. 239, 246–247.

4. GARF, 7021-64-794, p. 84. The shooting took place on August 10, 1941.

5. See the testimony of Sofia Iosifovna Malinskaia (September 1994), published in D. Hoshkis, ed., *Nezaboena rana* (Slavuta, Netyshin, and Iziaslav, 1996), pp. 48–50.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

7. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty. Vypusk 13*. (Moscow, 1945), p. 35. At this place, 47 Jew-

ish men were shot on August 7 and about 700 Jews on August 28–29, 1941.

8. See the testimony of Malinskaia (September 1994). In Annopol', by November 1941, the Jews from the surrounding villages (Dolzhki, Klepachi, Velikii Sknit, Golovli) had been concentrated and resettled on one street there together with the local Jews.

9. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*, p. 35.

10. Hoshkis, *Nezaboena rana*, pp. 81–82.

11. See the testimony of Malinskaia (September 1994).

12. Hoshkis, *Nezaboena rana*, pp. 6, 50.

SMOTRICH

Pre-1941: Smotrich, town (PGT) and raion center; Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Smotritsch, Rayon center; Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Smotrych, Dunaivtsi raion, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Smotrich is located about 30 kilometers (19 miles) north of Kamenets-Podolskii. In 1939, the Jewish population of Smotrich was 1,075, 18.5 percent of the total. In addition, there were another 1,227 Jews living in the other villages and settlements of the Smotrich raion. At this time 1,139 Jews were living in nearby Chemerovtsy, and another 1,204 Jews in the rest of the Chemerovtsy raion.

German forces occupied Smotrich on July 8, 1941. In the first two and a half weeks after the start of the invasion on June 22, a number of Jews were able to flee or were evacuated to the east. During the first days of the occupation, German security forces killed 40 Jews. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village; it appointed a local authority and organized an auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Smotrich became the center of Rayon Smotritsch in Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, which in turn was part of Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

At some time before June 1942, probably in the fall of 1941, the German authorities established a separate Jewish residential area (an open ghetto) in Smotrich. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, the area was not separated by a fence, but its borders were marked and the Jews were prohibited from crossing them.¹

Under the German occupation, some of the Jews of Smotrich were forced to work at the train station close to Balin, loading and unloading cargo trains. In winter they were assigned the task of clearing snow, both at the train station and from the highways. Other assignments included cleaning the horse stables belonging to the Gendarmerie, cleaning the police station and also the Gendarmerie headquarters, cleaning shoes, and doing the laundry for the Germans. A specially assigned Jewish boy had to bring milk for the Germans from the village of Balin, which lay 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) away

from the Balin train station. None of the Jewish forced laborers received any payment for this work. The half-starved Jews assigned to work outside the ghetto had to walk up to 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) to their workplace and then work for the entire day. Those who were exhausted and could not keep up with the pace of work ordered by the guards were severely beaten. For a handful of dry peas, a rotten potato, or anything else that could at least partially still their hunger, the Jews ran the risk of being brutally beaten. If they were caught stealing food, their community also had to pay a fine for the “theft” either in cash or in food to compensate for the “losses incurred by the Germans.” The Jewish community of Smotrich was once forced to pay a large fine in gold to put an end to the beatings of one of its members, so the Jews had to surrender their wedding rings, jewelry, and even pre-1917 gold coins.²

At some time in the summer of 1942, probably in late July or early August, the remaining Jews in the Smotrich ghetto, together with the Jews of Chemerovtsy, were transferred to Kamenets-Podolskii. Semjon Waisblei, a survivor from Chemerovtsy, spent one night in Smotrich on his way to Kamenets-Podolskii. It is possible there was also an open ghetto in Chemerovtsy, but Waisblei does not mention this. He states that on arrival in Kamenets-Podolskii, he was among about 20 or 30 Jews who were placed in the ghetto there, from which he escaped about three months later, when children of his age started to be killed.³

In Kamenets-Podolskii, most of the Jews brought there from Smotrich and Chemerovtsy were shot on August 11, 1942, by members of the Security Police and SD outpost (Sipo/SD Aussendienststelle Kamenez-Podolsk). According to the report sent to the Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Równe, Dr. Pütz, 813 Jews were shot in total.⁴

It is estimated that during the entire period of the occupation, about 670 Jews from Smotrich were murdered.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Smotrich during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukraïnskogo evreïstva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravocnik* (Kharkov: “Karavella,” 2001), p. 290; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1205.

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Smotrich can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-799); IPN; and USHMM.

Martin Dean
trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 98–116), Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report for Kamenets-Podolskii.

2. Ibid.

3. Boris Zabarko, ed., “Nur wir haben überlebt”: *Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), p. 428.

4. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, pp. 5–6, report of Sipo u. SD Aussenstelle Kamenez-Podolsk to KdS Rowno, August 13, 1942.

SNITKOV

Pre-1941: Snitkov, village, Murovannye Kurilovtsy raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukraine; 1941–1944: Snitkoff, Rayon Murovanny Kurilowzy, Gebiet Bar, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Snitkyv, Murovani Kurylivtsi raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Snitkov is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) southwest of Vinnitsa. According to the 1926 census, there were 1,181 Jews living in Snitkov. The Jewish population decreased significantly in the 1930s, owing to the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and the resettlement of Jews to other areas.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, there was no organized evacuation from Snitkov, but some Jews were able to escape to the east. Men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 500 Jews remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

Snitkov was occupied on July 19, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village, and it appointed a village elder (starosta) and set up a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. The village was incorporated into Rayon Murovanny Kurilowzy, in Gebiet Bar, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military authorities appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat), consisting of 12 people, which was headed by a Jewish elder. Then one day a force of 25 Germans (or possibly Hungarian soldiers) arrived and conducted a roundup, taking a number of Jews as hostages. These Jews were only released once a large monetary “contribution” had been raised. This procedure was repeated shortly afterwards by the Germans, this time to induce the Jews to surrender all their gold and silver items and any other precious metals, such as copper.¹

In the summer and fall of 1941, Jews in the village, as elsewhere in Ukraine, were subject to persecution through the implementation of a number of anti-Jewish policies. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks initially in the form of a white armband bearing a blue Star of David and later in the form of yellow patches on their chests and backs.² They were forced into heavy labor, mostly without pay, and forbidden to leave the village. Young Jewish women were rounded up and held in the police station overnight, where they were beaten and raped by both German and Ukrainian police.³ Forced labor tasks performed by the Jews included cleaning the streets, carrying water and wood, washing horses, and performing odd jobs for the commandant.

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At some time in the fall of 1941 or the spring of 1942, a ghetto, or “Jewish residential district,” was created in the village. All the Jews were concentrated on one side of Snitkov, away from the school building, where the Germans were based. The ghetto included the center of the village. It was guarded by Ukrainian police, but the Jews continued to barter their remaining possessions to obtain food from the local peasants. One survivor states that Jews were permitted to leave the ghetto for just one hour each day, which was when the bartering took place. Another, however, describes how food was passed through a wire fence, but this is not corroborated by other accounts.⁴

From early 1942 onward, a group of Jews from Snitkov was taken to the labor camp in Letichev, where they were put to work doing road construction and repair.⁵ Other Jews arrived in the Snitkov ghetto, including dozens of Jewish families from Bessarabia, who moved in to live with the local Jews.

The ghetto was liquidated on August 20, 1942, when the Jewish population was resettled into the ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy. Children and the elderly were transported by horse and cart, and people were instructed to take enough food for two days. On arrival they were forced into a few buildings, each holding 50 or 60 people.⁶ The Murovannye Kurilovtsy ghetto was liquidated the next day, when the majority of the Jews, including those from Snitkov, were shot and killed.⁷ On the evening before the shooting, about 300 able-bodied Jews were selected out, including some from Snitkov. These Jews were employed to clean up clothing from the Jews who had been shot and to work at a tobacco factory for another few weeks, before they too were shot. During this period some Ukrainian inhabitants of Snitkov came to Murovannye Kurilovtsy to see if any of their Jewish friends were among those who had survived. Everyone knew about the massacre of the Jews, and people reported that the earth on top of the graves continued to move for at least three days.⁸

A few Jews from the Snitkov ghetto survived by escaping across into the Romanian-occupied zone, some paying bribes to be transferred to the Kopaigorod ghetto from the remnant ghetto in Murovannye Kurilovtsy.⁹

SOURCES The Snitkov ghetto is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 41; and in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1207.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Snitkov can be found in these archives: DAVINO (R 6023-4-28506); GARF (7021-54-1244); VHF (# 8775, 24924, 26687, 34310, 38930, 47296); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel and Tatyana Feith

NOTES

1. VHF, # 34310, testimony of Dina Bril; # 8775, testimony of Dina Bortsukhovich; # 26687, testimony of Israel Kats.

2. Ibid., # 26687.

3. Ibid., # 8775; # 26687; # 38930, testimony of Iakov Ronshtein.

4. Ibid., # 26687; # 24924, testimony of Maïia Gol'tsman; # 34310.

5. Ibid., # 34310.

6. Ibid.

7. GARF, 7021-54-1244, p. 3. During this Aktion, 1,170 Jews were shot. This figure includes the Jews of Murovannye Kurilovtsy, Snitkov, and possibly some other nearby locations.

8. VHF, # 34310.

9. Ibid., # 47926, testimony of Riva Goikhman.

STARAIJA SINIAVA

Pre-1941: Staraija Siniava, town (PGT), raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Staraja Sinjawa, Rayon center, Gebiet Starokonstantinow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Staraija Siniava, raion center, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Staraija Siniava is located 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) northeast of Khmel'nitskii. According to the 1939 census, 1,237 Jews were living in Staraija Siniava (27.3 percent of the total population). An additional 605 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Staraija Siniava raion.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on July 9, 1941. In the two and a half weeks since the start of the German invasion on June 22, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 1,000 Jews remained in Staraija Siniava at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military administration ran the settlement. The military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) appointed a local authority and formed a Ukrainian auxiliary police unit. In September 1941, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. Staraija Siniava became a Rayon center in Gebiet Starokonstantinow. Regierungsrat Schröder became the first Gebietskommissar, and he was replaced later by SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle. In the spring of 1942, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Otto Gent became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. The Ukrainian police and Gendarmerie posts were subordinated to him, including the Gendarmerie post in Staraija Siniava.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was implemented in Staraija Siniava. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created. Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks: at first, an armband with a Star of David; later, a yellow patch. They were compelled to perform heavy labor without pay. They were not permitted to leave the boundaries of the settlement. Finally, they were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the Ukrainian police.

On August 19, 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in Staraija Siniava and in the neighboring village of Piliava. The Stabskompanie (headquarters company) of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland-Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer

Jeckeln, shot 511 Jews.¹ The mass shooting took place in a ditch near a sugar refinery. Jeckeln personally directed the shooting.

At the end of 1941 or the start of 1942, a ghetto was created in the town. It was liquidated on July 23, 1942. On that day, the Jews of Staraiia Siniava and the villages of Rayon Staraja Sinjava, about 1,000 people in all, were driven forcibly to the Starokonstantinov ghetto and subsequently shot there.² At a later date, the Ukrainian police caught 80 Jews who had hidden in various places around Staraiia Siniava and shot them near the sugar refinery.³

According to a survivor from Ostropol', Anna Nasarchuk, the Jews of Staraiia Siniava were confined in the Starokonstantinov ghetto for several months together with other Jews from the Gebiet, before being killed when the ghetto was liquidated at the end of November 1942.⁴

SOURCES Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Staraiia Siniava can be found in these archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-816); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. This telegram from the HSSPF Russland-Süd, no. 120, dated August 20, 1941, can be found in VHAP, "Headquarters of the Command of the Reichsführer SS." The telegram is reprinted in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozbenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 240. See also BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 86 of September 17, 1941, and GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 21. There were 300 Jews from Staraiia Siniava who were shot, and 186 Jews from Piliava. The remaining 25 victims were likely from the village of Novaia Siniava.

2. "Staraiia Siniava," in V. Lukin and B. Khaimovich, eds., *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Istoricheskie putevoditel': Vy-pusk 1. Podol'ia* (Jerusalem and St. Petersburg, 1998), p. 224.

3. GARF, 7021-64-7021, p. 21.

4. BA-L, B 162, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 328–340, statement of Anna Nasarchuk, March 28, 1973.

STARAIA USHITSA

Pre-1941: Staraiia Ushitsa, village and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Staraja-Ushitsa, Rayon center, Gebiet Kamenez-Podolsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Stara Ushytsia, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Staraiia Ushitsa is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) east of Kamenets-Podolskii. In 1939, there were 753 Jews living in Staraiia Ushitsa and an additional 354 Jews residing elsewhere in the Staraiia Ushitsa raion, mostly in the village of Studenitsa.

Staraiia Ushitsa came under German occupation in the summer of 1941, and the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. They registered the Jews,



Portrait of Ukrainian rescuer Piotr Gutzol and his wife, Anna Berman. Gutzol helped Berman escape the massacre of Staraiia Ushitsa's Jews in 1942 and was honored by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations in 1994.

USHMM WS #57656, COURTESY OF JFR

required them to wear distinguishing markings, and prohibited them from leaving the limits of the village. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor.

At some time before July 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Staraiia Ushitsa. According to research conducted by Yad Vashem to honor the Righteous Among the Nations, a young non-Jew named Piotr Gutzol often brought food into the ghetto to help a young Jewish woman named Anna Berman. He offered to help her to escape, but at this time she was too scared.¹

On July 23, 1942, the German and Ukrainian police conducted an Aktion against the Jews in the Staraiia Ushitsa ghetto. According to a former local policeman (Schutzmann), by then the Jewish population of Staraiia Ushitsa had been ghettoized or at least collected together in a specific quarter of the village (an open ghetto). The Aktion was carried out with the participation of the head of the SD, the head of the Gendarmerie, Leutnant Reich, deputy Gebietskommissar Peters, German Gendarmes, and local Ukrainian policemen. The head of the Judenrat had to announce to the Jews that they were to gather at the square. Family members carried the sick and the old. Some people who did not move fast enough were beaten half-conscious, causing panic and weeping among those at the square. Men and women were separated, and all were forced to sit on the ground in silence. The head of the SD announced that the Jews would be taken to Kamenets-Podolskii, and some women were allowed to return home to collect some clothes, as they had left their houses without time to dress properly.

The German and Ukrainian police searched the flats, attics, and basements for Jews in hiding, discovering quite a few, mainly men, hiding in chimneys, in between double ceilings, in cellars dug specifically for the purpose, with stacks of food and clothing in them, in barns, and in heaps of manure. Those

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discovered were beaten, and some were shot. Along with the Germans, who zealously hunted down the Jews, the local policemen were instrumental in identifying Jewish homes and possible hiding places, as well as exposing Jews (especially those in mixed marriages) trying to pass as non-Jews. Regardless of their religious affiliation (being raised as Christians or atheists) or personal circumstances (marriages with non-Jews), everybody who had a Jewish relative up to the third generation was automatically considered Jewish and thus subjected to the same fate as the others. After all the Jews were brought to the square, the “specialists” among them—such as carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers—were told to take their tools and equipment with them and, together with their families, were escorted to Kamenets-Podolskii. The rest, approximately 300 to 320 people, were put in columns of 3, men first followed by women, with the carts carrying the sick and the old, and were taken down the old road from Staraiia Ushitsa to Kamenets-Podolskii. As they marched, the head of the Gendarmerie ordered the Jews of Studenitsa (80 to 100 people) to be brought to join the Jews of Staraiia Ushitsa.

Although the Germans kept assuring the column of the marching Jews that they were all being taken to Kamenets-Podolskii, the children and women started to weep as soon as they left the village. When the group turned towards the pit, the Jews recognized their fate and wept bitterly. Some people prayed, and children begged their parents to carry them in their arms; in response the Germans and local police beat and cursed them. The doomed people started to throw away any valuables, such as rings, watches, photographs, and letters. They tore up money, denying it to their tormentors. The pit measuring 12 by 6 meters and 1.5 meters deep (about 39 by 20 by 5 feet), had been dug by local peasants on the orders of Rayonchef Belokon'. During the shooting, the peasants were removed from the scene to prevent them from watching.

The Jews were ordered to undress and enter the pit in groups of five. The Germans, the Ukrainian police, and other locals who participated pushed the Jews into the pits, beating those who resisted. They were then forced to lie on the bottom of the pit, with their faces down, and were shot in the nape of the neck. The next group had to lie on top of the corpses, and they were shot in turn. A German official kept count of those murdered, making a checkmark for each group of five or more, in case a larger family refused to be separated and were shot together.

After the shooting the peasants who had dug the pit were ordered to fill in the mass grave. The Schutzmannen searched the clothing of the murdered Jews for valuables, which were sometimes sewn into the lining or hidden inside belts. Some items were taken by the Germans to be sent home as presents, given to local prostitutes in payment, or sold to the local population.²

The Jews of Studenitsa were murdered at the same time as those of Staraiia Ushitsa. Estimates of the number of Jews killed vary from around 400 up to 700. The Jewish craftsmen and their families were transferred at this time to the ghetto in Kamenets-Podolskii.³ After the Aktion, local policemen

and other local inhabitants looted the Jewish houses. When Piotr Gutzol found the ghetto empty, he went to Kamenets-Podolskii and managed to get Anna Berman out of the ghetto there with the help of fake identity papers. Then they went to live in a small village where nobody knew them until the Red Army liberated the area in 1944. Most of the other Jews transferred to Kamenets-Podolskii were murdered there between August 1942 and the spring of 1943.

SOURCES Mention of the existence of a ghetto in Staraiia Ushitsa can be found in Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 109.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Staraiia Ushitsa can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-799 and 816); NA (HW 16/6); USHMM (RG-22.002M); YIU (no. 683); and YVA (M.31).

Martin Dean
trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. See www.jfr.org. After the war Piotr and Anna were married. Piotr Gutzol was honored by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations in 1994.
2. USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 2 (GARF, 7021-64-799, pp. 98–116), ChGK report for Kamenets-Podolskii.
3. Ibid.; NA, HW 16/6, Radiogram of the SS- und Polizeigebietsführer in Kamenez-Podolsk, summary for the period July 1, 1942–July 31, 1942, p. 5, as cited by Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 92.

STAROKONSTANTINOV

Pre-1941: Starokonstantinov, town and raion center, Khmel'nytskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Starokonstantinov, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Starokostiantyniv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Starokonstantinov is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) northwest of Vinnitsa. According to the January 1939 census, the Jewish population stood at 6,743 people; Jews accounted for 31 percent of the total population.

After Nazi Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army, and other Jews were able to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union. Thus, about 6,000 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Starokonstantinov on July 8, 1941. In July and August 1941, a series of local military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) governed the town and formed a local administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from among local inhabitants. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Starokonstantinov became the administrative center of the Gebiet, which also included Rayons Ostropol,

Staraja Sinjawa, Polonnoje, and Grizew. In total, the Gebiet included some 200,000 inhabitants and 196 collective farms. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Schröder, who was later replaced by SA-Standartenführer Curt Rolle. The Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 on was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Otto Gent.¹ The Ukrainian police and Gendarmerie posts were under his command.

In May 1942, an outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) was created in Starokonstantinov, headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf. This outpost carried out anti-Jewish Aktions in 1942 in the Gebiet Starokonstantinov and also in adjacent Gebiete. Graf received orders to carry out such Aktions from the Kommandeur der Sipo und SD (KdS) in Równe, SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Pütz.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Starokonstantinov. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed; Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (initially, an armband with a Star of David; later, a yellow circle sewn onto the front and back of their clothing); they were compelled to engage in forced labor; and they were forbidden to use the sidewalks.

In July 1941, soon after the occupation of the town, 20 Jews were shot.² On August 3, another Aktion took place. On this day, four companies of SS-Infanterie-Regiment 8, SS-Panzergranadier-Brigade 1, arrested 1,404 Jews (812 women and 592 men) in the town, of whom 489 (302 men and 187 women) were shot. The remaining Jews were divided up into several groups for forced labor.³ The supposed pretext for this “reprisal” Aktion is described in Einsatzgruppen report no. 59:

In Starokonstantinov . . . Jews were engaged in cleaning the barracks. Since Jews had not been reporting to work recently, the military units already were forced to round up the Jewish work force early in the morning. While working, the Jews behaved impudently and even refused to work. Of the approximately 1,000 Jews engaged in field labor, only 70 showed up to work on the following day. Furthermore, acts of sabotage on the harvesting machines were discovered. The Judenrat even spread rumors about a Russian offensive, which the Jews immediately used as a pretext to publicly threaten and curse Ukrainians.⁴

According to the account of a Jewish survivor, however, about 1,100 Jewish men and women were ordered to assemble and then transported out to the barracks. Here they were assigned to various work tasks, and those who were sick (including some who hoped to avoid work by feigning ill health) were loaded onto 18 trucks and taken away. Subsequently it was learned that these people were shot in the Novitskii Forest.⁵

Two weeks later, on August 18, 1941, approximately 150 more young Jewish men and women were shot in the Novitskii Forest.⁶ Another anti-Jewish Aktion took place in the town on September 2, 1941. On this day, Police Battalion 304, which was in the town from August 21 through September 4, captured and shot at least 500 Jews.⁷

In the fall of 1941, probably in late September or early October, a ghetto holding about 5,000 people was established in the town. This first ghetto consisted of a group of houses surrounded by barbed wire, guarded by the local police. It was located behind Middle School no. 8 and extended back to the Ikopot River. Conditions in the ghetto were very crowded: people had to sleep on the floor in rows. Ghetto inmates received little food. Only craftsmen were permitted to leave the ghetto, wearing a black stripe across their yellow circles to denote this privilege.⁸

At the beginning of 1942, the ghetto was moved to the district along Iziaslav Street, on the road to Shepetovka, not far from the Novitskii Forest. Here there were a few old Jewish houses and some barracks. The new ghetto had about three times the area of the old ghetto; however, conditions deteriorated, as inmates received no food or heating materials. The unsanitary conditions caused disease to spread. A Russian woman who had close relatives there smuggled some medical supplies into the ghetto. The new ghetto was also more closely guarded, making it harder for the Jews to barter illegally. On the inside, there was a Jewish police force that wore armbands and carried clubs. Outside, the barbed-wire fence was guarded by the Ukrainian police.⁹

Just before May 20, 1942, the Germans demanded from the Judenrat payment of a “war tax” of about 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of gold and 30 kilograms (66 pounds) of silver.¹⁰ Then, also on May 20, 1942, another Aktion was carried out. A team of the Sipo and SD under the leadership of SS-Hauptscharführer Graf, aided by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, shot most of the Jews from the ghetto, as well as some of the Jews who were brought into Starokonstantinov from the surrounding Rayons at that time. Approximately 6,500 people were murdered on this day. The Jews were driven to the “red barracks” near the Machine Tractor Station (MTS), where a ditch had been dug. Skilled craftsmen and their families were separated and returned to the town (some lived outside the ghetto), and the remaining Jews were forced to lie down in groups of 10 in the ditch, where Graf and another SS man, Werner, shot them with submachine guns.¹¹

At the time of the May 20 Aktion, Jews from the surrounding Rayons of Grizew, Ostropol, Staraja Sinjawa, and Polonnoje were brought into the ghetto. A Jewish survivor, Anna Nasarchuk, recalls arriving in the empty ghetto with about 400 others from Ostropol¹² just after the previous inmates had been shot. The German official in the ghetto, Hedrich, warned them that the others had been killed for refusing to work and carry out German instructions. No water was available in the ghetto, and people were permitted to fetch it from the river only once a day. Nasarchuk was made to work cleaning the German barracks. The guards mistreated the ghetto inmates, and on one occasion German soldiers raped two young Jewish girls.

Over the summer there were frequent shootings of Jews from the ghetto in the nearby Novitskii Forest. In the weeks before the ghetto’s final liquidation, the Jews were assembled

regularly on Sundays at the Zhdanov kolkhoz, where a few people were killed publicly as a warning. One Sunday, for example, 11 alleged saboteurs, all non-Jews, were hanged along with one Jew who had failed to report for the assembly.¹²

At the end of November 1942, the ghetto was completely liquidated. On this day, all the Jews in the ghetto were escorted to a field near the Novitskii Forest. The Jews were then led in groups of 10 to a ditch 300 meters (328 yards) away. They were forced to undress and lie down in the ditch, and then German and Ukrainian policemen shot them with carbines and submachine guns. The shooting was supervised by Graf. The Ukrainian Schutzmannschaftsbataillon 101 also took part in the operation, and its members, on the orders of the battalion commander Hauptmann Paul Salitter, cordoned off the execution site.¹³ Approximately 4,000 people were shot during this Aktion.¹⁴

At the killing site, Anna Nasarchuk recognized another Jewish woman from her village of Chishniki who was trying to flee, but the cordon guards shot her. Anna subsequently fell into the grave unconscious, not seriously wounded. After dark she escaped with her child, and she was even helped by a local Ukrainian policeman, whom she convinced that she was not Jewish and had been arrested by mistake.¹⁵

Altogether, some 11,000 Jews were killed in Starokonstantin during the years of 1941 and 1942.

The commander of the 8th SS-Infantry Regiment, SS-Standartenführer Hans-Wilhelm Sacks, the commander of the 1st battalion of this regiment, SS-Sturmabführer Hermann Schleifenbaum, and the commander of the 2nd battalion of this regiment, SS-Obersturmbannführer Erwin Tzschoppe, were primarily responsible for the Aktion of August 3, 1941. Sacks was fatally wounded in battle on August 19, 1941; Schleifenbaum died on August 30, 1943. The investigation in Germany regarding Tzschoppe was terminated following his death on August 21, 1972.

In the 1970s, in the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), several former policemen of the 304th Police Battalion who participated in the murder of over 500 Jews in Starokonstantin in early September 1941 were found guilty and sentenced. SS-Hauptscharführer Graf, who was primarily responsible for the annihilation of the town's Jews in 1942, died in Germany on November 19, 1953.

SOURCES A brief article on the annihilation of the Jews of Starokonstantin can be found in *Podillia u Velykii Vimchyzniani vinni (1941–1945 rr.)*. *Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Lviv, 1969), pp. 75–77.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Starokonstantin can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 204 AR-Z 441/67 and 442/67); DAKhO; GARF (7021-64); YVA (M-33); and ZSSStA-D (45 Js 20/73).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; BA-

L, II 204 AR-Z 441/67, Abschlussbericht, March 20, 1973. Gent died on April 11, 1956.

2. ZSSStA-D, 45 Js 20/73, concluding report (Abschlussverfügung), August 10, 1976.

3. See the report of the 1. Mot. SS Brigade dated August 3, 1941, for the period July 30 to August 3, 1941, published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozbenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 232.

4. USHMM, RG-30, Acc.1999.A.0196 (NARA, RG-242, T-175), reel 233, Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 59, August 21, 1941. According to the Einsatzgruppen Report, only 438 persons were shot (300 Jewish men and 138 Jewish women).

5. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, Galina M. Bolshovskaia, March 29, 1973.

6. ZSSStA-D, 45 Js 20/73, Abschlussverfügung, August 10, 1976. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report of March 11, 1944, notes that 300 civilians were shot near the Nove Miasto Forest by the Gestapo and SD field units in August 1941 (DAKhO, R683-2-42, pp. 31–34); an English translation is available in A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka Publishers, 1987), pp. 134–138.

7. See the verdict of Bezirksgericht Halle, October 26, 1978, concerning three members of Police Battalion 304, extract published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, p. 300.

8. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 320–327, Aleksandra A. Mysnikova, March 27, 1973.

9. *Ibid.*, Bd. I, pp. 246–250, Nikolai Bugaishchuk, March 28, 1973; pp. 262–266, Iuvenalii Gulenko, March 29, 1973.

10. *Ibid.*, Bd. I, pp. 320–327, Mysnikova, March 27, 1973.

11. ZSSStA-D, 45 Js 20/73, concluding report, August 10, 1976; Aleksandr Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia Kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii Sovet Ukrainy, 2000), p. 182.

12. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 328–340, Anna Nasarchuk, March 28, 1973.

13. ZSSStA-D, 45 Js 20/73, concluding report, August 10, 1976. Most sources give November 28, 1942, as the date of the Aktion, but some date it just before or just after this. The commander of the local Ukrainian police in Starokonstantin at this time was Kononchuk; see BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 358–362, Andrei Sagoruiko, March 29, 1973.

14. *Podillia u Velykii Vimchyzniani vinni (1941–1945 rr.)*, p. 76.

15. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 442/67, Bd. I, pp. 320–327, Mysnikova, March 27, 1973.

STEPAŃ

Pre-1939: Stepań, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Stepań, Sarny raion, Rovno oblast, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Stepan, Rayon center, Gebiet Kostopol, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Stepań, Sarny raion, Rivne oblast, Ukraine

Stepań is located approximately 60 kilometers (37 miles) north of Równe. According to the census, 1,337 Jews lived in

Stepań in 1921. In mid-1941, assuming a natural growth rate of 9 people per 1,000 per year, there would have been some 1,600 Jews in Stepań.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Stepań in July 1941. Before the German infantry arrived, the Luftwaffe bombarded the town, killing several Jews and damaging many houses. In July and August of 1941, the town was governed by a series of German military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen). The military confiscated foodstuffs, bicycles, and other items from the Jews but did not treat them harshly. From September 1941, command was transferred to a German civil administration, and Stepań became part of Gebiet Kostopol. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Standartenführer Löhnert, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Wilhelm Wichmann.¹ There was a Gendarmerie post in Stepań, as well as a squad of Ukrainian police. The head of the Gendarmerie post in Stepań from the fall of 1941 was Beckmann; in 1943, he was killed by partisans.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans implemented a number of anti-Jewish measures in Stepań: Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (first, an armband bearing the Star of David and, later, a yellow circle on their clothes); they were compelled to engage in forced labor (e.g., repairing the bridge over the Horyn River); and they were forbidden to leave the town. They were also subjected to systematic robberies and beatings by the Ukrainian police, who supervised them at work. The Ukrainian police chief was named Sasha Krumpf. The Germans harassed the Jews, cutting off the beards of old men. On the orders of the head of the Gendarmerie post, Beckmann, Jews had to surrender all gold and valuables. Later, fur coats, cattle, and horses were confiscated as well. Jews from the surrounding villages were ordered to bring these items to Stepań to hand them over to the Germans.²

In early October 1941, a ghetto was created in the town.³ The ghetto was located in the same district as the synagogue. The ghetto territory was surrounded by a 3-meter-high (9.8-foot-high) wooden fence, the top of which was covered with barbed wire. Another fence divided the ghetto into two parts: the synagogue and the adjacent street were reserved for adult men under the age of 55. The nearby streets were for women, children, and the elderly. A small group of skilled workers was allowed to live outside the ghetto. Not long after the construction of the ghetto, Jews from the surrounding villages—Chorost, Kryczyłsk, Wołosza, Wielke Werbce, and Kazimirka—were also concentrated there.⁴ Altogether, there were approximately 2,000 Jews in the ghetto.⁵

A Judenrat was placed in charge of the ghetto. The Jews were brought together in the main synagogue and ordered to elect a chairman of the Judenrat. They chose Avraham Guz for this position, and Josef Vaks, who knew German well, as vice-chair. However, Guz stepped down under pressure from Vaks, who then assumed his position. Dodye Guberman was made secretary. A majority of the Jews saw Vaks as arrogant and unsympathetic and resented his leadership. A Jewish po-

lice force was organized to carry out the orders of the Judenrat and the Germans. An upper chamber of the synagogue was turned into a jail for Jews who disobeyed the ghetto police.⁶

Among the responsibilities of the Judenrat was the selection of able-bodied men to meet German demands for forced labor. Groups of Jews were sent out of the ghetto daily to work in the vicinity of Stepań and return in the evening. A large number of Jewish males was sent to a labor camp in Kostopol. At regular intervals, they would be returned to the ghetto and replaced by fresh workers.⁷ Peasants could also "rent" Jews to work for them in the fields by paying the Germans a small fee.⁸

The Jews in the ghetto suffered from hunger and severe overcrowding. The daily ration for men consisted of 250 grams (8.8 ounces) of bread and a bowl of soup with potatoes or onion. Women and children received only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread and the same watery soup. Jews were forbidden to receive any fat, and the commandant of the Rayon even checked the bowls of the Jews to enforce this ban. Nevertheless, the Jews made a concerted effort to maintain public health in the ghetto. There was a hospital with a walk-in clinic run by Drs. Ashkenazi and Zamer. They sent nurses to maintain sanitary conditions and make house calls in the women's ghetto. A refugee from Łódź named Rayzman was in charge of sanitation for the men's ghetto.⁹

In the spring of 1942, the Jews made an effort to celebrate Passover. Local rabbis ruled that matzot could be made out of rye. There were also a series of self-declared prophets, mainly laymen, who pointed to various omens and numerological formulas to prove to their brethren that redemption was on its way.¹⁰

The ghetto was liquidated on the night of August 21, 1942: approximately 50 Jews incapable of marching were killed on the spot, several hundred Jews were able to escape, and the rest of the Jews were driven to Kostopol and shot near the village of Korczewie; on the way to the killing site, another 50 to 60 Jews were killed. As the Jews were taken to the killing site on wagons, many escaped simply by jumping off the wagons and running into the forests. Near Korczewie, approximately 1,500 Jews from Stepań were shot; some Jews were able to flee from the shooting place.¹¹

The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police organized roundups for Jews who had fled, over the course of which several hundred Jews were captured and shot. In particular, one mass shooting of Jews captured during the roundups took place in September 1942 near Kolen'.¹² For informing on Jews, the occupants gave a reward of 1 liter (1 quart) of kerosene, and the punishment for hiding Jews was death. Despite this, several Ukrainian families hid Jews and provided them with produce, thanks to which these Jews were able to survive and lived to see the liberation in January 1944.

According to the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 731 civilians were killed in Rayon Stepan in 1941–1944, including 553 Jews (not counting those Jews who were taken to Kostopol and shot near Korczewie).¹³

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SOURCES An article about the annihilation of the Jewish population of Stepań can be found in: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 145–147. There is also a memoir of the Holocaust period by Moyshe Voshtshina (Michel Woszczyna): *Der mentsh iz shtarker fun ayzn: Mayne yorn unter di Natsis in Ukrayine* (Buenos Aires, 1991). The author is a Jew from the nearby village of Korost who was interred in the Stepań ghetto. As well as containing ample information about the ghetto, this memoir provides a rare look into the fate of village Jews in the Third Reich's Occupied Eastern Territories during World War II.

Documents and testimonies regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Stepań can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (see, e.g., the recollections of Mosze Woszczyna [also available at the USHMM, RG-02.208M, reel 16, no. 107] or 301/1268 and 2363); DARO; GARF (7021-71-71); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; Yehsa'yahu Fri, "Beyn mitsrey avadon ve-shikul," in Ganuz and Fri, eds., *'Ayartenu Stepan'* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Stepan yeha-servivah be-Yisrael, 1977), pp. 221–222. Also see Y. Fri, "Haftsatsot ha-Germanim ve-hakamat ha-Geto," p. 280; and Meir Grinshpan, "Aharitah shel Stepan," p. 299—both in Ganuz and Fri, *Ayartenu Stepan*.

2. Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 222–225; Grinshpan, "Aharitah," p. 299. Also see Y. Koyfman and Avraham Tekhor, "Hurbana shel kehilat Stepan," p. 274; and Yitshak Vaks, "Beyn hayim le-mavet," p. 286—both in Ganuz and Fri, *Ayartenu Stepan*. And see Voshtshina, *Der mentsh*, pp. 51–52, 67.

3. The report of A. Dereczyński, AŻIH 301/1268, gives the date of October 5, 1941, for the establishment of ghettos in all the Rayon centers of Gebiet Kostopol.

4. M. Pinchuk, "Vtecha z pekla," in *Tsinou vlasnobo zhyttia* (Rivne: Uporiadnyk Kyrylo Kindrat, 1995), pp. 187, 191; Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 223–226; Koyfman and Tekhor, "Hurbana," p. 274; Fri, "Haftsatsot," p. 280; Voshtshina, *Der mentsh*, p. 77. Note that according to Voshtshina and a few other sources, the ghetto was not created until January 1942 (see Vaks, "Beyn," p. 286; and Grinshpan, "Aharitah," p. 299).

5. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kebilot*, 5:145–147, gives the figure of 3,000 Jews inside the ghetto.

6. Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," p. 224; Koyfman and Tekhor, "Hurbana," p. 275; "Yosef Vaks—Yoshev Rosh ha-Yudenrat be-Geto Stepan," in Ganuz and Fri, *Ayartenu Stepan*, pp. 300–301; Voshtshina, *Der mentsh*, pp. 77–78. Note that while Koyfman states that the Judenrat was chosen in August 1941, Voshtshina claims that it was chosen in January 1942, around the time that the Jews were forced into the ghetto. Other accounts from the yizkor book also imply that the Judenrat was selected immediately before or after the establishment of the ghetto.

7. Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 224–226.

8. Voshtshina, *Der mentsh*, p. 82.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 78–81; Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," p. 226; AŻIH, 301/1268.

10. Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 228, 230; Koyfman and Tekhor, "Hurbana," pp. 274–275.

11. GARF, 7021-71-71, pp. 4, 17–18; Fri, "Avadon ve-shikul," pp. 231–232. Also see Y. Fri, "Sipurey nitsulim" p. 293; and Batya Sheynboym, "Berihā me-malta'ot harotsehīm," p. 294—both in Ganuz and Fri, *Ayartenu Stepan*. Grinshpan, "Aharitah," p. 299, gives the date of the liquidation as August 24.

12. GARF, 7021-71-71, pp. 8, 10; M. Pinchuk, "Tragediia y Stepani," in *Tsinou vlasnobo zhyttia*, p. 96.

13. GARF, 7021-71-71, pp. 1–3.

STOLIN

Pre-1939: Stolin, town and powiat center, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: raion center, Pinsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Stolin is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) east-southeast of Pińsk. In 1921, 2,966 Jews were living in Stolin (62.4 percent of the town's total population).

The local population greeted the Red Army with joy when it occupied the town in the second half of September 1939. Under Soviet rule, about 20 Jewish families were deported to Siberia. In June 1941, the Jewish population was probably about 5,000, owing to the influx of many Jewish refugees from Poland in the fall of 1939.

Following the German invasion of June 22, 1941, the first German units passed through Stolin on July 12. At this time, local Ukrainians started a pogrom against the Jews, but the intervention of a Jewish Self-Defense force managed to contain the violence. A man named Urbanovich was appointed head of the local militia. His subordinate, Mitior, raped Jewish women repeatedly.¹

On August 10, 1941, forces of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment conducted a mass shooting of Jewish men in the nearby town of Dawidgródek, after which the women and children were driven from the town. Many of these refugees, as well as some from other villages, made their way to Stolin, where the Jewish Council (Judenrat) prevailed on the authorities to permit them to stay.²

On August 22, 1941, the new German Gebietskommissar arrived in Stolin to set up a civil administration. Stolin became the administrative center of Gebiet Stolin, incorporating the Rayons of Dawid-Gorodok and Wysozk, in addition to Stolin itself. SA-Standartenführer Dziembowski was named Gebietskommissar, and his deputy was a man named Stark.³ On his arrival, Dziembowski ordered the Jews to parade and appointed Nathan Bergner, a refugee from Łódź who spoke German, as chairman of the Judenrat. With the assistance of a small Jewish police force, the Judenrat had to pass on and enforce all the German demands and regulations. Immediately, Dziembowski imposed an extensive list of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were ordered to wear the Star of David on

their clothing. All Jews over the age of 16 had to perform forced labor. Jews were forbidden to pray in the synagogue, forbidden to eat fat or meat, and prohibited from engaging in conversation with Christian peasants. In addition, a “contribution” of 1 million rubles from the Jews had to be paid within 30 days.⁴

With great effort, the Judenrat managed to raise the contribution within a few days, but shortly afterwards 50 Jews were arrested by the local police as alleged Communists. Most were released after payment of a further ransom, but 2 young Jews were taken out and shot in the Zotishia Forest.

In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was established in Stolin, which took over responsibility for the local police (renamed Schutzmannschaft). Wilhelm Wacker served as head of the Gendarmerie post from April 25 to July 4, 1942. In August and September 1942, the 1st Squadron of Polizeireiterabteilung II was stationed in Stolin. Its commander was Oberleutnant der Polizei Heinz-Dieter Teltz. The anti-Jewish Aktions conducted in Gebiet Stolin in the summer and fall of 1942 were coordinated by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Pińsk, which from May to November 1942 was commanded by SS-Sturmscharführer Wilhelm Rasp. In July or August 1942, a Security Police post also was established in Stolin, subordinated to Rasp in Pińsk.

In the spring of 1942, the Gebietskommissar tried deputy police chief Mitior for his abuse of Jewish women and sentenced him to death. Shortly afterwards, the head of the police, Urbanovich, was killed by Soviet partisans on his way back from Pińsk. The Jews feared a terrible reprisal, as the Gebietskommissar took a roll call under the watchful eye of the German and Ukrainian police to see whether any Jews had joined the partisans. Since none were missing, the Gebietskommissar took other measures to restrain the Jews instead.⁵

In May 1942 (on the eve of the Shavuot holiday), Gebietskommissar Dziembowski ordered the Jews to move into a ghetto, which was surrounded by a tall barbed-wire fence. They were joined by Jews from the neighboring villages, raising the total population to around 7,000. The ghetto area, enclosed on one side by the Bank River, consisted of America Street, part of Kostsushki Street on both sides as far as the house of Rabbi Ephraim Tessler, and also Burkan Street and both sides of Dąbrowski Street. Jews were permitted to bring with them only what they could carry in their arms.⁶ Living conditions were poor, with the inhabitants receiving a daily ration of only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread. Typhus, dysentery, and diphtheria were rife.⁷ The ghetto was closely guarded, and the Jews who worked outside could bring nothing in or out. As one survivor recalled, “[T]he death rate reached 12 per day. Many times I saw how a mother threw a wrapped bundle—a child—on the wagon. People were swollen, deformed.” Jews were also forced to pay a poll tax of 10 rubles per month.⁸

By early September, news reached Stolin of the liquidation of the Dąbrowica ghetto nearby. Rebbe Moyshelch Perlov tried to raise people’s spirits, exclaiming with complete faith, “Jews, we will once more merit the defeat of Amalek and im-

minent salvation!” (Amalek is a biblical figure who led his army to attack the Jews [Exodus 17:8–16]. Yizkor books frequently use the term *Amalek* [or *Amalekite*] to refer to Adolf Hitler or the Nazis, and the comparison is still made today.) One Jewish survivor made a memorable visit to the Rebbe on the eve of the Aktion. SS guards and Ukrainian policemen were already positioned around the ghetto. “Suddenly, the Rebbe raised both his hands in the air and called out with great feeling, ‘Our Father, our King, have pity on us and our children’ [a line from the prayer ‘Avinu Malkeinu’ (‘Our Father, Our King’), traditionally said on the High Holidays and during times of extreme crisis], and burst into bitter tears.”⁹

The Germans liquidated the Stolin ghetto on September 11, 1942. Just prior to the Aktion, the Gebietskommissar summoned the Judenrat. He had them arrested, and they were taken out and shot, becoming the first victims. Perhaps as a result, plans for resistance within the ghetto were not realized. On September 10, a detachment of the Security Police commanded by Rasp arrived from Pińsk. During the night, men of the 1st Squadron of Polizeireiterabteilung II and the Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. Then at 4:30 a.m., about 6,000 Jews were driven into the marketplace in front of the ghetto. Those unable to walk were shot in their beds.¹⁰ A doctor, a dentist, and about 10 artisans were released, as their work was still required. The Germans and their collaborators then marched the Jews in groups under close escort to a wooded area 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) northeast of town, where the SD men Petsch, Balbach, Dohmen, and Kotschi shot them in a large trench. The clothes of the Jews were collected in a pile to one side of the ditch.¹¹

The next day, the Germans searched the ghetto, looking for Jews in hiding. They shot those they found.¹² Very few Jews managed to escape from the ghetto and survive with the partisans until the Red Army recaptured the area in 1944.

Wilhelm Rasp committed suicide in West Germany in the early 1960s while under investigation for war crimes. Adolf Petsch and Heinz-Dieter Teltz were sentenced to 15 years and to 3 years and 6 months in prison, respectively. Dohmen died not long after the war. The fates of Balbach and Kotschi remain unknown.¹³

SOURCES Articles about the Jewish community of Stolin and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in these publications: Avatihi ve-Y. Ben-Zakai, ed., *Stolin: Sefer-zikaron li-kebilat Stolin veba-sevivah* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yotse Stolin vehasevivah be-Yisrael, 1952); *Havab nizakberab: Tseror zikbronot u-firke havai ‘al ‘ayaratenu Stolin/mesupar ‘al yede Pinbas Doron (Dorts’im)* (Jerusalem: P. Doron and Z. Blizovski, 1960); and “Stolin,” in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesia* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 271–273.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Stolin can be found in the following archives: AŻIH; BA-L (B 162/4966); GABO; GARF (7021-71-70); USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel and Andrew Koss

NOTES

1. Shamaï Tukul, "The Liquidation of the Stolin Community," in Ben-Zakai, *Stolin: Sefer-zikaron*.

2. Ibid.

3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

4. Tukul, "The Liquidation of the Stolin Community."

5. Ibid.

6. Second letter to Detroit from Michael Nosantchuk, January 15, 1946, published in *The Forward*, by Yakov Nosantchuk of Detroit; and Tukul, "The Liquidation of the Stolin Community."

7. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z, 393/59 (Ghetto Liquidation in Pińsk), p. 2528, statement of Willi Leister, August 20, 1964.

8. Second letter to Detroit from Michael Nosantchuk, January 15, 1946. Tukul, "The Liquidation of the Stolin Community," however, cites a death rate of five persons per day.

9. Batyah Kampinski-Liberman, "The Last Days of the 'Rebbe' Moysheleh Perlov," in Ben-Zakai, *Stolin: Sefer-zikaron*.

10. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z, 393/59, p. 2522, statement of Willi Leister, February 15, 1962; BA-L, B 162/14495, verdict of LG-Frank, 4 Ks 1/71, against Kuhr and others, February 6, 1973, pp. 103–107; and Esther Gissin Blizhuvsky, "In the Stolin Ghetto," in Ben-Zakai, *Stolin: Sefer-zikaron*.

11. BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z, 393/59, statement of Rudolf Freyer, February 13, 1963, and statement of Wilhelm Rasp, December 18, 1961.

12. Ibid., p. 3359, statement of Ludwig Vorderbrügge, March 14, 1963.

13. BA-L, B 162/14495, verdict of LG-Frank, 4 Ks 1/71, against Johann Kuhr and others, February 6, 1973.

SZUMSK

Pre-1939: Szumsk, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Shumsk, raion center, Tarnopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Schumsk, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Shums'k, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Szumsk is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) south of Równe. According to the 1921 census, there were 1,717 Jews in Szumsk. In the fall of 1939, several hundred Jewish refugees from Poland settled in Szumsk (in 1940 many of them were deported to the eastern part of the USSR). After Germany attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, several Jewish families evacuated to the east; however, most Jews did not want to or were unable to evacuate (owing to the rapid advance of the German forces). At the start of the German occupation, there were probably more than 2,000 Jews still present in the town.

Units of the Wehrmacht occupied Szumsk on July 2, 1941. In July and August, a German military administration governed the town; as of September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Szumsk became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kremenez. The Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec was Regierungsrat Müller.¹ The Germans estab-

lished a Ukrainian local council and local police force in Szumsk, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post (created in September 1941), consisting of several German Gendarmes.

Immediately after the occupation of the town by German forces, local Ukrainians looted Jewish houses despite German public announcements forbidding this. A few days later, anti-semitic Ukrainians organized a pogrom during which several Jews were killed as they attempted to defend their property.²

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Szumsk. They established a Judenrat, whose chairman, Weissler, was a refugee from the Polish town of Katowice. The German authorities used the Judenrat to convey their orders and demands to the Jewish population. Jews were required to wear distinctive symbols (initially an armband, then from September 1941, yellow patches). Jews were prohibited from trading or otherwise communicating with non-Jews. They were forbidden to use the sidewalks and were required to bow before passing Germans. All Jewish women were forced to cut their hair.

The Jewish Council (Judenrat) formed a Labor Office (Arbeitsamt) headed by Szuldrein, a refugee from Łódź. This office assigned Jews to forced labor tasks, for example, in the sawmill, on farms, or clearing snow in the winter. Ukrainians were able to request Jews from the Arbeitsamt to do any kind of work for them. After about three months, a Jewish police force of 15 to 20 people was established, commanded by a man named Horowitz.³ One of the tasks of the Jewish Police was to collect the "contributions" of items, such as gold, silver, and furs, demanded by the civil administration and also by Gestapo officials on regular visits.

In early March 1942 (at the time of the Purim holiday), the German administration issued orders for all the Jews from Szumsk and the surrounding villages (approximately 2,000 people) to be enclosed within a ghetto by March 12.⁴ The ghetto was located in the poorest section of the town, near the synagogue and the baths. Living conditions were terrible. Jews had to live 10 or 12 people to a room, with many dying of hunger and widespread disease, especially typhus.⁵ There was no hospital, but the Judenrat organized soup kitchens for the poor, which many people attended. To survive, Jews had to smuggle into the ghetto food that was bartered for their last possessions from local peasants. The smugglers were often children who escaped the ghetto through tunnels dug under the fence. When caught by the Ukrainian police, the Judenrat had to pay a "ransom" for their release.

On German instructions, several workshops for Jewish craftsmen were established for tailoring and the repair of shoes and watches. Most of the production from these workshops became gifts for the Ukrainian and German police.⁶

After five months the ghetto was liquidated. On the night of Saturday, August 8, 1942, Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto, shooting 11 Jews who tried to escape; they were buried in a grave within the ghetto. The Jews were forbidden to bury them in the Jewish cemetery (outside the ghetto borders) to prevent the Jews from seeing the mass grave that had been

prepared for them there. However, several Jews saw peasants returning with shovels and guessed what was happening. After the mass grave was dug, on August 13, 1942, a team of Security Police and SD from Równe, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police, gathered the Jews near the large synagogue under the pretext of transferring them to another location; from there, they were taken in columns to the grave behind the Christian cemetery, where they were shot. Altogether, 1,792 Jews were shot on that day (496 men, 724 women, and 572 children).⁷ Some of the Jews were able to hide in previously prepared bunkers. Without food or water, those in hiding had to drink their own urine to quench their thirst. To catch the hidden Jews, the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police regularly combed the territory of the former ghetto over the ensuing few weeks. Some Jews were betrayed by the cries of their own children. The Gendarmerie and local police successively shot all the Jews who they found and captured. The last Jews, including about 100 who had been temporarily spared to help clear up the ghetto and sort the remaining possessions, had all been shot by October 1, 1942.⁸ Only a couple of dozen Jews from Szumsk managed to escape from their places of concealment and survive the ensuing dangers either in hiding or with the partisans, to be liberated by the Red Army in 1944.

SOURCES The yizkor book for Szumsk, edited by H. Rabin, *Szumsk . . . sefer zikaron le-kedoshei Szumsk* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Szumsk in Israel, 1968), contains much information regarding the Jewish community of Szumsk; there is also a brief article in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ba-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 206–208.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Szumsk during the Nazi German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (e.g., 301/2467 and 4863); DATO; GARF (7021-75-15); IPN; USHMM; and YVA (e.g., M-1/E/2362; M-1/Q-1812/364; M-1/E/1500; O-3/2219; and O-22/54).

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. AŽIH, 301/2467, testimony of Ruth Melchoir, and 301/4863.

3. *Ibid.*, 301/2467; Rabin, *Szumsk*, p. 60, indicates that in the ghetto the head of the Jewish Police was named Ackerman.

4. AŽIH, 301/2467; GARF, 7021-75-15, p. 35.

5. YVA, M-1/E/1500.

6. AŽIH, 301/2467.

7. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów Szczątkowych jednostek SS i Policji, Sygn. 77, p. 2. The document has also been published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 395, report by SS-Untersturmführer Selm, August 15, 1942.

8. GARF, 7021-75-15, pp. 37 verso, 42 verso. Altogether, according to the documents of the ChGK, 2,732 people, including 2,432 Jews, were killed in the Szumsk raion during the occupation; therefore, Jews comprised 89 percent of all the victims recorded (see GARF, 7021-75-15, p. 24).

TEOFIPOL'

Pre-1941: Teofipol', town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Teofipol', town and Rayon center, Gebiet Isjaslaw, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Teofipol', Kbmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Teofipol' is located 63 kilometers (39 miles) northwest of Proskurov. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,266 Jews living in the town (36.9 percent of the total population). An additional 183 Jews lived in what was then the Teofipol' raion.

In early July 1941, units of the German 6th Army occupied the town. During the two weeks from the start of the German invasion on June 22, 1941, a small number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Probably around 1,000 Jews remained in Teofipol' at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. The German military set up a local administration and an auxiliary police force, commanded by P.T. Pasechnik. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Teofipol' was incorporated into Gebiet Isjaslaw; SA-Oberführer Knochenhauer became the Gebietskommissar.¹ In Teofipol' itself, a German Gendarmerie post was established, under which the Ukrainian auxiliary police served.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were introduced in Teofipol'. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed. Jews had to wear distinguishing marks bearing the Star of David, and they were ordered to perform forced labor. Jews could not leave the borders of the town; and they were subjected to systematic robbery and assault by the local Ukrainian police.

In late 1941 or in January 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Teofipol'.² Jews from the surrounding villages were also resettled there. For example, 29 Jews were brought in from the village of Shiben.³ The ghetto was liquidated on January 21 and 22, 1942. On January 21, all the men—more than 400 people—were shot. On January 22, the women and children were shot.⁴ In total, 970 people were killed.⁵ In June 1942, another 85 Jews were shot in the village of Iampol'.⁶

SOURCES A brief article on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Teofipol' can be found in *Navichno v pam'iatii narodnii: Teofipol'shbchyna u Velykii Vitchyzniani viimi 1941–1945 gg.* (Lviv, 1995). The concentration of the Jews from the surrounding villages and the ghetto in Teofipol' are also mentioned in I.S. Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa*

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i soprotivlenie ukrainskogo evreistva (1941–1944) (Kiev, 1999), p. 77; and in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 87.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Teofipol' can be found in the following archives: DAKhO (3784-1-32, pp. 19, 35; R863-2-38, p. 128); and GARF (7021-64-816).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 200; *Navichno v pam'iaty narodnii*, p. 95.

3. GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 169.

4. *Navichno v pam'iaty narodnii*, pp. 95–96. DAKhO, 3784-1-32, pp. 19, 35, indicates that the Jews were brought into Teofipol' from the surrounding villages on January 10, 1942, and that 1,540 people were shot there only two days later, as cited by Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii," p. 77.

5. GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 200. According to another source, there were 1,400 victims; see *Navichno v pam'iaty narodnii*, p. 95. This figure, however, is likely too high because the total Jewish pre-war population was 1,449, and a few hundred people were able to evacuate or enter the army.

6. GARF, 7021-64-816, p. 200.

TOMASZÓWKA

Pre-1939: Tomaszówka, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Tomaszowka, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tomaszowka, Rayon Domatschewo, Gebiet Brest Litowsk (Land), Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Tamashouka, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Tomaszówka is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) to the south of Brześć, just on the eastern side of the Bug River. There were probably a few hundred Jews living in Tomaszówka just prior to the German invasion.

German troops occupied Tomaszówka on June 22, 1941. Soon a local police force was established, initially consisting of just a few policemen, but by 1943 there were 22 policemen serving there, commanded by Gregori Tabala.¹ In the fall of 1941, a German civil administration was established. Tomaszówka was in Rayon Domatschewo within Gebiet Brest Litowsk (Land). The agricultural leader (Bezirkslandwirt) responsible for Rayon Domatschewo was Werner Dressler. From the summer of 1942, a German police cavalry squadron was based in the town, primarily to conduct operations against partisans.

Local inhabitant Kiril Karvat has described the ghetto: "[F]rom the very first days of the occupation, the whole Jewish population living in Tomaszówka was herded by the

Germans into a camp, which was called a ghetto. The Jewish ghetto was in the western part of the settlement. . . . The Germans put up a barbed wire fence around it. German police and soldiers patrolled the fence the whole time."² "I can't say exactly how many houses were in the ghetto. . . . Very strict restrictions were introduced; the local people were forbidden to go into the ghetto; if caught they might be shot."³

The Jewish survivor Nachum Knopmacher from Włodawa, who was in the ghetto from the fall of 1941 until the summer of 1942, described his work for the Organisation Todt (OT), including bridge and housing construction. Jews worked outside the ghetto during the day and had to return in the evening. In the fall of 1941, he saw how the German civil official in charge, Hecht, murdered a Jew named Tuwia in a cruel manner, setting his dog onto the man when he was helpless to resist.⁴

In the early summer of 1942, some 400 Viennese Jews were brought into the ghetto from the Włodawa ghetto in the Generalgouvernement for forced labor.⁵ According to Knopmacher, in April 1942, all the Jews of the ghetto were assembled, and Hecht selected some 80 women, children, and old people, who were then taken out of town and shot nearby. Knopmacher mentions also that some 50 Jewish workers (mostly those from Vienna) were shot at the discretion of Krystop, a Reich German in charge of bridge construction.⁶

Kiril Karvat also describes a shooting Aktion at the end of April 1942, although in his opinion the victims probably came from the Domaczów ghetto. He saw three or four German trucks arriving from the direction of Tomaszówka. The trucks turned into a field in which a long antitank ditch had been dug by Soviet soldiers. The people dismounted from the trucks, guarded by Germans and policemen. The victims, men, women, and children, were made to undress and forced to get into the ditch in groups of about 20 people. The policemen and the German soldiers shot the Jews with submachine guns.⁷

According to a German report for June 1942, about 1,000 Jews (men and women) were engaged in construction work for the OT on the bridge in Tomaszówka, having partly been removed from the ghetto there and placed in a separate labor camp.⁸

The available sources differ as to the date of the ghetto's liquidation. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) places it in July 1942, in antitank ditches just off the road from Tomaszówka to Brześć. However, there may be some confusion between the ghetto liquidation and the shooting of Jews working on road construction in the area. Some 500 Jews were taken from the Domaczów ghetto in May 1942 for work on the Brześć-Kowel highway. Apparently those who were exhausted and weakened were shot shortly afterwards.⁹

Most eyewitness accounts, however, confirm the dating given in a contemporary German report. The Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Brześć stated that "on September 19 and 20, 1942, about 2,900 Jews were shot in Domaczów and Tomaszówka by a special command of the SD in connection

with the cavalry squadron stationed in Domaczów, the Gendarmerie, and the Schutzmannschaft. The 'Jewish Aktion' took place without any disturbances.¹⁰ One member of the cavalry squadron based in Tomaszówka reportedly committed suicide shortly after the liquidation of the Jews there.¹¹

A Jewish survivor from Domaczów stated that the Aktion in Tomaszówka took place on the day after the liquidation of the Domaczów ghetto. A driver for the Gendarmerie in Brześć dated the ghetto liquidations in Tomaszówka and Domaczów both in September, adding that in Tomaszówka the Jews were killed in an antitank ditch.¹²

Most significantly, the key local witness, Kiril Karvat, confirmed in the 1990s that "in September 1942, together with my friend . . . we saw the Jews from the Tomaszówka ghetto being escorted by Gestapo soldiers and policemen. . . . A very big group of Jews from Tomaszówka were shot on that day. The massacre took place in the same field and ditch as the shooting of April 1942."¹³

One German witness who served in the cavalry squadron based in Tomaszówka from August 1942, Karl Vehrenberg, stated that "Jewish artisans and families, about 30 people in all, were accommodated in several houses on the outskirts of Tomaszówka, surrounded by barbed wire. They did all the work that the squadron needed doing." If his recollection is correct, this was either a remnant left after the main Aktion or those left after the bulk had been transferred to a labor camp closer to their work site. Another squadron member, Erwin Hentschke, recalls that members of the squadron served as perimeter guards during the Tomaszówka ghetto liquidation.¹⁴

It is not possible to determine precisely how many Jews were confined within the Tomaszówka ghetto or how many were killed. Personal accounts of the liquidation of the Tomaszówka ghetto estimate that somewhere between 1,500 and 2,000 Jews were killed during this Aktion.¹⁵ This would imply that additional Jews must have been brought in from elsewhere, apart from the 400 or so Jews from Vienna who were sent across the Bug in April 1942. There is evidence to suggest that some Jews were transferred from Domaczów to Tomaszówka to work on road and bridge construction there.¹⁶

Given that several hundred Jews from the Tomaszówka ghetto probably died or were killed during the course of the summer, the figure of 2,900 killed in Domaczów and Tomaszówka on September 19–20, 1942, seems fairly reliable. Estimates for the numbers killed in Domaczów vary quite considerably.¹⁷ From the conflicting sources, however, it seems that there were probably about 1,800 Jews in Tomaszówka,¹⁸ including any in nearby labor camps, just prior to the Aktion.

After the ghetto liquidation, the Germans and policemen brought the clothes and underwear of those who had been shot back to Tomaszówka by truck and sold them to the inhabitants in exchange for local produce.¹⁹

SOURCES Fragmentary information on the Tomaszówka ghetto can be found in the following archives: AUKG-

BRBBO; BA-BL; BA-L; GABO; NA (WCU, trial of Andrzej Sawoniuk); and WAST.

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NOTES

1. GABO, 201-1-3, p. 58, Verzeichnis der Schutzmannen der Schutzmannschaft in Tomaszowka, Rayon Domatschewo, August 8, 1943.

2. BA-L (ZStL), II 204 AR-Z 472/67, K. P. Karvat (Karvat), June 17, 1968.

3. NA, WCU, K.P. Karvat, February 18, 1997.

4. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 472/67 (Hecht investigation), Bd. I, pp. 31–38, Nachum Knopmacher, June 15, 1965.

5. Ibid. Knopmacher dates this transfer in March 1942, but it is unlikely to have been before May, as the transport of 998 Jews to Włodawa from Vienna did not leave the city until April 27, 1942; see Florian Freund and Hans Safrian, "Die Verfolgung der österreichischen Juden 1938–1945: Vertreibung und Deportation," in Emmerich Talos et al., eds., *NS-Herrschaft in Österreich: Ein Handbuch* (Vienna: öbv & hpt, 2001), pp. 767–794, here p. 793.

6. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 472/67, Bd. I, pp. 31–38, Nachum Knopmacher, June 15, 1965.

7. NA, WCU, K.P. Karvat, February 18, 1997.

8. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Brest Gebietskommissar, section Arbeitsamt, for June 1942.

9. GABO, 514-1-195, pp. 4–7.

10. BA-BL, R 94/7, Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest report, October 6, 1942.

11. WAST, Verlustmeldungen, Polizei Reiterabteilung.

12. AUKGBRBBBO, Criminal File 2905, case no. 69 (Nikolai K. Lialko), p. 40, Boris S. Grunstein, September 27, 1944; and file no. 466 (Ivan E. Chikun), vol. 2, pp. 89–93, Ivan S. Khvisyuchik, March 16, 1983. See also the statement on March 24, 1970, of Erwin Glass, a former cavalry squadron member, who recalls that his comrades told him that the Jews of Tomaszówka were killed at the same time as those of Domaczów—BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 472/67, Bd. I, pp. 180–182.

13. NA, WCU, K.P. Karvat on February 18, 1997.

14. See BA-L, 204 AR-Z 369/63 (Hahn investigation), Bd. V, pp. 178–198; ZStL, II 202 AR-Z 472/67, Bd. I, pp. 165–167, statement of Erwin Hentschke on March 16, 1970.

15. See the ChGK reports for the Domachevo raion and accompanying witness statements, in GABO, 514-1-195.

16. NA, WCU, statement of Baruch Greenstein, October 9, 1996. Greenstein's testimony, however, was problematic and not used during the trial of Andrzej Sawoniuk in London in 1999.

17. German witnesses, who were keen to minimize the scale of the Aktion, mention only some 500 Jews in Domaczów at the time of the ghetto liquidation. The ChGK report, however, gives the figure of 2,700 Jews killed in Domaczów; see BA-L, 204 AR-Z 369/63, Bd. I, pp. 194–196; and ChGK report, GABO, 514-1-195.

18. NA, WCU, officer's information, K.P. Karvat, February 10, 1995. Karvat in this interview gave the figure of 1,800 Jews killed in Tomaszówka.

19. BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 472/67, K.P. Karvat, June 17, 1968.

TORCZYN

Pre-1939: Torczyn, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Torchin, raion center, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tortschin, Rayon center, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Torchyn, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Torczyn is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) west-northwest of Równe. According to the 1921 census, there were 1,480 Jews living in Torczyn. By the middle of 1941, it is estimated that around 1,700 Jews were living there.

The village was occupied by parts of the German 6th Army at the end of June 1941. In July and August 1941, Torczyn was administered by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In September 1941, control was passed to a German civil administration: Torczyn became a Rayon center within Gebiet Luzk, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Gebietskommissar in Łuck was Regierungsassessor Heinrich Lindner.¹

In Torczyn, a local Ukrainian administration was formed with a Rayonchef and a Ukrainian auxiliary police unit, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post after its establishment in the fall of 1941.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures in Torczyn: a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was formed, headed by Leizer Karsh, through which the German occupation authorities conveyed orders and instructions to the Jewish population. A Jewish police force was also established to assist the Judenrat. The Jews were forced to wear distinguishing marks, initially an armband bearing the Star of David, after September 1941, a yellow patch on their chests and backs. Jews were ordered to hand over all their gold and valuables. They had to perform forced labor, such as laying cables, for which they received only some bread and a watery soup. They were forbidden to leave the limits of the settlement; and they were subjected to systematic robbery and beatings by the Ukrainian police.

On August 2, 1941, German security forces conducted an Aktion in Torczyn. They arrested 284 people accused of collaborating with the Soviet authorities and shot them in the woods near the village of Buiani.² The mass shooting probably was carried out by a detachment of the Security Police that was deployed at that time in Łuck.

In February 1942, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Torczyn. The approximately 1,500 Jewish inhabitants of the settlement were given only 10 minutes to dress and grab some of their belongings before being forced into a few Jewish houses in the center of the settlement, which were surrounded with barbed wire. In addition, a number of Jews from neighboring villages were brought to Torczyn, raising the population of the ghetto to more than 2,000 people. There was considerable overcrowding, with five or six families sharing each house. A river ran through the area of the ghetto, but the water was undrinkable. The only

Jews permitted to leave the ghetto were those on work details organized by the Judenrat and some craftsmen who also received better food.³

At the time of Passover (April 2, 1942), the Jews of Torczyn were able to obtain flour to bake matzot with the permission of Gebietskommissar Lindner in Łuck. There was also a kitchen organized by the Judenrat, which distributed soup and bread. Some Jews managed to barter their remaining possessions for food with the local non-Jews and sneaked the food in past the guards.⁴ In May 1942, 150 young Jews who were fit for work were sent away, allegedly to a labor camp.

On August 23, 1942, a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Łuck arrived to liquidate the ghetto, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police.⁵ The police forces surrounded the ghetto; after selecting out about 14 specialist workers, who were put into a warehouse, the remaining Jews were taken away on trucks to the old Jewish cemetery at the end of Sadowskaia Street. Here a large pit had been prepared the day before. Nearly 2,000 people were ordered to undress and then shot in the pit.

There was little in the way of organized resistance in the ghetto, but a number of Jews managed to escape on the night before the Aktion, and many others went into hiding at the time of the roundup. Unfortunately, most of them subsequently were caught by the Ukrainian police and shot over the ensuing days and weeks. Few Jews were able to survive. Some Ukrainian families (for example, the Krut' family) hid Jews and helped them survive until the Germans were driven from Torczyn in February 1944.

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jewish population of Torczyn can be found in the following publications: "Torczyn," in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 95–97; and V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zbertvy i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003).

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Torczyn in the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: DAVO (R2-1-196); GARF (7021-55-10); VHF (# 2672, 2839, 27130); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ilya Bourzman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. "Torczyn," 5:96; Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 31.
3. VHF, # 27130, testimony of Henry Karsh (born 1922), 1997; # 2672, testimony of Aaron Katz (born 1921), 1995.
4. Ibid., # 2839, testimony of Toby Kolnick (born 1923), 1995.
5. Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehillot*, 5:97; DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218a–218b, report to the Generalkommissar Wolhynien u. Podolien on gasoline supplies for the "special treatment" of Jews in Gebiet Luzk, August 27, 1942.

TUCZYN

Pre-1939: Tuczyn, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1991: Tuchin, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tutschin, Rayon center, Gebiet Rowno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Tuchyn, Hoshcha raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Tuczyn is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) northeast of Równe. The 1921 census recorded 2,159 Jews living in Tuczyn. Allowing for a natural increase in the population of about 0.9 percent per year, there were probably around 2,600 Jews living in the town in June 1941.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Tuczyn on July 6, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). On September 1, 1941, the area around Tuczyn was transferred to a German civil administration. Tuczyn became the center of Rayon Tutschin in Gebiet Rowno. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Werner Beer.¹ The German Gendarmerie maintained an outpost in Tuczyn, to which the local Ukrainian police force was subordinated.

In the first days of the German occupation, antisemites from among the town's Ukrainian population organized a pogrom. In the course of the violence, about 60 or 70 Jews were killed and many homes looted. The next day, an Einsatzkommando of the Security Police (Sipo) and Security Service (SD), drawing on lists prepared by Ukrainians, arrested and shot 20 Jews and 5 Ukrainians as Soviet activists and Communists.²

Other anti-Jewish measures that followed in the summer and autumn of 1941 included the appointment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), the requirement that Jews wear armbands bearing the Star of David (later, a yellow patch), the conscription of Jews to perform forced labor, and the restriction of Jews to the limits of the town. Jews were also subjected to systematic plundering and beatings by the Ukrainian police.

According to one survivor, soon after the start of the occupation, local non-Jews stopped recognizing their Jewish acquaintances. The Germans confiscated Jewish valuables and their livestock, which led to shortages of food. A clothing factory for the German army was established in the town, which used Jews as laborers.³

Until the late summer of 1942, the Jews of Tuczyn lived in a form of open ghetto. Herman Wajcman recalled: "[T]he ghetto was an open ghetto. You could come in and out. We actually moved into the ghetto, but we had passes to go to the factory, where we lived half of the time. It wasn't like the ghettos that were surrounded by police."⁴ Apparently, with the aid of bribes, the Judenrat managed to postpone the establishment of a formal ghetto until early September 1942. Then a ghetto was established in about 50 small houses along Waskadawska Street. Living conditions were very crowded, with many people having to sleep on the floor.⁵ At about this time, all the Jews from the surrounding area were also concentrated there, including from the village of Antonówka,

raising the Jewish population in the ghetto up to around 3,000 people.⁶

On September 24, 1942, a unit from the regional Sipo-SD headquarters in Równe liquidated the Tuczyn ghetto with the assistance of the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. An organized resistance effort on the part of the ghetto inhabitants enabled many of Tuczyn's Jews initially to flee.

Following the murder of the Jews in Równe in mid-July 1942, refugees arriving from there told the Jews in Tuczyn what had happened. When news arrived that the Germans were preparing mass graves nearby, the leaders of the Tuczyn community decided to resist. Among the principal organizers of resistance were the chairman of the Judenrat, Hershel Schwarzman, and his deputy, Meir Himmelfarb. They planned to set fire to the houses and to attack the Germans with available weapons to enable the bulk of the ghetto residents to flee into the nearby forests. With Judenrat funds, kerosene was purchased, and some weapons, including five rifles and more than 20 revolvers, were obtained. A group of Jews who worked felling trees in the forests attempted to contact the Soviet partisans to gain some outside support. When the Jews went to pray together for the last time on Yom Kippur (September 21, 1942), Schwarzman and the other resistance leaders revealed their plans to the assembled Jews.

On the evening of September 23, the Germans surrounded the ghetto. The leaders of the uprising alerted the Jews, and those with weapons prepared to resist. At dawn the following day, the Germans and Ukrainian police entered the ghetto. In response, the Jews set fire to the houses in the ghetto and German warehouses nearby. When the Jewish fighters opened fire on their advancing foes, other Jews used the ensuing chaos of fire, smoke, people yelling, and rifle fire to break through the wooden barricades around the ghetto and flee. Herman Wajcman used some of the tombstones in the cemetery as cover as he tried to reach the forests. Several Germans and Ukrainian policemen were killed and wounded.⁷ It is estimated that initially up to 2,000 Jews, including many women and children, reached the forest. Most of the fighters stayed behind to tie down the Germans, and they fell in battle or were captured and then shot. This was the fate of Schwarzman and Himmelfarb as the uprising ended on September 26.

The Germans and Ukrainian police soon organized a manhunt for the Jews who had escaped. Within three days, around half of them had been captured and killed, and many, especially women with children, realized that they could not survive in the forest and returned to Tuczyn, where they were also shot. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 753 Jews were shot in the Jewish cemetery in Tuczyn during the autumn of 1942, while Ukrainian nationalist partisans in the Kudrinka Forest killed about 240 Jews. The German Gendarmerie shot more than 300 Jews, Ukrainians, and Poles in the town park.⁸

A number of Jews held out in the woods into the winter, but some died of hunger and cold, and others were denounced to the Germans or killed by peasants. A few of the younger Jewish escapees eventually joined Soviet partisan units. When

Tuczyn was liberated on January 16, 1944, only around 20 Jews remained in the area.

SOURCES Information about the revolt of the Jews in the Tuczyn ghetto can be found in the following publications: “Tutschin,” in Israel Gutman, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 1518–1519 (a shorter version is available in German as “Tutschin,” in *Enzyklopädie des Holocaust: Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden* [Munich: Piper, 1995], pp. 1442–1443); Benzion H. Ayalon, ed., *Sefer zikaron li-kebilot Tutsbin-Kripeh* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots’e Tutshin-Kripeh vaha-sevival be-Yisrael, 1967); Avraham ‘Sadeh and Levi Deror, eds., *Yehude Tuts’in u-Kripab mul rotsbehem: ‘E’srim ve-arba’ ‘edyot, gavah ‘edyot ve-khines* (Tel Aviv: Va’ad yots’e Tuts’in u-Kripeh, Moreshet Bet-‘Edut ‘a. sh. Mordekhai Anilevits, 1990); “Tuczyn,” in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 93–95; and Ze’ev Portenoy, “The Revolt of the Totszcin Ghetto” [in Yiddish], in Yehuda Merin and Ben Zion Kaminsky, eds., *Yalkut Vohlin 55–60* (Tel Aviv: Arkhiyon Vohlin be-Erets-Yisrael, 1998), pp. 38–40.

Documents about the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Tuczyn can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (e.g., 301/2901, 3178); DARO; GARF (7021-71-68); USHMM (RG-50.030*0243); VHF (# 7774, 30371, 34403); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of the Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), pp. 64, 67; AŽIH, 301/397. According to materials of the ChGK, 72 Jews were killed; see GARF, 7021-71-68, p. 4.
3. VHF, # 7774, testimony of Avraham Elbert; # 30371, testimony of Arych Katzav.
4. USHMM, RG-50.030*0243, testimony of Herman Wajcman (born 1926).
5. VHF, # 7774; # 30371.
6. USHMM, RG-50.030*0243.
7. Ibid.; VHF, # 7774.
8. GARF, 7021-71-68, pp. 4, 16, 17, 74.

TURZYSK

Pre-1939: Turzysk (Yiddish: Trisk), town, województwo wolyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Turiisk, Volyn’ oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Turisk, Rayon center, Gebiet Kowel, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Turiis’k, raion center, Volyn’ oblast’, Ukraine

Turzysk is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) southwest of Kowel. According to the 1921 population census, 1,173 Jews were living in Turzysk. By the middle of 1941, allowing for an annual increase of 9 to 10 persons per thousand, the Jewish population was probably around 1,400.

German forces occupied Turzysk on June 28, 1941. Soon after their arrival, German soldiers and Ukrainians looted the empty stores, and some Jews were also robbed. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town’s affairs. In September 1941, power was transferred officially to a German civil administration. Turzysk became a Rayon center in Gebiet Kowel, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Regierungsrat Arno Kämpf was the Gebietskommissar in Kowel until June 1942, and Leutnant der Gendarmerie Philipp Rapp was appointed Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.¹ In June 1942, Kämpf was arrested for taking bribes from Jews and executed shortly thereafter. His successor as Gebietskommissar was his chief of staff (Stabsleiter) Erich Kassner.

In Turzysk, the civil administration was represented by a Sonderführer (agricultural leader), who proved to be a great enemy of the Jews. A Ukrainian local authority was also established in Turzysk. In addition, the Germans recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, which was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post, composed of several German Gendarmes.

At the end of July 1941, shortly after the occupation of the settlement, 10 Jews alleged to be Soviet activists were shot in Turzysk.²

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures. The German authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was made up primarily of pre-war social activists. Jehuda-Leyb Ginzburg served as chairman. An unarmed Jewish police force was also established. Among the first tasks assigned to the Judenrat was the obligation to deliver a daily quota of forced laborers. These men initially were used to assist German railway officials to convert the railway to a narrower gauge, for which they were not paid. Jews were issued work cards, on which their assigned days were marked. Other forced labor tasks included agricultural work and the construction of roads and bridges.

Jews were required to wear distinctive markings in plain view from the first days of the occupation. Initially they wore white armbands with a blue Star of David, and later these were replaced by yellow patches sewn onto the front left side and the middle of the back of their outer clothing. Jewish houses were also marked with yellow symbols. The Jewish Council was required to meet onerous “contributions” in money, valuables, and useful items demanded by the German authorities. After a time the Germans started to send some Jews away to work, and these people did not return.³

In the fall of 1941, the Germans spread vicious antisemitic propaganda on posters and leaflets in the town, which scornfully accused the Jews of having assisted the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) and threatened their destruction. Further new regulations ordered Jews to surrender all their cows and goats and banned them from leaving the limits of the town. Initially the Jews received a bread ration of 200 grams (7 ounces), but this was subsequently reduced to only 100 grams (3.5 ounces). In the winter of 1941–1942,

the Germans also required the Jews to surrender all their fur items for the use of the German army. After the German advance was halted in front of Moscow in December 1941, a rumor spread among the Jews that some of their surrendered furs had been recaptured by the Soviets and were being worn by the Red Army. This news was repeated with some satisfaction among the Jews. As no access to radio or newspapers was available, most information was spread by way of gossip and rumors, recycling snippets picked up by eavesdropping on the conversations of non-Jews.⁴

At some time before mid-August 1942, the German authorities established an open ghetto in Turzysk, forcibly resettling Jews there from neighboring villages. The ghetto remained unfenced, and Jews with work cards were still permitted to leave to visit their assigned work sites. For example, a number of Jews were employed regularly digging peat outside of the town.

On August 19, 1942, the Judenrat in Turzysk was confronted by a demand from the German authorities to produce half a million Karbowanez (German occupation currency), 500 good suits, and 500 pairs of shoes within 24 hours. If this demand were not to be met promptly, the Germans threatened to destroy the entire community. With great effort, the Jews managed to collect the required clothes and shoes but were unable to gather such a large sum of money.

The next day, Ukrainian police sealed off the town, not permitting any Jews to leave, shooting those they caught attempting to sneak out. Then on August 23, 1942, German forces arrived in Turzysk to liquidate the ghetto. First the Jews were ordered to assemble on the square in front of the Bet Midrash. They were instructed to bring food for one day and also to take along their most valuable possessions, as they were told that they would be transferred to the Kowel ghetto. The Germans tried to select a few specialist workers who they still needed, but at least one carpenter refused to leave his fellow Jews and remained with the main group. Then the Jews were marched in a column under close guard by the Ukrainian police in the direction of Kowel. After about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles), the Jews were ordered to stop near a clay pit used for making bricks, where a group of 10 Jews were ordered to undress and then shot. Under the supervision of several German officers, the rest of the Jews were then shot in turn. Realizing their fate, some of the Jews tried to commit suicide, and 1 even managed to seize a weapon from one of the Ukrainian guards. In the ensuing confusion, many Jews tried to flee, but most were gunned down before they could get far.

A number of Jews had hidden inside the ghetto, and when some local Ukrainians started to loot the ghetto, it seems that a few Jews may have set fire to the houses, either to deny the Ukrainians their possessions or perhaps to mask their escape. However, the Ukrainian police were still guarding the ghetto perimeter, and some fleeing Jews were forced back into the flames. When the fires eventually died down, many Jews lay dead in the ghetto and the surrounding fields. Local Poles and Ukrainians were instructed to gather the corpses and

take them to the pit. They were rewarded with the possessions they found on the bodies. A number of fleeing Jews sought shelter with peasant acquaintances in the surrounding countryside, but most were caught and killed by patrols of the Ukrainian police, which scoured the area for escaped Jews over the following weeks.⁵

According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 1,512 Jews were shot altogether in Turzysk during the ghetto liquidation and its aftermath.⁶ The mass shooting Aktion was organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian auxiliary police. Also participating in the Aktion was Schutzmannschaft-Bataillon 103 from Maciejów. In 1948, four former policemen from this battalion were tried: Zaichuk, Leskovskii, Maksimchuk, and Sokhatskii.⁷

SOURCES Information about the persecution and destruction of the Jewish population of Turzysk can be found in the following publications: Nathan Livneh, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot, Trisk: Sefer yizkor* (Tel Aviv: Hotsa'at Irgun Yots'e Trisk be-Yisrael, 1975); V. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni: Zhertry i pamiat'* (Lutsk, 2003); and Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–44* (Jerusalem: Achva Press, 1990).

Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Turzysk Jews can be found in the following archives: DAVO; and GARF (7021-55-1).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Spector, *The Holocaust*, p. 73; Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kebilat, Trisk*, p. 322.
3. Livneh, *Pinkas ha-kebilat, Trisk*, pp. 320–323.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 321–324.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 325–328, 349.
6. GARF, 7021-55-1, pp. 70–71 and reverse.
7. Nakonechnyi, *Kholokost na Volyni*, p. 13.

UŚCIGŁUG

Pre-1939: Uścigług, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Ustilug, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ustilug, Rayon center, Gebiet Wladimir-Wolynsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Ustylub, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Uścigług is located on the Bug River, 13 kilometers (8 miles) west of Włodzimierz Wołyński. According to the 1921 census, 2,723 Jews resided in Uścigług. Allowing for natural increase and the effects of emigration in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as the influx of refugees in 1939, there were probably slightly less than 3,000 Jews in the town in June 1941. In September 1939, German forces bombarded Uścigług, killing several Jewish and non-Jewish civilians and destroying almost

half the buildings in the town. The German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact placed Uściług just on the Soviet side of the border with the newly created Generalgouvernement. The Soviets deported about one third of the Jewish population, including many refugees from central Poland, primarily to the nearby town of Włodzimierz Wołyński.¹

When the Germans attacked the Soviet Union in June 1941, they bombarded Uściług a second time. The town caught fire, and a majority of the houses were destroyed. Units of the German 6th Army entered the town on June 23. In July and August, a German local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Uściług, and in September 1941, authority was officially transferred to a civil administration. Uściług then became a Rayon center in Gebiet Wladimir-Wolynsk. The Gebietskommissar was Wilhelm Westerheide, who had assumed his post by the beginning of November 1941, and the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer from July 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Grigat. He was in command of 18 Gendarmerie officials spread over several Rayons, including Rayon Ustilug; this post, manned by three or more Gendarmes, was in charge of a squad of local Ukrainian police (a few dozen men).²

In the summer and autumn of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was implemented in Uściług: Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing symbols such as the Star of David (later on, a patch in the shape of a yellow circle), they were assigned to forced labor largely without pay, and they were not allowed to leave the boundaries of the town. They were also subjected to systematic looting and beatings by the Ukrainian police. Local Gendarmerie officials organized a Judenrat, appointing Mikhel Shafran as its chairman.³

In the first large anti-Jewish Aktion in Uściług, German security forces shot 30 Jews in late June 1941 for allegedly having collaborated with the Soviet authorities. In October 1941, approximately 890 Jews were gathered together and marched out of town. They and their families were told that they were being relocated to a forced labor camp. In fact, they all were shot.⁴

In March 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in Uściług. Soon the severe overcrowding and atrocious living conditions in the ghetto led to an outbreak of typhus. To prevent the further spread of the disease, the German Gendarmes sent Ukrainian police into the ghetto to kill anyone who was running a fever.⁵ In the first half of September 1942, a unit of the Security Police and SD from Łuck, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police, murdered 1,847 Jews.⁶ A few hundred Jews escaped to the forests, hid in bunkers, or were temporarily spared as forced laborers. The last two groups were put in a Wehrmacht forced labor camp that was liquidated in the winter of 1942–1943. Of those who escaped to the forest, some were killed by members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA); others succeeded in joining units of the Polish Armia Krajowa.⁷

SOURCES Articles on the destruction of the Jewish population of Uściług can be found in these publications: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ba-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Commu-*

nities: Poland, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 32–34; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukraińskiego ewreistwa 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik* (Kharkov: “Karavella,” 2001), p. 323; and in the yizkor book edited by Arye Avinadav, *Kehilat Ustila: Bevinvanab uve-hurbanab* (Tel Aviv: Irgun yots'e Ustila be-Yisrael uve tefutsot, 1961).

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Uściług can be found in DAVO and GARF (7021-55-8).

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NOTES

1. Arye Avinadav, “Sippuran shel Shetey Ahiyot,” in Avinadav, *Kehilat Ustila*, p. 139; Nahman Burlvant, “Hurban Ustila,” also in *Kehilat Ustila*, p. 239.

2. LG-Dort, Ks 45 Js 32/64, Bd. LXIII, Indictment in the case against Wilhelm Westerheide.

3. Yeshayahu Meltsman, “Al Hurvot Ayartenu,” in Avinadav, *Kehilat Ustila*, pp. 125–126; Avinadav, “Sippuran,” p. 140; Burlvant, “Hurban Ustila,” pp. 240–241.

4. See Meltsman, “Hurvot,” p. 126; and Avinadav, “Sippuran,” p. 140. The Germans were relatively successful at concealing this Aktion from the remaining Jews, so these two testimonies do not refer to it as such, only to a large-scale deportation. The figures from the ChGK report, however, support the figure posited by Spector in *Pinkas ba-kehillot* and given here.

5. Meltsman, “Hurvot,” p. 126.

6. GARF, 7021-55-8, pp. 35–37. According to the ChGK report for the Ustilug raion, 2,535 people were killed in total during the occupation; see also Meltsman, “Hurvot,” p. 126; Avinadav, “Sippuran,” pp. 140–141; and Burlvant, “Hurban Ustila,” p. 240.

7. Meltsman, “Hurvot,” pp. 140–141; Burlvant, “Hurban Ustila,” p. 241.

VIN'KOVTSY

Pre-1941: Vin'kovtsy, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Winkowzy, Rayon center, Gebiet Dunajewzy, Generalkommissariat Wolbymien und Podolien; post-1991: Vin'kovtsy, raion center, Kbmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Vin'kovtsy is located about 48 kilometers (30 miles) south-southeast of Proskurov. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was 2,251 (52 percent of the total).

Forces of the German 17th Army occupied Vin'kovtsy in mid-July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration governed the town, establishing a town council and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In September 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Vin'kovtsy became a Rayon center within Gebiet Dunajewzy, where the Gebietskommissar was Gemeinschaftsführer Eduard Eggers.¹ There was also a German Gendarmerie post in Vin'kovtsy, which assumed control over the local detachment of Ukrainian police.

At some time in the summer or fall of 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Vin'kovtsy. According to the account of Sima Lerner, she returned from another village one day and was informed by a Ukrainian policeman that she would have to join all the other Jews in the ghetto. He escorted her personally to the ghetto, where she was given yellow patches to wear on her chest and back to show that she was Jewish. The Germans fenced in the ghetto, so that nobody could leave. In her apartment, three families lived together in overcrowded conditions. They were required to perform various forced labor tasks, such as building bridges and roads. In April 1942, all the children were rounded up and escorted to the main square. Here they were told that they could only walk in certain parts of the town, whereas the dogs were allowed to go wherever they wanted. Then they were all sent back to the ghetto.²

In May 1942, there was another roundup. Sima's father said to her that she should not report for the roundup, as she had not done anything wrong, so he hid her and everyone else left. Soon she heard many gunshots and immediately understood what was happening. There was a pit prepared in the forest near Vin'kovtsy, and the Jews were escorted to this pit and then shot. Sima meanwhile escaped to the house of her non-Jewish aunt, where she went into hiding. Subsequently she was moved to another house nearby. Here she stayed in the basement and never went outside. During a subsequent roundup, her uncle and grandfather were killed. Sima was not found during this roundup but then fled from Vin'kovtsy.³

Soviet and other sources indicate that there were two or three Aktions conducted against the Jews in Vin'kovtsy in the late spring and summer of 1942. These Aktions reportedly took place on April 14, May 9, and August 6. The Aktions were probably organized by a squad of Security Police and SD from the outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) in Kamenets-Podolskii, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. Soviet sources indicate that 1,875 Jews were killed in April and 450 in May, but these figures are probably too high. According to a German report, 703 Jews were shot in "Wonkiwzi" (probably Vin'kovtsy) and Sibkiwzi on August 6, 1942. These last Jews to be shot were probably the remaining skilled craftsmen and their families. It is likely that around 1,875 Jews were shot in Vin'kovtsy in 1942.⁴

Another Jewish survivor, Iosif Shalita, has given a brief description of the ghetto in Vin'kovtsy. He states that it consisted of about five or six houses grouped together, which contained about 300 people. Around the yards of the houses there was barbed wire and beyond that a gate. The food the Jews had available to them was horrible and limited, as there were so many people. Living conditions were deplorable due to the overcrowding; people slept very little, lying down wherever they could find space on the floor. The Jews worked at a nearby kolkhoz. The work was absolutely terrible, but people thought they were safer if they made themselves useful. In the ghetto there was order; people would go to each other for help. Somehow people learned that the police were planning another Aktion two days in advance. Shalita knew he

had to escape and managed to crawl through the barbed wire and left Vin'kovtsy. His testimony, however, is problematic, as he dates his escape from the ghetto in September 1943, having been there for only one month. It is possible that he was mistaken by just over one year and is describing the ghetto in the period leading up to its liquidation in early August 1942; or perhaps he is describing a subsequent forced labor camp or remnant ghetto for Jews in Vin'kovtsy in 1943.⁵

SOURCES The main sources for this entry are two VHF testimonies (# 6955 and 32327), which mention a ghetto in the town. Additional documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-64-795); and IPN.

Martin Dean
trans. Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHF, # 6955, testimony of Sima Lerner.
3. Ibid.
4. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, p. 2, Sipo-Aussenstelle Kamenez-Podolsk to KdS Dr. Pütz in Rowno, August 6, 1942; GARF, 7021-64-95, pp. 208–209.
5. VHF, # 32327, testimony of Iosif Shalita.

VOLOCHISK

Pre-1941: Volochisk, town and raion center, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wolotschisk, Rayon center, Gebiet Proskurow, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volochysk, raion center, Kbmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Volochisk is located 126 kilometers (78 miles) south of Równe. In 1926, 2,068 Jews lived in Volochisk. According to the 1939 census, there were 753 Jews living there. The same census recorded 2,926 Jews living in the entire Volochisk raion, including those in Volochisk itself. About half of the Jews in the villages of the raion lived in Fridrikhovka, where there were 521 Jews, and in Kupel'.

Volochisk was occupied by units of the German 6th Army in early July 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the town. The Ortskommandantur appointed a mayor and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Volochisk became a Rayon center in Gebiet Proskurow, within Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. Hundertschaftsführer Schmerbeck was appointed as the Gebietskommissar.¹ In Volochisk itself, a German Gendarmerie post was established, to which the Ukrainian auxiliary police unit was subordinated.

The Aktions targeting the Jewish population of Gebiet Proskurow, which included Volochisk, were carried out in 1942 by the Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle)

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in Starokonstantinov. This outpost was headed by SS-Hauptscharführer Karl Graf. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian auxiliary police played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures was implemented in Volochisk. Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings, initially armbands bearing the Star of David and later yellow patches. The German authorities established a ghetto in Volochisk. According to the child survivor Frima Laub, shortly after the arrival of the Germans, they “fenced in about 20 blocks or so—and all the Jewish people had to move out of their homes and go to live in that area.”²² Jews were taken every day for forced labor at work sites outside the ghetto. Otherwise, they were not permitted to leave the ghetto, which was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by the Ukrainian police.

In Volochisk, German security forces conducted at least two large-scale Aktions against the Jews. Laub describes one Aktion when many of the Jews were driven out of the ghetto and collected together in an empty factory building, where they were forced to undress and surrender all their valuables. From there the Jews were marched in a column to a site outside the town to be shot. Frima, together with her sister and her mother, managed to avoid being shot by claiming to be non-Jews who were taken there by mistake; but they were kept in prison under investigation for several weeks afterwards until they managed to escape and returned to the ghetto. Shortly before the ghetto’s liquidation in September 1942, Laub escaped through the barbed wire of the ghetto and was put into hiding by her mother, initially with a non-Jewish woman in return for payment but separated from the rest of her family. However, because of German threats of the death penalty for anyone caught hiding Jews, the woman became very scared and turned Laub out on the street, and she had to find refuge elsewhere for several months. To avoid endangering another family that helped to keep her alive, Frima slept for some time under a house with a dog for warmth, until she managed to rejoin her family in the spring of 1943.³

In August 1942, Jews from neighboring villages—including from Kupel’, Fridrikhovka, and Voitovtsy—were resettled into the ghetto. On September 11, 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto, shooting all the remaining Jews. The number of Jews killed was probably around 3,000 people, although Soviet sources give numbers that are somewhat higher.⁴ The mass shootings were carried out by a detachment of the Sipo outpost in Starokonstantinov, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police. In the fall of 1942, Ukrainian policemen arrested and shot several hundred additional Jews who were found in hiding.

In July 1944, nine men who served in the local police in Volochisk during the German occupation were tried by the Soviet authorities. All of them were found guilty, and six of them were sentenced to death and hanged in Volochisk, while the other three received terms of hard labor. According to evidence presented during the trial, some 4,000 Jews had been murdered in Volochisk in the summer of 1942.⁵

SOURCES The ghetto in Volochisk is mentioned in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, “Epos,” 2000), 4:277–278.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Volochisk can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-795); USHMM (RG-50.030*0123); and YVA (M-33/173).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. USHMM, RG-50.030*0123, interview with Frima Laub, May 7, 1990.
3. Ibid.
4. The documents of the ChGK indicate that more than 8,000 Jews were shot in one day. In our view, this number of victims is significantly too high. See GARF, 7021-64-795, pp. 94–96, 139.
5. YVA, M-33/173, as cited by Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), p. 584.

WARKOWICZE

Pre-1939: Warkowicze, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Varkovichi, Dubno raion, Rovno oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Warkowitschi, Rayon Dubno, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Varkovychi, Rivne oblast’, Ukraine

Warkowicze is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of Równe. In 1921, there were 886 Jews living in Warkowicze (80.6 percent of the total population).

In September 1939, the Red Army occupied Warkowicze, and the area was soon annexed by the Soviet Union. At this time a Jewish kolkhoz was established near the town. On the eve of the German invasion in June 1941, including Jewish refugees that had arrived from central and western Poland in 1939, there were probably more than 1,200 Jews living in Warkowicze.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Warkowicze on June 27, 1941. On July 8, German security forces conducted an Aktion against members of the Jewish intelligentsia in which they shot at least three men and two women.¹ In July and August 1941, the town was under the control of a German military commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur). The German military authorities ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and demanded the surrender of valuable gold and silver items, which were forwarded to Berlin.²

In September 1941, authority was transferred to a civil administration. Warkowicze was incorporated into Rayon Dubno within Gebiet Dubno. The Gebietskommissar was Nach-

wuchsführer Brocks, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer from the spring of 1942 was Leutnant Eberhardt.³

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German administration introduced a number of anti-Jewish measures in Warkowicze. Jews were required to wear distinguishing armbands bearing the Star of David and, later, a yellow patch on their chests and backs.⁴ Jews were forbidden to leave the limits of the town or to trade with non-Jews and were obliged to perform forced labor.

In April or May 1942, the Germans ordered the Jews to live in a certain part of the town, which became known as the ghetto.⁵ The ghetto was enclosed by a fence reinforced with barbed wire, but it was not always strictly guarded.⁶ About 20 families of Jewish artisans lived outside the ghetto. The Jews were required to perform the dirtiest jobs and were frequently beaten by the German and Ukrainian police. The two most notorious German policemen in the region were Papken and Hammerstein, who also participated in the liquidation of the Warkowicze ghetto.⁷

Shortly before the ghetto's liquidation, the Jews of Warkowicze began to learn from various sources, including the German press, about other towns in the region that had been rendered "cleansed of Jews" (*judenrein*). Then a group of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were instructed to prepare ditches at a sandpit about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town. Some Jews, especially the refugees from central and western Poland, understood these signs and fled the ghetto or went into hiding.⁸

One day in early October 1942,⁹ German and Ukrainian police forces surrounded the ghetto in the early morning hours and proceeded to round up the Jews. The Jews were then escorted to the ditches on foot, with the elderly and infirm transported on trucks. On their arrival, the Germans and their collaborators shot them into the mass graves. Because many Jews went into hiding or tried to escape, the Aktion lasted two or three days, as repeated searches were made for Jews in the ghetto and the surrounding area.¹⁰

According to Soviet sources, around 1,500 Jews from Warkowicze were shot together with up to 1,000 Jews from the neighboring village of Ozeriany.¹¹ Of the many Jews who were able to escape on the eve of the Aktion, most were recaptured with the aid of Ukrainian collaborators and other local inhabitants and subsequently were shot. About 25 escaped Jews, including several from Warkowicze, found shelter with sympathetic Czechs and Poles in the nearby village of Kurdyban. During 1943, this village came under frequent assault from Ukrainian nationalist partisans (*Banderowcy*) who attacked the Polish and Czech peasants. The Jews took up arms and fought with the peasants to resist these Ukrainian attacks.¹² The Red Army drove the Germans out of Warkowicze in early 1944. According to one estimate, about 200 Jews from Warkowicze managed to survive the German occupation.

SOURCES Brief articles on the Jewish community of Warkowicze can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia*

and *Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 75–77; *Rossiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:207; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1425. The Warkowicze ghetto is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 137.

Documentation on the persecution and extermination of the Jewish population of Warkowicze during the German occupation can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/2896); BA-L (B 162/5211); DARO (R436-1-4 and R534-1-4); GARF (7021-71-48); VHF (# 9590); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. DARO, R436-1-4, p. 78, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, December 4, 1944.
2. BA-BL, R 2104/21, pp. 341–462.
3. Ibid., BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
4. VHF, # 9590, testimony of Anna Goldenberg-Schwarz.
5. DARO, R436-1-4, p. 78.
6. Boris Zabarko, ed., "Nur wir haben überlebt": *Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), pp. 335–336, testimony of Jefim Sacharow-Saidenberg; VHF, # 9590.
7. BA-L, B 162/5211, pp. 1–2, Esther Krik, New York, May 27, 1959.
8. AŽIH, 301/2896, testimony of F. Tabacznik.
9. Sources disagree on the precise date. DARO, R534-1-4, p. 81, dates the Aktion on October 7, 1942; another gives October 3, 1942.
10. BA-L, B 162/5211, pp. 1–2, Esther Krik, May 27, 1959.
11. GARF, 7021-71-48, pp. 52 and verso. According to Spector, *Pinkas ha-kehillot*, only 400 Jews were shot, while 1,600 escaped. In 1921, there were 796 Jews living in Ozeriany; see *Blackbook of Localities Whose Jewish Population Was Exterminated by the Nazis* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1965), p. 221.
12. AŽIH, 301/2896; and Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), pp. 250–252.

WERBA

Pre-1939: Werba, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Verba, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Werba, Rayon center, Gebiet Dubno, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Verba, Dubno raion, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Werba is located about 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) southwest of Dubno. According to the 1921 census, there were 228 Jews living in Werba (57 percent of the total population). By the

middle of 1941, allowing for a natural increase of 9 to 10 persons per thousand per year, there would have been around 270 Jews living there.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Werba on June 24, 1941. In July and August 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. In September 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Werba was incorporated into Gebiet Dubno. Nachwuchsführer Brocks became the Gebietskommissar, and Gendarmerie-Leutnant Eberhardt was appointed as the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in 1942.¹ A Gendarmerie post and a Ukrainian police unit were established in Werba.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of antisemitic measures in Werba. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings, initially armbands bearing the Star of David, later, two yellow patches, to be worn one on their chest and one on the back of their clothing. The Jews had to perform forced labor, and they were not permitted to leave the limits of the village. The German authorities also ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was responsible for assigning Jews to forced labor tasks. Sometimes those sent out to perform forced labor did not return. Forced labor tasks included chopping wood for the Germans and agricultural work. No schools were permitted by the German authorities, but Jewish children still went clandestinely to Hebrew school in the teacher's house.²

On May 20, 1942, the German authorities established a ghetto in the town on two streets. Jews from neighboring villages also were resettled there. In total, there were 367 Jews in the ghetto.³ Accounts of survivors differ on whether there was a fence surrounding the ghetto. The ghetto inmates suffered from severe overcrowding, with around 10 people sharing a single room and others crammed into attics and sleeping on floors. There was no running water in the ghetto houses, and all water had to be collected from the well. No ration cards were issued to the Jews, but some Jews were able to sneak out and obtain food, such as bread, potatoes, and butter, from Czech colonists living nearby. The craftsmen and their families lived in a separate section of the ghetto apart from the rest of the Jews. The ghetto was guarded by the Ukrainian police who imposed a strict curfew and were tougher on the Jews than the few Germans based in the village.⁴

On May 30, 1942, the Germans conducted an Aktion against the Jews in the ghetto, resulting in around 285 Jews being shot near the village of Granovka.⁵ The mass shooting was carried out by an SD detachment from Równa, with the assistance of a platoon from the 1st Company of the 33rd Reserve Police Battalion.⁶

The craftsmen and their families in the separate section of the ghetto were not shot at the end of May. After the Aktion, the German authorities promised not to kill those who had survived, and the few Jews who had hidden themselves successfully joined the craftsmen in the remnant ghetto. However, in August 1942, the German and Ukrainian police conducted a second Aktion, shooting the remaining Jews. Including those

discovered and shot in searches just after the Aktion, around 80 more Jews were arrested and shot.⁷

Some Jews managed to escape from the ghetto in time, most of them hiding and working with local peasants. However, some of these Jews were betrayed and subsequently killed; only a few survived until the return of the Red Army in March 1944.

SOURCES Articles about the Jewish population of Werba can be found in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), p. 86; and in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:230.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Werba can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/3057); DARO; GARF (7021-71-43); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); VHF (# 27031, 33586); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. VHF, # 33586, testimony of Nathan Alterman; and # 27031, testimony of Fred Manus.
3. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:230.
4. VHF, # 33586 and # 27031.
5. GARF, 7021-71-43, p. 2, gives the figure of 350 Jews killed. The actual number was probably slightly less; see *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:230.
6. See the report of the HSSPF in Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942, TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 29.
7. VHF, # 27031.

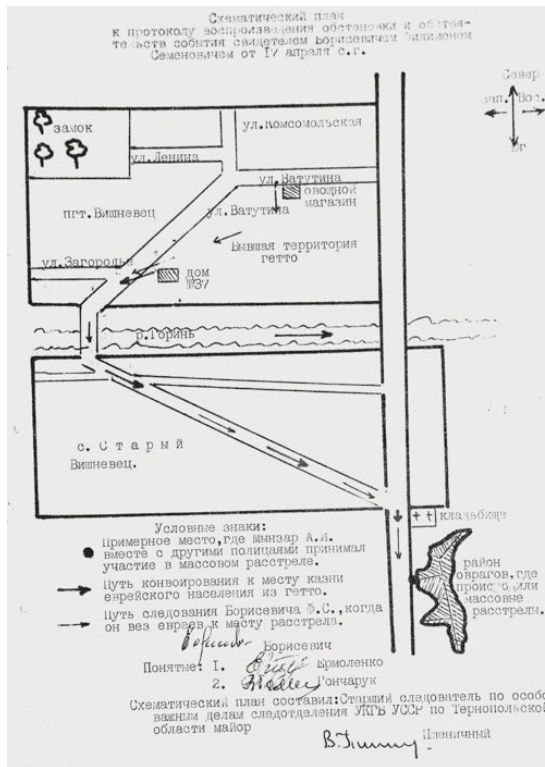
WIŚNIEWIEC

Pre-1939: Wiśniowiec (Yiddish: Vishnivits), town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Vishnevits, Ternopol' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wischnewez, Rayon center, Gebiet Kremenez, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vysbnivets', raion center, Ternopil' oblast', Ukraine

Wiśniowiec is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Tarnopol. In 1937 there were 3,000 Jews in Wiśniowiec, and at the time of the German invasion there were probably about 4,000 Jews living in the town, including some refugees from central and western Poland.

German forces captured Wiśniowiec on July 2, 1941. Almost immediately, local Ukrainian police and other collaborators, with support from the Germans, began a reign of terror: plundering, abusing, torturing, and murdering Jews.

In September 1941, power was transferred to a civil administration. Wiśniowiec was a Rayon center in Gebiet Kremenez. The senior German official in the town was the German agri-



Sketch map of the Wiśniowiec ghetto, produced for a Soviet war-crimes investigation in 1984. The ghetto is located in the southeast quadrant of town, north of the Hoynn River. The route taken to the killing site is marked by arrows, and the ravines where the shootings took place are indicated by hatching.
USHMMA/RG-31.01BM

cultural leader Steiger, who also exercised authority over the ghetto in Wiśniowiec. Steiger received his instructions from the Gebietskommissar in Krzemieniec, Regierungsrat Müller. The Ukrainian chief of the Rayon was Borisenko, and the head of the police was Bukovsky. The Ukrainian police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie.¹

On March 16, 1942, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Wiśniowiec within only three days.² Several hundred Jews from the surrounding villages, including Świniuchy, Wyżródok (Jewish population of 944 in 1921), and Oleśkincy, were relocated to Wiśniowiec around this time. Once the Jews had constructed the ghetto, more than 4,000 Jews were forced inside, and a Jewish Council (Judenrat) took charge of its internal affairs.³

In Wiśniowiec the Jews were ordered to choose their officials from among their own ranks; however, initially nobody agreed to serve. In the end, a few Jews drew up a list of candidates, and when the candidates did not consent, the Jews entreated them to accept the positions, lest the Germans punish the town's Jews for not choosing representatives.

Among the members of the Judenrat were Shlomo Ayzenberg (the treasurer in charge of collecting the fines imposed on the Jews), Hershl Margoliot (who was in charge of the conscription of workers to meet the Germans' demands), and Yaakov Markbayn (who ran the bakery). The chairman of the Judenrat was Koylnbrener, a refugee from Łódź who spoke German. According to the view of another Judenrat member, he was reportedly warmhearted and acted in the best interests of the community, which in turn offered him loyalty.⁴

The ghetto consisted of a narrow area of the town and extended along the length of one street—from the house of Alter Leyter to the house of the Mazurs. A high fence surrounded it, and any windows along the perimeter were blocked off. Every day the Judenrat had to send between 50 and 70 Jews for forced labor. At times the Jews were subjected to brutal and arbitrary beatings from the Ukrainian police.

The houses in the ghetto were always dark and very overcrowded. Tens of people lived in one room. Cleanliness was impossible to maintain, and everyone became infested with lice. Hunger was great, and there were few possibilities of getting food from any other sources. Initially, the Jews received 140 grams (4.9 ounces) of bread per day, some salt, and water. However, the rations were progressively reduced to 100 grams (3.5 ounces), then 60 grams (2.1 ounces). The children became swollen from prolonged hunger, and the women in particular got abscesses on their skin, which bled incessantly. Every day, there were four or five funerals—all for victims of hunger and disease.

The funerals were connected with mortal danger. The Ukrainian guards also came along to the Jewish cemetery, which was outside the ghetto, to further oppress and torture the few Jews who buried the dead, making sure that nobody escaped. The pallbearers also had barely enough strength left to carry the swollen corpses, but they still carried out this solemn obligation with great care. It was also necessary to bury the bodies to prevent the spread of epidemics.⁵

Jews working outside the ghetto were able to smuggle some food in, but they had to run the gauntlet of the Ukrainian guards, who took special pleasure in breaking any eggs they found and beating up the offender. Some Ukrainian guards also exploited the hunger of the Jews and made a vast profit by selling small amounts of food or accepting bribes.

On August 11, 1942, 10 SS men arrived from Krzemieniec and brought with them scores of armed Ukrainian policemen from the entire Gebiet. According to Zev Sobol's account, one of the SS men, who stood close to Herr Steiger, the scourge of the Jews of Wiśniowiec, gave a brief speech: "Today, we are putting an end to all the Jews in the ghetto. Go and bang on every window and door, and say, 'Get out, Jews, communists, traitors! Out of your houses!' Beat with clubs and whip the Jews who do not want to come out. But pay attention not to kill them in the ghetto. Take them outside of the town, to the assigned place, and annihilate them there."⁶

The Jews were beaten severely as they were gathered together and then marched out of the town under close escort.

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As they went along, a truck circled around them, and the elderly, infirm, and children were brutally loaded onto it, thereby separating children from their parents. The Jews were taken to the valley beneath the old city, in the direction of Zbaraż. The Germans used the valley as a grave—prepared carefully for this purpose. The Jews were led to the pit in groups. Two policemen ordered them to strip down to their underpants. The clothes were placed together in a pile on the side. The victims were made to lie facedown in the pit, where Ukrainian police fired on them with automatic weapons, shooting them in the head. At the end the police also checked to make sure everybody was dead. The Ukrainians carried out their work with dispatch and were rewarded with some of the clothes of the people who were shot.⁷

According to a German report prepared by SS-Untersturmführer Selm for the Commander of the Security Police and SD in Równe, during this first Aktion against the Wiśniowiec ghetto on August 11–12, 1942, the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators shot 2,669 people (600 men, 1,160 women, and 909 children).⁸

Some Jews managed to hide in bunkers during the initial ghetto clearance, while Steiger selected a few others at the grave as useful craftsmen. However, according to the testimony of Ukrainian policemen, there were several follow-up Aktions over the ensuing weeks, in which the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police murdered several hundred Jews in the same manner. By November 1942 the ghetto itself was almost completely destroyed, and no more Jews were living in the town.⁹

Only a handful of Jews managed to escape the systematic murder campaign of the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators. Sobol managed to escape twice: first by falling from the bridge into the river as the column of victims was being marched to the grave site. A non-Jew subsequently denounced him to the Ukrainian police after initially hiding him, but Sobol then also managed to escape from the synagogue where he was being held. After that he hid mostly on farms, taking food from the animals. He did not make contact with the Soviet partisans until shortly before the town was liberated. Unfortunately, his brother was tracked down by a German police dog and murdered just before the arrival of the Red Army.¹⁰

A number of local policemen from Wiśniowiec were tried after the liberation. Among those tried were Yakov Ostrovsky and the Poslovsky brothers, who were captured and handed over to the Soviet authorities by some of the few remaining Jewish survivors. Other Ukrainian policemen sentenced by the Soviets included Aleksandr Khomits'kii and Kyrylo Filyk. Most were sentenced to 25 years of hard labor but were then released during the 1950s.¹¹

SOURCES The yizkor book for Wiśniowiec, edited by Chaim Rabin, *Vishnivits: Sefer zikaron li-kedoshe Vishnivits she-nispu be-sbo'at ha-natsim* (Tel Aviv: Irgun 'ole Vishnivits, 1979), contains several survivor accounts relevant to the period of the Holocaust.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF; USHMM (RG-31.018M and RG-22.002M); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; USHMM, RG-31.018.M (KGB Archives Ternopol' oblast'), D-7719, case against Kyrylo F. Filyk, statement of Yakov Y. Ostrovsky (frame 8602).

2. "The Nazi Horrors in Wisniowiec," by a survivor, in Rabin, *Vishnivits*, pp. 311–325.

3. The figure of at least 4,000 is given both by the Jewish survivor Zev Sobol and the Ukrainian policeman Yakov Ostrovsky. According to the ChGK report, the ghetto initially held about 4,000 Jews but then expanded to up to 6,000, as Jews arrived from the surrounding villages; see GARF, 7021-75-3, pp. 28–32. The anonymous survivor, who appears to have been linked to the Judenrat, also estimates more than 4,000 Jews in the ghetto, including some 1,000 from Wyzgródek; see "The Nazi Horrors in Wisniowiec."

4. "The Nazi Horrors in Wisniowiec."

5. *Ibid.*

6. Zev Sobol, "The Ghetto in Wisniowiec," in Rabin, *Vishnivits*, pp. 298–310.

7. *Ibid.*

8. IPN, GKŚZpNP, Zbiór zespołów szczątkowych jednostek SS i policji, sygn. 77, pp. 2–3, transcription of a Security Police report dated Rowno, August 15, 1942, on the "special treatment" of Jews in the Krzemieniec district.

9. USHMM, RG-31.018.M (KGB Archives Ternopol' oblast'), D-7719, case against Kyrylo F. Filyk, statement of Yakov Y. Ostrovsky (frame 8602); D-27414, case against Aleksandr V. Khomits'kii, ChGK report from 1944 (frame 9417); and reel 24, Arch. no. 33533, D-91, case against Aleksandr Ivanovich M'inzar (1984).

10. Sobol, "The Ghetto in Wisniowiec."

11. *Ibid.*; USHMM, RG-31.018.M (KGB Archives Ternopol' oblast'), D-27414, case against Aleksandr V. Khomits'kii; D-7719, case against Kyrylo F. Filyk.

WŁODZIMIERZEC

Pre-1939: Włodzimierzec, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Vladimirets, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wladimierz, Rayon center, Gebiet Sarny, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volodymyrets', raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Włodzimierzec is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) west-northwest of Sarny. In 1921, the Jewish population was 1,262 (43 percent of the total population). Allowing for a natural increase of approximately 9 or 10 people per 1,000 each year, by the middle of 1941 there would have been approximately 1,500 Jews in Włodzimierzec. They were joined by a number of refugees from Brześć and other towns following the German occupation of central and western Poland.

Four days after the German invasion on June 22, 1941, about 500 young men, Jews and non-Jews, were mobilized in Włodzimierzec. They were sent to Sarny and organized into a battalion. As the Red Army withdrew, German forces captured the battalion. The Jews were then separated out and murdered.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Włodzimierzec on July 17, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village. By September 1941, the German civil administration had taken over and incorporated the town in Gebiet Sarny as a Rayon center. Kameradschaftsführer Huala became the Gebietskommissar, and from the spring of 1942, Leutnant der Schutzpolizei Albert Schumacher was the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.¹ In the town, a German Gendarmerie post was established, with several Gendarmes, who also supervised the activities of the local Ukrainian police.

Following the retreat of the Red Army, a period of anarchy ensued, during which a mob of local Ukrainians started a pogrom, tormenting and robbing Jews and killing two who attempted to resist. The looting continued until the entry of German forces. A small delegation of Jews led by Yakov Eisenberg asked the priest, Sokhazhanit, to intervene. He promised to protect Jewish lives but not their property.²

The summer and fall of 1941 saw the implementation of a series of anti-Jewish measures in the town. First, the German authorities registered the Jews. They ordered them to wear distinctive markings: initially, armbands bearing the Star of David and, later, a yellow patch on their chest and back. Jews also had to mark their homes with a blue Star of David. They were prohibited from going beyond the limits of the town. They were not permitted to buy food from non-Jews, and as a result, they lived in a state of near starvation. The Ukrainian police subjected Jews to systematic requisitions, lootings, and beatings.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established in the village, with Eisenberg as its head.³ The Judenrat served as the channel of communications between the German occupation authorities and the Jewish population, transmitting their regulations and demands. A Jewish police force for maintaining security, consisting of a few Jews, was set up under the authority of the Jewish Council.

The German authorities levied a "fine" of 4 grams (0.14 ounce) of gold for every Jew, which the Judenrat fulfilled with the aid of community members who had the means to assist. All livestock belonging to Jews was confiscated. The Jews were required to report each morning for forced labor, such as street cleaning, road repair, and work at the sawmill. Workers received payment in the form of a daily ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread. Some Jews planted vegetable gardens as a source of additional food. In December 1941, Jews were ordered to turn in their fur garments and pay another fine in the form of fabric for clothing, jewelry, winter coats, and 5 grams (0.18 ounce) of gold and 100 rubles per head. Lacking the means to meet this demand, the Judenrat received some aid from the local Polish priest, Dominik Wałcinowicz, who

also asked his parishioners to help the Jews. The head of the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police, Andrei Mokha, was a friend of Eisenberg and placed some restraints on the behavior of the men under his command.⁴

In late April 1942, right after Passover, the German authorities established an "open ghetto" in Włodzimierzec. Jews from the surrounding smaller communities were also taken from their homes and forced into the ghetto. An estimated 3,000 Jews were concentrated in the ghetto area.⁵ The ghetto in Włodzimierzec existed for scarcely more than four months. As their impending fate became increasingly clear from news of massacres in the other communities of the region, the Jews of the town prayed and wept behind closed doors, reciting from Torah scrolls that had been kept hidden. In mid-August, a local Ukrainian brought word that pits were being dug on the road to Żółkinie. Eisenberg asked the German police for an explanation but was assured that this report was a false rumor. As the workweek began on Sunday, August 23, the number of Ukrainian police guarding the forced labor groups increased. They told the Jews of a plan to remove all those who were unfit for productive labor. Confronted with this threat, the Judenrat considered setting the ghetto on fire in the event of an Aktion, hoping to create enough confusion for people to flee. But after careful consideration, this idea was rejected.⁶

On August 27, 1942, all the Jews were ordered to gather on the market square, which was cordoned off by the police. The Jews were held there for a day and a night. At about 10:00 or 11:00 a.m. on August 28, some Jews tried to escape following an accidental shot, but the police opened fire, killing many Jews on the town's streets as they fled in all directions. Local policemen also finished off any Jews they found in hiding, including the nine-month-old baby of a Jewish woman named Burko, which she had entrusted to the Christian resident Anna Yerofeyevna Guzey as she fled.⁷

The Germans divided the remaining Jews into separate groups: one for the Judenrat and their families, one for specialist workers, and a third for "worthless Jews." Suddenly a Ukrainian policeman called out, "Whoever has hidden gold, silver, or other valuables can come with us and remove them from the hiding places. Those who do this will be allowed to remain alive." Some Jews also tried to move discreetly from the group of "worthless Jews" to that of specialist workers.⁸

However, the hopes that some might be preserved were soon dashed. Later that day the remaining Jews, starting with the Judenrat members and their families, were escorted by the German and Ukrainian police in the direction of the village of Żółkinie. The Ukrainian police chief had offered his friend Eisenberg a place to hide, but Eisenberg declined, saying that "the fate of my people shall be my fate as well."⁹ The Jews were led to the Smoliarna Forest 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the town, where three mass graves had been prepared. Here the men and women were separated and made to undress; then a German shot them in the trench in groups of 5 with a machine gun. Local peasants also collected the bodies of those killed in the town, taking them to be buried in

the same mass graves. In total, some 2,000 Jews were murdered during the “ghetto liquidation.”¹⁰

Apparently the shooting was directed by a squad of Security Police and SD from the office in Równe and was carried out with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. Only a few dozen Jews were able to evade the Aktion and the relentless searches that followed. Amazingly Mordechai Weissman survived by simply running as fast as he could just moments before he was due to be shot.¹¹

Ukrainian Baptists and Polish peasants aided some of the escapees. Others joined various partisan units: Soviet, Soviet-Polish, and Jewish. Soviet partisan forces liberated the town on January 12, 1944. One survivor who returned, Eliahu Kutz, assisted the People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) in identifying collaborators and murderers. A Soviet court in Rovno tried those who were caught, sentencing them to hard labor in Siberia.¹²

SOURCES A number of personal testimonies can be found in the yizkor book edited by A. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets, galed lezeckher iranu* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Vladimirets in Israel, 1963). There is also an article on the history of the town with some information about the annihilation of the Jewish population in Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ba-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 84–86.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of the town can be found in the following archives: ANA; AŽIH; BA-BL; DARO; GARF (7021-71-44); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Samuel Fishman
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. Schumacher (born January 29, 1891) apparently died on April 8, 1945; see BA-L, ZStL, 204 AR-Z 113/67 (II 204 AR 1088/64), Sachstandsvermerk, June 7, 1967 (Gebietskommissariat Sarny), p. 7.

2. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*, pp. 312, 356.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 313. Other Judenrat members were Natan and Yaakov Cherniak (brothers) and Ben Zion Tchuk.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 314, 339.

5. Spector, *Pinkas ba-kebilot*, 5:86. The figure of 3,000 ghetto inhabitants is probably too high.

6. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*, pp. 316–317.

7. ANA, Special Investigations Unit, PU104/O, statements of Pavel Grigoryevich Kozoriz, Alexey Vasilyevich Khutky, and Olga Fyodorovna Dulyanitskaya, taken by the Soviet authorities in Vladimirets in January 1988.

8. Mordechai Weissman, “My Escape from the Ditches of Slaughter,” in Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*.

9. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*, p. 317.

10. Testimony of K.O. Koshmak in M. Gon, ed., *Holokost na Rıvnensbchyni (Dokumenty i materialy)* (Dnipropetrovsk: Tsentr “Tkuma”; Zaporizhzhia: Prem’er, 2004), pp. 57–58. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State

Commission (ChGK), the Germans massacred about 2,000 Jews; see GARF, 7021-71-44, p. 4.

11. Weissman, “My Escape from the Ditches of Slaughter.” An English translation of this account is also available in Jack Kugelmass and Jonathan Boyarin, eds., *From a Ruined Garden: The Memorial Books of Polish Jewry* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 208–212.

12. Meyerowitz, *Sefer Vladimerets*, p. 359.

WŁODZIMIERZ WOŁYŃSKI

Pre-1939: Włodzimierz Wołyński, town, Włodzimierz powiat, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Vladimir-Volynskii, raion center, Volyn oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wladimir-Wolynsk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Volodymyr-Volyns’kyi, Volyn oblast’, Ukraine

Włodzimierz Wołyński is located about 77 kilometers (48 miles) west of Łuck. In 1937, more than 11,500 Jews lived in Włodzimierz, comprising 39 percent of the total population; Poles accounted for 43 percent; Ukrainians, 14 percent; and there were also a few Czechs, Germans, and Russians.

On June 23, 1941, the 298th Infantry Division captured Włodzimierz, receiving a warm welcome from the town’s Ukrainian population. Very few of Włodzimierz’s Jews could flee or be mobilized for military service beforehand.

For the next 10 months, first under military administration and then (after September 1, 1941) under civil administration, the Jews of Włodzimierz suffered systematic persecution, forced labor, and murder. Between 1,600 and 2,000 Jews were killed in this period by Wehrmacht troops, Sipo-SD murder squads, and Ukrainian Auxiliary Police (many of whom were members of the Andrii Mel’nyk faction of the extremist Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, or OUN). The victims included most members of the first Judenrat, which the Germans had installed on or about July 7.

The establishment of a ghetto in Włodzimierz is dated to April 13, 1942. A 2-meter-high (6.6-foot-high) barbed-wire fence surrounded it. The external guards were Ukrainians; Jewish Police patrolled inside. Judenrat members and doctors were allowed to live outside the ghetto, but some of their female relatives found that the ghetto gave them more protection against harassment. The overcrowded ghetto was soon racked by hunger and a typhus epidemic, which was exacerbated by a shortage of medicine. Anybody caught trying to smuggle food into the ghetto was punished. The Germans assumed a ghetto population of at least 15,000 Jews in mid-1942; members of the Judenrat estimated about 18,000 Jews living there.¹

At the end of May, the ghetto was divided into two sections. These were known to Jews as the “living ghetto” for skilled workers (set off by the right side of Katedralna Street, as well as Wodopójcza, Pawłowskiego, Browarna, and Gorka Streets) and the “dead ghetto” for unskilled workers (defined by the left side of Katedralna Street, as well as Strzelecka,

Kolejowa, and Farna Streets). The gates between the ghettos were guarded by the Jewish Police. Passage between the ghettos was limited to specific hours.²

Only Jews holding work permits could exit the ghetto, leaving and returning daily in groups. Forced labor assignments included such tasks as cleaning for the German police, working in a marmalade factory, delivering mineral water, and agricultural work. In August 1942, some Jews were assigned to dig sections of a ditch for a secret cable from Berlin to Kiev, which cost most of them their lives.³

In the last week of August 1942, hundreds of Jews were ordered to Piatydnie, several kilometers west of Włodzimierz, where they had to dig three large pits. The Jews were told that they were for a fuel depot. When the workers returned, Jews in the ghetto began to panic and to prepare hideouts. The Judenrat met with the Gebietskommissar (Wilhelm Westerheide, a 33-year-old former salesman) daily in late August. In an effort to delay the Aktion, council member Symcha Bergman gave Westerheide the best diamonds he could find. In the meantime, Jews working in agriculture were brought back to Włodzimierz, as were Jews from villages where no ghetto had been set up, such as Błażenik.⁴

In the early hours of September 1, 1942, the Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. At 6:00 A.M., the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police stormed the ghetto for unskilled workers. The Jews were forced out of their houses, rounded up at one of the gates, loaded onto trucks, and driven off to Piatydnie. The forced laborers in the ghetto for skilled workers were not allowed to go to work. As the day wore on, trucks full of clothing began to return to Włodzimierz. That afternoon, the Germans and Ukrainian police entered the ghetto for skilled workers as well.⁵

At Piatydnie, the Jews were forced to undress and were shot into the pits. According to survivors, one Jew refused to undress. When confronted by a German, the Jew struck his tormentor, but he was promptly beheaded by Ukrainian policemen. Zipporah Veinshtok was one of only two Jews who escaped from the pits. Both were slightly wounded and got away under cover of darkness. They recount that members of the German administration had set up a table at the killing site so they could eat and drink during the shooting.⁶

The operation in Włodzimierz and its vicinity lasted two weeks. It is estimated that by September 15, 1942, 14,000 Jews had been murdered at Piatydnie, most from the Włodzimierz ghetto. Another 4,000 Jews were murdered in the Włodzimierz prison. As word spread that the Aktion was over, Jews emerged from their hiding places and returned from the countryside. The Jews were assured that the survivors would be left alive, and gradually the number of Jews swelled to several thousand. Many were put to work cleaning up the ghetto and sorting the belongings of the murdered Jews. Clothes and furniture were given away or sold at low prices to the local population. In November, the ghetto was divided into two, one half for skilled workers and the other half for unskilled workers. New work papers were issued to 865 people.⁷

On November 13, 1942, the ghetto for unskilled workers was liquidated in a surprise operation, resulting in the murder of about 4,000 Jews. The Germans repeatedly combed the ghetto until the end of the year. In January 1943, there were around 800 Jews officially living in the ghetto; the actual number was over 1,000. In Włodzimierz, the Germans counted 8,628 people compared to 29,600 in 1937. Soviet and especially Nazi policies had reduced the population by 70 percent.⁸

The Włodzimierz ghetto, the only ghetto remaining in Reichskommissariat Ukraine, now consisted of 17 buildings. It was no longer enclosed, and the Jews could even dispense with their outer markings. The skilled laborers worked as shoemakers, haberdashers, tailors, carpenters, masons, and photographers. There was a bakery, a small distillery, a laundry, a small production site for brushes, a sign shop, and a suitcase-maker's workshop. Conditions in the ghetto were impossibly overcrowded and filthy, and the inhabitants suffered from hunger and disease. This situation continued for a year. In October 1943, Sonderkommando 4b was transferred to Włodzimierz. By November, the Red Army was crossing the Dniepr River in Kiev. Rather than move the remaining Jews west, the Germans decided to kill them. On December 13, 1943, Sonderkommando 4b and its auxiliaries, an ethnically mixed unit, stormed the ghetto. The Jews were taken to the local prison, forced to undress, then loaded onto trucks, driven to a small wooded area near Falemicze, east of Włodzimierz, and shot. The corpses were subsequently burned on a pyre. It is believed that up to 1,200 Jews were murdered in this Aktion.⁹

Jewish resistance in the ghetto is linked to both the local prisoner-of-war (POW) camp for officers, Oflag XI (later Stalag 365), which formally transferred to Włodzimierz on September 9, 1941, and to the various partisan movements in and around the town. In the summer of 1942, a group of about 30 men, contrary to the wishes of the Judenrat, sought to make contact with nearby partisans. It was at this time that the Sipo-SD regional office for Wolhynien und Podolien reported to Berlin that an unknown partisan group, together with "Bolshevik agents" and "the ghetto," had planned to stage an uprising and liberate the POWs, mostly officers. In crushing these plans, the Sipo exposed and liquidated "36 Communist officials and 76 Jewish-Bolshevik officers."¹⁰

Available sources suggest there was little Jewish resistance activity in the Włodzimierz ghetto. Two young Jews with revolvers were shot during the November 1942 Aktion. Another Jew was found to have a revolver, but such isolated instances did not threaten the Nazis. There existed a small Jewish-led unit in the Włodzimierz area under Dora Zil'bert, but little is known about it. Boris Iakovlevich Bazykin led a unit affiliated with Soviet partisans under the command of A.A. Brinskii; Bazykin and his men were wiped out by the right-wing extremist Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in the autumn of 1943.¹¹ A few Jews from the Włodzimierz ghetto may have joined the Zil'bert or Bazykin units, but making contact with the partisans was difficult.

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Soviet partisan units were the least dangerous for Jews, but the area was dominated by Ukrainian and Polish groups. The mother and son team of Mariia and Stepan Veremchuk escorted Jews from the Włodzimierz ghetto to the Soviet partisans under Nikolai “Kruk” Konishchuk, based near Kowel. Despite much mutual hostility and suspicion, individual activists of the Polish Home Army (AK) took in a number of Jews.¹² Jews in the ghetto made contact with the UPA but soon decided that the Ukrainian partisans were “no better than the Nazis.” Indeed, by November 1943, the Germans and the UPA in Włodzimierz reached an agreement to fight the Soviet and Polish partisans together. Those Jews found among the UPA ranks tended to be pressed into service and were often murdered once the Germans withdrew.¹³

In the spring of 1943, the UPA launched a full-blown uprising against the Germans. Confined almost exclusively to Volhynia, this uprising was linked to a campaign of mass murder to drive the Poles from the region. As a result, Jews in hiding found their hideouts or cover jeopardized. Many Polish rescuers had to flee to Włodzimierz or to the west. Some Jews were murdered in the Ukrainian-Polish conflict. Despite the hazards of ghetto life, Jews in the countryside faced increased pressure to return to Włodzimierz.¹⁴

In addition, the partisan war spoiled German plans to move the Jewish workforce in Włodzimierz to Lublin. These considerations may at least have delayed the murder of the remaining Jews of Włodzimierz for several weeks, after the arrival of Sipo-SD forces. When the Włodzimierz ghetto was liquidated, its status as an open ghetto, close to prepared hideouts, may have given the Jews slightly better chances of survival than would have been possible in the Lublin labor camps.

Within Włodzimierz, the ratio of righteous gentiles among Poles and Ukrainians appears to reflect the demographics of the town. Among the Ukrainians, the Miaskovs’kyi family took in Paulina Cohen after her parents and brothers were killed in the November 1942 massacre. During the mass killing operation in September 1942, the Vavrysevych family provided temporary refuge for at least 13 Jews, some of whom then returned to the ghetto. Those who remained under their protection survived. Among the Poles, Helena Żebrowska and her husband, both clerks in the local German administration, saved Dusia Goldgreber and her husband. After the liquidation of the ghetto, the Żebrowskas saw to it that the Goldgrebers were hidden outside the town. A Czech family helped Sara (Yukelis) Lichtmann.¹⁵ Oleksii Mel’nichuk of Tumin, some 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east of Włodzimierz, saved 11 Włodzimierz Jews. Mel’nichuk even joined the UPA at the urging of the Jews, using his position to warn them of UPA sweeps. He was arrested for UPA membership when the Red Army returned, but his former charges secured his release.¹⁶

The Red Army forced the Germans out of Włodzimierz on July 20, 1944. Around 140 Jews who lived in Włodzimierz during the Holocaust survived the war, less than 1 percent of the ghetto population at its peak. Some of those who survived were subsequently conscripted into the Red Army. At least seven Jews from Włodzimierz were killed in the last six



Undated portrait of rescuer, Galina Filatova-Miaskovs’koiya (second left) and her family. Filatova helped to hide Paulina Kon [Cohen], an escapee from the Włodzimierz Wołyński ghetto. USHMM WS # 57649, COURTESY OF JFR

months of the war.¹⁷ Westerheide was tried in Germany for his activities in Włodzimierz, but he was acquitted in 1982 due to insufficient evidence.¹⁸

SOURCES Publications concerning the Włodzimierz ghetto and partisan warfare in the region include the following: *Pinkas Ludmir* (Tel Aviv: Irgun Yotzei Ludmir, Israel, 1962); Janusz Bardach and Kathleen Gleeson, *Man Is Wolf to Man: Surviving the Gulag* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Harmonica: Jews Relate How Poles Saved Them from the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Polska Agencja Informacyjna, 2000); and Władysław Filar, Michał Klimecki, and Mychajło Szwahulak, “Chronologia wydarzeń na Wołyniu i w Galicji Wschodniej w latach 1939–1945 [project],” in *Polska-Ukraina: Trudne Pytania*, vol. 6 (Warsaw: KARTA, 1999).

There are numerous sources available on the Włodzimierz ghetto, first and foremost the statements by survivors housed at AŻIH (301). Two of these have been published in Michał Grynberg, ed., *Życie i zagłada Żydów polskich: 1939–1945. Relacje świadków* (Warsaw: Oficyna Naukowa, 2003), but all of them are also available at USHMM (RG-15.084). Testimonies by survivors and perpetrators can be found in the criminal investigations into Wilhelm Westerheide (ZSSa-D, 45 Js 24/62). The records at YVA, especially those concerning the Righteous Among the Nations (M.31), deserve mention. Relevant documentation can also be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAVO; GARF; IPN; NARA; and VHF.

Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. *Pinkas Ludmir*, p. 85; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 4; Bardach and Gleeson, *Man Is Wolf to Man*, p. 380; BA-BL, R 58/222, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten no. 12, July 17, 1942 (15,000); also, DP 3/2148, statement by E.M.H., July 3, 1979, p. 4 (18,000—H., as secretary to the Włodzimierz Landwirtschaftsführer received her information from Judenrat members in 1942).

2. *Pinkas Ludmir*, p. 440; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 4; 301/694, p. 2.
3. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 85–86; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 4; 301/694, pp. 2–3; Isakiewicz, *Harmonica*, p. 110.
4. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 86, 444; AŻIH, 301/694, p. 3; 301/2014, p. 5; 301/2298.
5. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 444–445.
6. AŻIH, 301/4987, Herbst, p. 2; 301/2014, p. 7; 301/2794; Nathaniel Deutsch, *The Maiden of Ludmir* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), p. 236.
7. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 86–87, 480, 610; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 8.
8. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 87, 611; AŻIH, 301/2014, p. 10; *Zentralblatt des Reichskommissars für die Ukraine*, January 9, 1943, p. 11.
9. *Pinkas Ludmir*, pp. 87, 611; ZSSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62, Bd. XVIII, pp. 61–72, statement by Wilhelm Braune; Bd. XL, pp. 305–306, letter from defense attorneys, May 31, 1970.
10. *Pinkas Ludmir*, p. 85; BA-BL, R 58/222, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten no. 12, July 17, 1942.
11. *Pinkas Ludmir*, p. 87; Ster Elisavetskii, *Polveka zabvennia evrei v divizhenii soprotivleniia i partizanskoj bor'be v Ukraine 1941–1945* (Kiev, 1998), p. 89; Józef Sobiesiak and Ryszard Jęgorow, *Burzany* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1962), pp. 187–195.
12. YVA, M.31/6594; ZSSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62, Bd. XXXII, p. 21, statement by Josef Strassberger; *Encyclopedia of the Righteous among the Nations, Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust, Poland* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), 1:191–192, 2:800; Józef Czerwiński, *Z wołyńskich lasów na berliński trakt* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, 1985), pp. 69–70.
13. ZSSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62, Bd. XXXII, p. 139, statement by Peter Korduner. Dr. Hirsz Bubes was murdered in Włodzimierz by a Ukrainian nurse after the German retreat—see Louis Falstein, ed., *The Martyrdom of Jewish Physicians in Poland* (New York: Exposition Press, 1963), p. 324.
14. *Encyclopedia of the Righteous, Poland*, 1:228, 2:758.
15. YVA, M.31/3916; M.31/2507; *Encyclopedia of the Righteous, Poland*, 2:934; Isakiewicz, *Harmonica*, pp. 109–122; ZSSSta-D, 45 Js 24/62, Bd. XXXII, statement by Sara (Yukelis) Lichtmann, p. 159.
16. YVA, M.31/5926.
17. *Knyha Pam'iaty Ukrainy*, vol. 1, *Volyn'ska oblast'* (L'viv: Kameniar, 1995), pp. 44–56.
18. *New York Times*, December 21, 1982.

WOŁCZYN

Pre-1939: Wołczyn (Yiddish: Voltchin), town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1941–1944: Woltschin, Rayon Motykali, Gebiet Brest-Litowsk (Land), Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vouchyn, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Wołczyn is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) northwest of Brześć. Former Wołczyners estimate that on the eve of World War II about 500 Jews lived there (about 70 families). A German census from early 1942 indicates that 784 Jews were still

alive in Rayon Motykali. Thus there were probably about 350 Jews from Czerniawczyce and other villages, in addition to those from Wołczyn, as there was no significant Jewish population in Motykali, and the same source states that most Jews had already been ghettoized.¹

On the morning of June 22, 1941, the Germans conducted a heavy bombardment of the area around Wołczyn, destroying some Jewish homes and businesses. Soon after, they occupied the town. A few days later, Krause, a German about 50 years old, arrived with a few civilians who spoke Russian and German and began to organize a local administration. He appointed a Pole, Korszniewski, as mayor, and an ex-prisoner, Rose, also a Catholic, as head of the police. Three or four men from neighboring villages, including opponents of the Soviet government and former criminals, formed the police force.²

The area around Wołczyn was initially part of Distrikt Białystok (attached to East Prussia), but on January 1, 1942, it was transferred to Gebiet Brest-Litowsk (Land), in Reichskommissariat Ukraine, forming the new Rayon of Motykali. The Gebietskommissar in Brześć (city) was Curt Rolle; he was replaced in October 1942 by Franz Burat, who retained the responsibility he had exercised previously for the surrounding Rayons. In October 1942 (just after the ghetto liquidation), the strength of the local police (Schutzmannschaft) in Rayon Motykali was 62, but most were probably based at the two police stations in Lyszczyce and Czerniawczyce.³

The Germans soon created a Jewish Council (Judenrat), summoning a few prominent Jews and forcing them to accept positions. They included Shlomko Zufrik, Avrum Kupershmids, and Berenson from the mill of Kotera. The Judenrat had to collect valuables and hand over people for forced labor.

From early in the occupation, Jews were assigned to back-breaking work duties, sent to labor camps, tortured, and shot according to the Germans' moods. Some residents left for other towns such as Wysokie, which was larger and offered more places to hide.

After a few months of the occupation, a ghetto was created. The Jews could only take essential items with them to their new quarters, which were terribly crowded. The sick and children lived in the synagogue; some people lived in storehouses, barns, and even cowsheds. In Mordeku's grain barn, they put those who arrived from the town of Czerniawczyce. Across from the barn, the home of Isar Midler was taken over by officials: the chief of police, the head of the village, and the Judenrat met there.⁴

Former Wołczyn resident Shmuel Englender, who escaped his family's fate by joining the Red Army, has reconstructed the ghetto boundaries. Extending its northern and eastern borders to the Pulva River (a tributary of the Bug), the ghetto was bordered on the south by the Christian homes of Old Wołczyn and on the west by the main road, marked by a wooden fence. Englender also identified four entrances to the ghetto: only one of these was intended for ghetto inmates departing on work details, the remainder being reserved for the guards and members of the Judenrat. One exit, near the post

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office, was used for removing the bodies of Jews who died from hunger and disease. In the Jewish cemetery, outside the ghetto, a pit would be dug, its size determined by the number of bodies brought over that night. No markers were left on these graves.

Around the Wołczyn ghetto, the occupiers erected a fence about 2 meters (6.6 feet) high and patrolled by guards. Near the church, the fence was wooden; by the river, it was wire. According to the villager Vera Vladimirovna Shpagina: "After they put up the fence, it was impossible to get out of the ghetto without permission."⁵

Policemen were the first, and then the rest of the villagers confiscated goods from the Jewish homes. Some Jews hid things in their yards and had villagers dig out their treasures, which the Jews traded for a little food. Life in the ghetto was very harsh. There was great hunger. Jews were given only 150 to 200 grams (5.3 to 7 ounces) of bread per day. Half of it was sawdust. From time to time, there was some milk for the children. Many died from hunger and disease.⁶

Eyewitness testimony from villagers record that two or three days before the massacre, strangers arrived in Wołczyn. The guards around the ghetto were reinforced, especially near the river, where the fence was made only of wire.

On the morning of September 22, 1942, local people assisted in completing a pit just outside of town. Meanwhile in the ghetto, Krause, Rose, Korszniewski, and the Judenrat walked from one Jewish house to another and ordered everyone to congregate at the synagogue. There, the German Krause ordered that within an hour everyone should collect their belongings, dress in their best clothing, and report to be moved to a larger ghetto in nearby Wysokie. Before the end of the hour, the Judenrat and the police checked the houses again to make sure no one was there.

The sick and disabled were put on carts, as were the Jews' belongings. The rest of the Jews were ordered to walk to the edge of the village in the direction of Wysokie. They stopped at a former sand quarry, 200 meters (656 feet) from the end of Wołczyn. There they were immediately surrounded by policemen and Germans. After a while, they were told to turn right towards a "pit," about 60 meters wide by 30 meters long (197 by 98 feet). The Germans and their Belorussian and Polish helpers ordered the Jews to undress. Poltrok said, "All at once, everybody began to scream and cry. Only then did they probably understand what was going to happen."⁷

Available sources indicate that the massacre was conducted by about nine Germans and about 20 local policemen from Wołczyn and other nearby stations. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reported that 497 people were shot on that day. It is estimated that 395 were from Wołczyn, and 102 were from Czerniawczyce.⁸ The report gives some chilling details:

The killings, by shooting, were conducted in groups of three to five people. They were led to the edge of

the pit, were shot, and thrown into the pit. People were shouting, crying, and begging for mercy—nothing helped. The fascists ignored all and continued with the shootings. Those who refused to go to the pit were shot on the spot, and, sometimes when they were still alive, dragged into the pit. Some of the babies were lifted from the ground into the air, shot, and thrown into the pit.⁹

According to a German report, a few Jewish craftsmen were kept alive in Wołczyn at the time of the massacre and were presumably murdered a few weeks later.¹⁰ Those sent previously to work on road construction projects either shared the fate of the Brześć Jews, most of whom were transported by train to Bronna Góra in mid-October 1942 and were murdered there, or were killed around Brześć as the remaining labor camps were liquidated. One local inhabitant recalled that some 500 Jews were killed in Motykali shortly after the Wołczyn massacre; these were reportedly escapees from the Brześć ghetto, who were recaptured by the Germans and local helpers.¹¹

According to eyewitness Pavel Ivanovich Vivituk, after the massacre, some of the Jews' clothes were brought to a storage area behind the German headquarters; the best items were divided among the Germans and their helpers. After a day or two, people came in the evening to the Jewish homes and searched for hidden valuables. Many homes were later occupied by Germans.

The Soviets suspected anyone who had cooperated with the Germans. Many people were arrested, and the majority of them were sent to Brześć. Some were convicted and returned after a few years in prison. For example, the Soviet government arrested the head of the village, Korszniewski, who was tried not for the massacre but for cooperating with the Germans. Witnesses recall that his sentence was surprisingly light: only about six months in prison.

No Jews are known to have survived the massacre in Wołczyn. After the war, none of the Jews returned to live in the town. In Israel today, there are about 25 people with ties to Wołczyn, and a few others are living scattered throughout the United States.

SOURCES The most detailed account in English of the fate of Wołczyn's Jewish community can be found in the author's own work: Andrea Simon, *Basbert: A Granddaughter's Holocaust Quest* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2002), which is the main source for this entry. Also of interest is the yizkor book edited by Samuel Levine and Morris Gevirtz, *Entertainment and Ball Given by the United Wisoko-Litovsker and Woltchiner Relief* [in Yiddish] (New York: United Wisoko-Litovsker and Woltchiner Relief, 1948).

The main sources consulted were the ChGK report and associated witness statements from September 1944. The originals are located in GABO and GARF. Copies of these documents are also located in YVA and USHMM, together with the "testimony" of the local police commandant, Vasily Timofeyevich Semenyuk, relating to crimes in and around

Motykali, dated November 13, 1945. Additional documentation can be found in BA-BL (R 94/6 and 7).

Andrea Simon

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942.
2. Oral testimony of local non-Jewish inhabitants of Wołczyn, Vera Vladimirovna Shpagina, Ivan Pavlovich Poltrok, Pavel Ivanovich Vivituk, and Genady Mikhaelovich Kutshuk, recorded by Shmuel Englender in 1997 and made available to the author in translation; for summaries, see Simon, *Basbert*, pp. 123–145.
3. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, October 6, 1942.
4. Oral testimony of Shpagina and Vivituk, summarized in Simon, *Basbert*, pp. 126–128.
5. Testimony of Shpagina and others, summarized in *ibid.*, p. 128.
6. Oral testimony of Shpagina, Poltrok, Vivituk, and Kutshuk, summarized in *ibid.*, pp. 128–129.
7. Oral testimony of Poltrok and others, summarized in *ibid.*, pp. 132–138.
8. YVA, ChGK report for the Wołczyn area, September 29, 1944; the original documents are in GABO (file 514-1-60) and GARF, 7021-83.
9. *Ibid.*
10. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, October 6, 1942.
11. Testimony of Vivituk, in Simon, *Basbert*, p. 128.

WYSOCK

Pre-1939: Wysock, town, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Vysotsk, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Wysozk, Rayon center, Gebiet Stolin, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Vysots'k, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Wysock is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) north of Równe. In 1921, there were 893 Jews residing in Wysock, comprising 30 percent of the total population.¹

A few days after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Soviet officials packed their things and left, assuring the Jews that they would soon be back. Only a few Jews, mainly youths and Communists, went with them. For several days there was no authority in the town, but no attacks on Jews took place during this uncertain period. Jews took the opportunity to burn Hebrew or Russian books to destroy anything that might link them to the Soviets in the eyes of the Germans. A small German patrol arrived in Wysock in early July 1941, to be greeted by the non-Jews with bread and salt. Most Jews remained in their houses out of fear.

Soon the German military administration appointed a local administration made up of non-Jews, including a police force recruited from local volunteers. All Jews were regis-

tered, and the new authorities issued a series of decrees concerning the Jews. Jewish property was confiscated, and Jews were not permitted to move from one place to another or to buy and sell things. Jews were forbidden to eat meat, use the sidewalks, or assemble in groups. Jews had to wear distinguishing armbands, and a Star of David was to be placed on all Jewish houses. The synagogue and the Bet Midrash were converted into grain storage barns, and Jews dared to pray only in secret.²

In the summer of 1941, a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which acted as an intermediary between the German authorities and the Jews. It also controlled a small Jewish police force that wore special armbands and assisted with the enforcement of German orders. Jews were subjected to forced labor; families had to devote half of their working time to public works. Work consisted of moving earth and rocks, while some craftsmen, such as blacksmiths and carpenters, worked directly for the German army in workshops. Jews had to surrender valuables and money to meet German demands for “contributions” and were also robbed and blackmailed by the local police.³

During August 1941, about 170 Jewish women and children arrived in Wysock from nearby Dawidgródek. They had been driven out of that town following the mass shooting of the men there by an SS cavalry unit. The Jews of Wysock took them into their houses and shared their food with them.⁴ From the end of August, authority in Wysock was transferred to a German civil administration. Wysock became a Rayon center within Gebiet Stolin. SA-Standartenführer Dziembowski was named the Gebietskommissar, and his deputy was a man named Stark.⁵ Under the civil administration, the armbands for Jews were exchanged for yellow patches to be worn on the chest and back.

At some time before the summer of 1942, about 150 Jews from the surrounding villages were moved into Wysock. As with the refugees from Dawidgródek, they were distributed among the houses of the local Jews, and a public kitchen was established to provide them some nourishment. The Germans established a ghetto in Wysock at the end of July 1942.⁶ A number of buildings in the center of the village were fenced in with barbed wire. More than 1,500 people were imprisoned in the ghetto. Isak Kaftan, a survivor of the Wysock ghetto, recalled that “living conditions were very difficult. We were forbidden to leave the ghetto. We were also not allowed to communicate with the villagers. Various diseases raged in the ghetto. The people suffered from hunger. There was a lack of water. The men capable of work were escorted out to work by the Germans and the local police.”⁷ The yizkor book records, however, that the ghetto was not closely guarded, and Jews were able to climb through the wire to trade possessions for food.⁸

At the end of August 1942, the Jews in Wysock received news of the destruction of the Jews in the neighboring town of Dąbrowica, which increased the level of fear in the ghetto. Soon afterwards the Germans ordered that Jews were no longer permitted to leave the ghetto, and the Jewish Police even applied pressure to ensure the return of some Jews who had

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hidden in the surrounding villages. On the eve of the Aktion, no Jews were requested for forced labor. During the night, police forces surrounded the ghetto, and anyone attempting to leave was shot.

The German police liquidated the Wysock ghetto on September 9, 1942. It is estimated that approximately 1,600 to 1,800 people were killed.⁹ The mass shooting was carried out under the supervision of the Security Police (Sipo) detachment from Pińsk, which arrived early in the morning in four or five trucks. First, the local police and Security Police forces surrounded the ghetto.¹⁰ The Jews were gathered together and then escorted on foot to the pits outside Wysock. They were escorted to the pits in three groups, each using a different route. The local name for the mass killing site was "Ljado."¹¹

There were two pits, about 2.5 kilometers (1.5 miles) outside the town, that had been dug shortly before the Aktion by local villagers, who were told that the pits would be used to store fuel. The pits were about 100 meters long and 10 meters wide (328 by 33 feet). The Jews knew of the excavation and suspected that the pits would not be used for the purpose alleged by the Germans.¹²

On arrival at the killing site, the Jews were told to lie down in the pits, where they were shot. The Gendarmerie and local police forces from Stolin, Wysock, and probably Dawidgródek participated in the Aktion. It took about two hours to complete the mass shooting. The perpetrators took no steps to ensure that all the victims were dead.¹³ The graves were filled in by local villagers.

In Wysock, a few Jews survived initially in hiding places. The Germans and their collaborators systematically searched the ghetto, shooting any Jews they found on the spot. As one of the columns was being escorted to the killing site, a group of about 100 Jews tried to escape towards the Horyn River. The Germans shot at them as they ran away. The police forces pursued them in boats, but a number successfully escaped into the nearby forest. Some were recaptured and taken to the pits to be shot.¹⁴ The corpses of those shot trying to escape were collected by local villagers and taken to the pits for burial.¹⁵

The remaining Jewish houses in Wysock were taken over by local non-Jews. Only a few of the Jews who escaped from the ghetto managed to survive until the Red Army drove the Germans from the area in 1944. Most fled to Poland at the end of the war and emigrated from there to Israel and other countries in the West.

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Wysock and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Aryeh Fyalkov, ed., *Ayaratenu Visotsk: Sefer zikaron* (Rehovot: Irgun yots'e Visotsk be-Yisrael, 1963); and Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 78–81.

Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Wysock can be found in the following archives: AŻIH (301/954, 2906, and 5494); BA-L (B 162/4949-71 and

14495); DARO (R534-1-4): GARF (7021-71-45); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 13); VHF (# 39321 and 44397); and YVA.

Stephen Pallavicini and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Part of the information for this entry is taken from Stephen Pallavicini's doctoral thesis, "The Liquidation of the Jews of Polesie" (Ph.D. diss., Sydney University, 2003).

2. "In Farnichtung un Pein," in Fyalkov, *Ayaratenu Visotsk*, pp. 131–132.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 132–133.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 133; AŻIH, 301/2906.

5. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

6. "In Farnichtung un Pein," p. 133, states that the ghetto was formed in the month of Av (July 15–August 13 in 1942), six weeks before it was liquidated (September 10, 1942). DARO, R534-1-4, pp. 243–245, also dates the ghetto from July 1942. BA-L, B 162/4949 (II 204 AR-Z 393/59, Ghetto Liquidations in the Pinsk area, vol. 1), p. 145, statement of Isak Kaftan, February 5, 1972, however, dates its establishment in the spring of 1942.

7. BA-L, B 162/4949, p. 145, statement of Isak Kaftan, February 5, 1972.

8. "In Farnichtung un Pein," pp. 133–134.

9. BA-L, B 162/4950 (204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 2), p. 180, testimony of the accused Wilhelm Rasp, gives the figure of 1,600 to 1,700 victims in Wysock. DARO, R534-1-4, pp. 243–245, gives 1,800 on September 9, 1942. BA-L, B 162/14495, Urteil LG-Frank, 4 Ks 1/71, gegen Johann Kuhr u.a., February 6, 1973, p. 100, dates the Aktion on September 9, 1942. Also see AŻIH, 301/954.

10. BA-L, B 162/4958 (II 204 AR-Z 393/59, vol. 10), p. 2540, statement of Josef Niederer, December 6, 1962.

11. *Ibid.*, B 162/4949, p. 145, statement of Isak Kaftan, February 5, 1972.

12. *Ibid.*; "In Farnichtung un Pein," p. 135.

13. BA-L, B 162/II (204 AR-Z 393/59), statement of Mitschke.

14. *Ibid.*, B 162/II (204 AR-Z 393/59), p. 5376, statement of Josef Niederer, December 6, 1962; AŻIH, 301/2906; "In Farnichtung un Pein," p. 136.

15. BA-L, B 162/4949, p. 145, statement of Isak Kaftan, February 5, 1972.

ŻABINKA

Pre-1939: Żabinka, village, województwo poleskie, Poland; 1939–1941 and 1944–1990: Zhabinka, raion center, Brest oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Sbabinka, Rayon center, Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Zhabinka, Beras'tse voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Żabinka is located about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) east-northeast of Brześć. According to the 1921 population census,

445 Jews were living in Żabinka (73 percent of the total population). In the middle of 1941, allowing for an annual growth rate of around 0.9 percent per year, there were probably just over 500 Jews in Żabinka.

German forces occupied Żabinka on June 23, 1941. Shortly after their arrival, according to witnesses, a German tank destroyed the synagogue.¹

In the period from late June until August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. In September 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Rayon Shabinka was initially incorporated into Gebiet Kobryn; then as of December 1, 1941, it became a Rayon center within Gebiet Brest-Litowsk, in Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Żabinka. Jews were ordered to mark their clothes with the Star of David and later with yellow circles. They were forced to perform forced labor, forbidden to leave the limits of the village, and subjected to systematic robbery and beatings by the local police.

No eyewitness accounts by Jewish survivors from Żabinka are available, but according to the book *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* by Marat Botvinnik, a ghetto was established in Żabinka before the end of 1941. The local history work *Pamiats'. Zhabinkauskyy raen* indicates that the enclosure of the ghetto "only with gates" meant that the Jews were able to exchange their possessions for food with local inhabitants across the boundary of the ghetto. The German administration also forced the Jews to pay heavy "contributions" in the form of gold and jewels, promising them in exchange that they would be able to live.²

In March 1942, the occupying authorities conducted a census in Gebiet Brest-Litowsk. According to the results, reported by the Gebietskommissar in Brześć, there were 26,465 people living in Rayon Shabinka, including 676 Jews. The same report noted that in the Gebiet, Jews had been collected into ghettos and that the Jews from the villages had been resettled into the larger places.³

Responsible for security in Żabinka was a Gendarmerie post consisting of four Gendarmes, subordinated to the Gendarmerie Gebietsführer in Brześć, Bezirks-Leutnant der Gendarmerie Ernst Deuerlein. The Gendarmerie in turn was in charge of a local police unit (Schutzmannschaft), which in September 1942 consisted of 56 men.⁴

Conflicting accounts are available on the fate of the Jews of Żabinka. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the ghetto was liquidated in July 1942, when 339 Jews were transported to Małoryta and killed there together with the Jews of the Małoryta ghetto.⁵ The book by Marat Botvinnik, however, indicates that on September 27, 1942, the Germans and local police rounded up several hundred Jews from the ghetto in Żabinka, mostly women, children, and the elderly. The Jews were escorted to a ditch at the Jewish cemetery, where they had to remove their clothing and

shoes, and then were shot. In total, about 360 people were killed on that day. According to *Pinkas ha-kebilot*, on the other hand, the Jews of Żabinka were conveyed by rail to the Nazi mass killing site at Bronna Góra, where the Jews from Brześć and several other towns in the region were murdered in the fall of 1942 (Żabinka lies directly on the rail line from Brześć to Bronna Góra).

Following the liquidation of the ghetto, a Jewish labor camp containing about 100 Jews was set up in Żabinka. It was liquidated on October 21, 1942, when German police of the 10th Company of Police Regiment 15 shot all the remaining Jews.⁶

Some of the Jews were saved owing to the help of local residents. A Polish woman named Floria Budishevskaja hid a 12-year-old boy named Roma Levin and his friend Sonia Fefer in her own home. In June 1944, the local police arrested and killed Fefer. Levin was able to escape. Budishevskaja herself was arrested and shot in Brześć for hiding Jews.⁷

SOURCES Sparse information on the fate of the Jewish community of Żabinka during World War II can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 250–251; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 114, 125; *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:435; *Pamiats'. Zhabinkauskyy raen* (Minsk, 1999), p. 238.

Documents about the persecution and murder of the Jews in Żabinka can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBB0; BA-BL (R 94/7); GARF (7021-83-15); NARA; NARB; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. *Pamiats'. Zhabinkauskyy raen*, p. 238.
2. *Ibid.*
3. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gebietskommissar Brest-Litowsk, March 24, 1942; also available at NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 102.
4. BA-BL, R 94/7, report of Gendarmerie Gebietsführer Brest-Litowsk, September 5, 1942.
5. GARF, 7021-83-15, p. 6.
6. *Ibid.*, 7021-148-2, report of the 10th Company of Police Regiment 15, October 26, 1942. The company shot 461 Jews on that day at the Organisation Todt (OT) camp on the Brześć-Kobryń road, on the "state properties" of Zaderz and Petrowicze, and also in Żabinka. The OT camp apparently was located in the village of Chodosy (on the Brześć-Kobryń road to the southeast of Żabinka). In this camp, 196 Jews were killed. In October 2004, a monument was placed at the grave site.
7. I. Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), p. 443.

ZDOŁBUNÓW

Pre-1939: Zdołbunów, town, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Zdobunov, raion center, Rovno oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Sdolbunow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Zdobniv, raion center, Rivne oblast', Ukraine

Zdołbunów is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) south of Równe. According to the 1921 census, 1,262 Jews resided in Zdołbunów (17.3 percent of the total population). Assuming a population growth of 0.9 percent per year, the Jewish population of the town would have been approximately 1,500 in mid-1941.

Forces of the German 6th Army occupied Zdołbunów on June 30, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. It established a local Ukrainian administration and an auxiliary police force made up of local citizens. In September 1941, authority was handed over to a German civil administration. Zdołbunów became the administrative center of Gebiet Sdolbunow, which included Rayons Misotsch and Ostrog, as well as Rayon Sdolbunow. Hundertschaftsführer Georg Marschall became the Gebietskommissar.¹ From June 1942 to January 1943, his deputy was Otto Köller.

In the fall of 1941, a German Gendarmerie post was set up in the town (six to eight Gendarmes). It assumed control of the Ukrainian auxiliary police (Schutzmannschaft), initially of about 30 men. From June 5, 1942, to January 31, 1943, Wilhelm Wacker was head of the Zdołbunów Gendarmerie post. All the police forces of the Gebiet were subordinated to the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. Leutnant der Gendarmerie Joseph Paur held this position in Zdołbunów from May 1942 until the end of the year.²

In the summer and fall of 1941, a number of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Zdołbunów. After four weeks the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks on their clothing, initially armbands bearing the Star of David and, later, yellow patches. In the first days, Jews were simply seized off the street for forced labor, but subsequently the Judenrat had to supply a specific quota every day. Jews were forbidden to leave the town limits or to use the sidewalks. The German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police also subjected the Jews to frequent looting, beatings, and systematic terror.³

On August 7, 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion took place in Zdołbunów. On this day, several hundred Jews were selected on the basis of lists prepared by local Ukrainians, arrested, and shot.⁴ The Aktion was organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD unit (from Einsatzgruppe C) based in Równe. As most members of the first Judenrat were killed in this Aktion, a second Judenrat was formed under the leadership of Symcha Szleifstein, who undertook considerable efforts to protect the interests of the community.

At some time in the spring or early summer of 1942, the Gebietskommissar ordered the establishment of a ghetto in

Zdołbunów. Several hundred Jews from local villages together with the remaining Jews of the town (about 1,000 people) were moved into the ghetto. In total, some 1,500 Jews were confined there.⁵ Esther Barishman, a survivor of the ghetto, recalls that the ghetto was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the Ukrainian police. There was overcrowding in the ghetto, with about 5 people sharing each small room. Food rations were limited to a small amount of bread and sugar; many Jews risked sneaking out illegally to barter remaining possessions with Ukrainian farmers in the surrounding villages. There was no schooling in the ghetto, and no newspapers were available. However, there was one doctor available to help the sick.⁶ Following the liquidation of the ghetto in Równe in mid-July 1942, a few Jews who had managed to hide inside the ghetto and then escape made their way to Zdołbunów and found temporary refuge in the ghetto there.⁷

During the approximately six months in which the ghetto existed, the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police conducted numerous small Aktions. For example, in May 1942, a Jewish carpenter was publicly hanged. The most notorious Aktion was in August 1942. At that time, two Ukrainian policemen brutally killed an 18-year-old girl, Hanka Prussak, the daughter of the former cement factory owner. She was caught sitting on a bench in front of her house in the ghetto after the curfew. A few Hungarian soldiers who were nearby at the time heard the girl screaming and ran over to her. Having seen what the policemen had done, they beat them almost to death. Subsequently, in an attempt to improve the reputation of the local Ukrainian police, the Gebietskommissar invented the story that the girl had been killed by a Jew and demanded that the Judenrat either hand over the "killer" or surrender 10 hostages. Attempts by the Judenrat to bargain their way out of this demand were unsuccessful. Since it was impossible to find the "Jewish murderer," the Judenrat had no option but to select 10 elderly male and female Jews, who were subsequently shot by the German Gendarmerie in the quarries of the cement factory. One of the Jews was able to escape.⁸

On October 13, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. On this day, a Security Police and SD squad arrived from Równe to organize the Aktion. Shortly before, the German Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian police had received instructions to surround the ghetto and prevent any Jews from escaping. Then the Jews were brutally driven from their houses and collected at a central point to be loaded onto trucks. Those who resisted were killed on the spot; also, the German forces burned down several houses, which the Jews refused to leave. German railroad and postal workers based in the town apparently volunteered to take part in the Aktion. Many corpses were strewn on the streets of the ghetto. Those captured alive were taken on trucks to the killing site in the quarries of the cement plant in the village of Stary Mylsk. At the killing site, the victims had to remove all their clothing and lie flat in the ditch before they were shot in the back of the head.⁹ According to the survivor Jakub Mendziuk, at the killing site, about 500 young men attacked the Ukrainian guards. More than half of them were killed, but a number

escaped into the forests. Mendziuk subsequently joined a Soviet partisan unit in the region in which about one third of the members were Jews.¹⁰

Altogether, more than 2,000 Jews were murdered in Zdołbunów in the years 1941 and 1942.

A group of Jews was saved owing to the efforts of Hermann Friedrich Gräbe, who from September 1941 to January 1944 was the manager and chief engineer of a branch of the German construction firm Josef Jung based in Zdołbunów. Gräbe assisted a number of Jews in obtaining Aryan papers and also tried to keep other Jews alive by employing them on various projects, including opening another branch office in Poltava. He also cooperated closely with the head of the Judenrat, Szleifstein, and interceded on the Jews' behalf to ameliorate ransom payments demanded by Gebietskommissar Marschall. Unfortunately, due to the suddenness of the liquidation of the Zdołbunów ghetto, Gräbe could do little to save the Jews on this occasion. However, he went into the ghetto shortly after the Aktion and managed to rescue one of his Jewish employees, Mrs. Glueckson, who had been hiding there for several days with little food or water.¹¹

After the war, several former officials of the German civil administration and police in Zdołbunów were put on trial in Germany. On May 27, 1963, the Landgericht in Nürnberg-Fürth sentenced Paur and Wacker to seven years and three years eight months in prison, respectively (including the term of imprisonment before the trial). Otto Köller was acquitted. Another defendant, former Gendarme Friedrich Attinger, committed suicide before the start of the trial. On May 9, 1967, Landgericht Stade sentenced Georg Marschall to five years in prison. Marschall was convicted of being an accomplice in the hanging of a Jewish carpenter. In Poland, Rudolf Ignatowicz, an ethnic German, was sentenced to death in 1947 for capturing and handing over Jews in Gebiet Sdolbunow.

SOURCES Information on the persecution and destruction of the Jewish population of Zdołbunów can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kehillot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, vol. 5, *Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 87–88; “Zdołbunov,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, “Epos,” 2000), 4:480; Douglas Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno: The Stirring Story of Fritz Graebe, a German Christian Who Risked His Life to Lead Hundreds of Jews to Safety during the Holocaust* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1985).

Documents on the fate of the Jewish community of Zdołbunów can be found in these archives: AŻIH (301/1490, 1523, and 1795); BA-L; DARO; GARF (7021-71-50); IPN (SOJG 107); TsDAVO (3538-1-57); VHF (e.g., # 5328, 31286); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ilya Bourzman

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. See LG-Nürn verdict, May 27, 1963, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 553.

3. AŻIH, 301/1523, testimony of Helena Sztajnberg.

4. Sources vary on the number of persons shot during this first Aktion. Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem and the Federation of Volhynian Jews, 1990), p. 73, gives the figure of 400. GARF, 7021-71-50, pp. 37, 82, gives 450; 7021-71-50, p. 41 reverse, states that more than 700 people were killed.

5. Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 367.

6. VHF, # 5328, testimony of Esther Barishman.

7. AŻIH, 301/1490, testimony of Jontel Kaban.

8. LG-Nürn verdict, May, 27, 1963; VHF, # 31286, testimony of Elizabeth Jablonski.

9. LG-Nürn verdict, May, 27, 1963; GARF, 7021-71-50, pp. 35, 38, 83; TsDAVO, 3538-1-57, pp. 28–32; Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno*, pp. 82–83.

10. AŻIH, 301/1795, testimony of Jakub Mendziuk.

11. Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno*, pp. 41, 48–49, 85.

ZEN'KOV

Pre-1941: Zen'kov, town, Kamenets-Podolskii oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Zinkow, Rayon Winkowzy, Gebiet Dunajewzy, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Zin'kiv, Khmel'nyts'kyi oblast', Ukraine

Zen'kov is located about 18 kilometers (11 miles) southeast of Iarmolintsy. Just prior to the German invasion, the Jewish population of Zen'kov was approximately 2,248.

The German army occupied Zen'kov on July 12, 1941.¹ On the first day of the occupation, a Jew offered the Germans bread and salt. A German soldier shot him on his threshold.² In early August, the ghetto was set up. A few weeks later, Jews were ordered to wear yellow circles bearing Stars of David, one on the front of their clothes and one on the back.³

A Judenrat was established in the ghetto.⁴ The head of the Judenrat was a local bookkeeper.⁵ One Jewish policeman was named Avroham Vasilke.⁶ Jews were involved in various forms of forced labor, from working on the roads and the railroad to clearing snow. In May 1942, a group of men were taken to the front to deliver horses.⁷

Relatively few Germans were involved in the civil administration of the Zen'kov area. During 1942, there was only one official from the office of the Gebietskommissar, an SS man, and an agricultural commissioner. All the other officials were Ukrainian subordinates, mostly from the western Ukraine.⁸ The Ukrainian police force in Zen'kov, which was recruited locally, initially wore armbands, then later German uniforms, and carried rifles and rubber clubs with metal tips. They were not always issued with bullets, so they often used their rifles to beat people. Policemen were involved in robbing and killing Jews and sometimes raped Jewish women before they were shot. In the summer of 1942, one man bribed a policeman to let him escape, but the policeman killed him anyway.⁹

Nevertheless, control over the ghetto generally was relatively lax. Jews were able to sneak out of the ghetto at night, and some were even able to elude their guards and avoid coming home from their work details in the evenings.¹⁰ The relatively disorganized liquidation of the ghetto also reflects this laxity.

The mass killings were associated with pogroms. For the most part, they appear to have been carried out by local policemen with only minor German involvement. The first of these took place on May 9, 1942. To the music of a 100-piece band,¹¹ about 588 people were shot at a mass grave in Stanislavovka, on the outskirts of Zen'kov.¹² The next night, during a rainstorm, the bodies washed out of the grave and had to be reburied.¹³

After the May massacre, a second, smaller ghetto was created. In June 1942, more than 100 Jews were sent away to the forced labor camp at Leznevo, just to the east of Proskurov.¹⁴ Another mass killing took place on August 4, 1942. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 1,882 Jews were killed, but this figure is probably too high.¹⁵ A non-Jewish local inhabitant later recalled that during one of the roundups, many of the Jews were killed on the spot in their own houses. Afterwards, someone went around the ghetto and wrote the word "corpses" on those houses that contained bodies. A horse and cart were then used to transport the bodies to the mass grave.¹⁶

After the second large Aktion, the ghetto had shrunk to a single house.¹⁷ A final mass killing took place on October 7, 1942, when about 150 of the Jewish craftsmen who had been spared during the summer were murdered.¹⁸ The Germans then relocated the remaining 50 or so Jews to Dunaevtsy, where they were subsequently killed. In total, more than 2,000 Jews from the Zen'kov ghetto were massacred throughout the occupation.

The local police chief was Lisuk,¹⁹ and another police chief in the area was Busse, from Vin'kovtsy. The Gebietskommissar in Dunaevtsy was Gemeinschaftsführer Eggers. The Nazi officials involved in the massacres in Zen'kov included Kulmann, Göbelmann, Kelin, Schramm, Grapp, and Kran. Gebietskommissar Eggers and another Nazi by the name of Hofer were responsible for the mass killings in Dunaevtsy.²⁰ Another Ukrainian policeman was named Grach.²¹

Some 27 Jews are known to have survived the Zen'kov ghetto.²² Sonya Kipiler, a Jew from Zen'kov, operated a partisan unit in the vicinity of Zen'kov from late 1942 until the area was liberated in 1944.²³ Vladimir Kipiler escaped to Transnistria,²⁴ as did Semyon and Minya Gluzman²⁵ and Ida Vaynblat.²⁶ Shifra Reydman was hidden by a Ukrainian family.²⁷ The Foygelman and Abramovich families survived by hiding in an abandoned phosphate mine.²⁸

The statements of several surviving Jews can also be found in the 1947 Soviet trial of a local policeman named Hutsalov.²⁹

SOURCES There is a yizkor book for Zen'kov, *Pinkas Zen'kov* (Tel Aviv, 1966), compiled by Yisrael Roytbard, which in-

cludes the testimony of Ida Vaynblat from letters written in 1965. A number of other accounts regarding the Zen'kov ghetto have been published in translation in David Chapin and Ben Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev: The History and Culture of a Forgotten Jewish Community in Eastern Europe* (iUniverse, 2000), vol. 2, chap. 16, "Holocaust." In addition, there is a useful memoir written by Ilya Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt'* (New York: Effect Publishing, 1991).

Documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Zen'kov can be found in the following archives: DAKhO; GARF (7021-64-795); USHMM (RG-31.018M); YIU (no. 692); and YVA.

David Chapin and Ben Weinstock

NOTES

1. Newspaper *Za chesť rodiny*, no. 27, March 30, 1944.
2. Yehudis Vaynblat-Laufer (Ida Vaynblat) testimony, from letters written in 1965, compiled by Roytbard, in *Pinkas Zen'kov*, pp. 175–193; translated in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 736–743.
3. Vladimir Kisilevich Kipiler, 1992 testimony, in Pinkas Agmon and Anatolia Stepachenko, eds., *Vinnitskaia Oblast'. Katastrofa (Shoa) i soprotivlenie* (Tel Aviv: Beit Lokhamei ha-Tettaot, 1994), pp. 74–83; translated version in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 727–730. Also see YIU, Témoin no. 692.
4. Kipiler testimony.
5. Semyon Gluzman testimony recorded and translated by Vadim Altskan, July 20, 1998, USHMM; reproduced in Chapin and Weinstock, *The Road from Letichev*, pp. 730–736.
6. Vaynblat testimony.
7. Gluzman testimony.
8. Ibid.
9. USHMM, RG-31.018M (Ukrainian War Crimes Trials), reel 4, case 57654 against Mikolai Stepanovich Hutsalov, who worked for the German police in Zen'kov.
10. Vaynblat testimony; Kipiler testimony.
11. Vaynblat testimony.
12. Gluzman claims 800 people were killed, but the official Soviet records (GARF, 7021-64-795, p. 203) and Kipiler's testimony seem to support a lower number.
13. Gluzman and Vaynblat testimonies.
14. Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt'*.
15. GARF, 7021-64-795, p. 204; and Gluzman testimony.
16. YIU, Témoin no. 692.
17. Gluzman testimony.
18. Kipiler testimony.
19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
21. Gluzman testimony.
22. Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt'*.
23. Kipiler testimony.
24. Ibid.
25. Gluzman testimony.
26. Vaynblat testimony.
27. V. Lukin and B. Khaimovich, *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukraini* (Jerusalem, 1997), 1:108–109.
28. Vaynblat testimony, and Abramovich, *Ne Zabyt'*.
29. USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 4, case 57654.

ZOFJÓWKA (AND IGNATÓWKA)

Pre-1939: Zofjówka, village, województwo wołyńskie, Poland; 1939–1941: Zof'ivka, Volyn' oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Sofjewka, Rayon Zuman, Gebiet Luzk, Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien; post-1991: Zof'ivka, Volyn' oblast', Ukraine

Zofjówka is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) northeast of the city of Łuck.

It is estimated that the Jewish population of Zofjówka in 1939 was between 1,500 and 2,000. Ivan Katchanovski notes that the population “almost doubled when the Nazis brought in Jews from nearby villages and small towns and established a ghetto.”¹ Gad Rosenblatt explains the population growth after 1939 as resulting from the flight of Jews eastward following the German invasion of western Poland. He estimates that by 1941 there were 5,000 Jews in Zofjówka and 1,800 in Ignatówka, but these figures are probably too high.²

In late June 1941, Jews who had cooperated with the Communist regime fled to Russia. Members of the Ukrainian local police went from house to house, stealing and looting. Ukrainians from neighboring towns accused many of the Jews of being Communists and threatened to turn them in to the authorities. It was pure blackmail; the Jews paid them off in exchange for a promise of silence. Those who were unable to pay had to go into hiding.³

The German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The first chairman was Zechariah Antweg. Later it was headed by Yosef Weisman and Motel Tcherpek. Two German officials arrived to run the town: an Austrian named Kreiser and a German named Gruber.⁴

The Germans ordered all cattle and horses rounded up for shipment to Germany, thereby destroying the economic basis of the local Jews in agriculture. Then the Germans demanded a ransom of several hundred thousand rubles, to be collected and paid within five hours. The Judenrat imposed a levy on each family, and the funds were delivered. In response to an order to organize the Jews into groups for forced labor, the Judenrat prepared a list of eligible workers. The Judenrat also appointed Jewish policemen to enforce recruitment for forced labor. Each group was sent to work on 17-day rotations, often to places as much as a half-day’s march away. Those who returned were worn to the bone. Some never returned, having been tortured and killed by their German and Ukrainian guards. The Jews in Zofjówka, as also in the neighboring village of Ignatówka, were confined to their immediate area, thereby establishing open ghettos. A few, at great personal risk, would sneak out at night or just before dawn to barter clothing and jewelry for food, such as grain, potatoes, milk, or butter. Jews were denied use of the flour mill, so they devised crude illegal mills to grind the grain into rough, barely palatable flour.⁵

Jews who were craftsmen—blacksmiths, tailors, cobblers—were able to ply their trade and earn enough to buy food. But many Jews went hungry, subsisting on partially cooked rotten

potatoes and crusts of coarse bread. Those in forced labor, in the forests and sawmills, received one loaf of bread a week.⁶

From September 1941, power in the area was transferred to a German civil administration. Zofjówka became part of Rayon Zuman in Gebiet Luzk, which in turn belonged to the Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien. The Luzk Gebietskommissar was Regierungsassessor Lindner.⁷ The Jews in the town of Zuman (probably about 300) were all murdered in late August of 1941.⁸

Those Jews in Zofjówka who were skilled leather workers received special attention because their products were highly prized by the German officials. Early in the occupation an unusual event occurred. In the fall of 1941, a German named Klinger appeared on the scene, assigned as the “district commander” in charge of the local leather industry. He reportedly had a doctoral degree from a German university and carried the papers of an ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*). However, a rumor quickly spread among the Jews that he was neither German nor a *Volksdeutsche* but actually a Jew in disguise. He treated the Jews well, restrained the Ukrainian police from their usually harsh treatment, and made his headquarters in the home of a Jewish family. The Germans loved the leather products, which Dr. Klinger brought to their headquarters in Łuck. The leather workers were not assigned to the forced labor groups, and their families were not mistreated. Then, in December, Klinger, possibly concerned that his disguise was wearing thin, announced that he was leaving for Warsaw. The Jews begged him to stay, and he agreed to postpone his departure until the first day of March 1942. On that night the Judenrat arranged a small farewell party attended by the German officials Kreiser and Gruber. After Klinger left the gathering, he was ambushed by Ukrainian police—angry, perhaps, because of his restraints on their conduct—and murdered.⁹

In his place the Germans appointed a Ukrainian overseer, Panchenko, accompanied by his son, who was a local policeman (Schutzmann). Panchenko demanded and received weekly “payments” from the Jews. Later on, after the community had been decimated by the mass murders in July 1942, Jewish partisans captured him and sentenced him to death. However, Hershel Neiden, one of the “protected” leather workers, fearful of an even harsher replacement, persuaded the partisans to let him go.¹⁰

The plan for the mass murder of the Jews began on July 25, 1942. The Jews from the area were rounded up by the Ukrainian police and brought to Zofjówka’s main street for an “assembly.” The leather workers and their families were ordered to move to the nearby town of Szalisczce to set up their workshop as a labor battalion. The Jews from the neighboring villages of Ignatówka and Marjanowko were ordered to return home, pack up a small bundle of personal items, and return to Zofjówka within two hours. Elderly and sick Jews who were unable to move quickly enough were shot on the spot. At the sound of the shooting, many Jews ran off in every direction.¹¹

On July 26 the liquidation Aktion began. Some Jews were taken first to a field to dig two pits, each 30 meters (98 feet)

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long, which were to serve as mass graves. Then the remaining Jews were taken in trucks and by foot, 200 at a time, to the killing site. They were forced to undress and get into the pits, where the German forces machine-gunned them to death. An estimated 3,000 to 4,000 Jews were killed. A subsequent roundup of those Jews found in hiding led to the murder of another 1,000 on September 21, 1942. The “protected” leather workers were put to death in late December 1942. All in all, up to 6,000 Jews, including those from neighboring villages, were murdered in the Aktions in the fields near Zofjówka and Ignatówka.¹²

Some small groups and individuals escaped into the forests, many linking up with Soviet and Ukrainian partisans, including a few who joined the Kovpak division. Ivan Katchanovski provides some information on the fate of Ukrainians in the village of Klobuczyn, where some 200 survivors of the Zofjówka ghetto and a nearby village reportedly took refuge. On November 2, 1942, the Nazis, with the help of the local police, executed 137 residents (including women, elderly people, and 36 children) of Klobuczyn in reprisal for the actions of Ukrainian partisans who had helped Zofjówka Jews. These partisans took up arms against the Nazis and their collaborators, supplied weapons to a Jewish resistance group in Zofjówka, and executed a local peasant for killing Jews who escaped the Nazi massacres. The Klobuczyn partisans accepted Jewish partisans from Zofjówka into their unit and provided protection to more than 150 Jewish survivors who escaped the Nazi massacre in this village and nearby small Jewish settlements and were hiding in a forest near Klobuczyn. Many of these Jews later joined another Soviet/Ukrainian partisan unit in the region. Most were killed during combat with the Nazis.

Only about 40 Jews from Zofjówka survived until the end of the war.¹³ Among those who helped them to survive was Alojzy Ludwikowski, who helped to feed more than 30 Jews hiding in several bunkers in the forest or near his home. Unfortunately, some of the bunkers were discovered by the German Gendarmes and their collaborators, and not all of those he assisted managed to survive.¹⁴

SOURCES The yizkor book edited by Y. Vainer et al., *Ha-ilan ve-sboreshav; sefer korot Tal Zofjówka-Ignatówka* (Givataim, Israel: Beit-Tal, 1988), mainly in Hebrew, contains a number of personal accounts. The two entries by Gad Rosenblatt (pp.

249–254) and Isaac Borek (pp. 379–387) are the major sources of information on the war years. Some additional information can be found in an article by Ivan Katchanovski, “Everything Is Illuminated. Not!” *Prague Post*, October 7, 2004 (online review at praguepost.com). “Yaromel I,” a listing on the cemetery of Zofjówka, appears at the online site of the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies (www.jewishgen.org/cemetery).

Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Zofjówka and Ignatówka can be found in the following archives: AŽIH (301/2890); DAVO; GARF (7021-55-12); and YVA.

Samuel Fishman and Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Katchanovski, “Everything Is Illuminated. Not!”
2. Vainer et al., *Ha-ilan ve-sboreshav; sefer korot*, p. 249.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 250, 379.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 380.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 250; Shmuel Spector, ed., *Pinkas ha-kebilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland, vol. 5, Volhynia and Polesie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1990), pp. 88–91.
6. Vainer et al., *Ha-ilan ve-sboreshav; sefer korot*, p. 251.
7. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
8. Aleksandr Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kbolokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond “Pamiat’ zhertv fashizma,” 2000), p. 30; GARF, 7021-55-12, p. 4. About 500 people were killed altogether, including Ukrainians and Poles.
9. Vainer et al., *Ha-ilan ve-sboreshav; sefer korot*, pp. 252, 380.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 252.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 253.
12. *Ibid.*; see also GARF, 7021-55-12, p. 4. DAVO, R2-1-196, pp. 218–219, Report to the Generalkommissar in Luzk, notes that the Aktions against the Jews in the Kołki, Olyka, and Zuman Rayons took place between July 26 and July 29, 1942. A. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 207, gives only the figure of more than 2,000 victims for the Zuman raion.
13. Katchanovski, “Everything Is Illuminated. Not!”
14. See Wronski Stanisław and Maria Zwolakowa, eds., *Polacy-Żydzi 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 1971), pp. 391–393; see also YVA, Collection of the Righteous Among the Nations, M-31/2145.

ZHYTOMYR REGION



Jews are rounded up in Zhitomir and forced to watch the hanging of Mosche Kogan and Wolf Kieper on the market square, August 7, 1941.

USHMM WS #17547, COURTESY OF YIVO

ZHYTOMYR REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT SHITOMIR)

Pre-1941: Zhitomir and parts of the Vinnitsa, Poles'e, and Gomel' oblasts, Ukrainian and Belorussian SSRs; 1941–1944: initially Rear Area, Army Group South, then from October 1941, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: parts of central Ukraine and southern Belarus

Generalkommissariat (Gk) Sbitomir was a German administrative unit carved out of the pre-war Soviet Vinnitsa, Zhitomir, Poles'e, and Gomel' oblasts. The period of ghettoization in Gk Sbitomir lasted from July 1941 until the spring of 1942. In total, there were some 58 ghettos established in Gk Sbitomir. The last ghettos, mainly remnant ghettos that resembled forced labor camps, were liquidated in the winter of 1942–1943, although small groups of specialist workers survived in some places until later in 1943.

In 1939, the Zhitomir oblast' contained 125,007 Jews, and the Vinnitsa oblast' had 141,825 Jews, of which just over half—about 75,000 Jews—lived in the area that subsequently became part of Gk Sbitomir. In the Belorussian portions of the region, more than 17,000 Jews lived in Mozyr' and over 7,000 in Rechitsa, the two largest urban centers. Therefore, allowing for an evacuation rate of up to 50 percent, it can be estimated that more than 110,000 Jews remained in the area of Gk Sbitomir at the start of the German occupation.

The video and oral testimonies of Jewish survivors taken by the USC Shoah Foundation Institute (VHF) and other organizations since 1990 have added considerably to our knowledge of ghettoization. These have proved especially valuable in helping to identify a number of previously unknown ghettos in Gk Sbitomir, for which little or no German documentation is available. At least 21 open ghettos have been identified in the region, including several not mentioned in the existing scholarly literature. For example, on July 15, 1941, a week after the occupation of the town, the German commandant established a "Jewish residential district" (open ghetto) in Chudnov in a part of town that had been severely damaged in the fighting. One main street and a few side streets were reserved only for the Jews, but there was no barbed wire surrounding the area.¹ Another early open ghetto was in Baranovka, created at the end of July 1941 by the German military administration in a few small houses on Zhaboritskaya Street.² The Germans conducted several Aktions in Baranovka during the summer of 1941 but did not liquidate the ghetto until January 6, 1942. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report and German Einsatzgruppen reports, the Germans established an open ghetto in Radomyshl' in August 1941. A detachment of Einsatzgruppe C used this ghetto primarily to concentrate the Jews of the surrounding area for their rapid destruction within a few weeks.³

One striking feature about Gk Sbitomir is the difference between the northern part, where there were few ghettos, most of which were short-lived (such as the ghetto in Iuro-

vichi that existed for just over one month), and the southern part, where more than a dozen ghettos, mostly remnant ghettos set up for selected laborers and their families, existed for more than six months, that is, until the second wave of mass killings in the spring and summer of 1942. The overlap between the local ghetto inmates and the labor force used for work on Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV (DG IV) seems to have been much less in this region than in neighboring Gk Kiev or Gk Wolhynien und Podolien. Most of the Jewish labor used on DG IV appears to have been brought in from Romanian-occupied Transnistria in the summer of 1942, just after the liquidation of most remaining ghettos in Gk Sbitomir.⁴

For the area around Vinnitsa, which was captured by the German 17th Army in mid-July 1941, the initial activities of the military administration are well documented. A provisional town administration was appointed on July 22, 1941. Then Rayonchefs were appointed in the surrounding area, while a labor office (Arbeitsamt), housing office (Wohnungsamt), and a food supply office (Ernährungsamt) were established in Vinnitsa.⁵ A local police force was also recruited from volunteers and made answerable to the local mayors and the military administration. The military authorities were not always satisfied with the loyalty of Ukrainian nationalist appointees, and some were subsequently dismissed. The local police guarded the Jews as they performed their forced labor, repairing war damage in the streets and performing other tasks for the German authorities. In Vinnitsa, the Jews had to wear armbands bearing the Star of David, but there was no immediate ghettoization.⁶



Unidentified men examine a field strewn with the clothing of 4,000 Jews in Vinnitsa, 1941–1942.

USHMM WS #25246, COURTESY OF YIVO

As the research of Alexander Kruglov indicates, the first wave of mass shootings was particularly devastating in the core territories of the Zhitomir oblast'. Learning from the rapid slaughter of more than 23,000 Jews organized by the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland-Süd, SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, at the end of August 1941 in Kamenets-Podolskii (area of Gk Wolhynien und Podolien), units of Einsatzgruppe C and the Order Police murdered more than 40,000 Jews in the Zhitomir oblast' (about three quarters of all those killed there) in the three months of August, September, and October.⁷ Wendy Lower demonstrates that some of the larger ghettos, such as that in Berdichev, were established with the idea of destruction clearly in mind. Here Jeckeln ordered the establishment of a ghetto on August 26 and then completed the mass murder of the bulk of the ghetto's Jews (between 10,000 and 15,000 people) within three weeks, by mid-September.⁸

In the southern part of Gk Shitomir (the northern part of Vinnitsa oblast'), however, this first wave was not quite so lethal. Kruglov's estimates indicate that roughly half of the remaining Jews were killed here in 1941, with the second wave in 1942 accounting for most of the rest. In Vinnitsa, more than 5,000 of the 18,000 Jews that came under German occupation were still alive in January 1942. Some nearby towns, such as Brailov and Khmel'nik, escaped with only minor losses in the summer and fall of 1941, and both military and civil authorities pursued a more concerted policy of establishing ghettos in this area.

On October 20, 1941, the German military was replaced by a civil administration in Gk Shitomir. The Generalkommissar in Shitomir was Polizeipräsident Kurt Klemm. In Gk Shitomir, low-level administrative posts were filled mainly with reliable Ukrainians, a few Russians, and some ethnic Germans. The office of Reichskommissar Erich Koch issued orders only to establish "Jewish residential districts" (ghettos) in localities with more than 200 Jews. The inmates of the ghettos were to be prohibited from leaving the premises without special authorization.⁹

In practice, the local Gebietskommissars played a key role in establishing, overseeing, and liquidating the ghettos, alongside the offices of the Security Police and the Order Police. In Olevisk, in the northern part of Gk Shitomir, for example, on the establishment of the German civil administration, the assistant Gebietskommissar, Neukirchner, issued an order for the Jews to be ghettoized. The Polis'ka Sich (Ukrainian nationalist activists) and the local Ukrainian police then forced the entire Jewish population to move into a ghetto established on three streets. This ghetto was then liquidated within a few weeks, with the active participation of the Ukrainian police and some members of the Sich.¹⁰

Yet the existence of ghettos for much longer periods in places such as Ruzhin, Lipovets, Teplik, Ternovka, and Zhorishche reflects the intention of some German administrators to exploit skilled Jewish labor, where possible, at least for a few more months. Many of the ghettos were remnant ghettos, established in the wake of mass killing Aktions. This was the

case, for example, in Litin. On December 19, 1941, a squad of German Security Police from Vinnitsa organized the shooting of some 2,000 Jews in the town. The German authorities selected about 200 craftsmen and their families, who were placed into a ghetto comprising a few houses on two narrow streets.¹¹ The Germans also subsequently permitted those Jews who had hidden during the mass shooting to enter the ghetto. Around 300 Jews were concentrated there surrounded by a fence. The Jews were prohibited from leaving on pain of death. Although food was scarce and hunger severe, nobody was allowed to go to the market to obtain food.¹²

In Ruzhin, after a mass shooting Aktion in September, a remnant ghetto consisting of a "barrack camp surrounded by barbed wire" was established for selected specialists and surviving Jews brought in from the surrounding villages. The Ukrainian village elder ordered the Jews to renovate about 200 former Jewish houses for the use of the Germans and the Ukrainian police, who guarded the ghetto. The Germans appointed a Jewish elder by the name of Yankele, who organized several craft workshops.¹³

Living conditions in most ghettos were harsh, depending especially on access to additional food supplies. Trading with non-Jews was possible for many ghetto inhabitants, but other than craftsmen, most had little to trade, and the Ukrainian population, especially in the cities, was itself short of food. Anna Grinboim, a survivor from Pogrebishche, recalled: "There was no water to drink or to wash with, no food, terrible hunger. Occasionally kind Ukrainians came and brought food they had already prepared. Every morning all the young people and all the men were taken to work." Her own work consisted mainly of cleaning—streets, bathrooms, and stores. Anna's grandmother died of hunger, as did many others. No holidays were celebrated in the Pogrebishche ghetto, and there were very few children, since most of them had been killed in the first Aktion. The most terrible thing, she recalled, was the knowledge that sooner or later there would be another Aktion to end it all.¹⁴

Apart from the craftsmen, who mainly produced clothing and tools for the Wehrmacht, German officials, and also (sometimes clandestinely) for the Ukrainian population, the Jews in the ghettos of Gk Shitomir were engaged in a variety of forced labor tasks. These included work in agriculture, cleaning the streets and clearing them of snow in winter, construction work, and for Jewish women, cleaning the quarters of German officials. Those who worked were more likely to receive some meager rations. Many survivors stress the deadly role of the Ukrainian police. Michael Tokar, for example, reported that "anyone who refused to work was killed on the spot. The Ukrainian police drank all the time and would beat the Jews just for fun in their drunken stupor."¹⁵

The attitudes of the local population towards the ghettos varied from direct participation in German anti-Jewish policies to providing assistance and shelter. The local Ukrainian police hunted down Jews who escaped from ghettoization, and they participated in mass shootings. Ukrainian guards also harassed and brutalized Jewish labor details. In some places

Ukrainian policemen moved into vacated Jewish apartments. On the other hand, many of the few Jewish survivors state that they managed to escape death because of the bravery and kindness of individual Ukrainians. In Gk Shitomir some Jews escaped from the ghettos and joined the Soviet partisans, while others passed as non-Jews, hid in the countryside, or escaped to the Romanian-occupied zone (Transnistria), where conditions were much less lethal by the end of 1942. A handful were even deported to Germany as forced laborers, while passing as non-Jews.

Although the killings never completely ceased in the winter of 1941–1942, as explosives were used to prepare mass graves, for example, in Strizhavka, despite the frost, the second wave in Gk Shitomir effectively began in the spring of 1942. Following the murder of most of the remaining Jews in Vinnitsa on April 15, 1942, an intensified wave of mass shooting Aktions was organized by the Security Police and SD, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the local Ukrainian police. These Aktions swept away most of the remaining ghettos in May and June of 1942.

In Samgorodok, a ghetto was established for the 500 Jews living there only in mid-May 1942, shortly before its liquidation on June 4. The local police chief selected out 10 or 15 specialist workers, who were sent to Kazatin and subsequently shot by the SD in September. Gebietskommissar Wolfgang Steudel carefully supervised the mass shooting in person.¹⁶ Other mass shootings were carried out at this time against the ghettos in Pliskov, Monasteryshche, Lipovets, and Vcheraishe. In the small town of Gnivan, near Vinnitsa, where no ghetto was established, about 100 Jews were killed in the early part of the summer of 1942, most of whom were women and children.¹⁷

In early June 1942, the Generalkommissar in Shitomir reported that: “the Jewish question has for the most part been settled in my region. That valuable labor was often eliminated is well known. 434 Jews were resettled in Gebiet Illinzi, 606 Jews in Ruzhin.”¹⁸ This report reflects the intensive steps taken to reduce the remaining Jewish population of the region at this time and at least on paper to declare the region cleansed of Jews (*judenrein*). In practice, however, many hundreds of Jews remained in Gk Shitomir after this date, mostly in small remnant ghettos for craftsmen but also in some forced labor camps, including those used for road construction along the DG IV, which contained mainly Jews who were being brought in from Transnistria.

Confirmation of the active role played by the Ukrainian local police in the ghetto liquidation Aktions can be found in a German report recommending the Ukrainian Schutzmann, Wasyl Palamartschuk, in Samgorodok, for a decoration in 1943, as he had “especially distinguished himself during the resettlement of the Jews in June 1942 and in the subsequent apprehension of individual Jews who variously concealed themselves.”¹⁹

The Vinnitsa Gendarmerie Captain issued an order in June 1942 that Jews were no longer to be employed by the Gendarmerie.²⁰ Most of the remaining specialist workers did not survive the summer sweep for long. At the beginning of

August 1942, members of the Security Police outpost in Berdichev shot more than 300 Jewish workers. In Ruzhin, 44 Jews were shot by members of the SD on October 1, 1942.²¹

Some Jews managed to survive the roundups during the second wave by hiding in cellars and other places of concealment. They later sought refuge in the surrounding countryside. However, the Gendarmerie in the region threatened severe reprisals against entire villages if they failed to report any Jews hiding in the vicinity.²² Over the ensuing nine months from July 1942, most of the Jews in hiding were captured by the Gendarmerie and local police (Schutzmannschaft). For example, on March 1, 1943, a patrol from the Gendarmerie post in Samgorodok found two female Jews, Busa and Sulka Chernus, hiding in a hayrick, and they were then “shot trying to escape.”²³

The Khmel’nik ghetto was probably the last to be liquidated in Gk Shitomir, on March 3, 1943. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, more than 1,000 people were shot on that day.²⁴ The 135 artisans who survived the massacre (127 men and 8 women) were put into a school building that was turned into a labor camp. The craftsmen had to train Ukrainians as their replacements; 67 people managed to escape from this camp before the remainder were killed in turn.²⁵ Some Jewish skilled laborers held in a Security Police prison in Berdichev were shot on January 3, 1944, just as the Germans were being forced out of the region by the Red Army.²⁶

SOURCES There are only a few secondary works dealing specifically with the fate of the Jews and particularly with German ghettoization policies in Gk Shitomir. Among these are: Martin Dean, “The German *Gendarmerie*, the Ukrainian *Schutzmannschaft* and the ‘Second Wave’ of Jewish Killings in Occupied Ukraine: German Policing at the Local Level in the Zhitomir Region, 1941–44,” *German History*, 14: 2 (1996): 168–192; Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005); A. Kruglov, *Unichtozhenie evreiskogo naseleniia v Vinnitskoi oblasti v 1941–1944 gg.* (Mogilev-Podil’skyi, 1997); and I.S. Finkel’shtein, “Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.,” in *Katastrofa i sprotivlennia ukrainskogo evreistva (1941–1944)* (Kiev, 1999), pp. 51–87.

Of the many books and articles on the Holocaust in Ukraine, the following include key information on this specific region: Dieter Pohl, “The Murder of Ukraine’s Jews under German Military Administration and in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine,” in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008); Wendy Lower, “Facilitating Genocide: Nazi Ghettoization Practices in Occupied Ukraine, 1941–1942,” in Eric J. Sterling, ed., *Life in the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005), pp. 120–144; A. Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Khar’kov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the*

Holocaust (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001); Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, eds., *V ognie katastrofy (Sboa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzat-Heim, Israel: Izdatel'stvo "Beit lokhamei kha-gettaot," 1998); Samuil Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit: O katastrofe i geroizme evreev v gorodakh i mestechkakh Ukrainy* (New York, 1995); A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1987); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DACHO; DAVINO; DAZO; GAGOMO; GARF; NARA; NARB; PAAKag; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 195–205, 268–273; TsDAHOU, 57-4-225, p. 33.
2. Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 53–57.
3. GARF, 7021-60-309, p. 21; BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 88, September 19, 1941.
4. See BA-L, ZStL, AR-Z 20/1963 (Ermittlungen wegen Verbrechen im Generalkommissariat Shitomir und an der DG IV).
5. BA-MA, RH 26/125-4, XLIX Corps order no. 48, July 20, 1941; RGVA, 1275-3-662, pp. 3–13, reports of FK 675, Abt. VII to Sich. Div. 444, August 1 and 11, 1941.
6. RGVA, 1275-3-662, reports of FK 675 Abt. VII to Sich. Div. 444, August 1, 11, 14, and 31, 1941; BA-MA, RH 22/5, Commander of Rear Army, Area South, Abt. VII, July 21, 1941.
7. A. Kruglov, "Jewish Losses in Ukraine, 1941–1944," in Brandon and Lower, *The Shoah in Ukraine*, p. 278.
8. Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, pp. 76–77.
9. TsDAVO, 3206-2-30, pp. 13 verso, 23 and verso.
10. GARF, 7021-149-31, pp. 19 verso, 26, 32, 178.
11. YVA, M-33/196, pp. 6–16; BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, pp. 556–557 (Abschlussbericht). This report indicates that 300 men, 500 women, and 1,186 children were murdered.
12. YVA, O-3/7372; also O-3/6401; PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich on April 5, 2005.
13. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 17–18; TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48; M. Belilovskii, *Povedai synu svoemu: Da budut korni nashi zbiivy* (Moscow; Houston: M. Belilovskii, 1998), pp. 197–199.
14. VHF, # 20772.
15. Ibid., # 28086.
16. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 188/67, vol. 1, pp. 229–231; DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 169, SS and Polizei Gebietsführer Kasatin, September 30, 1942.
17. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 136/67; Vysotsky et al., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine*, pp. 162–163.
18. BA-BL, R 6/310, p. 17, Generalkommissar Shitomir, June 3, 1942.
19. DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 163, Gend. Samgorodok, May 31, 1942.
20. Ibid., 1182-1-36, p. 30, Gend. Gebiet Ruzhin, June 14, 1942.
21. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 16, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), Lfd. Nr. 490, pp. 346–348; DAZO, 1182-1-36, pp. 235–238, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Ruzhin, November 5, 1942.
22. DAZO, 1182-1c-2, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Kasatin, Behrens to Gend.-Posten in Samgorodok and Pogrebishche, July 6, 1942.
23. DAZO, 1182-1-6, pp. 157, 164–165.
24. GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229; the official figure of 1,300 is probably too high. See also BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, p. 571.
25. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 65–66.
26. GARF, 7021-60-285, pp. 8, 48–49.



Ghettoes in the Zhytomyr Region

1941 - 1942



Borders as of 1942

ANDRUSHEVKA

Pre-1941: Andrushevka, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Andrushevka, Rayon center, Gebiet Berditschew, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Andrushevka, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Andrushevka is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, there were 658 Jews living in Andrushevka (10.3 percent of its total population).

German armed forces occupied the town on July 16, 1941, almost three weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country.

In the period from July to October 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town, and it set up a Rayon authority and an auxiliary police force, made up of local residents. In late October 1941, the military administration was replaced by a German civil administration. Until liberation on December 26, 1943, Andrushevka was part of Gebiet Berditschew in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. In the summer of 1942, the Ukrainian police (Schutzmannschaft) in Andrushevka consisted of about 30 men, which was by then subordinated to a small squad of German Gendarmerie based in the town. One of the leaders of the Ukrainian police in Andrushevka was a man named Ivan Meisko.¹

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in Andrushevka. The Jews were required to wear armbands with a Star of David, perform various types of forced labor, remain within the confines of the town, and hand over all their valuables. Jews were forbidden to sell products in the market, while the local Ukrainian inhabitants were forbidden to associate in any way with Jews, and those who violated this order were subjected to flogging.

On August 19, 1941, the first Aktion took place in Andrushevka when 252 Jews were rounded up and shot in a forest 300 meters (0.2 mile) southeast of town. At this time the Ukrainians started to rob the Jews' houses, and a ghetto was established. Local Ukrainians assisted the Germans in identifying the Jews. Other Jews who were caught in the surrounding area were brought to the Andrushevka ghetto.²

In the ghetto, the Jews were always obliged to inform the police exactly where they were going, and all the Jews had to wear the Star of David on their chest and their back to show that they were Jewish. The Ukrainian policemen beat Jews on the street, even those they had known since before the war, simply because they were Jewish. Some local Ukrainians, however, did help out, by bringing potatoes and bread to the Jews in the ghetto, as they had nothing else to eat.³

The ghetto was always surrounded by both Ukrainian police and Germans. The Jews did not live in apartments but in a stable normally used for horses. Everyone slept on the floor. Several families lived together under very cramped condi-

tions. The young people in the ghetto were forced to work every day from dawn to dusk. There was no doctor in the ghetto. If someone got sick, they were more or less left to die. The ghetto remained in existence for about nine months.⁴

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in May 1942 when 223 people were shot in a forest 500 meters (0.3 mile) from the town hospital.⁵ A small group of Jewish craftsmen was sent to a labor camp in Berdichev, all of whom were shot in July 1942, along with other Jews, when that camp was liquidated.

A Jewish girl from Andrushevka managed to survive, as she was outside the ghetto fetching milk at the time of the roundup. She was spotted by a German patrol but succeeded in convincing them that she was not Jewish with the help of a Ukrainian woman, who claimed she was her daughter. She survived in hiding with a Ukrainian family until the end of the occupation.⁶

SOURCES Information about the destruction of Andrushevka's Jewish population can be found in the following publications: "Andrushevka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:46; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 44.

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Andrushevka under German occupation can be found in the following archives: DAZO (e.g., 1151-1-703); GARF (7021-60-281); USHMM (e.g., Acc.1996.A.0269 [DAZO]); VHF (# 44736); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaft Winniza, order no. 18/42, July 25, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-60-281, p. 16. VHF, # 44736, testimony of Raisa Pinsker; one of the victims on August 19 was the witness's older sister.
3. VHF, # 44736.
4. Ibid.
5. GARF, 7021-60-281, p. 16; O. Herasymov, ed., *Knyha pam'iaty Ukrainy. Zhytomyrs'ka oblast'. Tom 1* (Zhitomir: L'onok, 1993). According to the lists of names, 349 Jews were murdered in Andrushevka in the years 1941–1942.
6. VHF, # 44736.

BARANOVKA

1938–1941: Baranovka, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Baranowka, Rayon center, Gebiet Zwiabel (Nowograd-Wolynskyy) Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Baranivka, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Baranovka is located 70 kilometers (44 miles) west of Zhitomir. In the census of 1939, there were only 1,447 Jews in Baranovka (22.9 percent of the total population) and 839 additional Jews in the villages of the raion, totaling 2,286.

1516 ZHYTOMYR REGION

German forces occupied Baranovka on July 6, 1941. After the start of the invasion, a number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were called up or enlisted voluntarily in the Red Army. Around 70 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Baranovka at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the settlement. The German military administration created a local raion authority and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force, which took part in the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to the German civil administration. Baranovka was incorporated into Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskij (aka Zwiahel), and Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskij was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shtomir in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.¹

Soon after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur instructed the raion authority to register and mark the Jews. The Jews were required to wear an armband around their sleeves and to perform forced labor (repairing roads, stockpiling timber, and other tasks). At the end of July 1941, the German military administration decreed the establishment of an open ghetto ("Jewish residential district") in the center of the settlement, composed of a few small houses on Zhaboritskaia Street.² Jews were prohibited from going outside the borders of the ghetto to buy products from Ukrainians. As a result, famine quickly ensued.

On July 19, 1941, the first Aktion took place: 74 Jewish men were seized and killed in the center of the settlement.³ In all likelihood, it was a detachment of the German Security Police and SD from Sonderkommando 4a (part of Einsatzgruppe C) that carried out the shooting.⁴

About two weeks later, German security forces drove out in three cars towards the town of Poninka (south of Baranovka), where they shot 100 Jews. This massacre was probably carried out by units of the 8th SS-Motorized Infantry Regiment of the 1st SS-Motorized Infantry Brigade, which was active in the area from July 29 to 30, 1941.⁵

The third Aktion took place in Baranovka on August 24, 1941.⁶ German forces, directed by a detachment of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, escorted 180 people to a location 7 kilometers (4 miles) west of the settlement and shot them.⁷

In November 1941, all the remaining able-bodied Jewish men were taken to the forced labor camp in Novograd-Volynskii.⁸ The women, children, and elderly remained in the ghetto until the beginning of January 1942. On January 6, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto, and the Ukrainian police shot 594 people on the northern outskirts of the settlement. These were the Jewish residents of Baranovka and also the Jews who lived in nearby villages.⁹

More than 1,000 Jews were murdered in Baranovka between July 1941 and January 1942.

During the second half of 1941, 119 Jews in total were murdered in the villages of the Baranovka raion.¹⁰ In Dubrovka, 50 people were killed; in Pershotravensk, 40; in Seremlia, 22; in Kashperovka, 4; and in other villages, 3.

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jews of Baranovka during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 87; and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 53–57.

Documents and witness statements regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews in the Baranovka raion can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-60-283); GAZO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Testimony of Eva Gladkaia, in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev, 1999), pp. 96–97; available also in English as Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 53–57.
3. Act of January 10, 1944, *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, vol. 13 (Voenizdat, 1945), p. 50.
4. Alfred Streim, *Das Sonderkommando 4a der Einsatzgruppe C und die mit diesem Kommando eingesetzten Einheiten während des Russlandfeldzuges in der Zeit vom 22.6.1941 bis zum Sommer 1943* (Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen in Ludwigsburg, 1964), p. 170.
5. See Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), p. 228 n.17.
6. VHAP (USHMM, RG-48.004M), HSSPF-Russland Süd, Jeckeln Telegram, no. 160, August 25, 1941. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 87, date this Aktion on August 19, 1941.
7. Act of January 10, 1944, *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*, vol. 13, p. 50.
8. Testimony of Eva Gladkaia.
9. Act of January 10, 1944. (See note 3) Alexander
10. GARF, 7021-60-283, pp. 162–167. These numbers only included those Jews who could be identified by name. The actual number of people killed was greater than this.

BARASHI

Pre-1941: Barashi, village and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Baraschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Emiltschino, Generalkommissariat Shtomir, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Barashi, Emil'chine raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Barashi is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) northwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 population census, 320 Jews lived in the village (10 percent of the total population). Altogether there were 549 Jews living in the Barashi raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, more than half the Jewish population was able to evacuate

to the east. At that time eligible men were drafted into the Red Army or volunteered. Around 30 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

German armed forces occupied Barashi on July 12, 1941. During July and August, the German military administration created a local authority and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in all the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Baraschi was a Rayon center in Gebiet Emiltschino, and Kreisobmann Dau was appointed the Gebietskommissar.¹

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military administration issued orders for the registration and marking of the Jewish population with armbands. Jews were also required to perform heavy labor without pay.

In the summer of 1941, the German military administration ordered the establishment of a small open ghetto, or "Jewish residential quarter," in the village of Barashi. Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the ghetto and from buying products from the local Ukrainians. Some Jews were also brought into the ghetto from surrounding villages. Famine quickly ensued. The ghetto existed until early November 1941.² At that time, all the Jews living in the ghetto were shot. There were at least 37 victims in total and probably as many as 100. The mass shootings were conducted by three SS officers, with the help of the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police from Barashi and Nepoznanichi. They escorted the Jews to a bushy area 3 kilometers (2 miles) east of Nepoznanichi. The younger Jewish men were forced to dig a grave, and then all the victims had to undress. The three SS men then shot the Jews into the grave in groups of 7 to 10 people.³

In the fall of 1941 and spring of 1942, Jews were murdered in a number of villages within the Baraschi Rayon. There were 2 Jews killed in Simony; 3 Jews killed in Buda-Bobritsa; 10 Jews killed in Kremyanka; 15 Jews killed from Novoaleksandrovska (apparently Jews who were taken to Barashi and murdered there in October 1941); and 23 Jews from Staraia Guta (shot in March 1942). The total number of victims was 53 Jews.⁴

SOURCES Documents regarding the murder of the Jews in the Barashi raion can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/204 AR-Z 133/67); DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-284).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. GARF, 7021-60-284, p. 3.

3. BA-L, B 162/204 AR-Z 133/67, Dok. Bd., pp. 39–45, and vol. 2, pp. 302–324. According to the documents of the ChGK in Barashi, 37 Jews were murdered. It is possible, however, that these victims included only those who had known or identifiable surnames.

4. GARF, 7021-60-284, pp. 45, 82, 128, 132, 155.

BERDICHEV

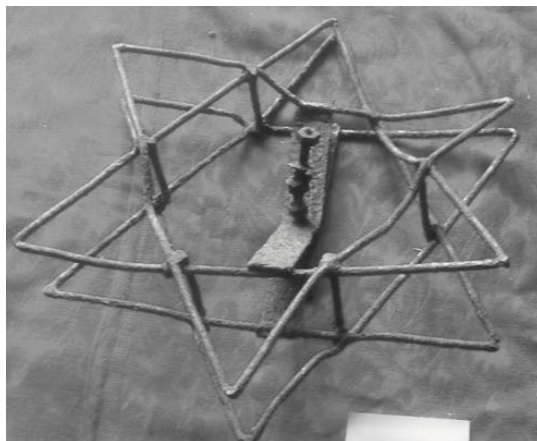
Pre-1941: Berdichev, city and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Berditschew, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Berdychiv raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Berdichev is located 44 kilometers (27 miles) south of Zhitomir. In 1939, the Jewish population stood at 23,266 (37.5 percent of the total population).

On the evening of July 7, 1941, about two weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the city was occupied by the 11th Panzer Division of the XLVIII Motorized Corps of the 6th Army. Around 10,000 people, the majority of whom were Jews, were evacuated or managed to escape from the city. An undeterminable number of Jews also relocated to the outskirts of the city, settling in nearby small towns and villages.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office ran the affairs of the city. The German commandant established a local administration in Berdichev, headed by the ethnic German mayor Reder, who was assisted by his deputy Slipchenko and the secretary Schmidt. The Germans also established a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, recruited from among the local residents. Koroliuk was appointed as its chief. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Berdichev became the administrative center of Gebiet Berditschew. Regierungsrat Erwin Göllner became the Gebietskommissar. In November 1941, three additional appointments were made. Unterleutnant der Polizei Kölle from the police administration in Breslau became the SS- und Polizeistandortführer. Oberleutnant der Polizei



An iron Jewish star that presumably was part of the ghetto fence at Berdichev, n.d. The star, which is a fraction over 1 foot long and 1 foot wide, was found in 2006 by repairmen working on pipes beneath the site of the former ghetto.

COURTESY OF YAHAD-IN UNUM

Becker from the police administration in Bochum became the head of the Schutzpolizei. Finally, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Karl Kurzhals became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Berdichev. Gebiet Berditschew encompassed the Rayons of Iamushpol' and Andrushevka, in addition to the city and Rayon of Berdichev. The new Gebiet Berditschew was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir.¹

In early to mid-July 1941, Sonderkommando 4a was the first of a series of German punitive units to be active in the city of Berdichev. From the end of July to the end of August 1941, Einsatzkommando 5, commanded by SS-Standartenführer Schulz, was deployed in the city.

From August 26 to September 20, 1941, the military staff of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland-Süd, headed by SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln, was present in Berdichev. Also present from September 5 to 21, 1941, was the 45th Police Reserve Battalion, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Besser. Jeckeln was in charge of all large-scale coordinated police operations. His staff and the members of the 45th Battalion carried out mass killings of the Jewish population in the city in September 1941.²

At the beginning of 1942, a local office of the Security Police (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) was established in Berdichev. From February to June 1942, SS-Sturmbannführer Fritz Sievert was in charge of the post. He was succeeded from June to August 1942 by SS-Hauptsturmführer Alois Hülsdünker, and from the middle of August 1942 until the end of the occupation on January 5, 1944, by SS-Hauptscharführer Fritz Knop.³

The first murders of Jews in the city of Berdichev were carried out by detachments of the German armed forces in the form of the Waffen-SS. In the course of two days, the engineers' battalion of the SS-Division "Wiking" carried out four roundup operations against the Jews. Altogether around 850 persons were arrested and shot at a site a few kilometers outside the city.⁴ Other shootings by Sonderkommando 4a, Einsatzkommando 5, and the command staff of the HSSPF Russland-Süd followed in July and August. In addition, in the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Berdichev.

On August 26, 1941, the German occupying authorities declared that a ghetto was to be established in the city and that all Jews must relocate into it over the following three days. The ghetto was located in the poorest part of the city, consisting of ancient shacks, tiny single-storied houses, and crumbling buildings in the area of the Iatki marketplace. Jews were allowed to bring in only clothes and bedding. German soldiers and local residents confiscated all their remaining property. People were forced to live five or six families to a room. Leaving the limits of the ghetto was strictly forbidden. Jews could buy goods at the marketplace only after 6:00 P.M., that is, when no goods were left. Jews inside the ghetto were frequently beaten and robbed by members of the local police.⁵

On September 4, 1941, the first "cleansing" Aktion was carried out against the Jews in the ghetto. Jeckeln ordered the arrest and shooting of 1,303 Jews, including 876 girls over the age of 12. The victims had been told that they were being sent

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945



ОГОЛОШЕННЯ.

1) Кожний Бургомайстер, староста села зобов'язаний заарештувати через Місцеву Поліцію та передавати Поліції СД в Бердичеві кожну єврейську особу з чужої місцевості, особливо що перебувають тут з 24 грудня 1942 року.

2) Всім місцевим особам забороняється давати притулок чи переховувати єврейських осіб з чужих місцевостей.

3) У кожному випадку, якщо виявиться, що якась єврейська особа перебуває без дозволу, всю сім'ю, що дає таким притулок, буде покарана смертю.

4) Цю ж саму кару буде застосовано до того Бургомайстера-старости села, який не послідує негайно зобов'язанню пункту § 1.

Гейтсномісар

An undated Ukrainian sign issued by the German authorities in Berdichev, which reads:

"Announcement

1) Every Burgomaster and village elder is required to arrest through the municipal police and to transfer to the SD Police in Berdichev every Jewish person from foreign places, especially those who arrived here since 24 December 1942.

2) All local persons are forbidden to give shelter or hide Jewish persons from foreign places.

3) In all cases where a Jewish person is staying without permission, the entire family that provides such shelter will be punished by death.

4) This same penalty will apply to burgomaster-village elders who do not immediately follow the requirements of point no. 1.

District Commissar"

USHMM/RG 31.023

to do agricultural work, but they ended up digging their own graves. Men subordinated to the HSSPF Russland-Süd carried out the shooting close to the village of Khazhin.⁶

On September 15, 1941, a second large-scale Aktion was carried out in the ghetto. The ghetto was surrounded by SS troops and local police during the night, and starting at 4:00 A.M. they brutally drove some 12,000 persons out of their

houses and gathered them in the market square. Many of those who could not walk were killed on the spot. On the square, Reder and Koroliuk carried out a selection of skilled workers. The bulk of the Jews were then formed into columns and escorted under close guard to the airfield, where the German forces shot them in five ditches. About 400 specialist workers and artisans were spared and allowed to return to the ghetto with their families.⁷ Members of the 45th Police Reserve Battalion were among the forces that carried out the mass killing.⁸ The staff company of the HSSPF (Jeckeln), including its guards, bodyguards, and chauffeurs, also took part in the Aktion, assisted by the local Ukrainian police. Local policemen and others immediately looted the empty houses in the ghetto.

On October 30, 1941, the third Aktion was carried out in the ghetto, completing its liquidation. From October 30 to November 1, 1941, Ukrainian policemen rounded up all the remaining Jews who lived in the ghetto and took them to the nearby Carmelite monastery, which served as a prison. On November 3, 1941, around 800 men were the first to be shot, followed by the women and children. About 150 specialist workers and artisans were released and forcibly resettled into the labor camp prison.⁹ The shootings were carried out in the village of Sokulino. The perpetrators in all likelihood were members of the Security Police and SD detachment from Zhitomir, together with the Ukrainian police.

On February 25, 1942, the Jews who remained in the city of Berdichev were resettled into the barracks in Lysaia Gora ("Bald Mountain"). The resettlement of the roughly 350 Jews was completed on March 1, 1942. From May to June 1942, an additional 700 Jews were relocated there from the liquidated ghettos in surrounding places such as Ianushpol', Andrushevka, Kazatin, and Ruzhin. On July 16, 1942, the labor prison camp was liquidated. On the grounds of a former shooting range of the 14th Cavalry Division, around 700 captured Jews and 230 local Jews were shot.¹⁰ The shootings were carried out by the Berdichev Sipo-Aussendienststelle on orders from Dr. Franz Razesberger, the commander of the Security Police and SD in Zhitomir.¹¹ Prior to the shooting, 60 artisans and specialist workers were selected out and resettled into a Security Police prison.¹² The majority of these artisans were shot on November 13, 1943, and January 3, 1944.¹³

On April 27, 1942, around 70 Jewish women and children of mixed marriages were shot. They had been registered as living in Berdichev.¹⁴ The murders were apparently carried out by members of the Security Police outpost.

The total number of Jewish victims from 1941 to 1944 can be estimated at around 17,000 persons. According to the first postwar population census in 1959, around 6,300 Jews lived in Berdichev (11.8 percent of the total population).

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Berdichev and its destruction can be found in the following publications: "Berdichev," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2000), 4:114–115; S. Elisavetskii, *Berdichevskaia tragediia: Dokumental'noe povestvovanie* (Kiev, 1991); Vasilii Grossman and Il'ia Ehrenburg,

eds., "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," in *Chernaia kniga o zlo-deiskom povsemestnom ubiistve evreev nemetsko-fashistskimi zakhvatchikami vo vremeno okkupirovannykh raionakh Sovetskogo Soiuza i v lagerakh Pol'shi vo vremia voiny 1941–1945 gg.* (Kiev, 1991), pp. 32–43; John Garrard and Carol Garrard, *The Bones of Berdichev: The Life and Fate of Vasily Grossman* (New York: Free Press, 1996); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Zadruga, 1999).

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Berdichev can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; DAZO; GARF (7021-560-285); RGVA; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. See also the memorandum (Schnellbrief) of the chief of the Security Police from October 25, 1941, in RGVA, 1323-2-121, pp. 33–34.

2. Jeckeln was sentenced by the Soviet military tribunal and hanged in Riga on February 3, 1946. After the war, Besser was under investigation but was unable to appear before the court for reasons of health. On August 5, 1971, Engelbert Kreuzer, the former commander of the 2nd Company of the 45th Battalion, was sentenced to seven years in prison. He pleaded guilty to murdering Jews in a number of cities in Ukraine, including Berdichev; see LG-Reg, Ks 6/70.

3. On August 5, 1966, Sievert was acquitted by a court in Düsseldorf; see LG-Düss, 81 Ks 1/66. On March 9, 1960, Hülsdünker and Knop were sentenced by a court in Berlin to 3 years and 6 months in prison and 7 years in prison, respectively; see LG-Be, 3 PKs 1/57.

4. See the testimony of the former SS-Rottenführer Hans Isenmann at the court proceedings in Kiev in January 1946, in *Kyiv's'kyi protses: Dokumenty ta materialy* (Kiev, 1995), p. 51.

5. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," p. 35; see also Elisavetskii, *Berdichevskaia tragediia*, pp. 81–110.

6. BA-BL, R 58/217, pp. 157–186, Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 88, September 19, 1941; VHAP, KdO Stab RFSS, Telegram no. 289 of the HSSPF Russland-Süd, September 5, 1941; see also BA-L, B 162, 204 AR-Z 129/67, p. 998.

7. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," pp. 37–39.

8. See the indictment against Rosenbauer, Besser, and Kreuzer dated February 2, 1970, LG-Reg, Ks 6/70.

9. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," pp. 41–42.

10. GARF, 7021-60-285, p. 17 (and reverse side), testimony of the witness Mikhail Pekelis. According to another source, Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," p. 42, there were around 500 persons altogether in the labor prison camp.

11. On July 26, 1961, Dr. Franz Razesberger was acquitted by a court in Vienna.

12. Grossman and Ehrenburg, "Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve," p. 42.

13. Report of the city's administrative commission from May 13, 1944, GARF, 7021-60-285, p. 8. See also the testimony

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of the witness Chaim Satanovskii, April 20, 1944, to be found in the same file (GARF, 7021-60-285, pp. 48–49).

14. Grossman and Ehrenburg, “Ubiistvo evreev v Berdicheve,” p. 42.

BRAILOV

Pre-1941: Brailov, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Brailov, Rayon center, Gebiet Litin, Generalkommissariat Shtomir; post-1991: Brailiv, Vinnytsia oblast’, Ukraine

Brailov is located 27 kilometers (17 miles) south of Vinnitsa. In 1931, there were about 2,400 Jews in Brailov and its environs. Comprising 96 percent of the inhabitants, they formed an overwhelming majority of the town’s population.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Brailov on July 17, 1941. A number of Jews were able to evacuate or were called up to the Red Army, but the majority remained behind. On the first day of the occupation, 15 Jews were killed. The German authorities appointed Mikhail Baranchuk as the chief of the Ukrainian police, and in this position he demonstrated extraordinary cruelty to the Jewish population. The German authorities ordered the Jews to wear a yellow six-pointed star on their backs and chests. They were explicitly forbidden to leave the settlement and to trade or have any contact with the Ukrainian population in the surrounding villages.¹

After a short time, all Jews were relocated to a ghetto. A monthly “contribution” was demanded of them in money and valuables. In July 1941, at the demand of the military commandant, Jews had to hand over 800 pieces of fabric, 120 pairs of boots, and 500 silk scarves with Nazi swastikas sewn on them, all within 24 hours. They also had to hand over 300,000 rubles in cash.

In the fall of 1941, Brailov came under the control of a German civil administration. Brailov was a Rayon center in Gebiet Litin, under the authority of Gebietskommissar Traugott Volkhammer. In Brailov there was a local post of the German Gendarmerie, commanded by Hans Graf, which assumed control over the local Ukrainian police. Probably on Graf’s instructions, Jews were permitted to shop in the market for only 10 minutes every day, signaled by a policeman blowing his whistle.²

In November 1941, Jews had to hand over 10 women’s gold watches, 12 gold bracelets, a grand piano for the officer’s club, two cars, and three drums of gasoline. Orders for the collection of these goods were passed on via the Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was under the leadership of Iosif Kulik. On a daily basis, about 1,000 prisoners were taken out of the ghetto for various forced labor tasks, which included bricklaying and repairing the roads. The guards shot many of them for working too slowly. A few families opened a leather-making shop in the ghetto and worked there. A linen shop was also in operation. The bulk of the production created by the artisans went directly to the Germans and local policemen.

In the early morning of February 12, 1942, a squad of the Security Police and SD from Vinnitsa, reinforced by Gendar-

merie and Ukrainian police from the entire Gebiet Litin and by men of the local German customs post (Zollstelle), gathered more than 1,000 prisoners from the ghetto in the market square, outside the church. After this, searches were carried out in the homes of the Jews in the ghetto. Jews who were ill or who were found in hiding places, including children, were shot immediately. However, the German and Ukrainian forces were unable to find nearly 200 ghetto inhabitants. In contravention of German orders, some Ukrainian policemen plundered Jewish property from the ghetto.³

The Germans began a process of selection, and several hundred Jews were selected out according to those professions that were deemed necessary. These Jews were allowed to take their families and return to the ghetto. Gendarmerie chief Graf demanded that the remaining 800 Jews put their gold, silver, and money into a briefcase, which he had placed beside him. Then they were lined up and driven to the killing site, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Brailov, not far from the Jewish cemetery, at the side of the road leading to the village of Demidovka. During the convoy, there were a few daring attempts to escape, but most of the runaways were shot on the spot. When the transport arrived at the killing site, the German forces drove groups of Jews down into a ditch that had been dug for them a few days earlier. The Germans and Ukrainians ordered the Jews to undress and lie facedown in the ditch. Then the men of the Security Police shot them with automatic weapons. The next group laid down on top of the previous one. Iosif Kulik, the aforementioned head of the Judenrat, was permitted to return to the ghetto with his wife. But he refused to do so, and they were both shot during the course of the Aktion.⁴

The territory of the ghetto was then reduced considerably. The prisoners lived in terribly overcrowded conditions. Ghetto inmates faced the death penalty for leaving the ghetto or being found in possession of butter, eggs, or meat. By a special order, Jewish families in the ghetto were threatened with death if they gave birth to any children.⁵

In March or April 1942, the Germans shot 300 more Jews after another selection. Among those murdered in these Aktions in early 1942 were some 200 Jews from the nearby village of Mezhirov.⁶ On June 8, 1942 (according to another source, April 25, 1942), Graf gathered all the remaining Jews in the market square. On the orders of Gebietskommissar Volkhammer, all those incapable of work (around 100 Jews), mainly children under 16, were selected. They were then led down into a cellar, and the German forces shot them there. Some Brailov Jews escaped the selection and managed to find hiding places. According to new instructions, the dead were to be buried in the ghetto.

In late June or July 1942, the ghetto was liquidated and the German commandant ordered a sign to be hung at the entrance to the settlement, which read in Ukrainian and German: “Brailov, cleansed of Jews [*judenrein*].” At that time, the Germans shot 503 Jews, including 286 Jews who had been returned to Brailov after escaping at different times to Zhmerinka, which was in the Romanian zone of occupation. On the

eve of the Aktion, a squad of German Gendarmerie headed by Hans Graf arrived in Zhmerinka from Brailov and demanded from the Romanian administration and Adolf Hirshman, the head of the Zhmerinka Judenrat, a list of all the Brailov Jews in the Zhmerinka ghetto. Then, under the pretext of required anti-typhus vaccinations, the Brailov Jews were taken back to Brailov from Zhmerinka. Meanwhile, Hirshman hid a small number of Brailov Jews in the Zhmerinka ghetto. This bold act ultimately saved their lives. After the liberation, however, the Soviet authorities tried Hirshman for his role in the fate of Brailov's Jews.⁷

In the late summer and fall of 1942, the Germans and Ukrainian police continued to shoot any Jews they found in hiding, but a number managed to escape to the Romanian-occupied zone, including about 12 Jewish families who were hidden by kolkhoz workers in Kopystirin (in the Shargorod raion). Some of the escapees later became partisans. A squad of the German Criminal Police in Vinnitsa arrived in Brailov in October or December 1943 to organize the shooting of the last Jews remaining in Brailov: 17 tailors who worked in a sewing workshop.⁸

The Red Army recaptured the town from the Germans on March 20, 1944.

SOURCES Additional information on the Brailov ghetto can be found in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); in the volume of documents edited by Yitzhak Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoj okkupatsii, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 149–150; and in the volume edited by E. Wolf, *Vospominaniia byvsbikh uznikov Zhmerinskogo getto* (Jerusalem, 2001).

Documentation and survivor testimonies relevant to the Brailov ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67); DAVINO; DAZO; GARF (7021-54-1268); TsDAVO; VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-33/220, 227, 2395; and O-3/3894). In addition, there is an interview conducted with Leonid Langerman in 2005, now deposited in the author's personal archive (PAAKag).

Albert Kaganovich and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Vasily Grossman and Ilya Ehrenburg, eds., *Chernaia kniga* (Zaporozhe: Interbuk, 1991), pp. 61–67; see also Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry*.

2. BA-L, B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, Abschlussbericht, January 24, 1973, pp. 31–32, identifies Graf as the Gendarmerie post commander. *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* names a man called “Kraft” as the commandant who amused himself at this spectacle. These men are probably the same person.

3. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, pp. 67–87, report of HSSPF Ukraine for March 1942; and also DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 10–11, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaft Winniza, Befehl 16/42, July 20, 1942. Several Schutzmannen from Brailov were court-martialed for plundering.

4. BA-L, B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, Abschlussbericht, January 24, 1973, pp. 31–32; see also GARF, 7021-54-1268, pp. 68, 79.

5. Grossman and Ehrenburg, *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 61–67.

6. BA-L, B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, Abschlussbericht, January 24, 1973, p. 32; see also GARF 7021-54-1268.

7. Wolf, *Vospominaniia byvsbikh uznikov Zhmerinskogo getto*, pp. 94–95, 162–168, 226.

8. BA-L, B 162, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, Abschlussbericht, January 24, 1973, pp. 34–35; Australia's Attorney-General's Department, *Report of the Investigations of War Criminals in Australia* (Canberra: AGPS, 1993), p. 106.

CHERNIAKHOV

Pre-1941: Cherniakhov, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschernjachow, Rayon center, Gebiet Shitomir; Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Cherniakhv, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Cherniakhov is located 22 kilometers (14 miles) north of Zhitomir. In 1939, 1,482 Jews (20.7 percent of the total population) lived there. Within the villages of the Cherniakhov raion, there were an additional 228 Jews.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, a substantial part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Less than half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Cherniakhov at the start of the occupation.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 13, 1941. From July through October 1941, a German military command post (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The German military set up a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force consisting of local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the anti-Jewish measures.

In November 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Cherniakhov was incorporated into Gebiet Shitomir, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir.¹

After the occupation of the town, the German administration ordered all Jews to be registered and marked with armbands. The Jews were then exploited for various forms of heavy labor.

In the first 10 days of August 1941, several cleansing Aktionen were carried out. Sonderkommando 4a shot an estimated 112 Jews and “Bolsheviks” in the first Aktion.² The second claimed 33 Jews,³ and the third claimed 13 Jews.⁴ Details of the first Aktion are found in Einsatzgruppen report no. 58 of August 20, 1941:

After the arrival of German forces in Cherniakhov, initially it was calm, such that the remaining Jews were compelled to restrain themselves. On the following day, after the combat forces had moved on, Sonderkommando 4a discovered that in the meantime the Jews (as everywhere) were in contact with the scattered Russian partisan units that were terrorizing the entire area. A detachment sent there in response to this observation arrested all the Jewish

men they could find, and at the same time searched for terrorists still in hiding. Fifteen members of the (GPU) [State Political Directorate] and another 11 informants were exposed, along with the main criminal, a national judge named Kieper.⁵

On August 7–8, 1941, the 2nd Battalion of the 10th Motorized Unit of the 1st SS-Motorized Brigade carried out another Aktion. They arrested and shot 232 Jews.⁶

After the shooting of the Jewish men, the Ortskommandantur apparently resettled the remaining Jewish women and children into a freight car at some date in the fall of 1941, where they were held for a short time before they were shot. This brief incarceration could be viewed as a form of destruction ghetto.⁷

During the occupation of Cherniakhov from July 1941 to November 1943, according to the list of names, 571 persons were shot in Cherniakhov, including 568 Jews.⁸

SOURCES Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews in Cherniakhov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/215, 216); BA-L (B 162/19220); DAZO; GARF (7021-60-314); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 3).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Ibid., R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 47, August 9, 1941.

3. Ibid., R 58/216, EM no. 58, August 20, 1941.

4. Ibid., EM no. 60, August 22, 1941.

5. Ibid., EM no. 58, August 20, 1941.

6. See the Report of the 1st SS-Motorized Infantry Brigade from August 10, 1941, in Fritz Baade, ed., *Unsere Ehre heißt Treue: Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes Reichsführer SS* (Vienna: Europa, 1984), pp. 103–105.

7. Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), p. 88. Lower, however, contrasts this treatment starkly with the formal ghettoization process known from the larger cities in the Generalgouvernement.

8. GARF, 7021-60-314, pp. 100–102 and reverse side. See also BA-L, B 162/19220, pp. 60–61, which also gives the figure of 571 people shot in Cherniakhov.

CHERVONOARMEISK

[AKA KRASNOARMEISK]

Pre-1941: Chervonoarmeisk, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Tschernonnoarmeisk, renamed Pulin, Rayon center, Gebiet Zwiabel (Nowograd-Wolynskyy), Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Chervonoarmiisk, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast, Ukraine

Chervonoarmeisk is located 160 kilometers (99 miles) west of Kiev. In 1926, 1,056 Jews lived in Chervonoarmeisk. According to the 1939 population census, 523 Jews (13.2 percent of the total population) lived in the town. Additionally, 490 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Chervonoarmeisk raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate. Eligible men at that time were conscripted or volunteered for the Red Army. Around 55 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the settlement at the start of the occupation.

German armed forces occupied the town in July 1941. From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of Chervonoarmeisk. The German military administration created a raion authority and established a Ukrainian police unit from among the local inhabitants. The Ukrainian policemen played an active role in the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to the German civil administration. Chervonoarmeisk was incorporated into Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyy, and Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyy was part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.¹

Shortly after the occupation of Chervonoarmeisk, the German military administration issued orders calling for a registration and marking of the Jewish population with armbands. Jews were also made to perform unpaid heavy labor, such as the repair of roads and buildings.

At some time in the summer or early fall of 1941, the German Ortskommandantur established a ghetto or “Jewish residential quarter,” in Chervonoarmeisk. Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the ghetto and were forbidden to buy products from the local Ukrainians. Famine quickly ensued in consequence.

According to the Jewish survivor Mark Meshok, around September 1941, Jews were rounded up in the surrounding villages, including in the village of Ocheretianki, and were brought to the ghetto in Chervonoarmeisk, where hundreds of people were collected. The ghetto consisted of only five or six houses in the center of Chervonoarmeisk, surrounded with barbed wire. It was guarded by local policemen and by the Germans. However, Ukrainians still came to the ghetto and traded food for valuable items or for work, such as sewing.²

The ghetto existed until December 1941, when the Germans liquidated it and all its inhabitants were shot. Just before the Aktion, the Germans spread word that all the Jews would be sent to Palestine. Then early in the morning the local police drove the Jews out of their houses only half-dressed in the freezing cold. As the Jews were escorted to the pits, local Ukrainians started to rob them, taking their coats. The elderly who could not keep up were killed on the way. On reaching Iagodenka, just to the southwest of Chervonoarmeisk, the column turned up the hill, and the men started to pray, realizing that the end was near. The Jews were surrounded by Germans and local police and were shot into the pits. Infants were taken from their mothers' arms and thrown into the pit to be buried alive.³

The mass murders were carried out by three SS officers with the help of the Ukrainian police and by a detachment that was subordinated to SS-Obergruppenführer Jeckeln, Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 274 people were shot, but this source dates the Aktion in September 1941.⁴

Mark Meshok and his mother were both saved by a local ethnic German named Fritsche (or Fricher), who lived in Iagodenka and managed to extract them both from the column of Jews and take them back to his home.⁵

In the second half of 1941, Jews were executed in a number of other villages in the Chervonoarmeisk raion. There were 6 Jews murdered in October 1941 in the village of Ocheretianki (to the northwest of Chervonoarmeisk), and 11 Jews murdered in the village of Sokolov (to the east).⁶

SOURCES Information on the destruction of the Jews of Chervonoarmeisk can be found in the following publication: A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kbolokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond “Pamiat’ zhertv fashizma,” 2000), p. 56 (in this source, the settlement is referred to as Krasnoarmeisk).

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Chervonoarmeisk can be found in the following archives: DAZO; GARF (7021-60-300); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 2); and VHF (# 5812).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft and Crispin Brooks

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. VHF, # 5812, testimony of Mark Meshok.

3. Ibid.

4. GARF, 7021-60-300, pp. 144, 146.

5. VHF, # 5812.

6. GARF, 7021-60-300, pp. 91–92, 112.

CHUDNOV

Pre-1941: Chudnov, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Tschudnow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Chudniv, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast’, Ukraine

Chudnov is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) southwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 population census, 2,506 Jews lived in the town (46.4 percent of the total). Additionally, there were 703 Jews in the villages of the Chudnov raion.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the settlement on July 7, 1941, less than three weeks after the start of the German invasion. In this period a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Approximately 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained at the start of the German occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The German military authorities created a local Ukrainian administration and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among the local population.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to the German civil administration. Chudnov became the administrative center of Gebiet Tschudnow, and Hitler Jugend (HJ)-Oberstammführer Dr. Blümel was appointed as Gebietskommissar. The Rayons Ljubar and Dsershinsk were also incorporated into Gebiet Chudnov.¹

On July 15, 1941, a week after the occupation of the town, a “Jewish residential district” (an open ghetto) was established in Chudnov in a part of town that had been severely damaged during the fighting. One main street and a few side streets were reserved only for the Jewish population, but the area was not fenced in. The Jews were prohibited from leaving the area and from buying products from local Ukrainians. They had their own separate shops, and the Ukrainians were forbidden all contact with the Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear armbands on their left arms, bearing a yellow six-pointed Star of David. Jewish men were required to perform heavy labor, were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town, and were subjected to beatings and robbery by the Germans and Ukrainian police.²

One day, probably in August 1941, Jews from Chudnov were taken to dig graves in the local park. At this time the Germans brought a number of Jews from the nearby village of Piatka into Chudnov and shot them in these graves. The grave diggers were also beaten and humiliated before they were released.³

On September 9, 1941, the Germans organized the first Aktion against Chudnov’s Jews. About 800 or 900 people were loaded onto trucks on the pretext of a labor assignment and were taken out of the town to be shot.⁴ Apparently, members of Police Battalion 303, commanded by Major der Polizei Heinrich Hannibal, carried out the shooting. The battalion was stationed in Chudnov from September 5, 1941.⁵

Conditions in the ghetto deteriorated during the fall. People were starving, it became cold, and the Jews had inadequate clothing. There was not even any water in the Jewish quarter. Those who tried to bring in water were either beaten or shot by the guards.⁶

On October 16, 1941, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in Chudnov. In a document for the “Divak settlement,” the head of the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) in Chudnov reported that “on October 16, 1941, all Jews regardless of age were shot by order of the German military commandant in Berdichev.” The Ukrainian police from the town of “Divak” conducted the killings. About 500 Jews were shot altogether.⁷ The German and Ukrainian police drove the Jews out of their houses in the ghetto and gathered them in the local cinema building. From there they were loaded onto trucks and transported to a park on the southern outskirts of Chudnov. In the park, the Germans had placed boards across the pits, and they shot the Jews in groups of 5 to 10 people such that they fell in.⁸

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On October 22, 1941, the Ukrainian police carried out a third and final Aktion against the ghetto. They rounded up the few hundred remaining Jews, again gathering them in the local cinema building before taking them away in vehicles to the park and shooting them in the same manner.⁹

After this last Aktion, only a small group of Jewish specialized workers remained in the town. They were held in a barracks area, which was surrounded by barbed wire.¹⁰ In the middle of November 1941, these Jews were also shot and killed.¹¹ The Germans and their collaborators murdered around 2,000 Jews in Chudnov between September and November 1941.

With regard to the Chudnov raion, apart from the Jews of Piatka, between August and September 1941, an additional 111 Jews from the village of Novyi Chudnov were killed.¹²

Among the very few Jewish survivors from Chudnov, both Mariam Sandal and Polina Pekerman benefited from being able to persuade local policemen to let them go, owing to either personal friendships or their non-Jewish appearance. Pekerman also names two Ukrainian policemen who actively participated in the killings: a man named Briukhanov and an officer named Lozovoi.¹³

SOURCES Published testimonies by Jewish survivors from Chudnov can be found in these works: Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005); and *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga: Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev o Katastrofe sovetskikh evreev, 1941–1944* (Jerusalem and Moscow, 1993).

Documentation on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Chudnov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAZO (1151-1-2); GARF (7021-60-315); TsDAHOU (57-4-225); and VHAP.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSOH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. See the testimonies of Polina Pekerman and Mariam Sandal (Askes), in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 195–205, 268–273; TsDAHOU, 57-4-225, p. 33.

3. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), p. 269. In 1931 there were 791 Jews living in Piatka.

4. *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, p. 158. See also the testimonies of M. Sandal (Askes), pp. 195–205, and P. Pekerman, pp. 268–273.

5. See telegram no. 305 of September 6, 1941, from the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South, VHAP, KdO-Stab RFSS.

6. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), p. 269.

7. DAZO, 1151-1-2. In this document, “Divak” probably refers to Chudnov. See also testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), pp. 269–270, which dates the second Aktion in Chudnov on October 16, 1941.

8. Testimonies of P. Pekerman, pp. 199–205, and M. Sandal (Askes), pp. 268–273.

9. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), p. 271.

10. Verdict of LG-Kass, 3 Ks 5/57, May 24, 1957, in the case against Konrad H., published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1976), 44:138–139.

11. *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, p. 160.

12. GARF, 7021-60-315, p. 25.

13. Testimonies of P. Pekerman, pp. 195–205, and M. Sandal (Askes), pp. 268–273.

DASHEV

Pre-1941: Dashev, town and raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Daschew, Rayon center, Gebiet Monastyrishchtsche, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Dashiv, Illintsi raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Dashev is located 76 kilometers (48 miles) southeast of Vinnytsia. Dashev consists of three parts (former villages): Staryi Dashev, Novyi Dashev, and Polevoe.

According to the 1939 census, there were 967 Jews living in Dashev (34.1 percent of the total population); in the villages of what was then the Dashev raion, there were an additional 452 Jews. Most of these Jews lived in the villages of Kitaigorod and Kal'nik.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 25, 1941, about five weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During these intervening weeks, some Jewish men volunteered for or were drafted into the Red Army, and a number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward.

In the period from July to October 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) located in Gaisin governed the town. In November 1941, a civil administration replaced the German military administration. Until its liberation in March 1944, Rayon Daschew was part of Gebiet Monastyrishchtsche, in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Oberführer Werder. In Dashev itself, there was a Gendarmerie post to which a squad of Ukrainian police was subordinated; the latter, together with the German Gendarmerie, took an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions in the Rayon. In July 1942, the head of the Ukrainian police (Schutzmannschaft) in Dashev was a man named Charilon Sachartschuk.¹

In the summer and fall of 1941, the Germans established a Jewish Council (Judenrat); Jews were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David; they were forced to perform work on behalf of the German occupation agencies; they were forbidden to leave the town limits; and they were ordered to hand over all their valuables, including bicycles, sewing machines, and gramophones. Jews were forbidden to sell products in the market, while the local Ukrainian residents were forbidden to maintain relationships of any kind with Jews; infractions of this rule were subject to flogging. The places where the Jews lived in close proximity, both in Staryi Dashev and in Novyi Dashev, were declared to be “Jewish quarters” (open ghettos). The open ghetto in Staryi Dashev was liquidated on October 28, 1941,² when almost all the Jews were shot; in November 1941, around 200 Jews from the village of Kitaigorod

were herded into Staryi Dashev and shot.³ The total number of victims was 814.⁴ The shooting was carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, assisted by other German forces and the Ukrainian police. In Novyi Dashev, 165 Jews were shot, probably on December 17, 1941, followed by 37 more on December 20, 1941.⁵ Ortskommandantur I (V) 275, based in the Vinnitsa region, reported on December 18, 1941, that it had received two postal saving books that had been confiscated by the Feldgendarmarie in Dashev on the occasion of an Aktion against the Jews there on December 17.⁶

According to the Jewish child survivor Basia Malinskaia, after these mass shootings, there were only about a dozen Jews (probably specialist workers and their families) left in Dashev. They all were moved into two houses in Staryi Dashev, at the very end of the town. One family lived in the last house, and in the other there lived a Jewish man who served as the “commandant” or elder of the Jewish settlement, together with a few other people. The Jewish commandant with his son kept watch on German orders, to ensure that nobody left the two houses. They hoped that if they obeyed orders, perhaps their lives would be spared. There was a well in the courtyard of one of the houses, where the families could get water and do their washing.

In the spring of 1942, the Germans conducted several roundups in the small remnant ghetto, but some Jews succeeded in hiding, either in the fields or concealed in a cellar within one of the houses. Those who were taken in the roundups, probably including the Jewish elder, all were shot in a ravine near Kupchintsy, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Dashev.⁷ According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the remaining 13 Jewish specialists from Novyi Dashev were shot in May 1942.⁸

The murder of the Jews of Dashev is mentioned by the Jewish survivor Ida Kalnizkaia, whose grandparents were apparently shot there in the courtyard of their home.⁹ Basia Malinskaia survived after her parents passed her on to a Ukrainian family in the village of Parkhomovka for the remainder of the German occupation. The son of the Jewish elder of the remnant ghetto also somehow managed to survive and returned to live in Dashev after the war.¹⁰

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Dashev can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/23); DAVINO; DAZO (e.g., 1151-1-703); GARF (7021-54-1266); USHMM (RG-22.002M; and Acc.1996.A.0269); VHF (# 47531); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaftsbefehl Nr. 18/42, July 25, 1942.

2. B. Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto. Vospominaniia byvsbikh uznikov Mogilev-Podol'skogo getto* (New York, 1996), p. 96.

3. A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond “Pamiat’ zherty fashizma,” 2000), pp. 13, 23. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia En-*

tsiklopediia (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond “Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia,” “Epos,” 2000), 5:95, gives the number of victims from Kitaigorod as 360. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 631, cites 180 Jews expelled to Dashev and shot there. It is possible that these Jews were shot in December.

4. GARF, 7021-54-1266, p. 38.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 159. This source gives the date of the larger shooting Aktion as December 12, 1941, but German documentation reports an Aktion in Dashev on December 17, 1941.

6. BA-BL, R 2104/23, p. 1570, OK I (V) 275, Nachweisung über beschlagnahmte Geldmittel, December 18, 1941.

7. VHF, # 47531, testimony of Basia Malinskaia, born 1932.

8. GARF, 7021-54-1266, p. 159.

9. Boris Zabarko, ed., “*Nur wir haben überlebt*”: *Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), p. 171.

10. VHF, # 47531.

DZERZHINSK

Pre-1941: Dzerzhinsk (Romanov until 1933), town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Romanov (Dersershinsk), Rayon center, Gebiet Tschudnow, Generalkommisariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Dzerzhinsk, raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukraine; [post-2003: Romaniv]

The 1939 census indicated 1,720 Jews (24.2 percent of the total population) in the town of Dzerzhinsk and 1,188 Jews living in the villages of the Dzerzhinsk raion. The town is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) west-southwest of Zhitomir.

On July 7, 1941, German forces of the 6th Army occupied the town. By then a few hundred Jews had been able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About three quarters of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Dzerzhinsk at the start of the occupation. In addition, a few hundred Jewish refugees had arrived, bringing the population in the settlement to around 1,800 Jews.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the settlement. The German military authorities established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit recruited from among the local residents.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Dzerzhinsk became part of Gebiet Tschudnow, and Hitler Jugend (HJ)-Oberstammführer Dr. Blümel was appointed the Gebietskommissar.¹ Shortly after the occupation of Dzerzhinsk, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration of the Jews and marking them with armbands. They were also forced to perform heavy labor, solely on account of their being Jewish.

At the end of July 1941, the Ortskommandantur declared the establishment of an open ghetto (“Jewish residential district”) in Dzerzhinsk, designating for this purpose two streets, which were guarded by the local police.² Jews were

forbidden to leave the ghetto area or to buy products from the Ukrainians. As a result, the Jewish population experienced shortages of food, and starvation began to set in.

On August 25, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in Dzerzhinsk. Jewish men were executed in two ditches in the forest, close to the town.³ A company of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion, commanded by Martin Besser and subordinated to the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, probably carried out the shooting. They murdered 549 people altogether.⁴

In the middle of October 1941, Ukrainian policemen carried out a second Aktion in the public park, killing more than 100 Jews.⁵

On October 23, 1941, the Dzerzhinsk ghetto was liquidated. The Ukrainian police shot some 850 elderly people, women, and children in the forest near the town.⁶ After this Aktion, only the Jewish craftsmen and their families—around 300 people—remained in the town. On December 7, 1941, the Ukrainian policemen shot 168 of them at the former military airfield near the village of Romanovka.⁷ The remaining 122 persons were shot in the public park in Dzerzhinsk on June 15, 1942.⁸

Altogether in 1941–1942, around 1,800 Jews were murdered at different sites in Dzerzhinsk.⁹

A number of Jews were also killed in the villages around Dzerzhinsk. In the villages of Miropol' and Pechanovka, 41 Jews were murdered: 16 men, 10 women, and 15 children.¹⁰ And 253 people were killed in the village of Kamenka.¹¹

SOURCES Information on the persecution and extermination of the Jewish population of Dzerzhinsk can be found in the following publication: Garri Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhbit: Sbornik materialov o Kholokoste, perezhitom moimi zemliakami* (Zhitomir: Polissia, 2000).

Documents regarding the fate of the Jews of Dzerzhinsk during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAZO; GARF (7021-60-291); and VHAP.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhbit*, p. 51.

3. GARF, 7021-60-291, pp. 4, 60, 87–88.

4. VHAP, KdO-Stab RFSS, Telegram no. 179 from the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South, August 26, 1941. According to the report of April 10, 1945, after the sites were uncovered, approximately 620 corpses were found in the mass grave (GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 4). The witnesses G. Shnaiderman and B. Zel'tser said that there were around 890 people murdered (pp. 87–88).

5. Inquiry results passed to the author by the Security Service Administration of Ukraine in Zhytomyr oblast' December 4, 1991. According to the testimony of V. Pekeman, this shooting probably took place on October 18, 1941; see Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhbit*, pp. 34, 135.

6. Testimony of B. Zel'tser, May 25, 1945, GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 88. According to another source, the mass shooting took place on October 25, 1941.

7. Fel'dman, *Zabveniiu ne podlezhbit*, p. 35.

8. Report of May 27, 1945, GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 60.

9. Only 1,499 names of Jews killed in Dzerzhinsk are known. See GARF, 7021-60-291, pp. 61–86.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 121. The shootings took place in September 1941 and February 1942.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 404. The shootings took place on September 28, 1941, in December 1941, and in January 1942.

DZHULINKA

Pre-1941: Dzhulinka, village and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Dshulinka, Rayon center, Gebiet Gaissin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Dzhbulynka, Bershad' raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Dzhulinka is located 125 kilometers (78 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, there were 212 Jews living in Dzhulinka, accounting for 4.68 percent of the population.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 28, 1941, five weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some of the Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews were successfully evacuated to the eastern regions of the USSR.

In the period July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) located in Gaisin was in charge of the village. In November 1941, a German civil administration replaced the military authorities. Until its liberation in March 1944, Rayon Dshulinka was part of Gebiet Gaissin in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. In Dzhulinka itself, there was a Gendarmerie post, to which a squad of Ukrainian police was subordinated.

Soon after the occupation of the village, the residential area, where most Jews were concentrated, was probably declared to be a "Jewish quarter" (open ghetto). According to one Soviet source, this "open ghetto" was only in existence for a few weeks, as in August 1941, the Germans rounded up the Jews and shot them, killing 156 people in total. The shooting took place on a tract of land where pine trees grew, near the village.¹

SOURCES The available sources consulted for this article, however, give conflicting versions of the events. The *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* published in Kiev in 2000 by the State Committee of the Ukrainian Archives, p. 33, states that there was a ghetto in Dzhulinka, citing two documents from the State Archives of the Vinnytsia Oblast' (DAVINO, R-1683-1-13 and R-6022-1-27, which is cited as a list of ghetto prisoners), but it gives no further details. Other sources give different dates for the murder of the Jews of Dzhulinka. According to Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad

Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 351, the Jews were murdered outside the town on April 2, 1942. *Ros-siiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:381, also dates the shooting of all the remaining Jews (156 people) in August 1941. According to the ChGK (GARF, 7021-54-1240, p. 5), 156 people (Jews and Ukrainians) were shot in December 1942 and February 1943. It has to be concluded that the existing data on the "Dzhulinka ghetto" remain unconfirmed and require further research.

Additional documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Dzhulinka can be found in the following archives: BA-L (e.g., B 162/2331, 2332, 26795); DAVINO (e.g., R 425-1-5, R 1683-1-13, and R 6022-1-27); and GARF (7021-54-1240).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. DAVINO, R-425-1-5, p. 13.

GAISIN

Pre-1941: Gaisin, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1944: Gaissin, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Gaisyn, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Gaisin is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. In 1939, there were 4,109 Jews in Gaisin (27.7 percent of the total) and 380 Jews living in the Gaisin raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men were conscripted or enlisted voluntarily in the Red Army. About 2,000 Jews remained in the town when the occupation began (50 percent of the pre-war population).

The town was occupied by the Wehrmacht on July 25, 1941. In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office—Ortskommandantur I (V) 275—commanded by a Major Heinrich ran the town. A raion administration and an auxiliary police unit were formed from among the local residents. In the fall of 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Gaisin became the administrative center of Gebiet Gaissin, and Kreisleiter Becher was named the Gebietskommissar.¹ Gebiet Gaissin also included the Rayons of Teplik and Dshulinka, and it became part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in the town. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created, and all Jews were ordered to wear distinctive armbands bearing the image of the Star of David. Jews were forced to perform heavy labor for the occupying German military forces and were prohibited from leaving the limits of the town. They also had to surrender all their items of value. Jews were not allowed to buy products on the market, and in turn the local Ukrainians were not permitted

to have any contact with them. Violators of these regulations were subjected to severe punishments.

At some date in the summer or fall of 1941, Major Heinrich ordered the creation of an "open ghetto" (Jewish residential district) in Gaisin. One street (Rabochnaia Street) was cordoned off for this purpose, and Jews were expressly prohibited from living on any of the other streets.²

On September 16, 1941, an anti-Jewish Aktion was carried out in the town during which at least 1,409 local Jews were murdered, together with 29 brought in from Ladyzhin, where a similar Aktion had taken place on September 13. The shootings were carried out by men of Police Battalion 304, led by its commander, Major Karl Deckert. The battalion was stationed in Gaisin from September 6 to 19, 1941.³ On the day before the Aktion, the local Ukrainian police marked the houses in which the Jewish victims were living. At 6:00 A.M. on the next day, members of the police battalion drove the Jews out of their houses and gathered them on the market square. From here the victims were escorted to a killing site about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. Those Jews unable to walk were carried by others. At the grave site, the Jews were made to lie facedown in the ditch in groups of up to 10 persons, and German policemen shot them from behind with machine pistols. The Aktion continued until 4:00 P.M.⁴ Local commandant Heinrich reported on September 17, 1941, that he had received several items of gold jewelry handed in by a Ukrainian policeman (Milizsoldat) as a result of the "Jewish Aktion" carried out in Gaisin.⁵

The ghetto in Gaisin was basically liquidated after this Aktion. Only about 150 Jewish artisan workers remained in the town thereafter. The majority of them were shot on May 7-10, 1943.⁶ This mass shooting apparently was conducted by members of the local Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) along with the Ukrainian police. This Security Police outpost was present in Gaisin from 1942 to 1944 and served under the commanding officer of the Security Police and SD in Zhitomir (KdS Shtomir).⁷

In the summer of 1942, a forced labor camp for Jews was created in Gaisin. Jews were resettled there from "Transnistria," the Romanian-occupied zone of Ukraine. Jewish labor was exploited to build a bridge across the Sob River, which was part of the main road to Vinnitsa. After the completion of the building project, the Jews were shot and buried under the bridge. On October 14, 1942, 230 Jews were shot. On November 6, 1942, 1,000 Jews were shot.⁸ These murders apparently were carried out by Lithuanian policemen of the 7th Lithuanian Police (Schutzmannschaft) Battalion. The military staff of the 4th Company of this battalion was present in Gaisin with one platoon from April to December 1942. The order for the shootings came from SS-Hauptsturmführer Franz Christoffel, who from March to November 1942 was the head of the Second Roadbuilding Section (from Vinnitsa to Uman') and had a residence in Gaisin.

Some names are known of Ukrainians who saved Jews from extermination: Miasnikova, Kutok, and Efrosyn'ia Semeniuk. Semeniuk saved the lives of seven Jews. The German Landwirtschaftsführer (agricultural leader) Fritz Ginzel also

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kept Jews in hiding. He was shot by People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) agents in 1944. The Jewish doctor Niderman was protected by his Ukrainian patients for some time, but the Germans came and arrested him in the middle of the night.⁹

A group of Jews from Gaisin participated in the partisan resistance movement. Partisan sections were based in the Shchelianski Forest, which was located near the town. There was a separate detachment composed of Jews, including many women, children, and elderly persons. Many Jews fought actively in the detachment, and other detachments provided the means of protection for them. In addition, at least 12 Jews in the Gaisin region were members of Soviet underground organizations.¹⁰

SOURCES Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews in Gaisin can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/23); BA-L (B 162/204a AR-Z 140/67); BStU; DAVINO (R 4222-1-7); GARF (7021-54-1272); and YVA (M-33/224, M-52/432).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Acts of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the investigation of war crimes by the German occupants in the Gaisin raion from July 24, 1941, to March 13, 1944, are published in V. Lukin, A. Sokolova, and B. Khaimovich, eds., *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy: Istoricheskie putevoditel'—Podoliia* (St. Petersburg, 2000), pp. 199–200. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 418, state that a ghetto was established immediately after the arrival of the Germans but do not give a source.

3. Diary of Otto Müller, a former member of Police Battalion 304, BStU, Archiv der Zentralstelle, MfS-HA IX/11, ZUV 78, vol. 6, p. 62. Other sources indicate that about 3,000 Jews were murdered in Gaisin at this time; see A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopedia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopedia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii soviet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertz fashizma," 2000), p. 13. The East German courts date the Aktion on September 16–17, 1941, and cite up to 4,000 victims. BA-BL, R 2104/23, p. 1564, mentions a "Judenaktion" on September 13, 1941; this was probably the Aktion in Ladyzhin, where 486 local Jews were shot; see A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheski spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 182.

4. *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 1029a, pp. 737–738.

5. BA-BL, R 2104/23, p. 1577, report of OK I (V) 275, September 17, 1941, signed Major und Kommandant Heinrich. Among the Ukrainian police serving in Gaisin in 1942 were Michail Moskoluk, Anton Mulja, and Stanislaus Hautkowskii; see DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14.

6. GARF, 7021-54-1272, pp. 396 and reverse side.

7. DAZO, 1182-1-26, p. 104.

8. M. Carp, *Cartea Neagra* (Bucharest, 1947), 3:286.

9. Lukin, Sokolova, and Khaimovich, *100 evreiskikh mestechek Ukrainy*, p. 200.

10. Y. Mal'iar (Israel) and F. Vinokurova (Ukraine), eds., *Vinnitsa oblast'—Katastrofa (Shoa) i soprotivlenie; Svidetel'stva evreev—uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia i podpol'noi bor'by* (Tel Aviv and Kiev, 1994), pp. 178–179.

IANOV

Pre-1941: Ianov, village, Kalinovka raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Janow, Rayon and Gebiet Kalinowka, Generalkommissariat Shtomir; post-1991: Ivaniv, Kalynivka raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Ianov is located 30 kilometers (19 miles) north-northeast of Vinnitsa. There were probably around 1,000 Jews living in Ianov in 1941.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Ianov on July 22, 1941. In the summer and fall of 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. The commandant appointed a village elder and organized an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. It became part of Gebiet Kalinowka, within Generalkommissariat Shtomir. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Seelemeyer. Based in Ianov as part of the civil administration were one or two officials of the German agricultural administration (Landwirtschaftsführer).¹

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German occupying authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks in the form of the Star of David (later, a yellow circle). They were required to perform forced labor, often without pay. They were not permitted to leave the limits of the village. Finally, Jews were subjected to systematic lootings and beatings by the Ukrainian police and local antisemites.

According to the *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, in March 1942 hundreds of Jewish families were crowded into a ghetto in Ianov.² In mid-May 1942, a group of able-bodied Jews from the Ianov ghetto was selected and sent on foot to the village of Kalinovka, where they were placed in a forced labor camp and assigned to work on the construction of an airfield.

On May 30, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghettos in Ianov and nearby Pikov at the same time. Forces of the German Gendarmerie, the Ukrainian police, and also Hungarian soldiers, who arrived from Kalinovka, rounded up the Jews in Ianov in the morning and escorted them to a prepared pit, near the Jewish cemetery, which lay approximately halfway between Ianov and Pikov (Pikov is about 10 kilometers [6 miles] to the north of Ianov). There the Jews had to wait for about two hours until additional Germans (probably an SD detachment from Kds Winniza) arrived in the afternoon to carry out the mass shooting. Some of the Jewish children were simply beaten to death or were buried alive in the mass grave. It is estimated that more than 800 Jews from Ianov were killed on this day.³

In the initial days of June 1942, the Germans and the Ukrainian police searched Ianov repeatedly for Jews in hiding. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), by June 12, 1942, they had shot an additional 194 Jews, so the total number of victims in Ianov exceeded 1,000.⁴

The Red Army drove the German occupiers from Ianov in March 1944.

SOURCES Publications concerning the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Ianov include the following: "Ianov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:494; and "Janov," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 559–560. The ghetto in Ianov is also mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Gbetts auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 35.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Ianov Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7364); DAVINO (R5022-1-176); GARF (7021-54-1274); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 4); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. DAVINO, R5022-1-176, dates it in early 1942.
3. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), pp. 190–191, 353. GARF, 7021-54-1274, p. 252, gives a total of 814 Jews from Ianov killed on May 30, 1942.
4. GARF, 7021-54-1274, p. 252. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), pp. 190–191, 353, gives slightly different figures for Ianov in early June, but these appear to be the numbers for Novyi Pikov from the ChGK records.

IANUSHPOL'

Pre-1941: Ianushpol', town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Janushpol, Raion center, Gebiet Berditschew, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Ivanopil', Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Ianushpol' is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) southwest of Zhitomir. In 1939, 721 Jews lived in Ianushpol'. (In the entire Ianushpol' raion, there were only 963 Jews.)

German troops occupied the town on July 3, 1941. During July, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 carried out the first anti-Jewish Aktion. Mention of this Aktion can be found in Einsatzgruppen Report no. 58 of August 20, 1941:

In recent days, in the town of Ianushpol', where the Jewish population comprised about 25 percent of the inhabitants, the Jewish women behaved with espe-

cial insolence and impudence in response to the social restrictions imposed upon them. They became so incensed that they ripped off their own and their children's clothes. As a provisional punishment measure and to calm down the situation in general, members of the Einsatzkommando shot 15 Jewish men. Further punitive measures will follow.¹

It is probable that a "Jewish residential quarter" or "open ghetto" was created in the town of Ianushpol' as early as July 1941. The Jews were ordered to mark their identity by wearing a piece of fabric in the shape of a yellow star on their clothing. Furthermore, they were forced to carry out physically demanding work. During the winter of 1941–1942, the Jewish inmates of the ghetto suffered from hunger and cold. The ghetto was liquidated on May 29, 1942. A unit of the German Security Police and SD, probably from the outpost in Berdichev,² in collaboration with members of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian auxiliary police, shot several hundred Jews (according to one source, 680).³ From among the victims, about 80 Jews who were capable of work were selected and sent to the labor camp in Berdichev. According to other sources, in the town of Ianushpol' the German forces shot 520 local Jews⁴ and approximately 400 Jews from other neighboring areas, together with 60 Roma (Gypsies).⁵ Of the few Jews who escaped, some joined the Soviet partisans.

The other Jews of Rayon Janushpol' resided mostly in the villages of Raigorodok, Krasnopol', and Stetkovtsy. In the village of Raigorodok, 157 Jews were killed between 1941 and 1942. Among the victims were Jews from Ianushpol' and other towns.⁶ Two mass killings of Jews took place: one on September 10, 1941, and another in July 1942. During the second Aktion the last so-called specialist workers and their families were killed. In the village of Krasnopol', German security forces shot 35 Jews.⁷ In Stetkovtsy, 12 Jews were killed.⁸ Finally, in the village of Lemeshi, 5 Jews who had escaped from the ghetto in Ianushpol' were shot.⁹

SOURCES A brief article on Ianushpol' can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1474. This article specifically mentions the existence of a ghetto but does not reveal its sources.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews in Ianushpol' and the surrounding villages can be found in GARF (7021-64-812 and 7021-60-317).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 51; see also Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 160.
2. The Sipo/SD outpost in Berdichev was commanded from June 1942 by Alois Hülsdünker; see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*,

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vol. 16 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 490; LG-Be, 3 PKs 1/57 (Strafsache gegen Knop u.a.), p. 346.

3. GARF, 7021-64-812, pp. 172–173.
4. *Ibid.*, 7021-60-317, pp. 68–75 (list of local Jews who were killed).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 67.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 33–35 and reverse.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 8 and reverse.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 52 and reverse.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 41.

IARUN'

Pre-1941: Iarun', village, Novograd-Volynskii raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ĵarun, Gebiet Zwiabel (Nowograd-Wolynskyy), Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Iarun', raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Iarun' is located about 95 kilometers (59 miles) north-northwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, 386 Jews lived in Iarun' (19.7 percent of the total population). An additional 270 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Iarun' raion, bringing the total to 656 Jews.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 6, 1941, two weeks after the initial German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. About 80 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Iarun' at the start of the occupation.

From July until October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the settlement. The German military authorities appointed a village elder and established an auxiliary Ukrainian police squad from among the local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in all the Aktions against the Jewish population. According to witness testimony, there were several brutal killings of individual Jews by local policemen, which probably took place during the first months of the occupation.¹

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Iarun' was incorporated into Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyy. Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt was appointed to the post of Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskyy was part of Generalkommissariat Sbitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.²

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population. They were required to wear armbands bearing the Star of David and also to perform various forms of heavy labor. Jews were forbidden to trade with the local Ukrainian population.

At some time during the summer or fall, and certainly by November 1941, a ghetto was created in the village. Jews were resettled there from the surrounding villages. For example, on November 27, 1941, seven Jews were brought to Iarun' from the village of Zakrinich'e.³ At that same time, able-bodied men were taken to a labor camp in Novograd-Volynskii.

According to the diary of survivor Klara Garmel, "[T]he ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire. We were all driven inside it. We were made to starve and ate only what people would bring and throw through the wire."⁴

Some Jews hid with Ukrainian families outside the ghetto. In the case of those Jews who hid with the family of Maria Svidelya, they were betrayed by other local inhabitants and sent into the ghetto.⁵ Other Jews hid successfully, including some such as Klara Garmel, who escaped at the time of the ghetto's liquidation. Of those in hiding, some subsequently left the village to join the Soviet partisans, while others remained hidden, aided by local inhabitants, until the area was recaptured by the Red Army.

The ghetto was finally liquidated on May 5, 1942. German Gendarmes and local police surrounded the ghetto and began to forcibly remove its inhabitants during the night. On that day, according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 580 Jews were shot in a large mass grave, but the actual number was probably somewhat less than this.⁶

SOURCES Documents of the ChGK, and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the annihilation of the Iarun' Jews, can be found in the following archives: DAZO (R2636-1-19, pp. 134–135); GARF (7021-60-318); VHF; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Tatiana Petko, "Forgive Us, Jews," *Jewish Ukraine* 24/43, December 2002 (5763 Tevet).
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. GARF, 7021-60-318, p. 43.
4. Diary of Klara Garmel, cited by Petko, "Forgive Us, Jews."
5. For further examples of Jews who were saved, see Petko, "Forgive Us, Jews."
6. GARF, 7021-60-318, p. 6.

IL'INTSY

Pre-1941: Il'intsy, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Illinzi, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Illintsi, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Il'intsy is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) east-southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, there were 2,217 Jews living in the town. At the time of the German invasion, some Jews joined the Red Army, evacuated with the Soviet authorities, or managed to flee before the Germans arrived. However, a number of refugees from western Ukraine, who were fleeing before the German advance, became trapped in Il'intsy when the Germans arrived. It is possible that as many as 2,000 Jews were in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on July 23, 1941. The initial German military administration appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) and exacted a tribute in gold and silver from the community. In late August the Jews were concentrated into a ghetto.

In the fall of 1941, at least one Aktion was conducted against local Jews accused of supporting the Communists. More than 40 Jewish men were arrested, beaten, and then shot in the nearby Il'inty Forest by German security forces, assisted by the local Ukrainian police.¹

The Gebietskommissar in Il'inty was Kreisleiter Heinrich Scholdra, who usually wore a monocle. The mayor was a local ethnic German physician, Dr. Heine. The transition from a military to a civil administration in the Vinnitsa region occurred on October 20, 1941. The establishment of Gendarmerie posts, including the post in Il'inty, followed during the winter of 1941–1942. The Gendarmerie, commanded by Meister Andreas Wagner, then took over responsibility for the Ukrainian local police (militia), which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft.

A second Aktion was conducted in late April or mid-May of 1942. The ghetto was surrounded by German and Ukrainian police units, including some brought in from outside. Then, early in the morning, those Jews who were hiding within the ghetto in previously prepared bunkers heard shots in the distance. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, during this Aktion approximately 1,000 Jews were shot into graves some 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town.²

In late May 1942, the Germans and local police herded the survivors into the synagogue and held them there for a few days before shooting most of them. This Aktion was coordinated by officials from the Security Police post in Vinnitsa, assisted by the Gendarmerie and the local police. Estimates of the number of Jews murdered on this occasion vary between 434 and 800. Among those shot in Il'inty at this time were also Jews brought in from the nearby rural ghetto in Zhornishche. According to the report of the Generalkommissar in Shitomir dated June 3, 1942, during the month of May, 434 Jews were "resettled" (murdered) in Gebiet Illinzi.³ In mid-July 1942, the Gebietskommissar in Il'inty requested that former Jewish property be made available for use by the police.⁴

In December 1942, the remaining Jews were forced to clear snow from a main road. Once again the Jews were registered. Some craftsmen were exempted from this task, as they were required to train Ukrainian youths to become their replacements. On December 23, 1942, German police forces and their Ukrainian collaborators again surrounded the ghetto. On this occasion the Germans and the Ukrainian police completely tore down the ghetto, setting fire to a factory building where Jews were hiding and shooting them as they tried to escape. Only 17 specialist craftsmen and a seamstress were temporarily spared from this Aktion.⁵

Among those who survived was Eva Dub, who hid with her mother and sisters during the May 25 Aktion, but then, unfortunately, they returned to the ghetto prematurely, believing the operation was completed. They then made their house ap-

pear derelict to deceive the policemen searching the ghetto and subsequently lived there until December. In December Eva escaped and survived with the help of local Ukrainians before fleeing to the forests.⁶ A number of Jews originally from Il'inty formed the nucleus of a Jewish partisan company, the 2nd Stalin Brigade; 39 of its 124 members were Jews from the town.

SOURCES A brief article on the fate of the Jews of Il'inty can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 545.

Information on the murder of the Jews of Il'inty can be found in these archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67); DAVINO (R4463-1-15); DAZO; GARF (7021-54-1243); NARA; and USHMM.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, vol. 1, pp. 62–63, statement of Eva Dub on June 26, 1967. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report states that 43 people were killed on November 5, 1941 (GARF, 7021-54-1243).

2. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, vol. 1, pp. 62–63, 313–316.

3. Ibid., appendix to vol. 1, trans. of Soviet material, Bild nos. 294–295, ChGK report for the town of Il'inty, April 15, 1945 (see also GARF, 7021-54-1243); NARA, T-454, reel 22, fr. 432.

4. DAZO, R-1182-1-1, Gebietskommissar Illinzi report, July 16, 1942.

5. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, vol. 1, pp. 62–63, and appendix to vol. 1, Bild nos. 294–295. The ChGK report gives a total of 1,200 victims of this Aktion (see GARF, 7021-54-1243). DAVINO, R4463-1-15, p. 13, however, states that only 100 Jewish craftsmen were killed on December 15, 1942.

6. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, vol. 1, pp. 62–63.

IUROVICH I (AKA IUREVICH I)

Pre-1941: Iurovichi, village, Kalinkovichi raion, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Jurovitschi, Rayon Kalinkowitschi, Gebiet Mosyr; Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Iuravichy, Kalinkavichy raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Iurovichi is located 23 kilometers (14 miles) southeast of Mozyr'. By 1926, there were 1,139 Jews residing in Iurovichi, comprising 45.6 percent of the total population.

A week after the start of the war, refugees from the western districts of Belorussia arrived in Iurovichi. They were terribly frightened and spoke of the powerful German forces that were advancing eastward. Local defense units were organized, and men of eligible age joined the Red Army. But many residents of the village, especially the younger ones, could not comprehend what the arrival of the Germans might mean. As the front line approached, only a small number of residents managed to flee from Iurovichi. There were three main means of escape:

by railway from the Kalinkovichi station in the direction of Gomel', on boats and barges on the Pripiat' and Dnieper Rivers through Mozyr', and on horse-drawn carts along the highway.

On August 22, 1941, German forces arrived in Iurovichi. Until October 1941, the Jews remained in their own homes but were subjected to a series of anti-Jewish regulations, including the requirement to perform forced labor. The military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) in Kalinkovichi organized a local police force in Iurovichi, which was responsible for watching over the Jews.

In mid-October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto at the end of Podgornaia Street. The Jews had to wear yellow stars on their clothing. The relations between Jews and Belorussians changed. Vasilii Prishchepa, who was married to a Jewish woman, joined the local police. During the mass shooting of the Jews, he did nothing to save his family. Boris Samuilovich Katsenov was married to a Belorussian woman. At the beginning of the war, he fled to the forests and organized a partisan detachment. His wife and three children remained in Iurovichi, where they hid and somehow managed to survive.¹

The first mass shooting Aktion took place on November 19, 1941. In the early morning, a German punitive detachment of 30 to 40 men arrived in Iurovichi from Kalinkovichi. With the help of the local police, the German forces rounded up about 250 people, including women, children, and the elderly. As they escorted the Jews towards the Pripiat' River, the people screamed and wept. The Germans and local policemen stopped at the riverbank and shot the Jews with machine guns and rifles. The corpses of the dead were left lying next to the river.² Some of the people begged to be spared or jumped into the river, but they were also pursued and shot. About to be shot, Chaim Kofman took off his sheepskin jacket and threw it at a policeman's feet; he also handed over his watch. As the officer was examining the loot, Kofman jumped into the water and swam across the river, successfully avoiding the shots directed at him. He hid for several days but was later captured and killed.³

The second mass shooting took place just over one week later, on November 27, 1941. A punitive unit from Kalinkovichi rounded up the remaining 200 Jews and escorted them to a ravine on the outskirts of Iurovichi. The people were lined up on the edge of a large ditch. When the Germans and policemen began shooting, the women and children let out terrible screams. According to the testimony of Stepan Kos'ian, many of the Belorussians from Iurovichi wept as they observed the shooting. When it was over, the policemen dragged the corpses into the ditch. Over the next few days, the police searched for any Jews still hiding in Iurovichi. Those whom they found were taken to the ditch and shot. Ratner, the teacher of mathematics who had escaped from the Aktion in the village, realized that his entire family had perished. He went to the site of the mass shooting, where the Germans captured and shot him.⁴

After the second mass shooting, Sergei Lutzkevich went to the site of the execution and saw a school classmate who was badly wounded. He fetched his parents, who came and took the classmate home. Two Jewish families, the Kofmans and the Karchevs, took shelter in the village of Kryshichi, even

though there was a police garrison just a few kilometers away. Yulia Borisenko, the mother of five children, gave refuge to a young Jewish boy, Boris Kofman.⁵

Although the sources are contradictory, it is estimated that the Germans and their collaborators murdered more than 450 Jews altogether in Iurovichi.⁶ Soviet forces liberated the village on January 16, 1944.

SOURCES Publications containing information on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Iurovichi include the following: *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov i raionov Belorussii: Kalinkovichskii raion* (Minsk, 1999); U.F. Isaenka, *Iurovichy nad Prypiatstsiu* (Minsk, 2000); Mikhail Nordshtein, "Pravednik iz Kalinkovichei," *Sovietskaia Belarussia*, October 5, 1995; and Elena Kogalovskaia, "Mestechko Iurovichi," *Berega* 11 (2000): 4.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Iurovichi can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; BA-L; GARF (7021-91-15); NARB (861-1-12); and YVA (M-33/1139).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Kogalovskaia, "Mestechko Iurovichi," p. 4.
2. AUKGBRBGO, case 234, vol. 4, pp. 51–53, witness statement of Grigorii Vladimirovich Panglish, January 19, 1968 (available also in BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 119/67, Bd. II, p. 390).
3. YVA, M-33/1139.
4. AUKGBRBGO, case 234, vol. 4, pp. 54–56, witness statement of Stepan Grigor'evich Kos'ian, January 19, 1968.
5. Nordshtein, "Pravednik iz Kalinkovichei," p. 4.
6. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 119/67, Bd. II, p. 390; see also the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report (GARF, 7021-91-15, p. 136; and NARB, 861-1-12, p. 40), which gives the figure of 540 victims.

KALINOVKA

Pre-1941: Kalinovka, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kalinowka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir, post-1991: Kalynivka, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Kalinovka is located about 26 kilometers (16 miles) north of Vinnitsa. The census of 1939 reported 979 Jews living in Kalinovka, or one fifth of the total population, and 2,214 Jews residing in what was then the Kalinovka raion. Thanks to the railway line that ran through the area, some Jews successfully evacuated from the town soon after the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

German forces occupied Kalinovka after some skirmishes on July 22, 1941. The German occupying forces ordered Jewish men to perform heavy manual labor. A ghetto was formed on those streets where the Jewish population predominated. Jews from other streets were resettled into this confined area, and non-Jews were resettled into vacated Jewish homes. For example, Lena Konopska recalls that she and her mother had

to move into the ghetto once they were recognized as Jews, but her father, who was Polish, was permitted to live outside the ghetto area.¹ The Jews had to wear white armbands bearing yellow six-pointed stars. The authorities appointed Jewish elders to watch over the Jews. Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto. With their means of support exhausted, the prisoners of the ghetto suffered from hunger and disease.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed into the hands of a German civil administration. Kalinovka became both a Rayon center and the center of Gebiet Kalinowka, responsible also for the neighboring Rayons of Ulanow and Komsomol'skoe. Regierungsrat Dr. Seelemeyer was appointed the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Kalinowka was part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir.² In November or December 1941, a squad of several Gendarmes arrived in Kalinovka from Germany and established a post initially under the command of Meister der Gendarmerie Max Lohbrunner. The Gendarmerie also assumed control over the local Ukrainian police, now renamed Schutzmannschaft-Einzeldienst, which included about 40 men and was under the command of Zugführer (platoon leader) Roman Holdetzki. The SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer appointed in 1942 in Kalinovka was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Konrad Lange.³

In mid-May 1942, about 100 young men and women were taken from the ghetto and ordered to work on the construction of an airfield on the outskirts of Kalinovka, a project that had been started by the Soviet authorities. Jews from Kalinovka and also from the nearby settlements of Pikov, Ivanov, Ulanov, and Sal'nitsa were sent there to work. Altogether, 400 to 500 people were resettled into sheds and barracks located in the area of the airfield, surrounded by a wire fence. Some of the Jews brought here from outside Kalinovka also refer to this labor camp as the Kalinovka ghetto. However, it appears that only Jews capable of labor were placed in the camp, as those women accompanied by infants or small children were shot either during the march to Kalinovka or on arrival together with other Jews unfit for labor from the Kalinovka ghetto.⁴ The prisoners of the camp were fed pea soup. The Jewish construction laborers had to work until totally exhausted, and occasionally those who lapsed were shot. Cases of suicide by hanging were not unusual. At the aerodrome the Jewish laborers also worked alongside Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), but these prisoners were accommodated in a separate barracks. This forced labor camp for Jews existed until the middle of 1943, when the last of the prisoners were shot. When the airfield was finished, the 100 prisoners who remained were removed to a stable in the village of Kordelevka, 5 kilometers (3 miles) from Kalinovka. The Jews were burned alive there in compliance with higher orders. A few prisoners managed to escape from the aerodrome camp, mostly women who could pass as non-Jews and who received help from other local inhabitants.

At the start of 1942, a small resistance group formed in the Kalinovka ghetto, under the leadership of Efim Kamenetskii. They collected firearms and were even able to make contact with Soviet partisan units. They did not succeed in making

any further preparations, however, or manage to establish a stronger resistance organization.

In late spring or summer of 1942, probably on May or June 30, the ghetto was encircled by the German and Ukrainian police forces early in the morning.⁵ The approximately 500 Jews were gathered and led out into a stable located next to a kolkhoz in Kalinovka. An additional 200 Jews from the nearby villages of Novyi and Staryi Pikov were also transported there. Some 33 Jewish craftsmen were selected out by Gebietsführer Lange, but all the others were murdered in a pit not far from the Jewish cemetery. A small number of Jews was able to hide or escape during the roundup. The majority of them found refuge with Ukrainian acquaintances. But the commandant's office offered a reward of 100 rubles for the capture of each Jew, and a number of Jewish families were turned in to the authorities. They were placed along with the craftsmen in a few residences on the outskirts of Kalinovka. The residences were surrounded with barbed wire. A few Jews succeeded in escaping from there, but those remaining were murdered in mid-August 1942.⁶

Kalinovka was liberated by the Red Army in March 1944.

SOURCES In the personal archive of Albert Kaganovich (PAAKag), there are records of interviews conducted with Berta Naidorf on March 31, 2005, and Leonid Langerman on April 4, 2005, as well as a letter received from Alexander Melamud on February 8, 2004, all Jewish survivors of the Holocaust in Kalinovka.

Additional information can be found in the following publications: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 135; *Istoriia mist i sil URSR: Vinnits'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1972), pp. 271, 275; and Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995), p. 28.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Kalinovka can be found in the following archives: AHJP (HM2/7771, HM2/8969, HM2/9039); BA-L (B 162/7364); DAVINO (R425-1-261, pp. 13-16); DAZO (e.g., 1151-1-703); GARF (7021-54-1274); NARB (861-1-28); USHMM (e.g., RG-22.002M, reel 4 and RG-53.002M, reel 10); VHF (# 29072 and 29097); and YVA (M-37/1035; M-33/226; O-3/7201).

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NOTES

1. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, p. 28, recollections of Lena Konopska, prisoner of the Kalinovka ghetto. Nyunya Doktorovich, a young girl quoted in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 135, dates the establishment of the ghetto in 1942.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; DAZO, R1151-1-51, Map of the Generalkommissariat Shitomir, 1941–1942.

3. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), pp. 135–138, statement of E. Heinisch on July 19, 1977; DAZO, 1151-1-703,

1534 ZHYTOMYR REGION

pp. 13–14, KdG Schitomir, Vinnitsa Captaincy, Order 18/42, July 25, 1942.

4. VHF, # 29072, testimony of Aleksandra Shapiro; and # 29097, testimony of Elizaveta Gelfond—both transferred to the Kalinovka aerodrome camp from Ulanov in late May or June 1942, together with 300 others.

5. In Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, p. 28, Lena Konopska notes that the survivors commemorate the first pogrom as having taken place on May 30. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), p. 354, dates the Aktion on June 30, 1942. NARB, 861-1-28, gives the date of July 30, 1942.

6. BA-L, B 162/7364 (204a AR-Z 134/67), p. 195.

KAZATIN

Pre-1941: Kazatin, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Kasatin, Gebiet and Rayon center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Koziatyn, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Kazatin is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) north-northeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 2,648 Jews were living in Kazatin (15.8 percent of the total population). There were another 1,026 Jews living in the Kazatin raion, mostly in the village of Belopol'e. After the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some Jews were able to evacuate, while others were called into the Red Army. Around 1,800 Jews remained in Kazatin at the start of the German occupation.

Hungarian armed forces occupied the town on July 14, 1941. From mid-July until October 1941, a military administration ran the town. The German military, which soon took over from the Hungarians, created a local administration and an auxiliary police force from among the local residents. On October 20, 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Kazatin became the administrative center of Gebiet Kasatin. Hundertschaftsführer Stendel was named Gebietskommissar.¹ The Samgorodok and Pogrebischtsche Rayons were also incorporated into the new Gebiet Kasatin, which in turn became part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Kazatin appointed in 1942 was Leutnant Behrens. The head of the Ukrainian police in Kazatin was Zugführer Ivan Yakovenko.²

In the summer and fall of 1941, a number of antisemitic measures were introduced in Kazatin. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created. The Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing markings in the form of the Star of David and later in the shape of a yellow circle. They had to perform forced labor in the service of the German military and occupying forces. Jews were not permitted to leave the limits of the village. They were required to hand over all valuables, and they were not allowed to buy goods at the market. In addition, local Ukrainians were forbidden to have any relations with the Jews.

In September 1941, the first Aktion was carried out against the Jews. A detachment from German Police Regiment "South" apparently directed the operation. Starting on Sep-

tember 5, 1941, the staff and officers of the regiment were stationed in the village of Komsomol'skoe, close to Kazatin.³ The detachment shot 1,255 Jews on September 11, 1941, and the victims were most probably Jews from Kazatin.⁴

Those Jews who remained in Kazatin after the September operation were resettled into a ghetto.⁵ Evidence regarding the work done by Jews in the ghetto comes from the survivor Nina Glozman, who recalls that after the first wave of killings she and her family hid in the village of Belopol'e in Rayon Kasatin until a local policeman recognized them. He took the family to Kazatin, where they were placed in the ghetto, performing work such as chopping wood or cleaning toilets. When the ghetto was liquidated, they were able to escape to Berdichev, where they hid with another Jewish family.⁶

In the village of Belopol'e in Rayon Kasatin about 70 Jews were murdered at the local cemetery in May 1942.⁷ The Kazatin ghetto, or camp where Jewish craftsmen were held, was liquidated on June 3, 1942. More than 300 Jews and 16 Gypsies were shot near the village of Tylimonovka, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. The Jews were rounded up and escorted by the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian local police. A detachment of the SD from Berdichev carried out the shooting. About 10 Jewish craftsmen were selected out and kept alive at this time. They were soon joined by a similar number brought from Samgorodok after a selection during the Aktion there on June 4.⁸

In the months after the liquidation of the ghetto, Ukrainian police under the orders of the German Gendarmerie continued to search for Jews in hiding. On July 6, 1942, Behrens wrote to the Gendarmerie posts in the nearby Rayon towns of Pogrebischtsche and Samgorodok that he was aware of Jews hiding in the villages and forests. He ordered that all villages must report the presence of Jews. If German Gendarmes or Ukrainian policemen still found Jews, the entire village would be punished.⁹

As a result of these efforts, a number of Jews who had escaped from the Aktions in Kazatin and the surrounding towns were captured. Most of these Jews were gathered in the Kazatin ghetto or camp, and in August 1942 two SS men flew in to organize the murder of these Jews. About 200 Jews were escorted by the Gendarmerie and local police to another ditch alongside the first one, where the SS men shot them.¹⁰

The remaining 21 Jewish artisans were killed in the fall of 1942 at the same site; on September 28, 1942, according to a report by Leutnant Behrens, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Kazatin, 18 male and 3 female Jews were shot by an SD detachment.¹¹ Other Jews were shot in the fields when they were encountered by joint patrols of the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.¹² For example, on January 26, 1943, the Gendarmerie post in Kazatin reported that 3 Jewish "partisans" had been "shot while trying to escape" in the village of Sestrenovka, in Rayon Kasatin.¹³

The Germans subsequently utilized the area of the "ghetto" in Kazatin, which had been used to keep Jews separate from the rest of the population, as a so-called workers' education camp (*Arbeitserziehungslager*).¹⁴ Movable Jewish property, including

furniture, was officially confiscated by the civil administration in accordance with an order issued by the Generalkommissar in Zhitomir, Kurt Klemm, on December 12, 1941. Much of the property, however, was taken by members of the Ukrainian police.¹⁵

SOURCES Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Kazatin can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67); DAVINO (R5022-1-176); DAZO (1182-1-6); GARF (7021-54-1247); USHMM (RG-31, 1996.A.0269); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaftsbefehl Winniza, Nr. 18/42, July 25, 1942.
3. Telegram No. 85 from the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South, September 6, 1941, published in A. Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944gg.* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 252–253.
4. Telegram No. 85, September 12, 1941, published in Kruglov, *Sbornik dokumentov*, pp. 254–255.
5. DAVINO, R5022-1-176.
6. Interview with Nina Borisovna Glzman, quoted in Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), p. 92.
7. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944gg.: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik* (Kharkov: “Karavella,” 2001), p. 29; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 104.
8. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67, vol. 2, pp. 214–250, Abschlussbericht, here p. 226. This report notes that 292 bodies were subsequently counted in the mass grave. GARF, 7021-54-1247, p. 158, gives the figure of 508 Jews killed, but this probably reflects the total for the two Aktions in June and August 1942.
9. DAZO, 1182-1c-2, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Behrens, Kasatin, July 6, 1942.
10. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67, vol. 2, pp. 214–250, Abschlussbericht, here p. 227. The bodies of 216 persons were found in this grave.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 229–230; DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 169, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Behrens, Kasatin, to Gebietskommissar, September 30, 1942.
12. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67, vol. 2, pp. 214–250, Abschlussbericht, here p. 229; for example, a patrol of four Gendarmes and 15 Schutzmänner on their way to Korolevka found eight Jews hiding in a field and shot them on the spot.
13. DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 158.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 244–245.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 170, an den Gendarmerie-Posten Kasatin, n.d.

KHMEL'NIK

Pre-1941: Kbmel'nik, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Chbmelnik, Rayon center, Gebiet Litin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Kbmil'nyk, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Khmel'nik is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) northwest of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, there were 4,793 Jewish residents in Khmel'nik (63.8 percent of the total population). Another 906 Jews were living in the surrounding villages of the Khmel'nik raion.

After the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, some Jewish men were drafted into or voluntarily joined the Red Army, and several hundred Jews managed to evacuate eastward, but more than 4,000 remained in Khmel'nik at the start of the occupation. According to German statistics, in August 1941, out of 7,000 residents of Khmel'nik, 4,000 were Jews.¹

Following an artillery bombardment in which some Jews were killed, units of the German 17th Army occupied Khmel'nik on July 17, 1941. In July and August 1941, the town was governed by a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which recruited local residents to serve in the auxiliary police and the local administration. Some Jews recall that their former teachers became ardent Ukrainian nationalists and took an active part in the persecution of the Jews.

The first anti-Jewish Aktion took place on August 12, 1941.² On that day a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Wadel, shot 229 Jews in Khmel'nik. They were buried outside the town near the road to Ulanov. The German Security Police reported that the Aktion was intended as a reprisal for acts of sabotage along the road (blocking the passage of cars). The detachment also hanged a leading local official.³

In late October 1941, the military authorities were replaced by a German civil administration. Khmel'nik became a Rayon center within Gebiet Litin. The Gebietskommissar in Litin was SA-Standartenführer Traugott Volkhammer.⁴ By August 1941, the local Ukrainian police squad numbered 30 members and was headed by a certain Tarnavsky (his deputy was Shchur).⁵ In the fall of 1941, the Ukrainian police was subordinated to the German Gendarmerie post in Khmel'nik, which was commanded by a man named Jochinke.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities established a Judenrat and introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures, including markings, confiscations, curfews, and forced labor.⁶

On December 25, 1941, the Germans ordered Jews to hand over immediately all their warm clothing, especially furs, for the use of German soldiers at the front. To ensure compliance with the order, 11 Jews were taken hostage. On January 2, 1942, Gebietskommissar Volkhammer demanded a large monetary “contribution” from the Jews and ordered them to resettle into a ghetto in the Old Town, in the area of the old militia building (where the German police was based) on Shevchenko and Sholom-Aleichem Streets. Volkhammer's order also

instructed Russians and Ukrainians to mark their houses with a cross and warned that anyone who allowed a Jew into his home would be severely punished.⁷ It is estimated that the total number of Jews who moved into the ghetto was around 4,500.

On January 9 and January 16, 1942, units of Einsatzkommando 5, which had now established an office of the Security Police (KdS Aussendienststelle) in Vinnitsa, the German Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police raided the ghetto, killing most of the Jews (probably around 3,000). The several hundred Jews who survived these two Aktions, the so-called specialists—skilled professionals and their families—were then settled into a smaller ghetto together with a number of Jews who had survived in hiding. After the Aktion, the Germans organized the clearing of furniture and any remaining food from the empty houses in the ghetto.⁸

The German terror continued after these two Aktions. On January 25, 1942, an official of the Gestapo dragged Rabbi Shapiro out into the street and murdered him. His body was left lying there for several days, as the German authorities forbade its removal and burial. A group of women sent for forced labor by the Judenrat were made to dance and then lie in the snow before being brutally kicked and beaten by local policemen.⁹ The Germans registered the surviving Jews and continued to exploit their labor.

Anatoly Shvidkoy, a Jewish survivor, has described the conditions in the Khmel'nik ghetto as

hell on earth. . . . We lived with several other families in a small room without heat or light. We were always hungry. We managed to get food from local peasants in exchange for our belongings. We made friends with one peasant woman who frequently came to the ghetto boundary. Our family was caught in a roundup on three occasions, but we were released each time because my father was a craftsman.¹⁰

Several survivors mention the existence of contacts between the surviving remnant of the ghetto and the Soviet partisan forces. According to one account, a group of Jewish youths obtained arms and hid them in the synagogue with the aim of using them during their escape. Unfortunately the cache was uncovered, and the police arrested and shot the youths.¹¹ Other Jews successfully escaped from the ghetto and subsequently joined the Soviet partisans. Among the former residents of Khmel'nik who served in the partisans were a man named Weissman, Izya Reznik, and Leva Kneloiz.

On June 12, 1942, the Germans carried out another Aktion in the ghetto during which the German and Ukrainian policemen, aided by a squad of the Hungarian army, captured and shot 360 children and old people.¹²

The Khmel'nik ghetto was liquidated on March 3, 1943. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, some 1,300 people were shot on that day (but this figure is probably too high).¹³ The 135 artisans who survived the massacre (127 men and 8 women) were put into a school building that was turned into a labor camp. The crafts-

men had to train Ukrainians as their replacements. Some 67 people managed to escape from this camp.¹⁴ On June 26, 1943, the remaining Jews were divided into two groups: 14 people were selected to be kept alive, and the German forces took the other 54 Jews to the forest to be shot. After being brought to the killing site, 13 Jews attempted to flee, but only 4 managed to get away; the rest (50) were shot. It is estimated that the Germans and their collaborators murdered more than 5,000 Jews in Khmel'nik between 1941 and 1943.

Several dozen Jews who survived the massacres of 1941–1943 lived to see the liberation of the town by the Red Army in March 1944. A number survived by hiding, most with the help of sympathetic local Ukrainians. Others managed to escape across the border into the Romanian-occupied area (Transnistria), where by late 1942 the chances of survival as a Jew were considerably greater than under German occupation.

SOURCES Information about the Jewish community of Khmel'nik and its destruction can be found in the following publications: “In the Town of Chmelnik (Vinnitsa District),” reported by A.I. Bekker, prepared for publication by R. Kovnator, in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 22–27; there are several personal testimonies by Khmel'nik ghetto survivors in Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995); one further testimony can be found in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 361–362.

Documents and testimonies regarding the fate of the Jews of Khmel'nik during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67); DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1249); RGVA (1275-3-662); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.120*0252; Acc.1995.A.566); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-33).

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NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675 (Abt. VII), Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 25, 1941.
2. GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229.
3. See the verdict of LG-Düs, 8 I Ks 1/66, August 5, 1966, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 636a, pp. 489–584, here p. 520; BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 60, August 22, 1941; RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24.
4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
5. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24.
6. USHMM, RG-50.120*0252, oral history interview with Israel Guler, February 15, 1995; also Acc.1995.A.566, memoir of Emily Kessler, March 5, 1993.
7. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *Complete Black Book*, pp. 23–24; Zinovy Shtivelman, “The Last Pogrom,” in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 361–362.
8. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *Complete Black Book*, pp. 24–25; GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229.

9. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *Complete Black Book*, p. 25.
10. Testimony of Anatoly Shvidkoy, published in Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 61–63.
11. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 176–181.
12. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *Complete Black Book*, p. 26; GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229.
13. GARF, 7021-54-1249, p. 229; this figure seems similarly inflated. See also BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, p. 571.
14. Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit*, pp. 65–66.

KHODORKOV

Pre-1941: Khodorkov, village, Kornin raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Chodorkow, Rayon Kornin, Gebiet Korostyschew, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Khodorkiv, Popil'nia raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Khodorkov is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) east-southeast of Zhitomir. The population census of 1926 indicated that Khodorkov had a Jewish community of 453. In the 1930s, the size of the village's Jewish population declined by more than half.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 12, three weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During that period, some of the Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country.

During the months of July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. In late October 1941, a civil administration replaced the German military administration. Until liberation in November 1943, Khodorkov was part of Gebiet Korostyschew in Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the same anti-Jewish measures implemented in other German-occupied towns and villages of the Ukraine were introduced in Khodorkov. The Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks in the form of an armband with a Star of David; they were used for various kinds of forced labor; they were forbidden to leave the village; and they were instructed to hand over all their valuables. Jews were forbidden to buy food in the market, and the local residents were forbidden to associate with Jews in any way; those who violated this order were flogged.

The first Aktion in Khodorkov took place on August 10, 1941, when 19 Jewish males were arrested and shot. On September 10, 1941, the women, children, and old people were herded into a ghetto, which was established at the nearby Vozrozhdenie ("Rebirth") kolkhoz. They remained in the ghetto until October 15, 1941, when the ghetto was liquidated, and all 149 Jews were shot.¹

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Khodorkov can be found in "Khodorkov," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 619.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Khodorkov can be found in the following archives: DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-296).

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NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-60-296, pp. 116–120.

KOROSTEN'

Pre-1941: Korosten', city and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Korosten, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Korosten', raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Korosten' is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) north of Zhitomir, on the Uzh River. According to the 1939 census, there were 10,991 Jews living in Korosten' (35.7 percent of the total population).

German armed forces occupied the city on August 6, 1941. Between the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and the seizure of Korosten', the majority of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Jews from places south of Korosten', including Volodarsk-Volynskii (aka Goroshki), were also evacuated from Korosten' by rail before the arrival of the Germans.¹ Approximately 12 to 13 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Korosten' at the start of the occupation.

From July to August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the city. The German military administration created a city administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from local residents. The Ukrainian policemen played an active part in the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. Korosten' became the administrative center of Gebiet Korosten, and Regierungsassessor Helsig was appointed Gebietskommissar. In turn, the Gebiet was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.²

Immediately after the occupation of Korosten', the Ortskommandantur introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the town. The Jews were forbidden to engage in any relations with the Ukrainians, including any commercial transactions. The Jews were also ordered to wear armbands with a yellow Star of David on their left arms. Jewish men were forced into heavy physical labor and were subjected to harassment and beatings by the Ukrainian police. It is possible also that a form of "open ghetto" was established. According to one testimony, all the Jews were brought to Petrovs'ka Street; however, this report remains uncorroborated.³

During the first three weeks after the occupation began, a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a arrived in Korosten' and

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carried out three mass cleansing Aktions. In the first one, 53 Jews were murdered; in the second, 238 Jews; and in the third, 160 Jews—bringing the total to 451 persons.⁴ In preparation for the last Aktion, the Jews were imprisoned in School No. 5, which may have served briefly as a form of “destruction ghetto.” The Ukrainian police set fire to it, and the Jews were taken out to be shot at a site located 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the city.⁵

In the first half of September 1941, Sonderkommando 4a liquidated the remaining Jews in the town, around 1,000 people. The shootings were directed by SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, who commanded the unit. Also taking part in the executions was the head of Einsatzgruppe C, SS-Brigadeführer Dr. Otto Rasch.⁶ According to a report by Feldkommandantur 197, dated September 20, 1941, by this date there were scarcely any Jews remaining in the area under its control. Apart from 5,000 Jews assembled in a ghetto in Zhitomir, the setting up of other ghettos in the region was no longer considered necessary since most of the Jews in Korosten’ had recently been shot by the SD.⁷

In the Korosten’ area in 1943, a number of Hungarian Jews were also murdered in the vicinity. In 1942, forces of the 2nd Hungarian Army, which used them for labor purposes, had moved the Jews into Ukrainian territory. The Hungarian Jews probably had been in the Zhitomir oblast’ since early 1943, when the rear services of the Hungarian army were deployed here, as well as subunits tasked with fighting against the partisans. Many workers who had already been subjected to horrible working conditions, sparse rations, and other cruel treatment died of exhaustion, starvation, and disease.

A hospital for Jews who had fallen ill was established in the village of Kupishche, 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) from Korosten’. It occupied a few rooms in a brick building. The majority of the sick, however, lay in open barns. The grounds were surrounded by a fence and barbed wire. On a daily basis, many died of typhus. The corpses were stacked like firewood by the wall of a nearby horse stable. On April 29, 1943, the occupying forces decided to take drastic measures to deal with this source of infection. One of the barns, which held 600 persons, was burned to the ground. Those who tried to escape were shot with submachine guns. A small group of Jews did manage to escape and would later recount what happened. When this became known to the minister of defense in Hungary, V. Nagy, he ordered a special commission to investigate the matter and find the perpetrators. But the commission came to the conclusion that “the fire was started accidentally by Jews who were smoking.”⁸

SOURCES The existence of a ghetto in Korosten’ is mentioned in these publications: *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 77; and Jacob G. Frumkin et al., *Russian Jewry, 1917–67* (T. Yoseloff, 1966), 2:115. Information on the destruction of the Jewish population in Korosten’ can be found also in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center,

“Epos,” 2004), 5:160–161; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 659–660.

Documents about the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Korosten’ can be found in the following archives: DAZO; GARF (7021-60-297); and TsDAVO (8-2-156, p. 28).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Boris Zabarko, ed., “*Nur wir haben überlebt*”: *Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), p. 159.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. GARF, 7021-60-297, pp. 6, 10, testimony of S.I. Gnedov’skyi on May 26, 1945.

4. BA-BL, R 58/216-17, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 59, August 21, 1941; EM no. 80, September 11, 1941; EM no. 86, September 17, 1941.

5. GARF, 7021-60-297, p. 297.

6. Paul Blobel, affidavit, June 6, 1947 (N-Doc. NO 3842).

7. TsDAVO, 8-2-156, p. 28, report of FK 197, September 20, 1941, as cited in V.M. Nemiati, ed., *History Teaches a Lesson: Captured War Documents Expose the Atrocities of the German-Fascist Invaders and Their Henchmen in Ukraine’s Temporarily-Occupied Territory during the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945)* (Kiev: Politvidav Ukraini, 1986), p. 38.

8. Randolph L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System 1939–1945* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1977), p. 39. See also P. Iskorostenskii, “Tragediia sela Kupishche,” *Evreiskie vesti* (September 1993), in which he writes that 800 Jews perished in the fire. According to a telegram from the Reichskommissar of Ukraine on April 29, 1943, “a barn burned down on a kolkhoz farm in Kubishche, within Gebiet Korosten, and 300 Hungarian Jews were burned to death.” See NARA, RG-242, microcopy T-454, reel 23, fr. 402.

KOROSTYSHEV

Pre-1941: Korostyshev, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast’, Ukraine; 1941–1943: Korostyshev, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shtomir; post-1991: Korostyshev, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast’, Ukraine

Korostyshev is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) east-northeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, there were 2,170 Jews living in Korostyshev (19.4 percent of the population). Another 83 Jews lived in the villages of the Korostyshev raion.

The town was occupied by German armed forces on July 12, 1941. In the interim between the German invasion on June 22 and the occupation of the town, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of an eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The Ortskommandantur established a town administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit recruited from local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the measures taken against the Jewish population.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to a German civilian administration. Korostyshev became the administrative center of Gebiet Korostyschew, and Gauhauptstellenleiter Dankbar was appointed as Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Korostyschew became part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.¹

Shortly after the occupation of Korostyshev, a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a commanded by Paul Blobel (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe C) arrived in the town and shot 40 Jews "for sabotage, espionage, and larceny."²

After these first shootings, the military commandant ordered one street to be cordoned off and an open ghetto (Jewish residential area) established for the Jews.³ The Jewish population was not allowed to leave the ghetto without permission or to buy goods from local Ukrainians. The Ukrainians, in turn, were prohibited from having any contact with the Jews. The Jews were required to wear an armband bearing the Star of David on their left arms. Jewish men were forced to perform various kinds of heavy labor and were subjected to harsh beatings by the Ukrainian policemen.

It is likely that in August 1941 some of the Jewish men who were performing forced labor were shot. In September 1941, Sonderkommando 4a liquidated the ghetto and shot all the Jews.⁴ The mass shooting was carried out in a meadow to the south of the town (now marked by a monument). Many Jews from outlying villages—for example, 20 people from the village of Studenitsa—were shot along with the Jews from Korostyshev.

Another report, prepared by Feldkommandantur 197, dated September 20, 1941, stated that "it was also discovered that Jews in Korostyshev and Zhitomir maintained relations with the partisans. In retaliation, 60 Jews were shot in Korostyshev."⁵

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), there was another mass shooting in Korostyshev, probably in May 1942, reflecting the attempt to cleanse the Generalkommissariat Shitomir of all remaining Jews at this time. The Security Police from Zhitomir, assisted by the Gendarmerie, shot up to 1,000 Jews, including about 100 children; many of these people were brought to Korostyshev from surrounding locations.⁶

SOURCES A brief article on the Jewish community of Korostyshev can be found in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007), 6:161–162.

Documents regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of the town can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/204a AR-Z 127/67, vol. 2, p. 604); DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-299).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. BA-BL, R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 47, August 9, 1941.

3. GARF, 7021-60-299, pp. 13, 15, 25.

4. According to the testimonies of witnesses, around 700 people initially were shot en masse after the liquidation of the ghetto, followed by the mass murder of about 1,000 people; see GARF, 7021-60-299, pp. 25 and reverse side. According to the documents of the ChGK, in Korostyshev in August 1941 around 2,000 people were shot in all, including 198 children. This figure for the number of victims was subsequently increased to 2,486. In May 1942, 1,000 people, including 102 children, were killed, and in May 1943 [sic], 1,200 people, including 126 children, were shot, bringing the total to 4,200 persons. This figure was later adjusted again to read 4,686 victims. The author believes that this total is too high. See GARF, 7021-60-299, pp. 1, 3–4.

5. TsDAVO, 8-2-156, p. 28, report of FK 197, September 20, 1941, as cited in V.M. Nemiatiy, ed., *History Teaches a Lesson: Captured War Documents Expose the Atrocities of the German-Fascist Invaders and Their Henchmen in Ukraine's Temporarily-Occupied Territory During the Great Patriotic War (1941–1945)* (Kiev: Politvidav Ukraini, 1986), p. 38.

6. GARF, 7021-60-299, p. 110.

LEL'CHITSY

Pre-1941: Lel'chitsy, town and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Letschbizy, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-2001: Lel'chitsy, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lel'chitsy is located 70 kilometers (44 miles) west-southwest of Mozyr'. In 1939, there were 746 Jews in Lel'chitsy (29.2 percent).

Soon after the inception of hostilities on June 22, 1941, large numbers of refugees appeared in Lel'chitsy, primarily from Turov. There was no organized evacuation of the population. Men eligible for the draft were mobilized for military service in the Red Army. The remaining women, old people, and children were unable to leave Lel'chitsy in time. The only way to leave Lel'chitsy was to take the road towards Mozyr' or to get to the railway station in El'sk, but many people had no means of transportation. Older people thought they would not be bothered if they stayed behind to look after their property. The Jews remembered the Germans from 1918 and thought they would leave the civilian population untouched. Less than one third of the Jews of Lel'chitsy managed to evacuate.

Lel'chitsy was occupied by German troops on August 23, 1941. The front line quickly moved eastward. In the town, a mayor was appointed, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was established, and a police force was recruited from among Belorussians and Russians. The police headquarters was located in the raion Communist Party

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executive committee (*raispolkom*) offices on Zelenyi Lane. The police helped the Germans to uncover former Soviet activists and party workers and conducted a registration of the Jewish population.¹

In Lel'chitsy, the Jews initially continued to live in their own homes until early September 1941, fearing for their lives. Relations between the Belorussians and the Jews became guarded, and the first instances of rape and theft on the part of the peasants were noted.

The first Aktion was the work of a German punitive detachment that arrived in Lel'chitsy from the direction of Ovruch on September 5 (or September 7), 1941. The soldiers wore helmets and green uniforms. They immediately began to round up the Jews and herd them into the courtyard of the former People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) building in the town center, on the Mozyr' highway. The majority of Lel'chitsy's Jews managed to run away and hide. The Germans caught mainly Jewish refugees from Turov. In the afternoon, the Germans made the Jews line up in a column (about 300 people) and drove them to the northeast, along the Mozyr' highway to the "Zael'e" settlement. There, 500 meters (547 yards) from the last houses of the settlement was a large crater from an aerial bomb. Many men, women, elderly, and children had belongings with them—holdalls on their shoulders or bags in their hands. Mothers carried the smallest children. Armed German escorts urged them forward. Along the way, the Jews sobbed loudly and begged to be let go. The victims were not undressed before they were killed. At the site of the Aktion, there were approximately 20 German soldiers, and more patrolled the perimeter to prevent escapes. People were led to the edge of the pit in groups. Then the perpetrators opened fire, and the dead fell into the pit. The corpses remained unburied for a long time.²

Fedora Lipitskaia recalled that in September 1941 she heard shots and people's cries. From the window she saw a crowd of Jews being escorted by Germans. Lipitskaia recognized Jewish acquaintances with whom she had worked in a sewing *artel*. Her friend Etkia cried out, "Fedora, farewell!" The column disappeared behind the hill, and soon shots rang out. An elderly Jew ran into her yard, begging her to hide him. He said that "some German superior," before the murder, gave a speech in which he said that the Jews were being shot on Hitler's orders. Three days later, this elderly man left Lipitskaia's house.³

The second Aktion took place in late September 1941 when the punitive detachment returned. The German soldiers, helped by the police, hunted for Jews all day. The 400 Jews they caught, mainly women and children, were herded into several Jewish houses in the center of Lel'chitsy, near the Ortskommandantur. The Nazis selected about 15 skilled workers (tailors and cobblers) with their families (more than 60 people) and let them stay in the houses. The other Jews were herded to the Zagor'e area, and those unable to walk were transported in carts. At Zagor'e, a pit had been prepared. According to Andrei Zhurovich, the pogrom lasted two days; 15 Jews were spared to bury the dead. After the job was done, they were killed.⁴

The third Aktion was carried out in the early spring of 1942. According to Oberwachtmeister der Gendarmerie Max Lessner, on the orders of the head of the Lel'chitsy Gendarmerie, a small detachment of Gendarmes arrived to round up all the Jews. They arrested about 70 Jews and locked them in one of the houses, where they were kept for two weeks.⁵

The Jews under arrest, together with their families, were locked in the Girsh home on the corner of Zelenaiia Street. There were so many people in the house that there was nowhere to lie down. Elizaveta Kolesnik, who lived nearby, was asked by the prisoners to bring swaddling clothes, as a young Jewish woman was giving birth. For four days, no one was given any food. The younger Jews were forced to go to Zagor'e to dig a new pit with little steps cut into it. They complained that the ground was frozen, and it was hard to work.

When the excavations were completed, the police brought four carts, each drawn by two horses. A new selection was undertaken. Out of 70 people, the Germans set aside 12 tailors and cobblers, and the remaining Jews were put in the carts. Four policemen and eight Gendarmes beat and shouted at their victims as they set off. The women and children sobbed and held their heads in their hands, as they all understood where they were being taken. Among the police escorts were two local residents: Efim Dashkevich (shot by the Germans) and Nikolai Kholiava (escaped with the Germans). They shot the victims in the back of the head, using pistols and submachine guns, with single shots. The pit was not filled in until springtime, when the police requisitioned local residents for the task.⁶

The fourth Aktion took place in the summer of 1942. In July, an SD detachment came to Lel'chitsy from Zhitomir and shot more than 40 Soviet citizens, including the last Jews, "for ties with partisans."⁷

The Germans and police searched incessantly for surviving Jews, killing them wherever they found them. In July 1943, in the village of Buinovich, the Nazis found the five children of a man named Finster, who was married to a Belorussian. They shot three of them, and they grabbed the seven-month-old twins Ania and Fedia by their feet and smashed their heads against a tree. The Germans did not allow the children to be buried, and their corpses were pulled apart by dogs.⁸

Some of the residents of Lel'chitsy, despite the threat of death, gave aid to the Jews. Riva Lel'chuk was saved by the Belotskii family: Mariia, her mother Agaf'ia, and her stepfather Ivan. The Belotskiis hid these Jews from the end of 1941 until November 1942, when they left to join the Soviet partisans.⁹

Soviet troops liberated Lel'chitsy on January 21, 1944. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) established that during the occupation in Lel'chitsy and the Lel'chitsy raion, 2,148 people died at the hands of the Nazis, including around 750 Jews, some of whom were refugees from Turov.¹⁰

In September 1970, in connection with an inquiry by the organs of justice of the Polish People's Republic, a commission came to Lel'chitsy on the instructions of the Office of the Public Prosecutor of the USSR. With the participation of witnesses, the commission inspected the site where in 1941–1942 mass shootings of Soviet Jewish citizens had occurred.¹¹

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Lel'chitsy can be found in the following publication: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 717.

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews of Lel'chitsy can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBGO (file 234: vol. 4, pp. 186–187, 214; vol. 6, pp. 66, 73, 77); GAOOGO (69-1-685); NARB (845-1-8, p. 42); and YVA (M-33/1127).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. YVA, M-33/1127.
2. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, p. 77, from the transcript of questioning of witness Ivan Vasil'evich Davidiuk, born 1914, on September 16, 1970, Lel'chitsy.
3. *Ibid.*, file 234, vol. 4, pp. 185–187, excerpt from the transcript of questioning of witness Fedora Aleksandrovna Lipitskaia, born 1904, on January 10, 1968, Lel'chitsy.
4. *Ibid.*, file 234, vol. 6, p. 66, from the transcript of questioning of witness Andrei Grigor'evich Zhurovich, born 1908, on January 10, 1968, Lel'chitsy.
5. *Ibid.*, file 234, vol. 4, p. 214, from the transcript of questioning of defendant Max Robert Lessner, born 1897, Oberwachtmeister der Gendarmerie, on March 31, 1947.
6. Of the Gendarmes, Kolesnik remembered one nicknamed “the Cook,” another named Max, and a third whose surname was Schwarz. *Ibid.*, file 234, vol. 6, p. 66, from the transcript of the questioning of the witness Elizaveta Vasil'evna Kolesnik, born 1903, on September 15, 1970, Lel'chitsy.
7. *Ibid.*, file 234, vol. 4, p. 216.
8. NARB, 845-1-8, p. 42, from the report of the Poles' oblast' commission of the ChGK of the USSR on the crimes in Lel'chitsy, December 25, 1944.
9. In 1994, Ivan and Agaf'ia Belotskii and Mariia Zhoglo (Belotskaia) were awarded the title of Righteous Among the Nations; see *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004), pp. 25–26.
10. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, p. 106, from the report on Nazi war crimes in the Gomel' oblast'.
11. *Ibid.*, file 234, vol. 6, pp. 81–82, transcript of the examination of the mass burial at “Gorka” (the Hill) in Lel'chitsy.

LIPOVETS

Pre-1941: Lipovets, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Lipowez, Rayon center, Gebiet Illinzi, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Lypovets', raion center, Vinnitsya oblast', Ukraine

Lipovets is located 41 kilometers (25.5 miles) east of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 1,353 Jews (52.6 percent of the total population) were living in the town. An additional 993 Jews were residing in the villages of the Lipovets raion. Between June 22 and July 23, 1941, on which date German forces occupied the settlement, part of the Jewish population was

able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 1,000 Jews remained in Lipovets at the start of the German occupation.

Initially a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran Lipovets. In October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Rayon Lipowez was incorporated into Gebiet Illinzi, which, in turn, was part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Kreisleiter Heinrich Scholdra was the Gebietskommissar, and Meister Andreas Wagner was the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.¹ In Lipovets itself, a Gendarmerie post was established, commanded (according to Soviet sources) by an officer named Häsl or Heese, assisted by his deputy Otto Koinder.² The Gendarmerie assumed authority over the local Ukrainian police. Both the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police played an active role in the Aktions carried out against the Jewish population in the area.

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur organized the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David and to perform various forms of heavy labor for little or no pay.

In September 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the town. Some 200 people were rounded up, including 17 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) accused of being Soviet activists and Communists.³ German forces shot them near the village of Berezovka. Among those executed were a number of Jews.

Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Germans established an “open ghetto” for the Jewish population in the settlement.⁴ According to Leontii Usharenko, a Jewish survivor, the German soldiers and Ukrainian police beat Jews they caught not wearing a Star of David on their chests. The Ukrainian police helped the Germans to identify the Jews and were more stringent than the Germans. At this point no one was allowed to leave the open ghetto, except for work details. However, Jewish girls still went to the market to barter items for bread, as there was not much else to eat. Labor tasks included cleaning toilets for the Germans until late into the night. Usharenko's sister worked in a factory that made vegetable oil.⁵

In late April or early May 1942, the ghetto in Lipovets was liquidated. More than 700 Jews were shot near the village of Vikentievka, to the northeast of Lipovets.⁶ Around 20 local villagers were requisitioned to prepare ditches for the mass shooting and became witnesses to the murder. The Aktion was organized by an SD detachment from Vinnitsa, commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Theodor Salmanzig, assisted by the German Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police. At the site of the mass shooting, a number of Jews were selected out with the aid of a translator as specialist workers (artisans). Only the Jewish artisan workers and their families remained after that, confined to a small remnant ghetto in Lipovets. They were shot on June 3, 1942. There were 167 victims.⁷

On June 3 (or possibly May 3), 1942, the SD detachment from Vinnitsa, with the help of the German Gendarmerie

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and Ukrainian police, also shot several hundred Jews from the village of Vakhnovka. The Jews were confined first within the church, while the mass grave was being prepared by 20 of the Jews about 2.5 kilometers (1.6 miles) outside the village. The victims included 150 women, 100 children, and more than 20 men. Some of the infants were thrown into the grave and buried alive.⁸ There was also a report of a shooting of Jews in the nearby village of Zozov.

Leontii Usharenko managed to escape from the remnant ghetto in Lipovets shortly before the final liquidation with the aid of a forged identity document that enabled him to pass as a non-Jew.⁹

SOURCES Documents describing the destruction of the Jews in Lipovets and the surrounding area can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 204a AR-Z 138/67); DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1254); VHF (# 29972); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. BA-L, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, p. 315.

3. GARF, 7021-54-1254, p. 3.

4. DAVINO, R4422-1-36.

5. VHF, # 29972, testimony of Leontii Usharenko.

6. *Ibid.*, # 29972, dates the Aktion on May 3, 1942—most other sources in April. BA-L, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, Soviet material, Bild 313–316. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 2,000 Jews from Lipovets were killed in April 1942. There were 800 people killed near the village of Berezovka, and 700 people, followed by another incident with 500 people, killed near the village of Vitsentovka; see GARF, 7021-54-1254, pp. 3 and reverse side. The documents list the number of Jews in Lipovets before the war as 1,353, and some of them went into the army and others evacuated the area. Therefore, this figure is probably too high. It is likely that at the end of April 1942 more than 700 Jews from Lipovets were executed near the village of Vikentievka. According to one source (see below), the Jews who were arrested in the villages of Rayon Lipowez were shot near the village of Berezovka. See I.S. Finkel'stein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa i opor ukrains'koho evreistva (1941–1944): Narys z istorii Holokostu i Oporu v Ukraini* (Kiev, 1999), p. 75.

7. VHF, # 29972; GARF, 7021-54-1254, p. 3. In the report dated January 9, 1944, compiled by the local residents and the local army section, 60 to 70 people (of indeterminate nationality) living in the town were killed in October 1942; in November 1942, 80 persons were killed; and in June 1942, 60 people were killed. See *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatnikov: Dokumenty*, Vypusk 13 (Voenizdat, 1945), p. 20.

8. GARF, 7021-54-1254, pp. 3 and reverse side. See also BA-L, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, Soviet material, Bild 313–316.

9. VHF, # 29972.

LITIN

Pre-1941: Litin, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Lityn, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Litin is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) west-northwest of Vinnitsa. In 1939, the Jewish population of Litin was 1,410, comprising 28 percent of the total.

The Germans occupied Litin on July 17, 1941. Only a small number of Jews, perhaps 20 or 30 people, were able to evacuate via the railroad. Around 200 Jews of military age (those born between 1903 and 1924) were conscripted into the Red Army before the Germans arrived.¹

Immediately after the occupation, German and Hungarian troops began to bully the Jewish population. In this region, the Jews suffered in particular at the hands of Ukrainian policemen who raped women and tore the beards from elderly Jewish men. According to German orders, Jews had to wear a Star of David on their outer clothing, front and back, and had to mark their homes as well. Artisans were ordered to work, often without pay. The remaining able-bodied Jews were escorted to a quarry (for stonemasonry), which was located 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) from Litin. They were also ordered to perform agricultural work. By the fall of 1941, many Jewish families were starving. Jews were taxed heavily and forced to pay onerous "contributions" to the occupying forces. The Germans threatened to kill the Jews if payments were not made in exchange for their security.² On August 18, 1941, German Security Police from Einsatzkommando 5 arrested more than 100 Jews over the age of 15, and after selecting some for a specific labor task, they shot the remaining 57 young men, apparently because they did not possess "useful" skills.³

In the fall of 1941, the area around Litin was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. Litin became the center of its own district (Gebiet Litin), consisting of the surrounding Rayons of Litin, Brailow, and Chmelnik. SA-Standartenführer Traugott Volkhammer was appointed as Gebietskommissar in Litin.

In the early morning of December 19, a squad of German Security Police from Vinnitsa arrived in Litin. Reinforced by local Gendarmerie forces and the Ukrainian police, they surrounded the streets where the Jewish population lived. The police drove the Jews out of their homes and onto the streets. A few dozen Jews were murdered during this process. The Jews were then taken to the Red Army base located in the town. Jews from the surrounding area were also brought there, including about 100 Jews from Diakovtsev. Then the German authorities carried out a selection. About 200 specialized craftsmen and their families were removed from the group, and the remaining 2,000 or so people were escorted towards the ditches, prepared 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the military base. The German punitive detachment and Ukrainian policemen shot the Jews into the ditches. Gebietskommissar Volkhammer directly supervised the mass shooting.⁴

The remaining Jews were transferred into the ghetto over the next two hours. The ghetto consisted of a few houses on two narrow streets. The Germans also resettled into the ghetto those Jews who had hidden during the mass shooting and emerged thereafter. Around 300 Jews were concentrated inside the ghetto, which was surrounded by a fence. The prisoners were prohibited from leaving and threatened with shooting if they tried. Although food was scarce and hunger severe, nobody was allowed to go to the peasant market to obtain food. Among many humiliating restrictions, the Jews of the ghetto were not allowed to walk on the sidewalk.⁵

After several subsequent Aktions, the ghetto was reduced in size until it consisted only of one side of a single street. A Polish Jew, Nuta Gekht, who knew German well, was appointed as the elder (starosta) of the ghetto. The German commandant demanded that Gekht compile lists of those able to perform forced labor. A witness, Maria Zavodiuk-Fainshtein, was among the girls assigned to work at the German military garrison, where she had to clean the rooms, bring water from the well, chop wood, and perform other tasks. Later on, the girls were sent to the stone quarries, where they had to shovel stones into a special grinding machine: backbreaking work that left them exhausted at the end of every day.⁶

Refugees arrived in Litin from many places, as they were trying to get to Transnistria (the Romanian zone of occupation), where by 1942 conditions were somewhat better for Jews. Some of the fugitives were allowed into the ghetto and given work permits; others hid illegally within the ghetto.⁷ Insofar as it was possible, the Jews of Litin directed the refugees towards the Bug River, supplying them with food, clothing, and sometimes money to assist their escape. A few hundred of these runaways were nevertheless captured and shot by local policemen. The Jews of Litin secretly gathered the clothing and other possessions, which they had retained when they were resettled into the ghetto, and collected them in their old homes and the homes of Jews who had already been shot. Often the Jews of Litin went into neighboring villages, where they exchanged the clothing and other items for food. As far as possible, the prisoners of the ghetto continued to observe Jewish traditions and holidays. They celebrated Passover (eating matzot) and Purim and fasted on Yom Kippur.⁸

Mass shootings continued on a regular basis. On December 29, 1941, about one week after the establishment of the ghetto, the Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police shot approximately 100 more Jews in the ditches, mainly elderly people, women, and children: probably Jews who were found in hiding after the recent Aktion.⁹

On June 11, 1942, the next Aktion was carried out. Hungarian soldiers and Ukrainian policemen shot 167 people on the grounds of the military base. Among these victims were women, children, and the elderly, who had been seized because they were unable to work. The survivors and prisoners who remained alive in the ghetto called this the “children’s pogrom.” The German punitive forces used dogs to catch children who were in hiding. The authorities shot 150 Roma (Gypsies) along with the Jews. This Aktion was organized by the new Gebiets-

kommissar named Nikesch.¹⁰ In September and October 1942, there was another series of Aktions: on September 18, 1942, 86 prisoners from the ghetto were shot. On October 10, 1942, 260 people were shot. In the course of this Aktion, about 10 prisoners escaped to the Romanian zone of occupation. On October 25, 1942, 96 people were shot. Some of these victims were Jews found hiding in and around Litin who were brought to the ghetto to be murdered in groups.¹¹

A labor prison camp was organized on the grounds of the military base in Litin, into which the Nazis resettled Romanian Jews, mostly from Bukovina. The purpose of the camp was to provide labor for the construction in 1942 of Transit Highway (Durchgangsstrasse) IV from Poland to the North Caucasus. Able-bodied men and women, including young people, were moved into the prison labor camp. The majority of the prisoners, around 1,000 men, worked on building the road. The remaining 250 women prisoners worked in the quarry, where they cut stone needed for the road-building efforts. The German state-run Organisation Todt (OT) was responsible for the project. In September 1942, the Germans liquidated the labor prison camp. On September 12, 580 people were shot, and on September 20 and 26 (by varying accounts), the remaining 520 people were killed.

Litin was liberated on March 20, 1944. Only a few dozen Jews from Litin who had escaped to various places during the occupation (some of them joining the partisans) were able to return to their homes. A number of Jews returned to Litin after having been evacuated to the east and also from the Red Army. Some of them then left permanently for other places, including Vinnitsa.¹²

SOURCES A personal testimony regarding the ghetto in Litin can be found in the following publication: Semen Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by: Veteranam Vtoroi mirovoi voiny, truzbenikam tyla, uznikam fashistskikh kontslagerei i getto, zhivym i pavshim posviasbchaetsia* (Baltimore, MD: Vestnik Information Agency, 1997), pp. 309–310.

Documentation on the Litin ghetto can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67); BLH (687, Solomon Boim; 686, Fira Eklis; 695, Haia Litinenski; and 862, Alexander Vaiman); DAVINO (R1683-1-13); GARF; USHMM (e.g., RG-50.226*0017); YVA (M-33/196, pp. 6–16; O-3/7372; O-3/6401). There is also the record of an interview with David Irilevich in the personal archive of the author (PAAKag).

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NOTES

1. PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich, April 5, 2005.
2. Ibid.; YVA, O-3/7372; O-3/6401.
3. YVA, M-33/196, pp. 6–16; DAVINO, R1683-1-13, p. 86.
4. YVA, M-33/196, pp. 6–16; BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, pp. 556–557 (Abschlussbericht). This report indicates that 300 men, 500 women, and 1,186 children were murdered.
5. YVA, O-3/7372; O-3/6401; PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich, April 5, 2005.
6. Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 309–310.

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7. USHMM, RG-50.226*0017, interview with Yevgenia Lerner.

8. YVA, O-3/7372; O-3/6401; PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich, April 5, 2005.

9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 135/67, pp. 557–558 (Abschlussbericht).

10. After the war, he was tried in the Soviet Union.

11. YVA, M-33/196, pp. 6–16; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravocchnik* (Kharkov: “Karavella,” 2001), p. 187.

12. YVA, O-3/6401; PAAKag, interview with David Irilevich, April 5, 2005.

LIUBAR

Pre-1941: Liubar, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ljubar, Rayon center, Gebiet Tschudnow, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Liubar, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast, Ukraine

Liubar is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) southwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 population census, there were 1,857 Jews residing in the town of Liubar (70.26 percent of the population) and 542 additional Jews living in the outlying settlements of the Liubar raion.

On July 7, 1941, German parachute brigades landed in Liubar, where they faced Soviet infantrymen, but with the aid of supporting land forces of the German XLVIII Corps they soon secured the town.¹ In the two weeks prior to the occupation, a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east, but most were unable to get access to the transportation, money, and official permission from their place of work that were necessary. Approximately 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Liubar. The temporary German military authorities established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents. The local mayor was the former teacher Kudimov, and the police was headed by F.U. Kiian.²

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. The occupying forces incorporated Liubar into Gebiet Tschudnow, within Generalkommissariat Sbitomir. Dr. Blümel was appointed as the Gebietskommissar.³

Just after the occupation of the town, the Jewish family of Hirsh Halperine, consisting of four individuals, was accused of sabotage and shot. Shortly afterwards, the Germans shot four more Jews, whom they accused of being Soviet activists.⁴

On the orders of the Ortskommandantur, the Rayon authority organized the registration of the Jews. Jews were also required to wear a distinguishing armband on their sleeves and were forced to perform heavy labor, in groups divided according to sex.

In July 1941, the German military commandant established an open ghetto (Jewish residential district) in Liubar, designating several streets in the center of the town where the Jews had to live. Jews were prohibited from going outside the borders of the ghetto to buy products from Ukrainians. As a result, famine developed inside the ghetto.⁵

On August 9, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in the town. They arrested 300 Jewish men on the pretext of forced labor and then shot them to the northeast of Liubar, near the village of Iurovka.⁶ In all likelihood, the shooting was carried out by members of Police Regiment “South,” part of which was stationed in Liubar at that time. This Aktion was accompanied by looting and beatings carried out by the Ukrainian police, which lasted for several days.⁷

On September 13, 1941, men of the 45th Reserve Police Battalion conducted a second Aktion in Liubar.⁸ The aim of this Aktion was to liquidate the ghetto and annihilate the entire Jewish population of the town. More than 1,000 Jews were shot in a sand quarry, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) northwest of Liubar.⁹

Ukrainian policemen subsequently hunted down inside the ghetto those Jews who had managed to hide during these Aktions. The remaining Jewish craftsmen (including tailors, shoemakers, and cap makers) were at first moved into the school building, then relocated into the building of the former children's home, which was guarded by members of the Ukrainian police. They went to work in the building of the former military commissariat, where they made clothing and boots for the police. At the end of October 1941, all of these Jews (about 250) were also shot in the sand quarry.¹⁰

In the fall of 1941, a total of 1,536 people were murdered in the sand quarry near the town: 1,199 Jewish residents of Liubar, 190 Jewish refugees (60 from Polonnoe, 30 from Gritsev, 27 from Slavuta, and 73 from Ostropol'), and 147 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs).¹¹

In the fall of 1941, the Ukrainian police also killed the Jews who were living in the villages of the Liubar raion. In the village of Malenkaia Derevichka, 4 Jews were killed; in Novyi Liubar, 46 Jews (including 34 in September 1941); in Staryi Liubar, 19 Jews; from Velikaia Volitsa, 12 Jews (killed in Liubar); from Strizhevka, 24 Jews (killed in Liubar); in Staraiia Chertoriia, 12 Jews; in Novaia Chertoriia, 207 Jews (on November 27, 1941); and in Pedyunka, 4 Jews.¹²

SOURCES There is a survivor account in the volume of survivor testimonies edited by Boris Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Zadruga, 1999), pp. 160–164.

Documentation concerning the persecution and extermination of the Jews in the town of Liubar and the surrounding raion can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 131/67); DAZO (1151-1-703); GARF (7021-60-302); NARA; USHMM; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. See intelligence report of the 60th Inf. Div. (Mot.) to the headquarters of XLVIIIth A.K., July 13, 1941; NARA, RG-242, T-314, reel 1146, fr. 425.

2. E. Zakharov-Zaidenberg, "Tak bylo unichtozheno vse evreiskoe naselenie Liubara," in Zabarko, *Zhivymy ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 160. Among the Ukrainian police serving in Liubar in 1942 was Stanislaus Kulschitzki; see DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14.

3. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

4. Zabarko, *Zhivymy ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 160.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 160–61. On the ghetto, Perl Kantor commented: "There was no real ghetto in Liubar. So why was one created in a matter of days? And who gave the order to shut in the Jews if even the Russians in Liubar had forgotten they were Russians?" See Perl Kantor, "After All," published in the newspaper *Vesty*, April 27, 1995.

6. Zabarko, *Zhivymy ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 161. In the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), this Aktion is not mentioned; see GARF, 7021-60-302.

7. Summary of German Police Decodes 275–323, August 21, 1941, p. 5, in NA, HW 16/6, pt. 1.

8. Telegram no. 444, from HSSPF Russland-Süd, September 15 and 17, 1941, VHAP, KdO Stab RFSS. The telegram states that "the 45th Reserve Police Battalion completed the 'cleansing Aktion' in Liubar."

9. GARF, 7021-60-302, pp. 4, 7.

10. Zabarko, *Zhivymy ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 162–164. In the documents of the ChGK, this Aktion is not mentioned; see GARF, 7021-60-302.

11. GARF, 7021-60-302, pp. 4, 7.

12. *Ibid.*, 7021-60-302, pp. 27, 62, 140–141, 171, 199, 201, 268, 391, 363, 405.

MIROPOL'

Pre-1941: Miropol', town, Dzerzhinsk raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Miropol, Rayon Romanow (Dzherzhinsk), Gebiet Tschudnow, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Myropil', Romaniv raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Miropol' is located 71 kilometers (44 miles) west-southwest of Zhitomir. According to the census of December 16, 1926, there were 1,143 Jews living in Miropol'. In mid-1941, approximately 600 Jews lived in the town.

German forces occupied Miropol' on July 6, 1941 two weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. A number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east during this intervening period. Men of eligible age were called up or enlisted voluntarily in the Red Army. It is estimated that roughly 70 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the settlement at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Miropol'. The German military administration created a local author-

ity and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among local residents. The local police played an active part in the repressive measures taken against the Jews.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Miropol' became a Rayon center in Gebiet Tschudnow, and Oberstammführer Dr. Blümel became the Gebietskommissar.¹

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement, by order of the Ortskommandantur, the local authority organized the registration and marking of the Jews, who were required to wear distinguishing armbands. Jews were also forced to perform heavy labor tasks (such as repairing roads) under the guard of the Ukrainian police, solely because of their ethnicity.

At the end of July 1941, the Ortskommandantur announced the establishment of a ghetto (Jewish residential district) in the center of the settlement.² Jews were prohibited from going beyond the limits of the ghetto and from buying products or even conversing with Ukrainians. As a result, famine quickly ensued.

At the end of July 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in Miropol'. Einsatzkommando 5 of Einsatzgruppe C shot 24 Jews for refusing to work.³ At the end of September or the beginning of October 1941, a further Aktion took place in the settlement. The Ukrainian police shot 157 Jews in the park: 29 men, 66 women, and 62 children. Two days later, the Ukrainian police arrested and shot a Jewish family of four.⁴

During the first half of October 1941, another Aktion was carried out in Miropol': 94 people—14 men, 31 women, and 49 children—were shot in the park.⁵ After this Aktion, only the Jewish craftsmen and their families remained in the settlement. These 100 people were shot by the Ukrainian police on February 16, 1942.⁶

Also in December 1941, the Ukrainian police brought into Miropol' nine Jews (eight women and one child) who had been hiding in the village of Kolodiazhnoe. They were then shot in the public park.⁷ In 1941 and 1942, the Germans and their collaborators murdered some 400 Jews in Miropol' in total.⁸

On January 5, 1987, a criminal court in the Zhitomir oblast' sentenced to death two of the former Miropol' policemen, Les'ko and Gnatiuk. In addition, one other policeman was sentenced to 15 years in prison.

SOURCES Some information regarding the Miropol' ghetto has been published in Garri Fel'dman, ed., *Zabveniu ne podlezhit: Sbornik materialov o Kholokoste, perezhitomoi moini zemliakami* (Shitomir, 2000).

Documents dealing with the persecution and elimination of the Jews in Miropol' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAZO; GARF (7021-60-291); PAAKru.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

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2. Testimony of Liudmila Blekhman, in Fel'dman, *Zabveniuiu ne podlezbii*, p. 39.

3. BA-BL, R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 47, August 9, 1941; see also Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 139.

4. Information obtained by the author from the State Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) in the Zhitomir oblast', December 4, 1991, and February 4, 1992 (PAAKru).

5. Ibid. The executions probably took place on October 13, 1941; see GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 5.

6. PAAKru, letter from the SBU in Zhitomir oblast', February 4, 1992. See also GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 5.

7. PAAKru, letter from the SBU in Zhitomir oblast', February 4, 1992.

8. According to the materials of the Dzerzhinsk raion commission for the investigation of crimes committed by the occupants and their collaborators in the Dzerzhinsk raion, 960 Jews were killed in Miropol'. GARF, 7021-60-291, p. 5. As this figure is not supported by the materials in the files, it is probably too high.

MONASTYRISHCHE

Pre-1941: Monastyrishche, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1944: Monastyrishchtsche, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Monastyrishche, raion center, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Monastyrishche is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) east-southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, 1,398 Jews (74.4 percent of the total population) were living in Monastyrishche. In the villages of the Monastyrishche raion, including the former Tsibulev raion, there were an additional 1,449, bringing the total to 2,847 Jews. Besides the town of Monastyrishche, there were four other small Jewish communities in the Monastyrishche raion: Sarny, Tsibulev, Terlitsa, and Lukashovka.

German armed forces occupied Monastyrishche on July 22, 1941, one month after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. The Luftwaffe bombarded Monastyrishche from the air, and due to the rapid German advance, only a minority of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Jewish men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 70 percent of the pre-war Jewish population, or around 1,000 people, remained in Monastyrishche at the start of the occupation.

In July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled Monastyrishche. The German military set up a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. The Ukrainian police played an active part in implementing the anti-Jewish measures and robbing the Jews. The head of the Ukrainian police was a man named Ivan Mel'nikov (or Melnik).¹ Other policemen known for their exceptional cruelty were Chichikoza, Koretskii, Koval', Tabik, Shchipets, Khmelevskii, Mel'nik, and Liuliava. After the war, some of these men escaped to Canada.

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Monastyrishche became the administrative center of Gebiet Monastyrishche. The Gebietskommissar was SA-Oberführer Werder. The Gebiet, in turn, was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.²

Soon after the occupation of the town, the Ortskommandantur ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jews were required to wear armbands with the Star of David and to perform heavy physical labor of various kinds, usually for little or no pay. A Jewish Council, or Judenrat, was also established, headed by a man named Khaskel'. It served as an intermediary body between the occupation authorities and the Jewish population, issuing work assignments to the Jews. Among the work tasks was the cleaning of latrines that were reserved only for the Germans.

In August 1941, the Germans organized a first Aktion in the course of which at least 10 members of the Jewish intelligentsia were arrested and shot.³ Probably within about one month of the occupation, the remaining Jews were moved into an open ghetto, located on a few streets designated for this purpose. There was considerable overcrowding, with about 10 people sharing each small room. The houses were not fenced off and guarded, but the Ukrainian police harassed the inmates and made it very hard for anyone to escape from the ghetto. No rations were issued, and there was severe hunger in the ghetto, leading to a number of deaths. The Jews exchanged anything they could with local Ukrainians for some food, such as potatoes and beets. However, they were beaten and could be shot if caught outside the ghetto illegally. Those who worked outside the ghetto also received some bread from the Ukrainians.⁴

Despite the difficult conditions, the Jews still made considerable efforts to observe Jewish holidays. Aware of the massacres that had taken place in other towns, many families prepared hiding places behind false walls inside the ghetto, which might provide at least a temporary refuge when the Germans conducted another Aktion. According to the account of Natalia Ulitskaia, both the Ukrainian police and the Germans forced Jewish girls to go with them at which time they raped them.⁵

The Germans organized the liquidation of the ghetto on May 29, 1942, when all the Jews were rounded up by the Ukrainian police and brought to the market square on the pretext of a work assignment. After a few dozen skilled workers were selected from the group, the rest were taken out and shot in a ditch about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town. On that day, Jews from Sarny, Tsibulev, Terlitsa, and Lukashovka were also shot.⁶ A total of 1,600 Jews were killed, including around 1,000 from Monastyrishche. A number of Jews evaded the roundup in their hiding places; some of these people then fled the ghetto into the countryside, while others emerged subsequently and joined the remaining Jews.

Around 120 to 140 craftsmen from Monastyrishche and other neighboring Jewish communities were then resettled into a special remnant ghetto for skilled laborers together

with their families (about 400 people altogether). Five houses on one street were designated as a ghetto space, now closely guarded by the Ukrainian police. However, children would still sneak out of the ghetto to try to barter items for food at the market.⁷ In August or September 1942, Jews declared unfit for labor were taken behind the mill and shot. In November 1942, another group of Jews was shot in retribution for the escape of several Jews from the ghetto. The remaining 70 Jews were shot directly in one of the houses on the eve of the Germans' retreat from Monastyrishche (March 10, 1944). Their corpses were burned together with the house.

The few surviving Jews mention the existence of some antisemitism in Monastyrishche, even before the war, and especially the brutality of the Ukrainian police. However, most of those who survived were helped by Ukrainian acquaintances. Sofia Zaitseva stressed that her father was popular with many Ukrainians, who were willing to hide her and her brother despite the risks involved, after their father had been killed.⁸

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Monastyrishche can be found in the following archives: DAZO; and VHF (# 5095, 15564, 29577, 36257, 39908).

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trans. Steven Seegel and Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Schitomir, Vinnitsa Captaincy, Order 18/42, July 25, 1942.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. *Zoria: Hromad'sko-politychne vydannia Monastyrishchenskogo raionu*, no. 42 (May 29, 1999); testimony of Nikolai Zadernovskii, www.iremember.ru/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=563&Itemid=24; and Report of the Monastyrishche Settlement Council of People's Deputies, no. 77, April 29, 1999. VHF, # 29577, testimony of Fania Kogan, however, gives the figure of 30 members of the intelligentsia being arrested.

4. VHF, # 29577; # 36257, testimony of Natalia Ulitskaia; # 39908, testimony of Aron Spektor; # 5095, testimony of Eda Zadernovskaia; # 15564, testimony of Sofia Zaitseva.

5. *Ibid.*, # 29577, # 36257, # 39908.

6. *Ibid.*, # 29577, # 36257, # 5095.

7. *Ibid.*, # 29577.

8. *Ibid.*, # 39908, # 36257, # 15564.

MOZYR'

Pre-1941: Mozyr', city and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mosyr, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Mazyr, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mozyr' is located 133 kilometers (82.6 miles) southwest of Gomel'. In 1939, 6,307 (36 percent) of the city's 17,477 inhabitants were Jewish.

German armed forces first entered Mozyr' on August 22, 1941. A wave of killings and abuse began immediately. In early September 1941, forces of the 2nd SS-Cavalry Regiment shot more than 150 people as "looters." Most of the victims were Jews.

The city administration established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) of 12 members under Eisha Izrailevich Koifman and his deputy Iosif Iankelevich Berdichevskii. On October 20, 1941, Mozyr' became the seat of Gebiet Mosyr, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir, with Wolfgang Przyrembel as Gebietskommissar. In January 1942, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Wilhelm Kellermann became Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Mozyr'.¹ Ivan Podbereznyi was the chief of the local police, assisted by Titov, Kholodnyi, Tokarskii, Suprun, Telepun, Krupskii, and others, in all about 35 men. Podbereznyi had previously been a Communist Party member and chief of the Soviet secret police (NKVD) in the El'sk raion.²

At some time in the fall of 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Mozyr' on Romashov Rov Street, where there were primarily one-story wooden buildings.³ The Germans placed 15 to 20 Jews in each of the run-down houses, without sufficient food or medicine. A number of Jews died from disease or malnutrition during the ghetto's short existence.

The Jewish Council was assigned the tasks of accommodating the ghetto inmates, maintaining internal order, and interacting with the German authorities. The council members were in fact hostages of the Nazis, however, because the majority of the ghetto inmates were not fit for work, and the ghetto in Mozyr' had very little economic significance.

By decree of the town authority, Berdichevskii drew up a list of ghetto inhabitants, which included 273 names. The majority of them were women, elderly people, and children, ranging in age from a few months to 90 years old.⁴

Jews from Skrigalov, Kopatkevichi, Prudok, and Glinishche were resettled into the Mozyr' ghetto. A little later, 38 more Jews arrived from the Kamen' sel'sovet. Another 111 Jews came from El'sk, Petrikov, Narovlia, Sloboda, Meleshkovichi, Mikhailok, Iur'evichi, Ogorodniki, Zapol'e, Prudok, and Red'ki. With all the new arrivals, there were 433 Jews living in the Mozyr' ghetto as of January 1, 1942, according to Berdichevskii's list.⁵

At the end of 1941, a group of Jewish carpenters and their families decided to take their own lives. According to R.A. Sherman, they gathered at 19 Pushkin Street, next to where they had lived before the war. They cast lots, and it fell to Khaia Gofshtein to set the fire. Around 40 people perished in the blaze.⁶

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in January 1942. On January 6, the ghetto inhabitants were transferred to the Mozyr' prison. They were allowed to take only a small supply of food and personal items. Their remaining property was to be left at home, and the doors were to be left unlocked. On the morning of January 7, the women, old people, and children were separated from the men and taken about 1 kilometer

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(0.6 mile) from Mozyr' towards the village of Bobr, to a hill beneath which lay a large gully. They were escorted by German Gendarmes, soldiers of a Czechoslovak battalion, and Belorussian policemen. The infirm, sick, and exhausted were carried on four carts. In the meantime, about 200 men were shot in the prison yard. They were led out in groups, placed against the wall, and shot by policemen under the command of the Germans. Then the Jewish cobblers from the prison workshop were ordered to transport the men's corpses on sleds to a ditch on the edge of town.

The women, children, and elderly taken to the hill were ordered to undress, lay their clothes and things in piles, and then climb to the top in groups of three or four. Those who were too weak to climb on their own were dragged by the arm or prodded with bayonets. The people guessed that their execution was imminent; a horrible cry arose; and the women cried and begged for mercy. At the top of the hill, the victims were lined up in a row and shot. The bodies rolled down into the gully. The Aktion lasted two hours. Then the Germans and the local police went down and finished off the wounded. The bodies were piled in a stack, and the side of the hill facing the gully was blown up so that the earth rolled down to cover the mass grave. The layer of soil turned out not to be very thick, however, and dogs were able to dig up and carry off human remains. The indigenous police collected the Jews' belongings. Two or three days later, the police once again sent the shoemakers from the prison to the ditch and made them take all the bodies (about 300 corpses in total) to a single site and bury them.⁷

A second group of Jews was taken to the Pripiat' River, where, according to the witness testimony of Aleksandra Kozlovskaiia, they made holes in the ice. The Germans then drove the doomed Jews towards the holes and forced them to jump beneath the ice. Those who resisted were shoved into the holes with rifle butts.⁸ In total, around 700 Jews were drowned in Mozyr' during the occupation.

During the Aktion of January 9–10, 1942, the teacher Liza Lozinskaia succeeded in hiding. The next day she was discovered, brought to the market square, and tied to a telegraph pole. The Nazis hung a sign around her neck that read: "I sabotaged the implementation of German laws and orders." Then the Germans proceeded to practice throwing knives and daggers at her.⁹

After the liquidation of the ghetto, a small group of craftsmen remained in the prison; they were shot by the German Gendarmerie in May or June 1942.¹⁰ The shooting was supervised by Rosenberg, the head of the town's SD section; Oberleutnant Tizze and Oberwachtmeister Urlich, both of the Order Police; and the chief of the indigenous police, Podbeznyi, who assigned 10 local policemen to assist the German Gendarmerie.

In the winter of 1943, the newspaper *Mozyrskie novosti*, which was published with the Nazis' permission, wrote that the town had been living without Jews for two years and could rightfully consider itself an example for the solving of the Jewish question in Belorussia.¹¹

Following the liberation of the city in January 1944, the Soviet authorities uncovered at least five mass grave sites in and around Mozyr':

1. The Jewish cemetery in the Mozyr' city limits has 18 graves of equal size lacking mounds, tablets, or any other markings indicating a burial site. There are 50 to 55 bodies of elderly people, women, and children in each grave, a total of 960 to 1,000 people.
2. The territory of the former Sipo-SD prison on Pushkin Street has five graves with 55 bodies in each, altogether 275 people.
3. The gully at the end of Romashov Rov Street contains four graves, three of which were approximately of similar size, with 95 to 100 bodies in each. The fourth grave, 400 square meters [478 square yards] in size, held 850 bodies. The total body count was 1,230 to 1,250.
4. The gully on the Mozyr'-Bobr road is the site of two graves containing the remains of more than 1,000 people.
5. At the end of Svidovka Street are two graves. More than 600 people were buried in the first; in the second, a grave of smaller dimensions, are seven bodies: an elderly man, four women, and two children.

In the course of the exhumations, it was ascertained that some of the people were buried alive, while others had their hands tied behind their backs with barbed wire. Several bodies bore marks of violence and torture.¹²

Mozyr' was liberated on January 14, 1944. During the occupation, 4,700 of the city's inhabitants perished, including more than 1,500 Jews.¹³ Kondrat Bogdanik turned over to the Soviet 61st Army's counterintelligence section, SMERSH, partial lists of ghetto inhabitants (237 names) stolen by him in March 1942 from the Mozyr' town authority. These documents provided the basis for investigation of Nazi crimes in Mozyr'. They were then given to the archive of the KGB in the Republic of Belorussia, where they were kept until after 2000.

SOURCES Information concerning the fate of the Jews of Mozyr' can be found in the following publications: *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naiia khronika mozyrskogo raiona* (Minsk, 1997); Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii* (Tel Aviv, 2000), pp. 213–214; Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii, 1941–44* (Minsk, 1963); "Mozyrskie stranitsy Kholokosta," *Berega* (March–April 2002); "Mosada na belorusskoi zemle," *Berega* (September 2000); Iakov Gutman, "Pliaski i pamiat': Mozyr'," *Den'*, September 29, 2001; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk:

Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000); and Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981).

Documentation regarding the murder of the Jewish population of Mozyr' can be found in these archives: AUKG-BRBGO (see especially criminal case no. 10454 against Ivan Podbereznyi); GARF (7021-91-20 and 273); NARA; NARB (845-1-12, 861-1-12); YVA; and ZGAMO (310-1-15).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. NARA, T-454, reel 100, fr. 1029, RFSS, Schnellbrief of January 31, 1942.
2. AUKGBRBGO, case against I.P. Podbereznyi, January 21, 1944.
3. NARB, 861-1-12, pp. 2, 8–9, 845-1-12, p. 32; GARF, 7021-91-20, p. 4.
4. AUKGBRBGO, Podbereznyi case, pp. 141–146, 197.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 148, 151.
6. *Pamiat'*, pp. 201, 209.
7. NARB, 861-1-12, p. 2; 845-1-12, p. 32; ZGAMO, 310-1-15, pp. 4, 12, 14.
8. GARF, 7021-91-273, pp. 6–8.
9. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, p. 274.
10. Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 1/78, Verfügung vom 19.1.1978, p. 19.
11. *Mozyrskie novosti*, December 20, 1943.
12. "Mozyrskie stranitsy Kholokosta."
13. GARF, 7021-91-20, p. 4.

NARODICHI

Pre-1941: Narodichi, town and raion center; Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Naroditschi, Rayon center, Gebiet Korosten, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Narodychy, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Narodichi is located about 110 kilometers (69 miles) north-northeast of Zhitomir. In 1939, the Jewish population of Narodichi was 1,233, comprising less than half of the total population.

German forces occupied Narodichi on August 22, 1941. In the two months from the start of the German invasion, the Jewish population in town changed dramatically. Many Jews from Narodichi managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the Soviet Union, while Jewish refugees from the cities arrived in this remote town seeking shelter. In 1941 the Jewish population in Narodichi was wiped out rather quickly in two (or possibly three) massacres. One occurred on September 9, 1941, and another "on a cold rainy day" in mid-November. Einsatzgruppe C reported on September 11, 1941, that "in Narodichi, 208 terrorists, and, in a nearby barn, 60 terrorists were arrested and shot in the course of a large-scale Aktion."¹

A Ukrainian peasant, Mykola Stepanchik, recalled what he had witnessed in 1941 when he was 11 years old. His home was located on the road leading to the mass shooting site. On the morning of the killing Aktion, a member of Sonderkommando 4a had shooed him away, threatening him if he did not leave the field near his house, where pits were being prepared and guards were cordoning off the area. A German Gestapo man told him in Ukrainian: leave now or you will be killed. He was tending his cow in that field. He was curious and hid in the crops where he could still see what was happening. First a truck appeared with the Germans and a group of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The POWs dug a large pit. The Germans took a lunch break and then returned at about 3:00 p.m. The truck arrived several times, carrying groups of about 40 or 50 Jews on each occasion. The adult Jews, including mothers with infants, were separated from the children. The Jews had to crouch down in rows of 10 near the swamp. They were on their knees next to the pit. The Germans had rifles and automatic weapons and stood only about 5 meters (16 feet) from the Jews. There were six Ukrainian policemen, but they did not shoot. One Ukrainian policeman placed straw on top of the bodies in the pit. Then the rain came. There were no passersby during the Aktion. Everyone in town heard the gunfire.²

The Sonderkommando unit, however, soon moved on and left behind the now mostly orphaned Jewish children, who had been brought by the local Ukrainian police to the local cinema/club building, the former synagogue, as an unusual form of open remnant ghetto. The local militia was led by a Ukrainian chief named Khrenovsky (a photographer) and his deputy Artem Orel. It appears that the children were left there, more or less abandoned for about two months, with only two elderly women, who were supposed to care for them. They were given no food rations or water and had to depend on the local inhabitants to survive. Stepanchik recalls that some of the children wandered the streets, looking for food. According to evidence collected by Symon Gorevsky (and deposited at Yad Vashem, file # 9314) and Arkady Fedorovsky (who had joined the Red Army in 1941, lost 24 of his family members in the massacres, and returned to Narodichi in 1944), the former orthodox priest in the town went door to door, confronting locals, demanding that they donate food, and proclaiming that if they did not help these poor children, they would be punished by God. Some shared their food, but most avoided the club/cinema and spread rumors that the priest had gone mad.

In November 1941, the 72 children were shot by three German Gendarmes, assisted by local Ukrainian policemen, including Khrenovsky and Orel. They were forced to run naked in the Jewish cemetery, while being shot by one Gendarme who had mounted a machine gun on a tripod and two others who held semiautomatic pistols. The children's bodies were hastily buried in the cemetery; the ground was hard.

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 370 Jews were shot in Narodichi in November 1941.³ It is not clear if this figure also includes the Jews

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who were shot in September or not, but it appears to conflict with the smaller number of child victims cited by witnesses. Given that Narodichi was also a Rayon center, where German and Ukrainian police were stationed, additional Jews may have been brought there from surrounding villages. It is possible that there was a third Aktion in November, at which time Jewish inhabitants from the villages were shot. In 1944, Fedorovsky and other local inhabitants erected a monument to the “823 Soviet Jews Shot in Narodichi.” The local Ukrainian police chief Khrenovsky was judged by a Soviet military tribunal and shot. The names and fates of the German perpetrators remain unknown.

SOURCES Published sources include: *Knyga Pam'yati Ukrainiiny: Zhytomyrska Oblast'* (Zhytomyr, 1994), 12:18. The testimonies of Arkady Fedorovsky and Symon Gorevsky, edited by Leonid Skolnik, have been published in Israel as an article titled “The Dead Kept Silent, What about the Living?” [in Russian] in the journal *Kamerton*. The story of the children was told to Fedorovsky by Luba Friedman, the only child to have survived the massacre and the war. She crawled out of the pit and joined the partisans.

Documentation about the murder of the Jews of Narodichi can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217); GARF (7021-60-297); and YVA (# 9314). The interview with Mykola Stepanchik is located in the personal archive of the author (PAWL).

Wendy Lower

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 80, September 11, 1941.

2. Interview with Mykola Stepanchik in Narodichi, conducted by Wendy Lower, Boris Kogan, and Felix Starovoitov, September 29, 2009.

3. GARF, 7021-60-304, p. 8, as cited by A. Kruglov, *Enciklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii soviet Ukrainy, Fond “Pamiati zhertv fashizma,” 2000), pp. 57, 63.

NEMIROV

Pre-1941: Nemirov, town and raion center, Vinnytsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nemirov, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Nemyriv, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Nemirov is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) southeast of Vinnytsa. According to the 1939 census, 3,001 Jews were living in Nemirov (36.7 percent of the population), while another 161 Jews were living in the villages of the Nemirov raion.

After the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jewish men from Nemirov were drafted into or volunteered for the Red Army. Some Jews were also able to evacuate to the east. According to German data, the town had a population of 8,000, including 3,000 Jews, in August 1941.¹ However, some additional Jews from the sur-

rounding villages were probably brought into the town at the time of the establishment of the ghetto.²

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Nemirov on July 22, 1941. In July and August, the town was run by a local military commandant (Ortskommandantur), which set up a local administration and an auxiliary police force employing local non-Jewish inhabitants. On October 20, control of the town was turned over to a German civil administration. Nemirov became the administrative center of Gebiet Nemirov, which included the Rayons of Woronowiza and Sitkowzy. The Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Herbert Sittig, a long-standing member of the Nazi Party.³ In the autumn, the German Gendarmerie, the Reich's rural police force, established a post in Nemirov, which also took over the Ukrainian auxiliary police force (Schutzmannschaft).⁴ A certain Gerchanivskii was appointed chief of the Ukrainian police at the end of July 1941. In August 1941, he had 32 indigenous policemen under his command.⁵

During the summer and autumn of 1941, a series of measures were introduced in Nemirov including the formation of a Jewish Council (Judenrat); Jews were required to wear distinguishing markings and to work at forced labor and were plundered, beaten, and humiliated.

By September, perhaps even late in August 1941, the German authorities in Nemirov set up a ghetto consisting of three narrow streets surrounded by barbed wire with a guard at the gate. Five or six families were made to share a residence in the ghetto. No communication was permitted with non-Jews, who were not even allowed to come close to the ghetto fence. Not all of the Jews were relocated to the ghetto; some of them continued to live outside its confines. Able-bodied men and also some women capable of performing hard labor were selected from the ghetto every day. They were put to work constructing the road from Nemirov to Gaisin, a segment on the key supply line, Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV, and were also used to load and unload heavy construction materials. Such work enabled these Jews to procure foodstuffs from the local population and bring them back into the ghetto. As a result, there was not widespread starvation within the ghetto.⁶

The first killing operation in Nemirov was carried out on November 24, 1941. Assisted by the men of a construction company of the Luftwaffe, the Gendarmerie, and the local police, about 20 men of the Security Police and SD organized the roundup of the Jews from the ghetto and their concentration in the local Palace of Culture. Here a selection took place: craftsmen and their families were sent back to the ghetto, and the remaining Jews were escorted partly on foot and partly by truck to pits that had been dug in advance behind the Polish cemetery, where men of the Security Police squad shot them.⁷ In all, some 2,680 Jews were killed that day.⁸ It appears that a squad of Einsatzkommando 5 under the direction of SS-Oberleutnant Theodor Salmanzig, stationed in Vinnytsa, carried out the shooting.⁹

Some Jews survived the first Aktion in hiding. After the slaughter, the Germans reduced the area of the ghetto by half.

Those adults who remained alive were escorted daily to the road construction site. No fuel was available for heating, and the death rate from cold and hunger rose. The ghetto guards became more severe, and those who became ill were taken out and shot.¹⁰

On June 26, 1942, the ghetto in Nemirov was liquidated. The Jews were driven into the synagogue, where 200 to 300 young and strong men and women were selected and sent to a labor camp. The rest, perhaps as many as 500, were shot behind the Polish cemetery in pits that had been dug in advance.¹¹

The Red Army liberated Nemirov in the spring of 1944. On their return, their former neighbors welcomed back the Jewish family of Rozengaft, and they were able to reclaim their apartment and even some clothes. Grigory Rozengaft was immediately mobilized to the front.¹²

SOURCES The testimonies of survivors of the Nemirov ghetto can be found in the following publications: testimony of S. Bronshvag in Yitshak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoï okkupatsii (1941–1944). Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 229; and testimony of A. Rozengaft in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zbivymi ostalis' tol'ko my, Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 1999), p. 381.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Nemirov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; DAVINO; DAZO; GARF (7021-54-1250); RGVA (1275-3-662); USHMM (RG-50.226*0002); and YVA (file M-33).

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NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675 (Abt. VII), Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 25, 1941.

2. *Vinnychbyna v roky Velykoi Vitchyzniansoi viiny 1941–1945 rr. Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Odessa: Majak, 1971), p. 72. In its report of September 18, 1944, the ChGK commission in the Nemirov raion noted that in September 1941, 3,460 Jews were shot in the town of Nemirov. In reality, the first mass shooting of Jews came at the end of November 1941. The figure of 3,460 probably refers to the number of Jews enclosed in the ghetto, not the number of those shot.

3. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

4. In September 1942, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Nemirov was Oberleutnant Karl-Gustav Heinze; see DAZO, 1159-1-9, p. 37, KdG Shitomir, Kommandobefehl 30/42, September 3, 1942.

5. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675, an Sicherungsdivision 444, August 25, 1941.

6. Witness testimony of S. Bronshvag, p. 229; witness testimony of A. Rozengaft, p. 381; USHMM, RG-50.226*0002, oral history interview with Riva Isakovna Braiter.

7. Witness testimonies of S. Bronshvag and A. Rozengaft; BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 141/67, concluding report (Abchlussbericht), May 29, 1974, pp. 16–18.

8. GARF, 7021-54-1250, p. 12. It is possible that the figure is too high.

9. Salmanzig died in September 1943.

10. Witness testimony of A. Rozengaft.

11. Witness testimonies of S. Bronshvag and A. Rozengaft.

12. Witness testimony of A. Rozengaft.

NOVAIA PRILUKA

Pre-1941: Novaia Priluka, village, Turbov raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowaja Priluka, Rayon Turbow, Gebiet Winniza, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Nova Pryluka, Turbov raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Novaia Priluka is located about 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) to the northeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, 1,247 Jews lived in the Turbov raion, which included Turbow itself. The majority of these Jews lived in the village of Novaia Priluka.

From the end of June until July 20, 1941, the date on which German armed forces occupied the village, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. In addition, some Jewish men were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. Probably around 500 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military administration controlled the village. The Germans appointed a village elder and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. In late October 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. From that time until the eventual liberation in March 1944, Novaia Priluka was located in Rayon Turbow, Gebiet Winniza, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Gemeinschaftsführer Halle became the Gebietskommissar, and Leutnant Baumgärtner was appointed in 1942 as Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer.¹ By the summer of 1942, the local police force (Schutzmannschaft) in Turbow had reached the strength of 30 men.²

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military administration ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David and to perform various forms of heavy labor.

On July 31, 1941, German security forces carried out the first Aktion in Novaia Priluka, during which around 70 Jewish men were shot.³ In a second Aktion, another 110 Jews were shot.⁴ The Jewish women, children, and elderly people who remained alive were resettled into a ghetto. When the ghetto was liquidated on July 24–25, 1942, around 300 Jews were executed.⁵ It is likely that the shooting was carried out by the SD detachment from Vinnitsa, with the help of the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police.

SOURCES A brief entry on the Jewish community of Novaia Priluka can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 901.

Documents regarding the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Novaia Priluka can be found in the following archives: DAVINO; DAZO; GARF (7021-54-1257); and USHMM.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 8–9, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaft Winniza, order no. 15/42, July 11, 1942.
3. DAVINO, R4422-1-18, p. 38.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 2,500 Jews were shot in Novaia Priluka in 1941. The author believes this figure is much too high. See also GARF, 7021-54-1257, p. 64.

NOVOGRAD-VOLYNSKII (AKA ZVIAGEL')

Pre-1941: Novograd-Volynskii, city and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1944: Novograd-Wolynskij (renamed Zviabel), Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Novograd-Volyn'skyi, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Novograd-Volynskii is located 84 kilometers (52 miles) northwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, there were 6,839 Jews living in the city (28.8 percent of the total population).

German armed forces occupied the city on July 6, 1941, two weeks after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During those weeks, part of the Jewish community was able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the city. The military authorities established a local administration and set up an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active part in the measures taken against the Jewish population.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The city of Novograd-Volynskii became the administrative center of Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskij. Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt became the Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskij in turn was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.¹

Shortly after the occupation of the city, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jews. They were required to wear armbands with a six-pointed star. Jews were also required to perform various kinds of heavy

labor. According to the *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, the Jews were moved to an "open ghetto" in the city in August 1941 by order of the military administration. The Jews were not permitted to leave its borders or to buy products from the local Ukrainians. As a result, hunger and famine quickly ensued.

At the end of July 1941, the first mass murders of the Jewish population were carried out. The first victims were those accused of acts of sabotage. At that time, 800 Jews were shot in a bomb crater, in the area of the Machine-Tractor Station (MTS). In the backyard of a house for invalids, where another bomb crater was located, 200 more Jews were shot. In the area of the MTS, the victims were led out in groups of 100 to 200, and in the backyard of the house for invalids, there were four groups of 40 to 50. In addition, more than 100 were shot in the yard of a bakery, in a former ditch for grain.² It is likely that at least some of these murders were carried out by the 8th SS-Motorized Brigade, which was commanded by SS-Standartenführer Sacks. The military staff and a detachment of this unit were stationed in the city on July 27–28, 1941.³ Also present in the city at that time was a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a, which "in cooperation with the Wehrmacht and Ukrainians" arrested and shot "34 political commissars, agents, and others" in a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp.⁴

Around the middle of August 1941, Sonderkommando 4a carried out another cleansing Aktion. The Wehrmacht "handed over [to Sonderkommando 4a] 230 civilian prisoners who had been captured. Of these, 161 persons were executed. They were accused of being Jews, Communists, looters, and saboteurs."⁵

At the end of August 1941, another mass execution was carried out in a grove near the former Red Army Building (Dom Krasnoi Armii). Altogether there were more than 700 victims, including women and children.⁶ It is possible that this shooting was carried out by the Police Brigade "South," which at the time was active in the region.

In September 1941, the open ghetto in Novograd-Volynskii was finally liquidated. At an old military firing range, around 3,200 Jews were shot, including those from outlying villages.⁷ It is likely that the executions were carried out by the staff company of the Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd, commanded by SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln.

The last mass execution of the Jews was carried out by the 1st SS-Motorized Brigade, which received orders on September 8, 1941, from the Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS. On September 12, 1941, the brigade arrived in the city. SS-Untersturmführer Max Täubner, the commander, found out from the city's mayor that there were still 319 Jews in prison, whom the Wehrmacht had confined there for labor purposes. Täubner ordered these Jews to be shot in a ditch outside the city that had been dug in advance by the Ukrainian police.⁸

From November 1941 to November 1942, a labor camp existed in the city. Able-bodied Jewish men were resettled to work there from Baranovka, Rogachov, Iarunia, and other towns and villages. The prisoners of the camp were used to build railway lines. In November 1942, with the help of the partisan movement, some of the prisoners attempted a mass escape but were arrested and shot.⁹

SOURCES The ghetto in Novograd-Volynskii is mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 905. The *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 77, only registers a camp for civilians and a prison in the city. Other relevant publications include: E. Klee, W. Dressen, and V. Riess, eds., *“Schöne Zeiten”: Judenmord aus der Sicht der Täter und Gaffer* (Frankfurt am Main, 1988); Y. Büchler, “‘Unworthy Behavior’: The Case of SS Officer Max Täubner,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 17:3 (Winter 2003): 409–429; and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymy ostalis’ tol’ko my: Svidetel’sтва i dokumenty* (Kiev: Biblioteka Institut iudaiki, 1999), pp. 98–101.

Documents pertaining to the persecution and elimination of the Jews in Novograd-Volynskii can be found in the following archives: BA-L (e.g., B 162/5575); DAZO; GARF (7021-60-300 and 305); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. GARF, 7021-60-305, pp. 3 and reverse side.

3. BA-L, B 162/5575 (202 AR-Z 1212/60, Bd. XXX), p. 7090, as cited in Martin Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah: Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), pp. 166–167.

4. BA-BL, R 58/214, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 38, July 30, 1941.

5. *Ibid.*, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 60, August 22, 1941. The documents refer to a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5; however, it is more likely that this was a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a, as Einsatzkommando 5 was operating further south.

6. GARF, 7021-60-305, p. 5.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 9, 67, 163, 182–183. Among those murdered were Jews from the outlying villages of Tesnovka (17 people), Barvinovka (13 people), Staraia Romanovka (10 people), and Sloboda Chernetskaia (14 people).

8. See Klee, Dressen, and Riess, “*Schöne Zeiten*,” pp. 184 ff.

9. Witness testimony of Eva Gladkaia, in Zabarko, *Zhivymy ostalis’ tol’ko my*, pp. 98, 101.

OLEVSK

Pre-1941: Olevsk, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Olevsk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Olevsk, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast, Ukraine

Olevsk is located 130 kilometers (81 miles) north-northwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, 2,858 Jews lived in Olevsk, comprising 42.2 percent of the total population.

An additional 866 Jews resided in the villages of the Olevsk raion.

The bulk of the Jewish population evacuated east with the Red Army as the Wehrmacht advanced into central Ukraine in early July 1941, leaving only about 20 percent of the pre-war Jewish population behind.

By late July, German troops still had not appeared in the town. One resident recalled hearing rumors that the Germans were not coming to Olevsk at all.¹ From July to October 1941, a German military administration was nominally responsible for the region around Olevsk; in practice, Ukrainian forces of the “Polis’ka Sich,” answerable to the pragmatic nationalist leader Taras Bul’ba-Borovets’, seized control of the town in late July. By August, Bul’ba-Borovets’ had appointed Petro Smorods’kyi as commander of the Sich garrison in Olevsk; he had under his command between 300 and 600 militiamen there.²

Bul’ba-Borovets’ and the Sich soon set up their own local government in Olevsk. Boris Simonovich, a local resident and Sich member, was appointed as leader of the raion council.³ He began appointing other local officials in late July.⁴ Most important, the Sich took over all police responsibilities in Olevsk.

From August through October, the Jewish population lived in a perpetual “state of anarchy” under Sich rule, as they were



Photograph of the Chief of Police in Sarny, Taras Bul’ba-Borovets’, and other members of the Ukrainian paramilitary unit, Polis’ka Sich, published in the occupation newspaper, *Volyn’*.

COURTESY OF JARED MCBRIDE

frequently subjected to “robbery, brutality, and killings.” In addition to organizing pogroms, the Polis’ka Sich assigned Jews to various forced labor tasks, mainly aimed at torturing and humiliating them. Whether they were forced to build a bridge over the Ubort’ River or clean lavatories in town, these jobs were accompanied by “whippings, cursing, and mockery at every step.”⁵

The Sich regularly terrorized the Jews in their own homes. They broke into Jewish apartments on Komsomol’skaia and Oktiabr’skaia Streets to steal food and clothes. Sometimes these incursions turned deadly. One afternoon Zeriuk and three other members of the Polis’ka Sich broke into the apartment of Munia Shapiro, looking for goods. In Shapiro’s room, Zeriuk beat Shapiro with his rifle butt and then shot him three times, as well as another Jew who was there. The bodies of the two young men lay for almost a week in the apartment, where they began to rot.⁶

In addition to physical abuse, economic burdens were also imposed on the Jews. After a census, the head of the raion council, Simonovich, levied a collective tax of 100,000 rubles on the Jewish population.⁷ Living conditions under the “Olevsk Republic” are characterized by the Jewish survivor Iakov Keselev Shklover: “the livestock were treated better than us.” The Sich initiated anti-Jewish measures and killed people with total impunity in Olevsk, even before there was any discernible German presence in the town.⁸

In early November 1941, personnel of the German civil administration arrived in Olevsk and established their authority.⁹ Olevsk became the administrative center of Gebiet Olevsk, which also included the Rayons of Slowetschno and Luginy, as well as Rayon Olevsk. Gebiet Olevsk now formed part of Generalkommissariat Shitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.¹⁰ In Olevsk, the Gebietskommissar was a man named Fischer, who was accompanied by an entourage of assistants.¹¹

On the establishment of the German civil administration, the assistant Gebietskommissar in Olevsk, Neukirchner, issued an order for the Jews to be ghettoized. The Polis’ka Sich and the local Ukrainian police forced the entire Jewish population to move onto three main streets—Komsomol’skaia, Oktiabr’skaia, and Stalina—while the Russian and Ukrainian populations were removed from these streets to create a purely Jewish ghetto. The Jewish population was ordered to wear the Star of David at all times, and a Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, chaired by Elik Kats, the son of a local fireman.¹² The Jews of Olevsk had to endure terrible overcrowding in the ghetto, as many families were forced to share a single apartment. The Jewish population was still not free of terror from members of the Sich, who routinely vandalized and broke into apartments.¹³

In mid-November 1941, a new group of Germans, possibly an SS detachment from Einsatzkommando 5, arrived in Olevsk and made preparations for the liquidation of the ghetto. According to internal Sich documentation, on November 18, SS-Captain Hitschke requisitioned members of

the Sich for the forthcoming Aktion, and about 50 Sich soldiers and two Sich commanders agreed to participate.¹⁴ In Varvarovka, a village located about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Olevsk, local Ukrainians were ordered to dig two large pits near the Ubort’ River.¹⁵

At nightfall on November 19, German forces, members of the Polis’ka Sich, and local Ukrainian police cordoned off the Jewish ghetto. The Jews were ordered to gather with their belongings at a collection point for registration. The German-led forces then scoured the ghetto area, beating and dragging out anyone found hiding. The old and sick were simply shot on the spot. Around 15 elderly people were killed on the streets.¹⁶ A few Jews, including Ovsei Srulevich Reiblat and Tevel’ Gershkov Trosman, miraculously managed to evade the roundup. The bulk of the Jews from the ghetto were herded into sheds and stables near the train tracks, where they spent the night huddled together like animals, awaiting their slaughter.

On the morning of November 20, 1941, the Jews were driven to the village of Varvarovka in trucks. Upon arrival, all the Jews had to remove their clothes, which were subsequently taken back to Olevsk in the trucks. The waiting Jews were then taken in groups of 15 to 20 people under heavy guard to the two pits located about 400 meters (1,312 feet) behind the village. The shooters, who were mostly Sich members and local policemen, lined up about 5 meters (16 feet) behind their respective victims and took aim.¹⁷ When they fired, the victims’ bodies fell into the pits. The sound of gunfire and screams could be heard in Varvarovka throughout the day. In total, they shot 535 Jews on that day.¹⁸

Local inhabitants looted Jewish property from the empty ghetto. Over the ensuing weeks, members of the Polis’ka Sich and the local police also hunted for the few Jews who had managed to escape, conducting thorough sweeps of the forests. Local inhabitants were threatened with severe penalties for hiding or assisting Jews. These searches uncovered at least 15 more Jews, who were then shot near the same pits at the Ubort’ River.¹⁹

Only a handful of Jews from the ghetto managed to survive until the end of World War II.

SOURCES The main source on the Olevsk ghetto is Jared McBride’s unpublished essay “Eyewitness to an Occupation: The Holocaust in Olevsk, Zhytomyr, Ukraine,” which was first presented at the conference in 2008 in Paris titled “The Holocaust in Ukraine: New Sources and Perspectives,” co-sponsored by the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Yahad-In Unum, the CDJC, and the Sorbonne. Other published sources, mainly related to the little-known history of the Polis’ka Sich, are listed in the notes.

The main documentary source on the fate of the Jews of Olevsk during World War II consists of the postwar Soviet investigations to be found in an extensive file in GARF (7021-149-31). Additional relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7317-18); DARO (R30-2-112);

DAZO; GARF (7021-60-307); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 2); VHF (# 43260); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-149-31, p. 83.
2. Ibid., pp. 67 (verso side), 75 verso, 106 verso; Taras Bul'ba-Borovets', *Armiia bez derzhavy: Slava i trahediia ukrains'koho povstans'koho rukhu: Spobady* (Winnipeg, Canada: Nakladom t-va "Volyn," 1981), p. 158. Iakiv Iosypovych Brechko, a member of the Sich stationed in Olevsk, reported seeing 600 soldiers at the garrison; see Iosyp Patsula and Ievhen Shmorhun, eds., *Povstans'kyi rukh otamana Tarasa Bul'by-Borovetsia: Doslidzhennia, spobady, dokumenty* (Rivne: Azaliia, 1998), p. 115.
3. Portions of the records of the raion council are located in DAZO, 1445-1, files 1-8.
4. GARF, 7021-149-31, pp. 67 and verso.
5. Ibid., pp. 32, 107 verso.
6. Ibid., pp. 13, 83 verso, 106 verso-107 verso.
7. Ibid., pp. 106 verso, 178; it is difficult to discern when this tax was levied and whether the German administration played any role in the affair. We can be sure that it was Simonovich, though, who organized the tax.
8. Ibid., p. 107 verso; it is noteworthy that Ukrainian residents complained of Sich members stealing from them as well. See pp. 67 verso, 75 verso, and 84 verso.
9. Bul'ba-Borovets' notes that the Gebietskommissar arrived on November 5. He then informed Sigolenko that the Polisska Sich would now fall under German command; see Bul'ba-Borovets', *Armiia bez derzhavy*, p. 166. Father Artemiy Selepyna also gives a vivid account of the arrival of the Germans; see Roman Petrenko, *Slidamy armii bez derzhavy* (Kiev: Ukrains'ka vydavnycha spilka; Toronto: Doslidnyi instytut "Studium," 2004), pp. 137-139.
10. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
11. For the most extensive list of Germans who governed the Olevsk raion, see GARF, 7021-60-307, pp. 1-1 verso. Spisok nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov, sovershavshikh zlodeianiia vo vremenno okkupirovannom Olevskom raione Zhitomirskoi oblasti.
12. GARF, 7021-149-31, pp. 19 verso, 26, 32, 178.
13. Ibid., pp. 85-86.
14. DARO, R30-2-112, pp. 9-10. The Sich report of this incident records that Sich leader Kirill Sigolenko told Hitschke that the Sich had already been demobilized and that they were not to be used against women and children. Nevertheless, the participation of a number of Sich members in the Aktion is well documented. See also T. Gladkov and B. Stekljar, "Vse ravno konets budet!" in *So sbchitom i mecbom: Ocherki i stat'i* (L'vov: Kameniar, 1988), p. 177.
15. GARF, 7021-149-31, pp. 26, 110.
16. Ibid., pp. 12, 25-26, 83-84, 178.
17. Ibid., pp. 3, 13, 19 verso, 26, 69 verso, and 179; Pavel Kharchenko, one of the drivers who was present at the Aktion, told acquaintances that only two Germans reportedly

took part in the shootings, but it was mostly conducted by Sich members and local Ukrainian police.

18. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 585 Jews were killed in total in Olevsk; see GARF, 7021-60-307, p. 161.

19. Ibid., 7021-149-31, pp. 4, 13, 95 verso.

ORATOV

Pre-1941: Oratov, town and raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1944: Oratow, Rayon center, Gebiet Monastyrishchtsche, Generalkommissariat Shtomir; post-1991: Orativ, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Oratov is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) east of Vinnytsia. According to the 1939 census, 114 Jews lived in Oratov (4.7 percent of the total population). An additional 385 Jews lived in the villages of the raion.

Between June 30 and July 27, 1941, the date when the German armed forces occupied Oratov, part of the Jewish community was able to evacuate to the east. Some Jewish men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 70 to 80 Jews remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

In July and August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of Oratov. In late October 1941, authority was passed to a German civil administration. Until its liberation in March 1944, Rayon Oratow was part of Gebiet Monastyrishchtsche, within Generalkommissariat Shtomir. SA-Oberführer Werder became the Gebietskommissar.¹ In Oratov itself, a German Gendarmerie post was created under whose command a Ukrainian police force served. Both played an active role in the measures taken against the Jewish population in the Rayon.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur created a local administration and organized the registration and marking of the Jews. All Jews were obligated to wear white armbands with the Star of David. They were also ordered to do various kinds of heavy labor.

Sometime in the fall of 1941, an open Jewish ghetto was established in the town.² Apparently Jews were resettled there from outlying villages as well. On October 15, 1942, when the ghetto was liquidated, 74 Jews were shot.³

In 1942, Jews living in the villages of the Rayon Oratow were also killed. In May 1942, 18 Jews were shot in the village of Staryi Zhivotov, 3 Jews were shot in the village of Chagov, and 38 Jews were shot in the village of Balabanovka.⁴

SOURCES The Oratov ghetto is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Gbetos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941-1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 45. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 942, dates the mass shooting of the Jews of Oratov on October 15, 1941 [sic].

1556 ZHYTOMYR REGION

Documents relating to the elimination of the Jews of Oratov can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-54-1238); and DAVINO (R1683-1-10 and 13).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. DAVINO, R1683-1-10 and 13.
3. GARF, 7021-54-1238, p. 127.
4. Ibid., pp. 15, 21, 119.

PAVLOVICHY

Pre-1941: Pavlovichi, village, Ovruch raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pawlowitschi, Rayon and Gebiet Owrutsch, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Pavlovychi, Ovruch raen, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Pavlovichi is located about 170 kilometers (106 miles) north-northwest of Zhitomir. A few Jews lived in the village on the eve of the German invasion in June 1941.

German armed forces occupied Pavlovichi in the first half of August 1941. Evgeniia Gural'nik (born 1928), who was fleeing from Novograd-Volynskii, along with other Jews, became trapped in Pavlovichi by the rapid German advance. According to Gural'nik, shortly after the start of the occupation, the commandant of the area, probably based in Pokalev, announced that Pavlovichi would become "a Jewish colony" and that Jews were being brought there from the surrounding area.¹

One day during the first weeks of the occupation, all the Jews were rounded up and held naked in a warehouse for hours until a German official appeared. He then announced that they were being given a present of their lives and that they would live and work there. The Jews performed forced labor in agriculture and only received about 1 liter (4 cups) of skimmed milk per person for food. The Jews survived by bartering their possessions with local inhabitants.

In Pavlovichi the Jews lived in overcrowded conditions, with about 10 people sharing a room. All Jews had to wear armbands, and their place of residence was heavily guarded by the local police. Gural'nik recalls a particularly cruel policeman, Ivan Harpina, who regularly robbed the Jews with the help of his colleagues. Teenage Jews were beaten heavily, and on one occasion a Jewish man was tied to a horse and dragged for several kilometers behind it. Some young Jews were shot after being denounced as former Komsomol members.

The "Jewish colony" or ghetto in Pavlovichi existed until December 25, 1941, when two cars carrying a German detachment arrived at 4:00 p.m. and rounded up all the remaining Jews. They were escorted to the Polish cemetery, where a pit had already been prepared by some of the Jews, who had been told it was for storing turnips. The Jews were ordered to lie facedown in the pit and were shot in the back. Then the next

group had to lie down on top of the corpses. As the shooting was not completed that day, the Germans carried on the next day. Gural'nik managed to survive pressed up against the wall of the pit and then escaping at night. She witnessed the shooting the following morning from under a pile of straw. She was helped by a forester and his wife, who gave her some clothing, and also subsequently by other local peasants.²

SOURCES Information about the persecution and elimination of the Jews in Pavlovichi can be found in the testimony of Evgeniia Gural'nik located at VHF (# 33101).

Martin Dean
trans. Tatyana Feith

NOTES

1. VHF, # 33101, testimony of Evgeniia Gural'nik.
2. Ibid.

PETRIKOV

Pre-1941: Petrikov, town and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Petrikow, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Petrykau, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Petrikov is located 53 kilometers (33 miles) west of Mozyr'. In 1939, the Jewish population of Petrikov was 1,074 Jews (18.6 percent of the total).

Petrikov was occupied by the Germans on July 29, 1941, and then again, after a brief Soviet reoccupation, on August 19.

Petrikov became the center of a Gebiet comprising the Petrikow and Shitkowitschi Rayons; it was attached to Generalkommissariat Sbitomir in Reichskommissariat Ukraine. There was a garrison of up to 1,000 soldiers and policemen in Petrikov. The Gendarmes were housed on the premises of the former Petrikov raion committee of the Belorussian Communist Party; the SD, on Volodarskii Street; and Sonderstab R, in a former pharmacy. A sapper unit and six armored cutters for patrolling the river were stationed on the banks of the Pripiat'. A system of controlling the movement of the local population was also instituted.¹

Separate killings of Jews, members of the Communist youth organization (Komsomol), and Soviet activists began in the summer of 1941. Aron Fainshtein (born 1871), who ran the pharmacy, was tied by his legs to a horse and dragged through the streets of Petrikov until he died. Fania Kustanovich (born 1936) was thrown into a fire because her mother Klara refused to reveal the hiding places of Red Army soldiers who had been caught behind German lines. Afterwards, Klara herself was shot.²

The Nazis also persecuted and shot Jews in the surrounding villages. According to the testimony of Yevgenii Dus', starting in the first days of August 1941, the Germans made a list of all the Jews in the Koptsevichi sel'sovet and demanded they report every day to the police station. Jews were forced to perform senseless work such as dragging a cart loaded with water, bricks and stones, scrap, and garbage from one place to

another while the Germans laughed, insulted, or mocked them.³ On September 15, 1941, an SS execution squad arrested the chairman of the kolkhoz, P.K. Gramovich, and a worker, L. Pasovskii, who were then led into the woods and brutally tortured. In August 1941, 4 people were shot in the village of Sekerichi.⁴ At the end of September 1941, 25 Jews from Koptsevichi were placed in a vehicle under the pretext of being dispatched to Petrikov for interrogation and transported to the edge of Zheleznitsa, where they were shot.⁵

Until the end of September 1941, Jews lived in their own houses in Petrikov. They were obliged to wear distinguishing markings and had to unquestioningly carry out German orders. They were watched by a police force selected from local inhabitants. After the first mass execution, in September 1941, a ghetto was set up. To that end, the Germans allotted three buildings on Volodarskii Street. Many of these buildings lacked doors and windows. The ghetto was fenced off by barbed wire and placed under guard. The inhabitants themselves had to see to feeding themselves, providing their own heating, and coping with other problems of survival. The Jews were only able to leave the ghetto at night. Teacher Faina Raskina, Zaivel' Peshanskii, and another person named Branets were killed for violating the internal regulations of the ghetto as established by the Nazis. The Nazis also refused to let them be buried in the Jewish cemetery. Every day at 6:00 A.M., those who were physically able were taken out to work, either logging or clearing snow from the roads. The ghetto existed until April 1942.⁶

The first Aktion was conducted on September 14, 1941 (or September 22, according to other sources), when a punitive squad of around 100 men, probably from the 1st SS-Cavalry Brigade, arrived on motorboats along the Pripiat'. They ordered the Belorussians and Russians to mark their homes with the sign of the cross. At the time, the Jewish community was observing the Jewish New Year in the synagogue. At Bliuma Gertsulina's house, the executioners demanded she say where her valuables were hidden and then shot her. They killed a tenth-grader, Borukh Gertsulin, on Karl-Liebnecht Street. They chased the Jews—adults and children alike—in groups of 30 to 40 into the river. At the inlet Bychok, they forced them to lie facedown in the mud and then shot above their heads so that nobody would get up. Then they gathered around 400 people and told them all to undress and get in the water. The Germans opened fire with machine guns from the cutters. The dead and wounded floated in the water. Afterwards, the Germans finished off the wounded.

The next day, the Nazis sought out the surviving Jews within the town and killed them on the spot where they found them. A group of Jews were driven to a cattle yard at the kolkhoz "Chervonnyi ogorodnik" (Golden-red Gardener) and shot there. The executioners burned down 35 houses on Third International Street and 17 houses near the pier. In several of the houses, they burned adults and children alive.⁷

A second Aktion followed on February 15, 1942, when a punitive squad consisting of Germans and Hungarians passed through Petrikov and conducted a cleansing Aktion—a search for Jews who were still alive—in Rayons Kopatkewitschi,

Petrikov, and Oktjabr. The squad burned some of the Jews seized, while others were stripped and chased in the frost towards the village of Belki, some 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Petrikov, where they were then shot. In all, there were around 200 victims.⁸

The third Aktion took place in the last days of April 1942. The German Gendarmerie roused the remaining Jews at 4:00 A.M. and led them to a slaughterhouse about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) northeast of Petrikov. The Jews were locked up in a barn, and each was undressed separately and then led out to be shot. The local inhabitants were forbidden not only to bury them but also even to go near the bodies. They were allowed to do so only after two weeks.

In the following months, the Nazis and their accomplices hunted down surviving Jews who had hidden in the countryside with the assistance of Belorussian acquaintances. In March 1942, 23 Jews were killed in Kopatkevichi (Petrikov Rayon); in July 1942, 22 Jews in the village of Smetanichi; and on November 7, 1942, 20 Jews from the village of Babunichi. In February 1943, a police detachment of 15 men under the command of the chief of the indigenous police post in Koptsevichi, Igor' Tseslik, unexpectedly appeared in the village of Brinev. They arrested the family of Boris Komissarchik (four people), led them out to a kolkhoz barn, stood them up against the wall, and shot them with machine guns.⁹

Several Petrikov Jews survived the war. Among them was Ginda Gutman, whom the executioners had thought to be dead. She hid in the village of Belanovichi and then made her way to the village of Makarovka in the Kiev oblast', where she pretended to be a Pole under the name of Stepanida Beniak. Together with a group of Ukrainian women, "Stepanida" was sent to work in Germany.¹⁰

Petrikov was liberated on June 29, 1944. During the years of occupation, 770 Petrikov Jews perished at the hands of the Nazis and their accomplices. Of these, it was possible to determine the names of only 132 families, including 66 women (50 percent) and 48 children aged 15 and younger (36.4 percent).¹¹

SOURCES Relevant information on the destruction of Petrikov's Jews can be found in the following publications: *Pamiats'. Petrykauski raen* (Minsk, 1995); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000); and *Kholokost v Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg. Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk, 2002).

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Petrikov can be found in the following archives: BA-L; NARB (845-1-12); and YVA (M-41 JM/11219, and M-33/429).

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trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. YVA, M-41 JM 11219.
2. Klara Kustanovich was posthumously awarded the medal "For Wartime Services." See *Pamiats'*, p. 275.
3. *Kholokost v Belorussii*, p. 215.
4. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, pp. 224–225.

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5. *Kholokost v Belorussii*, pp. 215–216.
6. NARB, 845-1-12, pp. 47 and verso.
7. YVA, M-33/429; see also BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 117/67 (Nazi crimes in the Petrikov region), vol. 3, Closing Report dated September 3, 1973, which gives the date of September 21–22, 1941, for these first killing Aktions. And see GARF, 7021-91-22, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, December 19, 1944.
8. *Pamiats'*, pp. 275–276.
9. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, pp. 224–225.
10. *Pamiats'*, p. 278.
11. Estimated by the author using *ibid.*, pp. 326–329.

PIATKA

Pre-1941: Piatka, village, Chudnov raion, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Pjarki, Rayon and Gebiet Tschudnow, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: P'iatka, Chudnir raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Piatka is located 34 kilometers (21 miles) southwest of Zhitomir. According to the 1926 census, there were 870 Jews living in Piatka (24 percent of the total population). In the second half of the 1920s and in the 1930s, the number of Jews in the village declined substantially.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 7, 1941, almost two weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military duty in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews managed to evacuate eastward. About 250 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In the period July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village, and it appointed a village elder and an auxiliary police force manned by local residents. In November 1941, a civil administration took the place of the German military administration. Until its liberation in late December 1943, Piatka was part of Gebiet Tschudnow in Generalkommissariat Sbitomir.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the same anti-Jewish measures implemented in other German-occupied Ukrainian towns and villages were introduced in Piatka: Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks in the form of armbands with the Star of David, made to do forced labor, and forbidden to leave the village. They had to hand over all their valuables. They were forbidden to sell products in the market, and the local Ukrainian inhabitants were not allowed to have any contact with Jews. Those who violated this order were flogged.

In August 1941, the first Aktion took place in the village. In its course, a group of Jewish men were arrested and shot in a park in Chudnov.¹ The remaining Jews were herded into a ghetto, which was set up in the synagogue building. Every day the Jews were led out to work on harvesting sugar beets. The ghetto was liquidated on October 24, 1941, when more than 200 people were shot on the northern edge of the village near a dilapidated mill (in 1950, a monument was erected at the site of the shooting).² The shooting apparently was the work of a

detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, with active participation by Ukrainian police. After the liquidation of the ghetto, the Ukrainian policemen hunted down Jews who were in hiding and shot them. Thus 7 captured Jews were shot a few days later.

Later in the occupation, a Jewish fugitive from the Chudnov ghetto, Mariam Sandal (Askes), found refuge in the nearby village of Maloselka (about 5 kilometers [3 miles]) from Piatka, as her grandfather was from Piatka and enjoyed a good reputation with many of the local peasants, who knew him as the cooper from Berdichev. According to Sandal (Askes), there were no Jewish survivors from the village of Piatka.³

SOURCES Information about the destruction of the Jews of Piatka can be found in these publications: "Piatka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 6 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2008); "Piatka," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 985–986; and I.O. Herasymov, ed., *Knyha pam'iaty Ukrainy. Zhytomyrs'ka oblast'*, vol. 11 (Zhytomyr: L'onok, 1996).

Documentation regarding the fate of the Jews of Piatka can be found in the following archives: DAZO; GARF (7021-60-315); VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my. Sviditel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 1999), p. 389.
2. Archives of the Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost" (Holocaust Research and Educational Center), Moscow; "Piatka," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 6; Herasymov, *Knyha pam'iaty Ukrainy*.
3. Testimony of M. Sandal (Askes), in Boris Zabarko, ed., "Nur wir haben überlebt": *Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), pp. 343–344.

PIKOV

Pre-1941: Pikov, village, Kalinovka raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pиков, Rayon and Gebiet Kalynovka, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Pиков, Kalynivka raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Pikov is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) north-northeast of Vinnytsia. In June 1941, there were probably around 1,200 Jews living in Pikov.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Pikov around July 22, 1941. In the summer and fall of 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village. The German commandant appointed village elders and organized an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. It became part of Gebiet Kalynovka, within Gene-

ralkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Seelemeyer. The SS- und Polizeigebietsführer in Kalinovka appointed in early 1942 was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Konrad Lange.

At the end of July 1941, the Germans established an open ghetto in the village, and Jews from neighboring settlements were also brought to the ghetto. According to survivor Leonid Langerman, a certain Bronitzky, who had been appointed as the village elder in Uladovka, issued a decree ordering the expulsion of the Jews from there, such that his family moved to Pikov. On arrival there, all the Jews were forced to move to the center of the village in Novyi Pikov; if anyone tried to escape, they were immediately killed. The Ukrainian police was very active. The Jews had to wear badges and armbands, and there was also a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to help enforce the German restrictions on the Jews. Everyone was forced to work on the kolkhoz—including women and children; they harvested potatoes, beets, and other vegetables. A group of men were forced to build a road through the town to the neighboring town of Ivanov and did not receive any pay.¹

Another survivor, Eudokiya Manko, recalled that all the Jews were forced to perform hard labor and wear badges on the left side of their chests and bands on their left arms. With these markings, they were not allowed to go outside, to the market, or to the houses of other Ukrainians. Nevertheless, she hid her badge in order to go out to find food. All she was able to find was a little bit of bread and a few potatoes.²

In mid-May 1942, a group of able-bodied Jews from the Pikov ghetto were selected and escorted on foot to the village of Kalinovka, where they were placed in a forced labor camp for about 500 Jews and assigned to work on the construction of an airfield. The barracks for Jews were fenced off with barbed wire, and anyone who attempted to leave the site of the airfield was shot. The prisoners were given food once a day—150 grams (5.3 ounces) of bread and an unsalted pea soup.³

The Jews in the Pikov ghetto lived in great fear, since they knew it was just a matter of time until there would be a pogrom; the Germans could enter Jewish houses at any time, and the Jews had to do whatever they would demand. At night, the family of Eudokiya Manko all stayed together in one bedroom without a light, as they had so little kerosene. They never talked about the future (it was taboo) but reminisced about the past. Eudokiya saw a pit being prepared for what was to be the mass shooting, and after her mother and sister had been killed, she managed to escape into the forests.⁴

The Germans liquidated the Pikov ghetto on May 30, 1942. A force of about 30 German policemen that arrived in Pikov was enthusiastically assisted by the Ukrainian police, who abused and tortured the victims before they were killed. Jewish survivor Galina Lisitsyna, who had recently arrived in Pikov, recalled that in May or June the Germans arrived and organized a roundup of the Jews. She observed the Jews being led away into vehicles, and fortunately she was able to make her escape. As she escaped through the forest, she also saw how the Germans shot the Jews. The Jews were led through a corridor of guards supervised by a senior German and were

then lined up 5 people at a time to be shot into a pit. The mass shooting took place near the Jewish cemetery that was located about halfway between Pikov and Ivanov (located about 10 kilometers [6 miles] to the south). According to Soviet sources, 960 Jews from Pikov were shot.⁵

In the first two weeks of June 1942, the Germans, assisted by the Ukrainian police, conducted two more Aktions, rounding up any Jews they found in hiding and shooting them. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in these Aktions first 76 and then 44 Jews were shot.⁶

The few Jews that survived from the Pikov ghetto managed to escape at the time of the mass shootings or from the Kalinovka labor camp and survived with the help of non-Jews in the region until the Red Army drove out the German occupiers in March 1944.

SOURCES Publications mentioning the Pikov ghetto include the following: Boris Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto: Vospominaniia byvsbikh uznikov Mogilev-Podol'skogo getto* (New York, 1996), pp. 83–85; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 988.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Pikov Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7364); DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1274); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 4); VHF (# 115, 18247, and 23337); and YVA.

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trans. Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. VHF, # 18247, testimony of Leonid Langerman; and also the published testimony by Langerman in Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto*, pp. 83–85.

2. VHF, # 115, testimony of Eudokiya Manko.

3. Testimony of Langerman, pp. 83–85.

4. VHF, # 115.

5. *Vinnichbina v period Velykoi vitchyznianoï viiny 1941–1945 rr.* (Khronika Podii), p. 29, as cited by Aleksandr Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: “Karavella,” 2001), pp. 14, 24; and BA-L, B 162/7364, pp. 190–191—this source, however, gives the total of only 800 to 900 Jews from Ivanov and Pikov murdered altogether but is probably based mainly on the reports of the ChGK.

6. GARF, 7021-54-1274.

PLISKOV

Pre-1941: Pliskov, village and raion center, Vinnytsia oblast, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pliskow, Rayon center, Gebiet Illinzy, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Plyskiv, Pobrebysbche raion, Vinnytsia oblast, Ukraine

Pliskov is located 59 kilometers (37 miles) east-northeast of Vinnytsa. The census of 1939 recorded 793 Jewish residents in Pliskov (24.4 percent of the total).

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German armed forces occupied the village on July 22, 1941, one month after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this time, some of the Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army, and a small number of Jews succeeded in evacuating to the eastern regions of the country. Some of those who had tried to flee, however, were forced to return. As they traveled back to Pliskov, they were robbed by Ukrainian policemen on the roads. On their return, they found that their houses had been ransacked, and almost no possessions remained.¹

In the period from July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. The German military administration appointed a mayor (named Ivanko) and formed an auxiliary police force headed by Mileli Chirskii (after the war, he moved to Australia).²

In late October 1941, a German civil administration took over from the Wehrmacht. Until liberation in January 1944, Rayon Pliskov was part of Gebiet Illinzy in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. In Pliskov itself, from the fall of 1941, there was a Gendarmerie post, which was in charge of a squad of about 30 Ukrainian policemen.

In the summer and fall of 1941, various anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Pliskov. According to Jewish survivor Tsilia Rabinovich, Jews were required to wear badges and were not allowed outside without them. They also were taken for forced labor. They had to farm potatoes and beets, but they were not allowed to take anything home with them.³ Another survivor, Mikhail Rossinskii, notes that the Germans came to the Jewish houses and said, "Give us anything of value that you have!" Then they entered the houses and took what they wanted.⁴

In Pliskov, the Jews initially remained in their own houses, but since the Jews all lived on one side of the village and the non-Jews on the other, a kind of "open ghetto" already existed. According to Rossinskii, in the summer of 1941, the Germans took away about 30 of the few remaining men and said that they were being sent on a work assignment; subsequently it was discovered that the men had been shot. Other sources indicate that 23 Soviet activists were shot in a nearby forest in September 1941. Rossinskii's father was not arrested at this time, as he worked making leather items for the German soldiers. However, for safety his father sent Mikhail to work on the nearby Kolkhoz Raskopana, inhabited mostly by non-Jews, as he feared an upcoming Aktion.⁵

The German Security Police organized a major Aktion against the Jews of Pliskov and the surrounding area in late October 1941, during which 513 Jews were shot. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, actively assisted by the Ukrainian police, carried out the mass shooting.⁶ Mikhail Rossinskii, who had returned to Pliskov to get a winter coat, was captured by a local policeman who recognized that he was Jewish. Mikhail was taken to the site of the mass shooting. Just in time, he managed to flee into the forest. Despite being wounded in the foot, he made good his escape.⁷

According to Tsilia Rabinovich, a formal ghetto (or remnant ghetto) was established in Pliskov after the October Aktion for the more than 250 Jews who remained. These prisoners probably consisted of specialist workers and their families who had been selected out and other Jews who emerged from hiding. Conditions in the ghetto were overcrowded, and Tsilia had to sleep on the floor. Her father constantly urged her to escape, as she did not look Jewish. He obtained false papers for her with her actual date of birth.

On May 23, 1942, German and Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto. On the following morning they rounded up the Jews and loaded them onto trucks. In total, about 250 people were transported away to be shot in a pit not far away, together with Jews from other ghettos in the area.⁸ According to local policeman A.T. Natiagolovo, interrogated by the Soviet authorities in 1944, the Aktion took place in July 1942 under the direction of the head of the Gendarmerie, Schuster. The local police and the "Gestapo" (about 30 men) transported around 200 Jews into the Fruzinkovskiy Forest and shot them. According to Natiagolovo, the role of the local police consisted of guarding the victims during the shooting and filling in the grave afterwards.⁹

Tsilia Rabinovich managed to evade the roundup by hiding behind a false wall. She heard, however, how Germans discovered and took away another family from the attic of the same house. After she had fled from Pliskov at night, she heard gunshots from the killing site.¹⁰

SOURCES Publications regarding the fate of the Jewish population of Pliskov during the German occupation include the following: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1000; A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 256; and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 45.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Pliskov can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 204a AR-Z 138/67, Bd. I u. Anhang); DAVINO (R5022-1-176 and R6022-1-40); DAZO (e.g., 1151-1-703); GARF (7021-54-1269); USHMM (e.g., RG-31, 1996.A.0269); VHF (# 32533, 34943); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft and Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. VHF, # 34943, testimony of Mikhail Rossinskii; # 32533, testimony of Tsilia Rabinovich.
2. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14, KdG Schitomir, Vinitsa Captainty, Order 18/42, July 25, 1942.
3. VHF, # 32533.
4. *Ibid.*, # 34943.
5. *Ibid.*
6. GARF, 7021-54-1269, p. 6; testimony of Yakov Dekhtyar (Baltimore, MD), February 25, 1998 (www.pliskov.org)

over.com/PliskovHistory.htm); BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 135, November 19, 1941. VHF, # 32533, dates the Aktion on October 25, 1941; other sources give October 22.

7. VHF, # 34943.

8. *Ibid.*, # 32533.

9. BA-L, II 204a AR-Z 138/67, Anhang zu Bd. I (Soviet materials), Bild Nr. 250.

10. VHF, # 32533.

POGREBISHCHE

Pre-1941: Pogrebishche, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pogrebishtsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Kasatin, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Pobrebyshe, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Pogrebishche is located 64 kilometers (40 miles) east-northeast of Vinnitsa. In 1939, the Jewish population of the settlement was 1,445 (15.2 percent of the total). In addition, there were another 259 Jews residing in the villages of the Pogrebishche raion. Jews in Pogrebishche were aware of the Germans' persecution of the Jews in Poland from radio and press reports, but some people dismissed this merely as Soviet propaganda. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a number of Jews tried to flee before the advancing German forces, but the majority stayed behind and awaited their arrival.

The German army initially occupied the town on July 22, 1941. They immediately established a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. Jews were obliged to wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David, and a curfew was also imposed on them after 9:00 P.M. Germans and the Ukrainian police would enter Jewish houses and rob their possessions. One Jewish survivor reported that his mother was raped by a German.¹

In August 1941, German officials in black cars arrived in Pogrebishche and took away 20 Jews ostensibly for a work assignment, but instead these people were shot. This incident was repeated again two weeks later. These were Aktions conducted by the Security Police, directed initially against alleged Communists and Soviet activists. Sensing the danger, some Jews prepared to hide or flee on the next occasion when the Germans returned.²

As the Jews and non-Jews mostly lived in separate parts of the town, a form of open ghetto already existed. The Germans prohibited the Jews from buying food at the market or having other contacts with non-Jews. However, some Ukrainians continued to supply Jews with eggs and other food items. All Jews over the age of 13 were required to perform forced labor. Only those who worked were entitled to receive any food.³

In September (or October) 1941, the German and Ukrainian police, probably under the direction of Einsatzkommando 5 of Einsatzgruppe C, conducted a mass shooting of the Jews in Pogrebishche, which was directed particularly against children, the elderly, and others incapable of work.

Before the Aktion there were probably more than 1,000 Jews living in the settlement. According to Anna Grinboim, after the Aktion only about 200 remained.⁴ One Soviet source gives the figure of 1,360 Jews killed and dates the Aktion at the end of October, but Jewish survivors date it earlier.⁵ After the Aktion a small ghetto was formally established for the remaining Jews, who were moved to just one or two streets. The other Jewish houses were looted and locked up. Jewish survivors do not specifically mention a fence, but they note that Jews could not leave because the Ukrainian police patrolled the ghetto's perimeter all the time.⁶

The transition from a military to a civil administration in this area occurred on October 20, 1941. Rayon Pogrebishtsche was located in Gebiet Kasatin of Generalkommissariat Sbitomir. The German Gebietskommissar was Hundertschaftsführer Steudel.⁷ The head of the German Gendarmerie post in Pogrebishche was Meister der Gendarmerie Bruno Mayrhofer.

Overcrowding in the ghetto was terrible, as about five families had to share each house. The Jews were always hungry. Now under the civil administration, instead of an armband, the Jews had to wear yellow stars on their chest and back. Although they had been robbed repeatedly, Jews were still able to buy some food from the Ukrainians with the few valuable possessions that they had managed to preserve.⁸

Grinboim recalled of the ghetto: "There was no water to drink or to wash with, no food, terrible hunger. Occasionally kind Ukrainians came and brought food they had already prepared. Every morning all the young people and all the men were taken to work." Her own work consisted mainly of cleaning—streets, bathrooms, and stores. Anna's grandmother died of hunger, as did many others. No holidays were celebrated in the ghetto. There were very few children, since most of them had been killed in the pogrom. The most terrible thing, she recalled, was the knowledge that sooner or later there would be another Aktion to end it all.⁹

Michael Tokar stated that "anyone who refused to work was killed on the spot. The Ukrainian police drank all the time and would beat the Jews just for fun in their drunken stupor." Tokar was in the Pogrebishche ghetto until the beginning of February 1942. At that time a group of prisoners was transferred to Vinnitsa for labor, and he was among them.¹⁰

By early summer 1942, the German Gendarmerie had established a training school for noncommissioned officers (NCOs) in the Ukrainian police (now renamed Schutzmannschaft) in Pogrebishche, commanded by a man named Robowski. Stationed in the same barracks was also a Gendarme, Max Roth, who supervised the so-called railway protection police in the region, which was also composed of Ukrainian auxiliaries stationed along the railway.¹¹ In May or June 1942, the Jews in the ghetto learned from a translator who worked for the Germans about an impending Aktion, and a number of Jews went into hiding or fled the ghetto.¹²

In June 1942, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Heinrich Behrens ordered the execution of the remaining Jews of

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Gebiet Kasatin, who were being temporarily held in a barracks in Pogrebishche. As a result, those Jews who were rounded up were taken to a pit, where the Ukrainian auxiliaries translated the German orders to the Jews. The Jews were forced to undress, then line up for an SD squad from Berdichev, and were shot. In August 1942, after intense searches by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmes, 200 more Jews were gathered in the barracks. Behrens telephoned the SD post in Berdichev and agreed to assist the SD in the killing Aktion by providing about 40 Ukrainian police and some German soldiers who were stationed nearby. When the SD squad arrived at the local airfield, Behrens was there to greet them and then drove the killing squad to the Talymynivka ravine, which was the execution site near the barracks.¹³ The Gendarme Max Roth also recalled the arrival of about four SD men in Pogrebishche during the summer of 1942, in connection with the murder of Jews being temporarily housed in the barracks of the Schutzmannschaft School while it was empty between training courses.¹⁴

Some of the Jews who fled were taken in by Ukrainians, but the danger of being discovered remained great. For example, Anna Grinboim decided to leave her initial protector after a policeman discovered her hiding on top of the stove. Her protector, an acquaintance of her father's, quickly improvised, saying that she was her niece. But she feared the police might soon return and arrest her.¹⁵

German Gendarmes, assisted by the Ukrainian police, continued to hunt for Jews in hiding for many months after the liquidation of the ghetto. In May 1943, Mayrhofer reported:

On May 7, 1943, at 9:00 P.M., following a confidential report, eight Jews, that is, three men, two women, and three children, were flushed out of a well-camouflaged hole in the ground in an open field not far from the post here, and all of them were shot while trying to escape. This case had to do with Jews from Pogrebishche who had lived in this hole in the ground for almost a year. The Jews had nothing else in their possession except their tattered clothing. The few items of food they possessed, which lay strewn about the camp, were given to the village poor, as was the still somewhat-usable clothing. The burial was carried out immediately, on the spot.¹⁶

SOURCES Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Pogrebishche can be found in the following archives: BA-L (204a AR-Z 137/67); DAVINO; DAZO; GARF; USHMM; and VHF (# 20772, 27058, 28086, 28092, 29156).

Martin Dean
trans. Gina Caruso

NOTES

1. VHF, # 20772, testimony of Anna Grinboim; # 27058, testimony of Grigorii Sirota; # 28092, testimony of Ida Miretskaia; # 28086, testimony of Michael Tokar.
2. Ibid., # 20772; # 27058; # 28086; # 28092.

3. Ibid., # 20772; # 27058; # 28086.

4. Ibid., # 20772.

5. *Vinnichbina v period Velykoi vitchyznianoï viiny 1941–1945 rr.* (Khronika Podii), p. 23, as cited by A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskiï spravocchnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), pp. 13, 22–23.

6. VHF, # 20772; # 27058; # 29156, testimony of Dvoira Khanis.

7. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

8. VHF, # 20772; # 27058; # 29156.

9. Ibid., # 20772.

10. Ibid., # 28086.

11. DAZO, 1182-1-35, p. 2, 1182-1-17, p. 150; BA-L, AR-Z 204 137/67, pp. 388–394, statement of Max Roth, January 21, 1966.

12. VHF, # 20772.

13. BA-L, AR-Z 204 137/67, vol. 2, Abschlussbericht, pp. 227–228.

14. Ibid., AR-Z 204 137/67, pp. 388–394, statement of Max Roth, January 21, 1966.

15. VHF, # 20772.

16. DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 163, report of Meister d. Gend. u. Postenfürher Mayrhofer to Kasatin SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer, May 13, 1943.

RADOMYSHL'

Pre-1941: Radomyshl', town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Radomyshl', Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Radomyshl', raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Radomyshl' is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) northeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, there were 2,348 Jews living in the town (20.1 percent of the total population). Additionally, 129 Jews resided in the villages of the raion.

German armed forces occupied the town in mid-July 1941, approximately three weeks after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this period, a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were drafted into or enrolled voluntarily for the Red Army. Slightly less than 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military administration ran the town, appointing a mayor to administer its affairs. The Germans also created a Rayon administration and recruited a Ukrainian police force from among the local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions in Radomyshl'.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Radomyshl' became the administrative center of Gebiet Radomyshl', and Gauhauptstellenleiter Drechsler was named as Gebietskommissar. The Gebiet also encompassed the Rayons of Potievka and Malin.¹

A few weeks after the occupation of the town, in August 1941, the German military administration in Radomyshl' established an open ghetto for the Jews. All the Jews were moved onto Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht Streets (as they were known under the Soviet regime).² Jews were prohibited from going beyond the ghetto's borders. They were not allowed to buy products from the Ukrainians, and the Ukrainians in turn could not have any relations with the Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear armbands on their left arms, marked by yellow six-pointed stars. Jewish men were called on to perform heavy labor and were subjected to systematic robberies and assaults by the Ukrainian police.

In the first half of August 1941, two Aktions were carried out in the town. On August 5, 1941, a request was issued for Sonderkommando 4a (Sk 4a) to come to Radomyshl' and enforce security there. Sk 4a, which was a mobile squad of the Security Police subordinated to Einsatzgruppe C, arrived in the town shortly thereafter, and its members then arrested and shot the local mayor and his deputies as "Bolsheviks." They also shot one resident who had participated in the Soviet expulsion of Ukrainians and ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). A number of Jews were also arrested and shot, apparently for violating the regulations issued by the occupying authorities. In total, Sk 4a murdered 113 persons during this Aktion.³ One day later the same detachment carried out a second Aktion. In total during the two operations, Sk 4a shot "276 Jewish communist functionaries, saboteurs, Komsomol members, and communist agitators."⁴

At the end of August 1941, a part of Sk 4a was based temporarily in Radomyshl'. Among the reasons for choosing Radomyshl' as a base were the available food supplies and functioning infrastructure in the town, including a large dairy, a slaughterhouse, and a brewery.⁵ Conditions significantly worsened in the ghetto at the end of August 1941. Jews were resettled into the ghetto from the surrounding villages, and the Jewish houses became terribly overcrowded. On average, 15 people had to live in a single room. Sanitary conditions therefore became extremely poor. Jewish corpses were carried out of the houses on a daily basis. It became impossible to provide sufficient rations for the Jews, especially for the Jewish children. The danger of an epidemic was constantly present.⁶

On September 6, 1941, Sk 4a, under the command of SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, liquidated the ghetto in Radomyshl'. The Security Police forces gathered the Jews together and loaded them onto trucks with the assistance of the Ukrainian police. The Jews were then driven to a clearing in the forest several kilometers outside the town. The staff of Sk 4a shot the 1,107 adult Jews, and the Ukrainian police shot the 561 children, bringing the total number of those murdered during this Aktion to 1,668.⁷

SOURCES Relevant publications include the following: *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 694a; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York

University Press, 2001), p. 1048; and Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005).

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Radomyshl' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216 to 217); BA-L (e.g., ZStL, AR-Z 269/60, investigation of Kuno Callsen); DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-309).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. GARF, 7021-60-309, p. 21 (testimony of S.K. Boguslavs'kii, May 26, 1945).
3. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 58, August 20, 1941.
4. *Ibid.*, EM no. 59, August 21, 1941.
5. *JuNS-V*, vol. 31, p. 143; see also Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, p. 45.
6. BA-BL, R 58/217, EM no. 88, September 19, 1941; according to Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, p. 87, the Jews brought in from the surrounding areas by the SD were crammed into an old school, where they began to die of hunger and disease.
7. BA-BL, R 58/217, EM no. 88, September 19, 1941. For further details on the circumstances of the mass shooting, see LG-Darm, Ks 1/67 (Gsta), verdict against Kuno Callsen and others, November 29, 1968, in *JuNS-V*, vol. 31, Lfd. Nr. 694a.

RECHITSA

Pre-1941: Rechitsa, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Retschiza, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Rechitsa, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rechitsa is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) west-southwest of Gomel'. In 1939, the Jewish population of Rechitsa was 7,237 (27.3 percent of the total).

In July and August 1941, at least 4,000 Jews were evacuated from Rechitsa by rail and road, and in barges on the Dniepr River, before the Germans arrived.¹

German military forces occupied the city on August 23, 1941. Initially Rechitsa was administered by a local military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). In October 1941, the town became the center of Gebiet Retschiza in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Among the German units based in Rechitsa were detachments of the Sicherheitspolizei (initially Sonderkommando 7b), Geheime Feldpolizei, Feldgendarmarie, and Schutzpolizei. A detachment of Waffen-SS was also based there for a time.² The Germans established a local police station on Vokzal'naia Street, appointing Korzhhevskii chief of police. A man named Chalovskii became assistant mayor.³

For the first two months of the occupation, the Jews were allowed to live in their own houses. The former *melamed* (religious teacher) Malenkovich was ordered to compile a list of the remaining Jews in Rechitsa.⁴ Soon the Germans began taking people away for “work,” and they were never seen again. In September 1941, Sonderkommando 7b reported shooting 216 Jewish men in Rechitsa.⁵ Several individual killings of Jews also occurred during these first weeks.⁶

In November 1941, a new commandant arrived in Rechitsa and declared that he would not take over the town while “kikes and Communists remain alive.”⁷ Shortly after November 20, 1941, the Jews, obeying an order posted throughout the town, gathered at the cultural center, and from there they were sent to two two-story buildings on the grounds of a former prison in the factory area, on the corner of Frunze and Sovetskaia Streets. The Germans set up a prison-style ghetto there. The ghetto territory was surrounded with barbed wire about 2 meters (6.5 feet) high. There was a gate for entering and leaving the area. The prisoners were kept in unusually crowded quarters, with 40 people in each room; this meant that they were forced to stand. In the daytime, when the able-bodied were taken off to work, there was a bit more space available. The ghetto was closely guarded by police.⁸ Also placed in this ghetto were undesirable prisoners of war (POWs), Communists, and Soviet activists, including some non-Jews.⁹ Around 300 prisoners from the “ghetto” were taken away on trucks and shot on November 25.

Some details of this Aktion are known. The policemen told the Jews that they were being taken to pick cabbages and carrots at the kolkhoz. The trucks stopped at the edge of town in the area of the wine distillery, near an antitank ditch dug during the first weeks of the war. Three German officers were in charge of the operation. The Jews realized that they would be shot, and a few tried to run away but were killed by rifle fire. The guards stole whatever they could from the Jews, including earrings, rings, and bracelets. Boris Smilovitskii, before he died, shouted, “Bandits, fascists, you spill our blood now, but remember, the Red Army will win and avenge us!” According to eyewitnesses, the perpetrators were in “a drunken state.”¹⁰

Those Jews who did not appear in response to the order were rounded up by the Germans and the police and placed in the ghetto by December 12. At the same time, Jews from the surrounding villages were brought to Rechitsa. According to Iakov Gutarov, his grandparents were brought to Rechitsa along with other Jews from a nearby settlement and later shot there.¹¹

The details of subsequent mass shootings are unclear, but it appears that the Germans took out groups of Jews from the ghetto prison to be shot on several other occasions in December 1941.

According to the testimony of Il'ia Kolotsei, the occupying authorities ordered the Jews to sew white and yellow patches on their clothing and sent them out to work. Kolotsei saw how 10 Jews were mocked as they were used in place of draft ani-

mals to haul a wagon with a barrel of water out of the ghetto. A German soldier sat on the barrel and drove them forward with a stick. Around the same time, under police guard, Jews spent two weeks digging a large pit on the grounds of the ghetto, near the toilet.¹²

The last group of prisoners was not taken to the ditch on the edge of town but was lined up next to the pit dug in the ghetto area. The majority were women, children, and old people. Many of the mothers had infants in their arms. Then two Germans described as Gendarmes, with a metal chain on their chests (probably members of the Feldgendarmerie subordinated to the Wehrmacht), took the first person out of the line. One of the Feldgendarmes bludgeoned the man on the head, and the local policemen standing next to him threw the body into the ditch. This scene was repeated until all the Jews were killed. Then the policemen covered the corpses with dirt and dispersed.¹³

Accused of organizing and carrying out the murders of the Jews of Rechitsa and Rechitsa raion were Oberleutnant Fischer, the head of the Rechitsa Gendarmerie; Gebietskommissar Blüming; a colonel named Orlitschek; and others.¹⁴ According to one estimate, some 1,300 to 1,400 Jews died in Rechitsa at the hands of the Nazis during the occupation (around 18 percent of the pre-war population).¹⁵

During the years of Rechitsa's occupation, only a few Jews escaped with their lives. On the eve of the Aktion on November 25, Larisa Borodich (born 1930) was brought to the assembly place with her mother Khaia and other members of her family.¹⁶ At night Khaia helped Larisa climb over the barbed wire and told her to go to Lidia Nazarova's home. For a few months, she was hidden by the Bogdanov, Gorshkov, Ferentsov, Kozorev, and Stankevich families. On May 1, 1943, she joined the Soviet partisans.¹⁷

Ol'ga Anishchenko, a teacher at the Rechitsa Teacher Training Institute, managed to save Masha Raikhlina, a kindergarten teacher who had been one of her students. When neighbors found out that Ol'ga was sheltering a Jewish woman, she found Masha a new place to hide, then sent her to the Frunze partisan detachment of the Voroshilov partisan brigade. In 1997, Anishchenko was awarded the title “Righteous Among the Nations” by Yad Vashem.¹⁸ Girsh Slavin was protected by the entire village of Zhmurovka, in the Rechitsa raion. During the pogrom in the Rechitsa synagogue, a man named Atamanchuk managed to rescue the Torah scroll, and after the war he helped the victims' relatives find and rebury the remains of their loved ones.¹⁹

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Rechitsa during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Albert Kaganovich, *Rechitsa: Istoriiia evreiskogo mestechka Iugo-Vostochnoi Belorusii* (Jerusalem, 2007); Boris Umetskii, *Rechitsa. Kratkii istoriko-ekonomicheskii ocherk* (Minsk, 1963); *Pamiat'. Rechitsa. Istoriko-dokumental'naiia khronika gorodov i raionov Belorussii*, vol. 1 (Minsk, 1998); Leonid Smilovitskii, “Rechitsa,” in *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo,

2000), pp. 259–277; Leonid Smilovitsky, “My Rechitsa” [in Hebrew], *Yalkut Moresbet*, no. 60 (1995): 125–132; A. Kaganovich, “Evrei Rechitsy v gody nemetskoï okkupatsii, 1941–1943 gg.,” in *Uroki Kholokosta: Istoriia i sovremennost’* (Minsk, 2008), pp. 6–11; *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fasistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii, 1941–1944: Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk: Belarus’, 1963), pp. 268–272, 295; and Raisa Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii v 1941–1944 gg. Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izd. E.S. Gal’perin, 1997).

Documentation regarding the ghetto in Rechitsa and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (Case file 234, vol. 4); GAG-OMO (1345-1-1); GARF (7021-85-217; 7021-85-413); NARB (861-1-6); RTKIDNI, formerly RGASPI (69-1-818); and YVA (M-33/476; M-33/481). Some additional material is located in the personal archive of author Leonid Smilovitsky (PALS).

Leonid Smilovitsky and Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel and Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg.*, p. 264.
2. GARF, 7021-85-217, p. 14.
3. PALS, letter of Mikhail Balte and Sara Ber from Rechitsa, January 12, 2000.
4. One source indicates that more than 400 Jewish families were registered, AUKGBRBGO, 1-234, vol. 4, pp. 4–7, 14–17.
5. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 90, September 21, 1941.
6. YVA, M-33/476, p. 19.
7. PALS, letter from the Rechitsa Local Museum, March 29, 2002.
8. A. Dvornik, “Poslednii svidetel’,” *Aviv*, no. 7 (1998): 2; letter from Avraam Dovzhik dated September 28, 2001; testimony of Tamara Kuz’mich on August 7, 2005—all as cited by Kaganovich, *Rechitsa: Istoriia evreiskogo mestechka Iugo-Vostochnoi Belorusii*, p. 300.
9. YVA, JM/20006, pp. 1–2, 74–75 verso.
10. *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fasistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii*, pp. 270–271. Testimony of Dar’ia Ignat’evna Seleverstova, February 8, 1968, AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 4, pp. 11–13, gives further details of this Aktion and estimates 500 people were killed.
11. YVA, page of testimony of Iakov Gutarov, June 15, 2001. Gutarov himself managed to run away and hide.
12. Testimony of Il’ia Vasil’evich Kolotsei, February 8, 1968, AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 4, p. 8.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
14. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, pp. 11–13.
15. *Ibid.*, file 234, vol. 4, p. 4.
16. Chernoglazova, *Tragediia evreev Belorussii v 1941–1944 gg.*, p. 116.
17. PALS, letter from the Rechitsa Local Museum, March 29, 2002.
18. See *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004), p. 74.
19. PALS, letter of Maria Rubinchik, May 25, 2002.

ROGACHOV

Pre-1941: Rogachov, village, Baranovka raion, Zhitomir oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rogatschow, Rayon Baranowka, Gebiet Zwiabel (Nowograd-Wolynskij), Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Robachiv, Baranivka raion, Zhytomyr oblast’, Ukraine

Rogachov is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) west-northwest of Zhitomir. In June 1941, there were about 300 Jews living in the village.

German forces occupied Rogachov on July 6, 1941, two weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. During those weeks, a number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men of military age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 70 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Rogachov at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village. The German military administration appointed a village elder (starosta) and recruited an auxiliary Ukrainian police force made up of local residents. The local police played an active role in the anti-Jewish measures.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Rogachov was incorporated into Gebiet Nowograd-Wolynskij, where Regierungsassessor Dr. Schmidt became the Gebietskommissar.¹

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered the village elder and Ukrainian policemen to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. They were forced to wear armbands bearing a six-pointed star and to perform heavy labor solely on account of their race. At the end of July 1941, on the instructions of the German military administration, an open ghetto (Jewish residential district) was formed in the center of the village. The German regulations prohibited Jews from leaving the ghetto without permission or from buying products from the Ukrainians. As a result, food was in very short supply for the ghetto inhabitants. Jews caught violating the rules and going beyond the borders of the ghetto without permission were shot by the Ukrainian police. The German authorities and local police also forced the Jews to hand over all their valuables and good articles of clothing.²

In August 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the village. A number of Jews were escorted into the forest and shot. On October 1, 1941, the day of Yom Kippur, the ghetto was liquidated. On that day, the German security forces and their collaborators assembled the Jews in the local assembly hall (*klub*). They separated the families of the craftsmen (reading out 20 or 25 names) from the rest, then placed all those remaining into trucks, drove them into the forest 4 or 5 kilometers (about 2.5 to 3 miles) to the east of the village, and shot them. The small children stayed behind in the assembly hall. Two days later, the Ukrainian policemen also transported the children on carts into the forest and shot them there. In

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November 1941, after having been confined within three houses in the interim period, the craftsmen and their families were relocated to the “ghetto” in Novograd-Volynskii.³

SOURCES A relevant survivor testimony has been published in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 41–44.

Documents dealing with the persecution and extermination of the Jews in Rogachov can be found in the following archives: DAZO; and GARF (7021-60-283).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES:

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
2. Testimony of Grigorii Vainerman, in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymy ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev, 1999), p. 79; an English translation is available in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 41–44.
3. Zabarko, *Zhivymy ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 79–80.

RUZHIN

Pre-1941: Ruzhin, town and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ruzhin, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Ruzhyn, raion center, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Ruzhin is located 72 kilometers (45 miles) southeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 census, 1,108 Jews lived in Ruzhin, about one quarter of the total population. There were also 633 Jews residing in the nearby village of Belilovka and 2,056 Jews in all living in the Ruzhin raion (4.22 percent of the total). Only a small number of Jews were able to evacuate from the area with the retreating Red Army.

German forces occupied Ruzhin on July 17, 1941, and almost immediately began robbing and humiliating the town's Jews; they even captured one incident on film.¹ Shootings began as early as September 10, when 750 Jews in Ruzhin were shot.

The official transition from a military to a civil administration in the Shitomir region occurred on October 20, 1941. Ruzhin, as a Gebiet center in Generalkommissariat Shitomir, was responsible also for the Rayons of Popilnia and Wtscherajsche. The German Gebietskommissar in Ruzhin was Regierungsassessor Ganglhoff. The commander of the Gendarmerie post in Ruzhin and also SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer there was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Gustav Dutkowski.² Among the senior local policemen in Ruzhin were Josef Rudenko, Artur Reglin, and Dmitri Wosnjak, who were responsible for a squad of about 40 Ukrainian policemen in the Ruzhin Rayon and about 100 in the entire Gebiet.³

After the September Aktion, the remaining Jews were placed on one bank of the river in a ghetto consisting of a dozen houses enclosed by a wire fence. The Germans also brought

into the ghetto Jews found in the surrounding villages, including from Veselovka and Belilovka, where similar Aktionen had been conducted. In forming the ghetto, the local Ukrainian elder in Ruzhin, Kachanovski, ordered the Jews to vacate some 200 homes and rebuild them for the use of the Germans and the local Ukrainian police, who guarded the ghetto. The Germans appointed a Jewish elder by the name of Yankel. He organized several craft guilds, including guilds for cobblers and tailors.⁴

The craftsmen worked mainly to fulfill the orders of the police. In exchange for food, they also performed work for members of the local population who came to the ghetto fence with their requests. The craftsmen shared their food with the other Jews in the ghetto, as the captives received no rations. Young Jews were sent to work on construction sites and perform other forced labor tasks, and the local police sometimes gave them the leftovers from their own meals. Once a week Jews were brought before the local German commandant for a roll call. In December 1941 and January 1942, onerous financial “contributions” were levied on the Jews.

On April 30, 1942, the local police rounded up 90 Jewish men from the ghetto, saying that they would be escorting horses to the front lines. One managed to run away, but the rest were never heard from again. At the same time, local policemen entered the ghetto and took away everything that had been produced by the craftsmen, including their unfinished products. This caused great anxiety among the ghetto inhabitants, and some of them started to prepare hiding places. However, very few could finish these bunkers, as on the next day, May 1, 1942, the Germans, together with local Ukrainian police under the command of police chief Josef Rudenko, entered the ghetto and selected 250 to 300 people. This group of Jews was escorted in a single column (the children were put onto several horse-drawn carts) to the grain storage facility and locked inside. Afterwards, in groups of 25 or 30, they were taken to a specially prepared ditch at the site of the Novyi Mir kolkhoz, made to lie on the ground or on top of the corpses of previous victims, and shot in the back of the head by the German Security Police, assisted by the Gendarmerie and local police.⁵ Several Germans photographed the mass shooting. In his report dated June 3, 1942, the Generalkommissar, Kurt Klemm, reported that for the most part the “Jewish question” had been settled in Generalkommissariat Shitomir, as 606 Jews had been “resettled” in Ruzhin.⁶ On June 14, 1942, in accordance with orders from the captain of the Gendarmerie in Vinnitsa, the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin reported that no more Jews were being employed at the Gendarmerie posts in his district.⁷

On the orders of the Germans, a number of Jewish workers and their families had been excluded from the Aktion. Some of these people were transferred to other forced labor camps in the region, such as to the camp at Nadonesi.⁸ About 200 Jews were retained to work in and around Ruzhin, sorting the possessions of those who had been shot and also as specialist craftsmen.⁹ On the orders of the Germans, the Jewish crafts-

men taught the basics of their craft to a group of local Ukrainians. According to the postwar evidence of police chief Rudenko, in the summer of 1942 the police conducted another raid on the interned Jews and set aside about 100 specialist workers. The local police then escorted the other approximately 100 Jews to a killing site, where German police forces shot them. The remaining specialists were interned within a separate residential area (probably in the nearby village of Balamutovka) and had to report daily to the Gendarmerie.¹⁰

A number of Jews had successfully managed to hide at the time of the roundups and had escaped into the surrounding countryside. Some of them subsequently returned to the camp in Balamutovka. In September and October 1942, the local police in Ruzhin were ordered to capture and kill all the Jews remaining in the area and reported that they had shot several.¹¹ At the end of September, more than 60 Jews were collected at the office of the Gendarmerie in Balamutovka, later to be shot at the grave site in Ruzhin. Realizing that they were about to be killed, the Jews started to flee across the orchards towards the forest in the direction of Ruzhin. A number of these prisoners were shot while fleeing, and 20 more were recaptured and shot subsequently. The SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin reported that the SD from Berdichev shot 44 Jews in Ruzhin on October 1, 1942.¹² Around 10 Jews managed to escape and hide in the woods.

The last Jews in Ruzhin were probably shot in 1943. On March 1, 1943, the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin wrote to the Gendarmerie post in Ruzhin, requesting that the remaining Jews be registered by name, together with their occupations, and asking at the same time whether the “ditch” was ready.¹³

The Red Army liberated Ruzhin on December 28, 1943.

SOURCES Among the available published sources are: M. Belilovskii, *Povedai synu svoemu: Da budut korni nashi zbiivy* (Moscow: M. Belilovskii, 1998); Iu.M. Liakhovitskii, *Evreiskii genotsid na Ukraine v period okkupatsii v nemetskoj dokumentalistike 1941–1944* (Kharkov and Jerusalem, 1995), p. 138; *Nemetsko-fasbistskii okkupatsionnyi rezhim na Ukraine: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Kiev, 1963), p. 389; and Martin Dean, “The German Gendarmerie, the Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft and the ‘Second Wave’ of Jewish Killings in Occupied Ukraine: German Policing at the Local Level in the Zhitomir Region, 1941–44,” *German History* 14:2 (1996): 168–192.

Relevant documents, including survivor testimonies on the fate of the Jews of Ruzhin during the Holocaust, can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 6/310); BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67); DAZO (1182-1-36, 1452-1-2); GARF (7021-60-310); TsGAMORF (236-2675-134); VHF (# 20509, 25047, and 40731); and YVA (E-1149; M-33/126; M-37/316; M-52/438; M-52/444; O-3/7260).

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trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48, Military report on crimes committed by the Nazi German occupying forces in Ruzhin.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. See also DAZO, 1151-1-9, pp. 37–39, KdG Shitomir KdO Befehl 30/42, September 3, 1942; see also 1182-1-15, which contains a list of local policemen (Schutzmäner) in Ruzhin dated September 27, 1942. Copies of material from DAZO can also be found at the USHMM (RG-31, Acc. 1996.A.0269).

3. DAZO, 1182-1-36, p. 170, recommendation for an award for bravery regarding Josef Rudenko (born October 7, 1914); 1151-1-703, pp. 8–9, 13–14, KdG Shitomir, Vinnitsa Captaincy, Orders 14/42 and 18/42, July 11 and 25, 1942. See also BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67 (Ruzhin and Vcheraishe), vol. 1, pp. 141–142, statement of I.D. Rudenko on July 12, 1946.

4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 17–18, statement of Fania Feiga (Zipora) Esterowicz (née Duchowna), July 1, 1957. Esterowicz describes the ghetto as a “barrack camp surrounded by barbed wire.” Also see TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48; Belilovskii, *Povedai synu svoemu*, pp. 197–199.

5. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48; and BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 141–142, statement of I.D. Rudenko on July 12, 1946.

6. BA-BL, R 6/310, p. 17, report of Generalkommissar Shitomir for the month of May, dated June 3, 1942. This figure probably includes those murdered in Vcheraishe on May 1, 1942 (200–300), as well.

7. DAZO, 1182-1-36, p. 30, Gend. District in Ruzhin to Gendarmerie Captaincy in Vinnitsa, June 14, 1942.

8. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 17–18, statement of Fania Feiga (Zipora) Esterowicz (née Duchowna), July 1, 1957.

9. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-134, p. 48.

10. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 141–142, statement of I.D. Rudenko on July 12, 1946, and pp. 143–144.

11. DAZO, 1182-1-36, pp. 214, 275–278, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin, monthly reports for September and October 1942.

12. DAZO, 1182-1-36, pp. 275–278, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer, monthly report for October, November 5, 1942; BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67, vol. 1, pp. 141–142, statement of I.D. Rudenko on July 12, 1946. Rudenko also describes the incident in the fall of 1942 when about 40 Jews were shot following an attempted escape.

13. DAZO, 1452-1-2, p. 144, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Ruzhin to Gendarmerie post in Ruzhin, March 1, 1943.

SAMGORODOK

Pre-1941: Samgorodok, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon center, Gebiet Kasatin, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Samborodok, Koziatyn raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Samgorodok is located 41 kilometers (26 miles) northeast of Vinnitsa. In 1926, the Jewish population in the town was 1,243.

1568 ZHYTOMYR REGION

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Samgorodok on July 20, 1941. Soon after their arrival, the German authorities registered the Jews. According to the records of Feldkommandantur 675, based in Vinnitsa, in August 1941 there were 3,000 people residing in Samgorodok, of whom 700 were Jews.¹

Initially the military authorities ordered Jews to wear a white armband with a Star of David. Subsequently they had to wear a Star of David patch on their clothing. A large contribution was collected from the Jewish population, and over time virtually all Jewish property was confiscated. The Jews were also forced to perform physical labor. On one occasion they were forced to clean the area around the church and then run around it. Those who failed to carry out such orders were severely beaten. It was also forbidden for the Jews to buy or barter food items, and even their access to water from the well was restricted.²

According to the Jewish survivor Semen Beger, who was only 11 in 1941, shortly after their arrival the Germans rounded up all the Jews and forced them to live concentrated together in the center of the town, forming an open ghetto. On Sundays there was a market in Samgorodok that the Jews were able to visit, which was also attended by peasants from the surrounding villages. On one occasion the Jews who had attended the market were brutally beaten by the Ukrainians.³

The transition from a military to a civil administration in the Vinnitsa region occurred on October 20, 1941. Rayon Samgorodok was located in Gebiet Kasatin of Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The German Gebietskommissar in Kazatin was Hundertschaftsführer Steudel. The chief of the local police in Samgorodok was Anton Nikolaevich Vashchenko, who was tried by the Soviet authorities after the war. The commander of the Gendarmerie post in Samgorodok from February 1, 1942, was Oberwachtmeister Josef Richter. He was killed by Soviet partisans on August 20, 1943.⁴

On May 16, 1942, the German authorities, assisted by local Rayonchef Shvabskii, forcibly resettled the Jewish population into a separate part of town on the other side of the river. The Jews did not take much of their personal property with them as they suspected that an Aktion would soon be conducted against them, and in any case, there was little room in this second ghetto. The overcrowding was such that between three and five families occupied each house.⁵

Then on June 4, 1942, German police forces, men of the Hungarian army, and the local Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto at 3:00 A.M. Under the command of police chief Vashchenko, the local policemen collected the Jews from their houses and drove them into the middle-school building. Those who tried to escape, refused to go, or were too infirm to walk were shot on the spot. On that morning 24 local peasants were ordered by the police to dig a grave 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town on the road to Germanovka. The grave was approximately 10 meters long by 8 meters wide and 3 meters deep (33 by 26 by 10 feet).

At about 10:00 A.M., the German forces, Hungarians, and local police escorted the column of Jews to the grave site. Two

carts carried the elderly and unfit. At the grave the Jews were forced to remove their clothes and were led down into the ditch, where two or more SD men who had arrived from the Security Police outpost in Vinnitsa shot them.⁶ Gebietskommissar Steudel, who oversaw the Aktion, ordered the peasants to move away and lie facedown on the ground until the shooting was completed. Then they returned to help the local policemen fill in the grave.⁷

During the Aktion, 492 Jews were shot (including about 240 children), together with 15 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs).⁸ The local police chief in Samgorodok, Vashchenko, later “confessed” that he “selected the specialist workers, who were to be employed on various tasks by the Germans, and under my direction the Samgorodok police kept the Jews under strict guard during the shooting.”⁹ About 10 or 15 Jews were selected and sent to Kazatin as specialist workers; they were subsequently shot there by the SD in September.¹⁰

Some Jews, such as Moshe Berger, managed to survive the roundup by hiding in cellars and other places of concealment.¹¹ They later sought refuge in the surrounding countryside. However, in early July the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer in Kazatin, Behrens, sent a memorandum to the Gendarmerie post commander in Samgorodok, Richter, writing that he was aware of Jews hiding in the villages and forests and instructing that all villages must report the presence of Jews. He warned that if Gendarmes or Ukrainian policemen found Jews, “the entire village was to be punished.”¹² Over the following months, most of the Jews in hiding were captured by local police patrols. For example, on March 1, 1943, a patrol from the Gendarmerie post in Samgorodok found two female Jews, Busa and Sulka Chernus, hiding in a hayrick, and they were then “shot trying to escape” (a euphemism used by the Germans to report their summary execution). On March 19, three more Jews were captured by the Gendarmerie in Samgorodok, and the SD was informed.¹³ A Ukrainian Schutzmann, Wasyl Palamarchuk, based in Samgorodok, was recommended for a decoration in the summer of 1943, as he had “especially distinguished himself during the resettlement of the Jews in June 1942 and in the subsequent apprehension of individual Jews who variously concealed themselves.”¹⁴

The Red Army liberated Samgorodok on January 1, 1944. Among the Jewish survivors from Samgorodok were Elisabeth Lifshitz and Mark Bresman.

SOURCES Several references to events in Samgorodok can be found in the author’s article, “The German *Gendarmerie*, the Ukrainian *Schutzmannschaft* and the ‘Second Wave’ of Jewish Killings in Occupied Ukraine: German Policing at the Local Level in the Zhitomir Region, 1941–44,” *German History* 14:2 (1996): 168–192.

Information on the murder of the Jews of Samgorodok can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/II 204a AR-Z 188/67); DAVINO (R5022-1-176); DAZO (e.g., 1182-1-6); GARF (7021-54-1261); RGVA (1275-3-662, 1323-2-228); USHMM; VHF (# 23382); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, report of Feldkommandantur 675 in Vinnitsa, August 25, 1941.
2. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 188/67, vol. 1, pp. 252–255, statement of Elisabeth Akimovna Lifshitz, September 23, 1944; and vol. 1, pp. 221–224, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for Samgorodok, October 26, 1944.
3. VHF, # 23382, testimony of Semen Beger.
4. DAZO contains detailed records of the Gendarmerie and local police in Gebiet Kasatin in fond 1182-1; for those serving at the Samgorodok post, see especially files 1182-1-18, 22, and 32. Copies of material from DAZO can also be found at the USHMM (RG-31, Acc.1996.A.0269).
5. VHF, # 23382.
6. BA-L, ZStL, 204a AR-Z 137/67, vol. 2, pp. 214–250, closing report on the Kazatin investigation.
7. Ibid., ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 188/67, vol. 1, pp. 232–237, 242–245, statements of Feodosy Fyodorovich Repetazkiy on August 27, 1953, Grigorij Stepanovich Rapatzkiy on November 8, 1944, and Abraham Likandrovich Palamarchuk on February 27, 1970.
8. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 252–255, statement of E.A. Lifshitz, September 23, 1944. A list of the heads of 102 Jewish families in Samgorodok and the size of each family can be found in vol. 1, pp. 225–228.
9. Ibid., vol. 1, pp. 229–231, statement, of A.N. Vashchenko, June 2, 1953.
10. DAZO, 1182-1-6, p. 169, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Kasatin, Behrens to Gebietskommissar, September 30, 1942.
11. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 188/67, vol. 1, pp. 238–241, statement of Moshe Naumovich Berger, February 27, 1970.
12. DAZO, 1182-1c-2, SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer Kasatin, Behrens to Gend.-Posten in Samgorodok and Pogrebishche, July 6, 1942.
13. Ibid., 1182-1-6, pp. 157, 164–165.
14. Ibid., 1182-1-6, p. 163, report of Gendarmerie in Samgorodok, May 31, 1943.

SOBOLEVKA

Pre-1941: Sobolevka, village, Teplik raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Sobolevka, Rayon Teplik, Gebiet Gaissin, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Soboliivka, Teplyk raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Sobolevka is located 103 kilometers (64 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. In 1926, 1,168 Jews lived in the village, while 23 more Jews lived in the three surrounding villages of Brodok, Orlovka, and Velikaia Mochulka.¹ According to the available sources, only 434 Jews were still residing in Sobolevka in 1939 (7 percent of the total population).

The village of Sobolevka was occupied by German troops on July 28, 1941, five weeks after the start of their invasion of the Soviet Union. By this time a number of Jews had managed to escape to the east. When German troops arrived in Sobolevka, about 400 Jews were still residing in the village. The German occupiers named an administrative head (starosta) for the village and created a local police force. Between Octo-

ber 1941 and the liberation in 1944, the village was in Gebiet Gaissin, within Generalkommissariat Sbitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Kreisleiter Becher, and Leutnant Pösselt commanded the Gendarmerie forces in Gebiet Gaissin.²

At the beginning of September 1941, a ghetto was established in Sobolevka. However, it was not strictly guarded. The head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the ghetto was Ioyna Zhornitzkii. In April 1942, about 100 young Jews were selected and sent to a labor camp. The German forces, assisted by their collaborators, shot the rest of the ghetto inmates, about 300 people, on May 27, 1942. The shooting Aktion took place in a forest about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) from the village. Jews had dug the pits over the course of two months, thereby digging their own graves. Among those murdered were Rabbi Srul' Chechelnitzkii and his family.³

Due to the help of some of the local Ukrainian inhabitants, a number of Jews survived the Aktion. Among those who helped to hide Jews were the Moiko family, Anatoly Magera (who saved four individuals), and the Liakhovski family (which saved three people).⁴

SOURCES Information about the killing of the Jews of Sobolevka can be found in an article by L. Trachtenberg, “Sobolevka. Istoriia proshlogo bez budushchego (XVII–XX veka),” in *Istoki: vestnik Narodnogo universiteta evreiskoi kul'tury v vostochnoi Ukrainie, Khar'kov* (Kharkov, 1999), no. 4, pp. 124–135.

The files of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) investigations into the crimes committed by the German forces and their collaborators can be found in DA-VINO (R6022-1-43) and in GARF (7021-54-1237).

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NOTES

1. Trachtenberg, “Sobolevka,” pp. 124–126.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Trachtenberg, “Sobolevka,” pp. 132–133. According to the ChGK report (GARF, 7021-54-1237, p. 50), 382 Jews (90 men, 150 women, and 142 children) were shot on May 27, 1942. In reality, this figure probably represents all the Jews who were killed or died during the German occupation.
4. Trachtenberg, “Sobolevka,” p. 134.

STRIZHAVKA

Pre-1941: Strizhavka, village, Vinnitsa raion and oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Strishavka, Rayon Winniza-Land, Gebiet Winniza, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Stryzhavka, Vinnytsia raion and oblast', Ukraine

Strizhavka lies 10 kilometers (6 miles) north of Vinnitsa and was the location of a People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) prison. Before the war, more than 300 Jews lived in the village.

1570 ZHYTOMYR REGION

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Strizhavka on July 19, 1941, four weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. In the interim, a small number of Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men were drafted or volunteered for service in the Red Army. About 230 Jews remained at the start of the occupation.

In July through October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the village. It appointed a village elder, Vladimir Chaikun, and set up a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In late October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Strizhavka became part of Gebiet Winniza (Gebietskommissar: Gemeinschaftsführer Halle), which belonged in turn to the Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the same anti-Jewish measures employed in other German-occupied villages of Ukraine were introduced in Strizhavka: Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks in the form of the Star of David (later, a yellow circle); they were used for forced labor; they were prohibited from leaving the village; and they were systematically robbed and beaten by the Ukrainian police.

In the latter half of December 1941, 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) north of Vinnitsa, construction of Hitler's field headquarters, his Werwolf bunker, began. Security in the construction area was in the hands of the Reichssicherheitsdienst (RSD), Gruppe der Geheimen Feldpolizei, Sicherungsgruppe Ost, headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Friedrich Schmidt (deputy: SS-Untersturmführer Karl Danner). They began their activities by checking the nearby villages for the presence of Jews and Communists, who allegedly could present a threat to the building project.

In particular, while questioning the village elder of Strizhavka, they learned that the Jews of the village (221 people) had been resettled into a ghetto and were working on a kolhoz, though their work performance was inadequate. Schmidt and Danner stated that "as all the Jews are supporters of the Communist regime and represent a threat to the security of the German Army," they must be removed immediately from the construction area.¹ The "removal" of the Jews was carried out on January 10, 1942. Members of Organisation Todt (OT) and military servicemen created a mass grave by means of an explosion and filled it in after the Aktion. The participants in the Aktion were four officials of the Security Police from Vinnitsa (subordinated to the Sipo/SD chief there, Theodor Salmanzig), who did the actual shooting of the Jews, 20 officials of the Feldgendarmarie and Schutzpolizei, and all the members of Schmidt's group, who drove the Jews from their houses, brought them to the grave, and formed a protective cordon around the execution site.² On January 11, 1942, Ukrainian policemen arrested 12 more Jews in Strizhavka and moved them to the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp at Vinnitsa, where they were shot on January 12. Finally, on January 13, the village elder of Strizhavka handed over to Schmidt's group 3 more Jews, and SS-Untersturmführer Ernst Bunde passed them on to the SD in Vinnitsa.³

SOURCES Documents about the extermination of the Jews in Strizhavka can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/8466: Verfahren 204a AR-Z 122/68 gegen Friedrich Schmidt und Karl Danner); DAVINO (R6023-5-3, 4); and RGVA (1323-2-230).

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NOTES

1. RSD, Gruppe der Geheimen Feldpolizei, Sicherungsgruppe Ost, Unterkunft, December 24, 1941, in DAVINO, R-6023-5-3, pp. 64, 83, and R6023-5-4, pp. 99–103.

2. RSD, Gruppe der Geheimen Feldpolizei, Sicherungsgruppe Ost, Unterkunft, January 12, 1942, in RGVA, 1323-2-230, pp. 6–7; BA-L, B 162/8466, Verfahren 204a AR-Z 122/68 gegen Friedrich Schmidt und Karl Danner, Bd. II, pp. 299–318, Einstellungsverfügung (closing remarks), Munich, October 11, 1972.

3. BA-L, B 162/8466, Verfahren 204a AR-Z 122/68 gegen Friedrich Schmidt und Karl Danner, Bd. II, p. 304.

TEPLIK

Pre-1939: Teplik, town and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Gebiet Gaissin, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Teplyk, raion center, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Teplik is located 111 kilometers (69 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, a total of 1,233 Jews (or 23.5 percent of the total population) lived in Teplik. Between the end of June and July 26, 1941, when German forces arrived in the town, about 200 Jews managed to flee to the east. Several dozen Jewish men were drafted into the Red Army or voluntarily joined the military forces to defend the town. When German forces occupied Teplik, there were probably some 1,000 Jews still residing there.¹

After the town was occupied, a German military administration assumed authority in August 1941. In the fall of 1941, the temporary military authorities gradually handed over authority to a German civil administration. Until the liberation of the area in March 1944, Teplik and the Teplik Rayon belonged to Gebiet Gaissin in Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Kreisleiter Becher.² The Gebietskommissar in Gaisin was responsible for the Rayons of Gaisin and Dshulinka, as well as Teplik. Once the civil administration was firmly established, the Ukrainian auxiliary police was subordinated to the local Gendarmerie post in Teplik. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

A short time after the occupation of the town, the German authorities introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures in the area. The Jews had to wear white armbands with the Star of David on them in order to show in public that they were Jewish. They were also forced to carry out various kinds of physically demanding work. In December 1941, all the Jewish fami-

lies were forced to move to two streets behind the main street, bordered on one side by the local river.³ This area was called the ghetto, but it remained unfenced as an “open ghetto.” In total, about 1,000 people were concentrated in the ghetto, including Jews brought in from some of the neighboring villages, although there remained a separate ghetto in Sobolevka, within the Teplik Rayon.⁴ The local Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto.

During the winter of 1941–1942, Jews aged between 13 and 45 who were able to work had to clear snow from the streets of Teplik under the close supervision of the Ukrainian police. The Ukrainian policemen abused their position of power to beat the Jews and steal from them.⁵

At some time in the first few months of 1942, the Germans also established a Jewish forced labor camp (ZAL) in Teplik on the site of the former local club, which held 200 to 300 Romanian Jews from Bukovina, including women and children. Local policemen also guarded this camp, which was under the command of German Polizeimeister Otto Brettin in the summer of 1942.⁶

The food rations in both the ghetto and the labor camp were very poor, and many Jews died of disease and starvation. The local population was forbidden to give them food.⁷ Jews from the ghetto and the labor camp were made to work on the Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV construction project, building the road from Vinnitsa to Uman'. Some Jews from the ghetto had to perform agricultural work, while others worked as bakers or tailors or performed various cleaning tasks for the Germans.

In April 1942, approximately 250 Jews between the ages of 13 and 45 who were capable of work were transferred from Teplik to a labor camp in Raigorod, at that time under Romanian occupation.⁸ On May 26, 1942, most of the remaining Jews in the ghetto were shot by a detachment of the Security Police, with the assistance of the German Gendarmerie, the local Ukrainian police, and Lithuanian auxiliaries. Filipp Biberman recalls being woken at 4:00 A.M. and being brutally driven by men in uniform out of the ghetto to a site near a park about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) out of town. The elderly, the sick, and children were transported on carts. At the killing site, the Jews were forced to undress, and German SS men shot them with machine guns.⁹ According to one local witness, the forensic examination of the bodies conducted by the Soviet authorities after liberation revealed that many of the women and children had been buried alive in the mass grave.¹⁰

Biberman managed to escape on the way to the park and hid behind some bushes. Then he went to the house of some school friends, the Kazachinsky family, who gave him food and clothes but were too scared to hide him. He then hid in the cemetery but was spotted by some local inhabitants the next day and taken to the commandant's office. His mother, sisters, and blind grandfather were among those shot on May 26. From Teplik, he was sent to the forced labor camp in Raigorod and managed to survive the war.¹¹

After the Aktion on May 26, 1942, about 40 Jews, mostly carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers, remained in the ghetto.

Their families also survived the liquidation Aktion.¹² Most of these people were murdered in 1943. The inmates of the Jewish forced labor camp either were murdered together with those from the ghetto or were transferred to other labor camps.

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, the number of Jews murdered in Teplik was 769: 279 men, 330 women, and 160 children. Among these victims were apparently also 530 Jews (175 men, 280 women, and 75 children) who had been deported to Teplik from the Bukovina area. It is not clear whether the Jewish craftsmen murdered in 1943 are included in this figure.¹³

SOURCES Relevant publications on the Jewish community of Teplik and its fate during the Holocaust include Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 1302–1303. One testimony regarding the fate of the Jews of Teplik can be found in the collection of published testimonies edited by Boris Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Valentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 192–194.

Documents on the murder of the Jews in Teplik can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/2332); DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1237); USHMM (Acc. 1995.A.512); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, B 162/6169 (II 213 AR-Z 20/63 [Friese and others, DGIV], vol. 18), p. 3227.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. USHMM, Acc. 1995.A.512, personal testimony of Filipp Biberman, born 1931. According to Konrad Schweser, the German construction leader with the Organisation Todt in Teplik, the Jews were not concentrated into one quarter of the town until April 1942; “about four to six weeks before the mass shooting” at the end of May 1942, see BA-L, B 162/2332, pp. 33–57, statement of Konrad Schweser, January 18, 1962. However, Schweser himself did not arrive in Teplik until April 1942.
4. See the entry in this volume on Sobolevka.
5. Sophia Palatnikova, “This Can Never Be Forgotten,” in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 192–194.
6. BA-L, B 162/6169, pp. 3226–3246. This site will be dealt with in a later volume covering Jewish forced labor camps (ZALs) and other types of camps.
7. Ibid., B 162/2332, pp. 375–392.
8. GARF, 7021-54-1237, p. 101; Palatnikova, “This Can Never Be Forgotten,” pp. 192–194.
9. USHMM, Acc. 1995.A.512, personal testimony of Filipp Biberman.
10. BA-L, B 162/2332, p. 382, statement by the Jewish survivor Srulya Benevica Volosina, September 27, 1967.
11. USHMM, Acc. 1995.A.512; it is not clear if Biberman is referring to the German commandant or to the Ukrainian commandant or “warden” named in his testimony as Kozar. Biberman returned briefly to Teplik in 1945 and then lived in

the eastern regions of the Soviet Union before migrating to New York City in 1988.

12. Palatnikova, "This Can Never Be Forgotten," pp. 192–194.

13. GARF, 7021-54-1237, pp. 87–88, 102.

TERNOVKA

Pre-1941: Ternovka, village, Dzhulinka raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ternowka, Rayon Dshulinka, Gebiet Gaissin, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Ternivka, Bershad' raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Ternovka is located about 130 kilometers (81 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, there were 1,488 Jews living in the Dzhulinka raion, including the 212 Jews in Dzhulinka itself. Most of the remainder—about 1,276 Jews—lived in Ternovka.

Between late June 1941 and July 26, 1941, when the village was captured by German armed forces, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, while a few dozen men were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 1,000 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In August 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. From August 4, 1941 onward, the functions of the Ortskommandantur in the village were performed by Armeegefangenensammelstelle 15.¹ In late October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. From this date until liberation in March 1944, the village was incorporated into Rayon Dshulinka, in Gebiet Gaissin, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar was Kreisleiter Becher, and the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer was Leutnant der Gendarmerie Pösselt.² Subordinated to the latter were several Gendarmerie posts, including one in Ternovka. The Ternovka post was in charge of several Ukrainian policemen.

On August 19, 1941, on the instructions of the Ortskommandantur, the men of the 602nd Wachbataillon and the 414th Landeschützenbataillon searched the residences of Jews with the aim of confiscating weapons and "hidden property." No weapons were found, but they took clothing and nine bales of dried wool from the Jews. At about this time, the Ortskommandantur ordered the Jews to wear white armbands with the Star of David.³ Subsequently the Jews were made to wear yellow stars on the left side of their chests.⁴

In the summer, or more likely the fall of 1941, the German authorities established an open ghetto, or "Jewish residential district," in Ternovka. All the Jews were moved together onto one or two streets in the center of the village. The Jews were permitted to take with them some of their property, such as bed linens, cooking utensils, and furniture, but the rest had to be left behind. The Ukrainians were not allowed into the ghetto, and the Jews were not permitted to leave, except for work assignments, such as agricultural labor on the nearby kolkhoz. The Jews lived in crowded conditions, with several families in each dwelling.⁵

Despite the restrictions, local Ukrainians came to the ghetto and traded food for the Jews' remaining possessions, such as clothing or shoes. There were therefore few cases of starvation in Ternovka. There were no mass killings of Jews before the summer of 1942, but sometimes groups of about 10 Jewish men were taken away for forced labor and were subsequently shot. The Germans also robbed the Jews of any valuables. People were scared to go outside.⁶

In the winter of 1941–1942, able-bodied Jews under the guard of Ukrainian policemen were ordered to clear the snow from the roads and were beaten and humiliated while doing this. In the spring of 1942, a group of young Jews were transported to a labor camp. Several Jewish families ran away into the Romanian zone of occupation.

On May 27, 1942, the first large-scale Aktion was carried out against the Ternovka ghetto. German and Ukrainian police arrested and shot most of the Ternovka Jews in a pit in the forest, about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the village.⁷ After the Aktion was completed, the ghetto was reduced in size; it consisted of only a few residences near the market square. In these homes lived the Jewish artisans and their families and also those Jews who had been in hiding and thus escaped the mass shooting on May 27. For example, Raisa Teplitskaia remained hidden for three days without food and water; when she emerged she saw dead bodies lying everywhere. However, she was able to enter the remnant ghetto unmolested. Severe overcrowding, unsanitary conditions, and semi-starvation resulted in an outbreak of epidemic typhus. At the start of March 1943, the ghetto was liquidated. Only a few artisans were left alive. A small group of Jews survived by going into hiding.⁸ In total, in the years 1942–1943, at least 756 Jews of the village of Ternovka were killed.⁹

A few Jews survived from the Ternovka ghetto. They passed as non-Jews, went into hiding with the assistance of local Ukrainians, or fled to the Romanian-occupied zone, which by 1943 had become considerably safer than on the German side of the Bug River, where hardly any Jews remained alive.

SOURCES The Ternovka ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 1999), pp. 407–410; Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozbenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoj okkupatsii, 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 225.

Documents dealing with the destruction of the Jews of Ternovka can be found in the following archives: DAVINO; GARF (7021-54-1240); RGVA (1275-3-664); USHMM (RG-31.027); and VHF (# 445).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-664, p. 4, report of the Ortskommandantur in Ternovka, August 22, 1941.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. RGVA, 1275-3-664, pp. 4 and reverse side, report of the Ortskommandantur of Ternovka, August 22, 1941.

4. VHF, # 445, testimony of Roza Nemirovskaia; USHMM, RG-31.027, interview with Raisa Kivovna Teplitskaia.

5. VHF, # 445, Nemirovskaia states that the ghetto was made immediately after the Germans arrived. Testimony of Lidia Stepchuk-Goikhma, in Zabarko, *Zhivymy ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 407, dates it in the fall. USHMM, RG-31.027, Raisa Kivovna Teplitskaia dates it within six months of the occupation (probably sooner).

6. VHF, # 445.

7. Testimony of Grigorii Umanski, in Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoj okkupatsii, 1941–1944*, p. 225; VHF, # 445.

8. Testimony of Goikhma, in Zabarko, *Zhivymy ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 408–410.

9. I.S. Finkel'shtein, "Massovoe unichtozhenie evreev Podolii natsistskimi palachami v 1941–1944 gg.," in *Katastrofa i opir ukrains'koho evreistva, 1941–1944: Narvysy z istorii Holokostu i oporu v Ukraini* (Kiev, 1999), p. 76. The Jewish victims are listed there by name. The ChGK's figure of 2,400 murdered Jews (see GARF, 7021-54-1240) seems to be far too high unless this includes other Jews brought into Ternovka for labor, perhaps from the Romanian zone of occupation.

TSIBULEV

Pre-1941: Tsibulev, village, Monastyrishe raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Zybulew, Rayon and Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, Generalkommissariat Shitomir; post-1991: Tsybuliv, Monastyrysche raion, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Tsibulev is located about 120 kilometers (75 miles) east-southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, Tsibulev had 434 Jewish residents, 7.3 percent of the village's total population.

German armed forces occupied Tsibulev on July 22, 1941, just one month after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. By then, some of the local Jews had managed to escape eastward, fleeing ahead of the advancing German army. Other Jewish men were drafted or volunteered for service in the Red Army. About 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, the village was under the command of a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which created a village council headed by an elder. The military administration also established an auxiliary Ukrainian police force made up of local residents. In November 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village of Tsibulev was located in the Rayon and Gebiet Monastyrischtsche, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur ordered the village council to register and mark the local Jewish population, requiring them to wear arm-

bands with the Star of David. In addition, the Jews were used for forced labor.

The first killing of Jews occurred in late July 1941. At that time, all six members of the rabbi's family were publicly shot.¹ On September 25, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 carried out the first Aktion in the village in which 78 Jews were killed, according to the Einsatzgruppen report "for insolvency towards the Ukrainian population."²

No detailed information has been found about the living conditions of the Jews in Tsibulev during the occupation, but it appears that, as in the nearby Rayon center of Monastyrischtsche, the remaining Jews of the village were forced into some form of ghetto in the summer or fall of 1941. In any case, more than 200 Jews remained in the village throughout the winter of 1941–1942.

According to an account prepared for publication by Ilya Ehrenburg: "The winter of 1941–1942 was a severe one. The Germans forced unclothed women and barefoot old men to work." The same report mentions the murder of about 100 children, shot and buried in a pit not far from the village.³

The ghetto was liquidated on May 29, 1942, when all its inmates were herded to Monastyrishe to be shot there together with most of the remaining Jews of the Rayon. On the way there, 105 children and around 50 elderly people were taken out of the column and shot in the forest.⁴

According to the account prepared for *The Complete Black Book*, an eight-month-old baby boy was cast onto the road as the Jews were being transported away in the hope that he might be rescued, but a German smashed the baby's head against the side of a vehicle. Tamara Arkadevna Rozanova hid a Jew in her cellar, but the Germans burned down her house, and Rozanova was herself only spared by chance.⁵

SOURCES Relevant information can be found in the following publications: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), p. 28; "Cybulev," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 284.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Tsibulev can be found in the following archive: BA-BL (R 58/218).

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), Memory of the Holocaust Program, Cherkasy oblast', village of Tsibulev.

2. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 119, October 20, 1941.

3. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, p. 28.

4. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities in Ukraine.

5. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, p. 28.

ULANOV

Pre-1941: Ulanov, village and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Ulanow, Rayon center, Gebiet Kalinowka, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Ulaniv, Khmil'nyk raion, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Ulanov is located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) north-northwest of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 population census, 1,188 Jews were living in the village (70.5 percent of the total population). Altogether, in 1939 there were 1,754 Jews living in the Ulanov raion, with most of the others residing in the nearby village of Sal'nitsa.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a small part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate. At that time, some men of eligible age were conscripted into or enrolled voluntarily in the Red Army. More than 80 percent of the total pre-war Jewish population remained in Ulanov at the start of the occupation.

German armed forces occupied the village in July 1941. From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the village's affairs. The military commandant established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit recruited from among the local residents. The head of the Ukrainian police was a man named Lorenz. Initially there were seven men serving under him.¹

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur organized the registration of the Jewish population. The Jews were required to wear armbands on their sleeves and also to perform various forms of heavy manual labor. In August 1941, the German military administration recorded a village population of 1,200, a figure that included some 1,000 Jews.²

At the end of October 1941, authority passed into the hands of a German civil administration. Ulanov was incorporated into Gebiet Kalinowka, and Regierungsrat Dr. Seelmeier became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Kalinowka became part of Generalkommissariat Sbitomir.³ In November or December of 1941, a squad of four Gendarmes arrived in Ulanov from Germany and established a post initially under the command of Josef Rückl. The Gendarmerie also assumed control over the Ukrainian police, now renamed Schutzmannschaft-Einzeldienst, which consisted of about 30 men.⁴

At some time prior to December 1941, the German authorities in the village ordered the creation of a ghetto. One street was cordoned off in the center of Ulanov and was surrounded by barbed wire. Jewish families lived together in this confined area.⁵ Jews were prohibited from leaving the limits of the ghetto and were forbidden to buy goods from the local Ukrainians. Starvation quickly broke out in the ghetto as a consequence. In December 1941 and in the spring of 1942, more than 450 Jews from the village of Sal'nitsa were resettled into the ghetto.⁶ Probably in mid-May 1942, several hundred able-bodied Jews were taken in two groups to an

airfield site near Kalinovka, where a Jewish forced labor camp was established.⁷

The ghetto was liquidated on June 10, 1942.⁸ The Gendarmes in Ulanov received notice of the forthcoming Aktion, as they were instructed to prepare the necessary pits in advance. The Gendarmerie and local police, including forces brought in from Kalinovka under the command of the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Konrad Lange, rounded up somewhere between 600 and 1,200 people from the ghetto and escorted them to the Jewish cemetery opposite the Gendarmerie post on the edge of town. Here a small squad of the Security Police and SD, probably from Vinnitsa, carried out the shootings, while the Gendarmerie and local police guarded those waiting to be shot. The Gendarmerie based in Ulanov also carried out at least two subsequent shooting Aktions at the same site against smaller groups of Jews uncovered in and around the town over the ensuing weeks.⁹

Only a few Jews managed to survive the Ulanov ghetto by escaping and either hiding in the surrounding countryside or successfully concealing their Jewish identity.¹⁰

SOURCES Documentation regarding the annihilation of the Ulanov Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7364); DAVINO (R4422-1-39; R1683-1-10); GARF (7021-54-1234); RGVA (1275-3-662); VHF (# 29072, 29097, and 51316); and YVA. Microfilm copies of much of this documentation are also available at the USHMM.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675 (Abt. VII) in Winniza an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 25, 1941.

2. Ibid.

3. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

4. BA-L, B 162/7364 (ZStL, 204a AR-Z 134/67), pp. 135–138, statement of E. Heinisch on July 19, 1977.

5. Ibid.; Heinisch commented that the ghetto was in existence on his arrival in Ulanov in November or December 1941. Also see DAVINO, R4422-1-39; R1683-1-10.

6. GARF, 7021-54-1234, p. 4.

7. See the entry in this volume for the Kalinovka ghetto.

8. GARF, 7021-54-1234, pp. 1, 5.

9. Ibid., pp. 1, 5, 7. According to the findings of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), during the course of the three Aktions in June 1942, there were 3,285 Jews killed. This number appears to be significantly too high. E. Heinisch on July 19, 1977, stated that the number of Jews in Ulanov at the time could not have exceeded 600; see BA-L, B 162/7364, pp. 135–138.

10. VHF, # 29072, 29097, and 51316, video testimonies of Aleksandra S., Elizaveta G., and David F.

VCHERAIŠHE

Pre-1941: Vcheraishe, village and raion center, Zhitomir oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Wtscherajsche, Rayon center, Gebiet Rushin, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Vcheraishe, Ruzhyn raion, Zhytomyr oblast', Ukraine

Vcheraishe is located 57 kilometers (36 miles) southeast of Zhitomir. According to the 1939 population census, 494 Jews lived in the village (12.9 percent of the total population). Additionally, 131 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Vcheraishe raion.

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate, but others who tried to leave were forced back by the rapid German advance. At that time, men of military age were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. Around 400 Jews remained in Vcheraishe at the start of the German occupation.

The village was occupied by German armed forces in mid-July 1941. From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of Vcheraishe. The German military commandant set up a local administration and organized an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among the local villagers. Soon after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population. The Jews had to wear armbands bearing the Star of David.

Between August 10 and August 23, 1941, Einsatzkommando 5 "inspected" the village on two separate occasions. During the first Aktion, the German Security Police shot 22 Jews and Communists; during the second one, they shot an undisclosed number of Jews and activists.¹

At the end of October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Vcheraishe was initially incorporated into Gebiet Rushin, where Regierungsassessor Ganglhoff was the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Rushin formed part of Generalkommissariat Sbitomir, within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.² The head of the local police in Vcheraishe from April 1942 until December 1943 was the ethnic German Feldwebel in the Schutzmannschaft, Arthur Reglin. In July 1942, the Gendarmerie post in Vcheraishe had a nominal strength of four Gendarmes and 40 local policemen (Schutzmänner).³ By 1943 Vcheraishe had been transferred to the neighboring Gebiet Kasatin, where the police forces were commanded by Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer Behrens.

In the late summer or fall of 1941, all the Jews of Vcheraishe were forcibly resettled into an open ghetto (Jewish residential district) on one street. Some Jews were also brought into the ghetto from outlying villages. Several families were forced to share a single house. People had to sleep on wooden bunks or on the floor. The local physicians were forbidden to provide medical care to the Jews, and the local population was forbidden to sell them food. Despite some illegal bartering for food, people suffered from hunger in the ghetto, and in the overcrowded conditions diseases spread rapidly. The Jews were

routinely beaten by the local police as they were escorted daily out of the ghetto to various forms of manual labor.⁴

On May 1, 1942, a large Aktion took place in which about 200 Jews were brutally dragged out of their houses in the ghetto and were assembled by the German Gendarmerie and the local police. Once the skilled workers had been selected, these forces then escorted the bulk of the Jews to the ditches that had been prepared in the forest about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Vcheraishe near the village of Budenovka. Some Jews were shot on the way. Four Gestapo men (members of the Security Police and SD from Berdichev) then shot the Jews in a mass grave.⁵ Warned by the head of the village, Vladyk, some Jews managed to escape or hide during the Aktion, but most returned to the run-down houses of the ghetto a few days later, as they were unable to find refuge among the surrounding population.

A second Aktion was carried out about six weeks later when about 40 Jews were shot. After these two Aktions, around 40 artisans remained behind in the village. The Gendarmerie and local police continued to search for any escaped Jews in the surrounding countryside for many months afterwards. On June 9, 1943, Meister der Gendarmerie Strumpf in Vcheraishe reported that he had "resettled" (shot) 3 Jews who had been found wandering around in Rayon Wtscherajsche.⁶

For over a year, the remaining Jews continued to perform forced labor, registering every day with the police. At the end of July 1943, 6 of the Jews escaped.⁷ When this was discovered at the daily roll call, the Germans decided to kill most of the few Jews left. On July 31, 1943, the Gendarmerie post in Vcheraishe reported that the SD in Berdichev had "resettled" 24 Jews in the village.⁸ According to witness evidence, the Jews were shot by two Gestapo men at the cemetery.⁹ After this Aktion, only about 7 Jews remained. To prevent an escape, they were placed in cells and employed only for special work assignments. On one occasion Soviet partisans attempted to liberate them, but 4 of the 7 detainees were shot in the ensuing exchange of gunfire.¹⁰

Altogether about 300 Jews were killed in the village of Vcheraishe between July 1941 and August 1943, including more than 100 children.¹¹

SOURCES There is a brief testimony by Sofia Rozenberg, a survivor of the open ghetto in Vcheraishe, published in Boris Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto: Vospominaniia byvshikh uznikov Mogilev-Podolskogo getto* (New York, 1996), pp. 79–81.

Documents regarding the annihilation of the Vcheraishe Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R58/216); BA-L (ZStLII 204 AR-Z 128/67); DAZO (e.g., 1182-1-6); GARF (7021-60-289); USHMM (RG-31); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel and Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 58, August 20, 1941; and EM no. 60, August 22, 1941; Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 160, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 3, Berichtszeit 15.8.–31.8.1941, reported that

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22 functionaries, plunderers, and saboteurs were executed in Vcheraishche.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSSO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 8–9, KdG Shitomir, Gend. Hauptmannschaft Winniza, Hauptmannschaftsbefehl Nr. 15/42, July 11, 1942. For lists of the Wtscherajsche Schutzmäner, see also there 1182-1-15, p. 3, list dated June 1, 1942; and 1182-1-24.

4. Rabiner, *My rodomy iz getto*, pp. 79–81.

5. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67 Ganglhoﬀ (Rushin), vol. 1, pp. 139–140, confrontation between witness A.F. Smoljanskij and accused Arthur Reglin, December 30, 1951.

6. DAZO, 1182-1-6, Gend. Posten Wtscherajsche an SS- und Polizeigebietsführer in Kasatin, June 9, 1943.

7. Rabiner, *My rodomy iz getto*, pp. 79–81.

8. DAZO, 1182-1-6, Gend. Posten Wtscherajsche, July 31, 1943.

9. BA-L, ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 128/67 Ganglhoﬀ (Rushin), vol. 1, pp. 138–140.

10. Rabiner, *My rodomy iz getto*, pp. 79–81.

11. GARF, 7021-60-289, p. 3.

VINNITSA

Pre-1941: Vinnitsa, city, raion, and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Winniza, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Vinnytsia, capital, Vinnytsia oblast', Ukraine

Vinnitsa is located 198 kilometers (123 miles) southwest of Kiev. In 1939, there were 33,150 Jews living in the city (35.6 percent of the total population).

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, a part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. At the start of the German occupation, about 18,000 Jews remained in the city.

German armed forces occupied the city on July 19, 1941. In July and August 1941, a German military administration ran Vinnitsa. On July 22, 1941, the Feldkommandant appointed a local administration and an auxiliary police unit recruited from among local inhabitants. In October 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Vinnitsa had its own city administration (Winniza-Stadt) within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Fritz Margenfeld was named the city commissioner (Stadtkommissar).¹ A variety of police units, including Einsatzkommando 6 and parts of Einsatzkommando 5, along with local auxiliaries, provided the forces to back up German edicts.

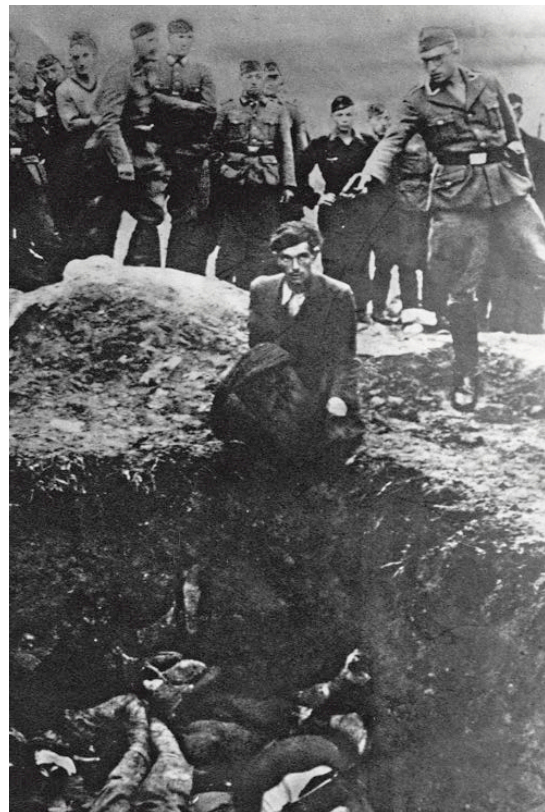
In the summer of 1941, the German occupying forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Vinnitsa. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was created. Jews were required to wear distinctive armbands bearing the image of the Star of David. They were forced into different forms of heavy labor for the German military forces and occupation administration. The Jews were not allowed to leave their place of resi-

dence without permission, had to surrender all items of value, and were prohibited from buying products at the market. The local Ukrainian residents of Vinnitsa were not permitted to have any contact with the Jewish population.

The main functions of the Judenrat were to assign Jews to different labor tasks, to maintain order within the community, and to look after the health and welfare of the Jewish population. But in the first days of its existence as an organization, the Security Police and SD liquidated the first Judenrat, and another one was established in its place. The military commandant's office also collected a massive fine or "tribute" from the Jews of the city.²

The German police conducted a series of mass executions in the summer and fall of 1941, first of Jewish Intelligentsia and then of ordinary Jewish citizens. In a large Aktion on September 19, the 45th Reserve Police Battalion shot more than 10,000 Jews. Then on April 15, 1942, about 4,800 Jews were shot in the Pianichanskii Forest. After this Aktion, approximately 1,000 Jews, all artisans, remained alive.

From among the Jewish artisans, the mechanics and technicians were immediately sent to Zhitomir,³ and those left



Waffen-SS and Reich Labor Service (Reichsarbeitsdienst) members look on as an Einsatzgruppe member prepares to shoot a Ukrainian Jew kneeling on the edge of a corpse-filled ditch near Vinnitsa, n.d. USHMM WS #64407, LC

behind were assigned to different groups for specialized labor tasks. About 150 Jews were resettled into a labor camp run by the Organisation Todt (OT), which was located in a former military barracks at the end of Krasnoarmeiskaia Street.⁴ Some 26 people who worked as cabinetmakers, as coopers, and as other specialists formed a work team at the carpentry factory. They lived in makeshift barracks, consisting of a former stable on the grounds of the factory.⁵

The majority of the Jewish artisans lived in the “ghetto,” which was located in a cordoned-off area on the former Komunisticheskaia Street.⁶ On May 15, 1942, 801 Jewish specialist workers were recorded in Vinnitsa.⁷ Among the crafts represented, there were tailors, dyers, and leather workers. There was also overcrowding in the ghetto, with at least 12 people per room. According to one witness, conditions were slightly better in the ghetto than in the other labor camps in Vinnitsa, as the beatings were less frequent and there was more food in the ghetto.⁸ The majority of the artisans were shot during the course of 1942 and 1943. For example, in March 1943 a number of elderly people were taken from the ghetto and shot; and the last remaining Jewish leather workers were “removed” in September 1943.⁹ A small group of Jews were able to escape and survived with the help of local Ukrainian residents in Vinnitsa.

At least 17 Jews in the city were members of the underground organization, including six Communists, three members of the Komsomol youth organization, and eight unaffiliated (nonparty). At least nine of these Jewish resistance fighters were killed in combat against the German occupying forces.¹⁰ A small number of Jews were able to flee into the forests and join the partisan resistance.

SOURCES The following publications contain information on the destruction of the Jewish population of Vinnitsa: *Vin-*



Undated portrait of rescuer Boris Bochkov (top right) and family. Bochkov hid two Jewish escapees from the Vinnitsa ghetto, Yuri Rakhman and his father, for which he was honored as Righteous Among the Nations in 1995 by Yad Vashem.

USHMM WS #57644, COURTESY OF JFR

nnychyna v period Velykoi Vitchyznianoï viiny 1941–1945 rr.: Khronika podii (Kiev, 1965); *Vinnychyna v roky Velykoi Vitchyznianoï viiny 1941–1945: Zbirnyk dokumentiv i materialiv* (Odessa, 1971); Y. Maliar and F. Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast': Katastrofa (Shoa) i sprotivlenie: Svidetel'stva evreev—uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia i podpol'noi bor'by* (Tel Aviv and Kiev, 1994); A. Kruglov, *Unichtozhenie evreiskogo naseleniia v Vinnitskoi oblasti v 1941–1944 gg.* (Mogilev-Podol'skii, 1997); Y.M. Finkel'shtein, *Kniga muzhstva i skorby (Evrei Vinnitsy v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny)*, vol. 1 (Vinnitsa, 1999); and A. Kruglov, “Unichtozhenie evreiskoi obshchiny Vinnitsy v 1941–1942 gg. v svete nemetskikh dokumentov,” *Istoki: Vestnik Narodnogo Universiteta Evreiskoi Kul'tury v Vostochnoi Ukraini*, no. 7 (2000). Information on the activities of the Ukrainian nationalist unit “Bukovyns'kyi Kurin'” can be found in V. Veryga, “Bukovyns'kyi Kurin' 1941,” in *Na zov Kyiva: Ukrains'kyi natsionalizm u II svitovii viini: Zbirnyk statei, spobadiv i dokumentiv* (Kiev, 1993).

Documents and testimonies regarding the extermination of the Jews of Vinnitsa can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58); BA-L (ZStL, 204 AR-Z 136/67); BA-MA (RW 30/201); DAVINO (R1312-1-13); GARF (7021-54-1236); RGVA (e.g., 1323-2-230 and 1275-3-662); TsDAVO (R3637-4-116); USHMM (RG-50.226); and YVA (M-33).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März, 1942, Berlin, March 13, 1942. After the war, Fritz Margenfeld was under investigation by the West German authorities for some time. The state prosecutor in Stuttgart discontinued the investigation on July 28, 1971.
2. RGVA, 1275-3-662, pp. 17–18, Feldkommandantur 675 (V), Winnitsa, report, August 14, 1941.
3. Testimony of Boris Pritsker, in Maliar and Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast'*, p. 105.
4. Testimony of Iurii Rakhman, in *ibid.*, p. 61.
5. Testimony of Pritsker, in *ibid.*, p. 105.
6. Testimony of Rakhman, in *ibid.*, p. 63.
7. DAVINO, R1312-1-13, p. 24.
8. Testimony of Rakhman, in Maliar and Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast'*, p. 63; USHMM, RG-50.226.0027, interview with Iurii Rakhman.
9. USHMM, RG-50.226.0027, interview with Iurii Rakhman; BA-MA, RW30/201, Military Economic Administration Vinnitsa, report for July to September, September 30, 1943.
10. Maliar and Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast'*, pp. 174–175.

VORONOVITSA

Pre-1941: Voronovitsa, village and raion center, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Woronowiza, Rayon center, Gebiet Nemirov, Generalkommissariat Shtomir; post-1991: Voronovytsa, Vinnytsia raion and oblast', Ukraine

Voronovitsa is located 21 kilometers (13 miles) southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 860 Jews lived in the

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village. An additional 70 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Voronovitsa raion.

Units of the German 17th Army occupied Voronovitsa on July 21, 1941. The majority of the Jewish population did not evacuate and remained in town. The speedy advance of the German troops caught them off guard, and even many of those who attempted to leave were forced to turn back and return home on foot. From July until October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. It established a local administration and formed an auxiliary police unit from among the local residents. A man named Lishchuk was initially appointed head of the Ukrainian police at the end of July 1941. In August 1941, there were 10 policemen under his command. At this time there were 2,000 residents of the village, including 1,000 Jews.¹

On October 20, 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. Voronovitsa was incorporated into Gebiet Nemirow. Kameradschaftsführer Sittig was appointed as Gebietskommissar.² In 1942, Leutnant der Gendarmerie Karl Heinz served as the SS- und Polizei-Gebietsführer in Nemirov.³ He had authority over the Gendarmerie post in Voronovitsa, commanded by a man named Lorenz. In the summer of 1942, the nominal strength of the Gendarmerie post was four Gendarmes and 40 local policemen (Schutzmänner).⁴

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in the village. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established, which was tasked with collecting a large "contribution" from the Jews. Jews were ordered to wear an armband bearing the Star of David and later a yellow circle on the front and back of their clothing. They were forced into daily hard labor: cleaning, cutting wood, and loading railway cars. The local police ensured that the Jews complied with German regulations and orders.

A ghetto was set up in August 1941 in the southwestern part of the village. It was not fenced off, but whenever a Jew ventured outside the two streets where the Jews were forced to reside, he or she would be severely beaten and sometimes killed. The policemen Kostiuk, Kondratiuk, Mudrik, and Kravchuk were especially zealous in abusing and torturing the Jews. A new head of the police, Panas Boiko, was appointed once the ghetto was established. Alongside these brutes, there were decent people among the local population, and some of them risked their lives to smuggle food to the inmates of the ghetto.⁵

On November 11, 1941, the Jews were herded into the building of the former Catholic church, where the Germans singled out about 30 Jewish craftsmen. The following morning, the remaining Jews were loaded onto trucks and taken to large silage pits behind the sugar refinery in Stepanovka, about 5 kilometers (3 miles) to the east of the village. The Jews were ordered to undress and were shot by a squad of five or so SD men using machine pistols. Among the victims were women, children, and the elderly. The mass shooting lasted the entire day. The policemen were drinking alcohol at the

execution site during the Aktion. According to investigative records, somewhere between 600 and 900 Jews were shot in this first Aktion.⁶

A number of Jews managed to escape from the Aktion into the forests and fields, but hunger and cold soon forced the fugitives to return to the ghetto, where they discovered that their houses had been plundered. The survivors of the massacre were placed in the few remaining houses. In the second Aktion, which took place on December 3, 1941, 380 Jews were murdered.⁷ Security Police officers from Einsatzkommando 5, which was based in Vinnitsa at this time, organized the two Aktions with the assistance of the local Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie. The commander of the Security Police detachment in Vinnitsa was Theodor Salmanzig.

On May 27, 1942, the ghetto in the village was liquidated. On that day, 270 Jews were shot in a ditch near the Stepanovka sugar refinery.⁸ This mass shooting was carried out by a detachment from the Security Police and SD post in Vinnitsa (consisting mainly of former members of Einsatzkommando 5), assisted by the Ukrainian police.

Some Jews who had escaped from the massacres in Generalkommissariat Shitomir in 1941 and the first half of 1942 passed through the Voronovitsa area in an effort to cross the Bug River and make it to the Romanian-occupied zone to the south (Transnistria), where conditions for Jews were comparatively better.⁹

In August 1942, a labor camp was created in the village. Around 500 Jews were taken there as prisoners, many of whom were from the ghetto in Mogilev-Podolskii, at that time under Romanian administration.¹⁰ The prisoners were utilized for building roads. On January 20, 1943, 280 Jews deemed unfit for labor were shot near the Machine-Tractor Station (MTS) in Stepanovka. On May 24, 1943, the prison camp was liquidated, and all the remaining prisoners (270 people) were killed.¹¹

SOURCES Documents regarding the extermination of the Jews of Voronovitsa can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL II 204a AR-Z 141/67); GARF (7021-54-1260); RGVA (1275-3-662); USHMM; VHF (# 30099); and YVA (M-33).

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NOTES

1. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 24, Feldkommandantur 675 (Abt. VII), Winniza, an Sicherungsdivision 444 (Abt. VII), August 25, 1941.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. DAZO, 1151-1-9, pp. 37-39, KdG Shitomir, Kommandobefehl Nr. 30/42, September 3, 1942.

4. BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 141/67, Abschlussbericht (Gebiet Nemirow), May 29, 1942, pp. 23-30; DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 8-9, KdG Shitomir, Hauptmannschaft Winniza, Hauptmannschaftsbefehl Nr. 15/42, July 11, 1942.

5. USHMM, letter dated May 10, 1998, concerning Iosif Katz, a survivor from Voronovitsa, received by Vadim Altskan at the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. Boiko is listed in German Gendarmerie documents as an NCO in the Schutzmannschaft; see DAZO, 1151-1-703, pp. 13–14. The existence of a ghetto is also mentioned by the *Report of the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies—Cemetery Project*, prepared in 1996, see www.iajgs.org.

6. GARF, 7021-54-1260, p. 6, gives the figure of 630. USHMM, letter dated May 10, 1998, concerning Iosif Katz, states that some 1,500 Jews were shot during the Aktion on November 12, 1941 (this figure is probably too high). BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 141/67, Abschlussbericht (Gebiet Nemirow), May 29, 1974, pp. 14–16. USHMM, letter dated May 10, 1998, concerning Iosif Katz—this source again gives a much higher number of victims of this Aktion.

7. GARF, 7021-54-1260, p. 6; BA-L, ZStL, II 204a AR-Z 141/67, Abschlussbericht (Gebiet Nemirow), May 29, 1974, pp. 14–16. USHMM, letter dated May 10, 1998, concerning Iosif Katz—this source again gives a much higher number of victims of this Aktion.

8. GARF, 7021-54-1260, p. 6.

9. VHF, # 30099, testimony of Elina Zinaida.

10. Testimony of D. Mann, in B. Rabiner, *My rodom iz getto: Vospominaniia byvsbikh uznikov Mogilev-Podol'skogo getto* (New York, 1996), p. 32.

11. GARF, 7021-54-1260, p. 7.

ZHITOMIR

Pre-1941: Zhitomir, city, raion and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Sbitomir, Rayon and Gebiet center, capital of Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Zhytomyr, raion and oblast' center, Ukraine

Zhitomir is located 136 kilometers (85 miles) west-southwest of Kiev. According to the 1939 population census, 29,053 Jews lived in the city of Zhitomir (30.6 percent of the total population).



Jews rounded up by the Wehrmacht to view the hanging of Mosche Kogan and Wolf Kieper on the Zhitomir market square, August 7, 1941. USHMM WS #17549, COURTESY OF DOW

On July 9, 1941, German forces of the 1st Panzer Division occupied the city, just 17 days after the German invasion of the USSR. During this intervening period, nearly 20,000 Jews evacuated the city. Eligible men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. No more than 7,000 Jews remained in Zhitomir at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military administration ran the affairs of the city. The Wehrmacht established a city authority in Zhitomir and an auxiliary Ukrainian police unit recruited from among the local residents.

At the end of October 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Zhitomir became the administrative center of Gebiet Sbitomir. Regierungspräsident Kurt Klemm became the Gebietskommissar. Gustav Magass was appointed as Stadtkommissar. SS-Oberführer Otto Hellwig served from November 1941 to May 1943 as the SS- und Polizeistandortführer in Generalkommissariat Sbitomir. In October 1942, Gauleiter Ernst Ludwig Leyser was appointed as deputy to the Gebietskommissar. Initially the head of the Schutzpolizei was Hauptmann Friedemann from the police administration in Dresden; he was succeeded by Hauptmann Netzbandt. They each served under Gotthilf Oemler, the Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (KdO) in Generalkommissariat Sbitomir.¹

From July to September 1941, Sonderkommando (Sk) 4a, commanded by SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, was the first of the various punitive German units to be deployed in the city of Zhitomir. Starting in October 1941, Einsatzkommando (Ek) 5 was deployed in the city. It was commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Herbert Meyer. In January 1942, part of Ek 5 was reorganized into the office of the Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (KdS) in Generalkommissariat Sbitomir, which was headed until the end of 1942 by SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Franz Razesberger.²

The first murders of Jews in Zhitomir were carried out by Sk 4a upon its arrival in the city. As of July 26, 1941, the unit had killed 363 persons; between July 27 and August 9, 1941, it killed 1,015 people; between August 10 and August 23, 1941, it killed 266 people. Of these 1,644 people who were murdered, the majority were Jews.³

At the end of July, Sk 4a shot 148 Jews “for robberies and engaging in communist activity.” Following that Aktion, Ek 5 killed another 74 Jews in the city.⁴ The best-documented anti-Jewish Aktion during this period was carried out on August 7, 1941, when 2 Jews were hanged and 402 Jews were shot in public.⁵

Further mass executions of Jews were carried out at the end of July 1941 by the 3rd Company of the 45th Police Reserve Battalion, commanded by Oberleutnant Berensen.⁶ Altogether, in the months of July and August 1941, around 2,000 Jews were murdered in the city of Zhitomir. Many of the mass shootings took place in a wooded area about 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) west of the city.

In the summer and fall of 1941, German forces implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Zhitomir. A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was established. Jews were ordered to wear

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distinctive armbands bearing the Star of David. Jews were also subjected to forced labor.

In August 1941, a ghetto or Jewish residential quarter was created in Zhitomir. A number of streets—Chudnovskaia, Ostrovskaia, and Katedral'naia—were cordoned off for that purpose, enclosing an area of roughly 500 by 400 meters (547 by 437 yards). Inside the ghetto area was the largest synagogue and also a former prison building, both of which were used to house Jews, together with a number of residences. The ghetto was overcrowded, with about 5 people sharing each room. Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto, and they were forced to perform the dirtiest and hardest work.⁷ According to one witness, the ghetto was fenced with barbed wire, but it was still possible for the inhabitants to barter items for food. The Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto, but Jews were able to leave its area for one or two hours per day, and some non-Jews also approached the fence.⁸ A local census taken on September 5, 1941, registered 4,820 Jews in the ghetto.⁹

On September 19, 1941, Sk 4a carried out a large-scale Aktion against the prisoners in the ghetto. The following details are taken from Einsatzgruppen report no. 106, dated October 7, 1941:

After the resettlement of the Jews into the designated area by the Feldkommandantur, at the behest of Sonderkommando 4a, the situation in the markets and other public places appeared to calm down considerably. At the same time, stubborn rumors began to die out and it appeared that the concentration of the Jews had largely denied communist propaganda its basis of support. Within a few days, however, it seemed that the mere concentration of the Jews without the establishment of a formal ghetto was not sufficient and in a short time the previous problems emerged again. Various offices reported complaints about the insolent behavior of Jews in their places of work. It was ascertained that the Jewish living quarter was the source for the dissemination of [communist] propaganda among the Ukrainians, which asserted that the Red Army would soon return to recover its lost territory. The local police was shot at from concealed positions both at night and in broad daylight. Furthermore, it was established that Jews were selling their belongings for cash and trying to leave the city in order to settle in Western Ukraine—that is—on territory that was already under a civil administration. All these developments were confirmed, but the Jews concerned were only rarely captured, since they had sufficient possibilities to escape arrest.

Therefore, on September 18, 1941, a meeting was convened with the Feldkommandantur on this issue, which concluded that the Jews of Zhitomir should be radically and completely liquidated, since the previous warnings and special measures had not produced a noticeable relief.

On the evening of September 18, 1941, the Jewish quarter [*Judenviertel*] was encircled by 60 Ukrainian policemen. At 4:00 A.M. on September 19, 1941, it was cleared. The transport operation was carried out using 12 trucks, which had been made available by the Feldkommandantur and also the city administration of Zhitomir. Once the transport was completed, and the necessary preparations [digging the grave] had been completed with the assistance of 150 prisoners, 3,145 Jews were registered and executed.¹⁰

Charna Glibovskaya, who managed to escape from the ghetto at this time by telling one of the guards she was a Ukrainian from a children's home who had only come to look at the ghetto, says that the Germans duped the Jews before the Aktion by announcing that they would be resettled to the west for a better life. She understood, however, that the Germans wanted to kill the Jews and made good her escape.¹¹

In October 1941, Ek 5 and the Ukrainian police shot the majority of those who had remained alive in the ghetto after the Aktion on September 19. On October 5, 1941, a local newspaper reported that 340 Jews were still living in the city of Zhitomir.¹² These people were doctors, craftsmen, and skilled laborers, resettled into a special labor prison camp.¹³ In April 1942, a few hundred artisans and skilled laborers from Vinnitsa were added to the population of the camp.¹⁴ At least a part of the workforce was responsible for the building of Himmler's field command post (Feldkommandostelle Hegewald), which was located a few kilometers south of the city. In the second half of 1942, the majority of the prisoners in the labor camp were shot. On August 19, 1942, 237 Jewish laborers were executed.¹⁵ At the end of October and November 1942, there were two separate mass shootings: during the first one, approximately 60 people were killed, and during the second, around 300 Jews. These shootings were carried out by an SS-Feldgendarmarie company under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Karl Gillner, which was stationed in Zhitomir from May to November 1942.¹⁶ In 1943, all the remaining Jewish artisans—only a small group by this time—were murdered.

From September 15, 1941, to November 26, 1943, a number of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were incarcerated in what was designated as POW prison camp no. 358 (*Kriegsgefangenen-Stammlager* 358), located in Boguniia, on the western outskirts of the city of Zhitomir. The prison population included Jews and Communists or those suspected of being Jews and Communists. SD forces separated them from the rest of the POWs and regularly took them out to be shot in the nearby woods. Friedrich Buck, former chauffeur in the prison, testified that during the first few months of the prison's existence, he and five or six other chauffeurs transported 1,200 to 1,400 Jewish POWs to the site, where they were shot.¹⁷

Of the 7,000 or so Jews trapped in Zhitomir by the German occupation in July 1941, only around 20 people are known to have survived to be liberated by the Red Army in December 1943.

SOURCES Relevant publications include Wendy Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2005), pp. 73–74, 79–83, which deals especially with anti-Jewish violence in Zhitomir during the first months of the occupation, including photographs of the public hanging of two Jews; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 31 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), Lfd. Nr. 694 (hereafter cited as *JuNS-V*); Y. Maliar (Israel) and F. Vinokurova, eds., *Vinnitskaia oblast': Katastrofa (Shoa) i soprotivlenie. Svidetelstva evreev—uznikov kontslageri i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia i podpol'noi bor'by* (Tel Aviv and Kiev, 1994); and Bernd Boll and Hans Safrian, “Auf dem Weg nach Stalingrad: Die 6. Armee 1941/42,” in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1995), pp. 260–296, here pp. 270–272.

Documents on the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Zhitomir can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214-18); BA-L (e.g., II 204 AR-Z 8/80); DAZO; GARF (7021-60-294); RGVA (1323-2-121); USHMM (e.g., RG-50.226*0009); TsDAHOU (57-4-225); VHF (e.g., # 31379); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSOH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March, 13, 1942. See also the memorandum (Schnellbrief) of the Security Police chief of October 25, 1941, in RGVA, 1323-2-121, pp. 33–34; and the Abschlussbericht d. Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen Ludwigsburg betr. Kommandeur der Sipo u.d. SD in Shitomir, February 20, 1980 (BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 8/80, Bd. I).

2. Abschlussbericht betr. Kommandeur der Sipo u.d. SD in Shitomir, February 20, 1980 (BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 8/80, Bd. I).

3. Ereignismeldungen UdSSR nos. 30, 37, 38, 47, 58, 86 (BA-BL, R 58/214-217). See also the Ukrainian-language newspaper *Ukrains'ke slovo* (Zhitomir), August 3, 1941. It included an announcement that the shooting of Jews in the city was a reprisal for alleged Jewish arson attacks. GARF, 7021-60-294, p. 116.

4. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 58 (BA-BL, R 58/216). Details about the operations can be found in Schwurgericht bei dem Landgericht in Darmstadt, Urteil vom November 29, 1968 in der Strafsache gegen Kuno Callsen u.a., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 31, Lfd. Nr. 694.

5. See Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Reiss, *The Good Old Days: The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators & Bystanders* (New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1997), pp. 107–117.

6. On these murders, see the report of January 3, 1942, by Major Rösler, commander of the 528th Infantry Brigade, in *Prestupnye tseli—prestupnye sredstva* (Moscow, 1968), pp. 108–112.

7. VHF, # 31379, testimony of Michail Blioumenfeld; GARF, 7021-60-164; 7021-60-294, p. 118; TsDAHOU, 57-4-225. A German translation of the Soviet protocol dated

February 5–16, 1944, can be found in BA-L, B 162/5681, pp. 129–137.

8. VHF, # 31379.

9. GARF, 7021-60-294, pp. 83, 118. See also report of Feldkommandantur 197, September 20, 1941, which reads: “In almost all the territories of the Feldkommandantur there are no Jews left. Only in Zhitomir, there still remained approximately 5,000 Jews on September 18, assembled in a ghetto.” NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 34, fr. 46.

10. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 106, October 7, 1941 (BA-BL, R 58/218). On the details of this operation, see Schwurgericht bei dem Landgericht in Darmstadt, Urteil vom November 29, 1968 in der Strafsache gegen Kuno Callsen u.a., in *JuNS-V*, vol. 31, Lfd. Nr. 694.

11. USHMM, RG-50.226*0009, interview with Charna Glibovskaya.

12. Abschlussbericht d. Zentralen Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen Ludwigsburg betr. Kommandeur der Sipo u.d. SD in Shitomir, February 20, 1980 (BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 8/80, Bd. I, p. 73).

13. BA-L, 204 AR-Z 1301/61, p. 4, statement of Karl Kietzmann, September 9, 1960, as cited by Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building*, p. 234.

14. Testimony of the witness Boris Pritsker, in Maliar and Vinokurova, *Vinnitskaia oblast'*, p. 105.

15. *Khronika Kholokosta v Ukrainie* (Dnepropetrovsk: Tsentr “Tkuma”; Zaporozh'e: Prem'er, 2004), p. 117.

16. Abschlussbericht betr. Kommandeur der Sipo u.d. SD in Shitomir, February 20, 1980 (BA-L, II 204 AR-Z 8/80, Bd. I, pp. 75–76).

17. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

ZHORNISHCHE

Pre-1941: Zbornishche, village, Il'intsy raion, Vinnitsa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Shornishchtsche, Rayon and Gebiet Illinzi, Generalkommissariat Sbitomir; post-1991: Zbornyshche, Vinnytsia raion and oblast', Ukraine

Zhornishche is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) east-southeast of Vinnitsa. According to the 1939 census, 375 Jews resided in all the villages of the Il'intsy raion, but most lived in Zhornishche.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the village on July 16, 1941. The German occupation forces appointed a village headman (Gordienko), a chairman of the village council (Kozovenko), and two Ukrainian policemen. The village headman was sentenced to 15 years in a corrective labor camp after the war, and the chairman of the village council was killed by partisans in February 1943.

In August 1941, the German Security Police organized the first Aktion against the Jews in the village. They arrested and shot 13 Jewish men, including one teenage refugee from Vinnitsa.¹

In September 1941, a ghetto was created in the center of the village, to which all Jews were relocated—both local residents and refugees from Vinnitsa. The ghetto was guarded by the local policemen, the village headman, and the chairman

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of the village council to ensure that nobody left without permission. Jews had to wear armbands with a blue Star of David on a white background. A certain number of Jews were assigned to various work tasks, mainly in agriculture, each day.²

In October 1941, authority was transferred from the military to a civil administration. Zhornishche was located in Gebiet Illinzi, within Generalkommissariat Shitomir. The Gebietskommissar in Il'inty was Kreisleiter Heinrich Scholdra. The Gendarmerie post in Il'inty was commanded by Meister Andreas Wagner. The German Gendarmerie also took over responsibility for the Ukrainian local police, which was renamed the Schutzmannschaft.

On May 27, 1942, a team of Security Police assisted by the Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft surrounded the Zhornishche ghetto at night. These forces rounded up all the Jews living there (some 200 to 300) and escorted them to Il'inty. Here they were shot, together with Jews from the Il'inty ghetto, in pits just outside the town.³

Some Jews evaded the roundup by hiding, including Boris Yavorsky and two of his siblings, who hid in an attic. The three children (aged 8, 13, and 15) survived with the help of non-Jewish friends, the Vershigora family. They received shelter and food in return for work and were not betrayed to

the authorities. Subsequently they moved to the Romanian-occupied area, where they became inmates of the ghetto in Pechera. Only about 20 Jewish residents of Zhornishche are known to have survived.⁴

SOURCES The testimony of Boris Yavorsky concerning the fate of the Jews of Zhornishche has been published in the volume edited by Boris Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (Portland, OR: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 385–387. The ghetto in Zhornishche is also mentioned in A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: “Karavella,” 2001), p. 116. A brief article on the Jewish community in Zhornishche can be found in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, “Epos,” 2000), 4:453.

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, p. 385 (testimony of Boris Yavorsky).
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 386.
4. Ibid., pp. 386–387; GARF, 7021-54-1243, pp. 45, 99.

KIEV REGION



A member of Sonderkommando 4a orders Jews to undress at the killing site at Lubny in Generalkommissariat Kiew, October 16, 1941. Piles of clothing can be seen in the background; from the Johannes Hähle photographic collection.
USHMM WS #83022, COURTESY OF A-HIS

KIEV REGION (GENERALKOMMISSARIAT KIEW)

Pre-1941: Kiev and Poltava oblasts, Ukrainian SSR, Soviet Union; 1941–1943: initially Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), then from September 1941 (west bank of the Dnieper River) or from September 1942 (east bank of Dnieper) Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; 1943: Kiev and Poltava oblasts, Ukrainian SSR; 1954: Kiev and Poltava, and part of Cherkassy oblasts; 1991: Ukraine

Generalkommissariat Kiew (GkK) was a German administrative unit carved out of the pre-war Soviet Kiev and Poltava oblasts. In contrast to western Ukraine, especially Distrikt Galizien, where a number of ghettos existed until the summer of 1943, in the eastern and central regions of Ukraine almost all ghettos were destroyed in the fall of 1941 or the spring and summer of 1942. Judging from available sources, such as Soviet and German wartime situation reports, war crimes trial records, and survivor testimonies, it appears that the longevity of the ghettos in GkK depended on the will and whim of the local German military and civil administrations. In accordance with Nazi guidelines, German officials aimed at the total annihilation of Soviet Jews as the most dangerous racial and political enemy of the Third Reich. However, they retained a substantial degree of autonomy in administering the ghettos, depending on the specific needs of the army and the civil administration. In localities with large Jewish populations, the Germans created some “work ghettos,” whose inmates were temporarily deployed to perform a variety of agricultural and construction tasks. Other Jewish ghettos became merely “death traps,” serving as collection points until the killing units arrived in the locality or the local administration had the manpower necessary to complete the mass murders.

Before the Soviet invasion of Poland in September 1939, Kiev oblast’ contained the largest Jewish community of the Ukrainian SSR—297,409 people including 224,236 in the city of Kiev. In Poltava oblast’, the majority of Jews—32,740 out of 46,928—also lived in the largest urban centers of Poltava and Kremenchug. Since Soviet contingency plans prioritized the evacuation to the east of industries, specialists, and state and party functionaries, large numbers of Jews who belonged to these categories and their families were evacuated in the summer and early fall of 1941. From Kiev alone, about two thirds of the Jewish population—approximately 140,000 people (of the total 335,000 evacuees)—left in July to September of 1941. Similarly, between 50 and 70 percent of the Jews in Poltava oblast’ were also evacuated.¹

In late September 1941 in the area west of the Dnieper River, the German military was replaced by the civil administration. Kiev oblast’ on the west bank was named the Generalkommissariat Kiew and became a part of the Reichskommissariat Ukraine (RKU). The east bank of Kiev oblast’ and the entire Poltava oblast’ remained under the jurisdiction of the Rear Area Army Group South until September 1942, when it was also transferred to the RKU. The Generalkommissar in Kiev supervised the district chiefs, or Gebietskom-

missars. Military commandants performed similar functions in the east bank area. On both sides of the Dnieper, low-level administrative posts were filled mainly with reliable Ukrainians, Russians, and some ethnic Germans.

The blueprint for ghettoization in the Soviet Union was the “Brown Folder,” which defined ghettos as the means to separate Jews from the rest of the population and exclude them from social, cultural, and economic life. In his May 1941 provisional guidelines, Alfred Rosenberg, who would head the Ministry of the Occupied Territories, proposed that Jews in the occupied territories were to be removed from all spheres of public life, concentrated in ghettos, and forced to work on construction and in agriculture. All Jewish property was to be registered and confiscated. After the war broke out, several additional decrees stipulated the deployment of Jewish men and women aged 14 to 60 into labor details and the supervision of the ghettos by the Jewish Councils and the Jewish Police.² The RKU government issued similar instructions to create “Jewish residential districts” in localities with over 200 Jews. The inmates of the ghettos were to be prohibited from leaving the premises without a special authorization. Although on paper Jewish laborers were to be paid for their services, special taxes were levied on Jews so that most payments came back to the RKU treasury.³

The German military matched the initiative of its civil counterparts. In mid-July 1941, the commander of Rear Area Army Group South Karl von Roques ordered the creation of Jewish ghettos and the formation of labor details deployed for clearing rubble and repairing streets; Jewish communities were to pay for transportation and equipment. Jewish religious services were prohibited and religious artifacts confiscated. Further directives of the German High Command specified the racial definition of a “Jew” according to Nazi regulations, authorized the registration and labeling of the Jews, and ordered the formation of Jewish Councils.⁴

The ghettoization process began with the registration and labeling of Jews by the Ukrainian town and village councils. The councils also assisted the military in selecting ghetto sites, often in large vacant structures, such as stables, abandoned factories, schools, or military barracks. The size of the ghettos varied according to the Jewish population. Thus, in a large pre-war Jewish enclave in Belaia Tserkov’, up to 4,000 Jews from the town and vicinity were ghettoized in the former military barracks and a brick factory. In Zvenigorodka, the ghetto was confined to several houses, where at least 2,000 Jews from the district and Jewish refugees from western Ukraine and

Belorussia shared a very limited space. In the east bank area, one of the largest ghettos was in Kremenchug, where about 3,000 Jews were confined to a military barracks. In contrast to many ghettos in GkK, the military commandant in Kremenchug ordered the ghetto fenced, to prevent “Jewish sabotage.” In Piriatin, the ghetto grew from several hundred to 1,500 Jews by the spring of 1942, while in Kobeliaki, around 100 older Jews were confined to a ghetto on the town’s outskirts. Since the Kobeliaki military commandant expected that the ghetto would soon be liquidated, food rations for the inmates were drastically reduced.⁵

That the Germans expected the ghettos to exist only for a short time is attested to by their makeshift character—most were unfenced, and in a number of places, like Lokhvitsa, most Jews were allowed to live in their pre-war houses and apartments. Some small Jewish communities of several dozen individuals were not ghettoized. As long as the German Army needed Jewish skills, a number of blacksmiths, tailors, and shoemakers were allowed to operate outside the confined areas. In total, during the second half of 1941, about 25,000 Jews were confined within about 26 ghettos in GkK and the area then still under military control; of these ghettos, 7 had already been liquidated by the end of the year.

Life in the ghettos was strictly regulated by numerous restrictions and prohibitions. Entering and leaving the premises was forbidden without a special permit. The Ukrainian police set up checkpoints, and those who avoided ghettoization or were apprehended outside the ghetto were shot as a deterrent for others. Maintaining contact with non-Jews was also prohibited, although in Zvenigorodka ghetto inmates were occasionally allowed to go to the local market to buy food. The Germans appointed Jewish elders, selected from the Jewish intelligentsia or religious Jews. For example, in Uman one of the councilmen was Dr. Rabinovich (later hanged by the Germans), while in Belaia Tserkov’ some members were of more modest social origin. The elders were to oversee the collection of valuables, money, and furniture from ghetto inmates, and in the countryside, of cattle and poultry. In several large ghettos the administration ordered the formation of a unit of Jewish Police to enforce order among the inmates. Survivors from Uman recall the policewoman Ida Teplitskaia-Shkodnik, who in an attempt to curry favor with the Germans was especially brutal to her fellow Jews.⁶

Day in the ghetto began with the formation of labor details. Under the supervision of the Jewish Councils, all inmates with the exception of small children were dispatched for various forced labor tasks. In the summer and early fall of 1941, Jews in Piatigory, Boguslav, and Skvira collected the harvest and were initially remunerated with grain. In Chernobyl’, the ghetto residents had to collect scrap metal; in Ol’shana, they cleaned fuel containers and repaired roads; in Cherkassy and Korsun’ Shevchenkivskii, they cleaned the streets, and in Tarashcha and Boguslav, they repaired roads. Some Jewish women cleaned German officers’ quarters and worked as maids in German hospitals. In winter, the Jews in the ghettos were deployed to clear snow from roads. In some localities, Jewish

laborers received rations of flour or millet or between 200 and 400 grams (7 and 14 ounces) of bread a day; nonworking family members received only 200 grams. Because of German food rationing and corruption among Ukrainian councilmen, by late September or early October 1941, most ghettos faced starvation.⁷

The threat of death was an ever-present psychological burden as the Germans used reprisals for any alleged “transgressions” such as unfulfilled work quotas or violation of the curfew. For example, in Uman, when fire broke out in a German office, several Jews were publicly hanged. The conditions became especially precarious as the first cold set in. Since the ghettos had no heat or electricity, and water had to be brought in from neighboring wells, they were soon hit by a wave of epidemics. Fearing the spread of disease, in some ghettos, such as Ol’shana and Kremenchug, the Germans allowed Jewish medical personnel to attend the inmates. In Zvenigorodka, Dr. Starosel’skaia performed complicated surgery without necessary medication or equipment. Jewish dentists also treated Jews and German officials.⁸

Robbery, economic exploitation, and deliberate starvation of Jews served as the tools for the ethnic “remapping” of Ukraine. In the fall of 1941, the killing units returned to the localities they had “combed” in the summer. On September 21, local rabble and German soldiers carried out a vicious pogrom in Uman, sparked by antisemitic agitation in the town newspaper *Uman’skyi holos*, which caused Einsatzkommando (Ek) 5 to complain that it had disrupted their “planning” for the orderly mass execution of the Jews. Once order was restored, on September 22 and 23, Ek 5 and the Order Police murdered about 1,400 Uman Jews. A group of young Jewish women was spared and deployed to help build roads using grave stones from the Jewish cemetery.⁹

The attitudes of the Ukrainian population towards the ghettos varied from direct participation in German anti-Jewish policies to providing assistance and shelter. All survivors and eyewitnesses stress the deadly role of the Ukrainian police, which in many localities supervised the ghettos and robbed the Jews at will. These policemen hunted Jews who escaped or avoided ghettoization, and they participated in mass executions with or without German supervision. Ukrainian guards also constantly harassed and brutalized Jewish labor details. Some Ukrainians and Russians entered ghettos to barter food for Jewish valuables, money, or furniture, enriching themselves at the expense of their former neighbors. In other instances, Ukrainians moved into empty Jewish apartments.¹⁰ On the other hand, Jewish survivors admit that they managed to escape death because of the bravery and kindness of individual Ukrainians and Russians. Galina Klotsman, who posed as a Ukrainian in Piatigory, recalls that local Ukrainians were helpful to her, while one policeman warned the ghetto inmates of impending Aktions. The Kremenchug mayor, Synytsia Verkhov’skyi, provided Jews with false baptism certificates and was later executed by the Germans.¹¹

The speed of destruction in the eastern regions of the USSR impeded organized resistance in the ghettos. In contrast

to Lithuania, Belorussia, and Eastern Galicia, where the traditional communal structures of Jewish communities contributed to resistance, in Soviet Ukraine it came mainly in the form of individual acts of defiance. Thus, in GkK some Jews escaped from the ghettos and joined the partisans, while others avoided registration, wandered in the countryside, or posed as Ukrainians or Russians.¹²

In comparison to Reichskommissariat Ostland (the Baltic regions and Belorussia), where economic considerations forced the German civil administration to slow down the killing, there was very little letup in the annihilation in GkK. Problems with food supplies in urban centers—largely due to Soviet scorched-earth policies and German requisitions—caused the German administration to reduce food rations for non-Germans, especially Jews. Those incapable of work were deemed “superfluous mouths” and were marked for annihilation. Once the ghettos in GkK had been robbed of their financial means, they outlived their usefulness. Hence, racial and economic considerations drove the resumption of mass murder.

With the assistance of the German military and civil administration, Einsatzgruppe C and the forces of the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) Friedrich Jeckeln (from late October, Hans Prützmann) continued their murderous task. The same ruse was used to allay the fears of the victims—public announcements indicated that the ghetto inmates would be “resettled,” and Jews had to have warm clothing and provisions for several days. Between the end of September and the end of November 1941, Jeckeln organized several mass shootings in Kremenchug, which resulted in the deaths of 8,000 Jews from the city and its environs. By December, the majority of Jewish males had been murdered on both sides of the Dnieper River. In small localities the Ukrainian police did the killing or escorted victims to the collection points for mass executions.

The “second sweep” in central and eastern regions of Ukraine began in the winter, rather than in the spring of 1942. It appears there was no specific instruction from Berlin to resume the annihilation, but local German officials took the initiative as soon as they had the means to carry it out. Again, the “Jewish question” was viewed as the core of economic and security issues. Thus, the administration expected that the murder of Jews would solve the food-supply problem. In addition, since Jews were allegedly fomenting resistance, their murder would nip the growing partisan movement in the bud. In January 1942, Einsatzgruppe C and the HSSPF murdered Jews from the ghettos in Zolotonosha, Zen’kov, and Kremenchug as part of an antipartisan sweep through the region. Military commandants stimulated the killing by requesting that the “Jewish problem” within their jurisdiction be solved as soon as possible. Simultaneously, the killing also accelerated in the RKU area. In the first months of 1942, Gendarmes and Ukrainian police shot more than 500 Jews in Belaia Tserkov’ in several Aktions.¹³

In early spring, RKU headquarters ordered the “removal” of all Jews not employed in German enterprises and construction. On March 1, Reichskommissar Erich Koch authorized Prützmann to take over the “Jewish affairs.” He was assisted



SS-Obergruppenführer Hans Prützmann, Higher SS and Police Leader of Ukraine-Russia South (right), reports to Reichsführer-SS Heinrich Himmler, ca. 1942.

USHMM WS #60411, COURTESY OF JAMES BLEVINS

by the Chief of the Security Police and SD in the RKU Max Thomas. Thomas ordered all the Sipo/SD commanders to report how many Jews were still in the areas of their jurisdiction and to begin their liquidation.¹⁴ On March 17, 800 Jews from the Shpola ghetto were murdered, and 500 younger inmates were sent to construction camps near the town, where they had perished by December 1942. The German administration also spared 13 Jewish tailors and blacksmiths, who survived until 1943. The destruction of the Uman ghetto proceeded along similar lines. On April 22, 1942, the Germans selected able-bodied inmates for the so-called Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV (DG IV) strategic construction camps. The remaining Jews were shot.¹⁵ In the Zvenigorodka ghetto the Germans concentrated approximately 1,500 Jews from the town and the district. In June they separated out able-bodied individuals who were assigned to the DG IV. Jewish craftsmen and their families were also temporarily spared until August 1943. The remaining 1,375 people were shot in a nearby meadow.

Thus, by the summer of 1942 the majority of the ghettos had been destroyed. Nevertheless, the German civil administration still retained small Jewish enclaves, disregarding Heinrich Himmler’s insistence on the total liquidation of Jews. In

Uman, Gebietskommissar Rudiger still maintained a small remnant ghetto until the winter of 1942–1943.

Most surviving Jews were employed on the DG IV. The SS transferred those exempted from the ghetto massacres to a series of construction camps, including those in Smel'chintsy, Budishche, and Nemorozh along the road. The ghetto in Buki was converted into a labor camp, once those incapable of work had been shot and other working Jews were brought in. Conditions in the camps were similar to life in the ghettos except that the numbers of inmates were smaller, and those incapable of work were immediately liquidated. The inmates lived in barracks, pigsties, and stables; wore armbands with the Star of David; and were prohibited from leaving the quarters. Receiving rations of only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread daily, they labored 14 hours a day felling trees or working in stone quarries. Constantly brutalized by Ukrainian and Lithuanian guards, the camp inmates were subjected to frequent "selections," and those no longer able to work were shot. The last Jewish labor camps were liquidated in the summer of 1943.

The history of the Jewish ghettos in the GkK reveals the relatively decentralized Nazi ghettoization policies. Although the ghettos served German economic interests by performing a wide variety of work tasks, the availability of Ukrainian laborers rendered them only temporarily useful and hence easily discarded. In addition, the smaller numbers of Jews remaining here—in comparison with Weissruthenien or Wolhynien und Podolien—made the killing process easier and quicker. Hence, the existence of the ghettos depended entirely on the will of the local civil or military administration. Simultaneously with the liquidation of the ghettos, the local German administration—the DG IV is the case in point—retained small numbers of Jewish laborers to be killed more slowly through work (*Vernichtung durch Arbeit*). Very few Jews survived from these ghettos, leaving only a fragmentary picture behind for historians.

SOURCES There are very few secondary sources dealing specifically with the fate of the Jews and particularly with German ghettoization policies in GkK. Of the many books and articles on the Holocaust in Ukraine, the following include key information on this specific region: Dieter Pohl, "The Murder of Ukraine's Jews under German Military Administration and in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008); Yitzhak Arad, "Alfred Rosenberg and the 'Final Solution' in the Occupied Soviet Territories," *Yad Vashem Studies* 13 (1979); Wendy Lower, "Facilitating Genocide: Nazi Ghettoization Practices in Occupied Ukraine, 1941–1942," in Eric J. Sterling, ed., *Life in the Ghettos during the Holocaust* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2005), pp. 120–144; Norbert Müller, "Massenverbrechen von Wehrmachtorganen an der sowjetischen Zivilbevölkerung im Sommer/Herbst 1941," *Zeitschrift für Militärgeschichte* 8:5 (1969); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*

before and during the Holocaust (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001); Il'ja Alt'mann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, eds., *Vagne katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraine: Sviditel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzats-Heim, Israel: Izdatel'stvo "Beit lokhamei kha-gettaot," 1998); F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaut. Kholokost: Sviditel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996); Samuil Gil', *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit: O katastrofe i geroinizme evreev v gorodakh i mestechkakh Ukrainy* (New York, 1995); I.M. Liakhovskii, *Perezhivshie katastrofy: Spassbiesia, spasiteli, kollaboranty, martirolog, sviditel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Kharkov-Jerusalem, 1996); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DACHO; DAKiO; DAPO; GARF; NARA; RGVA; TsDAHO; TsDAVO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-11.001M, reel 92, p. 15.
2. *Trial of the Major War Criminals before the International Military Tribunal (IMT)* (Nuremberg: n.p., 1947), 25:302–303.
3. TsDAVO, 3206-2-30, pp. 13 verso, 23 and 23 verso.
4. NARA, RG-242, T-315, reel 2217, fr. 111.
5. USHMM, RG-11.001M.15 (Osobyi Fond # 1323), reel 80, p. 18; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 7, fr. 499–504, reel 33, fr. 000391; TsDAVO, KMF-8-2-157, vol. 2, p. 75; TsDAHO, 166-3-242, pp. 36–39; DAPO, r-3388-1-688, pp. 5–6.
6. USHMM, RG-31.018 (SBU), reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 24, 32, 33–35.
7. USHMM, RG-50.226, # 0015, 0022, 0024; USHMM, SBU, reel 3, case. 19896, vol. 3, p. 14, reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 24, 32, 33–35; TsDAHO, 62-9-4, pp. 157–158, 166-3-351, pp. 1–3, 166-3-256, p. 1, 166-3-242, pp. 38–39; DACHO, r-51-1-20, p. 10.
8. TsDAVO, KMF-8/2/157, t. 1, p. 244; USHMM, RG-50.226, # 0016 and 0032; DAKiO, 4758-2-20, p. 30; USHMM, SBU, reel 7, case. 7250, p. 97.
9. NARA, RG-242, T-175, reel 234, fr. 976, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 119; USHMM, SBU, reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 19–20, 163.
10. USHMM, SBU, reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 33–35, reel 5, case. 4452, vol. 2, pp. 7–24; TsDAHO, 166-3-242, pp. 38–39.
11. NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 7, fr. 499–504; TsDAVO, KMF-8-2-157, vol. 2, pp. 75, 238, 4620-3-236, p. 144; TsDAHO, 62-9-4, pp. 157–158, 166-3-242, pp. 37–39; DACHO, r-51/1/20, p. 10; USHMM, RG-50.226, # 0015.

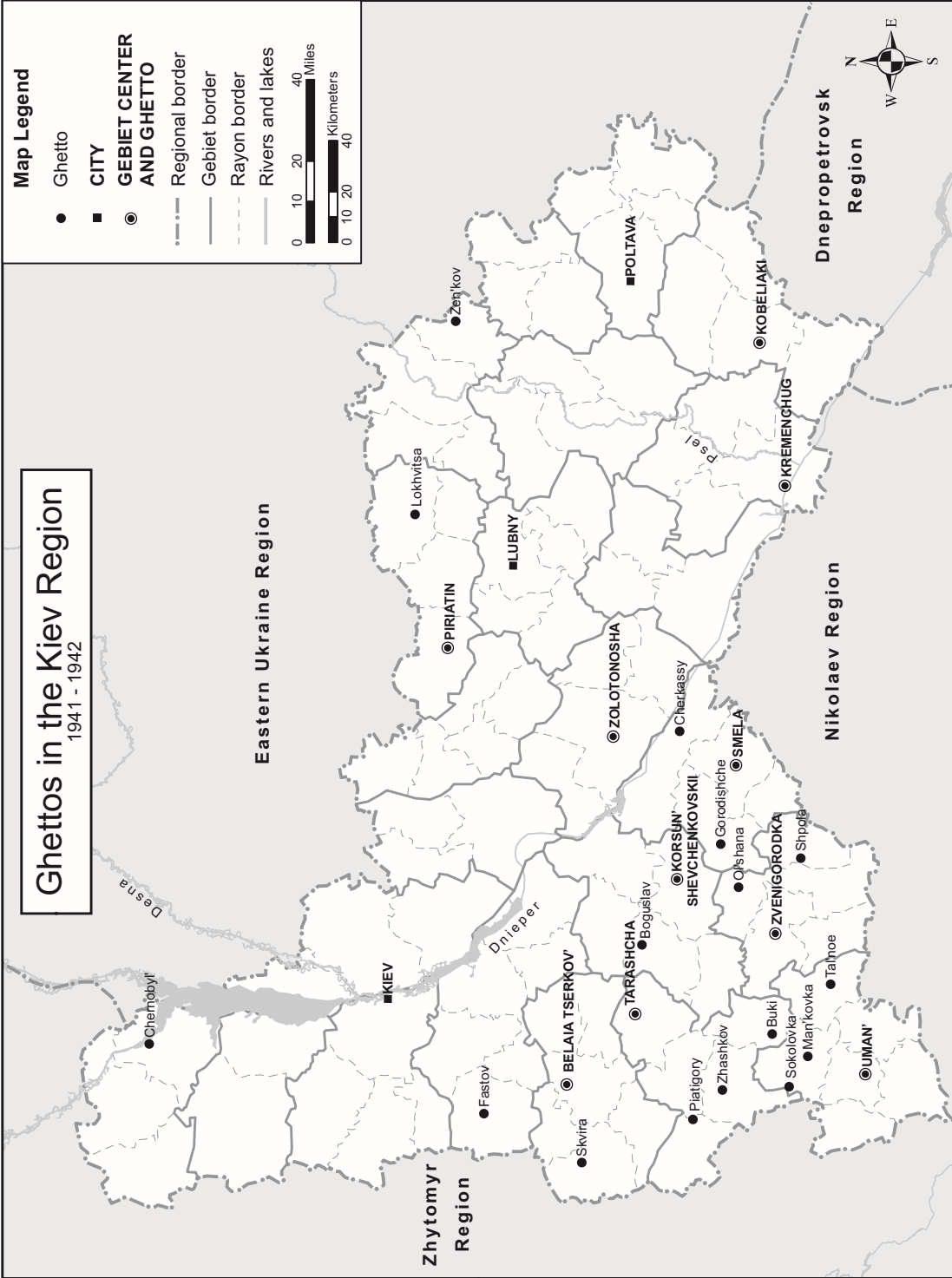
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12. NARA, RG-242, T-175, reel 233, fr. 2722586, EM no. 94; T-501, reel 33, fr. 391, reel 349, fr. 483, 486, 569–570, 611.

13. NARA, RG-242, T-175, reel 235, fr. 2722675, EM no. 156; T-501, reel 7, fr. 415, 424; USHMM, RG-48.004M (VHAP), reel 1, fr. 100899, 100950, 100955; BA-L, B 162/6650, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen die Angehörigen des Polizeiregiments 'Süd,' Bd. 2, pp. 376–377.

14. TsDAVO, 3206-2-3, pp. 12–14; 3206-2-14, pp. 5–6; KMF-8-2-175, pp. 99, 148; NARA, RG-242, reel 39, fr. 000259-000261, 000267-000268; BA-L, B 162/1570, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Robert Mohr, Bd. 1, p. 56.

15. USHMM, SBU, reel 4, case. 1747, pp. 15–17, 21; TsDAHOU, 1-22-269, vol. 1, p. 118, 166-3-351, p. 3; GARF, 7021-65-241, pp. 46, 87–88; TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, p. 7.



Ghetto in the Kiev Region
 1941 - 1942

Boundaries as of August 1942

BELAIA TSERKOV'

Pre-1941: Belaia Tserkov', town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1944: Belaja Zerkow, Gebiet and Rayon center, Generalkommissariat Kiew; post-1991: Bila Tserkva, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Belaia Tserkov' is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) south-southwest of Kiev. On the eve of the German invasion, there were 9,284 Jews in Belaia Tserkov'.

After the beginning of the Soviet-German war, approximately half of the Jews of the city managed to evacuate. On July 16, 1941, the Germans captured Belaia Tserkov', and in August the military administration ordered Jews from the town and the surrounding area to move into a ghetto located in the former Red Army military barracks and in a brick factory with no light or water. Between 2,000 and 4,000 ghetto residents were registered and made to wear identifying insignia. A council of elders was established to assign Jews to various work tasks, especially collecting the harvest, street cleaning, and tree felling.¹ On August 19–20, 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a shot adult Jews near POW Camp (Stalag) 334; about 500 people were murdered. On August 22, under the supervision of a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a, led by SS-Obersturmführer August Häfner, the Ukrainian police shot 90 Jewish children. The murder of the children marked the beginning of the attempt to exterminate the Jews in the USSR.² According to some sources, there was another mass shooting of about 3,000 Jews in the city at the beginning of September 1941.³

In October 1941, the military administration was replaced by a German civil administration. Belaia Tserkov' was integrated into Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine. The district commissar (Gebietskommissar) in Belaia Tserkov' was Regierungsrat Dr. Stelzer. Among the leaders of the Ukrainian police in Belaia Tserkov', notorious for his brutality, was Anton Spak.⁴

Several hundred Jews remained in the ghetto and were deployed to clean the streets. The Ukrainian police closely supervised the Jews and guarded the ghetto. In January 1942, the Gendarmes and Ukrainian police carried out a further Aktion, capturing about 30 old and sick Jews, who were taken to the site near the POW camp and shot. In February, in a large sweep through the district, the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police escorted several hundred Jews to the town where they were placed in two prisons. Then 100 Jews incapable of work were shot. On March 15, 1942, the Gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police murdered about 500 Jewish men, women, and children at Stalag 334. The last large killing Aktion took place in early May, when the Security Police from Belaia Tserkov', the Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police murdered all the remaining Jews in the ghetto. As late as September 1943, the Germans were bringing Jews from the surrounding countryside to Belaia Tserkov', where they were murdered.⁵

SOURCES Background information on the Jewish community of Belaia Tserkov' can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 99. On the murder of the Jewish children, see Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess, eds., *"The Good Old Days": The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York: Free Press, 1988), pp. 138–151; and Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), pp. 598–605.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-06.025*02, "War Crimes Investigation and Prosecution," microfiche 19, file 312; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 7, fr. 000886, reel 33, fr. 000886; F.D. Sverdlow, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiat. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii*. (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996), pp. 51–52.

2. NARA, RG-242, T-175 (Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 86, September 17, 1941), reel 233, fr. 27222379; T-501, reel 7, fr. 000886; USHMM, RG-06.025*02, "War Crimes Investigation and Prosecution," microfiche 19, file 312; BA-L, AR-Z 269/60, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen die Angehörigen der Sk 4a, Bd. 34, pp. 374–375.

3. Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005), pp. 108–111.

4. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. On the activities of Anton Spak, see *Their True Face* (Kiev: Ukraina Society, 1978), pp. 50–57. Spak retreated with the Germans and later migrated to Canada.

5. USHMM, RG-06.025*02, "War Crimes Investigation and Prosecution," microfiche 2, file 133; microfiche 19, file 311, 312; USHMM, RG-31.018M, Acc.2002.97, "Postwar war crimes trials related to the Holocaust," reel 3, spr. 56527, ark. 14, 24, 62rev-63, 106rev-107; BA-L, B 162/3785, p. 174 (AR-Z 11/61, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen die Angehörigen der Sk 4b); BA-L, B 162/2643, pp. 1849–1857, 2645, p. 3175 (AR-Z 21/58, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen Erich Ehrlinger u.a.); BA-L, B 162/5999 (AR-Z 1.163/62, Ermittlungsverfahren gegen die Angehörigen der Dienststelle des KdS Kiew), p. 4.

BOGUSLAV

Pre-1941: Boguslav, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Boguslaw, Gebiet Korsun, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Bobuslav, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Boguslav is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) south-southeast of Kiev on the Ros' River. According to the 1926 population census, the Jewish population of Boguslav was 6,432 out of a total of 12,140.¹ The 1939 census reported the figure of 2,230 Jews, or 25.53 percent of the total population. An additional 195 Jews were residing in what was then the Boguslav raion (including 125 Jews living in the villages of Medvin).² This considerable decline in the Jewish population was due mainly to the migration of Jews to other areas.

The German Army occupied Boguslav on July 26, 1941, about one month after the German attack on the Soviet Union. Following the invasion, most Jews managed to evacuate eastward, while those eligible for military service were either drafted or volunteered for the Red Army. Only around 15 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Boguslav under German occupation. In the summer and fall of 1941, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. The German military administration set up a town council and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. The latter took an active part in the anti-Jewish Aktions.

In November 1941, the military authorities were replaced by a German civil administration. Boguslav was incorporated into Gebiet Korsun, where Gemeinschaftsführer Lomann was appointed as Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Korsun was in turn part of Generalkommissariat Kiev in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.³

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the newly established Jewish Council (Judenrat) to register all the local Jews. They were forced to wear a distinctive armband on their sleeves and were employed for forced labor tasks (including road maintenance and construction work).

In August 1941, the German occupying forces conducted a first Aktion in Boguslav, in which 45 people (including some Jews) were seized and shot as Communists and Soviet activists.⁴ On August 15–20, 1941, the military commandant ordered all the Jews to be resettled into one area of the town (Proval'naya Street), which was declared to be a "Jewish residential district."⁵ This open ghetto was liquidated one month later, on September 15, when a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 shot 322 Jews and 13 Communists.⁶

In September 1941, German forces shot 49 Jews in the village of Medvin I and more than 100 in Medvin II.⁷ These shootings were probably carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5.

According to one source, some Jewish skilled workers remained in Boguslav after the Aktion in September 1941; the Germans shot them in July 1943, shortly before retreating.⁸ A few Jewish children from Boguslav managed to survive the occupation in hiding.

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Boguslav can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAKiO (4758-2-5); GASBU (79-1-937); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. TsDAVO, 505-1-395, p. 40.

2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 20, 56.

3. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

4. DAKiO, 4758-2-5, p. 3.

5. GASBU, 79-1-937, p. 100 (intelligence report: "On the history of the anti-Jewish pogroms carried out by the German fascists in Boguslav in 1941").

6. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 119, October 20, 1941, published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozbenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), p. 92.

7. DAKiO, 4758-2-5, pp. 63–65.

8. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 165.

BUKI

Pre-1941: Buki, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon center, Gebiet Taraschtscha, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Buki is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) north-northeast of Uman'. According to the census of December 16, 1926, there were 1,114 Jews living in the entirety of what then was the Buki raion.¹ According to the 1939 census, 546 Jews (17.64 percent of the population) lived in Buki, with 183 more residing in the villages of the Buki raion: in total, 729 Jews. The reduction of the raion's Jewish population by one third in the years 1927–1938 was due to the death of Jews during the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and to the resettlement of Jews to other towns and villages.

German armed forces occupied Buki on July 19, 1941, almost one month after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, some of the Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men eligible for military service were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army. About 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Buki at the start of the occupation.

In the period from July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office governed the town. The German military administration set up a town council headed by a starosta, or elder, and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force made up of local residents.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Buki became part of Gebiet Taraschtscha, which in turn was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiev in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.²

Soon after Buki was occupied, the German military commandant's office ordered the local authorities to organize the

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registration and marking of the Jews with an armband displaying a six-pointed star, as well as their use for various types of forced labor.

As early as August 1941, German security forces conducted a first Aktion in Buki, in which they shot several dozen Jews. The shooting took place near the Gornyi Tikich River on the southeastern outskirts of the town. Today a granite monument stands there, bearing this inscription: "To the victims of fascism from their mourning relatives and countrymen." In the fall of 1941, members of the Jewish "intelligentsia" were shot in a livestock burial ground 100 meters (about 328 feet) northwest of the village. Those Jews still alive, along with the Jews of the surrounding villages, were forced to move into a ghetto set up at a former landowner's country house, about 1.5 kilometers (0.9 miles) from the center of Buki. In May 1942, those Jews who were unable to work were shot, while those deemed fit for work labored in a quarry. Additional Jews capable of work were brought in to the Buki labor camp from Man'kovka and Piatigory in the second half of April 1942.³ This work camp was liquidated in 1943 when the Germans shot all the remaining prisoners.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto and forced labor camp in Buki can be found in the Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat' Holokosta," report on the village of Man'kovka, Cherkasy oblast'; and in A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 51.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Vsesoiuznyi perepys liudnosti 1926 roku* (Moscow, 1929), 12:210.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat' Holokosta," Cherkassy District, village of Man'kovka; directive issued by the Man'kovka Area Council No. 41 from March 18, 1999; and Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.*, p. 51.

CHERKASSY

Pre-1941: Cherkassy, city, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Tscherkassy, Rayon center, Gebiet Smela, Generalkommissariat Kiev; post-1991: Cherkasy, oblast' center, Ukraine

Cherkassy is located 26.5 kilometers (16.5 miles) south of Zolotonosha. In 1939, there were 7,637 Jews living in Cherkassy.

The Germans captured Cherkassy on August 22, 1941, but the majority of the Jewish population was evacuated or managed to flee before the German advance. Much of the city was

destroyed in the fighting. The military administration organized the registration of the Jews and ordered them to wear distinctive armbands. The military administration also ordered the establishment of a Jewish Committee consisting of three people that was to take responsibility for the actions of the Jewish community and to pass on German instructions. Initially the Jews still lived in their homes or with relatives if their houses had been occupied or destroyed. Jews ages 15 to 65 were taken by the Ukrainian police to perform menial labor tasks. Some Jews were also robbed by the Ukrainian police.¹

In October 1941, a German civil administration assumed authority from the military. Cherkassy became a Rayon center in Gebiet Smela. The Gebietskommissar in Smela was Regierungsrat Schwehr.²

On October 10, 1941, the German authorities ordered the creation of a ghetto ("Jewish residential district") near the customs office within two days, which was supervised by the Ukrainian Rayon administration and the Ukrainian police. The ghetto consisted of just three streets. Approximately 900 ghetto inmates, including women and children, were deployed for cleaning the streets. In November or December 1941, the Security Police from Kiev (Einsatzkommando 5), the Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police liquidated the ghetto, murdering the majority of its Jewish inhabitants. According to some sources, there was a further Aktion in early 1942, when almost all of the remaining Jewish population was murdered.³

With the help of a friend, the Ukrainian woman Aleksandra Shulezhko organized a Children's Home for orphans, which by the end of 1942 had collected about 100 children, some 25 of whom were Jews. She saved the Jewish children by changing their names and nationalities when registering them. The Red Army recaptured the city on December 14, 1943. Yad Vashem honored Shulezhko as a person "Righteous Among the Nations" for her work.⁴

SOURCES Information on the Holocaust in the city of Cherkassy can be found in the following archives: DACHO (R49-1-20); DAKiO (4758-2-52); GARF; TsDAHOU (166-3-256; 62-9-4); USHMM (RG-50.226); and YVA (M-31, M-33, and M-52).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0024, interview with Dmitri Mironenko.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942, p. 25.
3. TsDAHOU, 166-3-256, p. 1; 62-9-4, pp. 157–58; DACHO, R49-1-20, p. 10. DAKiO, 4758-2-52, p. 43 reverse side, indicates that the liquidation of the ghetto took place in November 1941 with more than 300 victims. See also Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia*

of *Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 246–247.

4. YVA, M-31. See also the useful article by Esther Rechtshafner, “Research on Cherkassy,” available at www.jewishgen.org/Ukraine/Kiev/cherkassy/cherkassy_3.htm.

CHERNOBYL'

Pre-1941: Chernobyl', town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschernobyl, initially in Gebiet Nowo-Schepelitschi, then Gebiet Chabnoje, Generalkommissariat Kiev; post-1991: Chernobyl', Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Chernobyl' is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) north-northwest of Kiev.

In 1926, the Jewish population of Chernobyl' numbered 3,165 (39 percent of the total population). According to the 1939 census, there were 1,783 Jews living in Chernobyl' (21 percent of the population).¹ The significant decline in the Jewish population by almost 1,400 in the years 1926–1939 is explained by the resettlement of Jews to other areas, as well as by the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and political repression.

German armed forces occupied the town on August 25, 1941, two months after the invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this time, many Jews were evacuated or fled to the east, and reservists born between 1905 and 1918 were called up for military service. Less than one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Chernobyl' on the arrival of the German army.

In the period from the end of August until November 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military administration created a raion council (*uprava*) and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force, recruited mainly from local residents. Between September 12 and 14, 1941, units of the 1st SS-Brigade conducted security operations in the region between Chernobyl' and Ovruch, in which they killed 437 Jews. At this time, however, most remaining Jews capable of work and their families were left alive in the larger towns.²

In November, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Chernobyl' initially became part of Gebiet Nowo-Schepelitschi, within Generalkommissariat Kiev, in Reichskommissariat Ukraine. Subsequently it became part of Gebiet Chabnoje. The Gebietskommissar in Nowo-Schepelitschi and then in Chabnoje was Nachwuchsführer Venediger.³

Soon after the town's occupation, the German commandant ordered the council to register and mark the Jews (they were made to wear armbands). In October 1941, by order of the Ortskommandantur, a small “Jewish residential area” (open ghetto) was created in the town, and all the Jews were forcibly moved into it. Jews from the ghetto were compelled

to perform forced labor. Among the assigned tasks was the collection of scrap metal.

German security forces liquidated the ghetto on November 19, 1941,⁴ by shooting all the Jews. More than 500 Jews were killed in total.⁵ The Aktion was probably carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Chernobyl' can be found in the following archives: DAKiO (4758-2-52); GARF (7021-65-241); and USHMM (RG-31.002M and RG-31.018M).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 20.

2. Martin Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoah: Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939–1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), p. 205. The Brigade also reported that the Ukrainian police (Miliz) had assisted in the arrest of Jews, handing them over to the German army.

3. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; and USHMM, RG-31.002M, reel 3, 3206-2-19, p. 34.

4. The date of the shooting is taken from the inscription on the memorial erected at the site of the execution. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 248, however, dates the Aktion as occurring on November 7, 1941.

5. DAKiO, 4758-2-52, p. 43 reverse.

FASTOV

Pre-1941: Fastov, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Fastow, Rayon center, Gebiet Wassilkow, Generalkommissariat Kiev; post-1991: Fastiv, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Fastov is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) southwest of Kiev. According to the 1926 census, there were 3,545 Jews living in Fastov.¹ The 1939 census recorded a Jewish population of 2,149, or 10.37 percent of the total.² This considerable decrease in the number of Jews in the period from 1926 to 1939 was due largely to the resettlement of Jews to other areas.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on July 22, 1941, one month after the invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this intervening period, a large part of the Jewish population managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the USSR, and men liable for military service entered the Red Army as conscripts or volunteers. Around 40 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

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In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military administration created a town council and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force consisting of local residents, which took an active part in the anti-Jewish measures.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Fastov became part of Gebiet Wasilkow. The Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Döhner.

Soon after the start of the occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered the newly created Judenrat to organize the registration and marking of the Jews (they were required to wear armbands), as well as the collection of a monetary "contribution" and the use of the Jews for various types of forced labor. In August 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a conducted the first Aktion in the town, in which its members seized and shot 261 Jews between the ages of 12 and 60 and one "terrorist." Before the detachment's arrival, the Wehrmacht (a detachment of the Geheime Feldpolizei and members of a Landeschützenbataillon) had already shot 50 Jews and about 30 snipers (partisans).³

The remaining women, children, and old people in the town were then moved into an open ghetto. The Germans liquidated the ghetto on October 6, 1941, by shooting all the Jews. The victims included not only the local Jews but also Jewish refugees from Zhitomir and Jews from the Jewish kolkhoz in the village of Veprik.⁴ In total, up to 1,000 Jews were murdered in the town in the period from August to October 1941.⁵

A few Jews from Fastov managed to survive by going into hiding or assuming a non-Jewish identity.⁶

SOURCES Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217); BA-L (B 162/5641-72); DAKiO (4758-2-49); USHMM; VHF (# 42017, 47413, and 47453); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. TsDAVO, 505-1-395, p. 40.
2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 20.
3. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 80, September 11, 1941; see also BA-L, 114 AR-Z 269/60, Concluding Report, December 30, 1968.
4. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), "Memory of the Holocaust" Program: Kiev oblast'.
5. According to lists of names, 120 people were killed in the town, including 85 Jews (DAKiO, 4758-2-49, pp. 5-6), while information from the town soviet indicates that 172 people were killed (*ibid.*, p. 4).
6. VHF, # 42017, testimony of Mikhail Roitman, who assumed a non-Jewish identity; # 47413, testimony of Boris Goldschmidt, who went into hiding with the aid of non-Jews;

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

and # 47453, testimony of Galina Kuchinskaia, who also went into hiding.

GORODISHCHE (IMENI G.I. PETROVSKOGO)

Pre-1941: Imeni G.I. Petrovskogo (former Vorontsovo-Gorodishche), town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1943: Petrowskovo, (later renamed Woronzowo-Gorodishche), Rayon center, Gebiet Smela, Generalkommissariat Kiev; post-1991: Gorodishche, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Gorodishche is located 107 kilometers (67 miles) northeast of Uman'. According to the 1939 census, 570 Jews (4 percent of all residents) were living in the town. At that time, it was a settlement named after G.I. Petrovskii.

At the start of August 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, German armed forces occupied the town. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Approximately 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Gorodishche at the start of the occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The Ortskommandantur established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force. The head of the Ukrainian police was a man named Nosar', and a certain Zhuk served as his deputy.

In December 1941, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. Gorodishche was incorporated into Gebiet Smela, which in turn became part of Generalkommissariat Kiev in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.¹

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military ordered the registration and marking of all Jews. The Jews had to wear distinguishing armbands, and they were forced into various kinds of heavy physical labor, such as road construction and repair.

In the fall of 1941, by order of the German military administration, a ghetto was created in Gorodishche. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto and were not allowed to buy goods from Ukrainians. As a result, the inmates of the ghetto suffered from hunger and disease.

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on March 29, 1942. All the remaining Jews in Gorodishche, around 300 Jews altogether, including some from nearby villages, were driven into a courtyard by the Gorodishche police. At dawn the next morning they were taken out and shot by the Ukrainian police and the German Gendarmerie in a ditch near "Sadstantsia."²

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Act of the Gorodishche Town Commission dated March 7, 1944, published in *Karatel' zbiviet v Kliftone: O fashistskikh prispeshnikakh, ukryvaiuscbikhsia v SSba* (Moscow: Iuridicheskaia literatura, 1985), p. 40. According to another source (*Karatel' zbiviet v Kliftone*, p. 22), the ghetto was liquidated on April 4, 1942.

KOBELIAKI

Pre-1941: Kobeliaki, town, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Kobeljaki, from September 1942, center of Gebiet Kobeliaki, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Kobeliaky, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Kobeliaki is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Poltava on the River Vorksla. On the eve of World War II, there were 360 Jews in Kobeliaki (3.85 percent of the town's total population).

The Germans occupied Kobeliaki in September 1941, and until September 1942, it remained within the jurisdiction of Rear Area, Army Group South. The military administration set up a ghetto on the outskirts of the town. Adult Jews were taken from the ghetto to perform menial jobs. The ghetto was not guarded. Due to shootings and starvation the number of ghetto inmates declined rapidly. According to German reports, by the end of December 1941 there remained mainly older Jews in Kobeliaki, who received "very small rations" of food.¹

On January 19, 1942, Group 719 of the Secret Field Police (GFP) reported that men of the German police had been fired upon from the Jewish ghetto. Since they were unable to find the culprits, the GFP suggested to the military commandant in Kobeliaki that 56 Jews be shot as a reprisal. The commandant ordered that the guard around the ghetto be strengthened, and between January 21–26, 1942, the GFP, the Gendarmerie, and the Ukrainian police shot the remaining Jews in the ghetto (about 100 people) in a mass grave 1.5 kilometers (0.9 mile) to the east of the town.² Then in March 1942, with German consent, the health department of the Ukrainian town council, the Ukrainian police, and the personnel of the town hospital carried out the murder of about 25 Jewish children and elderly people by giving them lethal injections.³

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community in Kobeliaki can be found at the International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies—Cemetery Project: Ukraine (2001), published on the Web at www.jewishgen.org. Documentation on the destruction of the Jews in Kobeliaki can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/204 AR-Z 48/68); GARF (7021-70-1119); NARA (RG-242, T-501); USHMM (RG-31.018M, reel 8, GASBU [Poltava oblast'], no. 7250, trial of Makar I. Sklyar, and no. 17576, trial of Mikhailo I. Khodot and others); and TsDAVO.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 8, GASBU Poltava oblast', file no. 7250, ark. 97; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 7, fr. 000499 and 000504; TsDAVO, f. KMF-8, o. 2, spr. 157, t. 2, p. 75.

2. GARF, 7021-70-1119, pp. 33–34; USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 8, GASBU Poltava oblast', file no. 17576, ark. 68zv., 90, and 125; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 349, fr. 000568.

3. USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 8, GASBU Poltava oblast', file no. 17576, ark. 88-88 verso and 193–194; and GARF, 7021-70-1119, pp. 33–34. See also Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnya govorit* (New York, 1995), p. 129, which dates the murder of 25 children (using morphine) in March 1943, probably incorrectly, as this source dates the mass shooting of the Jews in December 1942.

KORSUN' SHEVCHENKOVSKII

Pre-1941: Korsun' Shevchenkovskii, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Korsun, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Korsun' Shevchenkovskyyi, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Korsun' Shevchenkovskii is located 122 kilometers (76 miles) south-southeast of Kiev. According to the 1926 census, 2,486 Jews were living in the Korsun' raion, most of them (2,449) in the town. In 1939, a census recorded 1,329 Jews in the town itself (14.2 percent of the total population) and another 570 Jews in villages (Shenderovka and Steblev) in the Korsun' raion, as it was then constituted, for a total Jewish population of 1,899.¹ The decrease in the Jewish population from 1926 to 1939 was mainly the result of the migration of Jews to other regions during that period.

German forces occupied Korsun' on July 30, 1941, five and a half weeks after Germany attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. In the interval, a significant number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were called up or volunteered for military service. Roughly one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town following the occupation.

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Korsun' during the summer and fall of 1941. The German military administration established a municipal authority and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, both staffed by local inhabitants. The Ukrainian police took an active role in the implementation of anti-Jewish measures during the occupation.

In November 1941, governing authority shifted to a German civil administration. Korsun' became the administrative center of Gebiet Korsun. The Gebietskommissar was Gemeinschaftsführer Lohmann. Gebiet Korsun was part of Generalkommissariat Kiev in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.²

By order of the German military commandant's office soon after the occupation, the municipal authority organized the registration of all Jews, required them to wear armbands identifying them as Jews, and subjected them to various kinds of manual forced labor. Among the labor tasks performed by

the Jews of Korsun' were trash collection and cleaning the streets.

In October 1941, the German military administration in Korsun' ordered the creation of an "open ghetto" in the town, for which purpose several houses were commandeered. The Germans forbade the Jews from leaving the limits of the ghetto to buy produce from the Ukrainians.

The Germans and their collaborators liquidated the ghetto in November 1941 when they shot the Jews of Korsun'³ as well as Jews brought from the town of Kanev⁴—altogether 543 people.⁵ The shooting took place in a ravine known as "Rezaniï Iar."

SOURCES Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Korsun' Shevchenkovskii can be found in the following archival files: DAKiO (4758-2-24 and 26).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 20, 55.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzen Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10 März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. Information from the Cherkassy oblast' branch of the Ukrainian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Remembrance, no. 72, October 15, 1990, PAAKru.

4. DAKiO, 4758-2-24, pp. 11 and reverse side.

5. Information from the Cherkassy oblast' branch of the Ukrainian Society for the Preservation of Historical and Cultural Remembrance, no. 72, October 15, 1990, PAAKru. DAKiO, 4758-2-26, pp. 5–6, contains a list of 74 of the Jews from Korsun' who were shot when the ghetto was liquidated.

KREMENCHUG

Pre-1941: Kremenchug, city, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Krementschuk, initially under the control of Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd) and (from September 1942) center of Gebiet Krementschuk, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Kremenchub, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Kremenchug is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) west-northwest of Dnepropetrovsk. In 1939, there were 19,880 Jews residing in Kremenchug.

In the weeks after the start of the German invasion in June 1941, about two thirds of the Jews of Kremenchug managed to evacuate to the east. Units of the German 17th Army captured Kremenchug on September 9, 1941, and the city remained under the jurisdiction of Rear Area, Army Group South until September 1942. One week after capturing Kremenchug, the military administration ordered that Jews be registered with the city council and that they wear the Star of David on their

sleeves. Between September 13–26, 1941, Sonderkommando 4b, under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Günther Herrmann, arrived in Kremenchug and shot 125 Jews.¹

On September 27, 1941, the military commandant ordered the Jews to move into a ghetto located in a barracks on Lenin Street no. 22 in the suburb of Novo-Ivanivka, where they were deprived of all possessions and documents. Altogether about 3,000 Jews from Kremenchug and the vicinity were concentrated in the ghetto. After their departure, the Ukrainian policemen and city rabble plundered the empty Jewish apartments; some Ukrainians also attempted to seize Jewish apartments.²

The German administration imposed a special curfew on the ghetto, and Jews were not allowed to visit the "Aryan" quarters or communicate with Ukrainians. The Ukrainian city council, headed by Synytsia Verkhov's'kyi, was authorized to organize Jewish labor details for various tasks such as cleaning streets. Those working in the labor details received 400 grams (14 ounces) of bread daily; those remaining in the ghetto received only 200 grams (7 ounces) per person. The German administration imposed several "contributions" on the ghetto, which were collected by the Jewish council of elders. The Germans and Ukrainian police often raided the ghetto, robbing Jews of their remaining possessions. In late September, the Germans discovered that city council chief Verkhov's'kyi had procured false certificates of baptism for Jews through a local church (allegedly in return for large bribes). He was subsequently arrested and executed.³

On October 28, 1941, the forces of the Higher SS and Police Leader South Russia (HSSPF Russland-Süd) collected about 2,000 Jews from the Kremenchug ghetto and the surrounding countryside and murdered them outside the city at a place known as the Sand Hill.⁴ About 500 Jews remained in the ghetto. Between November 5–19, German forces subordinated to HSSPF Russland-Süd murdered 285 more Jews (147 men, 101 women, and 37 children) in Kremenchug in a series of Aktions.⁵ On November 24, 1941, the local military headquarters (Ortskommandantur 239) reported that Kremenchug was "almost cleansed of Jews." Nevertheless, a number of Jews still lived in the ghetto. They were again registered, and the registers were handed over to the HSSPF. Some Jewish doctors and nurses were also spared to work at local hospitals. In January 1942, during a large antipartisan sweep through the Poltava region, the Germans shot all the remaining Jews they could find in Kremenchug. Altogether about 8,000 Jews from Kremenchug and its vicinity lost their lives during the war.⁶

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Kremenchug can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 676. The ghetto in Kremenchug is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), pp. 129–131.

Documentation relating to the murder of the Jews of Kremenchug can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162, AR 6700045, AR-Z 6000013); DAPO (R-3388-1-688); GARF (7021-70-917); NARA (RG-242, T-501, reel 33; NO-5384; NOKW-2272); NARB (861-1-36); TsDAHOU (57-4-270 and 166-3-242); TsDAVO (KMF-8-2-157); USHMM; VHAP; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 111, October 12, 1941.
2. TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 38–39; GARF, 7021-70-917, p. 11 and reverse, testimony of E.A. Bradebur, November 14, 1943; DAPO, R3388-1-688, p. 5.
3. TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 36–37; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 33, fr. 000391; DAPO, R3388-1-688, pp. 5–6.
4. GARF, 7021-70-917, p. 4, gives the figure of 3,000 Jews killed in this Aktion.
5. See the reports of HSSPF Russia South published in A. Kruglov, ed., *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), pp. 279–280.
6. TsDAHOU, 166-3-242, pp. 38–39; TsDAVO, KMF-8-2-157, vol. 1, p. 244; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 33, fr. 000398; DAPO, R-3388-1-688, pp. 6–7.

LOKHVITSA

Pre-1941: Lohkvitsa, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Lochwiza, initially Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); from September 1942, center of Gebiet Lochwiza, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Lohkvitsia, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Lokhvitsa is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) south of Khotyn. In 1939, there were 614 Jews residing in Lokhvitsa and another 114 Jews residing in the villages of the Lokhvitsa raion.

The Germans occupied Lokhvitsa on September 12, 1941, signifying also the completion of the encirclement of Soviet armies to the east of Kiev. Many Jews from Lokhvitsa were evacuated or managed to flee before the arrival of the Germans. The town remained under the jurisdiction of Rear Area, Army Group South and then Rear Area, Army Group B (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet B) until September 1942, when it became the center of Gebiet Lochwiza in Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

In early October 1941, the German military commandant ordered the creation of a ghetto, which restricted the Jews to the most densely Jewish-populated areas of the town. The ghetto consisted of two separate sections: the first included part of what was then called Lane III (later, Tupikova Street); and the other section included two Jewish quarters in the area of Gogol' and Tel'man Streets. The ghetto was not sealed, but the Ukrainian police set up checkpoints, and Jews apprehended outside the ghetto were shot on the spot. In addition to the town's Jewish residents and those Jews fleeing from further west who became trapped in Lokhvitsa, the Germans also brought some Jews from surrounding villages to the ghetto. For example, in December 1941, Jews from the village of Sencha were brought to the Lokhvitsa ghetto.

With the onset of winter and left with no means to survive, adult Jews sneaked out of the ghetto to collect wood or to exchange any valuables they had left with the Ukrainians for food. The Ukrainian auxiliary police in Lokhvitsa, which in April 1942 comprised 116 men,¹ escorted the Jewish labor details tasked with cleaning the streets of mud, snow, and ice.

In early May 1942, additional Jews from the vicinity of Lokhvitsa, including a few from the nearby town of Chervonozavodskoe, were brought to the ghetto.² On May 12, 1942, a Sonderkommando headed by Karl Plath (operating under the auspices of the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South) and the Ukrainian police escorted 287 Jews outside the town to the northeast and shot them in a ravine near the village of Blagodarovka. After the mass shooting, the edge of the ravine was blown up to cover the bodies.³ Feldkommandantur (V) 239, responsible for a large area including the town of Lokhvitsa, reported on June 17, 1942, that a "Jewish Aktion" (Judenaktion) had been conducted in Lokhvitsa on May 12, 1942, and that thereafter only a few individual Jews remained within its jurisdiction.⁴

Farmers working on a kolkhoz near Lokhvitsa assisted the female Jewish doctor Tsipa Sherman, who was living there on Aryan papers as a medical student. When she was arrested following a denunciation, the farmers wrote a petition asserting that she was a good worker and definitely not a Jew. Shortly afterwards she was released.⁵

Soviet forces drove the Germans from Lokhvitsa in the fall of 1943.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Lokhvitsa can be found in: BA-MA (RH 22/203); the Lokhvitsia Ethnographic Museum (Lohkvits'kyi krayeznavchyi muzei im. G.S. Skovorody), file 6/R/2; and YVA (M.31/6386).

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NOTES

1. NARA, T-501, reel 18, fr. 815.
2. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskiy spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), p. 338. In 1939 the Jewish population of Chervonozavodskoe in Lokhvitsa raion was 89. Most Jews managed to flee before the arrival of the Germans.
3. Interview with Vera Riazanskaia, July 22, 1998, Lokhvitsia; Lokhvitsia Ethnographic Museum, file 6/R/2, pp. 1–10. Some sources indicate there may have been 340 victims in total, although only 287 people are recorded in the list of names—information supplied by Alexander Kruglov.
4. BA-MA, RH 22/203, Feldkommandantur (V) 239, Abtlg. VII, Monatsbericht May 16 to June 16, 1942.

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5. YVA, M.31/6386, as cited by Frank Golczewski, "Die Revision eines Klischees: Die Rettung von verfolgten Juden im Zweiten Weltkrieg durch Ukrainer," in Wolfgang Benz and Juliane Wetzel, eds., *Solidarität und Hilfe für Juden während der NS-Zeit: Regionalstudien II, Ukraine, Frankreich, Böhmen und Mähren, Österreich, Lettland, Litauen, Estland* (Berlin: Metropol, 1996), p. 66.

MAN'KOVKA

Pre-1941: Man'kovka, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mankowka, Rayon center, Gebiet Uman-Land, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Man'kivka, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Man'kovka is located about 34 kilometers (21 miles) north of Uman'. According to the 1939 census, there were 105 Jews residing in Man'kovka, where they comprised 2.2 percent of the local population, and an additional 719 Jews lived in the other settlements of the Man'kovka raion.¹

Man'kovka was occupied by units of the German 6th Army in late July 1941, about one month after the German attack on the Soviet Union. During the chaos following the invasion, some local Jews managed to flee eastward, ahead of the advancing German troops. Jewish men born between 1905 and 1918 found themselves conscripted into military service. On the arrival of German forces in Man'kovka, about 70 percent of the community's pre-war Jewish population remained in the town.

Between July and October 1941, Man'kovka was ruled by a German military administration (Ortskommandantur), which established a village council and appointed a local mayor. The military administration also set up a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. In November 1941, a German civil administration assumed authority over Man'kovka, which became a Rayon center in Gebiet Uman-Land, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine. In December 1941, the Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Peterson.²

Shortly after the German invasion, the military administration ordered the village council to register the Jews and required them to wear armbands bearing the Star of David. The military administration ordered all able-bodied Jews to perform various kinds of physically demanding labor for little or no pay.

In late 1941, all the Jews of Man'kovka were forced to relocate into a separate area within the town designated as a ghetto. On April 18, 1942, those Jews able to work were transferred to a labor camp in Buki. Those ghetto residents deemed unfit for work, mainly children and the elderly, numbering about 50 people, were shot on May 2, 1942.³ A few Jews managed to survive by joining Soviet partisan units operating in the area.

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community of Man'kovka and its fate during the Holocaust include the following: Aleksandr Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva*

1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheski spravochnik (Khar'kov: "Kara-vella," 2001), p. 204; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 5:378.

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 55.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942; and USHMM, RG-31.002M, reel 3, 3206-2-31, p. 9.

3. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communities of Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat' Holokosta," Cherkassy oblast', village of Man'kovka; directive no. 41 issued by the Man'kovka Area Council, March 18, 1999.

OL'SHANA

Pre-1941: Ol'shana, town, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Olschana, town and Rayon center, Gebiet Swenigorodka Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Ol'sbany, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Ol'shana is located 88 kilometers (55 miles) northeast of Uman'. Due to the effects of World War I, the Bolshevik Revolution, the Russian Civil War, the migration of Jews to the cities, and the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933, the size of the Jewish community declined considerably from 1,233 in 1897 to only 195 in 1939.

German forces of Army Group South captured Ol'shana on July 25, 1941. In August the military administration (Ortskommandantur) ordered the Jews to surrender all their valuable items such as gold, as well as furniture, cattle, and poultry. In October 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe C) shot all the adult Jewish males (up to 100 people) in Ol'shana.¹ In the fall of 1941, Ol'shana was transferred to the German civil administration. The town became a Rayon center within Gebiet Swenigorodka, in Generalkommissariat Kiev. The Gebietskommissar in Swenigorodka was Hannjo Becker.

Sometime between August and October 1941, the German authorities ordered the Jews to move into a ghetto, which was set up in a few dozen houses in the northern part of town. Jews from the smaller settlements around Ol'shana were also ordered to move into the ghetto. All inmates over the age of 12 had to wear special armbands, and Jews were forbidden to speak to local Ukrainians. The military commandant appointed a Jewish Council (Judenrat) within the ghetto. The German and Ukrainian police guarded the ghetto, and Jews apprehended outside its limits without permission could be shot. The Ukrainian and German police also searched the ghetto frequently, looking for concealed valuables. Inside the

ghetto, several Jewish doctors and nurses provided medical services to the inmates. The German military and the local Ukrainian administration forced all ghetto inmates, with the exception of small children, to perform a variety of forced labor tasks, including cleaning fuel containers, repairing roads, collecting the harvest, and clearing snow. The Jews were beaten at work, and sick or weak Jews were shot.²

During the winter of 1941–1942, the number of ghetto inmates declined due to deaths from sicknesses, starvation, and the terror imposed by the German administration and the Ukrainian police. Some Ukrainians supplied food to their friends in the ghetto. On May 2, 1942, the German administration formed the remaining 100 or so ghetto inmates into a column and marched them to Zvenigorodka, where the Jews were divided into two groups: the elderly and small children were put into a ghetto, while the older children and younger women were sent to forced labor camps at Smil'chyntsi and Nemorozh, which were established for the construction of the new highway (Durchgangsstrasse IV).³ In June, many of the Jews from Ol'shana perished during the liquidation of the Zvenigorodka ghetto. On November 2, 1942, the Germans murdered the inmates of the Smil'chyntsi camp; and on August 23, 1943, the remaining Jews at Nemorozh were murdered.⁴

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Ol'shana can be found in Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, *V ognie katastrofy (shoa) na Ukraine: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partisanskogo dvizheniia* (Kiryat-Haim, Israel: Beit Lokhamei ha-gettaot, 1998), pp. 205–209; and in Boris Zabarko, ed., “*Nur wir haben überlebt.*” *Holocaust in der Ukraine: Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), pp. 54–55.

Additional information can be found in the following archives: DACHO; DASBU (spr. 19896, tom. 3); GARF (7021-148-11); USHMM (RG-31.018M, reel 13; and RG-50.226.0032); and VHF.

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NOTES

1. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheski spravochnik* (Kharkov: “Karavella,” 2001), p. 243; I.M. Liakhovitskii, ed., *Zhel'taia Kniga: Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Khar'kov: Biblioteka gazety “Bensiakh,” 1994), p. 100.

2. Agmon and Maliar, *V ognie katastrofy*, p. 205; letter of Nina Umanskaia published in Leonid Koval', ed., *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2:121–124; DASBU, spr. 19896, tom. 3, ark. 14 (USHMM, RG-31.018M, reel 13); Zabarko, “*Nur wir haben überlebt.*” p. 54; USHMM, RG-50.226.0032, interview with Tatyana Pit'kina (Shnaider); another testimony by the same person can be found in Liakhovitskii, *Zhel'taia Kniga*, pp. 100–101. According to the deposition of I.T. Nesterenko, the former chief of police in the Ol'shana district, there were 103 Jews; see GARF, 7021-148-11.

3. USHMM, RG-50.226.0032, interview with Tatyana Pit'kina (Shnaider).

4. Ibid.; Agmon and Maliar, *V ognie katastrofy*, pp. 205, 209.

PIATIGORY

Pre-1941: Piatigory, village, Tetiev raion, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon Tetijew, Gebiet Taraschtscha, General-kommissariat Kiev; post-1991: Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Piatigory is located about 69 kilometers (43 miles) north-northwest of Uman'. According to the census of December 1926, 531 Jews were living in Piatigory. By 1939, however, the Jewish population had declined to less than half this number.

Two German light tanks entered Piatigory on July 16, 1941. In the four weeks from the start of the German invasion, part of the Jewish population attempted to evacuate to the east using horses and carts or traveling by rail. Some, however, such as the family of Galina Klotsman, were forced to turn back by the rapid German advance. On their return, by July 10, the family found that their house had been robbed; Galina's father was then conscripted into the Red Army, just before the Soviet authorities abandoned Piatigory.¹

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Piatigory. Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military commandant ordered the registration of the Jews and required them to wear distinguishing armbands. On July 31, 1941, German security forces shot 2 Jews in Piatigory as hostages. Then on August 28, 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews to report to the school building. They selected 17 male Jews over the age of 14. These men were taken away and shot, including the father of Raisa Zelenkov.²

The remaining women and children, together with a few male specialist workers, were held in the school building, and some form of ghetto was probably established in Piatigory. The female Jews were required to perform farmwork every day. Some Jews who had evaded the roundup passed themselves off as Ukrainians and worked for a time on nearby kolkhozy, but eventually most were denounced and forced to register as Jews with the Gendarmerie and local police in Piatigory. Half-Jews, however, were treated with somewhat greater leniency, not being required to wear armbands.³

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to the German civilian administration. Piatigory was incorporated into Gebiet Taraschtscha, where Kameradschaftsführer Wurach served as Gebietskommissar.⁴

On April 26, 1942, those Jews capable of work—namely, the young and couples without children—were selected and transferred to the Buki labor camp, where they worked in a nearby quarry.⁵ The 133 Jews that remained in Piatigory were shot in a local park on November 16, 1942. According to the testimony of Raisa Kleter (Zelenkov), who with several other Jews from mixed marriages was spared at the killing site along with her daughter, German Gendarmes, including a man named Hochmann, and local Ukrainian police were responsible for the shooting.⁶

SOURCES The recollections of Raisa Zelenkov, “In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region,” have been published in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book:*

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The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 169–185. An oral history by the same woman, now called Raisa Kleter, can be found in VHF (# 37434). Another relevant oral testimony can be found in USHMM (RG-50.226 # 0015).

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NOTES

1. “In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region,” pp. 169–185, here p. 170; and USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0015, Oral History interview with Galina Iosifevna Klotsman, born 1923.

2. “In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region,” pp. 170–171; and A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii sovet Ukrainy, Fond “Pamiat’ zhertv fashizma,” 2000), pp. 87, 90.

3. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0015. “In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region,” pp. 169–185, does not use the term *ghetto*; however, VHF, # 37434, testimony of Raisa Kleter (aka Zelenkov), has been indexed by the Shoah Foundation as describing the ghetto in Piatigory. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, “Epos,” 2007), 6:312, also states that a ghetto was established in Piatigory.

4. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

5. A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evreistva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheskii spravochnik* (Kharkov: “Karavella,” 2001), p. 51; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 985; and USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0015.

6. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia kholokosta*, pp. 89–91. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 6:312, indicates that 133 Jews were shot on November 16, 1942, but the source for this is unclear. “In the Shtetl of Pyatigory, Kiev Region,” pp. 169–185, dates the shooting in November 1942, but gives no numbers. VHF, # 37434, testimony of Raisa Kleter (aka Zelenkov), however, dates the shooting in November 1943 (*sic*).

PIRIATIN

Pre-1941: Piriatin, town and raion center, Poltava oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Pirjatin, initially under the control of Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), subsequently (from September 1942) center of Gebiet Pirjatin, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Piriatin, Poltava oblast’, Ukraine

Piriatin is located on the Udai River 142 kilometers (88 miles) to the east-southeast of Kiev. According to the population census of 1939, 1,747 Jews lived in Piriatin (12.68 percent of the total).

After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and particularly during August and September 1941, a small portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were conscripted into or volun-

teered for the Red Army. Yet more than 80 percent of the Jewish population remained in Piriatin and came under German occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Piriatin on September 18, 1941. A military commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur) administered the township and the Rayon until September 1942. A local administration and Ukrainian auxiliary police force were created, serving under the German occupying forces.

In September 1942, power was transferred into the hands of a German civil administration. Piriatin was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiev and became the administrative center of Gebiet Pirjatin, which included the Rayons of Pirjatin, Tschernuchi, and Sentscha.

Shortly after the occupation of the township, the German administration ordered all Jews to be registered and marked. The Jews were obliged to wear white armbands bearing six-pointed stars in plain view. A large amount of Jewish property was confiscated, including any items of value. Jews were forbidden to appear in public places. Jewish men had to perform various forms of forced labor.

At some date between the end of September 1941 and the beginning of 1942, the Germans established a ghetto in Piriatin. At the end of March or the beginning of April 1942, the Jewish population in the ghetto numbered 1,530 persons.¹ On April 6, 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto. Almost all the Jews, mainly old men, women, and children, were shot in the woods at Pirogovskaia Levada about 3 kilometers (1.9 mile) south of the town.² The Jews were made to undress, and their remaining property was taken from them. Then the Germans forced them into a pit and shot them in groups of 5 with submachine guns. The graves were filled in by local non-Jewish residents, including Pyotr Chepurenko. As he worked, he saw several Jews who had only been wounded, including a five-year-old boy, trying to climb out of the pits. However, they were immediately shot and killed by Germans and local policemen who were still overseeing the operation.³

The mass shooting was apparently organized and carried out by the SD unit “Sonderkommando Plath” (headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Plath). On May 18, 1942, it is likely that this command force carried out another Aktion in the town. On this occasion the SD shot 380 Communists and Soviet activists, along with 25 Roma (Gypsies) and 163 Jews belonging to various families.⁴

SOURCES A brief description of the mass shooting on April 6, 1942, can be found in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland during the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 57.

Documentation on the extermination of the Jews of Piriatin can be found in the following archives: DAPO (R3388-1-1086; R-1876-8-98); GARF; NARA; and YVA (O-3/3951).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARA, T-501, reel 33, fr. 643, report of Feldkommandantur 607 on activities during the period from March 18 to April 15, 1942; *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 6:235–236, dates the establishment of the ghetto at the beginning of 1942, but it is unclear on what sources this is based.

2. DAPO, R1876-8-98, p. 1; see also International Association of Jewish Genealogical Societies—Cemetery Project, available at www.jewishgen.org/cemetery/e-europe/ukra-p.html.

3. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 57.

4. DAPO, R3388-1-1086, p. 1.

SHPOLA

Pre-1941: Shpola, town and rayon center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Schpola, Rayon center, Gebiet Swenigorodka, Generalkommissariat Kiew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Shpola, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine.

Shpola is located about 33 kilometers (20.5 miles) east-south-east of Zvenigorodka. According to the 1926 census, 5,401 Jews lived in what was then the Shpola rayon. This included the Jews living in the town of Shpola.¹ The 1939 census counted 2,397 Jews living in Shpola (16.24 percent of the total population). The decline in the Jewish population by more than half between 1926 and 1939 can be explained mainly by the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

Shpola was occupied by German forces on August 1, 1941, five and a half weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. During this period, the Germans bombed Shpola, and some Jews were able to evacuate to the east. It is estimated that just over 40 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The German military commandant established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents, which played an active role in the anti-Jewish measures.

In November 1941, power was transferred to the German civil administration. Shpola became part of Gebiet Swenigorodka, and Oberbannführer Becker became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Swenigorodka was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.²

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the registration and marking of the Jews with armbands. The Jews were also forced to perform heavy labor tasks, such as street cleaning, construction work, and cutting wood.

At the start of September 1941, the Germans conducted the first Aktion in Shpola, during which 160 people, including members of the intelligentsia, were seized and shot.³ A detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 apparently carried out these killings.

In October 1941, a ghetto was established in Shpola on the orders of the German military administration. A few streets were cordoned off and surrounded by barbed wire. The ghetto was guarded by the Ukrainian police, and Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto or buying products from the Ukrainians. Some non-Jews secretly gave food to people in the ghetto, but famine developed; after a time, some 10 or 12 people were dying of starvation or disease each day.⁴ In the ghetto a Jew named Gofman, under the direction of Ukrainians, assigned Jews to specific work tasks each day. There were also police raids in the ghetto in the fall of 1941: the Germans selected men in good physical condition, and they were taken away, never to return.⁵

The Jews were confined within the ghetto for more than half a year. Just prior to the ghetto's liquidation, a few Jews were able to escape following tip-offs from well-disposed Germans. On May 13, 1942, the German forces and their collaborators started to liquidate the ghetto. The 117th Battalion of the Ukrainian police force (Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 117) combed the ghetto and rounded up more than 800 Jews. They kept the Jews in custody until May 17. From May 14–17, members of the battalion conducted "clearing operations," searching Jewish homes for any people who were hiding.⁶ On May 17, 1942, the German-led forces shot 760 of the captured Jews. The able-bodied were selected out and forcibly resettled into a labor prison camp in the village of Brodetskoe, where they were used to build highways. A small group of 13 craftsmen was allowed to remain behind in the town, but they were shot in 1943.⁷

The 255 Jewish workers in the labor prison camp in the village of Brodetskoe were killed on December 15, 1942. On the same day, 105 Jews in the prison camp in the village of Shestakovo were also shot.⁸

Only a handful of Jews survived from the Shpola ghetto. The Berezenko family was among the Ukrainian families in Shpola who helped to hide fugitive Jews for a while.⁹

SOURCES Information on the Jewish community of Shpola can be found in the memorial book in Hebrew edited by David Cohen, *Shpolab: Masekhet baye Yehudim be-'ayarab* (Haifa: Irgun yots'e Shpolah [Ukrainah] be-Yirsrael, 1965); this book, however, contains very little information on the period of the German occupation and the destruction of the community.

Documents regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Shpola can be found in the following archives: BA-L (Dok.-Sammlung UdSSR, Band 245e, pp. 419–422; Band 245Ag, pp. 180–205); DACHo (R2479-1-1); GARF (8114-1-965); USHMM (RG-50.226, # 0037 and # 0041); and VHF (# 7367, 23060, 29751, and 46014).

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NOTES

1. *Vsesoiuznyi perepis liudnosti 1926 roku* (1929 All-Union population census) (Moscow, 1929), 2:210.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

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3. GARF, 8114-1-965, p. 51. A published version of this can be found in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 185–186. There is also a report on the Jewish men who were arrested and executed on August 21–22, 1941; see *Evreiskie vesti* (Kiev, 1992), no. 9, p. 5.

4. GARF, 8114-1-965, p. 51; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1172, date the establishment of the ghetto to late September 1941.

5. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0041, Oral History with Fira Zamenskaya.

6. Account of June 15, 1942, from the supervising officer (Aufsichtsoffizier) of Schutzmannschafts-Bataillon 117 to the commander of the Gendarmerie (KdG) in Kiev, DACHO, R2479-1-1, p. 27.

7. GARF, 8114-1-965, pp. 51–52.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 52.

9. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0037, Oral History with Klara Semyonovna Vinokur.

SKVIRA

Pre-1941: Skvira, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukraine; 1941–1944: Skvira, Gebiet Belaja-Zerkow, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Skvyra, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Skvira is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) south-southwest of Kiev. The 1939 census recorded that only 2,243 Jews lived in the town (comprising 20.3 percent of the total population).¹ The Jewish population in Skvira had declined by more than half since 1926, when the population had been 4,861 (33.6 percent).

German forces occupied Skvira on July 14, 1941, almost a month after the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941). During that interval, a large part of the Jewish population had managed to evacuate to the east. Men eligible for military service were either called up or volunteered for the Red Army. About 40 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Skvira under German occupation. A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town during the summer and fall of 1941. The Germans created a town administration and an auxiliary force of Ukrainian policemen, both composed of local inhabitants. In November 1941, governance passed to a German civil administration. Skvira became part of Gebiet Belaja-Zerkow in Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine. The Gebietskommissar was Regierungsrat Dr. Stelzer.²

Among the German punitive units active in the Skvira region from the end of August until the end of September 1941 was Einsatzkommando 5, at that time under the command of SS-Standartenführer Erwin Schulz. The staff unit and other detachments of Police Regiment South were also in Skvira



Jewish women assembled by the German authorities in preparation for a mass murder near the Skvira ghetto, September 1941. The German caption on the back of the original reads: "They will be massacred." USHMM WS #17060, COURTESY MJH/CHS

for several days from September 18, 1941. By order of the military commandant, soon after the German occupation of the town, the newly created "Jewish Soviet" (Jewish Council) organized the registration of the Jews, the collection of "contributions," and the wearing of identifying armbands. Jews were made to perform various kinds of heavy labor, including bringing in the harvest, for which they initially received some payment in the form of grain from the military administration.³

In August 1941, the German authorities created a "Jewish residential area," or ghetto, in the town on Taras Shevchenko Street, which was only partially fenced in with barbed wire. Ukrainians continued to live on the same street. The Jews lived in overcrowded conditions in small houses or cottages. The Jews ate whatever they could find, but they received little assistance from the local population. The Ukrainian police entered Jewish houses and robbed them of their valuable possessions. From mid-September 1941, the Jews were no longer permitted to go to work.⁴

The ghetto existed for just over a month and was liquidated on September 20, 1941. On that date, the Germans and their Ukrainian collaborators broke into the ghetto at dawn and ordered the Jews onto the street. They rounded up some 850 Jews and confined them in schoolhouse no. 2. From there they took them on foot or in vehicles to the Jewish cemetery. At the cemetery they shot them in four pits.⁵ Men from Einsatzkommando 5, assisted by a detachment of Police Regiment South, carried out the mass killing. Several days after this Aktion, the occupiers shot around 140 more Jews in what had been a stable.⁶

SOURCES Documents on the fate of the Jews of Skvira during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: DAKiO (4758-2-41); DASBU (79-1-937); and VHF (# 44779).

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NOTES

1. TsDAVO, 505-1-395, p. 40; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 20.
2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
3. DASBU, 79-1-937, p. 22, "Report concerning the Totally Criminal Acts of the German-Fascist Occupiers in Skvira raion, Kiev oblast."
4. VHF, # 44779, testimony of Mikhail Bykov.
5. Ibid.; and act dated January 1, 1944, Atrocities of the German-Fascist Invaders, published in *Voenizdat*, no. 13 (1945), pp. 5–6.
6. *Voenizdat*, no. 13 (1945), pp. 5–6.

SMELA

Pre-1941: Smela, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Smila, Cherkassy oblast', Ukraine

Smela is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) northeast of Uman'. According to the 1926 population census, there were 5,978 Jews in what was then the Smela raion, which included the town. The 1939 census indicated that only 3,428 Jews lived in the town of Smela (10.1 percent of the total population). There were another 106 Jews in the villages of the Smela raion.¹ The decrease in the Jewish population from 1926 to 1939 by more than 40 percent can be explained mainly by the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

German forces occupied Smela on August 4, 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this period, some of the Jewish population was able to flee to the east, and Jewish men were conscripted into or volunteered for the Red Army. Approximately one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Smela at the start of the German occupation.

More than 400 people, including some Jews, were killed in the first two days of the occupation.² The murders were probably carried out by SS soldiers of the Wiking Division, which was active in the region at that time.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administrated the town. The commandant set up a local administration and organized an auxiliary Ukrainian police force from among the local residents.

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement, the German military commandant and the local administration registered the Jews and made them wear armbands. They were also forced to perform heavy physical labor (such as the repair of roads and buildings). The head of the Rayon, Rayonchef Streidenberger, was especially vigilant regarding the Jews, chastising his subordinates for violations in their registration and employment—most likely resulting from bribes.³

In October 1941, a detachment of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei or GFP) attached to the 213th Security Division (Sicherungsdivision 213) shot 55 partisans, 37 collaborators of the partisans, and 17 Communist Party functionaries in Smela.⁴ Jews also were among the 109 people who were killed.

In November 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Smela became the administrative center of Gebiet Smela, which included the Rayons of Tscherkassy and Woronzowo-Gorodischtsche. Regierungsrat Schwehr became the Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Smela was in turn part of Generalkommissariat Kiev in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.⁵

At the end of 1941, the German administration ordered the formation of a ghetto ("Jewish residential district") in Smela. A few streets were cordoned off. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto and from buying products from local Ukrainians. As a result, famine quickly developed in the ghetto. In January 1942, eight Jewish families from the settlement of Rotmistrovka were resettled into the ghetto.⁶ A Jewish boy, Dmitro Mironenko, who arrived in January 1942 from Cherkassy, noted that the Jews of Smela had not yet been killed by the Germans. He registered himself in Smela and lived for several weeks in the home for invalids. He was fortunate that he left the town in February, sensing the danger of an upcoming German Aktion.⁷ It is probable that the Smela ghetto was liquidated at the end of February 1942, when the German Gendarmerie and Ukrainian police arrested 512 Jews and subsequently shot them.⁸

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews in Smela can be found in the following archives: DAKiO (4758-2-40 and 42); GARF (7021-65-241); NARA (T-501, reel 6, fr. 371); TsDAHOU (166-3-358); TsDAVO (3676-4-317); and USHMM (RG-50.226*0024).

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NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 20, 57.
2. P.T. Tron'ko et al., eds., *Smila: Istoriia mist i sil URSR—Cherkas'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1972), 26:495.
3. TsDAHOU, 166-3-358, p. 41.
4. NARA, T-501, reel 6, fr. 371, Report of the 213th Security Division to the head of the home militia detachment "Iug," October 30, 1941.
5. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.
6. DAKiO, 4758-2-40, pp. 4 and reverse.
7. USHMM, RG-50.226*0024, interview with Dmitri Mironenko.
8. See the report of the Higher SS and Police Leader and the head of the Security Police in Reichskommissariat Ukraine for the period from March 6 to April 1, 1942, TsDAVO, 3676-4-317.

SOKOLOVKA

Pre-1941: Sokolovka (Yiddish: Justingrad/Sokolievka), village, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Sokolowka, Rayon center, Gebiet Taraschtscha, Generalkommissariat Kiev; post-1991: Sokolievka, Zhashkiv raion, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Sokolovka is located 192 kilometers (119 miles) south of Kiev and 32 kilometers (20 miles) north of Uman. Available documentation indicates that on the eve of the German occupation there were more than 150 Jews residing in the village of Sokolovka.¹

The village of Sokolovka was occupied by the units of the German armed forces on July 24, 1941, about one month after the German attack on the Soviet Union. By late July, when the German forces entered the village, an unknown number of Jews had fled eastward. The young Jewish males who left the village either volunteered for the Soviet army or were drafted into its units.

Between July and October 1941 the village was under the command of a German military administration, which recruited some local residents to serve on a newly established village council, with a mayor, or in an auxiliary police force. In November 1941, local administrative authority was taken over by a German civil government. Sokolovka became part of Gebiet Taraschtscha in Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Jews were registered and obligated to wear armbands bearing the Star of David on the sleeves of their outer clothing. Furthermore, Jews were now organized into labor details and forced to carry out the most physically demanding work, often without payment. On September 19, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 carried out the first Aktion against the Jews of Sokolovka, in which they shot 35 Jews.² The remaining Jews of Sokolovka were then forced to resettle into a ghetto. The Jews were confined to the ghetto until the Germans conducted a further Aktion in May 1942. According to local residents, the Germans escorted the Jews into the forest and forced them to dig their own graves. The Germans shot the adult Jews and buried the children alive.³

This Aktion did not, however, affect skilled laborers, who were allowed to stay in the ghetto and continue their work. In September 1942, another smaller shooting Aktion was carried out, and in the summer of 1943 all the remaining skilled workers were shot. In the period from 1941 to 1943, a total of 146 Jews were killed in Sokolovka.⁴

A female doctor of the family of Yehoshua Abramov traveled to Sokolovka soon after the Germans were driven out by the Red Army. She did not find any Jews living there. The Jewish houses were empty and in ruins.⁵

SOURCES On the history of the Jewish community of Sokolovka before the Holocaust, there is a yizkor book edited by Leo Miller and Diana F. Miller, *Sokolievka/Justingrad: A Cen-*

tury of Struggle and Suffering in a Ukrainian Shtetl (New York: Loewenthal Press, 1983).

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NOTES

1. Association of the Jewish Organizations and Communities in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat' Holo-kosta," Cherkassy oblast', village of Sokolovka.
2. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldungen UdSSR no. 119, October 20, 1941.
3. Miller and Miller, *Sokolievka/Justingrad*, p. 57.
4. Association of the Jewish Organizations and Communities in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program "Pamiat'" Holo-kosta," Cherkassy oblast', village of Sokolovka.
5. Miller and Miller, *Sokolievka/Justingrad*, p. 57.

TAL'NOE

Pre-1941: Tal'noe, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Talnoje, initially a Rayon center, Gebiet Uman-Land, then center of Gebiet Talnoje, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Tal'noe, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Tal'noe is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) northeast of Uman'. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,866 Jews living in Tal'noe (15.6 percent of the total population).¹

On July 29, 1941, units of the German 6th Army occupied Tal'noe. A number of Jews managed to evacuate to the east before the Germans arrived. On August 10, 1941, a short time after the start of the occupation, on orders issued by the military commandant in the town, Degen, around 1,000 Jews were gathered outside the commandant's office for registration. There they were told that they were being led to Uman'. These Jews were escorted out of Tal'noe in two columns, then killed near the village of Belashki, a few kilometers to the southwest, by German soldiers and auxiliary police forces under the leadership of local ethnic Germans (*Volksdeutsche*). According to a German military report, the ethnic German who had assumed authority in Tal'noe and organized the anti-Jewish Aktion had to be dismissed soon afterwards, when the Germans discovered that before the invasion he had been a Communist Party member who had defamed the Führer.²

Immediately after the Aktion in August, around 100 remaining Jews, including Jews from mixed marriages, were rounded up in the town. The authorities relocated them, together with the half-Jewish children and their non-Jewish spouses, to a small ghetto. The ghetto consisted of three single-story houses with adjoining courtyards and was surrounded by a fence. Jews were also brought there from the villages surrounding Tal'noe. Those confined within the ghetto had to live in crowded and unhygienic conditions. Periodically the Germans ordered them to perform various kinds of forced labor. Some of them had to work within the ghetto itself.³

According to somewhat contradictory information published in the *Black Book*, either at the time of the first Aktion or subsequently on September 20, 1941, in Tal'noe itself the Germans also killed 30 elderly and infirm Jews who were unable to perform labor.⁴ During the following months, the Germans and local police continued to shoot Jews for any violation of German regulations. One Jewish woman named Ratushnaya was hanged because a German was dissatisfied with the milk she delivered to him, and her body was left swinging outside the commandant's office for a long period of time. Those living in the ghetto suffered from disease and starvation. Sometimes members of the local Ukrainian population brought them something to eat and passed food to them through the fence.⁵

On April 6, 1942, the Germans and local police murdered 115 of the ghetto inmates near the town's slaughterhouse as they liquidated the ghetto. Among the 115 victims, there were 80 children. They took the children of mixed marriages by force and shot them in front of their non-Jewish mothers, who remained alive. A few of the Jews of Tal'noe, including several children, were able to escape and hide among the local population.⁶

A brave young Jewish resistance fighter, Zigmunt Grossbart, who spoke good German, obtained a job under a false identity at the office of the German Gebietskommissar in Tal'noe, Kameradschaftsführer Meede. He exploited this position to assist other resistance fighters in obtaining weapons; he also stole two telegrams in March 1943 that prevented the German Gendarmerie from receiving outside assistance from Kiev for an antipartisan operation.⁷

The Red Army liberated Tal'noe on March 16, 1944.

SOURCES Information regarding the fate of the Jewish population of Tal'noe during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Vladimir Lidin, "Talnoe," in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002), pp. 20–21; and A. Kruglov, *Katastrofa ukrainskogo evre-istva 1941–1944 gg.: Entsiklopedicheski spravochnik* (Kharkov: "Karavella," 2001), pp. 86–92.

Relevant documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Tal'noe can be found in the following archives: DAKiO (4758-2-44); RGVA (1275-3-664); USHMM (RG-11.001M.13); VHF (# 42320, oral testimony of Maria Gatiatulina); and YVA (M-33/178; and O-3/6158).

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NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1286.

2. RGVA, 1275-3-664, p. 8, Lagebericht Ortskommandantur I (V) 839, Uman, August 30, 1941. Lidin, "Talnoe," p. 20, dates the first Aktion on September 19, 1941. This date conflicts with the above-cited German report from the end of August.

3. Lidin, "Talnoe," pp. 20–21; VHF, # 42320, also mentions the existence of a ghetto in Tal'noe.

4. Lidin, "Talnoe," p. 20. This source, however, describes the first Aktion and the selection of those unfit for work as having taken place at the same time.

5. Ibid., p. 21; and VHF, # 42320.

6. DAKiO, 4758-2-44, p. 6. Lidin, "Talnoe," p. 21, gives the date of April 17, 1942, for the liquidation Aktion.

7. Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 388.

TARASHCHA

Pre-1941: Tarashcha, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Taraschtscha, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Tarashcha, Kiev oblast', Ukraine

Tarashcha is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) north of Uman. According to the 1939 population census, 1,140 Jews lived in the town (13 percent of the total population). Additionally, 250 Jews lived in the villages of what was then the Tarashcha raion.¹

German armed forces occupied the town on July 23, 1941, just over one month after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate eastward during this intervening period. Men of an eligible age were called up to serve in the Red Army. About three quarters of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Tarashcha at the start of the occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of German commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) ran Tarashcha and established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from among local residents. In August and September 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 (Einsatzgruppe C) was based temporarily in Tarashcha in the school building and took over the responsibilities of the Ortskommandantur from the departing military forces.

In November 1941, authority passed to the German civil administration. Tarashcha became the administrative center of Gebiet Taraschtscha. Kameradschaftsführer Wurach was appointed as Gebietskommissar. Gebiet Taraschtscha included the Rayons of Zhashkov, Tetiev, Buki, and Stavishche and was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiev within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.²

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant issued an order for the Jews to wear armbands bearing the Star of David. The Jews were also obliged to perform forced labor that included road repair work. The Jews were also forbidden to buy food and other products at the market, and the Ukrainians were not allowed to sell them anything.

About one week after the Germans' arrival, all the Jews were ordered to resettle from their own residences into a few designated buildings on one street in Tarashcha (Proletarskaia Street) within two days, establishing a ghetto. However,

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some Jews, including the local blacksmith, were initially exempted and only moved into the ghetto about a month later. The Ukrainian police were in charge of the ghetto and robbed the Jews of their belongings. Even children in the ghetto were put to work, sewing Jewish stars; there was no school in the ghetto.³

German security forces started killing the Jews in Tarashcha in a series of sporadic Aktions from the first day they arrived. The precise dates and numbers killed in each Aktion are, however, difficult to reconstruct precisely from the fragmentary and sometimes contradictory recollections of the witnesses. In August 1941, two Aktions directed against the Jewish population were carried out. At the very beginning of the month, the SS military-engineering platoon of the "Wiking Division" shot around 400 Jews.⁴ At the end of August, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe C (either from Einsatzkommando 5 or from Sonderkommando 4a based in Belaia Tserkov') shot 109 Jews.⁵

The detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, which was commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Jung for at least part of the time it was based in Tarashcha, also conducted a series of Aktions to round up and kill the Jews living in the smaller villages surrounding the town. On each occasion, about 20 or 30 Jews were shot with the assistance of the local village heads (*starostas*) and the Ukrainian police.⁶ On or around September 10, 1941, Einsatzkommando 5 carried out a third Aktion in Tarashcha and shot a few hundred Jews. Among those shot at this time were Jewish women who had been working as cleaners at the base occupied by the Einsatzkommando.⁷

On November 9, 1941, the "open ghetto" (Jewish residential district) in Tarashcha was more or less liquidated, and most of the remaining Jews were shot.⁸ This mass shooting was again probably carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5. Altogether up to 1,000 Jews were exterminated in Tarashcha between August and November 1941. On each occasion, the Jews were searched for any valuables before being escorted out of town. The Germans then shot and buried them in a large mass grave dug in a gravel pit located between the Jewish and Orthodox cemeteries, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) to the northwest of Tarashcha.⁹

After the last Aktion, a handful of specialist workers and their families remained in a small remnant ghetto or labor camp in Tarashcha for another year or so. Three boys who escaped from the ghetto were captured and then beaten to death. One Jewish child, Miriam Gopman, managed to survive, as she was smuggled out of the ghetto by a Ukrainian policeman who took her to live with his brother, who initially did not know that she was Jewish. When her Jewish identity was discovered, she had to leave; she survived the remainder of the occupation by passing as a Ukrainian. Shortly after her departure from the ghetto, the Germans killed the remaining Jews there, including her mother and father, apparently for refusing to reveal where she had been hidden.¹⁰

SOURCES Documents on the destruction of the Jews of Tarashcha can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B

162/5224-30, 4630, and 14211); DAKiO (4758-2-45); USHMM (RG-31.018M, reels 2, 4, and 5); and VHF (# 8746).

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NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1288; and Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), pp. 20, 56.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. DAKiO, 4758-2-45, p. 8; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam: University Press, 1998), vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, p. 525 (Landgericht Düsseldorf 8 Ks 1/66, verdict of August 5, 1966); and VHF, # 8746, testimony of Miriam Gopman (née Shir).

4. Testimony of the former SS-Rottenführer Hans Wilhelm Isenmann is in the transcripts of judicial proceedings in Kiev from January 1946. Isenmann himself shot 60 Jews. Information can be found in L. Abramenska, ed., *Kyivs'kyi protsess: Dokumenty ta materialy* (Kiev: Lybil', 1995), p. 51. On this first Aktion, see also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, p. 536, which notes that the perpetrators reportedly wore black uniforms, as opposed to the field gray worn by most Einsatzgruppen personnel.

5. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 86, September 17, 1941.

6. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, pp. 526-527.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 527-528, 550. SS-Untersturmführer Huhn directed the operation. According to the testimony of the witness and collaborator Rössler, the former translator for the squad, around 300 people were shot in this Aktion.

8. DAKiO, 4758-2-45, p. 8; see also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, p. 538, which notes that according to one Jewish survivor, the main killing Aktions stretched over a period of about four months.

9. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, pp. 524-525, 535. A monument to the Jewish victims erected after the war is located on the site.

10. VHF, # 8746.

UMAN'

Pre-1941: Uman', city, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1943: Uman, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiev; post-1991: Uman', Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Uman' is located 190 kilometers (118 miles) south-southwest of Kiev. According to the census of January 1939, there were 13,233 Jews in Uman', or 29.81 percent of the city's population.

German troops occupied the city on July 31, 1941. Sonderkommando 4b (commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Günter Herrmann) arrived shortly afterwards and carried out

the first anti-Jewish Aktion—executing the Jewish intelligentsia. On the pretext that “certain questions” had to be clarified, the Jewish intelligentsia was ordered to appear at the municipal administration. The 80 men who appeared on August 13, 1941, were arrested and then killed.¹ Sometime later, 6 Jewish doctors (including Burshtein and Gitis) were publicly hanged in a prominent place.²

Ortskommandantur I/839, which administered the city at the time, appointed a new Jewish Council in the second half of August 1941 and ordered that Jews register and wear white armbands bearing six-pointed stars. Registration was accompanied by the beating of Jews with sticks, rifle butts, and lashes. German soldiers and Ukrainian policemen often robbed Jewish homes, and individual Jews were killed.

A large Jewish pogrom occurred in the city on September 21, 1941. German soldiers and Ukrainian policemen rounded up more than 1,000 women and children, forced them into the cellar of the Pioneer Palace on Lenin Street, and tightly sealed all the doors and windows. As a result of the overcrowding in the cellar, many women and children suffocated.³ The next day the surviving women and children were released, but the men who had been rounded up and placed in the prison were shot by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 119, dated October 20, 1941, described these events as follows:

According to observations made by Einsatzkommando 5, over the last few weeks a large number of Jews from near and far have gathered in Uman'. The population of Uman' before the outbreak of the war was about 55,000, of which about 10,000 were Jews. In spite of the large-scale flight of Jews originally living in Uman' after the outbreak of the war, due to many [new] arrivals, the number has been reported at about 8,000. A good intelligence network was discovered among the Jews of Uman'. Information about many events at the front and in the rear areas was passed on by the Jews not only to their coreligionists but also to the Ukrainian population. They very quickly received information about the Aktions against Jews conducted in the vicinity. A two-day Aktion was planned in order to combat this source of danger in Uman'.

Already on September 21, 1941, contrary to the plan, excesses were perpetrated against the Jews by members of the militia with the participation of numerous German soldiers. During these events, Jewish apartments were completely demolished and robbed of all utensils and valuables. In this operation, almost exclusively German soldiers were involved. Spot checks of the apartments of militia members, which a squad from Einsatzkommando 5 conducted immediately after its arrival in Uman', were without any result.

Due to the unplanned excesses against the Jews in Uman', the organization of the Aktion by Einsatz-

kommando 5 suffered extraordinarily. Above all very many Jews now received advanced warning and fled the city. . . .

In the remainder [of the Aktion], 1,412 Jews were executed by Einsatzkommando 5 in Uman' on September 22 and 23, 1941.⁴

Also worth noting is the report by Ortskommandantur II/575, September 25, 1941: “On September 21–22, 1941, the SD carried out a round-up of Jews. To prevent excesses and robbery, the department sent patrols out throughout the city on September 21, and on September 22 assigned guards to certain places to prevent disturbances and other incidents. Individual servicemen from the Luftwaffe and Organisation Todt attempted to take part in the anti-Jewish Aktion, but the Feldgendarmerie of the Ortskommandantur prevented this in order to guard against Wehrmacht involvement in political actions which should be conducted only by the SD.”⁵

Soon after the Aktion on September 21–23, the Jews of the city were ordered to move to a residential district (ghetto) that had been set aside for them near the marketplace on Rakovka, Vostochnaia, Nekrasov, and other streets, in agreement with the city administration. The local commandant's office—Ortskommandantur II/575 (V)—ordered that the move to this district be completed by the end of September 1941.⁶ The Jewish district was not isolated and only lightly guarded, but Jews were forbidden to leave it, and Ukrainians were forbidden to enter. Those who violated this order were severely punished by being beaten and heavily fined. A Jewish elder and his assistant administered the district. Samburskii was appointed as the elder; his assistant was Tabachnik. They had at their disposal three Jewish police officers, one of them a woman. With their assistance the elder collected the “contributions” that were periodically imposed on the Jews. If Jews refused to hand over gold or valuables, Jewish police officers placed them face down on a trestle bed and beat them on their backs and buttocks until they agreed to hand over what was demanded of them.⁷

A week after the move into the ghetto, German Police Battalion 304 carried out a further Aktion in the city, with the assistance of the Ukrainian police. The battalion arrived in Uman' from Kirovograd on October 7, and at 4:00 A.M. the next morning, German and Ukrainian police began herding Jews to the market square. From the market square they were taken to the prison, where they were forced to undress; their money, valuables, and papers were confiscated. From the prison the Jews were taken to three large trenches in Sukhoi Iar outside the city and shot. Sick people, cripples, and small children were driven to the trenches in trucks and murdered. In all, that day Police Battalion 304 shot 5,400 Jewish civilians from the city and 400 Jewish prisoners of war.⁸ A memorial has been erected on the site.

After the Aktion on October 8, 1941, about 1,500 Jews remained in the “open ghetto,” compressed together now onto one street. Starting on January 8, 1942, they were forced to wear round yellow patches 8 centimeters (3.2 inches) in diameter on their backs and chests. The Jews were sent out every

day under Ukrainian police escort to perform various jobs (shoveling snow, moving rocks, and repairing roads). From time to time public executions of Jews were carried out. On January 5, 1942, 2 men and a woman were publicly hanged.⁹ According to a report on March 7, 1942 (for the period from February 2 to March 5) by the Higher SS and Police Leader—issued by the Senior Commander of the Order Police in Reichskommissariat Ukraine—the Gendarmerie in Uman' executed 3 Jews, 2 former Ukrainian police commanders, and 6 partisans. According to his report for March 6 to April 1, 1942, first 5 Jews were publicly hanged, and subsequently another 8 people were hanged, including 1 Jew and the commanding officer of a Ukrainian police detachment.¹⁰

Security Police and SD forces under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Xaver Schnöller, assisted by German Gendarmes, and Lithuanian and Ukrainian police auxiliaries, liquidated the ghetto in Uman' on April 22, 1942. During the Aktion, those Jews fit for work were selected and to a labor camp in the Gaisin raion. Those not fit for work were escorted to a nearby forest, where Lithuanian and Ukrainian police took part in shooting them under German direction.

Also involved in clearing the ghetto were members of the 1st platoon, 2nd Company of the Polizeisicherungsabteilung an der Durchgangsstrasse (highway) IV (DG IV) (German police assigned to supervise forced laborers on road construction work). According to testimony by members of this unit, SS-Brigadeführer Jürgen Stroop, in charge of security for the entire length of the DG IV project, ordered the ghetto to be liquidated to prevent Jews fleeing to the partisans and to confine those fit for work in secure labor camps. The ghetto was surrounded at dawn, and most Jews were assembled on the market square for the selection. A few hid within the ghetto, however, and a number were shot as the Germans and their collaborators searched the ghetto, including the attic of the synagogue, looking for those in hiding.¹¹ After the liquidation of the ghetto, 50 to 60 Jewish craftsmen remained in the town; they were shot in 1943.

A group of former policemen from Police Battalion 304 were convicted at several trials in the former East Germany. They were accused of killing Jews in several cities in Ukraine, including participation in the Aktion in Uman' on October 8, 1941. Three former members of the battalion were convicted and sentenced to death in Halle on October 26, 1978.

SS-Sturmbannführer Günter Herrmann, commanding officer of Sonderkommando 4b, was sentenced to seven years' imprisonment in Düsseldorf on October 12, 1973. His unit organized the shooting of Jews in Uman' in August 1941.

In 1970, the Staatsanwaltschaft in Lübeck closed the investigation of Xaver Schnöller and Robert Deneke, who took part in the liquidation of the Uman' ghetto, because there was insufficient evidence.

SOURCES There are no books or articles devoted exclusively to the history of the ghetto in Uman'. Accounts by Jewish survivors from Uman' can be found in Joshua Rubenstein and

Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); and Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Zadruga, 2000). The documentary collection *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozhenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 godakh* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002), edited by A. Kruglov, contains several documents relating to the destruction of the Jews of Uman' in 1941.

Relevant documentation on the extermination of the Jews of Uman' can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF; NARA; RGVA; TsDAVO; USHMM (RG-11.001M.13); VHF (e.g., # 30123 and 51179); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. *Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga: Svidetel'stva ocbivoidtsev o katastrofe sovetskikh evreev (1941–1944)* (Jerusalem, Moscow: Yad Vashem and GARF, 1993), p. 185 (testimony of M. Faingold).
2. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 130 (testimony of M. Demb).
3. *Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga*, pp. 185, 194 (testimony of R. Dudmik; and *ibid.*, p. 131 (testimony of M. Demb).
4. NARA, T-175, reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 119, October 20, 1941, pp. 4–6.
5. USHMM, RG-11.001M.13 (RGVA), 1275-3-662, p. 40, Ortskommandantur II/575 (V) [in Uman'] an Feldkommandantur 676, September 25, 1941.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, p. 133 (testimony of M. Demb).
8. Former Stasi Archive in Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten (now Bundesarchiv), original file ref.: MIS-HA IX/11, ZUV 78, Bd. 6 (diary of Otto Müller, a former member of the 304th Police Battalion); see also *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), vol. 1, Lfd. Nr. 1029, pp. 731–746, Verdict of BG Halle 1 Bs 23/75, August 28, 1975 (case against members of Pol. Batl. 304).
9. See the testimony of M. Faingold in *Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga*.
10. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317.
11. See BA-L, II 213 AR-Z 20/63 (Frieze and others, DG IV), vol. 18, pp. 3259–3279.

ZEN'KOV

Pre-1941: Zen'kov, town and raion center, Poltava oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Senkow, Rear Area Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); after September 1, 1942, Rayon center, Gebiet Gadjatsch, Generalkommissariat Kiev; post-1991: Zin'kiv, Poltava oblast', Ukraine

Zen'kov is located 133 kilometers (83 miles) west of Khar'kov. According to the 1926 census, there were 608 Jews living in Zen'kov. The 1939 census, however, recorded only 142 Jews

residing in the town.¹ This sharp decline in the Jewish population between 1926 and 1939 was due to the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and to the resettlement of Jews to other areas.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on October 9, 1941. In the more than three months since the start of the German invasion, a large part of the Jewish population managed to evacuate to the eastern USSR, and men liable for military service entered the Red Army as conscripts or volunteers. About 15 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Zen'kov at the start of the occupation.

From October 1941 to September 1942, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur 258 in Gadiach) was in charge of the town. The German military administration established a town council and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force (Hilfspolizei) composed of local residents. Authority was transferred to the German civil administration in September 1942. Zen'kov (renamed Senkow) became a Rayon center in Gebiet Gadjatsch in Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

In late 1941, all the remaining Jews of the town were herded into a single house, which served as a temporary ghetto. In late January 1942, the Germans shot all the Jews, 19 in total, in the quarry of a brickyard on the southeastern edge of town.² In addition to the local Jews, four Jewish families from the village of Grun' (in Sumy oblast') were also shot; the German police had brought them to Zen'kov on January 18, 1942.³ It is possible that the 7 Jews who were recorded as having been shot in the town cemetery in January 1942 were these same Jews.⁴ The shootings of the Jews were apparently the work of the 303rd Police Battalion (commanded by Police Major Robert Franz), part of which was based in Zen'kov from December 25, 1941.⁵ On February 1, 1942, in the course of a "cleansing Aktion" (Säuberungsaktion) in Zen'kov, this battalion was engaged in "executions by shooting in accordance with the laws of war."⁶ This is possibly a reference to the shooting of Jews in Zen'kov.

SOURCES Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 22/22); GARF (7021-70-950); NA (HW 16/54); NARA (RG-242, T-501, reels 6 and 33); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 4); and VHAP (Kdo.-Stab RFSS, 6/12).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Zen'kov," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:483.

2. Poltava Oblast' Organization of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments: List of burial sites of victims of shootings of Soviet citizens of Jewish nationality during the occupation of the Ukraine in 1941–1944, Poltava oblast' (archive of the author); GARF, 7021-70-950, p. 1, reports only that all remaining Jews were killed.

3. NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 33, fr. 1284 and 1293.

4. Poltava Oblast' Organization of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, PAAKru.

5. See Fernschreiben no. 2083, December 25, 1941, 14.30, from HSSPF Russland Süd to RFSS, Kdo.-Stab RFSS, Chef Orpo (VHAP, Kdo.-Stab RFSS, 6/12; and NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 6).

6. See Fernschreiben, February 2, 1942, from Einsatzstab HSSPF Russland Süd to RFSS, Kdo.-Stab RFSS, Chef Orpo, Chef Sipo (NA, HW 16/54, GPD 605; NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 10; and BA-MA, RH 22/22).

ZHASHKOV

Pre-1941: Zhashkov, village and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Shashkovo, Rayon center, Gebiet Taraschtscha, Generalkommissariat Kiev; post-1991: Zhashkiv, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Zhashkov is located about 56 kilometers (35 miles) north of Uman'. The 1939 population census counted 877 Jews in Zhashkov (14.58 percent of the population) and 299 Jews in the villages of the Zhashkov raion, bringing the total number to 1,176 Jews.

German forces occupied Zhashkov on July 19, 1941, nearly one month after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this month, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. Around 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Zhashkov at the start of the occupation.

From July to October 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered Zhashkov. The German military administration created a local council and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from among the local residents.

At the end of October 1941, power was transferred to the German civilian administration. Zhashkov became a Rayon center in Gebiet Taraschtscha, where Kameradschaftsführer Wurach was named as Gebietskommissar.¹

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement in July, the German military commandant ordered the registration and marking of the Jews with yellow stars. At the end of July or beginning of August 1941, the German military administration ordered the formation of a ghetto ("Jewish residential district") in the center of the settlement. One street was cordoned off. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto to buy products from the Ukrainian locals; as a result, famine quickly ensued. The Jews in the ghetto were required to perform forced labor every day. Among the tasks performed was the cleaning of toilets.²

In 1941, a number of Jews were murdered in the settlement and in the villages of the Zhashkov Rayon.³ On March 15, 1942, able-bodied Jews were selected and sent to various forced

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labor camps, including those in the villages of Buki and Antonovka.⁴ The remaining Jews in the Zhashkov ghetto—more than 100—were shot in September 1942 (exact date unknown) in a quarry located 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) to the east of the settlement.⁵ In Zhashkov during 1941 and 1942, the Germans and their collaborators murdered around 500 Jews in total.⁶

SOURCES Documents regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jews in Zhashkov can be found in the following archives: DACHO; and DAKiO.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communes in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program “The Memory of the Holocaust” (*Pamiat’ Kholokosta*), Cherkassy Province, Town of Zhashkov; and Leonid Koval, ed., *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2:107, testimony of Ol’ga Zuslina.

3. In the summer of 1941, German soldiers and policemen murdered around 300 Jews in the Zhashkov raion. See F.D. Sverdlov, *Dokumenty obviniaut. Kholokost: Svidetel’sva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel’ skii tsentr “Kholokost,” 1996), p. 39.

4. Koval, *Kniga spaseniia*, 2:107, testimony of Ol’ga Zuslina.

5. Sverdlov, *Dokumenty obviniaut*, p. 39. Another account indicates that 150 Jews were shot in 1942 at the boundary of Berestova, between the villages of Petrovka and Okhmatov. Administrative report by the administration of the Cherkassy Provincial Organization of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments, no. 72, October 15, 1990, addressed to the Council Head of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments in Kiev.

6. Association of Jewish Organizations and Communes in Ukraine (Vaad Ukrainy), program “The Memory of the Holocaust” (*Pamiat’ Kholokosta*), Cherkassy Province, Town of Zhashkov.

ZOLONOSHA

Pre-1941: Zolotonosha, town, Poltava oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Solotonoscha, from September 1942, Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Zolotonosha, Cherkasy oblast’, Ukraine

Zolotonosha is located 139 kilometers (86 miles) east-southeast of Kiev. According to the 1939 census, there were 2,087 Jews residing in Zolotonosha.

The Germans entered Zolotonosha on September 19, 1941. In the weeks prior to the Germans’ arrival, a large part of the Jewish population managed to evacuate or flee to the interior of the Soviet Union. According to the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, on the third day af-

ter the occupation of the town, the German commandant ordered the execution of 300 local citizens. Among those killed were many refugees from western parts of the Soviet Union, and it is most likely that a high proportion were Jews.¹ The German unit responsible for the shooting was probably a detachment of Sonderkommando 4a. The remaining Jews were herded into a ghetto, from which they were taken to perform menial jobs such as cleaning streets and repairing roads.

On November 21, the German commandant announced that all Jews would be “resettled” to Kremenchug the following day. They were ordered to gather all their valuables, money, and best clothes and to assemble near Gestapo headquarters at 9:00 A.M. on November 22, 1941. On that day guards were posted all over the town, and they thoroughly searched the Jewish apartments and the neighboring houses for any Jews who went into hiding. The Gestapo men robbed the assembled Jews of all their valuables. The Jews were then escorted under close guard to a ravine about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside of Zolotonosha to the northwest, where they were shot. Involved in the Aktion were forces of the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia South, namely, Police Battalion 303, men of Sonderkommando 4a, and members of the Ukrainian police, commanded by the Ukrainian police chief in the town, Vladimir Ivanovich Kalanchuk. The precise number of victims, Jewish men, women, and children from Zolotonosha and its environs, is unknown, but estimates range from 600 up to 3,500 or more.²

In the ensuing period until the spring of 1942, several hundred more Jews were successively brought in to Zolotonosha from the countryside and confined in the ghetto. In January 1942, during a German antipartisan sweep through the Poltava oblast’, a number of Jews were shot in Zolotonosha. The rest were murdered by men of Sonderkommando “Plath” in June 1942.³

SOURCES Regarding the murder of the Jews in Zolotonosha, see *Nimets’ki okupanty na Poltavshchyni (1941–1943): Zbirnyk dokumentiv* (Poltava: Vydavnytstvo “Zoria Poltavshchyny,” 1947), pp. 24–29. An English translation can be found in A.F. Vysotsky et al., eds., *Nazi Crimes in Ukraine, 1941–1944: Documents and Materials* (Kiev: Naukova Dumka, 1987), pp. 151–155.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: DAPO; GARF; NARA (T-501, reel 6, fr. 1013); and TSDAHOU.

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-70-952, p. 1. This Soviet report named German officers Hauptmann Greisching and Oberleutnant Ilger as being responsible.

2. *Nimets’ki okupanty na Poltavshchyni (1941–1943)*, pp. 24–29. The figure of 3,500 victims can be found in DAPO, R-4085-3-2276, p. 2. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 797, gives the

figure of at least 1,000 killed. A. Kruglov, *Entsiklopediia khobolokosta: Evreiskaia entsiklopediia Ukrainy* (Kiev: Evreiskii soviet Ukrainy, Fond "Pamiat' zhertv fashizma," 2000), pp. 142, 144, however, gives a figure of probably only around 600 in light of the pre-war Jewish population of only 2,087.

3. TsDAHOU, 166-2- 34, p. 1; DAPO, R-1876-8-98, p. 1; and R-3388-1-1086, p. 1.

ZVENIGORODKA

Pre-1941: Zvenigorodka, town and raion center, Kiev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1944: Swenigorodka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Kiev, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Zvenigorodka, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Zvenigorodka is located 156 kilometers (97 miles) south of Kiev and about 65 kilometers (40 miles) northeast of Uman'. In 1926, there were 6,584 Jews in the town (36.5 percent of the total population); in 1939, there were 1,957 (14 percent of the total population).

On July 29, 1941, German forces occupied Zvenigorodka. In the intervening five weeks after the start of the German invasion, a few hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and a number of Jewish men were called up to the Red Army. Others stayed behind, believing they had nothing to fear from the Germans as they were not members of the Communist Party. Approximately 1,300 Jews remained in Zvenigorodka at the start of the German occupation, including some refugees from western Ukraine who became trapped in the town as they tried to flee eastward.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The German military commandant established a local administration in the town and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents.

In December 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Zvenigorodka became the administrative center of Gebiet Swenigorodka, which also included the Rayons of Shpola, Ekaterinopol', Mokraia Kaligorka, and Ol'shana. Oberbannführer Hannjo Becker became the Gebietskommissar. In turn, Gebiet Swenigorodka was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Kiev within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.¹ A squad of German Gendarmerie based in the town supervised the local Ukrainian police.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the German military commandant ordered the local administration to register the Jews, who were required to wear white armbands bearing the Star of David. The Jews were forced to perform heavy manual labor (such as repairing roads, cleaning, and construction work), during which they were frequently beaten. A few weeks later, in September 1941,² an open ghetto ("Jewish residential district") was established on the orders of the German military commandant, on Comintern Street, Gul'kina Street, and several other small streets in the northern part of town. Jews were also brought to the ghetto from the surrounding

villages of the Swenigorodka Rayon. Several families had to share each house. The ghetto was not surrounded by barbed wire, but Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto area or communicating with the local population. Jews were permitted to visit the market for only a short period in the afternoon. Ukrainian police guards manned checkpoints around the ghetto to enforce these regulations. The Ukrainian policemen and German officials often entered the ghetto and took clothing, dishes, shoes, and any valuables. At night drunken policemen assaulted and robbed the Jews in their houses.³

In September 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5, commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Lehmann, arrived in Zvenigorodka, where it was based for several weeks.⁴ At the end of September or the beginning of October 1941, Lehmann's mobile squad of Security Police conducted the first Aktion in Zvenigorodka, seizing about 100 Jewish men and shooting them.⁵

German regulations prohibited the Jews from buying products from the local Ukrainians. However, although entering and leaving the ghetto was forbidden without a special permit, some Ukrainian civilians still came to the ghetto to exchange food for Jewish clothing and furniture. Conditions in the ghetto were very overcrowded, with several families sharing each house. Due to lack of food and heating materials, some ghetto residents died of starvation and disease, including at least one death from typhus. There also were arbitrary arrests and individual killings of Jews conducted by the local police and the Germans.⁶

In the ghetto, there was a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which was established on the orders of the German authorities. The head of the Jewish Council was a man named Lazurik. Among the tasks of the Jewish Council was the organization of daily Jewish labor details, including the repair of roads and cleaning latrines. There was a clinic headed by Dr. Starosel'skaia, who still managed to perform complicated surgery without adequate medications or equipment. There were two dentists, one of whom, Lisa Prober, also treated the locally based German officials. The Germans closed down the clinic in the ghetto after a short time, but the residents continued to improvise medical services despite the lack of medicine and bandages.

At the beginning of May 1942, the German authorities transferred about 100 Jews from the ghetto in the town of Ol'shana.⁷ They brought them to Zvenigorodka at the end of the day, and at night they put them in a prison. The next morning, they selected the able-bodied Jews among them for assignment to a labor camp. Those who were not considered fit to work were sent to the Zvenigorodka ghetto.⁸ On May 5, 1942, by order of the Gebietskommissar, the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie rounded up the able-bodied Jews to perform road repair work on the Transit Highway IV (Durchgangsstrasse IV) project. These Jews were resettled into a labor camp that was created in the stables in the village of Nemorozh.⁹ On May 17, 1942, around 150 Jews were resettled in Zvenigorodka from the village of Ekaterinopol',¹⁰

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bringing the total number of people in the ghetto to around 1,500. On June 18, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. Before the liquidation, a group of Jewish craftsmen, their families, and other able-bodied individuals were selected out. The remaining 1,375 people were shot in the nearby meadow.¹¹ The shooting was organized by a detachment of the Security Police and SD subordinated to the Commander of the Security Police (KdS) in Kiev, assisted by the Ukrainian police and German Gendarmerie. The Jewish craftsmen survived in the town until August 1943, when they were also shot.¹²

Fanya Shubinskaya managed to flee when the labor camp at Nemorozh was liquidated and survived with the help of Zinaida Shchaslyva in Novaia Greblia.¹³

SOURCES Published testimonies about the ghetto in Zvenigorodka can be found in collections edited by Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, *V ogne Katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraïne: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslagerei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kiryat-Heim, Israel: Izd. "Beit lokhamei kha-gettaot," 1998), pp. 15–33, 148–167; and in that edited by Boris Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev: Zadruga, 2000), also available in English as *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005); there is also a testimony by L. Kraslovskaiia published in *Evreiskie vesti* (Kiev), nos. 1–2 (1994), p. 4.

Documents regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews in Zvenigorodka can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II 204 AR-Z 26/68); DAKiO (4758-2-18 and 20); GARF (7021-148-11 and 7021-65-241); USHMM (RG-50.226*0016); and VHF.

Alexander Kruglov and Alexander Prusin
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SSSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. Agmon and Maliar, *V ogne Katastrofy (Shoa) na Ukraïne*, p. 151, testimony of Lubov Krasilovskaya; see also USHMM, RG-50.226*0016, Oral History with Lubov Krasilovskaya.

3. Testimony of Fanya Shubinskaya (Sapozhnikova), in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 363–364.

4. Verdict of LG-Düss on August 5, 1966, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 24, Lfd. Nr. 636a, p. 523.

5. Testimony of L. Kraslovskaiia, p. 4; and Boris Zabarko, ed., *"Nur wir haben überlebt": Holocaust in der Ukraine: Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004), p. 278.

6. Testimony of L. Kraslovskaiia; Testimony of Fanya Shubinskaya (Sapozhnikova), pp. 363–364.

7. Testimony of T.E. Shnaider (Pit'kina), in Iu. M. Liakhovitskii, *Perezhivshie katastrofu: Spasbivsia, spasiteli, kollaboranty, martirolog, svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Kharkov-Jerusalem, 1996), p. 139. According to the deposition of I.T. Nesterenko, the former chief of police in the Ol'shana Rayon, there were 103 Jews; see GARF, 7021-148-11.

8. Testimony of Grigorii Basovskii, in Zabarko, *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, pp. 46–47.

9. DAKiO, 4758-2-20, p. 30.

10. Ibid., 4758-2-18, p. 4.

11. Testimony of L. Kraslovskaiia; DAKiO, 4758-2-20, p. 30. Fanya Shubinskaya (Sapozhnikova) dates the mass shooting at the beginning of May 1942, see her Testimony, pp. 363–364.

12. Testimony of L. Kraslovskaiia.

13. Testimony of Fanya Shubinskaya (Sapozhnikova), pp. 363–364.

NIKOLAEV AND DNEPROPETROVSK REGIONS



The bodies of two Jewish men hang from a gallows outside a market building in Novomoskovsk, 1942.
USHMM WS #25240, COURTESY OF YIVO

NIKOLAEV AND DNEPROPETROVSK REGIONS (GENERALKOMMISSARIATE NIKOLAJEW UND DNJEPROPETROWSK)

Pre-1941: Nikolaev, Kherson, Kirovograd, Dnepropetrovsk, and Zaporozh'e oblasts, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Generalkommissariat Nikolajew und Dnjeppetrowsk, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Mykolaiv, Kirovograd, Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizh'e, and parts of the Kherson and Cherkasy oblasts, Ukraine

In these two southeastern regions of Reichskommissariat Ukraine, the German occupying authorities established around 18 ghettos, which probably contained up to 24,000 Jews. Research has uncovered 11 ghettos or probable ghetto sites in Generalkommissariat (Gk) Nikolajew that contained up to 19,000 Jews and another 7 such sites in Gk Dnjeppetrowsk, which held around 5,000 Jews. The period of ghettoization extended from August 1941 until the spring or early summer of 1942. It was accompanied by the mass murder of the Jewish population by units of the Security Police (Einsatzgruppen and Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD, or KdS), Wehrmacht, Order Police, SS, the German civil administration, and various non-German auxiliaries.

As the German forces of Army Group South advanced eastward in the late summer of 1941, much of the area concerned came temporarily under the administration of the 444th Security Division, which was responsible for securing areas in the immediate rear of the frontline troops. Most of the Nikolaev and Dnepropetrovsk regions were occupied by German forces between early August and early October. Malaia Viska, about 55 kilometers (34 miles) west-northwest of Kirovograd, was captured at the beginning of August. Krivoi Rog was taken on August 14, and the city of Nikolaev on the Black Sea coast fell on August 17. Further to the east and south, Dnepropetrovsk was captured on August 25, and Zaporozh'e on October 4, 1941.

Precise figures for the number of Jews who managed to evacuate are not available. According to the calculations of historian Alexander Kruglov, of the 26,419 Jews residing in the Kirovograd oblast' in 1939, approximately 12,000 (about 45 percent) were murdered during the German occupation. That means that probably around 50 percent of the Jews were able to evacuate or flee. The figures for the Dnepropetrovsk oblast' are that of 129,439 Jews registered in 1939, probably around 35,000 were murdered (about 27 percent). The higher rate of evacuation here is probably explained by the concentration of Jews in industrial centers and the location further east, giving people more time to leave.

For Adolf Hitler and Heinrich Himmler the murder of the Jews was the first step in a large-scale plan for the demographic restructuring and resettlement of the occupied territories. By the end of August 1941, the Einsatzgruppen and other German security forces had widened the group of Jews targeted for extermination to include women, children, and the elderly, and they had begun wiping out entire Jewish communities. In Ukraine, this shift was demonstrated most clearly by the large-scale massacre of Jews at Kamenets-Podolskii

in late August 1941, in which more than 20,000 people were murdered.¹

This transition to mass murder by Einsatzgruppen C and D, assisted by Order Police forces subordinated to the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) South Russia (Friedrich Jeckeln), in mid-August, meant that the establishment of ghettos in the region was conducted only in a few places and on an ad hoc basis. On August 28, 1941, the commander of Rear Area, Army Group South, General Franz von Roques, ordered that ghettos were to be established in places, especially towns, with a larger Jewish population only if this was necessary or useful. It was to be deferred if the administrative tools were insufficient or if it might result in more urgent tasks being neglected.²

In late August and early September 1941, the German military administration established the first ghettos in the region in the towns of Pervomaisk and Novaia Odessa. These short-lived ghettos served mainly as collection points to facilitate the destruction of the Jews later in September.³

Available records for Krivoi Rog reveal the series of anti-Jewish measures implemented in this town, where no ghetto was established. In August 1941, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe C shot 39 Communist officials, 11 saboteurs and plunderers, and 105 Jews there.⁴ By mid-September, Jews were required to perform forced labor, to wear distinguishing armbands, and to use separate shops. They were also forbidden to slaughter livestock and had to surrender any foreign currency, precious metals, jewels, or other valuables. Feldkommandantur (FK) (V) 538 was then examining the question of whether it would serve its goals to establish a ghetto there—but by mid-October, all the Jews had been shot with the assistance of the Ukrainian auxiliary police.⁵

The establishment of the ghetto in Kherson, which existed for only two weeks, is well documented in contemporary German reports, survivor testimony, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials, postwar German investigations, and published accounts. Sonderkommando 11a issued an order that the Jews could only reside on certain streets, thereby establishing a ghetto on September 7. The ghetto was located in a remote section of the city, near the crossroads of Frunze and Rabochnaia Streets, and a Jewish police force was created. Overseeing the ghetto was SS-Scharführer Baron Leo von der Recke of Sonderkommando 11a. On a daily basis the Jews were summoned to perform various forms of humiliating and heavy physical labor.⁶

On September 24–25, 1941, Sonderkommando 11a organized the liquidation of the Kherson ghetto.⁷ Prior to the Ak-

tion, the Jews were informed that they would be resettled to Palestine. A few Jews managed to escape, but most of these people were subsequently captured and killed. When the Aktion started, the Jews were marched on foot to a factory site on the edge of the city. From there they were conveyed on trucks to an antitank ditch 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) northeast of the city, near Zelenivka. The Jews were shot in groups by two rifle squads. Those waiting could hear the shots.⁸ Soviet forensic experts estimated that more than 8,000 people were buried in the mass graves.⁹

A similar ghetto was established in Nikolaev to facilitate the mass murder of around 7,000 Jews there under the supervision of Sonderkommando 11a, also in September 1941. However, Feldkommandantur 193 reported somewhat misleadingly on October 5, 1941, that “in Nikolaev and Kherson the Jews had been ‘evacuated’ by the SD. The intended establishment of ghettos therefore was not completed. Also in the countryside, as far as can be determined here, the Jews had in the meantime disappeared.”¹⁰ In fact, ghettos had been briefly created in Nikolaev and Kherson by Sonderkommando 11a as part of the destruction process, but FK 193 misrepresented this, as by October these ghettos had been completely liquidated.

In many places in Gks Nikolajew and Dnjepropetrowsk, no ghettos were established, especially in the Zaporozh'e oblast', where the only ghetto discovered was in Novozlatopol'. Instead, the remaining Jews were killed in mass-shooting Aktions or by other means, without formal ghettoization. In Dnepropetrovsk it was reported that about 70,000 of the 100,000 Jews originally living there had fled before the arrival of the Germans. Of the remainder, more than 10,000 were shot by units subordinated to HSSPF Russia South (especially Police Battalion 314) on October 14–15, 1941.¹¹ It appears that the Wehrmacht (FK 240) made preparations for the establishment of a ghetto in Dnepropetrovsk, but the rapid massacre of some 15,000 Jews by the SD soon rendered this unnecessary.¹²

In Zaporozh'e, where about 4,000 Jews were living at the start of the German occupation, the German military authorities also did not deem it “appropriate” to move the Jews into a ghetto. Jewish medical personnel were still working here, but it was planned to exclude them as quickly as possible, allowing for the health-care needs of the population.¹³

The area of GK Nikolajew was officially transferred from military to civilian control in mid-November 1941, when Generalkommissar Oppermann took over the region.¹⁴ In December 1941, part of Gk Dnjepropetrowsk was officially transferred to a civil administration, although the military commandants continued to play an important role in these areas for several months more. Both Generalkommissariate were divided up into a number of Kreisgebiete, each administered by a Gebietskommissar. In Gk Nikolajew, there were three Stadtkommissare (for the cities of Kherson, Nikolaev, and Kirovograd) and 13 Gebietskommissare. In Gk Dnjepropetrowsk, there were four Stadtkommissare (for Dnepropetrovsk, Zaporozh'e, Krivoi Rog, and Kamenskoye) and 16 Gebietskommissare.¹⁵ However, the eastern section of Gk Dnjepropetrowsk was not

handed over from military to civilian administration until October 1942.

With the handover to the civil administration, the Ukrainian militia was formally dissolved, and a Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft was created under the control of the Order Police, which was composed of the Schutzpolizei in the cities and the Gendarmerie in the towns and country areas. The Kommandeur der Gendarmerie (KdG) in Nikolajew was Major Gansinger. By November 1942, there were approximately 410 Gendarmes subordinated to the KdG Nikolajew, in charge of nearly 5,000 local policemen (Schutzmannschaft-Einzeldienst). In Gk Dnjepropetrowsk about 600 officials of the Schutzpolizei and 400 Gendarmes were responsible for some 6,000 Ukrainian auxiliaries. The Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (KdO) Dnjepropetrowsk was Colonel Gotthilf Hoffmann. Small outposts of the Security Police were established in major cities such as Nikolaev, Kirovograd, Dnepropetrovsk, and Zaporozh'e.

In some areas of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, ghettos were not established until after the arrival of the civil administration at the end of 1941. This was the case in Aleksandrovka, in Kamenka, and also in Bobrinets, where Gebietskommissar Holzmann ordered the establishment of an enclosed Jewish residential area in late December. In the absence of much survivor testimony or German documentation, historians are forced to rely on other sources to identify ghettos in these regions. For example, information on the ghetto in Bobrinets comes from the ChGK and a postwar NKVD report from 1946. The ghetto in Bobrinets was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded day and night by the local police.¹⁶ It existed only until early February 1942, when more than 300 people were shot just outside the town.

A variety of different structures were used as ghettos in these regions. The small ghetto in Novaia Praga (Gk Nikolajew) was established at the end of 1941 in a building in a schoolyard. Jews from nearby villages were also resettled into the ghetto, which was not liquidated until the following summer.¹⁷ In Pavlograd (Gk Dnjepropetrowsk), the German authorities established a Jewish “prison camp” or “ghetto” in the spring of 1942, on the grounds of a large factory.

As already noted, following the large-scale massacres in major cities in September and October 1941, conducted mainly by mobile units of the SS and police, the remaining smaller ghettos were liquidated successively from February through the summer of 1942, mostly by the Gendarmerie and local Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft, with close coordination by the civil administration. The Zlatopol' ghetto (Gk Nikolajew) was subjected to at least three separate Aktions by German police and their Ukrainian helpers. In some of these Aktions, conducted on instructions from the Gebietskommissar, the Jews were murdered using poison gas.¹⁸ The Aleksandrovka ghetto was liquidated in March 1942, when several hundred Jews were shot by German and local police, again coordinated by the Gebietskommissar, as was the case at another mass shooting of Jews, near the village of Izrailevka, although these Jews had not previously been ghettoized.

In July 1942, Generalkommissar Oppermann in Nikolajew reported curtly that “only individual Jews had appeared in one Gebiet and that a corresponding report had been passed on to the SD.”¹⁹

In Gk Nikolajew and Gk Dnjepropetrowsk there were a number of rural Jewish settlements, most notably in the Stalindorf Jewish national raion. On October 20, 1941, FK (V) 246 reported that in “Rayon Stalindorf” only just over 2,500 Jews remained, compared with a figure of more than 7,000 registered there in 1939. “Most of those [that remained] had been excluded from the economy and they stayed completely calm. Through the repeated Aktions of the police, the Jewish question was becoming ever less important.”²⁰ This reflected the pattern in the Jewish agricultural settlements that a number of Jews remained on their respective kolkhozy and were liquidated in successive Aktions from the fall of 1941 through the summer of 1942. In a few kolkhozy/villages, however, survivors recall some form of open ghetto being established, where Jews were concentrated together with only limited access to food and restricted movement, as well as forced labor.²¹

Despite the above-cited report of the Generalkommissar Nikolajew indicating that almost all Jews had been removed by July 1942, the exploitation of Jewish labor remained an issue into 1943. In Aleksandrovka, for example, some Jewish craftsmen were spared from the main Aktion in the spring of 1942 and continued to live and work in the ghetto for some time afterwards.

In several other ghettos in these regions, Jews were selected for work and sent to labor camps during the liquidation Aktions in the spring and summer of 1942, where they survived for several months more. In March 1942, when most of the remaining Jews in Rayon Mala Wiska were shot, those Jews able to work were selected and sent to a labor camp in the Rayon center. These Jewish prisoners had to live in the stables of a sugar refinery, and they worked on building and repairing roads.²²

In Novovitebskoe, where the Jews had been isolated in an open ghetto, located on a single street, those deemed fit for work were selected in April 1942 and taken to a nearby labor camp run by the SS and the Organisation Todt (OT), where they were used to build the highway (Durchgangsstrasse IV or DG IV) between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. On May 20, 1942, around 300 young Jews were transported from the ghetto in Ingulets to another labor camp in the village of Novoselovka, which was also part of the DG IV project.

In only a few cases is information about the existence of a Jewish Council, or Jewish elder (starosta), available. The main functions of such officials included the assignment of Jews to forced labor and the raising of contributions. Jewish responses included, on rare occasions, physical resistance in the face of death and also suicide. A number of Jews tried to hide and escape, but many of these were captured shortly after the ghetto liquidation Aktions.

In view of the small number of survivors from these regions, little information is available about the reactions of the local population. A number of accounts mention the brutality

of local Ukrainian and ethnic German policemen and administrators. The local police robbed the Jews, beat them, and in a number of locations, played an active part in their murder. A few instances of non-Jews helping Jews are recorded. They provided food to Jewish acquaintances and, in rare cases, warned Jews or helped them to escape (including older local policemen). For example, Nikifor Cheredenko, a farmer from the village of Prishib, traveled several hours by cart to rescue the Tsviling family of Jews shortly before their scheduled arrest. In Prishib, the other local inhabitants also did not give away the family, even though they were known to be Jews, having lived there before the war.²³ Generally, however, those that did escape from the ghetto had the best chances of surviving if they could pass as non-Jews and were able to get away from their home village, where they might be recognized. A few were even sent to Germany as Ostarbeiter (eastern workers).

The last occupying German forces were driven from the region by the Red Army during 1944. Precise figures are not available, but it seems likely that of the Jews trapped by the German occupation in the ghettos of this region, only a few hundred managed to survive. The postwar populations in these towns and cities were composed overwhelmingly of Jews who had returned (or arrived) from the Soviet interior or had served in the Red Army.

SOURCES Only limited research has been conducted into the Holocaust in these regions, partly due to a lack of detailed sources. Among those publications dealing with all or part of these regions, the following are worthy of mention: Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003); Michael Gesin, “Holocaust: The Reality of Genocide in Southern Ukraine” (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 2003); I.M. Liakhovitskii, ed., *Zbeltaia Kniga: Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty* (Kharkov: Biblioteka gazety “Bensiakh,” 1994); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001); *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Boris Zabarko, ed., “*Nur wir haben überlebt: Holocaust in Ukraine—Zeugnisse und Dokumente* (Wittenberg: Dittrich, 2004); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vols. 4–6 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, “Epos,” 2000–2007); S.F. Orlianskii, *Kholokost na Zaporozh'e* (Zaporozh'e, 2003); and Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DADO; DAKherO; DAKO; DAMO; DASBU; DAZPO; GARF; NARA; RGVA; TsDA-HOU; TsDAVO; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, NS 33/22, HSSPF Jeckeln to RFSS, August 27–30, 1941.
2. Order of General von Roques, August 28, 1941, BA-L, Versch, vol. 4, p. 891, as cited in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 81.
3. GARF, 7021-68-182, pp. 157, 190–193.
4. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 86, September 17, 1941.
5. Situation report of Feldkommandantur (V) 538, September 14, 1941, BA-L, Dokumentation UdSSR III, pp. 768–769, 774; and RGVA, 1275-3-665, OK I/253 Krivoi Rog, October 15, 1941.
6. Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Sk 11a in Cherson vom 22.8. bis 10.9.1941 (NARA, N-Doc. NOKW-636); Oleksandr Ivanovych Melnyk, “Behind the Frontlines: War, Genocide and Identity in the Kherson Region of Ukraine, 1941–1944” (Master’s thesis, Edmonton University, 2004), pp. 49–53; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 33 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), pp. 452, 458–459.
7. GARF, 7021-77-421, pp. 11, 13, and reverse.
8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, pp. 448–449.
9. See *Zverstva nemetsko-fasbistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, vypusk 13 (Voennoe izdatel’stvo NKO, 1945), pp. 59–62. According to the testimony of SS-Hauptscharführer Robert Barth on September 12, 1947, Sonderkommando 11a executed around 5,000 Jews in Kherson with the support of Sonderkommando 10b; see NARA, N-Doc. No-4992.
10. RGVA, 1275-3-662, pp. 41–53, FK 193 an Bfh. rückw. H. Geb. Süd, October 5, 1941.
11. BA-BL, R 58/219, EM no. 135, November 11, 1941.
12. USHMM, RG-11.001M.13 (RGVA), reel 92, 1275-3-666, report of Feldkommandantur 240, Dnjeppropetrowsk, October 19, 1941, p. 3.
13. *Ibid.*, 1275-3-661, pp. 41–42, report of Abt. VII, FK 676, November 2, 1941, with attached report of Abt. VII, FK 676, October 21, 1941.
14. BA-BL, R 94/9, Order of the Führer, November 4, 1941.
15. USHMM, RG-31.002M, reel 3, 3206-2-19.
16. Correspondence of the NKVD-chief for the Bobrynets raion, March 30, 1946, in *Evreiskie vesti* (Jewish News), Kiev 1994, # 23–24, p. 15; and GARF, 7021-66-124.
17. Testimony of S. Peskova, personal archive of Fiodor Plotnir, a regional ethnographer from Novaia Praga; F.F. Oksanych, “Nova Praha—selyshche khliborobiv: Korotkyi istoryko-kraeznavchyi narys,” in the Aleksandria (Ingulets) State Ethnographic Museum.
18. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, Report of the HSSPF and chief of the Security Police in Reichskommissariat Ukraine for March 6 to April 1, 1942.
19. BA-BL, R 6/94, Gk Nikolajew, situation report for July 1942.
20. Situation report of Feldkommandantur (V) 246, October 20, 1941, BA-L, Dokumentation UdSSR III, pp. 793–804, as cited in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges*, p. 155.
21. VHF, # 40734, testimony of Sofia Goldshtein regarding the Fraidorf ghetto.
22. DAKO, 6656-2-1, p. 41.
23. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 205–207.



ALEKSANDROVKA

Pre-1941 and post-1943: Aleksandrovka, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Aleksandrovka, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Oleksandrivka, Kirovograd oblast', Ukraine

Aleksandrovka is located 54 kilometers (34 miles) north of Kirovograd. According to the 1939 population census, there were 565 Jews residing in Aleksandrovka, or 10 percent of the town's total population. At that time, another 117 Jews were counted in the villages of the then Aleksandrovka raion.¹

On August 5, 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, German armed forces occupied the town. In this interim period, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Approximately 60 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Aleksandrovka at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military established a local administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. The chief of the raion police in Aleksandrovka was a man named Filonenko, and his deputy was Zakrevkii.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. Aleksandrovka was incorporated into Gebiet Snamenka, in Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine.²

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military ordered the registration and marking of the Jews. All Jews had to wear Stars of David, and they were forced to perform various kinds of physical labor, such as road construction.

In December 1941, on the orders of the German authorities, a ghetto was established in Aleksandrovka, consisting of four streets that were fenced off. At this time, in the winter of 1941–1942, Jews were also brought to the ghetto from neighboring villages, such as Stavidlo. Initially Jews were able to go to a market nearby, and they exchanged remaining items of property for food. Some food was also delivered to the ghetto fairly regularly. The Jews in the ghetto were repeatedly robbed; the Germans took away items such as samovars and furniture. Living conditions were very primitive, with people sleeping on straw covered only by their clothes. Jewish adults went out every day to perform forced labor, leaving the children behind.³

There was a Jewish elder in the ghetto; he was a former beer trader. According to one of the survivors, he acted in a very cruel manner. German soldiers were stationed nearby, but they did not act aggressively towards the Jews.⁴

In the spring of 1942, probably at the end of March, the Germans assembled the Jews in a cowshed and conducted a selection. A few Jewish craftsmen with their families were spared and sent back to the ghetto, while the other Jews were taken away to be shot. Testimony from the trial of two local policemen indicates that the Jews from Aleksandrovka were probably taken away on trucks with other Jews from the Rayon, about

300 people altogether composed mostly of women, children, and the elderly, to a ravine near the village of Ivangorod. The Aktion was supervised by Gebietskommissar Lange and carried out by about 25 local policemen and around 100 members of the German SS and police. The victims were forced to undress before they were shot. The local policemen were rewarded with bottles of vodka for their participation.⁵

Following the Aktion, the Jewish craftsmen and their families were not permitted to leave the area of the ghetto, but occasionally older local policemen would let them out. Thanks to a warning from one of the policemen, some Jews escaped shortly before the remaining Jews were shot in the spring of 1943. The family of Anatolii Zvanskii then survived in hiding with the help of local inhabitants until the Red Army liberated the region in the winter of 1943–1944.⁶

SOURCES Publications on the fate of the Jews of Aleksandrovka during the Holocaust include Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoj okkupatsii, 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), pp. 211–212.

Documents on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Aleksandrovka can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-66-123); VHF (# 43727 and 43350); and YVA (O-4/72-1).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 59.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. VHF, # 43727, testimony of Mark Babenko, and # 43350, testimony of Anatolii Zvanskii.

4. *Ibid.*, # 43350.

5. *Ibid.*; and testimony of former policeman Zhilenko in Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, pp. 211–212. Jews from Elizavetgradka, Krasnosel'e, and Ivangorod were also shot in Aleksandrovka. The findings of the ChGK (GARF, 7021-66-123, p. 1), however, note that more than 600 Jews were shot in Aleksandrovka in the fall of 1941, along with 49 Jews from the village of Krymki and 72 Jews from the village of Sosnovka. These two villages lay within the Aleksandrovka raion.

6. VHF, # 43350.

BOBRINET'S

Pre-1941 and post-1943: Bobrinets, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; 1991: Kirovograd oblast', Ukraine.

Bobrinets is located 54 kilometers (34 miles) south of Kirovograd. According to the census of 1926, the town had 2,265 Jewish residents (20.4 percent of the total population); in 1939, there were only 654 Jews remaining (14 percent of the total).

This population decline was mainly due to the resettlement of Jews to other regions. In what under German occupation was to become the area of Gebiet Bobrinets, in 1939 there were also 353 Jews in the Ustinovka raion, 189 in the Bobrinets raion, 123 in the Rovnoe raion, and 21 in Vytiavezka. According to a German report dated October 10, 1941, there were 33 Jews registered in Rayon Rownoje at that time.¹

Forces of the German XIV Motorized Corps occupied Bobrinets on August 6, 1941. By the time German troops arrived in the town, several hundred local Jews had escaped to the east. All men of military age were drafted into or voluntarily joined the Red Army. About 55 percent of the pre-war Jewish population was still in town when the German forces arrived. In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military administration was in charge of the town. For part of that time, it was under the control of the 444th Security Division. The military authorities established a local administration in Bobrinets and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from local inhabitants.

In mid-November 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The town became the administrative center of Rayon and Gebiet Bobrinets. Three other towns also became Rayon centers within the Gebiet: Vytiavezka, Ustinovka, and Rovnoe.

A short time after the start of the occupation, the German military authorities gave instructions to register all the Jews of the town. They also ordered the Jewish population to wear special armbands on their sleeves. The German authorities forced the Jews to perform physically demanding work of various kinds (such as repairing the streets and damaged buildings). While conducting forced labor, the Jews were also subjected to humiliations and beatings at the hands of the local Ukrainian police. At the end of December 1941, the Gebietskommissar, Gemeinschaftsführer Holzmann, ordered the establishment of an enclosed Jewish residential area. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded day and night by the local police.² At the beginning of January 1942, one inmate managed to escape from the ghetto. As a punishment, the German police killed 10 Jews, burning them alive in a house. At the end of January or at the beginning of February 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. They shot all remaining ghetto residents—344 persons in all—in an area to the southwest of the town. Among the victims were 20 men, 180 women, 120 children, and 24 older persons. In May 1942, the German forces shot another group of 20 Jews close to the regional hospital (12 women, 6 children, and 2 older persons).³ Including the killing of another 5 Jews on August 10, 1942,⁴ the total number of Jewish victims in Bobrinets was 379.

In the late spring of 1942,⁵ the Gebietskommissar in Bobrinets issued orders for some 25 Jews scattered in the surrounding villages of Rayon Ustinovka to be arrested and brought to the local police station in Ustinovka. Another 35 to 40 Jews were brought to Ustinovka from Bobrinets, where they had been collected from the other outlying Rayons of the Gebiet.⁶ In the village of Izrailevka, there were about 60 Jews still living in their own homes who had not been confined to a ghetto.⁷

The Gendarmerie and local police (Schutzmannschaft) escorted the Jewish women, children, and men from Izrailevka to a freshly dug pit near Izrailevka, to which those held in Ustinovka were also brought. Members of the Security Police, Gendarmerie, and Schutzmannschaft then shot the Jews in the pit. The Bobrinets Gebietskommissar and the Rayonchef in Ustinovka, a local ethnic German by the name of Friedrich Strohmeier, stood by and observed the massacre.⁸ Having taken away the “racially pure” Jews that morning, some policemen were sent back to Izrailevka to collect about 20 half-Jewish children, who were then killed as well. In total, more than 100 people were murdered at this site.⁹

SOURCES The correspondence of the NKVD chief of the district of Bobrinets from March 30, 1946, can be found in *Evreiskie vesti* (Jewish News) (Kiev, 1994), nos. 23–24.

Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Bobrinets and the surrounding raions can be found in the following archives: ANA; GARF (7021-66-124); DAKO; and Sta. Dortmund.

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-11.001M.13, reel 92, 1275-3-664, p. 39.
2. GARF, 7021-66-124, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for the Bobrinets raion, p. 2.
3. See the correspondence of the NKVD chief for the Bobrinets raion dated March 30, 1946, in *Evreiskie vesti*, nos. 23–24, p. 15.
4. Testimony by the witness M.D. Globodzinskii of Bobrinets, GARF, 7021-66-124, p. 2.
5. The precise date of the Aktion is not clear from the Soviet witness statements. The main surviving eyewitness dated the shooting in May or June 1942; see Australian Special Investigations Unit (SIU), statement of Ivan Konstantinovich Zhilun, December 23, 1989. However, the German Generalkommissar for the Nikolajew Generalkommissariat reported in the spring of 1942 that there were no longer any Jews or half-Jews in his region as of April 1, 1942.
6. SIU (SBU Kirovograd), statement of Alexander A. Gibner (Hübner), March 20, 1947, at his own trial. See also the additional evidence collected by the SIU in the case of Heinrich Wagner and by Sta. Dortmund in the case of Ernst Hering (45 Js 30/93).
7. SIU, statement of Ivan K. Zhilun, December 23, 1989.
8. See SIU (SBU Kirovograd), statements of Alexander A. Gibner, March 20, 1947, and April 1, 1947, at his own trial; F.F.S., March 1, 1958, and I.K.K., February 13, 1958, in Criminal Case File No. 4419 (Mefodii Marchik).
9. LG-Kö (4. grosse Strafkammer, 1. Jugendkammer), Verdict (Urteil) B. 104-28/97 in der Strafsache gegen Ernst Hering, December 19, 1997 (Hering Verdict), pp. 43–49; in June 1991, a team of forensic experts employed by the Australian SIU exhumed the mass grave near Izrailevka. The skeletal remains of 19 children aged less than 11 years were uncovered, lying at the top of the grave. Under these bodies, a layer of soil was found and beneath that the remains of more than 100 adult humans.

DOBROVELICHKOVKA (AKA DOBROVELICHNEVKA)

Pre-1941: Dobrovelichkovka, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Dobrowelitschkowka, Rayon center, Gebiet Perwomaisk, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Dobrovelichkovka, Kirovograd oblast', Ukraine

Dobrovelichkovka is located 100 kilometers (62 miles) west of Kirovograd. According to the 1939 census, 366 Jews (10.3 percent of the total population) were living in Dobrovelichkovka.¹

At the start of August 1941, six weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, German armed forces occupied the town. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Approximately 55 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Dobrovelichkovka at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military created a local authority and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents. The Ukrainian police played an active role in the implementation of most of the anti-Jewish measures imposed by the German occupiers.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to a German civilian administration. Dobrovelichkovka was incorporated into Gebiet Perwomaisk, within Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. The Gebietskommissar was Kameradschaftsführer Lafrentz.²

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military authorities ordered the registration and marking of all the Jews. They had to wear distinguishing armbands, and they were forced into various kinds of heavy physical labor such as road building and repair work.

According to one uncorroborated source, in the fall of 1941, on the orders of the German military administration, a ghetto was created in the town. Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto and were not allowed to buy goods from Ukrainians. As a result, starvation quickly ensued. The Germans shot the Jews of Dobrovelichkovka on December 23, 1941. On that day, 207 Jews (40 men, 57 women, 45 elderly people, and 65 children) were shot in a ditch to the northeast of the town near the village of Mar'evka.³ A number of Jews living in Rayon Dobrowelitschkowka, for example, 18 from the village of Lipniashka, were also murdered in the fall of 1941.

SOURCES The main published source used for this entry is *Evreiskie vesti* (Kiev, 1994), nos. 23–24, p. 15.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 59.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. See the memorandum of the head of the Dobrovelichkovka RO NKVD, in *Evreiskie vesti*, nos. 23–24, p. 15.

FRAIDORF

Pre-1941: Fraidorf, village, Sofievka raion, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Friesen (Stalindorf), Gebiet Kriwoj Rog-Land, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrovsk; post-1991: Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Fraidorf is located approximately 100 kilometers (62 miles) southwest of Dnepropetrovsk. The Fraidorf village/kolkhoz was located about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) from Stalindorf.¹

In August 1941, German armed forces occupied Fraidorf. The number of Jews that remained in Fraidorf at the start of the occupation is unknown. During the first months of occupation, a German military commandant's office governed the village. The Germans requisitioned livestock and food supplies in the area. They appointed a young ethnic German kolkhoz worker named Filip as the village head (starosta), and a man named Mazur served in the local Ukrainian police.

According to Sofia Goldshtein, a Jewish survivor from Fraidorf, soon after the start of the occupation the local police "kicked us out of our house, and took everything we had, our chickens, cows, and other possessions. There was an order that all the Jews had to move to a single street, several families to a single house. We couldn't take anything with us, not even a cow."²

The ghetto in Fraidorf existed from the summer of 1941 until the spring of 1942. The Jews in Fraidorf also suffered from harassment by the local police, and some Jews were murdered as alleged Communists. Living conditions in the open ghetto were overcrowded, with six people sharing a single room. Those capable of work were taken out to perform unpaid agricultural labor, looking after horses and cattle. The Jews had to trade their last remaining possessions, such as bedding, to obtain food. Since the family of Anna Surzhenko had good relations with the family of the starosta, having helped them during the famine, she was able to leave the ghetto to barter items and was not troubled by the local police, who had warned not to harm her. Most other Jews were not so fortunate. Local inhabitants warned the Jews to flee, but most remained in the ghetto, as they could not abandon sick and dependent relatives.³

At the end of 1941, authority in the region was transferred to a German civil administration. The village of Fraidorf was incorporated into Gebiet Kriwoj Rog, headed by Gebietskommissar Dr. Frick, which lay within Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrovsk.

In March 1942, a number of young Jews capable of work, together with other Jews from Rayon Stalindorf, were marched together following horse-drawn wagons about 25 kilometers

(15.5 miles) to a labor camp established in a stable near the village of Langovka. These Jews were used to construct the highway (Durchgangsstrasse IV) between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. Soon after the young Jews' departure, the Germans shot all the remaining Jews in a ravine near the village. The total number of Jewish victims in Fraidorf is unknown. In 1939, there were 7,312 Jews living in the Stalindorf Jewish national raion. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, 3,911 Jews were shot in the Stalindorf raion during the German occupation, most of them between May 1942 and August 1943.⁴

After the war, the local Ukrainian policeman Mazur was tried and punished, but the ethnic German Filip fled with the German army and thereby evaded punishment.

SOURCES The article by Yakov Pasik, "Stalindorf Jewish National Rayon," available at http://xeroxsupperoffer.ru/index.php?_f=stalindorf_en.htm, gives a concise history of the Stalindorf national raion.

Relevant information can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-57-70); and VHF (# 40734 and 41136).

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NOTES

1. Pasik's article "Stalindorf Jewish National Rayon," includes a detailed map of the Stalindorf national raion, which, however, shows two villages named "Fraydorf," one about 25 kilometers (15.5 miles) west of Stalindorf and one about the same distance to the southeast. From the available oral testimonies, it has not been possible to determine which Fraidorf the witnesses lived in, only that they both lived in the same place.

2. VHF, # 40734, testimony of Sofia Goldshtein.

3. Ibid., and # 41136, testimony of Anna Surzhenko.

4. Pasik, "Stalindorf Jewish National Rayon."

INGULETS (AKA GAR SHEFER OR SHIROKAIA)

Pre-1941: Ingulets, village, Novolatovka sel'sovet, Shirokoe raion, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1944: Ingulez, Rayon Schirokoje, Gebiet Kriwoj Rog-Land, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrovsk; post-1991: Inbulets', Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Ingulets is located 150 kilometers (93 miles) southwest of Dnepropetrovsk. On August 6, 1941, German armed forces occupied the village, about seven weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this time, some Jews were able to evacuate, while able-bodied men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 1,000 Jews remained in Ingulets at the start of the occupation.

During the first months of occupation, a German military commandant's office governed the village. Shortly after the Germans' arrival, Jews living on nearby kolkhozy were ordered to move to Ingulets, and the Germans requisitioned the livestock and food supplies there.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

After the occupation of the village, Ukrainian antisemites began to persecute the Jews. Several dozen Jews, accused of being Communists and Soviet activists, were shot. Most Jews continued to live together in their own houses, but they were subjected to a number of restrictions. According to the survivor Mariia Evtukhova, who uses the term "ghetto" to describe conditions in Ingulets at this time, the police never fed them. However, "since she had a Ukrainian passport, she was able to go to the market and the Ukrainians would sell her bread, potatoes, and other foodstuffs, so her family didn't go hungry. She shared this food with everyone in the ghetto."¹

At the end of 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The village was incorporated into Gebiet Kriwoj Rog, headed by Gebietskommissar Regierungsrat Dr. Frick. In turn, Gebiet Kriwoj Rog became part of Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrovsk. However, Germans were rarely visible to the Jews in Ingulets, who were very much at the mercy of the local Ukrainian police.

While she was in the ghetto, Mariia knew of many people who tried to commit suicide, but few were successful. The Ukrainian police occasionally drowned Jews; it appears that they did this merely because they were Jewish. One time, Mariia witnessed the police beat eight children and two elderly people to death and then throw them into a pit. Almost every night, the police would take girls and young women away from the ghetto and rape them; but they did not kill these women. In December 1941, the Germans organized a mass execution of elderly Jews. They were all assembled and then escorted with their hands behind their heads into the forest to be shot.²

On May 20, 1942, around 300 young Jews were transported to a labor camp in the village of Novoselovka. These Jews were used to build a highway between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. In late May or early June 1942, the remaining Jews in Ingulets were taken over a bridge and concentrated in a small group of houses, creating a more clearly defined (but still open) ghetto. By this time the Jews had scarcely any possessions left. The Jews remained in this ghetto for up to two weeks. On about June 10-11, 1942, the Germans and their collaborators liquidated the ghetto. First, they instructed the Jews to gather in the club building, and on the morning of June 11, 1942, they shot them all in a ravine near the village.³ Mariia Evtukhova managed to escape from the ghetto with two members of her family just before the mass shooting. According to Soviet Extraordinary State Commission documents, around 1,200 persons were shot. However, this number includes at least 50 Ukrainian Communists from the Shirokoe settlement who had dug the pits for the mass shooting in the ravine near the village.⁴

SOURCES Relevant published sources include the following: *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: "Epos," 2000), 4:508; *Sholom-Aleikhem* (Krivoi Rog), no. 7 (2004), and nos. 1-4 (2005); and "Nikoly bil'she," *Tkuma: Vestnik Tsentral'nogo Ukrainskogo fonda istorii Kholokosta "Tkuma,"* no. 10 (60) (2005).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-57-71); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 11); and VHF (# 30084).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 30084, testimony of Mariia Evtukhova.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid. Also see testimony of Raisa Leibusheva Bogomol, in *Vozrozhdenie pamiati: Vospominaniia svidetelei i zhertv Kholokosta*, no. 1 (Dnepropetrovsk: Tsentr "Tkuma," 2008), pp. 68–69.
4. GARF, 7021-57-71, p. 8.

KAMENKA

Pre-1941: Kamenka, village, Sofievka raion, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Sofijevka, Gebiet Kriwoj Rog-Land, Generalkommissariat Dnjeprpetrowsk, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Kamianka, Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Kamenka is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) southwest of Dnepropetrovsk. In the 1930s, the village became the center of its own Jewish sel'sovet with 1,458 residents, as part of the Stalindorf Jewish national raion.¹ By June 1941, the Jewish population had decreased significantly, owing to the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933 and the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

On August 16, 1941, the village was occupied by German armed forces. In the weeks prior to this, some Jews were able to evacuate from the village, and able-bodied men were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily.

In the first months of the occupation, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. At the end of 1941, authority was transferred to a German civilian administration. The village became part of Gebiet Kriwoj Rog, which was headed by a Nazi official named Dr. Frick, who served as Gebietskommissar. Together with Krivoy Rog, the village of Kamenka lay within Generalkommissariat Dnjeprpetrowsk.

After the occupation of the village, Ukrainian antisemites persecuted the Jewish population. Dozens of Jews were shot, accused of being Communists and Soviet activists. In September 1941, all Jews were moved into an unfenced ghetto, consisting of one street in the village. Jews were not allowed to go beyond the boundaries of the street and were required to wear white armbands. There were about three or four families living in each house. Living conditions were very unsanitary, with no place to bathe, and Jews ate mostly soup, kasha, and corn. Jews were robbed or forced to surrender clothing such as fur items and other valuable possessions. The Jews were taken out to perform forced labor every day, mostly in agriculture or clearing snow from the roads. Children were also put to work removing the husks from corn.²

At the end of April or in early May 1942, the Germans and local police rounded up the Jews and selected those fit for labor. These people were transported to a labor camp surrounded with barbed wire in the village of Avdot'evka, where they were exploited for work in a quarry and the construction of a highway between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. On days off, they were allowed to return to see their relatives in the village. The Kamenka ghetto was liquidated on May 29, 1942, when all the Jews remaining there, mostly the elderly and children, were shot. The total number of Jewish victims from Kamenka was more than 200.³

SOURCES The testimony of Ol'ga Teitelman has been published in *Sabat Sholom* (Dnepropetrovsk), no. 10 (1997).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: TsDAVO (4620-2-358, p. 27, Inquiry of the Kamenka sel'sovet); and VHF (# 24086 and 35008).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Yakov Pasik, "Stalindorf Jewish National Rayon," available at www.evkol.nm.ru/stalindorf_en.htm. His article includes a detailed map of the Stalindorf national raion.
2. VHF, # 35008, testimony of Ilya Boltianskii (born 1924); # 24086, testimony of Ol'ga Teitelman (born 1928).
3. TsDAVO, 4620-2-358, p. 27; and VHF, # 35008 and 24086.

KAMENKA-SHEVCHENKOVSKAIA

Pre-1941: Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rayon center, Gebiet Aleksandrowka, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; 1991: raion center, Cherkasy oblast', Ukraine

Kamenka-Shevchenkovskaia is located about 66 kilometers (41 miles) north of Kirovograd. The 1939 census reported 618 Jews in Kamenka (7.92 percent of the total population) and 737 Jews in the entire Kamenka raion. By the summer of 1941, however, the Jewish population also included a few refugees from Poland, who were forewarned about the brutality of the Germans.

German forces occupied Kamenka on August 5, 1941. During the six weeks after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. About 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Kamenka at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The Ortskommandantur set up a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from among the local population. The latter took an active part in all the anti-Jewish measures. In chronological order, the chiefs of police were: at the start, the

former tsarist army officer Gladkikh; from the end of 1941, I. Nuzhdenko; and from the end of March 1942, a man called Briukhovetskii. Gladkikh was placed in charge of the prison at the end of 1941. The Ukrainian police received their orders from the German Gendarmerie. In November 1941, authority passed to a German civil administration. Kamenka became a Rayon center in Gebiet Aleksandrovka, within Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. The Gebietskommissar in Aleksandrovka was a man named Lange.

On their arrival in Kamenka on August 5–6, 1941, German soldiers conducted an Aktion in which several Jews were killed, including some children. More than 200 Jews managed to survive by hiding or fleeing to the surrounding villages, and they returned to the town over the following days. As Philip Portianskii recalls, on his return to Kamenka, he and his family received registration numbers from the local administration, and they were forced to wear distinguishing marks so that everybody knew they were Jews. At that time there were 268 Jews registered in Kamenka.¹ Jews were also required to perform heavy labor in groups segregated according to sex. At some date after October 19, 1941, two ghettos were established in Kamenka. A ghetto for craftsmen (including blacksmiths, cobblers, tailors, and cabinetmakers) with their families was set up at the Pokrov sovkhos (state-owned farm); all the remaining Jews were herded into another ghetto located in what was then the raion hospital building.² According to the testimony of Portianskii, who was probably in the noncraftsmen's ghetto, as his father was a laborer, it was an ugly camp on the edge of the village. There were neither bedclothes nor soap. However, with the help of the police chief (probably still Gladkikh), he was able to escape.³ Jews were prohibited from going outside the borders of the ghetto to buy products from Ukrainians. As a result, starvation soon ensued. According to the regulation of January 10, 1942, issued by the Ukrainian police chief Nuzhdenko, Jews were only permitted on the street between 7:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. Ukrainians were also forbidden to shelter Jews in their homes or to speak with them. For violating this regulation, Jews would be shot, and Ukrainians faced 30 days in prison and a fine.⁴

In February 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto for noncraftsmen on the hospital grounds. They rounded up the 280 Jews living there and shot them.⁵ At the beginning of March 1942, a second Aktion was conducted in which the ghetto for craftsmen was liquidated. At night, by decree of the Gebietskommissar, the more than 100 Jews who remained in that ghetto were arrested and taken to the horse stable in the yard of the police station. Then they were taken out in groups of 8 to 10 into the cellar of the police station building and shot by Ukrainian policemen.⁶

Altogether more than 400 Jews were murdered in Kamenka in February and March of 1942.⁷

The Ukrainian policemen from Kamenka also participated in the shooting of Jews in other nearby settlements. At the end of March 1942, under the chief of police, Briukhovetskii, they set out and shot Jews in the town of Aleksandrovka. Together with German forces and Ukrainian policemen from Aleksan-

drovka, they shot more than 300 Jews from Aleksandrovka in a ravine near the village of Ivangorod.⁸

A number of the local policemen in Kamenka were tried by the Soviet authorities at the end of the occupation. Among them were the policemen F.I. Tsvirkun, F.T. Zhilenko, and also Seregi Piven', named by one survivor as a policeman with the worst reputation for atrocities.⁹

SOURCES Information on the activities of the local police in Kamenka-Shevchenkivskaia can be found in the collection of published documents edited by Yitzhak Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoj okkupatsii (1941–1944). Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), pp. 209–212.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: DAKO (1004-1-35); GARF (7021-66-123); TsDAVO (166-2-5); USHMM (RG-50.226 # 0026); and VHF (# 43727).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.226 # 0026.
2. O.H. Shamrai, "Ekonomichni zbytky, naneseni nimets'ko-fashysts'kymy okupantamy na terytorii Kam'ians'koho raionu," in *Cherkashchyna v konteksti istorii Ukrainy. Materialy Druhoi naukovo-kraeznavchoi konferentsii Cherkashchyny (do 60-ricchbia Peremohy u Velykii Vitchyzniani 1941–1945 rr.)* (Cherkasy: Vash Dim, 2005), p. 265. See also the affidavits of the former policemen F.I. Tsvirkun and F.T. Zhilenko in Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, pp. 209–212. DAKO, 1004-1-35, p. 53, indicates the establishment of the "ghetto" at the end of December 1941. USHMM, RG-50.226.0026, Philip Portianskii, dates the formation of the camp in early November.
3. USHMM, RG-50.226.0026.
4. TsDAVO, 166-2-5, p. 10.
5. Certified Statement, October 15, 1990, No. 72, Cherkassy Oblast', *Ukrainskoe obsbchestvo okhrany pamiatnikov istorii i kul'tury*, addressed to the Head of the Advisory Board of the Ukrainian Society for the Protection of Memorials of History and Culture in Kiev. An official memorial now stands at the place of the shooting (the Kamenka district hospital).
6. Testimony of F.I. Tsvirkun; see Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, pp. 210–211.
7. DAKO, 1004-1-35, pp. 53–54.
8. Testimony of the former Kamenka policeman F.T. Zhilenko; see Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, pp. 211–212.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 209–212; and VHF, # 43727, testimony of Mark Babenko.

KHERSON

Pre-1941: Kherson, city, Nikolaev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Cherson, Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Kherson, center, Kherson oblast', Ukraine

Kherson is located about 58 kilometer (36 miles) southeast of Nikolaev. According to the 1939 census, 16,145 Jews were living in Kherson (16.65 percent of the total population).¹ On August 19, 1941, eight weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet

Union on June 22, the SS Motorized Brigade “Leibstandarte-Adolf-Hitler” occupied the city. By that time, more than half of the Jewish population had been able to evacuate to the east. More than 7,000 Jews remained under German occupation (40–45 percent of the pre-war Jewish population).

From August until October 1941, a German military commandant’s office ran the city. Oberstleutnant von Rochow was in charge until September 5, 1941. Oberstleutnant von Lepel succeeded him until September 16, 1941, and after that date, Hauptmann Barth.² The military administration established a local council and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from among the city residents. The police force initially consisted of 157 men.³

In November 1941, the Germans established a civil administration. Kherson was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. Bürgermeister Mattern was named the city mayor (Stadtkommissar). Major Heinrich Hannibal of the Order Police (Schutzpolizei) became the senior commander of the SS and Police Leader (SS- und Polizeistandortführer) in the city. Hauptmann Lang of the Schutzpolizei administration in Wiesbaden became the new head of the Schutzpolizei. He was later succeeded in this position by Hauptmann Fischer.⁴



Portrait of rescuer Yevgenia Zamoroko-Lysenko (standing), 1937–1939. Zamoroko helped to falsify papers for her former student, Masha Gurevich-Spivak. Spivak’s family was murdered in an anti-Jewish Aktion in Kherson. Zamoroko was honored posthumously as Righteous by Yad Vashem in 2007.

USHMM WS #37367, COURTESY OF NIKOLAY ZAMOROKO

Starting on August 20, 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 11a, consisting of 13 men commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Eberhard Heinze, was stationed in Kherson.⁵ From the end of September to the start of November 1941, the entire force of Sonderkommando 11a, under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Paul Zapp, was located in the city; after that, only a part remained.

In the spring of 1942, a regional Security Police outpost (Sipo-Aussendienststelle) was set up in Kherson. It served under the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. The first person in charge of the Kherson Sipo-Aussendienststelle was SS-Sturmscharführer Kurt Steffen. In June 1942, he was succeeded by SS-Obersturmführer Waldemar Kolter.

On August 23, 1941, the Sonderkommando formed a Judenrat and ordered the Jews of the city to wear a Star of David 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter as a distinguishing mark on their left breast pockets and backs as of August 25. From August 24 to August 27, 1941, the Jews were ordered to register and hand over to the Judenrat all money and objects of value. Anyone failing to comply would be shot.⁶ After marking and registering the Jews, Sonderkommando 11a issued orders that they could only reside on certain designated streets, establishing a ghetto on September 7. The ghetto was located in a remote section of the city near the intersection of Frunze and Rabochnaia streets. A Jewish police force functioned within the ghetto. Overseeing the ghetto from its establishment to its liquidation was SS-Scharführer Baron Leo von der Recke of Sonderkommando 11a. On a daily basis, the Jews were summoned to perform various forms of humiliating and heavy physical labor. According to one source, Jews were forced to clean toilets and were harnessed to carts instead of horses or obliged to pull heavy trucks with the engines switched off.⁷

Almost immediately after starting to impose these restrictions, Sonderkommando 11a began shooting Jews. On August 29, 1941, the city’s commandant announced the “execution” (by shooting) of 100 Jews and 10 “leading Bolsheviks” as a reprisal measure, and on September 6, 1941, the shooting of 100 Jewish men and 10 Jewish women.⁸ As of September 10, 1941, 400 Jewish men and 10 Jewish women had been killed.⁹ Just a short time later, 17 more Jews were shot for not wearing the Star of David.¹⁰

On September 24–25, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated, and the remaining Jews were shot.¹¹ Prior to the Aktion, Jews in the ghetto were informed that they would be resettled to Palestine. Sarah Yudkovich realized the likely purpose of the operation and escaped from the ghetto on September 23, fleeing to the hospital in search of help. However, the staff there were too afraid to assist her.¹² At this time the Germans searched the hospital, assisted by local policemen, who were better able to identify the Jews. The two most notorious native policemen, Val’ka the German and Grishka the Gypsy, shouted: “Who is hiding Yids here, big and small?” One of the Jewish doctors was stabbed in the buttocks by a local policeman before they left.¹³

When the Aktion started, the Jews were first marched on foot to a factory site on the edge of the city. From there they

were conveyed in groups on trucks to an antitank ditch 7 kilometers (4.3 miles) northeast of the city, near the settlement of Zelenivka. The Jews were shot in groups of 10 to 12 by two rifle squads of the same size into two graves simultaneously. Those waiting their turn could hear the shots. Women and children screamed and clung to each other.¹⁴ According to evidence from the postwar German legal investigation, one 12-year-old blond Jewish girl was spared by the personal intervention of a senior SS officer, Heinze.¹⁵ Soviet forensic experts estimated in 1944 that more than 8,000 people were buried in the mass graves.¹⁶ Among those shot at this site were possibly also some Jewish Soviet prisoners of war, as the Jews were already being separated out from among the other Red Army captives held in the city from September 1941.¹⁷ Assisted by the local police and denunciations from the local population, German security forces continued to hunt down and kill Jews who had gone into hiding over the following weeks and months.

In January 1942, another mass Aktion was carried out. The victims were around 400 Jews living in mixed marriages, who had been quartered separately in September 1941.¹⁸ Einsatzkommando 12 was probably responsible for this killing Aktion.

SOURCES Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Kheron can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAKherO; GARF (7021-77-420 and 421); LG-Mü I (IV 9/69 Paul Zapp); NARA (N-Docs., NOKW and NO series); RGVA; and VHF.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 25.
2. Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Sk 11a in Cherson vom August 22 to September 10, 1941 (NARA, N-Doc. NOKW-636); Report of the Ortskommandantur II/915, September 18, 1941 (NARA, N-Doc. NOKW-1839).
3. NOKW-636.
4. BA-BL, BDC, SSOH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. See also the memo (Schnellbrief) of October 25, 1941, from the chief of the Security Police, RGVA, 1323-2-121, pp. 33–34.
5. NOKW-636; Eberhard Heinze died in Poznań on January 22, 1945. Sonderkommando 11a was itself a subunit of Otto Ohlendorf's Einsatzgruppe D.
6. Order from Sonderkommando 11a to the Jews in the city of Kheron on August 23, 1941, LG-Mü I, verdict of February 26, 1970—IV 9/69—in the case against Zapp and others, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724, p. 451.
7. NOKW-636; Oleksandr Ivanovych Melnyk, “Behind the Frontlines: War, Genocide and Identity in the Kheron Region of Ukraine, 1941–1944” (Master's thesis, Edmonton University, 2004), pp. 49–53. Melnyk cites DAKherO, r-1479-

1-11, p. 26, regarding the types of forced labor imposed. Also see *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724, pp. 452, 458–459; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 618.

8. GARF, 7021-77-420, pp. 153 and reverse.
9. NOKW-636.
10. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 107, October 8, 1941.
11. GARF, 7021-77-421, pp. 11, 13, and reverse.
12. Melnyk, “Behind the Frontlines,” pp. 55–56. Yudkovich was shot with the other Jews of Kheron.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 53, citing Zubris, “Ne zaroslo travoiu zabutia,” *Nadniprians'ka Pravda*, September 21, 1995.
14. *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724, pp. 448–449.
15. Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 437.
16. See the report of the court medical experts on March 23, 1944, in *Zverstva nemetsko-fasbistskikh zakhvatcbikov: Dokumenty*, vypusk 13 (Voennoe izdatel'stvo NKO, 1945), pp. 59–62. According to the testimony under oath of former SS-Hauptscharführer Robert Barth on September 12, 1947, Sonderkommando 11a executed around 5,000 Jews in Kheron with the support of Sonderkommando 10b; see NARA, N-Doc. NO-4992.
17. Melnyk, “Behind the Frontlines,” p. 54, citing DAKherO, r-3562-2-32, p. 106.
18. GARF, 7021-77-420, p. 117; Melnyk, “Behind the Frontlines,” p. 48, notes that 150 female Jews living in mixed marriages with Ukrainians remained alive after the mass killings in September 1941, citing DAKherO, r-1824-1-95, p. 2.

MALAIJA VISKA

Pre-1941: Malaia Viska, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Mala Viska, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Mala Vyska, Kirovograd oblast', Ukraine

Malaia Viska is located about 55 kilometers (34 miles) west-northwest of Kirovograd. In 1939, there were 207 Jews living in the town (2.56 percent of the total population). Another 101 Jews resided in the villages of the Malaia Viska raion.

The town of Malaia Viska was occupied by German troops at the beginning of August 1941, five and a half weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this period, some of the local Jews fled the town and managed to escape to the east. All men, Jewish or non-Jewish, of military age were drafted into the Red Army. A number of others joined the Soviet forces voluntarily. When German troops occupied Malaia Viska, only about one quarter of the pre-war Jewish population was still in the town. In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the administration of the

town. The Ortskommandantur organized a local administration and established a unit of Ukrainian auxiliary police recruited from local inhabitants. The Ukrainian police took an active part in the anti-Jewish measures.

In November 1941, a German civil administration took over responsibility for the town. Malaia Viska initially became the center of Gebiet Mala Wiska under the command of Gebietskommissar Hinz. Several other towns and their raions, such as Khmelevoe, Novo-Arkhangel'sk, and Podvysokoe, belonged to the Gebiet. Gebiet Mala Wiska was part of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew within Reichskommissariat Ukraine.¹ By 1943 the administrative structure had been reorganized, and Malaia Viska became a Rayon center within Gebiet Nowo Mirgorod.

Shortly after the occupation of the town by German troops, the Ortskommandantur ordered several anti-Jewish measures. First, members of the Jewish population were forced to register and to wear distinguishing armbands identifying them as Jews. In addition, the Jews were ordered to carry out physically exhausting work, for which they received little or no payment. All these individuals were settled or relocated into a specific area of the town (an open ghetto). The first Aktionen against the Jews of Malaia Viska and its environs came in September 1941. On September 19, a detachment of the 8th SS-Regiment shot 17 Jews.²

According to the report of Ortskommandantur I/829 (based in Novaia Ukrainka), on October 10, 1941, there were 53 Jews still residing in Malaia Viska. At that time the head of Rayon Mala Wiska was an ethnic German named Johann Sartisson, and the head of the Ukrainian police (Hilfspolizei) was Jakob Chomitsch.³ Most of the remaining Jews were murdered between February and March 1942, when a general Aktion against the Jews in Rayon Mala Wiska took place. During the Aktion, those Jews able to work were selected and sent to a labor camp in Malaia Viska. These Jewish prisoners had to live in the stables of a sugar refinery, and they worked on building and repairing roads.⁴ This labor camp was closed in 1943. It is assumed that all the prisoners were then killed.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and killing of the Jews in Malaia Viska can be found in the following archives: DAKO (6656-2-1); RGVA (1275-3-3); and VHAP.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

2. VHAP, Kdo.-Stab RFSS, 1. SS-Infanteriebrigade (mot), Abt. Ic, report of September 26, 1941.

3. RGVA, 1275-3-3, p. 40, Ortskommandantur I/829 (Nowo-Ukrainka), report of October 14, 1941, appendixes I and II.

4. DAKO, 6656-2-1, p. 41.

NIKOLAEV

Pre-1941: Nikolaev, city and oblast' center, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nikolajew, capital, Gebiet and Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Mykolaiv, oblast' center, Ukraine

Nikolaev is located about 400 kilometers (249 miles) south-southeast of Kiev. According to the 1939 population census, 25,280 Jews were living in Nikolaev (15.2 percent of the total). German armed forces occupied the city on August 17, 1941, about eight weeks after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. In these weeks, the majority of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east. One of those who escaped by rail recalled: "Every time there were bombings, the train stopped. We got out and took cover underneath it. Once the planes flew away, we got back in the train and it started moving again."¹ Men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. More than 6,000 Jews remained in the city at the start of the occupation.²

From August 18 until October 1941, German Field Commandant's Office no. 193 (Feldkommandantur 193) ran the affairs of the city. The commandant established a local administration in the city, and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force consisting of 195 men was recruited from among local residents.³

Starting in November 1941, a German civilian administration assumed authority in the region. Nikolaev became the administrative center of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. National Socialist Motorist Corps (NSKK)-Obergruppenführer Oppermann was appointed as Generalkommissar. Oberbürgermeister Nickau was named the city mayor (Stadtkommissar). SS-Brigadeführer Tittmann became the SS- und Polizeistandortführer in Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. Nickau and Tittmann held these positions until September 1942. Major Witzleb, who was transferred from Aussig, was in charge of the Schutzpolizei in the city. He served under Unter-Leutnant



Residents of an AJDC-supported Jewish home for the aged pose in the dining hall in Nikolaev, ca. 1928–1929. USHMM WS #29877, COURTESY OF AJDC

Weiberg, who was Commander of the Order Police (KdO) for Generalkommissariat Nikolajew.⁴

From August 18 until the end of September 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 11a was based in Nikolaev. Sonderkommando 11a, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Paul Zapp, was subordinated to Einsatzgruppe D under the command of SS-Oberführer Otto Ohlendorf. From mid-September to the end of October 1941, Einsatzkommando 12 was also active in Nikolaev. From September 8 until early November 1941, Ohlendorf's headquarters staff (Gruppenstab) was deployed in the city.

Einsatzkommando 5, headed by SS-Untersturmführer Hans Sandner, was stationed in Nikolaev from early November 1941. In February 1942, an office of the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) was created for the entire Generalkommissariat in Nikolaev; SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Leopold Spann was the commander until September 1943.

When Sonderkommando 11a arrived in the city, it began conducting searches for civilians, who were then taken by the Wehrmacht to collection points for prisoners of war. Around 4,000 people were seized. Among those arrested and then shot were 227 "suspicious Jews, political functionaries, and released prisoners."⁵ Sonderkommando 11a also appointed a Judenrat, which had to register the entire Jewish population of Nikolaev. Forced labor groups were assembled from among the able-bodied Jews aged 16 to 60. They were assigned tasks according to the needs of various German units in the city.⁶

At the end of August or the beginning of September 1941, the Jews of the city were concentrated in a ghetto located on Pushkin Street. Order was kept inside the ghetto by an internal Jewish police force.⁷ The ghetto only existed for a little over two weeks. On September 14, 1941, the Jews received an

order to assemble with their luggage at 10:00 A.M. on September 16 at the Jewish cemetery, for resettlement to another place in Ukraine. The Jews continued to report at the cemetery until September 18. On September 21, Sonderkommando 11a began the mass shooting of the Jewish population. The first people sent out to be shot were Jewish males older than 14. Women and children were subsequently subjected to the same fate. Over the course of three days, around 7,000 Jews were taken out and shot in ravines located between Voskresenskoe and Kalinovka, 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) from Nikolaev. Attempts to escape were prevented by a ring of perimeter guards. When the shooting was over, the Germans detonated explosives in the ravine area, and the corpses were covered with earth. Local residents from the Voskresenskoe and Kalinovka villages were also assigned to fill in the graves. The best clothing worn by the Jews was taken in six cars to Nikolaev, and the less valuable clothing was distributed to the local inhabitants of the Voskresenskoe and Kalinovka villages. Local inhabitants also complained that blood from the Jewish corpses had contaminated the water supply. They said that "they didn't want to drink Jewish blood."⁸

At the end of 1943 and the beginning of 1944, 50 prisoners were ordered to dig up the corpses and burn them. Members of the German civil administration recall that this resulted in a terrible stench throughout the city for days. After they had finished, the prisoners themselves were shot and killed and their bodies burned.⁹

There were very few survivors from among the several thousand Jews who were briefly interned within the Nikolaev ghetto.

In January 1946, a Soviet Military Tribunal in Nikolaev sentenced to death and promptly hanged Hans Sandner, Franz Witzleb, and Heinrich Schmale for crimes committed in occupied Soviet territory. A court in Munich sentenced Paul Zapp to life in prison on February 26, 1970.

SOURCES Published sources on the mass killing of the Jews of Nikolaev include: Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), pp. 241–251; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724.

Relevant documentation on the murder of the Jewish population of Nikolaev can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAMO; GARF (7021-68-180 and 181); NARA (e.g., N-Doc. NO-2066); RGVA (e.g., 1275-3-662); Sta. Mü I; USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel



Defendant Otto Ohlendorf, commander of Einsatzgruppe D, pleads "not guilty" during his arraignment at the Einsatzgruppen Trial, September 15, 1947. Seated behind him wearing a bowtie is Gustav Nosske, whose Einsatzkommando 12, along with Sonderkommando 11a, participated in murder operations around Nikolaev.

USHMM WS #43043 COURTESY OF NARA

NOTES

1. *Haaretz*, March 20, 2009, quoting Ella Lifshitz.
2. RGVA, 1275-3-662, p. 50, Feldkommandantur 193 (Abt. VII), Nikolajew, October 5, 1941, Bericht für August/September 1941.
3. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 101, October 2, 1941.

4. BA-BL, BDC, SSSH 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942. See also the memo (*Schnellbrief*) of the chief of the Security Police from October 25, 1941, RGVA, 1323-2-121, pp. 33–34.

5. BA-MA, RH 20-11/488 (N-Doc. NO-2066), Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Sk 11a in Nikolajew vom August 18 bis zum August 31, 1941; LG-Mü I, Verdict of February 26, 1970—IV 9/69—in the case against Zapp and others in *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724. See also the report of Ortskommandantur I/853 from August 31, 1941: “Last week the SD executed 230 Jews who refused to be registered and who had encouraged the remaining Jewish population not to serve the German military-administrative authorities.” NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 56, fr. 257.

6. N-Doc. NO-2066.

7. GARF, 7021-68-180, pp. 32–34, testimony of L.P. Kozuk, July 14, 1944; Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 204/61, vol. 15, p. 199, testimony of the former SS-Obersturmführer Albrecht Zöllner, April 24, 1967.

8. *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724, p. 447.

9. GARF, 7021-68-181, pp. 3 (and reverse) and 16 (and reverse); LG-Mü I, Verdict of February 26, 1970—in *JuNS-V*, vol. 33, Lfd. Nr. 724. The burning of the corpses was carried out from the end of November 1943 until the middle of January 1944 by Sonderkommando 1005b. The unit commander was SS-Hauptsturmführer Fritz Zietlow. See LG-Darm, Verdict of March 13, 1969—Ks 22/67—in the case against Helfsgott and others, in *JuNS-V* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), vol. 31, Lfd. Nr. 701; and Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, p. 685.

NOVAIA ODESSA

Pre-1941: Novaia Odessa, town and raion center, Nikolaev oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowa Odessa, Rayon center, Gebiet Wosnessensk, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Nova Odesa, Mykolaiv oblast', Ukraine

Novaia Odessa is located 126 kilometers (78 miles) north-northeast of Odessa. According to the 1939 population census, there were 228 Jews living in Novaia Odessa.¹

German armed forces occupied Novaia Odessa in mid-August 1941, about six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Approximately half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Novaia Odessa at the start of the German occupation.

Shortly after the occupation of the settlement, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ordered the registration of the entire Jewish population. The Jews were also moved into several buildings in a separate district near the local school, and the area was surrounded with barbed wire. The Jews were forced to wear the yellow Star of David and were prohibited from leaving this area on pain of death. They were also required to perform forced labor.²

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, German forces liquidated the ghetto in September 1941, removing 125 Jews and shooting them.³ According to one survivor testimony, the Germans shot the elderly and infirm first and then shot all the remaining Jews about two weeks later.⁴ German investigative sources indicate that the mass shooting was carried out by a detachment of Sonderkommando 10b. Some Jewish refugees from Bessarabia may have been among the victims.⁵

In mid-November 1941, authority was transferred from the military to a German civil administration. The town became a Rayon center in Gebiet Wosnessensk, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. Around this time, a Jewish family of five was also shot.⁶

SOURCES Relevant publications include Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zbizn' i smert' v epokhu Kholokosta: Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* (Kiev, 2006); Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 234; and *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 117.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-68-182); Sta. Mü I (22 Js 203/61); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 1).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 55.

2. Zabarko, *Zbizn' i smert'*, pp. 192–194.

3. GARF, 7021-68-182, pp. 157, 190–193.

4. See Zabarko, *Zbizn' i smert'*, pp. 192–194. This witness, Arkadii Bykovskii, dates the destruction of the Jews to mid- and late November 1941.

5. Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 203/61, vol. 8, p. 1752, testimony of Siegfried Suchart, who indicates that about 100 men, women, and children were shot. This source supports the contention that the mass shooting took place in September 1941.

6. GARF, 7021-68-182, p. 162.

NOVAIA PRAGA

Pre-1941: Novaia Praga, town and raion center, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowaja Praga, Rayon center, Gebiet Adshamka, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Nova Praba, Oleksandriia raion, Kirovograd oblast', Ukraine

Novaia Praga is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) east-northeast of Kirovograd. According to the 1939 census, 113 Jews (1.2 percent of the total population) lived in Novaia Praga, and another 57 lived in the villages of what was then the Novaia Praga raion.¹

At the start of August 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, German armed forces occupied

the town. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Less than one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Novaia Praga at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. The German military created a local authority and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local residents.

In November 1941, authority was transferred to the German civil administration. Novaia Praga was a Rayon center within Gebiet Adshamka, which in turn became part of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew. The Gebietskommissar in Adshamka was Kameradschaftsführer Lange.²

At the end of 1941, the German authorities ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Novaia Praga. A building in a schoolyard was used as the ghetto.³ Jews from nearby villages were also resettled into the ghetto. The German police liquidated the ghetto on June 9, 1942, when they took out the elderly and children (29 people) and shot them 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside Novaia Praga.⁴ Jews, whom the Germans deemed able-bodied, were forced to work in a labor camp that was guarded by Latvian policemen. The prisoners of the camp were sent to work in a quarry. Sometime in 1943, the camp was liquidated and all the prisoners were shot.

SOURCES Published sources include *Tkuma: Vestnik Tsentral'nogo Ukrain'skogo fonda istorii Kholokosta "Tkuma"* (Dnepropetrovsk), no. 10 (60) (2005), p. 3. Relevant documentation can be found in DAKO (1004-1-35).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 59.

2. BA-BL, BDC, SSHO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, March 13, 1942.

3. Testimony of S. Peskova, from the personal archive of Fiodor Plotnir, a regional ethnographer from Novaia Praga; F.F. Oksanych, "Nova Praha—selyshche khliborobiv: Korotkyi istoriko-kraeznavchyi narys," in the files of the Aleksandriia (Ingulets) State Ethnographic Museum.

4. Testimony of Leonid El'bert, published in *Tkuma*, p. 3; and DAKO, 1004-1-35, p. 67.

NOVOMOSKOVSK

Pre-1941: Novomoskovsk, city and raion center, Dnepropetrovsk oblast, Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1944: Novomoskovsk, Rayon center, Gebiet Dnjeprpetrowsk, Generalkommissariat Dnjeprpetrowsk; post-1991: Novomoskovsk, Dnipropetrovsk oblast, Ukraine

Novomoskovsk is located 26 kilometers (16 miles) north-northeast of Dnepropetrovsk. According to the 1939 census,



A column of Jews is marched along a muddy road by Ukrainian guards during an Aktion in Novomoskovsk, 1941-1942. USHMM WS #76412. COURTESY OF APMO

757 Jews resided in the city (2.6 percent of the population). By the time the city was occupied, the number of Jews had decreased by several hundred due to the evacuations in August and September 1941 of some Jews to the east.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the city on September 27, 1941. Until August 1942, the city was governed by Ortskommandantur I/837, which consisted of four officers, one civilian official, 16 noncommissioned officers (NCOs), and 16 soldiers, as well as 30 people recruited from among the local residents to perform guard duty (Hilfswachmannschaften).¹ The commandant's office established a city council and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force; in April 1942 the latter consisted of 162 people, headed by V.F. Tkachenko and his deputy Ivan F. Shchenderi.²

From mid-November 1941 until mid-January 1942, Secret Field Police Group no. 725 (GFP-Gruppe 725) was located in the city; and from mid-January until May 1942, GFP-Gruppe 711 was based there.

On the third day of the city's occupation, the commandant issued an order that all Jews must register and wear white armbands bearing a blue Star of David on their left arm. Jews were also required to appear every morning at the municipal government building for work assignments. In November 1941, the Germans established an unfenced Jewish residential district (an "open ghetto") in Novomoskovsk, which was located in two large houses on Lesnaia and Kuznechnaia Streets.³ These streets were flooded in the spring by the Samara River and formed, as a result, a kind of island. By the end of December 1941, all the Jews of the town had been moved into the ghetto—those who were reluctant to move being forcibly resettled. There was considerable overcrowding in the ghetto.⁴

In mid-March 1942, on the orders of the German Security Police in Dnepropetrovsk, the local police collected all the Jews from the ghetto, telling them they would be relocated. They were then escorted to a five-story flour mill, together

with some other Jews from the surrounding area, where they were held without food or water for a day or so. Their property items were also collected and confiscated by the police. On March 16, 1942, 2 Jews were publicly hanged on the marketplace. Then the remaining Jews (approximately 350 people) were escorted by the local police and German soldiers in a column to a sandpit on the outskirts of the city, behind the bridge on the road to Pavlograd. The Jews were forced to undress and then shot in the back of the neck by German Gestapo who had arrived from Dnepropetrovsk.⁵ Some 30 suspected partisans were shot together with the Jews.⁶

The shootings were probably carried out by SD Sonderkommando Platt (commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Platt) with the assistance of the Ukrainian police and the German Feldgendarmerie. The German Gestapo packed the valuable items in two large suitcases and took them back to Dnepropetrovsk. The remaining property of the victims was distributed among the local police.⁷

SOURCES Documents and testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Novomoskovsk can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/7177); DADO; GARF (7021-57-68); NARA (T-501, reel 18); TsDAVO (3538-1-53); and VHF (# 20288).

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARA, T-501, reel 18, fr. 586.
2. Ibid., T-501, reel 18, fr. 815. I.F. Shchenderi was tried and convicted by a Soviet Military Tribunal in 1947.
3. BA-L, B 162/7177, p. 343, interrogation of Vasilii V. Han, April 12, 1947, in Ufa, which specifically mentions the existence of a ghetto in Novomoskovsk, established between October and December 1941 by the local police. The other witnesses in this file do not mention the ghetto but were only asked about the mass shooting of the Jews.
4. VHF, # 20288, testimony of Leonid Gol'verk (born 1930).
5. A. Farimets, "Ekho Proshlogo," in *Tkuma: Vestnik Nauchno-prosvetitel'skogo tsentra "Tkuma"* (Dnepropetrovsk), no. 6 (37) (2003), pp. 6–7. BA-L, B 162/7177, pp. 330–365, there are contradictions concerning the number of Jews shot and also the dating of the Aktion in the German investigative files (some stating April 16, 1942), but otherwise the witness descriptions of the events largely concur.
6. TsDAVO, 3538-1-53, p. 48.
7. BA-L, B 162/7177, pp. 334–336, interrogation of I.F. Shchenderi, April 21, 1947. Shchenderi claims that 364 Jews were registered in Novomoskovsk just prior to the shooting.

NOVOVITEBSKOE

Pre-1941: Novovitebskoe, Novovasil'evka sel'sovet, Sofievka raion, Dnepropetrovsk oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowo Witebsk, Rayon Sofijewka, Gebiet Kriwoj Rog-Land, Generalkommissariat Dnjeprpetrowsk; post-1991: Novovitebs'ke, Dnipropetrovsk oblast', Ukraine

Novovitebskoe is located 96.5 kilometers (60 miles) southwest of Dnepropetrovsk. There were only 277 Jews living in Novovitebskoe in 1941. On August 18, 1941, about eight weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, German armed forces occupied the village. During that time, some of the Jews was able to evacuate.

In the first months after the village was occupied, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the village. At the end of 1941, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. The village was incorporated into Gebiet Kriwoj Rog, within Generalkommissariat Dnjeprpetrowsk.

After the occupation of the village, Ukrainian antisemites persecuted the Jewish population. All the Jews were isolated in an open ghetto, located on a single street, and Jews were not allowed to go beyond its designated borders. Jews deemed fit to work were selected in April 1942 and taken to a nearby labor camp run by the SS and the Organisation Todt (OT), where they were used to build the highway (Durchgangsstrasse IV, DG IV) between Krivoi Rog and Dnepropetrovsk. In May 1942, the ghetto was liquidated, and all the Jews there were shot. Most of the remaining Jewish forced laborers working on the DG IV in camps around Sofievka were shot during the winter of 1942–1943.¹

SOURCES Sources on the ghetto and/or the labor camp in Novovitebskoe are listed in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 69.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Novovitebskoe can be found in: BA-L (B 162/6169, pp. 3280–3282); and TsDAVO (4620-2-358, p. 7).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTE

1. BA-L, B 162/6169 (II 213 AR-Z 20/63, vol. 18), pp. 3280–3282.

NOVOZLATOPOL'

Pre-1941: Novozlatopol', village, Guliaipole raion, Zaporozh'e oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Nowo-Slatopol, Rayon center, Gebiet Kujbyschewo (Kuibyshevo), Generalkommissariat Dnjeprpetrowsk; post-1991: Novozlatopil', Zaporozh'e oblast', Ukraine

Novozlatopol' is located 146 kilometers (91 miles) east-southeast of Dnepropetrovsk. According to the 1939 population census, there were 4,701 Jews living in the raion (30 percent of the total population), including 1,109 Jews in the village of Novozlatopol' itself (50 percent of the total population).

The village was occupied by units of the German 17th Field Army in early October 1941, nearly three and a half months after the initial Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Some Jews were able to evacuate to the east. A number of Jewish men of eligible age escaped the occupation by conscription into the Red Army or by voluntary enlistment.

During the first months of the occupation, when the mass murder of the Jewish population was carried out, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of Novozlatopol' and the surrounding Rayon. The German administration appointed a village elder and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the entire Jewish population. Jews were also forced into various kinds of heavy labor.

Information on the fate of the Jews of Novozlatopol' and the surrounding settlements is sparse and somewhat contradictory. According to one witness, I.P. Pliasovitsa:

From the very first days of the Germans' administration of the raion territory, headed by the bloodthirsty officer Miller and the police chief Petkovskii, they began gathering together the Jewish population, ostensibly for shipment to Palestine. The order was given to take along their best clothing and food for the journey. After taking them to the Gendarmerie building, they made them dig four pits to serve as their own graves, and then the shooting started. Before being led to the pit, they were made to undress, and the perpetrators took the clothing for themselves. Those who offered any resistance were tossed into the pit alive. To drown out the cries and groans of the people thrown into the pit alive, the German accomplices beat on metal pails and buckets. For the same purpose, they also started up a tractor engine, but nothing could muffle these people's groans. When each pit was full of corpses, the police forced the kolkhozniks to fill them in with earth. The victims who were still alive moved about in the pits, and the earth rose up in these places.¹

According to the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, hundreds of Jews from the area were "ghettoized" in Novozlatopol' in November and December 1941, prior to being murdered in a large-scale Aktion, which commenced on December 20, 1941. This source estimates that a few thousand Jews from Novozlatopol' and the surrounding area were executed, and some were expelled to Staryi-Kermenchik and perished there.²

According to other sources, the mass shooting of the Jews was probably not carried out until sometime in early February 1942. The approximately 800 victims were from Novozlatopol' and other villages in the raion. The bodies were buried in four pits on the outskirts of the village.³ The killings were organized, in all likelihood, by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 12, which was deployed in Guliaipole at that time, assisted by the Ukrainian police and local ethnic Germans.

Some local non-Jews, however, risked their lives in efforts to save Jews. For example, in early February 1942, Nikifor Cheredenko of the village of Prishib traveled several hours by cart to rescue the Tsviling family (former neighbors, then living in Friling, Novozlatopol' raion) shortly before their scheduled ar-

rest and transfer to Novozlatopol'. He had to smuggle them through German patrols and quickly supplied them with false identity papers. However, the other villagers of Prishib also had to keep the secret in the face of repeated German investigations into the "new arrivals." The Tsviling family was one of the very few that survived in the Novozlatopol' Jewish national raion. Another Jew who survived was Ruvim Gershovich Platok, who fell into the pit alive and was buried but at night somehow managed to climb out and find refuge in the area.

At the end of the occupation, the police chief Petkovskii and the local German "colonists" Simon, Bauer, Krebs, and Risselman were tried by the Soviet authorities and found guilty of having committed mass murder in the Novozlatopol' raion.⁴

SOURCES Information about the destruction of the Jews of the Novozlatopol' raion can be found in the following publications: S.F. Orlianskii, *Kholokost na Zaporozh'e* (Zaporozh'e, 2003); and Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 205–207. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 907, but reports the "ghettoization" of the Jews of Novozlatopol', unfortunately does not cite any sources for this.

Documentation pertaining to the elimination of the Jews of Novozlatopol' can be found in the following archives: DAZPO (1335-6-6; 1662-1-1; 1844-1-1 and 3); GARF (7021-61-29 and 8114-1-952, pp. 132–133); and TsDAHOU (57-4-14).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. DAZPO, 1662-1-1, p. 5, as cited in Orlianskii, *Kholokost na Zaporozh'e*, pp. 38–40.
2. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 907.
3. DAZPO, 1335-6-6, p. 182, inquiry of the executive committee of the Guliaipole Council of Peoples' Deputies, No. 08-27/86, February 17, 1986. In DAZPO, 1844-1-3, the number of 800 victims is given, together with a list of Jewish residents of the Novozlatopol' raion who were killed during the occupation. This list—which is not complete—includes the names of 661 persons.
4. DAZPO, 1844-1-3, p. 93, as cited in Orlianskii, *Kholokost na Zaporozh'e*, pp. 39–40.

PAVLOGRAD

Pre-1941: Pavlograd, city and raion center, Dnepropetrovsk oblast, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pawlograd, city and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Dnjepropetrowsk; post-1991: Pavlohrad, Dnipropetrovsk oblast, Ukraine

Pavlograd is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) east-northeast of Dnepropetrovsk. In 1939 the Jewish population stood at 2,510 (7.4 percent of the total population).

In the three and a half months following the initial German invasion of the USSR, a considerable number of Jews from Pavlograd were able to evacuate to the east. Jewish men of military age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily.

On October 11, 1941, units of the German 6th Army occupied the city. From the middle of October 1941 until August 1942, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/829) controlled the city. The Ortskommandantur established a local administration and recruited a Ukrainian auxiliary police force, which in April 1942 consisted of 158 men.¹ Shortly after the occupation of the city, the commandant issued an order calling for all the Jews to be registered and requiring them to wear armbands bearing the Star of David on their left arms. All Jews were also ordered to appear in front of the city headquarters each morning for compulsory labor.

The first shooting of Jews in the city was apparently carried out at the end of 1941.² During the spring of 1942, the German authorities established a Jewish prison camp or "ghetto" on the grounds of factory no. 359. Local Jews from Pavlograd, as well as Jews from the surrounding area and possibly some refugees, were resettled there. The camp was liquidated in June 1942, and all the prisoners were shot. In total, around 2,000 persons were murdered. German forces assisted by Latvian collaborators conducted the shootings.³

SOURCES The "ghetto" in Pavlograd is mentioned in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 65.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the persecution and destruction of the Jews of Pavlograd can be found in the following archives: DADO; GARF (7021-57-68, pp. 100–101); NARA; TsDAHOU (57-4-212, p. 60); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 11; and RG-22.005M, reel 2); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARA, RG-242, T-501, reel 18, fr. 814.
2. From November 1941 to January 1942, according to one source, 3,672 persons were killed in Pavlograd. See GARF, 7021-57-68, p. 103. In our view, this figure is much too high. These shootings were probably carried out by GFP-Group 711, commanded by an officer named Färber. In December 1941 and the first half of January 1942, this unit was stationed in Pavlograd.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 100–101; TsDAHOU, 57-4-212, p. 60. According to the inquiry (no. 23/1297) conducted by the committee of Pavlograd's City Council, on July 15, 1999, 2,100 Jews were annihilated on the grounds of the factory (now called "Pal-mash") where the prison camp was located. These victims were mostly Soviet citizens; the others (670 persons) were "Polish Jews." In our view, this figure is also too high. A Soviet intelligence report for 1942 mentioned that the Germans killed 1,000 Jews in Pavlograd; see USHMM, RG-22.005M (Russian State Archive for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History), reel 2, 69-1-1090.

PERVOMAISK

Pre-1941: Pervomaisk, city and raion center, Odessa oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Pervomaisk, Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: Pervomais'k, raion center, Mykolaiv oblast', Ukraine

Pervomaisk is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) southeast of Uman'. According to the 1939 census, there were 6,087 Jews (18.5 percent of the total population) living in Pervomaisk.¹

The city was occupied on August 2, 1941. From August to November 1941, a German military commandant's office controlled the city. Initially, it was Feldkommandantur (V) 676; then, after October 1941, it became an Ortskommandantur headed by Major Georg Truckenbrod. In December 1941, authority was transferred to a German civil administration. The city of Pervomaisk, including its left-bank regions Ol'viopol' and Bogopol', became the administrative center of Gebiet Pervomaisk, headed by Gebietskommissar Kameradschaftsführer Lafrentz. The Gebiet formed part of Generalkommissariat Nikolajew within Reichskommissariat Ukraine. In October 1941, the right-bank part of the city, called Golta, came under Romanian administration as part of so-called Transnistria. It became the administrative center of the Golta uезд, headed by Lieutenant Colonel M. Isopescu.

In the first days of the occupation, hundreds of Jewish residents of the city were killed.² It is likely that the pogrom was carried out by Romanian soldiers who had occupied the city.

In August 1941, the German Feldkommandantur (V) 676 conducted the registration of the remaining Jews in the city, numbering around 2,000 people. They set up a Judenrat and resettled the Jewish population into a designated part of the city, which "had previously been a Jewish ghetto." The Germans also assigned different forms of compulsory labor to the Jews.³

A German report by Feldkommandantur (V) 676, dated September 21, 1941, seems to imply that most of the Jews from the ghetto were shot in mid-September: "the final resolution of the 'Jewish question' by the recent measures was received by the population as a just punishment for the immeasurable suffering inflicted upon them by Bolshevism. Since these measures were conducted without informing the Feldkommandantur in advance, it was not possible to preserve the currently very much-needed Jewish craftsmen."⁴

According to other sources, forces of the German Security Police rounded up the Jews from the ghetto and others found around Pervomaisk and shot them in several Aktions conducted between September 1941 and the spring of 1942. The Security Police was assisted by the local police, headed by an ethnic German named Geitel. One source indicates that about 30 to 40 Jewish artisans who survived the various Aktions in Pervomaisk were shot on an unspecified later date, in 1942 or 1943.⁵

From the Romanian part of the city, Golta, Jews declared unfit for labor were sent to the nearby Akmechetka camp. At the same time, a small group of Jewish artisans was sent to a newly created labor camp. In the middle of 1942, several hundred Jews were deported from Romania to Golta. In late 1942

and early 1943, the population in the two ghettos and labor camp in Golta stood at around 500 persons. In the spring of 1943, some of them were transferred to other camps. By October 1943 the population of Golta Jews numbered 300. The majority of them survived, but some died of hunger and disease.⁶

SOURCES Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-69-82); RGVA (1275-3-661); USHMM; and VHF.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 21.

2. *Istoriia mist i sil URSS: Mykolaiivs'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1971), p. 664.

3. RGVA, 1275-3-661, p. 12, Report of Feldkommandantur 676 (V), September 8, 1941.

4. *Ibid.*, 1275-3-661, pp. 20–23, Report of Feldkommandantur 676 (V), September 21, 1941. This interpretation is not confirmed by other sources cited below. It is possible that additional Jews were found in the surrounding areas and then shot in groups over the following weeks and months.

5. Testimony of eyewitnesses V.I. Iaremchenko and R.Ie. Berman at the court proceedings in Kiev, January 17–28, 1946. See *Kyivs'kyi protses: Dokumenty ta materialy* (Kiev, 1995), pp. 83–85; GARF, 7021-69-82, pp. 242, 246. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission in Pervomaisk, 120 Jews were shot in November 1941, 3,600 Jews in December 1941, and 1,600 Jews in February–March 1942. These figures, however, appear to be too high.

6. D. Deletant, "Ghetto Experience in Golta, Transnistria, 1942–1944," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 18:1 (Spring 2004): 9–18.

ZLATOPOL'

Pre-1941: Zlatopol', town, Novomirgorod raion, Kirovograd oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1944: Slatopol, Rayon center, Gebiet Nowo Mirgorod, Generalkommissariat Nikolajew; post-1991: part of Novomyrhorod, Kirovograd oblast', Ukraine

Zlatopol' is located about 65 kilometers (40 miles) northwest of Kirovograd. In 1939 the Jewish population numbered 1,047 (26 percent of the total population).¹

German forces occupied the settlement on August 1, 1941, six weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into or enlisted voluntarily for the Red Army. Around 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Zlatopol' at the start of the German occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the town. It

established a local administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from local residents.

In November 1941, power was transferred to a German civil administration. Zlatopol' became the center of Rayon Slatopol in Gebiet Kirovograd, and later in Gebiet Nowo Mirgorod, within Generalkommissariat Nikolajew in Reichskommissariat Ukraine.

Shortly after the occupation of Zlatopol', the Ortskommandantur organized the registration and marking of the Jews with armbands. They were also forced to perform heavy forced labor tasks, such as the repair of roads and buildings, solely because of their race.

In the fall of 1941, the German military administration established a "ghetto camp" for the Jews in Zlatopol'.² Jews were prohibited from leaving the ghetto to buy products from Ukrainian local inhabitants. As a result, starvation quickly ensued among the ghetto inmates.

In November 1941, the first Aktion was conducted against the Jews of Zlatopol'. German security forces assisted by Ukrainian police used chloropicrin gas to suffocate 174 Jews in a basement.³ During the second Aktion in February 1942, on the instructions of the Gebietskommissar, the Ukrainian police suffocated 202 Jews, also using gas.⁴ In May 1942, a third Aktion was carried out in the same manner, killing 183 Jews.⁵ Altogether, 559 people were killed in the course of these three Aktions.

In June 1942, the German Gendarmerie captured 14 Jews who had been hiding and shot them in the forest nearby.⁶ By June 1942, 240 Jews remained in the ghetto.⁷ On September 30, 1942, around 100 Jews were shot in a deserted mine shaft near the village of Maslovo. When they were taken out of the building and led into the car for transportation to the killing site, a number of young Jews offered resistance. Armed only with metal bars, they threw themselves at the German and Ukrainian police, slightly wounding some of them.⁸ After this, only the craftsmen and their families remained in the ghetto. They were exterminated at some time later in 1942 or in 1943.⁹

Between 1941 and 1943, the Germans and their collaborators murdered more than 800 Jews in Zlatopol'.

SOURCES The ghetto in Zlatopol' is mentioned in the following publications: *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:486; and in *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 93. There is also a survivor testimony published in Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoj okkupatsii, 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), pp. 246–249.

Documents relating to the persecution and annihilation of Jews in Zlatopol' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; DAKO; GARF (7021-66-123); TsDAHOU (57-4-170); TsDAVO (3676-4-317; R4328-1-1); USHMM; and YVA (O-33/154-1-4).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 27.
2. "Zlatopol'" in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:486, indicates the building of a children's home was used for this purpose. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1514, dates the establishment of the "ghetto camp" to December 1941. TsDAVO, R4328-1-1, pp. 61–62, 67–68, calls it a "ghetto camp" established in the forest on the outskirts of town.
3. GARF, 7021-66-123, p. 55.
4. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, Report of the Higher SS and Police Leader (HSSPF) and chief of the Security Police in Reichskommissariat Ukraine for the period from March 6 to April 1, 1942.
5. GARF, 7021-66-123, p. 55.
6. TsDAHOU, 57-4-170, p. 73, Meldungen aus den besetzten Ostgebieten, No. 12, July 17, 1942.
7. Testimony of Iosif Iakovlevich Butovetskii, in Arad, *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR*, p. 247.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 247–248; the Butovetskii testimony has also been published in *Yalkut Moresbet* 45 (June 1988): 179–184.
9. Available sources indicate that 83 Jews were murdered in 1943; see GARF, 7021-66-123, pp. 55 and reverse side.



SECTION VII

REGIONS OF THE USSR UNDER GERMAN MILITARY OCCUPATION

Following Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, German forces penetrated deep into Soviet territory, reaching the outskirts of Moscow by November 1941. From August 1941, the western sections of occupied territory were handed over successively from German military administration to civil rule as Reichskommissariate Ostland and Ukraine were established and gradually expanded eastward through the end of 1941 and into 1942.

In this volume, those parts of the occupied Soviet Union that remained under German military administration during the occupation have been divided into three regions in accordance with the boundaries of the respective Soviet Socialist Republics at the time of the German invasion in June 1941: Eastern Belorussia, Eastern Ukraine and Crimea, and Russia. In 1941, before the German occupation, Crimea formed part of the Russian Federation, but here it is combined with Eastern Ukraine, as it also was occupied by forces of German Army Group South.

The Eastern Belorussia Region covers the Vitebsk and Mogilev oblasts and also parts of the Gomel', Minsk, and Poles'e oblasts of the Belorussian SSR. During the period when the ghettos in Eastern Belorussia were established and liquidated from the summer of 1941 until the summer of 1942, the region was occupied by the German army, and specifically it came under the author-

ity of Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte).

The Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region covers the Chernigov, Khar'kov, Stalino, Sumy, and Voroshilovgrad oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR, as well as German-occupied Crimea, during the period of German military occupation. During the period when most of the ghettos in the Eastern Ukraine Region were established and liquidated from the fall of 1941 until the summer of 1942, the region was subordinated primarily to Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd). The four ghettos established in the Crimea lay within the Rear Area of the German 11th Army.

The Occupied Russian Territory covers primarily the area of the pre-1941 Kalinin, Leningrad, Orel, Smolensk, and Tula oblasts. The ghettos established in this region between the summer of 1941 and the spring of 1942 lay primarily within the jurisdiction of Rear Area, Army Groups Center and North, although some, such as that in Kaluga, remained under the control of German frontline troops. In addition, during the German offensive against Stalingrad, in the summer and fall of 1942, a few ghettos were established in the areas occupied by German Army Group A (Heeresgruppe A) in the Rostov oblast', the Ordzhonikidze krai, and the Kalmyk and Kabardino-Balkar ASSRs (Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics).



EASTERN BELORUSSIA REGION



Jewish men remove guns from a barrack in Mogilev, July to October 1941. The German caption reads: "collection of looted guns."
USHMM WS #74318, COURTESY OF ZIH

EASTERN BELORUSSIA REGION

Pre-1941: Vitebsk, Mogilev, and parts of the Gomel', Minsk, and Poles'e oblasts, Belorussian SSR, Soviet Union; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-2001: Republic of Belarus

The entirety of the eastern Belorussia region lay within the Belorussian SSR in 1938. After June 1941 and until the spring of 1942, the German military authorities and the Einsatzgruppen established some 101 ghettos or points of concentration for Jews in eastern Belorussia, divided as follows: 41 in the Vitebsk oblast', containing about 30,000 Jews; 31 in the Mogilev oblast', holding some 38,000 Jews; 15 in what is now the Gomel' oblast', with approximately 13,000 Jewish residents; and 14 in the Minsk oblast', with about 16,000 Jews. For some locations a lack of information has made it very difficult to determine whether or not a ghetto existed there. Most ghettos were located in the Rayon centers, sometimes also holding Jews brought in from surrounding villages, although several Rayons contained 2 or more ghettos. The period of ghetto formation was accompanied by the mass murder of the Jewish population by units of the Security Police (Einsatzgruppen), Wehrmacht, Order Police, Waffen-SS, and various non-German auxiliaries.

According to the 1939 census, there were more than 250,000 Jews living in the region of eastern Belorussia. Thousands of Jewish refugees arrived from western Belorussia in the first days after the German invasion on June 22, 1941, but many other Jews were evacuated, fled in time, or were recruited into the Red Army. However, a systematic evacuation of key personnel, mainly Communist Party and state officials, as well as industrial workers, was possible only from a few larger cities with good railway connections. For example, in Orsha, located on a main railway line, only about 25 percent of the Jews remained at the start of the German occupation, whereas in Polotsk, probably around 75 percent of the 1939 population was trapped there, although this number included many refugees from further west.

In the first two months, the rapidly moving units of Einsatzgruppe B, supported by SS, Order Police, and Wehrmacht units, conducted a number of killing Aktions directed against suspected Communists and the Jewish leadership. In August 1941, Einsatzgruppe B and other units initiated large-scale killings of Jewish women and children. For example, in Surazh, Einsatzkommando 9 carried out the total annihilation of the Jews on August 15, 1941, without forming a ghetto.¹ The liquidation of most of the larger ghettos established in the main cities was conducted in October and November 1941; but many ghettos in smaller towns and villages were not liquidated until the first six months of 1942. The limited personnel of the Einsatzgruppen, poor roads and communications, and the cold winter of 1941–1942 all contributed to the prolongation of the killing Aktions into the spring and summer of 1942.



An elderly woman sits among the ruins of her home, destroyed by the German attack on Vitebsk. The original German caption reads: "This was Vitebsk!"

USHMM WS #09468, COURTESY OF PATRICIA MARK

The military commandant's offices (Ortskommandanturen) appointed a local Belorussian administration and a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) in each Rayon. The first anti-Jewish measures introduced by the military included the wearing of identifying markings and the introduction of forced labor. Other regulations included restrictions on trading with non-Jews and confinement to the limits of the settlement.

The commander in charge of Rear Area, Army Group Center (Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Mitte, or Berück Mitte), General der Kavallerie Max von Schenckendorff, issued an order for the creation of separate Jewish quarters on July 13, 1941. It stated that Jews were to be concentrated in a closed community in houses only occupied by Jews.² Among the first ghettos established in eastern Belorussia were those in Slavnoe (according to survivors, on July 9), Zemin (mid-July 1941), Ostrovno (on July 19), Krupki (July), and Bogushevichi (late July or early August). Ghettoization, however, was not a high priority. Subsequent guidelines issued by the Army High Command (OKH) in mid-August, and circulated by the Berück Mitte on September 12, advised that fenced ghettos were only to be established when the location of the Jewish quarter in relation to the non-Jewish residential area made it necessary for the effective guarding of the Jewish quarter, which could not be achieved by other means. Such ghettos were only to be established in towns with larger Jewish populations and only if other more urgent tasks would not be neglected in consequence. Jews could leave the Jewish quarters only for work assignments or with special permission

from the Ortskommandant.³ These orders, which left much initiative to commanders at the local level, explain how the patchwork of open ghettos, enclosed ghettos, and also other places with no resettlement of the Jews came about.

As a result of the flexible guidelines, at least 17 unfenced or open ghettos (*Judenviertel*) were established in eastern Belorussia; but there were significant variations, even among these. In Beshenkovichi and Chashniki, Jews were not resettled, but they were forbidden to leave the town, and their houses were marked with wooden Stars of David. In Tolochin, the Jews were resettled into a separate area, which was not fenced but was guarded by the local Belorussian police. In Osipovichy, the Jews were confined to certain streets that they could not leave, but the area remained unfenced and non-Jews living there were not resettled. In Trudy, all the Jews were concentrated in three houses, from which the non-Jews were removed.

Among reasons given for establishing ghettos was the Germans' need for more housing space, especially in places that had witnessed considerable destruction. Another motivation was the aim of restricting Jews' access to the food supply. The ghettos also served the additional purpose of trapping much of the Jewish population in preparation for the killing Aktions.

A variety of different sites were used as ghettos. Many were established in the poorer parts of town, often where Jews had lived before in the small wooden houses typical of the region. In the village of Grodzianka, a long, wooden construction similar to a barracks served as the ghetto. The Jews of Tal'ka were concentrated in a former pioneer camp, and those of Pukhovichi in the former sanatorium of the postal service. In Gorodok, the ghetto was fenced on three sides, with a river forming its boundary on the fourth; a watchtower was built at the highest point along the ghetto fence. In the small village of Obol', a single house served as the ghetto. In Shumilino, the ghetto consisted of 10 houses "surrounded with barbed wire. Old cans and bottles were hung on the wire, and if somebody touched it, they rang. A guard with a machine gun sat on a watchtower, and he opened fire at everybody who came close to the wire."⁴

In most cases the ghettos were established and overseen by the Ortskommandanturen, but in some cases, especially in larger cities, the Einsatzgruppen also played a leading role. In Orsha, the ghetto was established following a decision taken in the office of the Ortskommandantur. It consisted of between 25 and 40 houses, where about 2,000 people were concentrated. The Jews were given three days to move in. On one side, the ghetto was bordered by the Orshitsa River, and on the other sides it was enclosed with barbed wire and guarded. The Jewish cemetery was included in the ghetto area.⁵

In September 1941, Egon Noack, commander of Vorauskommando Moskau subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B, arrived in Mstislavl', and after consulting with the mayor and the head of the local police, he ordered the creation of a ghetto in the "Sloboda" section of town. All Jews were ordered to move into the ghetto, while local Belorussians were evacuated from this area. During this visit, the Security Police under Noack collected fur coats from the Jews, and after the ghetto was es-

tablished, the Security Police shot 30 Jewish men.⁶ Ghettoization was often accompanied by anti-Jewish violence and the confiscation or looting of property. In Mogilev, the Jews allegedly tried to sabotage resettlement into the ghetto, which resulted in the Security Police shooting 113 Jews.⁷ In Ostrovno, on the day of the resettlement, a young Jew who refused to move into the ghetto was shot and killed. During the resettlement of the Jews into the Polotsk ghetto, the Nazis confiscated Jewish property, beating many Jews in the process.

Most ghettos in the region were severely overcrowded, and despite the short duration of many of them, epidemics of typhus and other diseases linked to malnutrition, exposure, and overcrowding were common. In the Lepel' ghetto, some of the houses had neither doors nor windows. Jews were crammed 30 to 40 people to each house. The ghetto inmates were forbidden to leave their houses or even to look out the windows. In winter they were forbidden to take water from wells; they could only melt snow instead.⁸ In Vitebsk, the area of the ghetto was so severely damaged that the Jews had to scavenge in the ruins to find some makeshift shelter. In the Liuban' ghetto, each house contained at least three or four families.

A survivor of the Liozno ghetto, B. Chernyakov, has described conditions there: "The police burst into ghetto houses in the winter at any time of the day or night. They broke the windows, beat the Jews with sticks and whips, and chased them out into the freezing cold. Not a single window pane remained in one of the houses . . . even though 40 people lived there in -40° weather. Infested with lice, the people slept on rotten, wormy straw. A typhus epidemic broke out, claiming several lives every day."⁹ Survivors report from a number of ghettos that the Germans supplied no food at all to the inmates, which meant that deaths from starvation occurred, in some cases on a large scale.

Most historians argue that the exploitation of the Jews for labor was only of marginal importance in the ghettos of this region, since much of the heavy industry had been evacuated or destroyed by the Soviets, and sufficient non-Jewish manpower remained. Nonetheless, Jews were used for forced labor in almost all eastern Belorussian ghettos. Forced labor tasks included cleaning the streets, repairing roads, digging military defenses, and cleaning or craft work for the German occupying forces. Sometimes, however, forced labor was intended merely to humiliate the Jews. In Parichi, Jews were taken out each day for forced labor, and when there was no work for them, the authorities still made them move sand from one place to another.

In September 1941, the Wehrmacht forbade the use of Jewish workers other than in closed columns.¹⁰ According to historian Christian Gerlach, this order effectively excluded Jewish craftsmen from the economy and accelerated the process of destruction. As the measure was implemented, it was accompanied by the mass murder of most of the Jewish population in the larger cities. Since the Jews of eastern Belorussia were much less involved in crafts and light industry than those in the former Polish regions, they could be replaced more easily. The acute food shortages in the cities, exacerbated by the

Germans' own "Hunger Plan," led German authorities to starve out and shoot Jews en masse. Fear of disease spreading became another reason to liquidate those that remained.¹¹

Among the main units responsible for the murder of the Jews in eastern Belorussia in the fall of 1941 were Einsatzkommandos 8 and 9 of Einsatzgruppe B. Einsatzkommando 8, assisted by Police Battalions 316 and 322, murdered more than 6,000 Jews in Mogilev in two large Aktions in October. Another Einsatzkommando 8 detachment shot 7,000 Jews in Borisov, assisted by the local Belorussian police. Detachments of Einsatzkommando 9 carried out mass shootings of Jews, for example, in Vitebsk, Ianovich, and Sirofino. Wehrmacht units participated in anti-Jewish Aktions, for example, in Krupki and Krucha, and provided support to the operations of the Einsatzgruppen. A report by Ortskommandantur I (V) 324 in Parichi reflects the suddenness of developments: "on October 18, 1941, a security command of the SD in Bobruisk appeared in Parichi and liquidated the Jews living here."¹²

Indigenous forces and other auxiliaries also played an important role. Apart from the Ordnungsdienst based in every town and village, men of the collaborationist Russian National People's Army (RNNA) and Ukrainian auxiliaries also participated in ghetto liquidation Aktions.

About 25 of the eastern Belorussian ghettos existed for less than two months, such that they can be considered destruction ghettos. Of these, 16 were liquidated in the fall of 1941 and the others in the first six months of 1942. In some places, such as Drissa or Osveia, the Jews were collected together in a "special camp" or ghetto for only a few days before they were shot; others existed for a few weeks, such as in Klimovich or Gorodok, and in most respects resembled other ghettos.

From a few ghettos, selected skilled workers were spared initially from the killing Aktions, but this was usually for only a few weeks. In Mogilev a forced labor camp for Jews was established alongside the ghetto, which later also held non-Jews before its liquidation in 1943. Jews from western Belorussia were sent to a forced labor camp near Borisov in December 1942; they were shot there after a few months in 1943.

Little is known about the Jewish Councils in the eastern Belorussian ghettos other than the names and professions of some Jewish elders and council members. As elsewhere, their tasks included registering the Jews and meeting German demands for forced labor and "contributions." They also probably allocated housing and provided some social services, including rudimentary medical care. In Vitebsk and a few other ghettos, there is evidence of a Jewish police force. In Tal'ka, Jewish elder Meyer Rabinovich was shot when he protested about the treatment of the Jews in the ghetto.¹³ Attempts were made to maintain religious observance and other social activities despite the difficulties. In Shchedrin, the Jews prayed at home, as there was no synagogue within the ghetto boundaries. Efforts were also made to bury the dead according to Jewish rites.

The attitudes of the local population towards the ghettos varied from direct participation in German anti-Jewish policies to providing assistance and shelter. Jewish survivors from

Ianovich recalled their non-Jewish neighbors with great bitterness, as with the coming of the Germans, the attitude of the local population towards the Jews changed drastically: "The locals could come to a Jew and take away whatever they wanted, even a cow . . . ; they might also beat you with a stick."¹⁴ The German authorities also spread virulent propaganda against the Jews. The establishment of ghettos gave non-Jews the opportunity to loot property that was left behind. In most ghettos in the region, Jews were able to barter their last possessions for food with the non-Jewish population despite German prohibitions. In Borisov, the initial mood of support for the anti-Jewish measures gave way to fears that the remaining local population might also be killed once the full scale of the massacres became known.¹⁵

From the end of 1941, a number of Jews escaped from the ghettos to join the growing Soviet partisan movement. Many Jews served with distinction in the Soviet partisans and carried out attacks against German garrisons and the local police. Despite some antisemitism in the ranks of the partisans, official Soviet policy treated all nationalities equally, and Soviet units offered some refuge to Jews escaping from the ghettos. Other Jews survived in hiding, usually with the help of a number of non-Jews.

Many of the Jews in the small open ghetto in Kolyshki were fortunate to be liberated by the Red Army. The German authorities had collected the Jews in a few intact houses marked with distinctive symbols. The Jews suffered from frequent robberies in the "ghetto," and some Jews caught foraging outside the village were shot. On February 9, 1942, a Soviet reconnaissance unit recaptured Kolyshki, and a few days later some of the Jews moved deeper into Soviet-held territory, with the unit commander's approval. Unfortunately, more than 100 Jews who remained behind were murdered in March, after the Germans' return.

The ghettos liquidated in the first six months of 1942 were mainly smaller ones in more remote towns and villages, although a few were larger, such as that in Beshenkovich, which contained more than 800 people. The Khotimsk ghetto was liquidated in early September 1942 and was probably not the last ghetto in the region, as Belorussian sources date the liquidation of the Sloboda ghetto to October 1942.

On liberation by the Red Army, very few Jewish survivors of the German occupation remained in eastern Belorussia. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) documented the mass grave sites and obtained some descriptions of ghettos from local inhabitants. Just as German trials of Einsatzgruppen members have helped to piece together the daily brutality of the killing squads, now the trials of Soviet collaborators located in the Committee for State Security (KGB) archives are beginning to help historians gain a clearer picture of the attitudes among the local population during the persecution and murder of the Jews.

SOURCES Of the secondary works dealing with the fate of the Jews in the ghettos of eastern Belorussia, the following are recommended: Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche*

Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944 (Hamburg: HIS, 2000); Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997); Raul Hilberg, *Die Vernichtung der europäischen Juden*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer, 1982); Daniel Romanovsky, “The Holocaust in the Eyes of *Homo Sovieticus*: A Survey Based on Northeastern Belorussia and Northwestern Russia,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 13:3 (Winter 1999): 355–382; and Leonid Smilovitsky, “Ghettos in the Gomel Region: Commonalities and Unique Features, 1941–42” (presented at the Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies Symposium on “The Holocaust in the Soviet Union,” United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, November 2003), available at jewishgen.org.

Of use in helping to identify smaller ghettos were the following publications: Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belarускаia Navuka, 2000); Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-feks, 2003); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vols. 4–6 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, “Epos,” 2000–2007); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Relevant collections of testimonies and other primary sources include the following: R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izdatel’ E.S. Gal’perin, 1997); Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); Ida M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel’ mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005); Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v*

Belorussii 1941–1944 gg. (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000); Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech’ i bol’* (Orsha, 1998); and Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Slovo Pamiati* (Orsha: Orshanskaia Tipografia, 1997).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBMO; AŽIH; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; BLH; CDJC; GAGO; GAMINO; GAMO; GARF; GAVO; IfZ; IPN; MA; NA; NARA; NARB; RGASPI; RGVA; USHMM; VHAP; VHF; YIVO; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. YVA, TR-10/388a (Berlin trial of members of Einsatzkommando 9 [Filbert] held in 1961), p. 47; Soviet sources date the Aktion in Surazh on July 28 or August 2, 1941.
2. Berück Mitte, Abt. VII/Mil. Verw., Verwaltungsanordnungen Nr. 2, July 13, 1941, NARB, 409-1-1, p. 71, as cited by Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 524.
3. Berück Mitte, Abt. VII/Kr.-Verw., Verwaltungsanordnungen Nr. 6, September 12, 1941, as cited in *ibid.*, p. 525.
4. Eyewitness Yakov Mogilnitskii, as cited by A. Shulman and M. Ryvkin, *Porodnennye voimoi* (Vitebsk, 1997), p. 33.
5. See Vinnitsa, *Gorech’ i bol’*, pp. 66–69.
6. See Sta. Kiel, 2 Js 762/63, vol. 4, p. 152, statement of Woldemar Klingelhöfer, October 5, 1963; and vol. 1, pp. 48–49, statement of Klingelhöfer, July 1, 1947.
7. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 6 (October 1–31, 1941), in Klein, *Einsatzgruppen*, p. 230.
8. Testimony of Roza Fishkina, GARF, 7021-84-104. See also Vinnitsa, *Gorech’ i bol’*, pp. 46–48.
9. B. Chernyakov’s letter, in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Complete Black Book*, pp. 187–188.
10. OKW/W.F.St./Abt. L (IV/Qu), Betr.: Juden in den neu besetzten Ostgebieten, September 12, 1941 (BA-MA), as cited by Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 578.
11. See *ibid.*, p. 645.
12. BA-BL, R 2104/25, report of OK I(V)324, n.d.
13. BA-L, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. I, statements of Semen Panschey and Kondrat Molchan; Dok. Bd. II, statement of Anna Koreny.
14. YVA, O-3/4614.
15. NARA, N-Doc. 3047-PS.

Ghettos in the Eastern Belorussia Region 1941 - 1942



Borders as of 1942

BARAN'

Pre-1941: Baran', town, Orsha raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Baran, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Baran', Orsha raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Baran' is located a few kilometers to the southwest of Orsha. The 1939 census registered 81 Jews living in Baran' (out of a total population of 1,589).

German armed forces captured the settlement on July 16, 1941, three weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this intervening period, some Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were conscripted for military service in the Red Army. Slightly more than half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the settlement at the start of the German occupation.

A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of Baran' throughout the occupation, from July 1941 until February 1944. The German military administration established a local authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the settlement, the Ortskommandantur ordered all Jews to be registered and marked with badges and required that the Jewish population perform various forms of hard labor. In September 1941, all the remaining Jews in the settlement were rounded up and moved into a ghetto, consisting of just two houses, 19 and 21 Ialtinskaia Street.¹ The German commandant forbade Jews to go out onto the street after 6:00 p.m. As the Jews suffered from hunger, they exchanged valuable items for food with the local population.²

After about seven months, on April 8, 1942, the Germans, assisted by the local police, liquidated the ghetto; all the Jews—about 42 to 45 people—were shot and buried in a mass grave located about 300 meters (328 yards) from Sorokin Street.

SOURCES Brief articles on the Baran' ghetto can be found in the publications of Gennadii Vinnitsa: *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshanskaia Tipografiia, 1997), pp. 55–57, and *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 92–93. See also “Baran',” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia akademiia estestvennykh nauk, 2000), 4:84.

Documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission regarding the extermination of the Jews of Baran' can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-10); and GAVO.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., “Baran,” in *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), 1:86–87.

2. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, p. 55.

BATSEVICHI

Pre-1941: Batsevichi, town, Klichev raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Bazewitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Batsevichy, Klichav raen, Mabilou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Batsevichi is located about 35 kilometers (22 miles) due north of Bobruisk.

German forces of Army Group Center captured the area around Klichev in early July 1941. According to the testimony of Issak Moiseyevich Gershovich, the German military authorities established a ghetto in the town of Batsevichi by early September 1941. The Jews in the ghetto were served by a Jewish doctor and his wife, who was a midwife. The ghetto consisted of a few small cottages, in each of which lived about 25 to 30 people crammed together. One night in December 1941, German forces arrived in Batsevichi and shot all the Jews. Since the 1939 Soviet census recorded only 192 Jews living in the Klichev raion outside Klichev, it is likely that fewer than 100 Jews were murdered in Batsevichi.

In late February 1942, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 (Einsatzgruppe B) conducted a reprisal Aktion in Batsevichi, following an attack on German police forces nearby. During the Aktion, 47 inhabitants of Batsevichi, including men, women, and children, were murdered.¹

SOURCES The ghetto in Batsevichi is mentioned in David Meltzer and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 428.

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NOTE

1. *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), Bd. II, Lfd. Nr. 1044, p. 288.

BELYNICHI

Pre-1941: Belynichi, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Belynitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Bialynichy, raen center, Mabilou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Belynichi is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-northwest of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, there were 781 Jews living in Belynichi, comprising 24.8 percent of the total population.¹

German armed forces occupied the town on July 9, 1941, about three weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In this interim period, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army.

During the course of the occupation, which lasted from July 9, 1941, until June 29, 1944, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. The Ortskommandantur set up a town administration and a police force recruited from local residents. Shortly after the occupation began, the town administration, on the orders of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also required to perform heavy physical labor.

In September 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 (headed by Dr. Otto Bradfisch) arrived in Belynichi from Mogilev and conducted the first Aktion. On the pretext of sending Jews out to work on a bridge construction project, the German punitive squad rounded up more than 150 Jewish men. They escorted them about 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) out of town and then shot them, burying the bodies in two pits.²

After the Aktion in the fall of 1941, all the remaining Jews of Belynichi, together with Jewish families from some neighboring villages in the Rayon, were resettled into a camp or ghetto "Kvartal-Lager" established in a specific quarter of the town. The ghetto was strictly guarded; the Jews were not permitted to leave the ghetto, and non-Jews were also forbidden to enter.³ This resettlement was most probably conducted under the supervision of Ortskommandantur II/936, which was based in Belynichi in mid-October 1941.⁴

On December 12, 1941, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. At 9:00 A.M., a detachment of the German Security Police and SD based in Mogilev (Einsatzkommando 8), assisted by the local Belorussian police, gathered the remaining Jews of the ghetto, about 600 people, into a large column. The Jews were told that they were being resettled to Esmony, a village about 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) to the northwest of Belynichi. The Germans and their collaborators escorted the Jews along the road into the Mkhi woods to a site about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, where two large pits measuring 40 meters by 30 meters (131 feet by 98 feet) and 3 meters (10 feet) deep had been prepared in advance. Here the Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly, were forced to undress down to their underwear and lie facedown in the ditches; after one row was complete, the Germans shot the Jews; and then the next row had to get ready. After this horrendous deed was finished, the Germans transported the clothing and shoes of the murdered Jews back to Belynichi, and from there the most valuable items were sent to Mogilev in automobiles; the remaining less valuable items were distributed by the Germans among their collaborators.⁵

Between April and June 1942, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 shot several hundred more Jews in villages near Belynichi (presumably those who had not been brought into the Belynichi ghetto in the fall of 1941).

SOURCES Publications that mention the Belynichi ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Belynichi include the following: V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: Staatskomitee für Archive und Aktenführung der Republik Belarus, 2001), p. 135; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before*

and during the Holocaust (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 104; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki Genotsida Evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 294–295.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Belynichi can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/II 202 AR 625/67, vol. 1); BA-MA (RH 26-221/14b); GARF (7021-88-34); NARB (861-1-9); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov and Martin Dean
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 39.

2. GARF, 7021-88-34, p. 1. According to another source, the shooting of Jewish men took place in October 1941, in two ditches on the edge of Charopol'. In 1965, an obelisk was placed at the site of the shooting; see Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 294.

3. GARF, 7021-88-34, p. 1.

4. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b, map of Heeresgebiet Mitte as of October 9, 1941.

5. GARF, 7021-88-34, p. 1. A list containing the names of 360 of the murdered Jews can be found in GARF, 7021-88-34, pp. 30–37; among those murdered were apparently 224 refugees from western Belorussia. See also NARB, 861-1-9, p. 123.

BEREZINO

Pre-1941: Berezino, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Beresino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Berazino, raen center, Minsk voblasts, Republic of Belarus

Berezino is located just over 100 kilometers (62 miles) east of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, 1,536 Jews (31.8 percent of the total) lived in Berezino. An additional 786 Jews lived in the villages of the raion, bringing the total Jewish population to 2,322.

German military forces had occupied the town by early July 1941, just over a week after the start of the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this period, several hundred Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. More than two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town.

During the entire occupation period, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The Germans created a local authority and recruited a police force (Ordnungsdienst) from among the local residents.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the local authority organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. By the end of July, some Jews of the Rayon from outside the town were also concentrated in Berezino. Jews were forced to perform various forms of heavy labor, including

carpentry work. In August or September 1941, German security forces arrested and shot 150 Jews from the town.

In the summer or fall of 1941, a ghetto was created on Internatsional'naiia Street in Berezino, which after a few weeks was surrounded by barbed wire. Some Jews were also brought into the ghetto from other villages nearby. Jews were prohibited from bringing food products into the ghetto from the villages and were beaten by the local police when caught. Nevertheless, Jews continued to sneak out to beg for food, as some Jews were dying of hunger. Those who died were buried in the Jewish cemetery.¹

The ghetto was liquidated on January 31 and February 1, 1942. Einsatzkommando 8, a 20-man detachment of the Security Police and SD subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B, shot 962 Jews, including the elderly, women, and children.² According to the evidence of a former member, the 1st Company of the 12th Lithuanian Schutzmannschaft Battalion, commanded by Zenonas Kemzura, also participated in the Aktion.³

The killing site was cordoned off by members of German Landeschützenbataillon 452. According to the diary entry of one member of this unit, the ghetto was only 500 meters (547 yards) from his window; he could hear the screams and shouts as the houses were cleared systematically, and any Jews trying to flee were shot on the spot. The Jews were escorted in a column to two wooden huts near the ditches, where they put their valuables into the first and their outer clothing into the second hut. Then they were escorted on a path through the snow to the grave. They got down into the grave and were killed by two SS men, who took turns shooting. Some children later were found hiding in the ghetto and were also murdered.⁴

The local Belorussian police took part in the Aktion. One well-dressed local policeman from Berezino boasted shortly afterwards: "We finished off the kikes, all of them. In the end of December and beginning of January [*sic*] we liquidated the kike ghetto. We shot a thousand of them. Children were taken to the river and drowned in ice holes."⁵ Sometime after the Aktion, the Ortskommandantur in Berezino sent to Berlin \$273 in U.S. currency, which had been confiscated from the Jews who were shot.⁶

Liza Aizendorf was hidden inside the ghetto with her other siblings by her grandmother, who gave herself up, as an empty house was likely to be searched thoroughly. Liza managed to escape with her sister three days after the Aktion. She survived the German occupation despite being denounced by local people on more than one occasion and eventually joined a Soviet partisan unit. After the Germans fled, she also participated in reprisals taken against local collaborators.⁷

Jews were also murdered in the villages of Rayon Beresino. In December 1941, German forces shot 380 Jews in the village of Bogushevichi. Sometime in early 1942, 200 Jews were shot in the village of Pogost.⁸

SOURCES Published sources on the fate of the Jews of Berezino during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem;

New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 114; and Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 197–198.

Documents and testimonies on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Berezino can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104); GAMINO; GARF (7021-87-2); NARB (861-1-8); VHF (# 7691); YVA (Oral History of Zinaida Krasner); and ZSSSta-D (45 Js 35/64).

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-87-2, p. 1; testimony of Liza Aizendorf (Zorina), in Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 197–198; and VHF, # 7691, testimony of Elizaveta Aizendorf (née Zorina).

2. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), p. 684. According to the materials of the ChGK, the Germans shot around 1,000 Jews in Berezino at the end of December 1941; see GARF, 7021-87-2, p. 1; and NARB, 861-1-8, p. 113.

3. See the trial proceedings against Antanas Impulevicius, Zenonas Kemzura, and others, in Vilnius, October 10–20, 1962, statement of the accused Juozas Knyrimas. Kemzura was sentenced to death, as was the commander of the battalion, Major Impulevicius (in absentia, as he was living in the United States).

4. ZSSSta-D, 45 Js 35/64, pp. 22–24, diary of P.H. (transcript), cited by Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, p. 684 n. 983.

5. Unfortunately for this local policeman, his interlocutors were Soviet partisans in disguise, and they shot him shortly after these incautious words, as he had boasted also of having personally murdered two children. See David Meltzer and Vladimir Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 431 (Isaak Moiseyevich Gershovich [New York], Commissar of the 277th Partisan Regiment, 2nd Klichev Partisan Brigade, recollections from his wartime diary).

6. BA-BL, R2104/Beutebuch Russland VI, no. 9584, pp. 30–31, report dated April 29, 1942.

7. Testimony of Liza Aizendorf (Zorina), in Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii*, pp. 197–198.

8. GARF, 7021-87-2, pp. 6 (Bogushevichi) and 16 (Pogost).

BESHENKOVICHI

Pre-1939: Beshenkovichi, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Beschenkowitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Beshankovichy, raen center, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Beshenkovichi is situated 51 kilometers (32 miles) west-southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, 1,119 Jews lived in the town, making up 26.3 percent of the population. The main part of the town is situated on the left bank of the Zapadnaia Dvina River, where the majority of

the Jews lived. On the right bank of the river is the suburb of Strelka. Only 21 Jewish families lived in this suburb in the late 1920s; just prior to the war there were even fewer. The other main location with a sizable Jewish population in the Beshenkovich raion was Ulla, which had 516 Jews in 1939 (20.4 percent of the total population). The Jewish population of the raion (excluding Beshenkovich and Ulla) was 385, the bulk of whom lived in the villages of Ostrovno and Svecha.

There was no mass evacuation or flight of Jews from Beshenkovich. Many Jews failed to flee from the town because of the rapid German advance and lack of good roads. Only four Jewish families fled successfully from Strelka.

On July 5, 1941, the German XXXIX Army Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group seized the left bank of the Zapadnaia Dvina River from Beshenkovich to Ulla; thus Ulla and the main part of Beshenkovich, except for Strelka, were captured by the Germans. The right bank (Strelka) was taken no later than July 9. On July 12, forces of the V Army Corps of the 9th Army (Infantry) entered Lepel' and Chashniki; on July 13, they entered Ulla (5th Infantry Division) and, most probably, also Beshenkovich. Both towns became part of the Rear Area, 9th Army (Strauss). From August 1941 onward, Beshenkovich was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte), being situated on its western edge, close to the area under "civil administration" (General-kommissariat Weissruthenien). This area was the realm of the 403rd Security Division; from October 13, 1941, Beshenkovich was under the control of Ortskommandantur I/79.

A survivor, Yakov Genin, stated that a former math teacher, Ivan Ivitskiy, became the police chief. Witnesses attest that the men of the local police, including Ivitskiy, confiscated Jewish houses for themselves.¹

Beshenkovich suffered severely from the fighting. Many wooden houses were burned down. The Belorussian police began to confiscate Jewish houses and give them to non-Jews. There was no formal ghetto in Beshenkovich; the Jews were resettled into a certain district of the town and ordered to mark their houses with plywood Stars of David. A survivor says that some craftsmen (tailors, shoemakers, and the like) were lodged together in the same house; they worked for the Germans and were not subjected to forced labor. In Strelka, all the Jews were resettled into one house, which had belonged to someone whose first name was Shaye. The house was guarded at night. The Jews of Beshenkovich also were ordered to wear a patch with a Star of David on their clothes. Forced labor was introduced: every morning all the Jews, men and women, had to gather in the town's park for distribution to the workplaces. Genin described the kinds of forced labor: "We loaded grain, repaired roads with picks. Most often we dismantled brick buildings, crushed bricks, and covered roads with it. In addition, we sawed trees in the forest and in the park for timber, and sometimes, when there was no work, the Germans made us dig pits or simply drag stones from one place to another."²

There were isolated killings before February 1942. Genin stated that the Germans killed some Jews "just for fun," but later "there were some more or less 'planned' shootings," vic-

tims of which were young strong men. The mass shooting of Jews took place on February 11, 1942. The perpetrators of the killing were members of Einsatzkommando 9 (Schäfer). On that day, all young and middle-aged men who were at work were taken from their workplaces and locked inside a stable; the rest of the Jews—women, children, and old people—were captured in a roundup carried out in the town by the local police. Some Jews offered resistance.

On the morning of the same day, the Germans gathered the town's Belorussians who had carts with horses. The Belorussian witness R.Sh., who participated in that operation, said: "The town commandant came out and spoke in Russian. . . . He said, 'You are liberated from the Jewish yoke, you are free people now,' something like that."³

The Jews—women, old people, and children—were formed into a column, which was escorted by the German and local police across the frozen Zapadnaia Dvina to Strelka and then to a nearby forest, where pits had been prepared. The Einsatzkommandos went separately. Some Jews tried to flee from the column; the police shot them, and the locals with the horse carts, who were following the column, had to pick up the bodies, put them onto the carts, and bring them to the pits.

The people brought to the forest near Strelka were all shot; then the men who had been locked in the stable were also taken there and killed. Later, the "specialists" (artisans) and the Jews who had fled from Beshenkovich and were found in the vicinity were killed in another pit.

After the mass killing, the German authorities organized the sale of Jewish belongings to the local population.

According to the report of Einsatzgruppe B, 855 Jews were killed on February 11, 1942, in Beshenkovich.⁴ Some 13 Jewish "specialists," who worked for the Ortskommandantur, and their families were spared on this day; they were killed in the fall of 1942.

The inscription on the monument erected at the site of the murder after the war states that 1,068 "innocent Soviet citizens" perished there on February 11, 1942. This figure includes either Jews who were killed before the last Aktion and the "specialists" or the non-Jews killed by the Nazis there—or both these groups.

Genin gives a rather negative description of the attitudes of non-Jews to the Jews in the town of Beshenkovich during the war: "We heard from the Germans—Jude, Jude! The same attitude we got from part of the local population." Remarkably, he speaks positively about the attitude towards him shown by Soviet soldiers, whom he met after he crossed the front line in 1942.⁵

There are no recorded cases in Beshenkovich where non-Jews attempted to rescue Jews, other than cases in which non-Jews attempted (unsuccessfully) to rescue their close Jewish relatives (in-laws).

The ghettos in Ulla and Ostrovno within Rayon Beshenkovich are dealt with in separate entries. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 93 Jews were killed in the villages of the Svecha sel'sovet (10 kilometers [6.2 miles] west of Beshenkovich). Mass shootings of civilians

took place also in Bocheikovo (19 kilometers [11.8 miles] west-southwest of Beshenkovich; 84 people killed), Sokorovo, Makarovichi, and other sel'sovets. It is not clear from the documents the extent to which there were Jews among the victims in these places.

SOURCES The personal story of Yakov Genin, who survived the massacre in Beshenkovich, was published in Yiddish as Meyer Brukazh, "Der lerer," *Birobidzbaner Shtern* 253 (December 23, 1973).

The documents of the ChGK for the Beshenkovich raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-1). Relevant German documentation is located in RGVA (500-1-770), BA-BL (R 58/217), and BA-MA (RH 26-201/17). YVA contains not only all the witness statements consulted (O-3/4676 to 4680) but also copies of some German documentation (see O-51-Ossobi/43 and M-29-FR/208).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/4676 and O-3/4677.
2. YVA, O-3/4676.
3. As cited by Daniel Romanovsky, "The Holocaust in the Eyes of the *Homo Sovieticus*," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 13:3 (1999): 378 fn.24.
4. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppe B vom 16. bis zum 28. Februar 1942, in RGVA, 500-1-770.
5. YVA, O-3/4676.

BOBRUISK

Pre-1941: Bobruisk, city and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Babruisk, raen center, Mabiliovoblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bobruisk is located 110 kilometers (68 miles) southwest of Mogilev. According to the census of 1939, there were 26,703 Jews living there (31.6 percent of the total population). The initial advance of German forces into Soviet territory in late June and July 1941 induced some of Bobruisk's Jews to evacuate to the east, while a number of male Jews were called up into the Red Army. No precise figure exists for the number of Jews in the city on the day it was occupied.

On June 28, 1941, units of the 3rd Panzer Division, as well as elements of the 4th Panzer Division and the 1st Cavalry Division, entered Bobruisk. Initially, the city was part of the German 2nd Army's zone of operations, but from August 1941 the territory of Bobruisk was administered by Rear Area, Army Group Center. The various administrative tasks in the city were divided between the local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur 1/274) and the field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 581), but the former unit was subordinated to the latter.

From the first days of the occupation, the Germans ordered the inhabitants to observe a strict curfew and forbade them to leave "the limits of their residential area." Jews were forced to wear yellow six-pointed stars. Additionally, the Germans de-

mandated that the Jews hand over their money, gold, jewelry, and furs. One of the first measures taken by the Germans was to register the entire population and compile a list of the Jews of Bobruisk. At about the same time, the German authorities established a Jewish Council (Judenrat), which also served to separate the Jews from other segments of the population.

The Bobruisk ghetto was established in the area defined by Novoshosseinaia, Zaturenskogo, and Bobrova Streets.¹ According to M.G. Kogan, by July 30, 1941, 10 days after its establishment, all the Jews of Bobruisk had been relocated into the ghetto. In the meantime, the local population plundered what was left of the Jews' property. The ghetto was enclosed by a fence and guarded. The prisoners were prohibited from leaving its confines.

These oppressive German policies forced people to live under absolutely intolerable conditions. Ghetto prisoners had to endure extreme overcrowding, with as many as 35 people sharing a room. In the ghetto it was forbidden to heat furnaces and cook food. It was possible for the Jews to obtain something to eat only by secretly escaping from the ghetto at night and bartering personal possessions for food.² Any Jews caught outside the ghetto were shot immediately. Inhabitants of the ghetto were perpetually exhausted. Many Jews died from starvation and disease. Prisoners of the ghetto were also not able to wash. Some inhabitants of the ghetto succumbed to despair and attempted to commit suicide by hanging themselves. The Germans and their collaborators came to the ghetto for entertainment, selecting beautiful girls and raping them. The chief of police would enter the ghetto and shoot anyone in sight. Similar visits by the murderers would end, as a rule, with the murder of between 15 and 20 Jews. On a regular basis, Germans would round up teenagers and bring them to the hospital, where their blood would be taken. Inhabitants of the ghetto were forced to do heavy physical labor (digging and railway construction work).³ Jews were forced to assist the Germans in defusing mines by dragging large rakes across the minefield. Many people died as the mines exploded. The Germans set dogs on those who tried to hide.

It seems that those with particular skills had a special status. Administrative correspondence between the municipal government and local enterprises, dated between September 13 and 18, 1941, reveals that the Jews H.M. Krichevski, R.S. Stison, L.A. Liakhovskoi, R.O. Ginsburg, N.B. Rozovski, and U.A. Golodez were entrusted with restoring a pharmacy and received special passes and bandages.⁴

According to Kima Rutman, some Jews from western Belorussia were also brought to the Bobruisk ghetto.⁵ He also saw how elderly Jews dug holes in the ground in which they secretly placed their Talmuds, prayer books, Torahs, and talles, as well as lists of prisoners of the ghetto.

In July 1941, the mass killings or Aktions began. Not everything about them is known, making it difficult to present a complete account of the destruction of Bobruisk Jewry.

From the available evidence, it has been determined that between September and October 1941, Einsatzkommando 8 (headed by Dr. Bradfish) conducted three mass shootings in

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and around Bobruisk, during which 407, 1,380, and 418 Jews were killed, respectively.⁶ The largest Aktion during this period was conducted by the SS-Cavalry Brigade in September 1941, in which some 7,000 Jews were killed in the area next to the airfield.⁷

Little is known about Jewish resistance in the city. The 1,380 Jews mentioned above were murdered supposedly because of their dissemination of propaganda directed against the German authorities. According to another Einsatzgruppen report, Jews in Bobruisk had shown open resistance against the orders issued by the German occupation authorities and had openly incited the population to acts of sabotage.⁸

The history of the Bobruisk ghetto came to an end on November 7–8, 1941. According to one source, the Aktion began on November 6, 1941.⁹ In the early morning, Belorussian policemen and German soldiers rounded up the Jews, forcing them out of their homes. They shouted instructions about a journey to Palestine, while beating Jews with rifle butts. They forcibly loaded the Jews into trucks that took them to the village of Kamenka. The loading process continued until evening. The place of extermination was 9 kilometers (5.6 miles) from Bobruisk, near the road to Slutsk. Earlier, prisoners had dug three large ditches in the area. As Jews arrived, they were ordered to remove their clothes and footwear, then shot.¹⁰ According to German sources, on November 7–8, 1941, 5,281 people were killed. The mass killing was carried out by units of Einsatzkommando 8 and Police Battalion 316.

A letter addressed to the commandant of the city of Bobruisk from the Belorussian mayor, Stankevich, reported that “the warehouses of the city contain the newly arrived property from the ‘ghetto.’ As these items were transported quickly, they arrived in a chaotic condition and were sorted first before their sale. After the goods were unloaded and organized, a number of military officials and private citizens visited the warehouse, selecting whatever items they wanted.”¹¹

After the extermination of November 7–8, 1941, the Germans declared that the territory of Bobruisk was “free of Jews,” although a few craftsmen from the ghetto were kept alive, as their work was still required. Part of the ghetto remained fenced in, and four houses on Novoshosseinaia Street held tailors, shoemakers, and blacksmiths.

In addition to keeping the Jews alive for their work, the Germans exploited their continued existence in another way. It was apparent that a considerable number of inhabitants from the ghetto had managed to survive. The occupiers posted announcements declaring that there would be no further punitive measures against the Jews and that they were invited back into the ghetto. The bait worked, as some of the surviving prisoners, having no other choice, returned. The Germans waited until December 30, 1941.¹² On that day, the police surrounded the rump of the ghetto, and all the Jews were placed into trucks and driven to a place of extermination. It is estimated that the Germans murdered up to 2,500 people during this Aktion.¹³

The exact number of survivors has not been determined. Evidence exists about only a handful of individuals.

For rescuing Maria Minz, Bronislav Altshuler, and Guini Maz, the award of “Righteous Among the Nations” was granted by Yad Vashem to the Belyavsky family (Efrosiniya and son Alexander), the Yalovik family (Julia and son Victor), and the Micholak family (Stephanida and daughter Galina), respectively.¹⁴

Starting in the fall of 1943 and continuing until January 1944, the German occupiers took the remains of the Jews killed at Kamenka, at Elovkin, and at the Jewish cemetery of Bobruisk and burned them, trying to hide all traces of the murder. This barbaric act was carried out by prisoners who were themselves later killed. In those places where the Germans did not have enough time to conduct similar operations, they tried to disguise the mass graves under freshly sown fields and new roads.

SOURCES In Christian Gerlach’s book *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), there is, among many other things, a brief examination of the destruction of Bobruisk’s Jews (see pp. 599–600). The subject of the Holocaust is also examined in the regional history work: *Pamiats’ Babruisk* (Minsk, 1995). See also R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii (1941–1944): Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izd. E.S. Gal’perin, 1997), pp. 181–182.

This entry is based primarily on documentation from the following archives: GAMO (858-1-62 and 858-1-74); GARF (7021-82-2); YVA (O-3/3754); and materials in the personal archive of the author (PAGV). Additional materials can be found in BA-L (B 162/1548-49); and NARA (T-175, reels 233–234).

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NOTES

1. PAGV, testimony of M.Ya. Mints.
2. Testimony of Mikhail Kogan, published in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii* (Baltimore, 1996), p. 272.
3. PAGV, testimony of M.Ya. Mints.
4. GAMO, 858-1-62, p. 2.
5. Testimony of Kima Rutman, published in Meltser and Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami*, p. 268.
6. See NARA, T-175, reels 233–234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 92, September 23, 1941; EM no. 108, October 9, 1941; and EM no. 124, October 24, 1941.
7. See BA-L, B 162/1548-49 (II 202 AR-Z 64/60).
8. NARA, T-175, reels 233–234, EM no. 108, October 9, 1941; and EM no. 92, September 23, 1941.
9. PAGV, testimony of M.Ya. Mints; testimony of Mikhail Kogan, published in Meltser and Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami*, p. 273.
10. GARF, 7021-82-2, p. 18, testimony of P.F. Khomichenko.
11. GAMO, 858-1-74.
12. PAGV, testimony of M.Ya. Mints.
13. GARF, 7021-82-2, p. 32, report of the ChGK for the Bobruisk oblast’, January 1945.
14. Inna Gerasimova and Arkadii Shul’man, eds., *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004), pp. 33, 71, 112.

BOBYNICH

Pre-1941: Bobynichi, village, Vetrino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Bobynitschi, Vetrino Rayon, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Babynichy, Polatsk raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bobynichi is located 32 kilometers (20 miles) southwest of Polotsk. In 1920, there were 170 Jews living in the village out of a total population of 219. German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town in early July 1941.

A ghetto was established only one month before the final murder of the local Jews; it consisted of a single house, the former kolkhoz management building. The building was guarded. On January 15, 1942, a Belorussian squad headed by two Germans, most probably the same unit that conducted Aktions in the nearby villages of Voronichi and Gomel', appeared in Bobynichi; to judge from some of the names, they were probably Belorussian policemen from Polotsk. These men assembled 106 (108, according to one account) Jews (53 of them women), tied the hands of the young people, put the children, the old, and the sick onto horse carts, and led them to a nearby Belorussian cemetery. A pit had been dug beforehand. On the spot, the members of the squad shot the adult Jews and threw the children into the pit alive. A Jew named Isaak Ioffe was only wounded and went to a local hospital in search of assistance. At the hospital, Dr. Butko, however, betrayed him to the punitive squad, which shot Ioffe near the hospital and brought his body to the pit at the main killing site. The pit was filled in three days later on the orders of the mayor, Filipp A. Spasibeko. Of those killed in Bobynichi, 14 were not local Jews; they were probably refugees from the "western regions."¹

SOURCES The documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Vetrino raion can be found in GARF and NARB.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-92-210; and NARB, 3797-1-9 and 861-1-13, p. 143.

BOGUSHEVICH

Pre-1941: Bogushevichi (Yiddish: Bushavitz), village, Berezino raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Boguschewitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Babushevichy, Berazino raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bogushevichi is situated 82 kilometers (51 miles) southeast of Minsk. German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 3, 1941. Some of the Jews were evacuated or succeeded in fleeing eastward. Following the occupation of

the village, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) appointed a village elder (starosta) and organized a Belorussian police force (Ordnungsdienst) consisting of local residents.

In the summer and fall of 1941, the German authorities implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Bogushevichi. Jews were registered and forced to wear yellow patches; they had to perform forced labor; and they were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village.

In late July or early August 1941, the military authorities established a ghetto in the village, located in a school building consisting of two floors. Both local Jews and others from surrounding villages, including the Jews of Seliba, were forced to move into the ghetto. In total, there were around 400 Jews in the Bogushevichi ghetto. There was no electricity in the ghetto, and the toilet facilities were located outside the building. A number of Jews were taken away and shot during the summer and fall of 1941.¹

Survivors state that they rarely saw Germans while in the ghetto but recall vividly local police coming to the ghetto while drunk, demanding "Jewish gold." Forced labor tasks included harvesting potatoes, and Jews who worked outside the ghetto were also able to beg for extra food from their non-Jewish neighbors.²

According to survivor testimony, at least some of the Jews from the Bogushevichi ghetto were transferred to the Berezino ghetto in October or November 1941, around the time of the first snowfall.³ The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, however, indicates that German security forces assisted by the local police liquidated the ghetto in December 1941, shooting most of the remaining 380 inmates in a forest 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) north of the village.⁴

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Bogushevichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-2); NARB; VHF (# 6551, 7052, and 20880); and YVA (M-33/420).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 6551, testimony of Roman Plaksa; # 7052, testimony of Evgeniia Guzik; and # 20880, testimony of Zinaida Elkind.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., # 7052 and # 20880.

4. GARF, 7021-87-2, p. 6; YVA, M-33/420, p. 14; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), p. 60.

BORISOV

Pre-1941: Borisov, city and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Borisow, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte), then (from

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1942) Rayon and Gebiet center, Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien, Reichskommissariat Ostland; post-1991: Barysau, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Borisov is located 71 kilometers (44 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1939, there were 10,011 Jews living in Borisov out of a total population of 49,108 (20.4 percent).

After capturing Minsk on June 28, 1941, the enemy advanced on Borisov. Some Jews were able to flee with the withdrawing Soviet Army, but the majority remained behind. German forces occupied Borisov on July 2, 1941, and soon began a pattern of theft, abuse, and murder.

The ghetto in Borisov was established on the edge of the city in the area bounded by Slobodka, Sovetskaia, and Krasnoarmeiskaia Streets. All the non-Jews living there were forcibly expelled by the local authorities and ordered to move into Jewish houses elsewhere. The transfer of Jews into the ghetto began on the morning of August 27, 1941; it was supposed to be completed within one day. The Jews were forbidden to use any form of transportation and had to carry everything in their arms. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire, with only one gate on Zagorodnaia Street (later Ruben Ibaruri Street). Belorussian police guarded the ghetto, in which there was terrible overcrowding, leading to unsanitary conditions and the spread of disease.¹ The chief of police, David Ehof (Egof), assisted by the local administration, rounded up about 1,000 Jews living in the city suburbs and surrounding villages, resettling them into the ghetto.²

Khatskel' Berkovich Baranskii (born 1895) was ordered by the Nazis to become head of the Jewish Council (Judenrat). The population of the ghetto was in excess of 7,000 people, and food rations consisted of only about 100 to 150 grams (3.5 to 5.3 ounces) of bread per person per day. Finding additional food was very difficult, as communication with the local population was strictly forbidden, and this regulation was enforced by severe punishment. Hunger and sickness soon became widespread. The police escorted ghetto inmates daily to perform forced labor, which entailed construction work and cleaning the streets. The ghetto inmates were ordered to surrender their best clothing and also to pay large contributions in money and valuables. Mayor Stankevich prepared lists of the Jewish belongings collected and reported these to the economic section of the German army. The more valuable items were delivered to the State Bank (Reichskreditkasse).³

In late September 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Werner Schönemann "liquidated" 321 Jews in Borisov in reprisal for acts of sabotage, allegedly carried out by Jews in the town. Another 118 Jews were shot in Borisov as alleged plunderers. In early October 1941, responsibility for Security Police operations in the Borisov area was transferred to Einsatzkommando 3, based in Minsk.⁴ The order to liquidate the Borisov ghetto was issued in mid-October 1941 by the head of Einsatzkommando 3, SS-Obersturmführer Schlegel. The mass-shooting Aktion was planned for October 20, 1941. In the northern suburbs, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from the city, a large

ravine near the airfield was prepared as a mass grave (close to the Borisov-Zembin Road). Using Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) as manpower, three ditches, more than 100 meters (328 feet) long, 5 meters (16 feet) wide, and 3 meters (10 feet) deep, were dug in the ravine. Although the order for the liquidation of the ghetto was secret, the Jews soon got wind of it. They appealed to Mayor Stankevich for a stay of execution. Stankevich allegedly promised the Jews that he would intercede with the senior German general on their behalf, as they had successfully paid the recently imposed "contribution" of 300,000 rubles in gold and other valuables.⁵ A number of Jewish specialists were selected and transferred to the Minsk ghetto.

For the Aktion, which began at 3:00 A.M. on the morning of October 20, more than 100 local policemen from throughout the Borisov region had been assembled, together with SS men and Latvian auxiliaries from Minsk. First the Jewish men were driven out of the ghetto. Then the women and children were also taken along Polotsk Street towards the airfield, following the men at a considerable distance. The authorities ordered everyone else to stay indoors so as not to be shot by local policemen. As there was insufficient transportation, some of the women and children had to walk. The guards beat them with metal clubs. Shooting could be heard throughout the day. Trucks returned from the forest with the victims' clothing. Anyone present in Borisov that day had no illusions about what was happening. The mood of the non-Jewish population was transformed: some of those who the previous evening had approved of the executions, saying that the Jews deserved their fate, now asked: "How is it possible to kill off 6,500 Jews all at once? When will it be our turn?"⁶

According to the testimony of Oberwachtmeister Soenenken, a translator with the German forces temporarily in Borisov during the mass shooting, the first 20 people were told to jump into the ditch and were shot from above. The next group had to rearrange the bodies of those killed ahead of them, to make room so that they in turn could be shot. "When the ditch was full, the Jews had to put a layer of sand over the bodies and had to trample upon both sand and bodies." The most horrible scenes took place in these mass graves.⁷

After the Aktion, local police thoroughly searched the territory of the ghetto and elsewhere in Borisov for any Jews in hiding, looting Jewish property at the same time. During this operation, some of the houses in the ghetto were set on fire. The shooting of about 750 Jews found in hiding continued throughout Tuesday, October 21.⁸ Altogether, on October 20–21, 1941, 7,245 Jews were shot in and around Borisov.⁹

On November 11, 1941, Feldkommandantur (V) 244, which assumed responsibility for Borisov only after the massacre, ordered that the ghetto area could be entered only with the permission of the Feldkommandantur. The aim of this order was to prevent any looting and secure remaining Jewish property for the German authorities.¹⁰

The local policemen played an active role in the murder of the Jews. From August to November 1941, 14 men comprised the main leadership of the police, 10 were section leaders, and 73 were ordinary policemen. After the liberation of the city, 5

were sentenced to death and at least 16 imprisoned. It is impossible to determine what happened to the majority of the police force. Not all were tried. A number of former policemen escaped with the Germans; some changed their last names and used false papers; others opportunistically joined the Soviet partisans; and after the liberation of Belorussia in the summer of 1944, some joined the ranks of the Red Army. A few policemen were captured several years after the war. Aleksander Varfalomeevich Mironchik returned from the front with many decorations. His recollections of managing a warehouse for the police and commanding the “Kommunar” partisan division were included in the book *Pamiat’* (Memory), devoted to Borisov and the Borisov raion. In fact, Mironchik was not the manager of a warehouse but the head of the police squad in Novo-Borisov and an accomplice in the murder of the Jews.¹¹ Former policemen Stepan Buryi and Konstantin Mozalevskii were tried and punished after returning from the front with Soviet decorations. Peter Logvin and Konstantin Pipin were both released after serving prison sentences, and 68-year-old Feodor Petrovskii, assistant chief of police in Novo-Borisov, was released early, owing to his advanced age. In 1947 a Soviet Military Tribunal sentenced David Ehof to 25 years’ imprisonment.

In early 1943, an SD translator in Minsk, Heinrich Schneider, brought an order to Borisov for the bodies of the Jews to be dug up and burned at night. In October 1943, Soviet POWs completed this task over about five nights, after which they were shot.¹²

According to the calculations of Aleksander Rozenblium in *Pamiat’ na Krovi*, only slightly more than 50 Jews from the Borisov ghetto survived until the end of the occupation. Most were saved with the help of local citizens. Nine people from Borisov have been awarded the title of “Righteous Among the Nations” by Yad Vashem, and many more assisted with the survival of Jews in and around the city.

SOURCES Aleksander Rozenblium has published a monograph on the Jews of Borisov, *Pamiat’ na krovi: Evrei v istorii Borisova* (Petah Tikva, 1998), which contains much information on the destruction of the community during World War II, including a list of people who saved Jews in Borisov and the names of those they saved. Other relevant publications include the following: *Pamiat’: Istoriko-dokumental’nye kbroniki gorodov i raionov Belorussii: Borisov i Borisovskii raion* (Borisov, 1997); David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); Leonid Smilovitsky, “Borisov: A Mirror of the Holocaust in Belorussia. Review of Aleksander Rozenblium, *Pamiat’ na krovi: Evrei v istorii Borisova.*” *Jews in Eastern Europe* 42:2 (2000): 106–110; Leonid Rein, “Local Collaboration in the Execution of the ‘Final Solution’ in Nazi-Occupied Belorussia,” *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 20:3 (Winter 2006): 381–409; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaiia Navuka, 2000); and *Aviv* (Minsk, 2001), nos. 11–12.

Documentation concerning the persecution and murder of the Jews in Borisov under the German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/214-19 and R

2104/26); BA-L (B 162/6715-19); GAMINO (635-1-24, 31, 51, 74, 88, 184, and 6343-1-12); GARF (7021-87-3); NARA (N-Doc. 3047-PS); NARB (861-1-8, 845-1-206, and 4-29-111); USHMM (RG-53.002M, reel 6); VHF; and YVA (e.g., M-33/421; M-41/316 and 2396).

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trans. Ilya Bourman

NOTES

1. NARB, 861-1-8, pp. 66–69; GAMINO, 635-1-24, pp. 220–222; GARF, 7021-87-3, pp. 3, 20.

2. USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 6 (NARB, 845-1-206), p. 318, testimony of accused David Ehof, February 28, 1947.

3. See Vladimir Adamushko, Galina Knat’ko, and Natalia Redkozubova, eds., “*Nazi Gold*” from *Belarus: Documents and Materials* (Minsk: National Archive of the Republic of Belarus, 1998), pp. 34–37, 134–135. For his services in collecting gold, silver, and other precious valuables from the murdered Jews, Stankevich was awarded a decoration by the Germans, presented in Berlin.

4. BA-BL, R 58/217-18, Ereignismeldung (EM) UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941, p. 16, and EM UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941, p. 4; Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 6 der Einsatzgruppen, October 31, 1941, in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 230.

5. NARA, N-Doc. 3047-PS, Soennecken report on executions of Jews in Borisov, October 24, 1941. An English translation can be found in *International Military Trials: Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression* (Red Series) (repr. Buffalo, NY: William S. Hein, 1996), 5:772–776.

6. NARA, N-Doc. 3047-PS; and USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 6, pp. 318–323, Ehof testimony, February 28, 1947.

7. NARA, N-Doc. 3047-PS.

8. Ibid.; and USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 6, pp. 318–323, Ehof testimony, February 28, 1947. Ehof was accused by the Nazis of having obtained Jewish property illegally; see BA-BL, R 2104/26, p. 108.

9. Rozenblium, *Pamiat’ na krovi*, pp. 61, 63.

10. YVA, M-41/316, p. 2, FK (V) 244, Standortbefehl no. 1, November 11, 1941. Subordinated to Infantry Division 339, FK (V) 244 was appointed the senior commandant in Borisov on November 7, 1941.

11. A.B. Mironchik died in 1986 and was buried in Borisov; information about his crimes became known publicly only after his death. On his service as police chief in Novo-Borisov, see GAMINO, 635-1-31, p. 22.

12. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 228, testimony of David Ehof, February 23, 1947; and USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 6 (NARB, 845-1-206), p. 313.

BOROVUKHA 1-IA (PERVAIA, THE FIRST)

Pre-1939: Borovukha 1-ia (Pervaia, the First), military settlement, Polotsk raion, Vitebsk oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Borowucha, Rayon Polozk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Baravukha 1-ia (Pervaia), Palotsk raen, Vitebsk voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

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Borovukha 1-ia is located 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) northwest of Polotsk. German forces of Army Group Center occupied the settlement in mid-July 1941. During the occupation, a German garrison was billeted in the former “military settlement” of Borovukha 1-ia. The German military authorities appointed Andrei Markin as mayor (Bürgermeister) of the settlement, and soon after their arrival, they ordered the Jews who lived there to wear white Stars of David on their clothes. In October 1941, the Germans surrounded Borovukha, combed the settlement and its vicinity, and assembled all the Jews they had found, 115 in total, in a military barracks there, beating them during the roundup. Two days later, 50 of them—men, unmarried women, and old people—were taken in trucks to a field and shot there.¹ The rest of the Jews were placed in a house surrounded with barbed wire. The inmates of this makeshift “ghetto” did not receive any food. Some Jews occasionally left the house (it is unclear whether it was with or without the permission of the Germans) and exchanged various items for food.

On January 13, 1942, a punitive squad appeared in the town. It took all of the 65 Jews, among them 40 children aged less than 16, and also women and old men, from the house, under the pretext that they would be sent to perform forced labor, and killed them in the area of a former tank training ground. Witnesses say that some of them, when they were driven to the tank training ground, were barefoot and without warm clothes. Mayor Markin and the German commandant, Leutnant Kremer, allegedly took an active part in the annihilation of Borovukha’s Jews.²

SOURCES Documentation on the murder of the Jews in Borovukha can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-92-221); TsGAMORF (239-2187-100, p. 57); USHMM (RG-06.025*04, Bobruisk Trial, doc. no. 808, p. 174); and YVA. Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-92-221, p. 5, ChGK report for the Polotsk raion, April 15, 1945; see also USHMM, RG-06.025*04, Bobruisk Trial of Bruno Jushkus, doc. no. 808, p. 174, testimony of Pavel Danilovich, Shunevich.

2. Ibid. TsGAMORF, 239-2187-100, p. 57, ChGK report for Borovukha I, July 7, 1944, states that all the Jews from the Jewish kolkhoz Sovetskaia Belorussia were gathered in one house and then shot with all family members at the firing range (*poligon*): 140 to 150 people. This probably refers to the same incident, although the number of victims may be too high.

BUDA-KOSHELEVO

1938–1941: Buda-Koshelevo, town and raion center, Gomel’ oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Buda-Koshelevo, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Buda-Kashelevo, raion center, Homel’ voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Buda-Koshelevo is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) northwest of Gomel’. A Jewish kolkhoz with 11 families was established

there in 1924. From 1925 to 1928, three more kolkhozy were created on the outskirts of the township. Their population consisted of 49 Jewish families. The 1939 census showed that there were 496 Jews living in Buda-Koshelevo (14.7 percent of the total population).

Towards the end of June 1941, war refugees from western Belorussia began to arrive, and their numbers quickly swelled. The Red Army called up able-bodied men, forming a combat battalion of 310 soldiers under the command of Dovolev to defend the town and deal with deserters.¹ The population largely believed Soviet propaganda asserting that the Red Army’s setbacks were temporary and that soon the enemy would be crushed.

Buda-Koshelevo had a railway station, but the authorities used all available rolling stock to evacuate state property rather than local inhabitants. German planes pounded the town from the air. Most of the population either lacked the means to flee or feared they would perish on the road. The memory of decent treatment of the Jews by the German army in 1918 still deceived some people. Only a few Jews were fortunate enough to escape to the east.²

Buda-Koshelevo was occupied by German forces on August 14, 1941. They rapidly imposed their authority, placing the town under military command, with a garrison of around 50 men. Sonderführer Albrecht was the commandant; Bühheim was chief of the punitive detachment; Hoffmann and Neidicke served as deputies. The chief of the local police was Marchenko.³ He was replaced in November 1941 by Vasilii Mikhailenko.⁴

Buda-Koshelevo was administered by Rear Area, Army Group Center. Geographically, the Zhlobin-Gomel’ railway line split the entire area in two. There were eight subdistrict regions (*volosti*) in the northern part. The five *volosti* in the south lay along the left bank of the Dnieper River.

Police posts and garrisons were established in the villages of Rogin’, Merkulovichi, Gubichi, Zabab’e, Chabotovichi, and Pirevichi, among others. District and subdistrict authorities opened police stations and selected between 7 and 10 policemen from among the local residents. In Buda-Koshelevo, initially there were 15 policemen, a chief of police, and a police investigator, Voititskii.⁵ The German authorities set up a prison on Sovietskaia Street for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), who worked at the railway station and on other town infrastructure. Subsequently they were transferred to Gomel’ and Rogachev.⁶

No anti-Jewish Aktions were carried out in the town during the first two months of the German occupation, but relations between Jews and Belorussians changed for the worse. More than 400 Jews still remained within the town. At first, Jews were allowed to live in their own homes, monitored by the local police, but they were obliged to carry out German orders without question. On October 26, 1941, the Germans established a ghetto. All Jews had to resettle into the two-story stone school building. Buda-Koshelevo Chief of Police Marchenko organized the roundup.

The overcrowding was excessive: 50 or 60 people were crammed into each of the building’s six rooms in an area no larger than 40 square meters (431 square feet). The overflow

lived in the corridors. The prisoners suffered terribly from hunger, and there was no heat. The windows lacked glass panes and were boarded up. Cold and exhaustion brought on disease and then the first deaths.⁷

The authorities did not feed the Jews, who were living on their own scanty reserves or on whatever was passed on to them by acquaintances among the Belorussian or Russian population. Some of the inmates bartered personal belongings for food. Such trafficking was forbidden, and it had to be done discreetly. Daily, Jews were led off to perform forced labor for up to 14 or 16 hours. Under the pretext of security searches, the Germans seized the Jews' most valuable personal belongings. They also raped girls and young women.

The guards periodically beat up the prisoners, insulting and abusing them "for fun." On November 23, 1941, police officer Kukharenko wounded Dania and Khaia Khankin, Lev Vilenkii, Gurar'e, Estin, and Epstein with a rifle. The situation of the Jews became worse when Mikhalenko replaced Marchenko as chief of police. Under Marchenko, Jews were sometimes able to barter items for bread and potatoes or to receive things from acquaintances and neighbors. When Mikhalenko took over, all these practices were stopped, and conditions became unbearable. Everything worsened for the ghetto inmates. Verbal abuse and beatings were routine. The wounding and murder of prisoners by the police became more frequent.⁸

The Buda-Koshelevo ghetto did not exist for long. On December 27, 1941, two vehicles arrived in Buda-Koshelevo with policemen from Gomel'. Chief of Police Mikhalenko ordered increased vigilance and doubled the number of guards assigned to the ghetto from 6 to 12 men to prevent any chance of escape. The police separated the men from the women. Then they began to lead the prisoners, 2 at a time, into a separate room where Mikhalenko and the German officers sat. The Jews were strip-searched, and money, documents, and usable clothing were all seized. The occupiers and their collaborators placed the Jewish men—some 170 of them—in a room where all the windows were tightly sealed, and no water was available. A stove burning continuously filled the room with stuffy heat; breathing became difficult. The inmates were so tightly packed that they could not even turn around or sit down. In this state they spent the night; then at 5:00 A.M., on December 28, 1941, police officers began to lead the Jews out to be shot. Mikhalenko stood on the stairwell between floors in the school and checked them off. First they took the men into the courtyard, then the women.⁹ The police lined up the prisoners in a column and herded them to an antitank ditch in the village of Krasnyi Kurgan behind the Machine Tractor Station (MTS). Mayor Prusov and Chief of Police Mikhalenko supervised the Aktion.

They ordered the men to undress and began to lead them down into the ditch in groups. Three or four Germans made them lie facedown. Then the German marksman approached and killed each one with a single shot from his submachine gun. They laid the second group of men on top of the bodies of the first. About an hour after the start of the Aktion, police officers Kosmilo, Kabaev, Filip Oleinikov, and Dmitrii Kuzikov led the women to the antitank ditch. Mothers held

infants in their arms. The police hauled older children and elderly men to the site in carts. All of the prisoners were made to undress. Then the police brought them to the ditch and shot them. Infants were killed with their mothers, older children along with the adults.¹⁰

The slaughter was accompanied by continuous cries of pain and grief. People begged for mercy, wept, and cried out. The killings went on from 8:00 A.M. until 3:00 P.M. On that day, 485 people were murdered. The murder squad only covered the bodies with snow; in the spring they were buried in the ground. Personal belongings of the Jews were given to a store in Buda-Koshelevo, which sold them.¹¹

The police had arrested a Belorussian, Evgenii Venglinskii, who, together with his Jewish wife and their child, was confined in the ghetto, where they all lived until the ghetto liquidation Aktion. The Venglinskii family escaped the fate of the others under lucky circumstances. They were able to convince one of the policemen who understood Russian that they had ended up in the ghetto "by mistake" and were not in fact Jews. Evgenii gave the policeman his leather coat. In exchange, the policeman put the family into a separate room. From the window, the Venglinskii saw the Jewish inmates marched off to the antitank ditch. They hastily fled Buda-Koshelevo and wandered the countryside of the Zhlobin raion until they met up with Soviet partisans in May 1942.¹²

On the eve of the mass shooting, the police summoned inmate Hirsh Shvets to see the chief of the punitive detachment, whom they had told that Shvets was an especially skilled shoemaker. Shvets was put to work by the police and subsequently transferred to Gomel'. For the next two years, he was obliged to work for the Sicherheitsdienst (SD). When the Germans retreated from Gomel', they took Shvets away to Germany, where he was eventually liberated by the Red Army.¹³

Red Army units of the 4th Infantry Division and the 231st Armored Regiment of the Belorussian 48th Army liberated Buda-Koshelevo on November 27, 1943. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), which arrived in the town in November 1944, found that 1,287 civilians and 282 POWs had died at the hands of the Germans during the occupation of the town. Of the 485 Jews who were murdered on December 28, 1941, only 120 family names could be determined.¹⁴

During the German occupation, the population of the Buda-Koshelevo raion decreased from 41,459 in 1941 to 23,595 in May 1944, 57 percent of the pre-war figure. In the town, the population decreased from 3,371 in 1941 to 2,886 in 1944, or 86 percent of the pre-war figure.¹⁵ However, the general information collected by the ChGK does not specify the ethnicity of the victims.

SOURCES Some information on the town of Buda-Koshelevo under German occupation can be found in the book: *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; GAGOMO; GARF (7021-85-35); NARB; and TsAKGBRB.

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NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90.
2. *Ibid.*, 4-33a-16.
3. Marchenko was killed by partisans in October 1941.
4. Mikhailenko remained chief of police in Buda-Koshelevo until July 1942, when he became chief of police in the Svetlovichi Rayon. In September 1943, he retreated with the German forces to the Glusk Rayon. There he joined punitive Police Battalion no. 10 "Panin," where, with the rank of staff-captain, he commanded a company. He was twice awarded a German medal for bravery and was recommended for a third. At the beginning of July 1944, the "Panin" battalion was sent across the Vistula to an area where it was disbanded. From the proceedings of the military tribunal trial of Vasili Avrahamovich Mikhailenko (born 1884); AUKGBRBGO, file 8579, pp. 360–371.
5. GAGOMO, 1345-2-2, pp. 2–4.
6. NARB, 3934-1-9, p. 2.
7. TsAKGBRB.
8. GAGOMO, 1345-2-2, pp. 3–4.
9. From the decision regarding the arrest of V.A. Mikhailenko, November 1, 1945, see AUKGBRBGO, file 8579, p. 51.
10. Interrogation of Mikhail Leonovich Kuznikov (born 1908), February 8, 1944, *ibid.*, p. 178.
11. Interrogation of accused Ivan Adamovich Fomin, February 19, 1944, *ibid.*, p. 109.
12. Interrogation witness Venglinskii (born 1914), October 26, 1945, *ibid.*, pp. 112–116.
13. Interrogation in Buda-Koshelevo of witness Hirsh Hedelevich Shvets (born 1886), October 27, 1945, *ibid.*, pp. 120–122.
14. Document of the ChGK, November 27, 1944, concerning the crimes of the Fascist German invaders on the territory of the Buda-Koshelevo raion, GARE, 7021-85-35, pp. 8–11.
15. Report dated November 27, 1944, concerning the population of Gomel' oblast', GAGOMO, 144-5-6, p. 218.

BYKHOV (AKA STARYI BYKHOV)

Pre-1941: Bykhov, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Bychow, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte);



post-1991: Bykhau, raen center, Mabiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Bykhov is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) south of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, 2,295 Jews (20.8 percent of the population) lived in Bykhov. An additional 408 Jews lived in the villages of the raion, making a combined Jewish population of 2,703.

German mobile forces of Army Group Center occupied the town in the first half of July 1941. In the period before the Germans' arrival, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age joined the Red Army. However, the rapid German advance trapped some Jewish refugees in Bykhov who were fleeing from locations farther west. Probably between 2,500 and 3,000 Jews were in Bykhov at the start of the German occupation. During the fighting, the town burned for three days, damaging or destroying many Jewish homes.

During the entire period of occupation from July 1941 until June 1944, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) governed Bykhov.¹ According to Soviet sources, the Ortskommandant in the fall of 1941 was Oberleutnant Martus.² Shortly after the occupation began, the German administration ordered the registration and marking of the Jews. The German authorities instructed the Jews to sew yellow stars onto their clothing; however, because the fire in the town had destroyed most of the available yellow fabric, Jews who had no yellow material made their stars out of white fabric instead.³ The Germans also obliged the Jews to perform various forms of heavy labor.

On August 29, 1941, forces of Reserve Police Battalion 322, belonging to Police Regiment Center (Mitte) shot 84 Jews in Bykhov.⁴ On September 5, 1941, the Germans conducted another Aktion in Bykhov. They rounded up about 250 Jews capable of work and took them out of the town, seemingly for road construction, but instead they shot them all.⁵ They conducted the shooting in the Gan'kov ditch, located on the southern outskirts of the town. People in Bykhov could hear the victims' screams.⁶



Exterior and interior views of the Bykhov synagogue; the interior reveals extensive wartime damage; 1988. USHMM WS #97249 AND WS #97260, COURTESY OF JACK KAGAN

At some time in the fall of 1941, most likely in September, just after the murder of the 250 people, the Germans made a list of all the remaining Jews and collected them in the Sapega Castle. Some local inhabitants describe this incarceration as a “ghetto,”⁷ although the Germans also imprisoned some non-Jews (“Soviet Party activists”) there together with the Jews. Local Belorussian police (*politsais*) guarded the area around the castle.⁸

According to one witness, his future wife went to the ghetto several times to take food to a Jewish friend, Khava Markhasina, who had been imprisoned. “The Jews were living in ghastly conditions, and people were tortured, too. She remembered that when she went up to the second floor, the wall next to the railings . . . was drenched in blood. The last time she went, a policeman warned her not to come back any more, because it could end badly for her.”⁹ Even the dark-haired Belorussians were frightened, fearing the Germans might kill them simply because they looked like Jews. There was also a rumor that some local non-Jews had managed to “buy” a child from the ghetto and pass her off as their own.¹⁰

Soviet sources state that the Germans held the Jews in the castle without any food or water for about a week. Then German security forces escorted them on trucks to an antitank ditch located near Voronino, 6 kilometers (3.7 miles) east of the town, where they carried out a mass shooting.¹¹ One Jew, Moishe (Mikhail) Kats, reportedly jumped from one of the trucks at full speed and escaped into the forest. He was 25 at the time. They fired a submachine gun round at him but did not pursue him. He managed to stay alive, walking to Sumy in the Ukraine, where he spent the rest of the occupation.¹² At the antitank ditch, the Germans forced the victims to undress and pile their shoes and clothes neatly at one side, before shooting them in groups. Descriptions of the Aktion, together with forensic evidence, indicate that some victims, especially children, were probably thrown into the pit and buried alive. At this time (in the fall of 1941), a number of allegedly Communist non-Jews were also killed.¹³ A few Jews who evaded the mass shootings and subsequent searches hid with non-Jews, and some subsequently fought with Soviet partisan detachments.

Soviet estimates put the number of people murdered by the Germans in Bykhov in 1941 to be in excess of 4,000.¹⁴ However, in view of the pre-war Jewish population of only 2,703 for the entire raion, it seems unlikely that the number of Jewish victims exceeded this (allowing for a number of Jewish evacuees who were probably more or less replaced by the refugees who became trapped in Bykhov).¹⁵ Other evidence seems to indicate that many of the Jews of the surrounding villages were shot close to their homes (rather than being brought in to Bykhov). For example, in the village of Gomarnia, 14 people were shot “as Jews,” 71 in the Mokria sel’sovet, and several Jewish families in the village of Seliba.¹⁶

In late 1943, the Germans attempted to cover up their crimes by exhuming the corpses from the mass graves around Bykhov and burning them. They used Soviet prisoners of war from the camp at Pribor to conduct this work, then shot them once the task was complete.¹⁷

SOURCES The testimonies of several witnesses from Bykhov have been published in Ida M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel’ mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005), pp. 34–44.

Documents on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of Bykhov can be found in the following archives: BA-MA; GAMO (306-1-9 and 10); GARF (7021-88-35; and 7021-148); NARB (861-1-8 and 9); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8; RG-48.004M, reels 1 and 2; and RG-53.002M, reel 7); VHAP; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. In October 1941, Ortskommandantur II 340 was based in Bykhov, as was Feldkommandantur 194, and III. Battalion of Police Regiment Mitte; see BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b.

2. GAMO, 306-1-10, pp. 66–67.

3. Reminiscences of Anatolii G. Zhdan (born in 1925) in Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel’ mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 39–40.

4. VHAP, K1/1003386, 392, HSSPF Russland Mitte an RFSS, Kdo.-Stab RFSS und Chef Orpo, August 29–30, 1941.

5. See the diary of O. Berger, a staff drill sergeant (Stabsfeldwebel) in the 2nd Battalion of the 3rd Security Regiment, in GARF, 7021-148.

6. GARF, 7021-88-35, p. 11; NARB, 861-1-9, pp. 234, 236; and reminiscences of Anatolii G. Zhdan (born in 1925), in Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel’ mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 39–40.

7. See, for example, the reminiscences of David S. Lakhtyrev and Dora M. Gekht, in Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel’ mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 38, 42.

8. Reminiscences of Anatolii G. Zhdan (born in 1925), in *ibid.*, pp. 39–40.

9. Reminiscences of Georgii D. Menshagin (born in 1924), in *ibid.*, pp. 40–41.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 34–44.

11. NARB, 861-1-9, pp. 234, 236.

12. Reminiscences of Mila A. Rudakova (born in 1924), in Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel’ mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 42–44.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 34–44.

14. NARB, 861-1-9, ChGK report for the Bykhov raion indicates that in fall 1941 Ortskommandant Martus imprisoned 4,679 persons (including some non-Jews) in the castle, who were shot shortly afterwards.

15. GARF, 7021-88-35, pp. 1, 11, 17.

16. Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel’ mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, p. 35.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 35–37.

CHASHNIKI

Pre-1941: Chashniki, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschaschniki, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Chashniki, raion center, Vitebsk voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Chashniki is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 1,109 Jews lived in the town, making up 31.6 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Chashniki raion (without the town of Chashniki) constituted 867 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small towns of Chereia and Lukoml'.

Owing to Chashniki's location far from major highways and with no easily accessible railway station, only a few Jews were able to leave the town in 1941 before the Germans captured it.

The German forces (XXXII Army Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group) entered Chashniki on July 4, 1941. From August 1941 onward, Chashniki was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. This area was the realm of the 403rd Security Division; Chashniki was under the control of Feldkommandantur 181.

The Germans put together an indigenous local administration in Chashniki, including a local police force. The mayor of the town was Kalina, a former construction engineer who had worked for the town's health administration (*gorzdrav*); the head of the Belorussian police was Tislenok;¹ but it was his deputy Mikhail Pakhomov who was known for his hatred and atrocities towards the Jews. At the same time, a Jew named Chereiskii was appointed the elder of the community. According to witnesses, Chereiskii's only function was to appoint Jews to do forced labor, in accordance with German instructions issued to him. The witnesses do not refer to a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Chashniki, nor do they refer to a Jewish police force.

The Germans did not establish an enclosed ghetto in Chashniki, possibly because the whole Jewish population lived in the central part of the town. Some Jews were resettled from their houses, and their houses were turned over to non-Jews. The Germans gave instructions to mark all Jewish houses with plywood Stars of David; all Jews were ordered to wear a patch with a Star of David on their clothes. The Jews were forbidden to leave the town and to communicate with non-Jews. Witnesses do not mention any large-scale resettlement of Jews from other places to Chashniki in the period from July 1941 to January 1942.

The Germans did not supply the Jews with food. However, the survivors' accounts make no mention of starving. Most of the town's Jews had plots of land and could sustain themselves with what they grew on them. The day before the German entry into Chashniki, the town dwellers, including Jews, pilfered barley from the stores of the alcohol factory abandoned by the authorities, and this helped them to survive.

From the very beginning the Germans imposed compulsory labor on the Jews. Young people were sent to work at the railway station (quite far from the town center) and the fuel depot nearby, as well as at the officers' mess.

At the end of September 1941, a group of Jewish young people (according to various estimates, about 50 to 100 people, mainly males but also some females) were sent to a nearby peat farm to cut peat and load it onto carts. The work lasted until November. These laborers did not receive any food, but they were allowed to return home on Sundays in order "to collect

some food for the next week." In fact, the young workers had to leave the labor camp at night and go to the villages to exchange clothes, utensils, and other items for food.

Witnesses make both positive and negative comments about the attitude of the surrounding non-Jewish population. Some locals maintained contacts and trade with their Jewish neighbors. On the other hand, the survivors say that it was not only Germans and members of the Belorussian police who robbed the Jews—many other people took food, clothes, and other items. Attempts to stop the robbers or to complain to the Germans sometimes ended with the one making the complaint getting a beating instead.

On September 13, 1941, the Germans murdered all the Jews of the small town of Lukoml', in the Chashniki raion, purportedly in reprisal after a Soviet straggler (presumed to be a local Jew) killed a German officer there.² It is unclear exactly who carried out the killings, although one witness mentions the participation of the Belorussian police. Local informants speak of some 300 victims.³ The news of this Aktion and subsequent rumors of other mass killings in nearby towns unsettled the Jews of Chashniki, but they were unable to gain much information about them.

The Jews of Chashniki were murdered on February 14–15, 1942. On the morning of February 14, about 100 young people were sent out of the town to clear snow from nearby roads. Thus the most youthful part of the Jewish population was moved away from the place of the future Aktion. At about 1:00 P.M., a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 (commanded by Oswald Schäfer) entered Chashniki on horse-drawn sledges, coming from the direction of Beshenkovich.⁴ From the morning of the same day, the Belorussian police began to assemble the Jews in the building of a former church, which had been turned into a "House of Culture" during the Soviet period. According to eyewitnesses, many Jews refused to go to the church, and towards dusk the area resembled a battlefield: there was shooting, and the police stormed some houses. Some Jews tried to flee and were killed on the run, some of them quite far from the town center. A group of policemen intercepted the young people who were returning to the town after clearing the snow and escorted them to the church.

About 1,000 Jews of Chashniki spent the night in the church, closely guarded by the Belorussian police. On the morning of February 15, at around 10:00 A.M., the police drove the Jews to some pits near the village of Trilesino. After a delay during which the Germans deepened the pits, the mass shooting began. The killers, both Germans and local police, took several people (probably an entire family) in turn, made them undress, placed them on the edge of the pit, and shot them with machine guns. Before the shooting, the Secret Field Police (GFP) unit that was responsible for rounding up the Jews (together with two volunteers from a local Luftwaffe unit) searched them for any valuables. The Aktion lasted all day. Over the following days the police combed the town and its vicinity and found some Jews who were trying to hide.⁵

After the Aktion, the belongings of the murdered Jews were collected, sorted, and under the auspices of the SD, handed

over to the mayor to be sold to the Belorussian population. The proceeds were credited to the town's account.⁶

About a dozen mainly younger people, who had left the town some days before the shooting or succeeded in running away, survived the mass murder. Of those who survived, Zalman Solomonov, Fira Kharkevich (née Kaplan), Semen Shapiro, Arkadii (Abram) Pukhovitskii, Roza Topash (née Pukhovitskii), and Boris Plavnik were interviewed in 1985–1987.⁷

The murderers themselves estimated the number of those killed at 1,180.⁸ The list (probably incomplete) compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report in 1944 indicates 700 Jewish victims. Of them, 321 (45.9 percent) were born in 1924 and later and thus were under draft age; 103 were born in 1901–1923 (draft age, 14.7 percent); and 276 (39.4 percent) were born in 1900 and before. The second group breaks down to 34 men and 69 women; the third group, to 125 men and 151 women.⁹ The disproportionately large number of children in this sample may be ascribed to the fact that among them there were children from large cities who were staying with their grandparents in Chashniki for the summer and that families with many children were less inclined to flee from the Germans.

The mass shooting of the Jews of Chereia, also in the Chashniki raion, took place on March 5, 1942. There may have been a similar form of “open ghetto” there prior to the shooting, as in Chashniki. The murderers shot the Jews at two locations: one was near the school, and the second was outside the town. It is unclear who the murderers were. The Germans spared some “specialists” for a while, but several days later they were also finished off together with the Jews who were found hiding in the vicinity after the first Aktion. The last mass shooting took place near the Khalnevichi road, west of the town. The ChGK report lists 201 Jews killed in Chereia.¹⁰

SOURCES The author has published a more detailed account of the fate of Chashniki's Jews in *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve* 1 (1992): 157–199. That essay also includes published versions of the main eyewitness accounts now located in YVA. The other major published source is G. Linkov, *Voina v tylu vruga* (1st ed., Moscow: Sovetskii pisatel', 1947; 2nd enlarged ed., Moscow: Goslitizdat, 1959).

The documents of the ChGK for the Chashniki raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-15). Relevant German documentation is located in the following archives: RGVA (500-1-770) and BA-MA (RH 26-201/17). Witness statements and copies of some of the German documents can be found in YVA (O-3/4690–4706, O-51.Ossobi/43 and M.29.FR/208).

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NOTES

1. The eyewitnesses call him Chislenok; the difference can be attributed to the Belorussian pronunciation.

2. See YVA, O-3/4706; there are some discrepancies with the version published in Linkov, *Voina v tylu vruga*.

3. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains 131 names of Jews; the informants were Nadezhda (an eyewitness, non-Jewish) and Yefim Rutman (not a witness).

4. YVA, O-3/4692.

5. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppe B von 16. bis 28. Februar 1942, in RGVA, 500-1-770; also YVA, O-3/4698, O-3/4699, O-3/4702, O-3/4703.

6. BA-MA, RH 26-201/17, p. 4, report of Sicherungsbrigade 201, Abt. VII, March 15, 1942.

7. Their interviews are now located in YVA as O-3/4690–O-3/4695.

8. Tätigkeits- u. Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppe B von 16. bis 28. Februar 1942.

9. GARF, 7021-84-15.

10. Ibid.

CHAUSY

Pre-1941: Chausy, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschausy, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Chavusy, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Chausy is located 157 kilometers (98 miles) north of Gomel'. According to the 1939 population census, 1,272 Jews (17.6 percent of the total population) lived in the town of Chausy. In addition, another 252 Jews lived in the villages of the Chausy raion. Following the German invasion of Poland and the Soviet occupation of its eastern part in September 1939, a number of Jewish refugees from Poland arrived in the town.

German military forces occupied Chausy on July 16, 1941, three weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. Part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east before the arrival of the Germans, owing to the town's good rail and road communications, and men of eligible age were called up into the Red Army. A little more than half the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

Under German occupation, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town; almost immediately it set up a local administration and an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents. Shortly afterwards, the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jewish population. The Jews of Chausy were exploited for various kinds of forced labor.

In August 1941, Sonderkommando 7b (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B) carried out two Aktions in the city. The men of Sonderkommando 7b murdered 31 Jews in the first Aktion, allegedly for being in contact with Soviet partisan forces.¹ In a second Aktion shortly afterwards, the Security Police (of Sonderkommando 7b) shot 20 Jews who were allegedly active Communists.²

At some time in the month of August, the German authorities established a ghetto in the suburb of Kozinki. A few weeks later, probably in late September or early October 1941, German security forces assisted by the local police liquidated the ghetto.³ They rounded up all the Jews, mainly women, children, and the elderly, deprived them of any remaining valuables,

and escorted them to a site about 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside of town on the banks of the Pronia River, where a ditch had been prepared. The few Jews living in the nearby village of Dranukha were also brought to the same site at this time. Just as the shooting was about to start, a courageous teacher named Dora Ruvimovna Kagan jumped out of the crowd and confronted the head of the German police Danilov, shouting: "We are defenseless and can't fight you. But you can't kill us all. Millions of Soviet people are left, they will avenge us. Our innocent blood will be on their banners." According to another account, she spat in the face of Danilov before being cut short by machine-gun fire. Some of the Jews were only wounded as they fell into the ditch. After the grave had been filled in, the moans of the wounded could still be heard for many hours.⁴

Shortly afterwards the German authorities also rounded up and shot Jews born in mixed marriages with one Jewish parent. Among those shot was blond-haired, 18-year-old Ira Grubnykh, whose grandfather was a Jew.⁵ Estimates of the number of Jews murdered vary according to different sources. In total, the Germans and their collaborators shot more than 675 Jews in Chausy.⁶

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Chausy can be found in the following publications: *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 473; and Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 272–273.

Documentation on the Holocaust in Chausy can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216); BA-L (ZStL/202 AR-Z 81/59, vol. 20); GAMO; GARF (7021-88-48); NARB (861-1-9, pp. 285–286); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 67, August 29, 1941.
2. Ibid., Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 73, September 4, 1941.
3. Sources disagree regarding the date: Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, p. 272, date it on August 16, 1941, but this is unlikely; GARF, 7021-88-48, indicates the end of September; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), p. 305, dates it on October 9, 1941. See also BA-L, ZStL/202 AR-Z 81/59, vol. 20, pp. 11, 126, which also gives contradictory dates.
4. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 272–273.
5. Ibid.
6. GARF, 7021-88-48, pp. 1 and reverse, gives the figure of 624 Jewish victims for the final Aktion. To these must be added those reported by the Einsatzgruppen prior to this. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 305, indi-

cates that around 1,000 Jews were murdered, but this figure is probably too high.

CHECHERSK

1938–1941: *Chechersk, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tschetschersk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Chabchersk, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus*

Chechersk lies about 60 kilometers (37 miles) north of Gomel' on the Sozh River. In 1939, there were 977 Jews in the town, 18.2 percent of the total population.

After the Germans invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, all able-bodied men of military age were drafted into the Red Army. In Chechersk, the local authorities formed a rifle battalion of 239 men commanded by Levkovich. The unit included many Jews. Although Chechersk was 37 kilometers (23 miles) away from the nearest railroad station, and despite the lack of an organized evacuation, nearly half of the Jewish population managed to leave before the arrival of the German army in Chechersk. Most of them hoped to return home soon.¹

German forces occupied Chechersk on August 16, 1941, placing the town under the administration of Rear Area, Army Group Center. Commandant von Maibaum assumed military command in the town; Heimann was in charge of the agricultural command office; Kondrat Ganzhin became the head of the Rayon, and Golubovskii, chief of the Rayon police. The German occupiers also set up military strong points in the villages of Pokat', Nisimkovich, Poles'e, Zales'e, Beliaevka, Rovkovichi, Merkulovichi, and Dudichi. In these thinly populated settlements, the village elders were assisted by two or three local policemen.²

No anti-Jewish activity took place in Chechersk during the first two months of the occupation; then things changed for the worse. Chumakov became head of the town police and recruited Chechikov, Zbaromirskii, Bel'kin, Ginsler, Kozlov, and Zatikov, among others. Prisoners were held in a jail set up in a building of the veterinary training school in Chechersk.³

Until October 1941, Jews in the town continued to live in their own homes under the control of the local police. They strictly followed the orders issued by the German authorities. In October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto. They arrested all the Jews in Chechersk and held them under guard in the town hall and in nearby houses. Gypsies were confined at a separate location. In the course of interrogations, accompanied by beatings, jewelry and other valuables were taken from the Jews.

The ghetto in Chechersk had no purpose other than to concentrate the Jewish population and prevent those held from escaping before they were annihilated. Consequently, the German authorities took no measures for sanitation, medical services, or the social welfare of the prisoners in the ghetto. They forced the Jews to work without question or

compensation. This included heavy labor. Often their warders ordered the inmates to perform degrading and senseless tasks: to swat flies in the commandant's office; to drag carts with water, bricks, firewood, and trash from one place to another; and to dig ditches and then fill them up again.⁴

It was forbidden to feed the prisoners. Sometimes their keepers brought them rotten potatoes but did not provide any other food. If a local inhabitant attempted any communication with an inmate, the guards immediately put a stop to it. Despite the threat of starvation, the authorities prohibited local inhabitants from giving bread to the Jews. In effect, all contact with the local inhabitants was suppressed.

Because of the poor quality of the food, the ghetto inmates suffered from all kinds of gastric ailments. Many of them began having bloody diarrhea from dysentery. Untimely death became the norm. Hunger also provoked mental disorders.

The ghetto in Chechersk existed for about three months. The 435 inmates included mostly elderly men, women, and children. Of the total, 289 were Jews, and 146 were Gypsies.⁵

The annihilation of Jews in the ghetto took place in two main stages. In the first, at the end of November 1941, the Germans slaughtered 84 elderly men and women. Germans and their collaborators transported the weaker inmates to the site of their execution in motor vehicles; those able to walk they herded on foot. Local inhabitants working in a field who witnessed this activity asked the police where they were taking these prisoners. Their warders explained that they were "going to Gomel' for medical treatment." The Germans executed this first group in an antitank ditch outside of Chechersk.

The second mass shooting took place towards the end of December 1941. Members of the Gestapo arrived from the military commandant's office in Gomel' and instructed the local police concerning this Aktion. In the town hall, early on the morning of December 28, the police began searching the prisoners. They beat them, stripped them naked, and seized whatever personal possessions the victims still had with them. The Germans took gold, watches, and other valuables; the police took clothing and underwear, which they tied into small bundles and hid in their houses. A tailor, Samuil Baskin (born in 1896), who was considered a specialist worker by the Germans, witnessed one of these search-and-seizure operations that took place in an adjoining room.⁶

Before the Aktion began, the Germans and the police went around the town to gather the Belorussians and Russians into the square in front of the town hall. To instill fear, the Germans obliged the assembled local citizens to observe the treatment of the Jews before their execution. At a temperature well below freezing (-30 degrees Centigrade [-22 degrees Fahrenheit]), the Germans made the prisoners strip to their underwear, remove their shoes, and stand in the snow. Then they brought several wooden sledges into the square. At the command of Mayor Ganzhin, the police took from their parents the younger children, including infants, and threw them onto the sledges. Eyewitnesses said that "weeping and wailing filled the streets of Chechersk." Everybody was crying, including the Belorussians who witnessed the scene. Gan-

zhin asked the Jews, "Why are you crying? Don't be afraid, they're not going to do anything to you, just take you around a bit and let you go."⁷

The Germans and the police counted the prisoners again, then lined them up in a column 4 abreast and marched them along Sovietskaia Street to the killing site. The place chosen for this purpose was an antitank ditch 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the town and not far from the village of Krasnyi Bereg, on the Chechersk-Zabolot'e road. Following the column of prisoners surrounded by members of the punitive expedition and policemen were sledges with the children. When they had all arrived at the site of the Aktion, the column halted, and the first group of male prisoners was ordered to lie face-down in the snow. These were the strongest and healthiest inmates. A member of the punitive party would pin down a doomed Jew by placing a pitchfork without center tines on the neck of the victim so that he could not move his head, while a second German executioner shot him in the back of the head with a pistol. Policemen with pitchforks dumped the bodies in the ditch. Then it was the turn of the next rank of 4 prisoners. The Jews awaiting execution began weeping and crying out. People bid good-bye to one another, and children begged their mothers to take them back home. The Germans, however, paid not the slightest attention. They laid out children in the snow and beat them to death with spades. They grabbed the legs of infants like piglets, beat their heads on the frozen ground, and threw them into the ditch. Many were still alive. By 8:00 p.m., things finally quieted down. The punitive detail covered the bodies with snow. The next day, Ganzhin rounded up local inhabitants and forced them to bury the dead.⁸ Some 500 people perished in the two Aktions, including the Gypsies. The Germans spared only 5 individuals who were tailors or shoemakers, whom they sent to Gomel'.⁹

After the mass killings, Ganzhin and the military commander in Chechersk, von Maibaum, held a banquet at police headquarters "to mark the deliverance of the town from the Jews."¹⁰ The police department received a cash reward. In January 1942, Mayor Ganzhin awarded Leonid Chechikov 400 rubles for his zeal in guarding the Jews, participating in removing them to the site of their execution, and arresting partisans.¹¹

During the years of the German occupation of the Chechersk raion, 130 inhabited localities were destroyed, while in the town itself some 300 houses were burned down. Before their retreat, German troops mined many buildings and streets in the town. Troops of the Soviet 61st Belorussian Army Front liberated Chechersk on November 27, 1943, in the course of the Gomel'-Rechitsa operation. When the war ended, the population of the Chechersk raion had dropped from 41,845 in 1941 to 30,991 in May 1944, a loss of 26 percent. Comparable figures for the town itself are 5,138 for the pre-war population, and 2,265 at the time of liberation, a loss of 59 percent.¹²

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), which arrived in Chechersk on December 22, 1943, established that the Germans were responsible for killing 1,137 people in Chechersk and other communities in the raion; that included 716 people who had previously lived in other raions

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of the republic. The commission's documents do not identify the dead by nationality.¹³

SOURCES Other than those listed in the notes, published works about the fate of the Jews in Chechersk include Marat Botvinnik's *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000).

The main archival sources include AUKGBRBGO (file 2724); GAGOMO (560-1-3, 1345-1-13); GARF (7021-85-44); NARB (861-1-6); PALS; TsAKGBRB; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90.
2. *Pamiat's: Chechersk raion* (Minsk, 2000), pp. 205–208.
3. NARB, 861-1-6, pp. 207 and reverse.
4. *Sovietskaia Belorussia*, May 16, 1995.
5. GAGOMO, 560-1-3, pp. 2–3.
6. AUKGBRBGO, file 2724, pp. 50–51, witness testimony of Samuil Motelevich Baskin (born 1896), October 9, 1944.
7. TsAKGBRB, Minsk.
8. *Ibid.*
9. AUKGBRBGO, file 2724, witness testimony of Vladimir Stepanovich Pugin (born 1924), May 18, 1944.
10. PALS, excerpt from the diary of the secretary of the Chechersk underground party district committee, Pavel Dedik, Gomel', 1944, p. 146.
11. On December 29, 1944, the NKVD Military Court for the Gomel' oblast' sentenced Leonid Timofeevich Cherkov to 15 years of hard labor plus 5 years' deprivation of his civil rights. AUKGBRBGO, file 2724, p. 89.
12. Data concerning the population of Gomel' oblast' as of May 1, 1944, GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218.
13. NARB, 3922-1-2, pp. 22–23.

CHERIKOV

Pre-1941: Cherikov, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast'; Belorussian SSR; 1941–1943: Tschherikow, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Cherykau, raen center, Mabilion voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Cherikov is located 77 kilometers (48 miles) southeast of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, 949 Jews were living in Cherikov, comprising 14.8 percent of the total population. In addition, there were 132 Jews living in the villages of the Cherikov raion.¹

German armed forces occupied the town on July 17, 1941, about four weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. The town was taken only after bitter fighting, which resulted in considerable destruction.² In the interim period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army.

During the entire German occupation, which lasted until October 1, 1943, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. The Ortskommandantur established a Rayon administration and a police

force recruited from local residents. In October 1941, Ortskommandantur 846 was based in Cherikov.³

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the local authorities, on the instructions of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also required to perform forced labor. The wearing of the Jewish Star of David was strictly enforced.

In August 1941, the first Aktion was carried out in the town. A detachment of Sonderkommando 7b shot a group of Jews.⁴ On October 29, 1941, the Ortskommandant in Cherikov ordered the shooting of Salmon Plotkin for repeatedly defying the order to wear the Jewish star and for allegedly having contacts with the partisans.⁵

Very little information is available about living conditions for the Jews in Cherikov under the German occupation. Two secondary sources use the term “ghetto” in connection with the town, and according to Marat Botvinnik, it appears that some Jews from the surrounding villages and settlements were brought into Cherikov at some time before the mass shooting of the Jews.⁶ It is likely that some form of open ghetto was established in Cherikov, with Jews prohibited from leaving the limits of the town.

Available accounts indicate that before killing the Jewish population of Cherikov in late October or early November 1941, German security forces, assisted by the local police, rounded up the Jews near the town hall, informing them that they would be resettled to another locality. The Jews were then escorted on foot to a site about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) north of the town near the mill, where a ditch had been prepared.⁷ Two Germans shot the Jews in the ditch in small groups. Six local Belorussians were ordered to fill in the ditch afterwards. One of these men recalled: “The Jews cried, screamed, and the Germans beat them with whips, dragged them to the ditch by force, tore children away from their parents, and threw them into the ditch. It was so horrible that I still don't understand how I kept from going mad.”⁸

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report, the mass shooting took place on November 7, 1941.⁹ It was conducted by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 as part of an antipartisan sweep conducted by units of Security Division 221. Einsatzgruppe B reported later in December that 786 Jews of both sexes had been shot in Cherikov and Klimovichi.¹⁰ Estimates of the number of Jewish victims in Cherikov range from 238 up to 500, but since at least 500 Jews were murdered in Klimovichi, the actual number in Cherikov was probably towards the lower end of this range.¹¹

In 1943, members of the Soviet partisan detachment known as “Thirteen,” which contained a number of Jews, conducted anti-German operations near Cherikov. Following a police ambush, the Jewish partisan Girsh Izrailitin exploded a grenade rather than be captured, which resulted in the deaths of 16 local police collaborators, including the head of the Cherikov police.¹²

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jewish population in Cherikov can be found in the follow-

ing publication: *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 481.

Documentation on the Holocaust in Chervik can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/218); BA-MA (RH 26-221/19); GAMO; GARF (7021-88-49 and 8114-1-955); NARB; USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 39, 71.

2. See Konstantin Simonow, *Kriegstagebücher* (East Berlin, 1979), 1:15–52, 147.

3. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b.

4. See the report of Einsatzgruppe B on police activity from August 24–30, 1941. Bundesbeauftragter für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR, Zentralarchiv, ZUV 9, Bd. XXXI, p. 47.

5. GARF, 7021-88-49, p. 9, Ortskommandantur Tscherikow, Bekanntmachung, October 29, 1941, signed Ortskommandant Saup. See also BA-MA, RH 26-221/19.

6. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 266; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), p. 306.

7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 266; Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 275–276; Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 306; and GARF, 7021-88-49.

8. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 266.

9. GARF, 7021-88-49, pp. 1 and reverse side, 6, and 7 with reverse side.

10. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941, p. 9.

11. *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 481, gives the lower figure of 238. In 1969 an obelisk was erected at the site of the mass shooting. GARF, 8114-1-955, pp. 9 and reverse, gives the higher figure of 500. Other estimates fall between these figures. The ChGK for Klimovichi estimates at least 800 Jews killed there in early November 1941; see NARB, 861-1-9.

12. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 231.

CHERVEN'

Pre-1941: Cherven' (until 1925, Igumen), town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tscherven, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Cherven', raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Cherven' is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. In 1939, there were 1,941 Jews in the town out of a total population of 6,376 (30.4 percent).

With the beginning of military operations, all men of military age were mobilized into the Red Army. Only a small number of Jews were able to flee before the rapidly advancing German forces. Units of the German 10th Panzer Division entered Cherven' on July 1–2, 1941. The Germans established a military administration (Ortskommandantur), and soon after their arrival they recruited a local police force. Grigorii Rusetskii was appointed chief of police, and Filip Razmyslovich, Maksim Kitov, Dmitrii Zenkovich, Karl Zhdanovich, Shirshov, and Iakovlev were among those who enlisted.¹

In August 1941 a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, then based in Minsk, arrived in Cherven' and murdered 139 people, also collecting 125,880 rubles from town residents; the victims probably consisted primarily of male Jews.²

Then in the fall of 1941, the occupying forces ordered Griadka and Sovetskaia Streets in Cherven' to be cleared. Jews were resettled into these streets, which hitherto had been inhabited predominantly by Belorussians. According to eyewitnesses, during the resettlement, the smith Borukh Gelfand put up some resistance. For his actions, Gelfand was subjected to horrific torture: nails were hammered into his head.³ It is estimated that nearly 2,000 Jews lived in the ghetto. The ghetto in Cherven', like that of many other places in Belorussia, was of no particular economic significance. Its main function was to concentrate the Jews and prevent them from fleeing, to facilitate their subsequent extermination. The Jews were ordered to carry out their assigned forced labor tasks, including arduous physical work, calmly and obediently. The Jews were isolated: Belorussians and Russians were not allowed even to approach them, and they were systematically starved. The Jews' valuable possessions were seized.

The Jews in the Cherven' ghetto continued to suffer from persecution and starvation into the winter of 1941–1942. The mass killing of the remaining Jewish population was conducted on one day between January 31 and February 2, 1942. At this time Cherven' lay within the command area of Feldkommandantur 244 of Security Division 286. The killing Aktion was organized by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, the command of which had just been taken over by SS officer Heinz Richter, based in Mogilev.⁴

At 6:00 A.M., the ghetto was surrounded by reinforced units of German and local Belorussian police. Search parties looked for Jews even outside the confines of the ghetto, in Cherven'. In the town hospital they found Gitlina, whose leg had been amputated and, in a separate room, a Jewish woman who had recently given birth. Both women were taken from their beds and sent to the ghetto.⁵ When all the searches had ended, the people were herded along the road towards the village of Zamestovka in the Kolodishchi sel'sovet. The column of Jews was stopped at the place known as Glinishche. The policemen in sleighs brought with them shovels and a box of ammunition. The mass shooting began at noon. In the winter frost, the prisoners were ordered to remove everything except their underclothing and then, in groups of 30 or 40 people, were escorted into the ditches and shot with automatic rifles. The Belorussian policemen played an important role in the Aktion. Among

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those who showed the greatest eagerness were Rusetskii, Razmyslovich, Kitov, Zenkovich, and Zhdanovich.⁶ On that day, approximately 1,400 people were shot. The German authorities ordered local Soviet citizens to fill in the pits. Because the ground was frozen, the pits were only lightly covered, and dogs started to scavenge the corpses. Therefore, they issued new orders for the pits to be filled in again more thoroughly.⁷

According to Soviet sources, during the occupation in Cherven' and in the Cherven' raion, 6,321 citizens of various nationalities lost their lives, including 766 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) and 1,240 people who were burned inside buildings during the course of German reprisals against the Soviet partisans.⁸

Cherven' was liberated by the Red Army on July 2, 1944.⁹ After the liberation, three mass graves were found in the town: around the Jewish cemetery on Minsk Street (1,750 people); near the natural boundaries around Kurgane and Kirpichnoe (400 people); and on Bobruiskaia Street (315 people).

SOURCES There is no specific publication focused on the fate of the Jewish community in Cherven' during the Holocaust. For further details on the memorialization of the victims, see L. Smilovitsky, "Attempt to Erect Memorial to Holocaust Victims Blocked by Soviet Belorussian Authorities," *East European Jewish Affairs* 27:1 (1997): 71–80.

Documents on the fate of the Jews of Cherven' can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-87-17); NARA; YVA (O-53/24; M-33/435); and ZSSa-D. In addition, the author's personal archive (PALS) contains some correspondence from the survivor Tsodik Rytov, received in 1998.

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NOTES

1. According to the testimony given to the ChGK by Ol'ga Lavrent'evaia (born 1907) and Ol'ga Ivenents (born 1891), see YVA, M-33/435, p. 24; O-53/24, p. 673.

2. NARA, T-175, reel 233, fr. 2722201, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 73, September 4, 1941.

3. PALS, letters from Tsodik Rytov (Israel) dated September 17 and December 3, 1998.

4. The available sources differ on the date of the mass shooting. In October 1941, Ortskommandantur II/252 was based in Cherven'; this unit was probably still in place at the end of January 1942.

5. According to the testimony given to the ChGK by Aleksandr Korotko (born 1920), YVA, O-53/24, p. 67.

6. YVA, M-33/435, pp. 2–8.

7. According to the letter of Lt. F.S. Tunik, September 23, 1944, published in *Sovetskie evrei pishut Il'e Erenburgu, 1943–1966* (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 158. German sources indicate that 1,342 Jews were killed in Cherven' on January 31 (or February 1), 1942, by a unit of Einsatzkommando 8; see ZSSa-D, 45 Js 35/64, Bd. I, pp. 59–79, Verfügung dated September 8, 1967. The Einsatzgruppen reports erroneously give the figure of 15,000 victims, but probably 1,500 was intended; see EM no. 186, March 27, 1942, NARA, T-175, reel 233.

8. YVA, M-33/435, pp. 2–8.

9. Cherven' was liberated by the 110th and the 348th Artillery Divisions of the Soviet Army along with the Budinov, Zukov, and Kalinin partisan detachments. Jews comprised between 10 and 15 percent of these partisan units.

DARAGANOVO

Pre-1939: Daraganovo, village, Starye Dorogi raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Daraganowo, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Darabanava, Asipovichy raen, Mabiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Daraganovo is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) west of Bobruisk. In 1926, there were 60 Jewish families living in Daraganovo. By mid-1941, migration had slightly reduced the Jewish population of the village.

German armed forces captured Daraganovo in early July 1941, two weeks after Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union. During this intervening period, some Jews managed to evacuate to the east, while men eligible for military service were called up to active duty in the Red Army. About 100 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

During the entire occupation period, from July 1941 to June 1944, the village was governed by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). The German military administration created a village authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local inhabitants.

Soon after the occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered the village authority to make arrangements for the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as for their use in various types of forced labor.

On September 6, 1941, German security forces conducted the first Aktion in the village, in the course of which 11 people were accused of being Soviet activists and shot. The remaining Jews were forced into a ghetto, for which several houses on the edge of the village, on Pesochnaia Street, were allocated. The Germans liquidated the ghetto in May 1942, shooting 73 Jews in a forest north of the village. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, stationed in Bobruisk, carried out the shooting, in which the Ordnungsdienst also took an active part. On January 25, 1943, the children of mixed marriages were seized and shot in the village. In 1976, a monument was erected at the site of the mass grave.¹

SOURCES The following published sources contain some information on the annihilation of the Jews of Daraganovo: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belarускаia Navuka, 2000), p. 303; V. Zaitsev and V. Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta v Osipovichskom raione," in D.V. Prokudin, comp., and Il'ia Al'tman, ed., *My ne mozhem molchat'. Sbkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste. Vyp. 4: Sbornik* (Moscow: Tsentr i Fond "Kholokost," 2008); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*

before and during the Holocaust (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 292.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Daraganovo can be found in the following archives: GAMO; and GARF (7021-82-8).

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NOTE

1. According to the list of names, the number of victims was 85 (GARF, 7021-82-8, pp. 65–66).

DOBRUSH

Pre-1941: Dobrush, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Dobrusch, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Dobrush, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dobrush is located 25 kilometers (16 miles) east of Gomel' on the Iput' River. The town has a railway station on the Gomel'-Unecha line. In 1926, there were 372 Jewish inhabitants (2.7 percent of the total population of 13,800).

Following the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, many refugees arrived in Dobrush. Dobrush was strategically significant, as it lay on the main rail line through Briansk to Moscow, so the Luftwaffe bombed the town. More than two thirds of the Jews in Dobrush managed to leave the town, either as staff of a factory or government organization or independently on foot towards Gomel'.¹

German forces occupied Dobrush on August 22, 1941. During the German occupation, Dobrush was subordinated to Rear Area, Army Group Center. The Germans appointed M.G. Sobolev to be the mayor and Karp Amel'chenko as his deputy. The former examining magistrate of the Dobrush raion, Fedosii Semenchik, became chief of police, and Anufii Klimenkov was the prison warden.² The police, the jail, local authorities, elders of the volost', and local communities were all subordinated to the German military command and the mayor.

No anti-Jewish Aktions took place in Dobrush during the first two months of the occupation. Jews were allowed to live in their own homes but were forbidden to visit public places, to go onto the main streets of the town, or to maintain contacts with Belorussians and Russians. Jewish children above age 10 and all Jewish adults were required to wear yellow patches on their outer garments.³ At the end of October 1941, the Gestapo ordered Mayor Sobolev to evict the Jewish population from within the town limits of Dobrush. In the municipal records Vasili Zheldakov recorded the names of the 106 Jews who were displaced. To calm them, the police informed the Jews that this was in preparation for their deportation to Palestine. On the appointed day, the authorities ordered the Jews to assemble at the town police station, from which they were escorted 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) south of the town to two outbuildings of the Machine Tractor Station (MTS). The

police categorically forbade the Jews to enter the town limits. The guards starved the prisoners and escorted them to perform the hardest and dirtiest labor. Jews had to drag logs out of the river, clean streets, and unload freight cars. The local police and the Germans humiliated the Jews.

The liquidation of the ghetto was planned to take place at the same time as the execution of Communists and Soviet activists. The arrests of 19 Communists (18 men and 1 woman) took place on November 17, 1941. In the last days before the Aktion, the external perimeter of the ghetto was tightly guarded. On November 20, Gansevskii and Morozov made Jews dig a large ditch, 10 meters long, 2 meters wide, and 2 meters deep (about 33 by 6.6 by 6.6 feet).⁴ On the morning of November 21, at 10:00 A.M., eight policemen escorted the Communists in closed motor vehicles from the Dobrush jail to the MTS. The police took the Jews in a column of fours to within 50 meters (164 feet) of the ditch and made them kneel down. The police formed a cordon to prevent escape. Three officers of the Security Police, from the detachment in Gomel' (commanded by Wilhelm Schulz) of Einsatzkommando 8, directed the Aktion, assisted by 25 local policemen and 10 Germans.⁵ Among the local policemen present were Semenchik, Gansevskii, Sukalin, Lapunov, Khatskov, Kachanov, Kachalin, and Davydulin. A number of local residents, including many relatives and friends of the non-Jewish victims, came to the killing site, although Sobolev had instructed the policemen to keep observers at a distance.

First to be shot were the Communists; then it was the turn of the Jews. The policemen searched them, making them remove their clothing. Sukalin, Kachalin, and Lapunov undressed and searched the women. Khaia Kosolapova, in her early twenties, a Soviet clerk, tried to run away, but the policemen Sukalin and Kachalin caught her and dragged her back to be shot. As she was killed, Kosolapova shouted, "Goodbye, comrades, you who know me. I am dying for my homeland, for Stalin. Long live our Red Army!"⁶

The Germans went about their gruesome task as if they were slaughtering livestock. They would bring two or three victims to the ditch, where the German executioner stabbed the children with a knife and threw them, still alive, into the ditch. Police officer Khatskov was especially active in shoving people into the ditch. Among the first victims were members of the Aronchik family: the wife, husband, and four children. The mother, Basia Aronchik, 32 years old, held her 2-year-old son in her arms; the next-oldest child clung to her skirt, and the two older children followed behind. One of the older children appealed to Semenchik, begging him, "Dear Uncle, you know me. Dear Uncle, spare me, I want to live! I sat at the same desk as your boy in school, and I never did anything bad to anyone! Save me!" Whereupon a policeman grabbed him and threw him into the ditch, then shots rang out. The women and children sobbed so loudly that their wailing and moaning could be heard at a distance. Those only wounded were buried alive.⁷

The killing went on from 10:00 A.M. until 3:00 P.M. In total, 125 people were killed: 19 Communists and 106 Jews. After

the mass shooting, the search began for those who had escaped by hiding. A week later, a 13-year-old girl named Ishevskaiia, who had miraculously survived in Dobrush, sought out Amel'chenko to request some of the belongings of her parents, who had been killed. Amel'chenko arrested her and turned her over to the German commandant's office to be shot.⁸

The German occupiers used Jewish property to reward collaborators and as an incentive to the local population to be cooperative. Most of the property was distributed after the resettlement of the Jews into the MTS barracks, where the ghetto was established. The authorities took some of the Jewish belongings as fines or "contributions" in place of money: ornaments, gold and silver, and personal items. Finally, they took clothing, undergarments, and footwear removed from victims before the executions on November 21. After the mass shooting, the victims' belongings were hauled away in eight carts to the authorities' headquarters. German members of the punitive expedition and the police took some of the loot; whatever remained that was still usable was sold off to local inhabitants or distributed among those who worked for the authorities.

According to German investigative sources, a detachment of Security Police from Sonderkommando 7a based in Klinty arrived in Dobrush at the end of March or the beginning of April 1942 and murdered another 70 Jews, who were being held in three to five houses in a wooded area to the north of Dobrush. The Security Police, assisted by the local police (Ordnungsdienst), shot the Jews into a ditch.⁹ These were presumably Jews who survived the first Aktion or were captured in the area subsequently and held until a second Aktion could be organized.

Units of the Red Army liberated Dobrush on October 10, 1943. On the same day, the 48th Army counterintelligence unit "Smersh" arrested a group of active collaborators with the German occupiers who had committed crimes against local civilians. The collaborators were tried by a military tribunal.¹⁰

During the years of occupation, the population of the Dobrush raion declined by about 30 percent, from 31,244 inhabitants in 1941 to 21,791 in May 1944. In the town of Dobrush itself, the population fell almost 40 percent, from 13,815 to 8,399.¹¹ The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), which arrived in the town on December 16, 1943, established that 576 civilians (including 199 persons in the town of Dobrush) and 18 prisoners of war (POWs) perished in the Dobrush raion during the German occupation. Opening the mass grave near the MTS revealed 124 bodies buried there: 70 of them had bullet wounds; 10 showed signs of having been struck with a blunt object; and 44 had no visible injury, which suggested that they were buried alive.¹² Of the 124 bodies, 67 were women, 57 were men, 32 were children up to 10 years old, and 49 were elderly persons. Most of the bodies were found in awkward positions, which indicated an agonizing death.¹³

So far, of the 106 ghetto inmates, it has only been possible to establish the family names of 53 victims: 22 men and 31 women.¹⁴

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

SOURCES Publications relating to the fate of the Jews of Dobrush under German occupation include the following: *Pamiat': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995); and *Pamiat': Dobrushskii raion*, 2 vols. (Minsk, 1999).

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO; GAGOMO (1318-1-8); GAOOGO (144-5-6); GARF (7021-85-38); NARB (4-33a-65); USHMM; and YVA.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Robert Haney and Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. *Pamiat': Dobrushskii raion*, 1:256.
2. From the interrogation of defendant Feodosii Ivanovich Semenchik, April 1, 1945, Grodno. AUKGBRBGO, file 6936, p. 17.
3. GARF, 7021-85-38, pp. 1, 10, 22.
4. From the verdict of "guilty" in the case of accomplices in Nazi crimes in Dobrush, October 29, 1943, AUKGBRBGO, file 15884, vol. 1, pp. 455–460.
5. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588, p. 771.
6. AUKGBRBGO, file 15884, vol. 1, p. 49.
7. Excerpt from the examination record of witness Anna Prof'evna Zhurbenkova-Kotsuba (born 1906), October 16, 1943, Dobrush, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 48.
8. Interrogation of Mikhail Nazarovich Lapunov, *ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 106.
9. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, p. 771; and vol. 23, (1998) Lfd. Nr. 620, p. 166.
10. The Military Field Court, 73rd Nozybkov Infantry Division, based on a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, USSR, dated April 19, 1943, sentenced these individuals to death by hanging: Vasilii Nikolaevich Zheldakov, Karp Anatol'evich Amel'chenko, Leonard Boleslavovich Ganseskii, Mikhail Nazarovich Lapunov, and Daniil Fomich Sukalin. Petr Abramovich Levin was sentenced to be shot. Sentenced to 10 years' loss of freedom in a corrective labor camp, confiscation of belongings, and disenfranchisement for 5 years were Elena Vasil'evna Zheldakova, Ivana Eliseevicha Tsubrikova, and Anufria Efimovicha Klimenkova. The sentence was final and not subject to appeal: AUKGBRBGO, file 14884, vol. 2, p. 683.
11. Data regarding the population of Gomel' oblast' on May 1, 1944, GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218.
12. AUKGBRBGO, file 6936, p. 110.
13. *Ibid.*, file 15884, vol. 1, p. 456.
14. According to *Pamiat': Dobrushskii raion*, 1:347–350.

DRIBIN

Pre-1941: Dribin, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Drybin, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dribin is situated 64 kilometers (40 miles) to the northeast of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, there were 563 Jews living in Dribin, comprising 17.9 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 14, 1941, about three and a half weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In the interim period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army.

During the entire German occupation until October 1, 1943, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) exercised authority in the town. The Ortskommandantur set up a raion authority and a police force composed of local residents.

Shortly after the occupation began, the raion authority, on the orders of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews ages 16 to 50 were also required to perform heavy physical labor.

On September 30, 1941, all the Jews of the town were settled into an open ghetto, which consisted of 11 houses. The ghetto in Dribin existed for only one week. On October 6, 1941, the Jews were assembled and instructed to wear their best clothes and bring their prized possessions. German forces of Einsatzkommando 8 then organized the destruction of the ghetto. Assisted by the local police, German forces escorted the Jews into a forest 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the town, where they shot them all, around 400 in total. The Jews were also robbed of all their property by the perpetrators.¹

SOURCES The Dribin ghetto is mentioned in the following publications: Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 138; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belarускаia Navuka, 2000), pp. 291, 298.

Relevant documentation can be found in GARF (7021-88-37); NARB (861-1-9, pp. 152–153); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8; and RG-53.002M, reel 7).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-88-37, pp. 2 reverse and 10; and NARB, 861-1-9, pp. 152–153.

DRISSA

Pre-1941: Drissa, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); 1962: renamed Verkhmedvinsk; post-1991: Verkhniadzvinsk (Drysa), raen center, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Drissa is situated about 60 kilometers (38 miles) northwest of Polotsk. In 1939, 825 Jews lived in the town, making up 30.1 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Drissa raion (without the town of Drissa) included 677 people, the bulk of whom lived in the villages of Volyntsy and

Borkovichi, as well as in Borovka, the northern suburb of Drissa.

The 19th Panzer (Armored) Division of the LVII German Army Corps of Panzer Group 3 forced its crossing over the Zapadnaia Dvina River at Dzisna in the Drissa area on July 3, 1941; the town of Drissa was taken on the same day. The fighting at the Dzisna-Drissa bridgehead went on until July 6. On July 10, 1941, the German 14th Panzer Division of the newly formed 4th Panzer Army captured Volyntsy and Borkovichi. The rest of the Drissa raion was captured by the 19th Panzer Division (southern part) and by the XXII Army Corps of the 9th Army by July 13, 1941.

From August 1941 onward, Drissa was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. This area was the realm of the 403rd Security Division; Ortskommandantur 262 was based here. From January to March 1942, Drissa was under the authority of Feldkommandantur 749.

Drissa is situated close to a railway, and many Jews managed to leave the town before the Germans captured it. After the war, 12 or 13 Jewish families returned to Drissa; many others remained in the places to which they had been evacuated.¹

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in February 1942 the Germans assembled 769 Jews from Drissa in a “special camp” (ghetto). Shortly afterwards, most probably on February 10, they shot them into a mass grave at the local Jewish cemetery in groups of 10 to 15 people. Infants were thrown into the ditch alive or shot in the air. Some people who were only wounded were also buried alive. The murder was perpetrated by a “punitive squad,” most probably a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9, supported by the men of the Ortskommandantur and local policemen (*politsais*). The victims were brought to the killing site in trucks, which were driven by local drivers.² Everything was done in full view of the local non-Jewish population. After the massacre, the perpetrators burned down the ghetto; thus, those who attempted to hide in the ghetto perished in the flames.

A group of young people succeeded in fleeing from Drissa before the ghetto was established; they crossed the front lines and survived. Some others tried to run away during the Aktion but were captured by the Nazis and killed.³

The estimate of the number of Jewish victims made by the ChGK—769 people—seems to be excessive, taking into account that there was a successful mobilization into the Red Army in Drissa and that some Jews succeeded in evacuating the town. On the other hand, many Jewish refugees from the western areas settled in the Osveia-Drissa area; most probably, the Germans resettled the Jews from Borovka into the ghetto in Drissa.

In Borkovichi, 30 kilometers (19 miles) southeast of Drissa along the Polotsk-Daugavpils railway, no less than 60 Jews were killed; 10 Jews were killed in the village of Iustianovo (7 kilometers [4.4 miles] south of Drissa); and 16 Jews were killed in the village of Ianino, 1 or 2 kilometers (0.6–1.2 miles) north of Drissa. (Information on the fate of the Jews of Volyntsy, also in the Drissa raion, can be found in the entry for that ghetto—see **Volyntsy**.)⁴

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SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the Drissa raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-215) and NARB (861-1-13). Other relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-DH (e.g., ZM 635); BA-MA (RH 26-201/17); and YVA (O-3/5499).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Testimony by Yona Gildin, YVA, O-3/5499.
2. GARF, 7021-92-215 (see also NARB, 861-1-13, p. 85). Christian Gerlach, referring to documents of the 201st Security Division, writes that “at least” 93 Jews were killed in Drissa; see Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 684.
3. YVA, O-3/5499.
4. GARF, 7021-92-215.

DUBROVNO

Pre-1941: Dubrovno, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Dubrowno, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Dubrouna, raen center, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Dubrovno is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) south-southeast of Vitebsk. In 1939, 2,119 Jews lived in the town, making up 21.4 percent of the population. Another town in the raion with a considerable Jewish population was Liady (897 Jews, or 39.2 percent of the total population in 1939; see **Liady**). The rest of the Jewish population of the Dubrovno raion (without the town of Dubrovno) constituted 222 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small towns of Baevo and Rossasno (see **Rossasno**). After World War II, the town of Osintorf (18 kilometers [11 miles] north of Dubrovno) was switched from Orsha raion to Dubrovno raion. The number of Jews in Osintorf is not clear; most probably, they numbered between 10 and 30.

The “Dneprovskaiia textile mill” was not evacuated by the authorities (Dubrovno lies rather far from the railway); only some sections of it were blown up. This means that there was no large-scale evacuation of the population from the town (in other towns such as Orsha or Vitebsk, the evacuation of industrial plants helped thousands of Jews to escape the Nazis).

Dubrovno was captured by the German forces (17th Panzer Division of the XLVII Army Corps of the 2nd Panzer Group) on July 16,¹ after which it was in the rear area of the 2nd Army (Infantry). From August 1941, Dubrovno was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. This area was the realm of the 286th Security Division; the Secret Field Police (GFP) Group 723, subordinated to this division, was quartered here. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report mentions an Ortskommandantur in Dubrovno under Kommandant Major Hänschin.

The Germans put together an indigenous local administration in Dubrovno and its Rayon, including a local police force. The mayor of Dubrovno was Skvarchevskii, the former



Russians and Jews at forced labor building a bridge in Dubrovno, n.d. USHMM WS # 81533, COURTESY OF NARA

head of a peat factory. The head of the indigenous police in the volost' was Kulikovskii. The mayor of Osintorf was I. Trublin.

The town of Osintorf served as the base for forming one of the Russian “armies,” which was to fight on the German side to fulfill police functions: the Russian National People's Army (Russkaia Natsional'naia Narodnaia Armiiia, RNNA). In 1941, under the aegis of the headquarters of Army Group Center, the “Trial Battalion Graukopf” was formed, mainly from Soviet prisoners of war (POWs). The members of the battalion wore Soviet uniforms and had Soviet weapons but carried German insignia. In the spring of 1942, the Battalion Graukopf was transformed into the RNNA. The local population called its servicemen *narodniki*.²

Information on the Holocaust in Dubrovno is scanty. A ghetto in Dubrovno was established in the fall of 1941. According to the ChGK, it was located in the area called “the camp ‘zhilkoop’” (which may be interpreted as an abbreviation of “dwelling cooperative”). Eyewitnesses, both those who gave testimonies to the ChGK and those from Gennadii Vinitsa's collection, mention physical abuse of the Jewish inmates. A non-Jewish witness says: “I went to the Kommandantur to receive an Ausweis (identity card) and saw *politais*

[men of the indigenous police] there, who put 10 Jews on the ground and beat them with sticks.”³ In December 1941, the inmates of the ghetto were shot by a German “punitive squad”; the local commandant was also present at the execution site. According to the ChGK, the execution site was an area beyond the Dneprovskaia textile mill, where a mass grave had been prepared beforehand; according to Vinnitsa, it was a sand quarry close to the Jewish cemetery. Witnesses attest that the Nazis employed sadistic methods of killing.

Both the ChGK and Vinnitsa indicate that the Nazis spared artisans and their families from this Aktion. The artisans and their families were killed in February 1942.

The ChGK estimates the number of Jews killed in December 1941 at 1,500 and the number killed in February 1942 at 300. In other individual and group shootings that took place in Dubrovno, the Nazis killed an additional 185 Jews. The total number of Jewish victims in Dubrovno was 1,985. At the same time, the list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains only 330 names of Jews.

The Jews of the town of Osintorf were killed in March 1942. The witnesses who were interrogated by the ChGK in 1945 estimate the number of those killed at 20. The witness Shmuglevskii, who, according to his words, “was under custody” together with these doomed Jews, said that among them there were seven women and five children under 16. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK refers to 10 Jews killed. Of them, the families Ginsburg and Simkin were killed in October 1941 in Osintorf, and the Khanins, in February 1942 in Dubrovno. It is not clear whether the witnesses of the ChGK included these 10 or only some of them (the Ginsburgs and Simkins) among those 20 people on whom they gave information.⁴

In the village of Barsuki, 11 kilometers (7 miles) east-southeast of Dubrovno, two Jewish women married to non-Jews were killed.

SOURCES In the book by historian Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech’ i bol’* (Orsha, 1998), pages 16 to 31 deal with the Holocaust in the Dubrovno raion.

The documents of the ChGK for the Dubrovno raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-6), as can those for Osintorf (7021-84-10).

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NOTES

1. Heinz Guderian, *Erinnerungen eines Soldaten* (Heidelberg, 1951), pp. 154–157.

2. A.M. Litvin, “Antysavetskiia vaenna-palitseiskiiia farmiravanni na terytoryi Belarusi w hady Vyalikai Aichyinaï vainy 1941–1944hh.” (Ph.D. diss., Minsk, 2000), pp. 69–70.

3. Vinnitsa, *Gorech’ i bol’*, p. 18.

4. GARF, 7021-84-6 and 7021-84-10.

ELIZOVO (YELIZOVO)

Pre-1941: Elizovo, town, Osipovichy raion, Mogilev oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Elisowo, Rear Area, Army Group

Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Elizava, Asipovichy raen, Mabiliou voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Elizovo is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) to the northwest of Bobruisk. According to the 1939 census, there were 303 Jews living in Elizovo, accounting for 6.7 percent of the total population. Following the occupation of Poland in September 1939 by German and Soviet forces, a number of Jewish refugees settled in Elizovo, bringing with them information about the Nazi persecution of the Jews.

German armed forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 1, 1941, just over a week after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, the Germans bombed the town, and a few Jews managed to flee eastward or were conscripted into the Red Army. Probably about two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Elizovo at the start of the German occupation.

On the first day of the occupation, the Germans collected about 100 people, Jews and non-Jews, and murdered them in an Aktion in reprisal for the killing of a German soldier in the vicinity.¹ Throughout the occupation period (from July 1941 to February 1944), a German military commandant’s office was in charge of Elizovo. The German military administration established a town council and a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents.

The German authorities soon introduced a series of anti-Jewish measures. For example, Jews were forced to wear yellow circular patches on the back and front of their clothes; they were forbidden to have contact with non-Jews; they were forbidden to keep pets; and young Jewish men and women were taken for forced labor, building a road between Elizovo and Svisloch’.²

A few weeks into the occupation, probably in August 1941, the remaining Jews in the town were herded into a ghetto, for which a few buildings were allocated. According to Jewish survivors, the ghetto was not fenced in.³ Some Jews gave their property to non-Jews for safekeeping, but in one instance the peasant Kabanov subsequently handed the items to the German authorities, who demanded the surrender of all Jewish property.

On October 8, 1941, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in Elizovo, in which a dozen or so Jews who had been sent to work on the road were taken to the forest and murdered. On October 14, the Germans conducted a brutal Aktion in the nearby village of Svisloch’, in which a number of Jews were killed. Then in the winter of 1941–1942, probably in early November 1941, the Germans rounded up the Jews of Elizovo, humiliated them by making them sing, and forced them to surrender their warm clothing for the German armed forces before releasing them again.⁴

On January 21 or 22, 1942, Soviet partisans attacked the glass factory building in the town and set it on fire. Then the next day an SS squad arrived and conducted a reprisal Aktion in which they shot most of the remaining Jewish men, about 28 people. Before burying the bodies in two large

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graves, the Germans removed any gold teeth from the corpses' mouths.⁵

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on April 5, 1942, shooting all the remaining Jews. A few Jews managed to evade the roundup and hide in the surrounding countryside or make their way to join the Soviet partisans. In total, at least 100 Jews were murdered by the Nazis and their collaborators in and around Elizovo in 1941–1942.

SOURCES Information on Elizova can be found in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), pp. 304, 312.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Elizovo can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-82-5); NARB; VHF (# 38244 and 38470); and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 38244, testimony of Bella Aronova (born 1924); and # 38470, testimony of Mikhail Barshai.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., # 38470, testimony of Mikhail Barshai, dates this event on November 3, 1941; # 38244, testimony of Bella Aronova, however, describes a similar incident but dates it in early January 1942.

5. Ibid., # 38470, testimony of Mikhail Barshai, dates the partisan attack on January 21, 1942; # 38244, testimony of Bella Aronova, dates it on January 22, 1942.

EZERISHCHE (YEZERISHCHE)

Pre-1941: Ezerishche, town and center, Mekhovoe raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Jezeritsche, Rayon Mechowoje, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Eziarysčba, Haradok raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ezerishche is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) north of Gorodok. The Mekhovoe raion had 235 Jews in 1939, most of whom lived in Ezerishche (estimates range from 60 to 175). The next-largest contingent lived in Mezha (perhaps as many as 86 people). German armed forces of the XXIII Corps of the 9th Army captured Ezerishche on July 17, 1941.

Sometime in October 1941, the Jews were resettled into the building of a former inn: a long, one-story building near the railway station. The building was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded. According to other witnesses, the "ghetto" included two buildings, one wooden, the second made of bricks, and was not surrounded by barbed wire.¹ The discrepancy in the witness accounts may be ascribed to the deterioration of the Ezerishche Jews' situation in the late fall of 1941 and the winter of 1941–1942.

In February 1942 (or perhaps in early December 1941),² all the Jews were escorted from the "ghetto" across the railway to a marsh to the northwest of the village and were shot there

near pits that had been dug previously. The shooting was carried out one family at a time; before the killing, the victims were ordered to undress. The killing was somewhat haphazard, and many victims, merely wounded, were buried alive.

The number of Jews killed in Ezerishche is unknown. One of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) records gives an estimate of 200 victims, which is probably an exaggeration; other ChGK records and witnesses state that 150 or 175 were killed; some local witnesses reported 60 dead, which seems to be too low an estimate. According to all the witnesses, a number of professionals (such as pediatrician Frida Bentsman, two other physicians, two pharmacists, and the school principal Khait) were all killed on that day.

Elsewhere in the Mekhovoe raion, a number of Jews, possibly as many as 86,³ were killed in Mezha (36 kilometers [22 miles] northeast of Gorodok) in February 1942; in Bychikha (about halfway between Gorodok and Ezerishche, along the railway), no fewer than 6 Jews were killed near the railway station; there were also other places in the area where Jews were killed.

SOURCES Information can be found in Gennadii Vinnitsa's *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), p. 32.

Documentation on the Ezerishche ghetto can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-9); and YVA (O-3/4608).

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NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 32.

2. GARF, 7021-84-9, ChGK report, dates the massacre as February 1942. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, also gives this date. However, the ChGK report, undated, deposited at the archive of the Gorodok Museum of Local History (Gorodokskii Kraevedcheskii Muzei), indicates early December 1941, as do the witnesses interviewed in 1985 (YVA, O-3/4608).

3. Eighty-six "peaceful citizens" were shot by the Germans in Mezha during the occupation, according to the estimate of the ChGK. The main shooting took place in February 1942; it is unclear whether all the 86 people counted by the ChGK were killed on that day or whether some of them (who therefore may not have been Jewish) were killed later. See GARF, 7021-84-9, pp. 2–4.

GLUSK

Pre-1941: Glusk, town and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Glussk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Hlusk, raen center, Mabiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Glusk is located 46 kilometers (29 miles) southwest of Bobruisk. In 1939, 1,935 Jews lived in Glusk (37.8 percent of the total population).

According to the testimony of Yankel Gurevich, at the beginning of the German invasion many citizens of Glusk were distraught and did not know what to do.¹ Grigory Brum

stated that no one in Glusk knew how long the war would last, but most assumed that if they waited, the war would soon end. It was widely believed that even if Glusk were to be occupied, the Jews would be left unscathed. The majority of Jews in Glusk were unable to evacuate because of the rapid German advance. German forces entered the city on June 27–28, 1941.²

Although during the course of the first month no anti-Jewish Aktions took place, the situation changed quickly. The Germans organized a police force from local citizens, under the command of Makarov. Jews were ordered to wear a yellow six-pointed star on the front and back of their clothing. Some form of ghetto was established (probably an open ghetto), but most Jews continued to live in their own houses, which were also marked with a Star of David. Survivor testimony uses the term “ghetto” explicitly, but it remains unclear if the ghetto area was enclosed by a fence or if it was guarded.³ Jews were forbidden to leave the settlement without permission or trade with non-Jews. They were ordered to report to a labor camp daily, from which they were sent to perform various tasks. At night they were released. The Jews were used for the most arduous forced labor: repairing roads, digging ditches, and clearing forests. Galina Gelfer, who was only 14 at the time, recalls digging the ground, sweeping the streets, cleaning, and washing for the Germans.⁴ Some of those sent to work each day did not return. Those who could not work or walk in the column fast enough were shot. According to Michael Epstein (Epshtein) the policemen insulted and tortured the Jews with more glee than the Germans. According to the account of Juliy Aizenshtadt, on November 29–30, 1941, the Nazis put on a show in Glusk. They collected the spectators at the nursery school and forced them to watch as the Jews were made to carry horse manure in their hats. The Nazis laughed and whipped them. They ordered the hairdresser Maizus to climb a large pear tree and jump down: he broke several bones. Avremul Mashnitser was placed backwards on a horse; then they whipped the horse, which galloped off. Avremul, grabbing for the horse’s tail, hit his head against the sharp corner of a roof, fell off, and died. The Nazis laughed. One of them held a goat and stroked it, as if to demonstrate to everyone present that the animal was better than the Jews.

Many predicted the upcoming extermination. In the ghetto, people heard about the extermination of the Jews in Bobruisk and other places. On the morning of December 2, 1941, the Jews were ordered to gather in the square in front of the commandant’s building and to bring their valuables, linen, and a little food. Then the policemen began searching the Jewish houses. People shouted and ran into the streets while the policemen chased after them, caught up with those who fell behind, beat them, and forced them into the square. A small group of Jews hid in the garage of the military commissariat in Glusk, but they were found.

According to Galina Gelfer, who hid in the attic of an empty store overlooking the assembled Jews, the women and children were loaded into three big black trucks, possibly gas vans, and apparently were killed by gassing before their bodies were thrown into the pits at Myslotino Hill, 1 or 2 kilome-

ters (0.6 or 1.2 miles) from Glusk. As the vans were relatively small, a number of trips were necessary. The Germans, with dogs, and local policemen escorted the remaining Jews to the same pits on foot.⁵ These Jews were then shot at Myslotino Hill. Between 1941 and 1943, this place was often used to murder not only Jews but also those who were deemed to be “suspect” in Glusk and in the Glusk raion. In addition, Jews were also shot and buried at the western outpost near the furniture factory and at the Jewish cemetery. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated that the total number of “peaceful citizens” murdered in Glusk was about 3,000;⁶ this figure probably includes more than 1,000 Jewish victims.

Close to 100 Jews escaped owing to special circumstances: expert craftsmen received permission from the Nazis and were allowed to live in their own houses, outside the ghetto area; some left the night before the extermination because they were forewarned by their neighbors; others did not report to the square in front of the commandant’s building on December 2, 1941, but hid and thereby escaped the German trap; and finally, a few wounded Jews even emerged from the pit into which they had been shot.

At the beginning of December 1941, one of the Jewish groups that had escaped from Glusk assembled in the forest and, with the help of local peasants, traveled to the village of Rudobelka, where they hoped to join the partisans. When they arrived, they realized that there were no partisans, but they were also pleasantly surprised to find that there were no Germans either and that the local peasants were willing to share their food with them. In the spring of 1942, more than 20 Jews from Glusk (the Brum family [Chema, Hannah, Girsh, and Tzilia], the brothers Isaac and Boruch Graizel, Michael Epshtein, Alter Epshtein, and others) met in the village of Slavkovichi. There, from local inhabitants and the Soviet soldiers stranded behind German lines in the Glusk raion, the partisan force “Budennyi” was created under the command of Red Army Captain Boris Tzikunkova.

In total, the force consisted of 184 partisans, including more than 20 Jews. Alter Epshtein fled the “ghetto” along with his wife and his 8-year-old son; two of his daughters had been killed during the massacre of the Jews of Glusk. Alter was a tailor for the partisans, while his wife baked bread for them. Several of the Jewish women acted as nurses. Before the war, Markman worked as an arms specialist in the military town of Urech’e, near Starye Dorogi. He repaired the old weapons and created automatic rifles. In April 1944, during the German blockade of the partisan zone, many Jews were killed. Alter, to avoid being captured by the Germans, blew himself up with a grenade.

Another group of Jews from Glusk (Juliy and Naum Aizenshtadt; Kasriel, Abraham, Ida, Yankel, and Rachel Gurevich; and others) became partisans in the “Red October” detachment, which combined with the brigade named after “Shchors” under the command of Fyodor Pavlosky (the first Belorussian partisan to be honored with the title “Hero of the Soviet Union”).⁷ Yankel Gurevich became the commander of their Uritskiy machine-gun platoon (under the command of

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Chavkin). After Belorussia was liberated in July 1944, the Jewish partisans from Glusk were called up to the Soviet army and fought until the end of the war.

Glusk was liberated on June 27, 1944.

SOURCES Information about the fate of the Jews of Glusk can be found in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005).

Documents on the murder of the Jewish population of Glusk can be found in the following archives: GAMO; GARF; NARB (845-1-60); USHMM (RG-22.002M and Acc.1995.A.537); and YVA. The author also has in his personal archive (PALS) letters written after the war by former inhabitants of Glusk.

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trans. Ilya Bourtmann

NOTES

1. PALS, letter from Yankel Gurevich in Tel Aviv, July 10, 1994. This letter has been published in Leonid Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), pp. 198–199.
2. PALS, letter from Grigory Brum in Ahdod, September 22, 1997.
3. See Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 332; see also the testimony of Olga Shulman in Semen Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by: Veteranam Vtoroi mirovoi voiny, truzbenikam tyła, uznikam fashistskikh kontslageri i getto, zbiyvym i pavshim povsiashchaetsia* (Baltimore, MD: Vestnik Information Agency, 1997), pp. 296–300.
4. USHMM, Acc.1995.A.537, handwritten memoir of Galina Gelfer.
5. Ibid.
6. NARB, 845-1-60, p. 25; GAMO, 2952-2-139, p. 8; GARF, 7021-82-6, p. 21 (USHMM, RG-22.002M).
7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 333.

GOMEL' (GOMEL' OBLAST')

Pre-1941: Gomel', city, raion and oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gomel, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Homel', raen and voblasts' center, Republic of Belarus

Gomel' is located 300 kilometers (186 miles) southeast of Minsk. In 1939, Jews numbered 40,880 (27.3 percent of the city's total population).

In the first weeks of the war, the population of Gomel' benefited from the fact that German forces only occupied the city about two months after the start of the invasion, and many people managed to evacuate in the interim. By the time the Germans took the city on August 21, 1941, about 80,000 inhabitants had fled, but some 4,000 Jews remained (about 9 percent of the pre-war total).

After occupying Gomel', the Germans set up a temporary military administration. During August and September 1941, they established branches of the Security Police in Gomel'



Group portrait of 11 boys and girls from the Stalin School in Gomel', 1941. Among those pictured is Sonya Lishansky, seated second from right in the first row, the only Jewish child in this photograph known to have survived the Holocaust in Gomel'.

USHMM WS #58242, COURTESY OF SONYA LISHANSKY

and other towns of the region. During the occupation, security forces in the city included units of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, or GFP), the Field Gendarmerie (Feldgendarmerie), the Order Police (Schutzpolizei), a local police force, and a guard company subordinated to the military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur).¹

Local policemen, villagers, and city residents captured, handed over to the Germans, and often themselves killed Jewish soldiers in the Red Army who had avoided encirclement by the enemy or escaped from prisoner-of-war (POW) camps. In July 1941, David Komisarenko fled the POW camp in the Gomel' area. He was subsequently detained by two policemen who identified him as a Jew. Some of the captured Jewish servicemen tried to hide their ethnicity. When they were identified as Jews, they died terrible deaths. In the winter of 1942–1943, the Germans discovered Jews among the POWs in Durchgangslager (Dulag) 121 in Gomel'. The policemen stripped them in the severe cold and poured water on them so that they would freeze to death.

After the German occupation of Gomel', Jews were soon identified with the help of the local population and required to wear special yellow marks on their chests and backs. In September or October 1941, four separate ghettos were created in Gomel'. The resettlement of the Jews lasted about a week. On only half an hour's notice, they were escorted away, carrying with them nothing but bed linen. Later, local policemen and Germans returned to Jewish houses and took everything of value; what remained was put in a warehouse.²

The main ghetto in Gomel' was in the Monastyrsk district. It housed some 800 Jews from the center of the city. The second ghetto was on Novo-Lubenskaia Street. It held about 500 people, including 97 Jews who were brought to Gomel' from Loiev. The third ghetto was on Bikhovskaia Street. The Jews who lived in Novo-Belitsa, on the left bank of the

Sozh River, were put into a separate ghetto. In September 1941, 200 ghetto inmates were moved from Novo-Belitsa to Monastyrek. They were tortured, and the beards of the religious Jews were cut off.³

Very cramped quarters, unsanitary conditions, no medical care, and a lack of rudimentary conveniences were typical of all four ghettos. A single room of 20 square meters (215 square feet) was usually shared by seven people or more. They had almost no belongings, making housing them easier. The number of ghetto inmates rapidly declined due to disease, transfers, and killings.

Before the war, the Monastyrek district of Gomel' was populated by workers. It consisted mainly of one-room houses, with several families living in each. When the district became a ghetto, to accommodate more people, all the inner partitions in the houses were demolished, and three-tiered bunks were installed. All the inmates of the ghetto, including infants, were registered, and a list was compiled of specialists and intellectuals. The German authorities promised good jobs and meals, but in return the Jews were required to hand over all their money, furs, and gold and silver articles. After this initial demand was met, the Germans soon came back asking for more.

This procedure took place in all of Gomel's ghettos. Threatening to shoot hostages, the Germans collected wedding rings, gold and silver articles, coins, laundry and toilet soap, bedding, linen, clothing, and other items. German soldiers in groups and individually would go on "excursions" to Jewish houses, where they took all they wanted. Belorussian policemen followed suit.

The food was bad. Ghetto inmates, as well as POWs, were given a gruel made of buckwheat skins, barley bran, or frozen potatoes mixed with water. Later the inmates were given 150 to 200 grams (5.3 to 7 ounces) daily of "ersatz bread" made of acorns—and not even that every day. Not everyone received the gruel because they did not have their own dishes. Sometimes the food was just dumped into hats or cupped hands.

A significant number of Jews in the ghetto had large families or were aged or sick. Most of the inmates were women and children. There were almost no adult men or youths of draft age. Few of the elderly retained their illusions of the Germans as "a cultured nation" that had left the Jews alone in 1918 and even protected them from Russian "pogromists."

The ghettos were guarded vigilantly, and under threat of severe punishment, it was forbidden to leave them without special permission. Schwech, the military commandant of Gomel', issued an order that "all contact with Jews, such as greetings, handshakes, or conversation, must be avoided." It was prohibited to exchange goods and food, to communicate, or to pass on information. Those who violated the rules were beaten, deprived of food, and sent to penal jobs. Often such punishment was carried out in public as a lesson to others. Jews could be killed with impunity for any misdemeanor. Leaving the ghetto was allowed for only two reasons: going to work or transporting the dead to the cemetery. All inhabitants of the ghetto, including family members, were punished and could even be shot for leaving the ghetto without permission.⁴

Ghettos served as places where Jews were assembled and isolated for rapid extermination. Thus there were no long-term programs, health services, or sanitation measures. The inmates had to fend for themselves. Like the ghettos of the entire region, the ghettos in Gomel' resembled concentration camps. Jews were seldom sent to do work vitally needed for the city, the region, or the Wehrmacht. More often they were assigned to odd jobs—cutting firewood, rooting out stumps, sweeping and cleaning streets, emptying garbage pits, burying corpses, and removing unexploded mines, shells, and bombs. At railroad stations, Jews cleaned and washed carriages, loaded and unloaded them, moved sleeping cars, and cleaned spur tracks, roads, and the aerodrome.⁵ At work, they were beaten with canes and whips, and the weak and the sick were shot. Refusal to go to work could end tragically. In Gomel', in September 1941, it was decreed that every fifth inmate would be shot if someone did not report for labor.⁶

Jews were deliberately not assigned professional jobs. Instead, intellectuals, doctors, teachers, engineers, and other professionals were given hard manual labor. Often they were forced to perform deliberately senseless and humiliating tasks—to drag big carts with tubs of water; to carry bricks, firewood, and garbage from one place to another; to dig pits and then fill them up again. Only in dire need did the Germans fall back on the expertise of Jewish "specialists," for whom temporary exceptions were made. An order of September 28, 1941, issued to the SS-Cavalry Brigade, which was operating in the region, read: "It is understood that craftsmen may be spared."⁷

From August through December 1941, the German occupiers systematically carried out the extermination of the Jews in Gomel'. They killed the first group of 10 people on the pretext that they had participated in sabotage shortly after the Germans entered the city. In October 1941, 52 Jews "who had posed as Russians" were executed. On the orders of Kommandant Preis-Müller, Sonderführer Hartman and Kracht murdered more Jews in the woods near Davidovka village on October 7 and 22.⁸ Besides units of Einsatzgruppe B, SS units subordinated to the Reichsführer-SS headquarters staff, units of the Order Police, the Secret Field Police, the Gendarmerie, and other locally based units took part in the execution of Jews.⁹

Some of the Gomel' Jews died in prison and labor camps in the city itself and elsewhere in the Gomel' region. Hundreds of Jews died at the peat extraction site in Kabanovka and at other labor camps to which they had been moved from detention centers and ghettos. Executions were carried out in the prison yard, on the Gomel'-Chernigov highway, and at the third-, sixth-, and ninth-kilometer markers on the Rechitsa highway, among other sites. Most of those killed were shot at kilometer 3 (mile 1.9) of the Rechitsa highway, near the grounds of the machine-tractor repair shop and in the Leshchinets Forest area not far from Davidovka village.¹⁰

Burial of the dead was conducted with mockery. Excrement was dumped into the ditch with the bodies. Beginning in November 1941, crowds of German soldiers and officers would gather at the ditch with the bodies of those shot, laughing

merrily and taking photographs. These activities took place almost daily as new German units arrived in the city.¹¹

Early in November 1941, a notice in big letters appeared on the wall of the timber mill. It said that on the following day, under pain of death, no inhabitants were allowed to leave home before 9:00 A.M. By 6:00 A.M. the next morning, all the policemen of the third police district in Gomel' arrived at Monastyrek. Soon, about 100 men under the command of the Security Police showed up as well. Some of the policemen encircled the area of the ghetto. The others, together with the Germans, began driving Jews out of their homes by force. Inhabitants were not allowed to take anything with them. Several members of the eviction party put a bucket on the head of an old man and made him dance while they pounded on the bucket with sticks and laughed. Two mentally retarded youths were shot on the spot in their own house.¹²

By 10:00 A.M. the roundup was over. Six trucks were provided for those who could not walk on their own in the ragged column of those on foot. Children were tossed into the trucks "like heads of cabbage." The column was halted near the machine-tractor repair shop, where there was an antitank ditch. The Jews were forced to lie down in the ditch and then were shot with submachine guns. Many of them were buried alive. Eyewitnesses recounted that "the earth was breathing and steaming."¹³ According to a report of Einsatzgruppe B, 2,365 Jews were "executed" in Gomel' in a special Aktion, which probably took place in November 1941.¹⁴

While Jews were being driven from the Monastyrek ghetto to the site of their execution, Vera Kozlova helped save Lazar Mill, from Gomel', and his friend David, who was from Novo-Belitsa. The young woman hid the pair in the attic of her house and later provided them with women's clothes that they used to escape safely from Gomel' to Novo-Belitsa over the Sozh River bridge. Lazar and David managed to find local partisans and joined their unit.¹⁵

Khana Khoroshina had ended up in the ghetto with her parents and younger brother. In November 1941, she fooled the guards and found shelter with the family of her school friend Ania Dereviashkin. The Dereviashkins hid her in the daytime and at night took her to another friend, Lida Mikhalkina, who at dawn escorted her back to the Dereviashkins. This procedure continued until May 1942, when Khana got the chance to become a guide for a blind woman who was going to the Krasnogorsk raion in Briansk oblast' of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR). Khana stayed there in a village until the Soviet army arrived.

In March 1942, a number of Jews were captured by the Gendarmerie in the countryside around Gomel' and were taken to the Gomel' prison, where they were subsequently shot by men of the Security Police.¹⁶

During 1942, Heinrich Himmler created special units known as Sonderkommando 1005, led by SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel. Their task was to reopen graves, exhume and burn the corpses, and take other steps to conceal mass burial sites.¹⁷ A detachment of Sonderkommando 1005 was active in Gomel'. Jews, POWs, and local inhabitants removed bodies

from the pits and burned them in piles. Then tractors plowed up the ground, and it was sown with grass. The Red Army drove German forces out of Gomel' on November 26, 1943, in the Gomel'-Rechitsa offensive. During the years of occupation, the population of Gomel' had decreased from 145,217 in 1941 to 47,163 in May 1944, 32.5 percent of the pre-war level.¹⁸

When the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) arrived in Gomel', it determined that during the occupation the Germans and their accomplices had exterminated tens of thousands of people in prisons, four ghettos, and five POW camps.¹⁹ Mass graves were discovered in the following locations: an antitank ditch on the grounds of Brilevsky Garden (2,500 victims); 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from Gomel' in the woods between the villages of Davidovka and Leshchinets (12,000 victims); in the woods at the 7 kilometer (4.4 mile) marker on the Rechitsa highway beyond Davidovka (1,080 victims); 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) from Gomel' on the other side of Davidovka (5,000 victims); on the grounds of the city jail (126 victims); and on Plekhanov Street (160 victims). Many Jews were among those shot in the antitank ditch on the grounds of the machine-tractor repair shop (6,000 people).²⁰

SOURCES The following publications provide information on the ghettos in Gomel' and the extermination of the city's Jewish population: *Gomel' Oblast'* (Gomel', 1988); Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh primuditel'nogo soderzhaniiia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941-1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), pp. 28-29; Daniel Romanovsky, "Skol'ko evreev pogiblo v promyshlennykh raionakh Vostochnoi Belorussii v nachale nemetskoii okkupatsii (iul'-dekabr' 1941g.);" *Vestnik evreiskogo universiteta* 22 (2000); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaiia Navuka, 2000), pp. 213-214; "Kak eto bylo. Poslednie dni Gomel'skogo getto," *Edinstvo* (Gomel'), nos. 5-6 (1991); Aron Shneer, *Plen*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem, 2003); Leonid Smilovitsky, "Ghettos in the Gomel Region: Commonalities and Unique Features, 1941-42," available at www.jewishgen.org/Belarus/newsletter/GomelGhettos.htm. The book *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004), p. 58, contains information on people from Gomel' honored as Righteous Among the Nations.

Documents regarding the fate of the Jewish population of Gomel' can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRAGO (file 234, vol. 6); GAGOMO (1345-1-9 and 15); GAOOGO; GARF (7021-85-217, 7021-85-413, 7021-85-415); NARA (N-Doc. NO-5520); NARB (4-33a-65, 861-1-12); RGASPI (69-1-818); USHMM; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-85-217, p. 14.
2. NARB, 861-1-6, p. 4.
3. GARF, 7021-85-413, p. 15; 7021-85-415, p. 40.
4. GAGOMO, 1345-1-9, pp. 4, 181-203, 226-227.

5. Ibid., 1345-1-15, pp. 3–6.
6. NARB, 861-1-12, p. 25.
7. RGASPI, 69-1-818, p. 142.
8. From information addressed to P.K. Ponomarenko, secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party (Bolshevik), Belorussian Republic, GAOOGO, 144-5-1, p. 5.
9. YVA, O-53/3.
10. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, p. 105.
11. YVA, M-33/479, p. 12; M-33/480, p. 42.
12. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, testimony of Tamara Kirick (born 1926).
13. Ibid., testimony of Adelia Bel'skaia (born 1904).
14. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 8 (December 1–31, 1941), in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion, 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 268.
15. AUKGBRBGO, file 234, vol. 6, testimony of Vera Kozlova (born 1919).
16. NARA, N-Doc. NO-5520, statement of Wilhelm Förster.
17. Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozhenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoj okkupsatii, 1941–1944: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 29.
18. GAOOGO, 144-5-6, pp. 167–168, 218.
19. GAGOMO, 1345-1-12, p. 34.
20. From a report addressed to P.K. Ponomarenko, secretary of the Central Committee, Communist Party (Bolshevik), Belorussian Republic, GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 11.

GOMEL' (VITEBSK OBLAST')

Pre-1941: Gomel', village, Vetrino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gomel, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Homel', Polatsk raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

In the village of Gomel', located 21 kilometers (13 miles) south of Polotsk, the Jewish population in 1920 was 129 (out of a total population of 140).

The area was occupied by the German army in July 1941 and came under the administration of Rear Area, Army Group Center. In October 1941, 18 Jews, most or all of them men, were killed near the village of Sviatitsa, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of Gomel', by a German squad that had arrived from Vetrino. The victims were forced to dig their own grave. Zalman Kurman was forced to bury those killed, after which he was also killed. The rest of the Gomel' Jews, 80 people, were assembled in three houses; they were killed in January 1942, most probably by the same unit that perpetrated the murder of the Jews in Voronichi, close to the nearby village Dvor-Gomel' (1 kilometer [0.6 mile] north of Gomel'). The list of victims of the German occupiers in Gomel' compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) in 1945 contains the names of 93 Jews. One Jewish woman married to a non-Jew survived both massacres.

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the Vetrino raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-210).

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GORKI

Pre-1941: Gorki, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Horki, raen center, Mabilou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Gorki is located 60 kilometers (38 miles) northeast of Mogilev. In 1926, there were 2,343 Jews in Gorki, or 27.8 percent of the total population; in Gory, 14 kilometers (8.7 miles) east of Gorki, there were 355 Jews. In 1939, 2,031 Jews lived in the town, making up 16.3 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Gorki raion (without the town of Gorki) numbered 510 people, the largest number of whom lived in the small town of Gory and the village of Lenino (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] northeast of Gorki).

Gorki is the site of the Belorussian Agricultural Academy. Thus the authorities were most interested in evacuating the academy's equipment, students, and workers, including many Jews among the latter, who were evacuated in advance and in an organized manner. On June 27, Gorki underwent the first air raid, suffering heavy bombing. The authorities called on the population not to panic, which was interpreted as a prohibition on leaving the town without permission, but at the same time they started to organize the evacuation of state property and officials. On July 3 and 6, 1941, respectively, two evacuation trains left the local railway station, taking mainly students and workers from the academy. Then the raion party committee left Gorki. Some of the local Jews who did not work or study at the academy tried to evacuate on their own, mainly on foot.

Although many Jews left the town after July 6, the main flight from Gorki, according to eyewitness accounts, took place on July 12, hours before the town's capture by the Germans. Hundreds of people, both Jews and non-Jews, tried to leave; some of them perished during an aerial bombardment that day, many were intercepted by advancing German forces, and others succeeded in fleeing the town.

The German forces (XLVI Army Corps of the 4th Panzer Army, formerly 2nd Panzer Group) entered Gorki from the south on July 12, 1941. They were followed by units of the IX Army Corps, belonging to the 2nd Army. From August 1941, Gorki was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. This area was the realm of the 286th Security Division; Gorki was under the control of Feldkommandantur 199.

When the Germans were entering Gorki, two young Komsomol members, "carrying out Stalin's order" (regarding scorched-earth tactics), set fire to the town, and part of Gorki burned. One of the arsonists, Faikin, was Jewish. According to a survivor's account, he managed to hide in the countryside but in 1942 was found by the Germans, most probably after some locals denounced him. One witness says that in 1942 she saw Faikin hanging on the gallows, with a board on his chest bearing the inscription: "I am a yid. When the Germans were coming, I carried out Stalin's order to burn down the town."¹

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During the first days, the occupiers assembled the Jews on the square in front of the academy, formed them into a line, and announced their new regulations concerning the Jews. At this time, they imposed the wearing of “Jewish Stars” on clothing and established a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Gorki.²

Despite the fact that some witnesses mention a ghetto in Gorki, most probably there was no formal ghetto in the town. However, since much of the town had burned, the Jews were collected together in the area of town known as Mstislavskaia Hill, or Mstislavka, on Mstislavskaia and Internatsionalnaia Streets. The Jewish residential area in Mstislavka was not fenced in,³ but Jews were not permitted, or feared, to leave the area. Survivor accounts reflect a degree of fear towards the locals felt by the Jews.

Einsatzkommando 8 organized the mass murder of the Jews in Gorki on October 7, 1941.⁴ In the morning, the Germans and Belorussian police assembled all the Jews at the Mstislavka area and escorted them to the Belyi Ruchei Forest, where they shot them all. Einsatzgruppe B reported that 2,200 Jews had been “liquidated in eight localities” in the Gorki area. It is unclear how many of these Jews were from Gorki. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of Jewish victims in the town at 300 people.⁵

Elsewhere in the raion, no fewer than 34 Jews were killed in Gory, and at least 19 Jews were killed in the suburban kolhoz “3-ia Piatiletka” on the outskirts at Sloboda, most probably in August or September 1941. After an initial killing Aktion, a small ghetto composed of only two houses was established in Lenino for the few surviving Jews and those from nearby villages; they were killed later, in Gorki.⁶ No fewer than 20 Jews were killed in the village of Rudkovshchina, 22 kilometers (14 miles) northwest of Gorki along the P-15 road. Two Jews were killed in nearby Vereshchaki. One Jew was killed in the Sharipy sel’sovet (12 to 13 kilometers [about 8 miles] northwest of Gorki). In the village of Naprasnovka, Maslaki sel’sovet (25 kilometers [15.5 miles] west-northwest of Gorki), according to the interrogations made by the ChGK, on March 22, 1942, German forces killed 250 Jews; before the massacre, they imposed a “contribution” in gold and valuables on the Jews and beat them severely. The victims were buried in eight pits, 200 meters (219 yards) west of Naprasnovka.⁷

SOURCES The book by W.M. Livshyts, *Isblo w byassmertsa Horatskae beta* (Orsha, 1995), contains a short description of the Holocaust in Gorki and a list of the victims.

The documents of the ChGK for the Gorki raion can be found in GARF (7021-88-36). Relevant German documentation is located in BA-BL and BA-MA (RH 26-286/6). Witness statements can be found in YVA (O-3/4657-67) and VHF (# 42387).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/4660.
2. Ibid., O-3/4659.
3. VHF, # 42387, mentions a “Jewish street” but notes that it was not enclosed by barbed wire.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

4. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133.
5. GARF, 7021-88-36.
6. Stefan Yevmenenko, YVA O-3/4666. See also **Lenino**.
7. GARF, 7021-88-36, pp. 9–10. See also **Naprasnovka**.

GORODETS

Pre-1941: Gorodets, village, Rogachev raion, Gomel’ oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Gorodez, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Haradzets, Rabachou raen, Homel’ voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Gorodets is located about 85 kilometers (53 miles) north-northwest of Gomel’. In 1926, the Jewish population of Gorodets was 607, comprising 69 percent of the total.

German forces occupied the village on July 9, 1941. Many Jews managed to flee east into the Soviet interior. According to the *Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, in September 1941, the Jews in Gorodets, composed of 200 local Jews and 400 refugees from Bobruisk and other settlements, were concentrated within a large building where they were confined for a month under conditions of overcrowding, starvation, and abuse. In October the Jews were brought to the Brogtsev camp, and then on November 6, most of them were executed nearby. Those that escaped this Aktion were murdered in February 1942.

One Soviet source also indicates that the German occupying authorities established a ghetto in Gorodets in September 1941, which existed for about one month before it was liquidated in October.¹

SOURCES Publications mentioning the fate of the Jews of Gorodets during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 445; and Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 108; and Leonid Smilovitsky, “Ghettos in the Gomel Region: Commonalities and Unique Features, 1941–42,” available at www.jewishgen.org/Belarus/newsletter/GomelGhettos.htm.

Documentation relating to the ghetto in Gorodets can be found in the following archive: GAGOMO (1345-1-15).

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NOTE

1. GAGOMO, 1345-1-15, p. 55.

GORODOK

Pre-1941: Gorodok, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Haradok, raen center, Vitebsk voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Gorodok is located 38 kilometers (24 miles) north-northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 1,584 Jews lived in the town, making up 21.7 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Gorodok raion (without the town of Gorodok) constituted 136 people.

German forces (18th Motorized Division of the LVII Army Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group) occupied Gorodok on July 11, 1941.¹ Before its capture, the Luftwaffe bombed the town heavily on July 4. This early air raid, as well as the fact that Gorodok was situated on a railway, precipitated the evacuation and mass flight of much of the town's population, including many Jews. After the war, Gorodok had a comparatively large Jewish population,² which probably indicates that quite a number of Jews successfully left the town.

Gorodok was administered by Rear Area, Army Group Center; it was situated in the realm of the 403rd Security Division and Ortskommandantur 763, which was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 815. The names of the local collaborators of the Nazis are not well documented. A survivor stated that the registration of the Jews in Gorodok was carried out by someone called Binya Shklyar; it is unclear whether he was the chairman of the Jewish Council (Judenrat).

Shortly after the beginning of the occupation, the German authorities registered all the Jews, and then they introduced the wearing of yellow patches on their clothes and forced labor. Eyewitnesses recollect that some labor tasks were of a purely humiliating character. For example, one day the Jews of Gorodok were forced to pull up grass in the town using their bare hands. On another occasion, according to an eyewitness account, the Germans organized the systematic robbery of the Jews. A witness recalls: "Germans, together with local policemen [*politsais*] entered the more affluent Jewish houses, dragged out their property, showed the [Belo-] Russians the Jewish belongings, and suggested that people take some of it; but the best things were taken by [the Germans] themselves." According to the witness, some Belorussians took Jewish possessions, but others refused.³ The same witness recalls a pogrom that took place in the town: "A real pogrom, I knew about such things only from books!"⁴ At the same time, according to another witness, the Germans did not close the synagogue in Gorodok initially, and some Jews gathered for prayer there; some others, however, feared that the Germans would take them from the synagogue and gathered for a *minyān* in a private house on Karl-Marx Street.⁵

From July 20 to the middle of August 1941, a subunit (Teilkommando) of Sonderkommando 7a was based in Gorodok. In charge of the Teilkommando was Obersturmführer Richard Foltis of the SD. During this period the Jewish Council was established. Sonderkommando 7a, under the command of Dr. Walter Blume, organized the first, "partial" shooting of Jews in the town in the first half of August. On the day of the Aktion, the Teilkommando, reinforced by other men from Sonderkommando 7a, assembled 120 to 200 people, healthy men and several young and healthy women, under the pretext of assigning them to construction work. The people were told to report to the assembly place with

shovels. The order did not alarm the Jews (since forced labor was a routine occurrence). Once the people had assembled, the Germans escorted them to the village of Berezovka (1.5 kilometers [about 1 mile] south of the town) and shot them there. During the Aktion, a Jewish man was shot while trying to escape.⁶ Only after this first shooting did the Germans establish a ghetto in Gorodok for the remaining Jewish population.

The ghetto was situated in the center of town, on a slope, a steep bank of the Gorozhanka River. It was fenced on three sides with barbed wire, and on the fourth side, the river formed its boundary. According to witnesses, the fence was erected within two weeks of the Jews being resettled into the ghetto area. At the highest point of the ghetto fence, a watchtower was built, and a guard watched over the ghetto. The ghetto consisted of a building belonging to a former technical college (*tekhnikum*) and several houses. The *tekhnikum* building was in poor condition: its windowpanes were broken, as were the stoves.

The ghetto prisoners did not receive any food. Some children managed to get through the barbed wire and bring some food into the ghetto. However, contagious diseases soon spread among the ghetto population. Thus there was a high rate of mortality inside the ghetto. The corpses were taken from the rooms to a corridor. From time to time, the Germans took out small groups of Jews and murdered them. For example, several days after the ghetto was established, on one morning, the Germans took 20 Jews out of the ghetto and shot them.

At some stage, the ghetto prisoner Sonya Dobromyslova, "Di Sheine," in an attempt to stop the epidemics, succeeded in persuading the town's authorities to permit the ghetto's Jews to wash themselves in the public bath adjacent to the ghetto perimeter and to cleanse themselves of lice. The Jews washed themselves, but after a few days, local policemen entered the ghetto and took a rather large group of Jews to be shot.

On October 14, 1941, the Gorodok ghetto was liquidated; its remaining 394 inhabitants were shot on the pretext of the danger of epidemics spreading to the non-Jewish population.⁷ On that day at 4:00 A.M., the Germans and the local police escorted the remaining Jews through the Volkov Posad area of the town to the forest at the Vorob'evy Hills. The route was exhausting (the path went uphill), and many ghetto inmates were old, and all were emaciated, so the guards shot some Jews on the way. At the Vorob'evy Hills, members of the SS shot the Jews in pits that had been dug beforehand. After the mass shooting, the ghetto was burned down.

SOURCES A rather small book on non-Jews who rescued Jews in the Vitebsk region, by A. Shulman and M. Ryvkin, *Porodnennyye voinoi* (Vitebsk, 1997), describes, among other things, the Holocaust in Gorodok. The article by A. Shulman, "Evreiskii Gorodok," *Mishpokha* 4 (1998), also deals with the ghetto of Gorodok.

Documentation on the Holocaust in the Gorodok raion can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/220); GARF (7021-84-5); LG-Ess (29 Ks 2/65); and YVA (TR 10/388 and TR 10/388a; O-3/4602-4607).

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NOTES

1. N.K. Andriushchenko, *Na zemle Belorussii letom 1941 goda* (Minsk, 1985), pp. 143–144.
2. According to Shulman, in 1980 there were 202 people in Gorodok whose nationality recorded on their passports was “Jew.” See Shulman, “Evreiskii Gorodok,” p. 54.
3. YVA, O-3/4603 (Anna Kuksinskaya).
4. Ibid. Some hints on the pogrom may also be found in Shulman and Ryvkin, *Porodnennyye voinoi*, p. 29.
5. YVA, O-3/4607 (Galina Bukhbinder).
6. Ibid., O-3/4602, 4603, 4605, and 4607; LG-Ess, 29 Ks 2/65, verdict of December 22, 1966. See also *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakbvatnikov*, vyp. 12, p. 58.
7. BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 149.

GRODZIANKA

Pre-1941: Grodzianka, town, Osipovichy raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Grodziejanka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Hradzianka, Asipovichy raen, Mabilion voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Grodzianka is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) northwest of Bobruisk. According to the 1939 census, there were 150 Jews living in Grodzianka, out of a total population of 1,247.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the village on July 1, 1941, about 10 days after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. In this intervening period, a small part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were inducted into the Red Army. Following the occupation of the village, the German military commandant appointed a village elder (starosta) named Mukin, the former director of the post office, and organized a Belorussian police force (Ordnungsdienst) consisting of local residents.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Grodzianka. Jews were registered and forced to wear patches in the shape of the Star of David; they had to perform heavy labor without pay; and they were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village.

On August 15, 1941, German security forces conducted a first Aktion in the village. In its course, a few dozen Jews (probably mainly Jewish men) were rounded up and taken to the Christian cemetery. Apparently this site was chosen as a special humiliation for some of the Jews who still observed their religion. Threatening them with automatic weapons, the Germans forced the Jews to dig a long trench in the cemetery. Then the Germans made them lie down in groups in the trench, where they shot them in the back of the head. For several days afterwards, the ground continued to move on top of the mass grave.¹

In the summer or fall of 1941, the Germans ordered the Jews of Grodzianka, together with Jews from the surrounding small villages, to move into a small ghetto. After the Jews were rounded up and resettled into the ghetto, some local inhabitants stole the property that was left behind in the va-

cated houses, arguing that the Jews would not need these items anymore. The ghetto was located near the railway not far from the post office in the former Vinokur house: a long structure made of wood, which was reminiscent of a barracks. The house was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the local police. Because the available accommodation was insufficient, some Jews had to sleep on the floor or even outside. The German authorities did not provide the Jews with food. The Jews, including some children, had to sneak out of the ghetto at great risk to beg or barter for food from their non-Jewish neighbors. Some people helped them, but others chased them away immediately. It was only through such support in the village that the Jews could stay alive in the ghetto.²

The area around Grodzianka became a center of Soviet partisan resistance during the winter of 1941–1942. Some Jews from the village managed to escape from the ghetto and served with the Soviet partisans. Parents of young children also tried to smuggle them to safety by hiding them with non-Jews in the surrounding countryside. The Germans threatened to kill anyone caught hiding Jews, however, and many people were reluctant to give them shelter. In Grodzianka, the Germans and local police could shoot a Jew with impunity if they were in a bad mood or as a reprisal for the latest partisan attack.³

The ghetto in Grodzianka was liquidated on March 4, 1942, when 86 of the 92 Jews then present in the ghetto were shot. The shooting was carried out on the instructions of the commander of Kampfgruppe Dietrich, Police Captain Karl Dietrich. This Kampfgruppe had been formed in Mogilev in late February 1942 to combat partisans; it consisted of four companies of Ukrainian police, with German SS and police officials playing leadership roles in these companies. In response to several partisan attacks against the German outposts in the area between Klichev and Cherven', Kampfgruppe Dietrich was combing the region from east to west in early March 1942, when it encountered the small ghetto in Grodzianka. The shooting itself was conducted by Ukrainian police of the 2nd Company, commanded by Police Lieutenant Willi Schulz. The Ukrainians escorted the Jews, mostly women, the elderly, and children, under close guard to a large pit that had been dug on the morning of the Aktion on the edge of the forest. The Ukrainians shot the Jews in the pit, using rifles and pistols. After a time, the scene at the mass grave became increasingly chaotic, with the Ukrainians shooting almost randomly at the Jews who had been herded into the pit, with the result that many of the victims may only have been wounded when the pit was covered with earth.⁴

In the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the names of 93 murdered Jews are listed.⁵

For the shooting of Jews in Grodzianka, as well as for other crimes, Willi Schulz was sentenced in 1967 to six years and six months in prison.

SOURCES Publications containing relevant information about the murder of the Jews of Grodzianka include: *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vols. 22 (Lfd. Nr. 604) and 25 (Lfd. Nr. 644); and

My ne mozhem molchat': Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste, Vypusk 4: Sbornik, comp. D.V. Prokudin, ed. I.A. Al'tman (Moscow: Tsentr i Fond "Kholokost," 2008), p. 31. The testimony of Ol'ga Lukashenko (Lanevskaia) can be accessed at www.mishpoha.org/library/04/0415.shtml.

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Grodzianka can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-82-5); NARB; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Testimony of Ol'ga Lukashenko (Lanevskaia), available at www.mishpoha.org/library/04/0415.shtml.

2. *Ibid.*; this source seems to imply that the ghetto was established before the August 1941 Aktion. See also, however, V. Zaitseva and V. Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta v Osipovichskom raione," in Al'tman, *My ne mozhem molchat'*, p. 31.

3. Testimony of Ol'ga Lukashenko.

4. See the verdict of Landgericht Detmold (2 Ks 1/65), December 22, 1965, against Karl Dietrich, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 22, Lfd. Nr. 604; and the verdict of Landgericht Detmold (2 Ks 2/66), February 16, 1967, against Willi Schulz, in *idem*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 644.

5. GARF, 7021-82-5, pp. 170-173.

IANOVICHI

Pre-1941: Ianovichy, town, Surazh raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Janowitschi, Rayon Surasch, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Ianovichy, Vitebsk raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ianovichy is located about 36 kilometers (22.5 miles) east-northeast of Vitebsk and 13 kilometers (8 miles) south of Surazh. Ianovichy had a more significant Jewish population than the raion center, Surazh. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, Ianovichy had 709 Jewish residents (34.8 percent of the total population). In the town of Surazh, there were 461 Jews in 1939 (15.4 percent of the population). The rural Jewish population of the Surazh raion (excluding the towns of Surazh and Ianovichy) was fewer than 100 people.

Ianovichy was captured by the Germans most likely on July 12, 1941, the same day as Surazh. According to the witnesses, an avalanche of refugees passed through Ianovichy from Vitebsk on July 9; not many Jews from Ianovichy joined this wave. The survivors blame local physician Dr. Yefim Lifshits, who had studied in Germany and who dissuaded local Jews from evacuating, claiming that the Germans were a "cultured people" and would not harm the Jews.

The mayor of the Ianovichy volost' under the German occupation was Vasilii F. Vysotskii. The Germans established a Jewish Council in Ianovichy; its head was Dr. Lifshits, and his deputy was Labkovskii, the pharmacist.

Jews had to perform forced labor, mainly improving roads and constructing a military airfield. The Jews who had been

members of the pre-war kolkhoz "International" continued their agricultural work. At the beginning of August, the Jews were registered, on the orders of the local German commandant, Daum.

In the neighboring town of Surazh, it appears that no ghetto was formed. The murder of the Jews of Surazh was one of the first Aktions in the region in which the Germans annihilated all the Jews in one location. Einsatzkommando 9 carried out the murder of the Jews of Surazh on August 15, in conjunction with an antipartisan operation.¹ The record of the exhumation carried out by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated that 674 persons were killed; some of the victims were not local Jews but Jewish refugees from Vitebsk who failed to leave Surazh before the Germans arrived.²

Sometime in the middle of August, Einsatzkommando 9 also sent a detachment to Ianovichy. This unit carried out the first mass shooting of Jews in the town; an eyewitness states that it was the same group that acted in Surazh: Schneider's detachment. On August 15 (according to other sources, August 17 or even 19), 1941, the detachment selected 149 Jews, mostly young and healthy men, with shovels, for some "forced labor." At the same time, the local police surrounded the town, cordoning off the exits. The SS took the men to a square in the town's center and ordered them to sit down on the ground, to look ahead and not to turn their heads. After all the men were assembled in the square, they were brought to Valki village, 1.5 to 2 kilometers (about 1 mile) southeast of the town, and shot there. The Einsatzkommando described those killed as "NKVD spies and political functionaries."³

Only after this first shooting was a ghetto established in Ianovichy. All non-Jews were resettled from an area adjacent to the Vitebsk road (Unishevskogo Street), and Jews were settled in this area. The ghetto was divided into two parts by the Tadulino road, and non-Jews were permitted to use this road. Jews and non-Jews were prohibited from communicating with one another. The ghetto was not provided with food, but there were some vegetable plots within its area, which helped the inmates sustain themselves. Some youngsters ventured through the barbed wire surrounding the ghetto and exchanged items for bread. Every time the Germans discovered that the barbed-wire fence was damaged, they beat Lifshits.

The ghetto was liquidated on September 10, 1941. On this day, Einsatzkommando 9 appeared once more in Ianovichy, assembled the rest of the ghetto population—women, children, and old people—brought them in trucks to the village of Zaitsevo, around 5 kilometers (about 3 miles) east-northeast of Ianovichy, and shot them there in an antitank ditch. The SS did not even attempt to conceal this Aktion. According to eyewitnesses (peasants of the Zaitsevo village), the first batch of victims that was brought to the execution site from the ghetto consisted of young girls; the Einsatzkommando men raped them and then shot them. Only after this was the rest of the ghetto population brought to the site, some in trucks, others on foot.⁴ The Einsatzgruppe reported that 1,025 Jews of Ianovichy "underwent special treatment" because of the danger of an epidemic.⁵

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The Jewish survivors from Ianovichi who were interviewed after the war refer to their wartime non-Jewish neighbors with great bitterness. For example, witness B.E. says that with the coming of the Germans, the attitude of the local population towards the Jews changed drastically: "The locals could come to a Jew and take away whatever they wanted, even a cow. . . . [Belo-]Russian boys turned their backs on the Jewish boys straight away, even those with whom [we] had studied at school. They broke off all communication [with Jews] openly/demonstratively . . . some pointed their finger at us: 'Jew-mug' [*zhidovskaia morda*]; they might also beat you with a stick."⁶ The non-Jewish witnesses from Ianovichi who were interviewed at the same time express no less acrimony towards their former Jewish neighbors, attesting that they were cowards. All this indicates that relations between Jews and non-Jews during the German occupation were poor. On the other hand, the same B.E. describes a peasant who came to the Tadulino road and threw a parcel of food over the ghetto fence.

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the former Surazh raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-13 and 13a). The events in Surazh and Ianovichi are mentioned in the Ereignismeldungen UdSSR nos. 73 and 92 of the SD. They were also discussed at the trial of the former members of Einsatzkommando 9 held in 1961 in Berlin; the materials of the trial can be found, for example, in YVA (TR-10/388 and TR-10/388a), as can eyewitness accounts of the events in Surazh and Ianovichi (O-3/4611-4618).

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NOTES

1. YVA, TR-10/388a (Berlin trial of members of Einsatzkommando 9 [Filbert] held in 1961), p. 47; the ChGK dates the mass murder of the Jews in Surazh as July 28 or August 2, 1941.
2. GARF, 7021-84-13, 7021-84-13a; YVA, TR-10/388.
3. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 73; see also YVA, O-3/4613, 4614, and 4615.
4. GARF, 7021-92-220.
5. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92; also YVA, TR-10/388, p. 69; also YVA, O-3/4614.
6. YVA, O-3/4614.

KHOLOPENICHI

Pre-1941: Kholopenichi, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Cholopenitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Khalopenichy, Krupki raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kholopenichi is located about 114 kilometers (71 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was 500 people. In addition, another 388 Jews resided in the remainder of the Kholopenichi raion. Most of these Jews probably resided in the small village of Shamki (Schamki), about 6 kilometers (4 miles) to the northwest of Kholopenichi, which had been founded as a Jewish agricultural colony

in the late nineteenth century and had a population of 310 Jews in 1925.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 5, 1941. During the occupation, which lasted until the summer of 1944, a German commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. An auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) was recruited from local inhabitants. In early October 1941, the 3rd Battalion of Infantry Regiment 354 was based in Kholopenichi and presumably ran the Ortskommandantur at that time.¹

Very little information is available about the living conditions of the Jews in Kholopenichi and Shamki during the summer of 1941. It is known that a number of refugees from other towns further to the west, including Minsk and Borisov, became trapped there by the German advance and were housed together with the local Jews. In nearby Zembin, the Jews were registered and moved into a ghetto by August 1941, on instructions from SS-Hauptsturmführer Werner Schönmann of Einsatzkommando 8, then based in Borisov. It is possible that a similar procedure was carried out in Kholopenichi, which also lay within Schönmann's area of operations. On the basis of evidence given in the trial of David Egof, the head of the Belorussian police in Borisov in the fall of 1941, and other investigative sources, historian Christian Gerlach and also *The Black Book with Red Pages* refer to the existence of ghettos in both Kholopenichi and Shamki by September 1941.

In late September 1941, a German punitive detachment of more than 100 men armed with submachine guns arrived in Kholopenichi. The unit was composed of a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 based in Borisov commanded by Schönmann, together with German soldiers of the 12th Company, Infantry Regiment 354,² and members of the local Belorussian police. On the pretext of resettling the Jewish population to another locality, the German soldiers went to all the Jewish houses and gathered the Jews on the premises of a social club. Those who were unable to walk were taken in carts. In total, around 800 people were collected there. Then under heavy guard, they all were escorted from the social club to the "Kamennyi log" (Stone Ravine) 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town, where they were shot. On that same day, also at the Kamennyi log, the punitive detachment shot a number of additional Jews who had been brought there from the village of Shamki. The German punitive detachment forced 36 local inhabitants, at gunpoint, to bury the corpses. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report estimates that altogether the German detachment shot 1,600 "innocent citizens" from Kholopenichi and Shamki.³ However, in light of the 1939 population figures and the likelihood that some Jews had managed to evacuate, the total number of victims was probably just over half this number.

According to the report of the Einsatzgruppen no. 124, dated October 25, 1941, a large Aktion was conducted in Cholopenitschi (Kholopenichi), in which 822 Jews were "liquidated." The alleged reason for the complete liquidation of the Jews there was to prevent them from providing any possible support to the numerous partisans said to be operating in the area.⁴

SOURCES The existence of a “ghetto” in Kholopenichi is mentioned in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 229; and Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), pp. 586–587, which cites a number of German investigative sources. Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 126, however, refer only to a site of destruction of the Jewish population.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Kholopenichi and Shamki can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/218); BA-L; BA-MA (RH 26-221/14b); GARF (7021-87-16); NARB (861-1-8, p. 195); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8).

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b.
2. The Aktion in Kholopenichi is mentioned in the diary of Richard Heidenreich, as cited by Hannes Heer, “Killing Fields: Die Wehrmacht und der Holocaust,” in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1995), p. 61. According to the research of Christian Gerlach (*Kalkulierte Morde*), however, the Aktion is misdated in this source as taking place in October—other more reliable sources indicate September 25, 1941.
3. GARF, 7021-87-16, p. 4. This source dates the Aktion in early September 1941.
4. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.

KHOTIMSK

Pre-1941: Khotimsk, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Chotimsk, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Khotsimsk, raen center, Mabiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Khotimsk is located about 168 kilometers (105 miles) east-southeast of Mogilev. The Jewish population in 1939 was 786 (roughly a quarter of the total).

German forces of Army Group Center occupied Khotimsk on August 15, 1941, less than seven weeks after the German attack on the Soviet Union. During that interval, a number of Jews managed to evacuate to the east, while the local authorities called up eligible men to serve in the Red Army. However, several hundred Jews remained in Khotimsk under the Germans. Throughout the occupation, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed Khotimsk. The Ortskommandantur established an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants.

By order of the military commandant soon after the occupation, the local authorities registered the Jews, required them to wear distinguishing patches, and assigned them to various kinds of forced labor. Jews were also forbidden to leave the town on pain of death.

Little information is available about the living conditions of the remaining Jews in Khotimsk between the summer of 1941 and the summer of 1942. It appears that some Jews from other towns where massacres had already occurred arrived in Khotimsk, warning the inhabitants of their likely fate.

On July 12, 1942, the Germans collected the Jewish population of Khotimsk in the building of a Jewish school under the guise of registration and tortured them in various ways. During this roundup, they shot 24 Jews.¹ The Jews were then held in the school building as a makeshift ghetto for almost two months, under conditions of hunger and overcrowding. During this period some Jews were taken to prepare large pits. Fearing the worst, the pharmacist poisoned himself and his family, rather than submit to being shot by the Germans.² On September 3–5, 1942, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B, assisted by men of Reserve Police Battalion 91 (which was stationed in Khotimsk from July 1942), shot more than 300 Jews, mostly women, children, and the elderly, at the site of the flax mill.³

A number of Jews were active in the Soviet partisan groups in the Khotimsk region, including Boris Veniaminovich Levortov, who was decorated with the order of the Red Banner. Soviet partisan detachments disrupted German communications and blew up trains.⁴

SOURCES Relevant publications concerning the fate of the Jews in Khotimsk during the Nazi-German occupation include *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 471; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 621.

Information concerning the extermination of the Jews in Khotimsk may be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAMO; GARF (7021-88-47 and 532); NARA (T-315, reel 1678); NARB (4683-3-1047); USHMM (RG-22.002M); VHF (# 44385); and YVA.

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trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. NARA, T-315, reel 1678, p. 72, KTB Sich. Div. 221 Ia, July 12, 1942; GARF, 7021-88-532, p. 18. These sources corroborate each other, giving July 12, 1942, as the date of ghettoization. On the existence of a ghetto, see also NARB, 4683-3-1047, p. 58.
2. VHF, # 44385, testimony of Galina Myrkinina (born 1923), interviewed in 1998.
3. BA-L, ZStL, V 205 AR 512/63, vol. 1, pp. 90, 155 ff., 213–214, and vol. 8, p. 1023. According to *Pamiats' Belarus'*, p. 471, the ghetto was liquidated on September 4, 1942, with 800 victims. This figure is almost certainly too high. GARF,

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7021-88-532, gives the figure of 652 Jewish victims, probably for the entire German occupation.

4. David Meltzer and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 387–389.

KLICHEV

Pre-1941: Klichev, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Klitschew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Klichau, raen center, Mabiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Klichev is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) southwest of Mogilev. According to the 1939 Soviet census, there were 433 Jews living in Klichev.

German forces of Army Group Center captured the area around Klichev in early July 1941. Some Jews managed to escape in time to the interior of the Soviet Union. According to some sources, the Germans established a ghetto in Klichev in the second half of 1941, which may have contained up to 600 Jews. In early 1942, German forces liquidated the ghetto, shooting 300 Jews at the Jewish cemetery.

In April 1942, German forces reported that Klichev had been captured by Soviet partisans, resulting in the burning of grain storage facilities. German forces recaptured the town shortly afterwards. The Red Army drove out the German occupation forces in the summer of 1944. A small number of Jews managed to survive the German occupation in and around Klichev, either in hiding or by joining the Soviet partisan forces, which were very active in this region.

SOURCES The ghetto in Klichev is mentioned in the following publications: *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995), p. 442; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belarускаia Navuka, 2000), pp. 292, 299, 309; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:108.

Martin Dean

KLIMOVICHI

Pre-1941: Klimovichi, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Klimovitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Klimavichy, raen center, Mabiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Klimovichi is situated 124 kilometers (77 miles) east-southeast of Mogilev. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, 1,693 Jews lived in the town, making up 17.7 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Klimovichi raion (without the town of Klimovichi) constituted 706 people, the bulk of whom lived in the town of Rodnia (16 kilometers [10 miles] southeast of Klimovichi) and in the villages of Lazovitsa (6

kilometers [4 miles] southeast of Klimovichi), Miloslavichi (25 kilometers [15.5 miles] northeast of Klimovichi), Khotovizh, and Karpachi (15 kilometers [9 miles] north of Klimovichi).

Klimovichi lies on a railway line. A more or less organized evacuation began on July 5, but it did not involve the whole population. For example, on July 14 all the Communist Party authorities (the raion committee, or *raikom*) with their families evacuated in 30 trucks;¹ there were some Jews among these party leaders. According to survivors, most of the Jews tried to leave the town independently in August 1941, many of them in horse-drawn carts. Some of the first refugees successfully escaped the Germans; those who left later and those who headed eastward, in the direction of Khotimsk and Roslavl', did not. According to witnesses, many of those who attempted to evacuate were forced to return to their houses, which had been completely plundered by the local population in the meantime.

German forces belonging to the 2nd Panzer Group (commanded by Heinz Guderian) took Klimovichi in the course of the Roslavl' operation. Roslavl', an important railway junction northeast of Klimovichi, fell to the Germans on August 3, 1941, thereby cutting off the main route out of town to the east. On August 9, 1941, the 3rd Panzer Division of the XXIV Army Corps entered Klimovichi. The Germans had captured the entire raion by October 8–10. Klimovichi came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. The 221st Security Division controlled the area;² Feldkommandantur 549 exerted authority in Klimovichi.

The Germans put together a local administration in Klimovichi in which a man named Ustinovich served; he is described by witnesses as "the chief of the Russian Gestapo." Appointed as Jewish elder was Froim Rodin, the former head of the town's fire brigade. The military authorities ordered Jews to affix "Jewish stars" to their clothes (on the chest and on the back) and to houses owned by Jews. Jews had to perform various types of forced labor and were subjected to many other restrictions on their liberty. The man who supervised Jewish forced labor was Shcherbakov, a former Russian member of the Jewish kolkhoz in Mikhailin.³

In the first days of the occupation, the Germans took 10 or 12 prominent Jewish men and formed a "committee" headed by Shcherbakov, which had to collect gold and any other valuables in the possession of Jews. When these men failed to collect the full sum that the Germans demanded, the latter took them and Rodin as hostages and placed them in the local prison, in the building of a former bank. After having held the hostages in the prison for about 10 days, the Germans and the local police (*politsais*) shot all of them except one, a bricklayer.

According to one account, the "contribution" that led to these murders was the second one; it was preceded by a first "contribution," which the Jews had collected in full. According to another account, in mid-October the Germans resettled the Jews of Klimovichi on one street, forming an "open ghetto."⁴

On November 6, 1941, the Belorussian police sent younger Jews to work near the alcohol plant. After that, the Germans and the *politsais* began to round up the rest of the Jews from their houses. The Jews were told to take warm clothes and

valuables with them. They were then brought along the Timonovo Road to the area of a former airfield, 500 meters (547 yards) south or southwest of Klimovichi, and placed in unused garages near the town's hospital. From this place, the Jews—who had been told to leave all their belongings in the garage—were taken in batches of 10 or 15 people and shot in a former fuel storage pit near the airfield. Men of the 221st Security Division organized the massacre, aided by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9.⁵ The witnesses attest that the killers were not the SS in black but “Germans in green uniform.” Some of the killing was perpetrated by the *politsais*; some children were killed with shovels rather than by guns. According to other accounts, the perpetrators tossed Jewish children into the pit, which contained some water, and the children drowned.⁶ Many were buried alive.

Some of those sent by the Germans to perform labor in the morning managed to survive. The *politsais* let them go home at 3:00 P.M. Many succeeded in fleeing from Klimovichi. According to some witnesses, it was German soldiers at the alcohol plant who warned the young Jews that their relatives were all being killed at this time.⁷

After the large-scale murder Aktion on November 6, the Germans sold items previously belonging to the Jews in a shop. The Germans kept the specialist workers alive, and together with the *politsais* they caught many of the Jews who had fled from Klimovichi on the day of the murder and put them into the prison. Witnesses estimate that together with the specialists there were about 80 Jews in the prison (and perhaps also in an adjacent house). After some days, these Jews were also sent to perform forced labor tasks.

Sometime in December (or on November 27–28) 1941, the SS came to Klimovichi and shot those Jews who had fled from the Aktion on November 6. The Jews were taken directly from their working place, led to “Chalk Hill,” the location of a former lime plant, and shot there. Again, some young Jews managed to flee.⁸ According to the survivor Leitus, in the first days of December, the Nazis transferred Jews from the nearby villages of Golovchin, Krugloe, and Pelshichi to Klimovichi, held them several days in a makeshift ghetto, and on December 12, killed them.⁹ It is unclear whether she is describing the same murder Aktion or another one.

The specialists were killed later, maybe in 1943, in the Vydrenka Forest, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of Jews killed in Klimovichi at 900; the same number was inscribed on the monument erected at the site of the large massacre by the victims' relatives in the late 1950s. The relatives reburied those who had been killed at Vydrenka and Chalk Hill at the same place, the site of the large massacre. Most probably, about 700 of these victims were killed on November 6, 1941: Einsatzgruppe B reported that as part of an antipartisan sweep conducted by units of Security Division 221, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 shot 786 Jews of both sexes in Klimovichi and Cherikov.¹⁰

In April 1943, some SS men appeared in Klimovichi. With the support of the Belorussian police and the “chief of the

Russian Gestapo” Ustinovich, they carried out the extermination of children of mixed origins (those with non-Jewish mothers and Jewish fathers). They assembled seven non-Jewish women married to Jews and put them in the local prison. Then they took away all their children, and on April 12 (or 13), 1943, in the night they killed them at the same prison, according to one witness, “without any of the children making a sound” (most probably, the children were poisoned). The children were buried at Vydrenka Hill. The same squad also carried out the murder of Gypsy women and of Belorussian women ill with certain diseases.¹¹

According to witnesses, Jewish and non-Jewish relations were quite good in Klimovichi both before and under the German occupation. Of those Jews who were in Klimovichi when the Germans entered the town, 15 managed to survive the German occupation—many of them because non-Jews hid them. Raya Shkolnikova was even hidden by a Belorussian policeman. Non-Jews provided Jews with food. At the same time, many Belorussians and Russians volunteered to serve in the police and collaborated with the Gestapo, participating in the denunciation of Jews. Many Jews were denounced by their former non-Jewish neighbors.

Elsewhere in the raion, in Miloslavichi, the Nazis shot no fewer than 115 Jews.¹² In Khotovizh, 40 Jewish and 7 Gypsy families were killed near the Jewish cemetery.¹³ At the kolkhoz “Bliung” (literally meaning “flourishing” in Yiddish; 7 kilometers [4.4 miles] north of Klimovichi), at least 8 Jews were killed, and in Kuleshovka (20 kilometers [12.4 miles] north of Klimovichi), 6 Jews. In the village of Khodun (18 kilometers [11.2 miles] north of Klimovichi), a Jewish woman married to a Belorussian was killed. In Rodnia on December 17 (another version: on the night of December 8–9), 1941, about 50 or 60 Jews were taken from their homes and shot in a depression near the Jewish cemetery.¹⁴ In Dubrovitsa (19 kilometers [11.8 miles] west of Klimovichi), 4 Jews were killed, and in nearby Popekhinka (17 kilometers [10.6 miles] west-southwest of Klimovichi), 1. In Pislitino (25 kilometers [15.5 miles] east of Klimovichi), 5 Jews were killed. In the sel'soviet Semenovka (15 kilometers [9.3 miles] southeast of Klimovichi), 2 Jews were killed.

SOURCES The essay by Sh. Ryvkin, “V Klimovichakh bylo tak,” appeared in Moshe Zhidovetski, ed., *Sbornik statei po evreiskoi istorii i literature* (Rehovot, Israel, 1992), pp. 857–876.

The documents of the ChGK for the Klimovichi raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-15 and 7021-88-38); relevant German documentation is located in BA-MA (RH 31-770 and RH 26-221/156); witness statements and other documentation can be found in YVA (O-3/4726–O-3/4736; and M-29. FR/213).

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NOTES

1. Ryvkin, “V Klimovichakh bylo tak,” p. 860.
2. BA-MA, RH 26-221/156.
3. Ryvkin, “V Klimovichakh bylo tak,” p. 863. It is unclear whether Shcherbakov was the mayor.

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4. GARF, 7021-88-38.
5. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941.
6. GARF, 7021-88-38.
7. Ryvkin, "V Klimovichakh bylo tak," p. 870.
8. Ibid., p. 871; also YVA, O-3/4730.
9. YVA, O-3/4732.
10. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941, p. 9.
11. Witnesses Polina Stelmakova and Tatyana Nemkina, YVA, O-3/4729, O-3/4735.
12. GARF, 7021-84-15.
13. *Pamiats': Klimavitskii raion* (Minsk: Universitetskoe, 1995), pp. 386–387.
14. GARF, 7021-84-15.

KOKKHANOVO

Pre-1941: Kokhanovo, village, Tolochin raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kochanowo, Rayon Tolotschin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kokhanau, Talachyn raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kokhanovo is situated about 27 kilometers (19 miles) east-southeast of Orsha. In 1926, the Jewish population of the village was 480.

German forces captured the village in early July 1941. According to Gennadii Vinnitsa, the ghetto was established in September 1941, on Orshanskaia Street; it took up half the street. Apart from the local Jews, Jewish inhabitants from the village of Galoshevo were also brought into the ghetto. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) reported that 300 people were confined within the ghetto, which was surrounded by a fence and barbed wire.¹ Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Germans ordered the shooting of 15 Jewish youths, apparently in reprisal for some real or suspected act of resistance. According to a local witness, the Solovei family, consisting of four people, was also killed by the Germans in punishment for the flight of 15-year-old Meyer Solovei from the ghetto.² Another ghetto inmate named Gil' escaped from the ghetto several times but was forced to return on each occasion, as he received no assistance from the population in the surrounding countryside.³

The mass killing of the ghetto Jews in Kokhanovo took place in January 1942. The killing site was at the Jewish cemetery near the railway; the pit was dug by Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) in advance. One source states that the Germans also had to use explosives because of the frozen ground. Before the killing, local policemen took the best clothes from the victims. After the mass shooting, local inhabitants were made to cover the corpses with earth. The ChGK estimated the number of victims at 228, mostly women, children, and the elderly.⁴

SOURCES The book by historian Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), deals briefly with the Holocaust in Ko-

khanovo (pp. 124–126). The documents of the ChGK for Kokhanovo can be found in GARF (7021-84-14).

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-84-14, p. 12.
2. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 124–126.
3. Leonid Smilovitsky, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941–1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), p. 183.
4. GARF, 7021-84-14, p. 12.

KOLYSHKI

Pre-1941: Kolyshki, village, Liozno raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kolishki, Rayon Liosno, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kalyshki, Liozna raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kolyshki is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) east of Vitebsk. Estimating from available census data for 1939, there were roughly 420 Jews living in Kolyshki on the eve of the German invasion of the Soviet Union.

Units of the German V Army Corps, 9th Infantry Army, occupied the Liozno area in mid-July 1941. Rayon Liosno became part of Rear Area, Army Group Center. There was no significant evacuation from Kolyshki, but some Jews managed to leave; at the same time, some refugees from other places, including Vitebsk and Ianovichi, were stranded in the village just at the moment the Germans arrived.

There was no formal ghetto in Kolyshki. Many Jewish houses were burned down during the fighting, and the small Jewish population of the village gathered together in a few intact Jewish houses. According to survivors, the Germans knew which houses were Jewish because non-Jewish boys showed them; Jewish houses were marked with distinctive symbols. The Germans ordered the Jews to wear yellow patches on their clothes; some witnesses state that the order was issued the day after the Germans entered the village,¹ while others date this order in August.² The Germans also confiscated all the cattle from the Jews.

Witnesses recollect the first months of the German occupation as a period of incessant robbery. Both the Germans and the local police (*politsais*) robbed the Jews. Everything could be taken away: food, clothes, matzot that remained after Passover, even Soviet state loan bonds.³ It was hard to distinguish organized confiscation from primitive robbery.

Some Jews were killed in the first months of the occupation. According to a survivor's account, a rather aged Jew was killed during the first days on the pretext that he was an arsonist who had set some houses in Kolyshki on fire. He was killed in the morning; the Germans who came to his home waited for him to finish his morning prayer, then took him out and killed him. (The witness Sofya Gorelik calls him

Daniil Pudovik; according to her, they forced him to dig a pit, then stunned him with a shovel and buried him alive.)⁴ The survivor Raisa Khamaida's father, Abram, was also killed by the Germans. Raisa recalls: "They came to our home and said: 'Give us some tobacco.' . . . But did we have tobacco? They brought my father to the courtyard—it was December 1941—and forced him to run around the house, and they beat him with rifle butts until he dropped dead." The Nazis also killed the mentally ill daughter of the teacher Lazar Shnol, as well as a certain Velvele Merzlyak.⁵ In October, six Jews (according to other versions, four or five) made expeditions from Kolyshki into the countryside to barter items for food and were killed by some Germans they met.⁶

On February 9, 1942, a Soviet reconnaissance unit appeared in Kolyshki, and some days later some of the Jews left Kolyshki. The survivor Sofya Gorelik says: "After several days the reconnaissance men gathered us and said: 'We shall be triumphant, but there will be fighting here.' We asked: 'May we leave with you?' The commander said: 'That is the reason why I called you here.' And he explained that everyone must get packed and leave for Ponizov'e immediately." The majority of Jews left for the Ponizov'e village, which was 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) northeast, in Russia. Those evacuated stayed in Ponizov'e until March and then were evacuated farther to the rear. The same witness said: "We lived several days in Ponizov'e, and the district party committee instructor, or somebody else, gathered us and told us the same things that the scouts in Kolyshki had said: 'We shall be triumphant, but there will be fighting here, and nobody knows who will be here tomorrow,' and so on. 'You must go, and especially persons of Jewish extraction; go, we shall give you transportation.'"⁷

Not all the Jews left with the Red Army in February 1942; unfortunately, some remained in Kolyshki (even Sofya Gorelik recalls that she, her aunt, and her cousin required considerable effort to convince her mother to leave Kolyshki). On March 17, 1942, a mixed German-Belorussian squad appeared in Kolyshki. The men were dressed in white camouflage cloaks; thus they managed to surround the village and enter it unnoticed. The men drove the Jews out of their houses and set the houses on fire. Some Jews were killed during the roundup; according to a survivor, the Nazis burned children of the Rabinovich family alive in a bonfire in the center of the village. The rest were escorted in the direction of Liozno and killed, most probably in the Adamenki Ravine. The number of victims is unclear; the list compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) gives 148 names of Jews killed; it is unclear whether the list is complete. The roundup in Kolyshki was carried out hastily, and some Jews managed to evade it. Thus, the survivor Olga Notkina says that the polit-sais saw them but did not touch them because, most probably, they took them for non-Jewish marauders.⁸

Before the war, in 1938, Kolyshki was the site of one of the most infamous antisemitic incidents in the Belorussian SSR (documents from a journalistic investigation of the incident can be found in the archive of the Belorussian Yiddish newspaper *Oktiabr*). Nevertheless, some Kolyshki survivors attest

that they were rescued by their non-Jewish neighbors. For example, Raisa Khamaida and her mother survived because their neighbors told the Germans that they were not Jews but Russian refugees. There were also other cases of Jews being rescued by local inhabitants.⁹

SOURCES The events in Kolyshki are described in Arkadii Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," *Mishpokha* 8 (2000): 68–78. Relevant witness statements on the events in Kolyshki can be found in YVA (O-3/4718 and O-3/4719).

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NOTES

1. Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," p. 75.
2. YVA, O-3/4718.
3. See, e.g., *ibid.*, O-3/4719.
4. See *ibid.*
5. Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," pp. 75–76; see also YVA, O-3/4719.
6. Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," pp. 75–76; see also GARF, 7021-84-8.
7. YVA, O-3/4719. The detailed account given by Sofya Gorelik contradicts the allegation made by Shulman in his essay ("Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," p. 76) that the reconnaissance unit men did not warn the Jews of Kolyshki about the impending danger and did not let them evacuate.
8. GARF, 7021-84-8; YVA, O-3/4718; Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," pp. 76–77.
9. Shulman, "Otkuda est' poshli Kolyshki," pp. 76–77.

KOPYS'

Pre-1941: Kopy's, town, Orsha raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kopy's, Rayon Orscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Orsha raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kopys' is situated about 22 kilometers (14 miles) south of Orsha. In 1939, the Jewish population of Kopys' was 405, 9.9 percent of the total.

The Germans captured the town on July 11–13, 1941, in the course of very heavy fighting (it was in this sector of the front that the XLVII and XXIV Motorized Army Corps of Panzer Group 2 had to force the crossing of the Dnieper River). Only a few local Jews escaped to the east before the Germans arrived. In the first half of August, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe B "liquidated seven [former Communist] functionaries in Kopys' for alleged arson and plundering."¹ The Jews were required to wear distinguishing armbands and a yellow star on their backs as well.

In December 1941, the German authorities resettled the Jews of Kopys' into a small ghetto consisting of several buildings in the area of a linen factory, about 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town. Local witnesses indicate that the area was fenced and guarded by the local police. In total, at least 250 Jews were confined within the ghetto.² One survivor recalls that there were about 10 people per room in the ghetto

and that some had to sleep on the floor. The Jews obtained food by bartering items with the local population. Rumors spread in the ghetto about the murder of Jews in larger towns, but people feared that there was nowhere for them to go. On the eve of the liquidation of the ghetto, a few Jews escaped into the surrounding countryside. For example, Alexander Shmyrkin fled with his school friend after his mother told him to run.³

On January 14, 1942, a German “punitive squad” (in the words of Belorussian eyewitnesses) assisted by local policemen carried out a mass shooting of the town’s Jews. The pits close to the area of the linen factory had been prepared in advance. The murderers picked out groups of 15 people, ordered them to undress, forced them to lie in the pit, and shot them with pistols. According to the estimate of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), around 230 Jews were killed in this way. The majority of the victims were women, children, and the elderly. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains the names of 143 Jews. Some Jews were spared from this massacre, most probably “specialists.” For example, the tailor Yevel (Yoel) Melikhan and his two sons were not killed until May 15, 1942.⁴

SOURCES Most of the information on the Kopy’s ghetto is based on interviews conducted by historian Gennadii Vinnitsa with local residents in the 1990s, published in his books *Gorech’ i bol’* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 93–95, and *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshan. Tip., 1997), pp. 53–54. The Kopy’s ghetto is also mentioned in the following publications: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), p. 177; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), pp. 657–658; and Wila Orbach, “The Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR,” *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 2:6 (1976): 32.

Documentation from the ChGK for the Orsha raion can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-10); USHMM; VHF (# 39401); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 137, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 2 der Einsatzgruppen (July 29 to August 14, 1941).

2. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, p. 53.

3. VHF, # 39401, testimony of Alexander Shmyrkin. Shmyrkin, however, claims that the ghetto was not enclosed or guarded, and he dates the liquidation Aktion in November 1942, which seems unlikely.

4. GARF, 7021-84-10, statement by Khaya Melikhan.

KORMA

Pre-1941: Korma, town and raion center, Gomel’ oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Karma, raen center, Homel’ voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Korma is located about 110 kilometers (68 miles) north of Gomel’. In 1939, there were 981 Jews in Korma (40.3 percent of the population).

Following the German invasion, all men of military age, including many Jews, were called up into the Red Army.

Korma was occupied by German troops on August 15, 1941. During the first weeks of the occupation, the Korma Rayon was administered by military units subordinated to Rear Area, Army Group Center. The Wehrmacht established so-called field and local commandants (Feld- und Ortskommandanturen), which set up local administrations in the towns and surrounding Rayons and appointed local mayors. For a period in 1941, Ortskommandantur 353 was based in Korma. In the area around Korma, the Germans established several military garrisons, the largest being in Korma itself, consisting of more than 200 soldiers.

The military forces supervised a local police unit recruited within 10 days of the German occupation. The chief of police in Korma was Denis Makarenko.¹ A Ukrainian named Nikolay Gurov became chief of police for Rayon Korma, and Mitrofan Blatov was appointed as the head of the Rayon (Rayonchef) because he spoke German.² The military commandant was initially Major Max Rozmaisel, a Czech by nationality; he was subsequently replaced by Fritz Essel. The surname of the local head of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, or GFP) was Reger. Leutnant Glazer was the chief of the Department of Agriculture, and a person named Schein was in charge of the punitive detachment.³ A curfew was imposed on the civilian population from 9:00 P.M. to 5:00 A.M. Everyone over the age of 16 was obliged to carry a personal identification card, and those found without one could be severely punished.

After the occupation of the town by German forces, shops and private apartments were looted. The Germans ordered the Jews to sew fabric in the shape of yellow stars onto the outside of their clothes.⁴ In September 1941, German soldiers and some younger officers from the military headquarters in Gomel’ arrived in Korma. Together with Makarenko and four policemen, they went to the houses of the Jews and registered every person. After this procedure, the Jews were ordered to stay in their houses and were not permitted to leave their places of residence. Two ghettos were established in Korma: one for the Jews residing in the town, the other for the Jewish population of the surrounding area. Most of the population in both ghettos consisted of women, children, and the elderly. According to different sources, the number of people residing in the two ghettos ranged between 500 and 700 prisoners. One of the ghettos was located in the brick buildings of the Jewish school, which had belonged to the synagogue before, on School Street. The other ghetto was established in the buildings of the former financial department of the town administration of Korma and was located on Abaturov Street. The ghetto areas were surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by police units.⁵ In addition, a prison and a concentration camp for the non-Jewish local population were also set up in Korma. The German authorities placed a Latvian named Aleksandr Stsepuro in charge of both ghettos. Before the war, Stsepuro had

been the head of the Health Department in Korma. However, the military commandant and the Feldgendarmarie retained ultimate responsibility for the administration of both ghettos.⁶

The ghettos in Korma were not established primarily for the purpose of exploiting Jews economically. They served only to concentrate the Jews and to prevent them from escaping before the Germans murdered them. For this reason, the German authorities did not concern themselves with the poor sanitary conditions or make provisions for medical help or other social assistance inside the ghettos. The ghetto areas were much too small for the number of inmates, and the Jews faced terrible overcrowding and extremely unhygienic conditions. The food delivered into the ghettos for each person was only half the ration received by non-Jews in Korma. Meat and butter were prohibited to the Jews. A daily ration of 120 grams (4.2 ounces) of bread, 15 grams (0.5 ounces) of flour, and 10 grams (0.4 ounces) of buckwheat was provided for each person per day. The residents of the ghettos tried to alleviate the shortage of food by digging up potatoes and living off their small stocks of groceries. All contact between the Jews and the local population was forbidden. Though the non-Jewish population also suffered from hunger and there was a strict prohibition on illegal trade into the ghettos, some local inhabitants still sold bread to the Jews. Nonetheless, many children in the ghettos died of starvation and weakness.⁷

Every morning the residents of the ghettos were herded into the market square, and from there they were sent to various work assignments. Those Jews unable to work were humiliated by the Germans and publicly beaten by the police. Every morning the Jews left the ghettos in groups; one police guard was in charge of 20 people. The Germans made the Jews perform forced labor all day. Among the main tasks performed were cleaning toilets, clearing garbage, and road construction. This physically demanding work was sometimes too much for people, and the death rate under these conditions was high.⁸

The ghettos in Korma existed for approximately two months. The Aktion to liquidate the two Jewish ghettos was carried out on Saturday, November 8, 1941. On the previous evening, 50 members of a special SS police unit arrived from Gomel', wearing uniforms bearing the emblem of a death's head. The Germans and local police escorted the ghetto inmates to a grave site about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town and forced some of the victims to excavate a large pit about 42 meters by 12 meters and 0.5 meters deep (138 by 39 by 1.6 feet). The victims were forced to undress completely before being shot. At this time the Germans and their collaborators beat them with rubber sticks and extracted any gold crowns from their teeth. Members of a punitive squad commanded by the head of the local police, Makarenko, actively participated in this killing Aktion. The Jews were forced to lie facedown on the ground and were shot in the back of the head from behind. Among the victims were many elderly people, women, and children, including Aron Libman (born 1879), Genya Girshon (born 1896), the physician Dora Gordon, and others. The young children were thrown into the pit and buried alive.⁹ After the killing Aktion, the police seized the livestock that had

belonged to the Jews. The trade department of the German administration in Korma was responsible for all former Jewish property. The proceeds from the sale of Jewish property were paid into the account of the German administration.¹⁰

The town of Korma was among the first settlements in Belorussia to be liberated. Troops of the Soviet 3rd Army of the Belorussian Front recaptured the town on November 26, 1943. According to Soviet figures from May 1944, the population of the Korma region declined from 45,050 to 34,272 during the period of German occupation (a loss of about 24 percent). In the town of Korma itself, the number of inhabitants fell from 2,434 to 928.¹¹ Members of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) exhumed the mass graves in Korma in November 1944. They discovered that there was no sign of bullet wounds on the corpses of the children under six years of age. It was assumed that these victims had been beaten until they were unconscious and then buried alive. The ChGK concluded that the German occupants killed a total of 1,173 people in the Korma raion. In the town of Korma itself, 728 civilian inhabitants and 132 Soviet prisoners of war had been murdered. The ChGK compiled a list of the names of 634 families that were victims of the German invaders. The main concern of the commission's work was not to establish the nationality of the victims but rather to identify the perpetrators.¹²

SOURCES Information on events in Korma during World War II can be found in the following books: *Pamiats': Karmiianski raion. Historyka-dokumental'naiia kbronika baradou i raionau Belarusi* (Minsk, 2003); and *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Knih, 1995), p. 279.

Documentation on the fate of the Jewish community in Korma can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (case no. 391); GAGOMO (1345-1-5); GARF (7021-85-215); NARB (4-33a-65); and YVA (M-33). In the personal archives of the author (PALS) there is also a letter from Khatskiel Merkhasin in Denver (CO, USA), dated November 9, 2004.

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Denis Makarenko was shot by Soviet partisans in May 1942.
2. Protocol of Mitrofan Blatov (1899), March 6, 1944. See AUKGBRBGO, case no. 391, p. 32.
3. YVA, M-33/474, p. 15: list of German-Fascist war criminals on the occupied territory of the USSR for the Korma raion, Gomel oblast', Belorussian SSR.
4. Protocol of Proskov Kortel'chik (1893), November 17, 1941, AUKGBRBGO, case no. 391, p. 380.
5. Ibid.; GARF, 7021-85-215.
6. GAGOMO, 1345-1-5, pp. 4, 9, 220.
7. TsAKGBRB, Minsk.
8. AUKGBRBGO, case no. 391, pp. 30-31.
9. GARF, 7021-85-215, p. 13.
10. AUKGBRBGO, case no. 391, p. 375.
11. According to the figures for the Gomel oblast' for May 1, 1944, see GAOOGO (former Party Archive), 144-5-6, p. 218.
12. GARF, 7021-85-215, pp. 1-2, 9.

KOSTIUKOVICHI

Pre-1941: Kostiukovich, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Kostjukowitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post 1991: Kas'tsiukovichy, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kostiukovich is located about 130 kilometers (81 miles) east-southeast of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,134 Jews living in Kostiukovich, comprising 18.6 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the town on August 13, 1941, approximately seven weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In the interim, a large part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army.

During the occupation, which lasted until September 28, 1943, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was established to control the town. On the orders of the German military administration, Jews were required to wear distinguishing marks and were forced to perform heavy physical labor. The Ortskommandantur set up a town administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) composed of local residents. The mayor of the town was Mikhail Grigorevich Borisevich, and the chief of police was Nikolay Ivanovich Rolslavtsev. The town mayor registered the Jews of the town and handed over the list to the German Security Police. For his collaboration with the Germans, including his participation in the murder of the Jews, Borisevich was sentenced to death by hanging by a Soviet military tribunal at the end of the occupation.¹

Very little information is available regarding the living conditions of those Jews who remained in Kostiukovich under the German occupation. In November 1941, the director of the bank, a Jew, was shot for alleged connections with the partisans. According to two secondary sources, *The Black Book with Red Pages* and *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, a ghetto existed there from the fall of 1941 until September 1942. It is likely that the Jews lived in some form of open ghetto until the mass shooting of the Jews, dated by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) in September 1942.²

On September 3, 1942, all the Jews were told that they would be traveling to Palestine and were ordered to gather on the road. They were all a short distance outside the town on the way to the Kommunity railway station when the Germans and their collaborators shot them in groups of 50 in pits prepared beforehand. Before being shot, the Jews were forced to undress down to their underwear, and policemen and Germans collected their valuables.³ According to some sources, in March 1943, another 161 Jews were shot near the rope factory. On April 14 and 15, 1943, policemen from Kostiukovich shot another 14 Jews.

A forensic examination of the two main grave sites, conducted by the ChGK in December 1943, revealed that out of 536 corpses examined, 128 were adult males, 265 were adult females, and 143 were infants and children up to the age of 15. The investigation demonstrated that 253 victims had gunfire wounds to the head, chest, or abdomen; 23 had skull injuries

made by blunt objects; 87 had wounds in their extremities; and no injuries were found on 173 corpses. These injuries indicated that many people had been killed by shooting from firearms at close distance, but others had been buried alive.⁴

SOURCES Mention of a "ghetto" in Kostiukovich can be found in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 267-268; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), pp. 292, 300, 310. Additional information on the murder of the Jews in Kostiukovich can be found in the following publications: I.M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, *Gibel' mesteček Mogilevschiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005); *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:171-172; and Shmuel Spector and Geofrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 665.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Kostiukovich can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-88-39); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 267.
2. GARF, 7021-88-39, p. 1.
3. Ibid.; *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Resp. Kniha, 1995), p. 431. According to another source, the shooting of the Jews took place in November 1941. The perpetrators were from Einsatzkommando 8.
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 267-268.

KRASNOLUKI

Pre-1941: Krasnoluki, village, Kholopenichi raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Krassnoluki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krasnaluki, Chashniki raion, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krasnoluki is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) southwest of Vitebsk. On the eve of the German occupation in June 1941, probably around 300 Jews resided in the village.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied Krasnoluki in early July 1941. During the occupation, which lasted until the summer of 1944, a German commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. An auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) was recruited from local inhabitants. In early October 1941, a company of Infantry Regiment 354 was based in Krasnoluki and presumably ran the Ortskommandantur at that time.¹

Very little information is available about the living conditions of the Jews in Krasnoluki during the summer and fall of

1941. It is possible that at some time in the fall of 1941, some form of open ghetto was established in the town, as was the case in the nearby town of Chashniki.

On March 6, 1942, German security forces gathered together in a few houses 305 Jews, composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly, and then escorted them to a pit about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside of town, where they shot them all.²

SOURCES The “ghetto” in Krasnoluki is mentioned in the following publications: David Meltzer and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 229; and Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 97. Other secondary sources, however, including, Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, “Epos,” 2004), 5:188, do not mention the existence of a ghetto in Krasnoluki.

Documentation on the murder of the Jews of Krasnoluki can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 26-221/14b); GARF (7021-87-16); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14b.
2. GARE, 7021-87-16.

KRASNOPOL’E

Pre-1941: Krasnopol’e, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1943: Krassnopolje, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krassnopolle, raen center, Mabilion voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Krasnopol’e is located about 110 kilometers (69 miles) southeast of Mogilev. According to the census of 1939, there were 1,181 Jews living in Krasnopol’e (33.1 percent of the total population).

German forces occupied the town on August 15, 1941, roughly seven weeks after the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22). During this period, a large proportion of the Jews in Krasnopol’e managed to evacuate to the east, and the Soviets began to induct eligible men into the Red Army. Probably around 400 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation. Throughout the occupation (from August 15, 1941, until October 1, 1943), the German military Feldkommandantur in Propoisk governed Krasnopol’e. It established a raion administrative council and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), staffed by local citizens. In October 1941, Feldkommandantur 544 was based in Propoisk.¹

Following orders issued by the German military administration, shortly after the start of the occupation, the Rayon council organized the registration of the Jews and required

that they wear distinguishing marks on their chests. The German authorities also made Jews ages 14 to 60 perform various forms of heavy labor.

The occupying authorities created a ghetto in Krasnopol’e in September 1941.² Units of Police Battalion 322 liquidated the ghetto in two Aktions on October 22 and 25, 1941. Just prior to this, the German authorities forbade Jews to leave the ghetto.³ In the first Aktion, the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 322 seized and shot 121 Jewish men; in the second Aktion, the 1st Company of the same battalion shot 3 Jewish men and 216 Jewish women. Altogether, the Germans massacred 340 Jews in the two Aktions. The German report gives as the reason for the shootings “incitement to insurrection” (*Aufwiegelung*) and “support for the partisans.” The Jews were shot and buried about 700 meters (766 yards) to the northwest of the town.⁴ Jewish children left behind were shot about two months later.⁵

SOURCES Information concerning the extermination of the Jews in Krasnopol’e can be found in the following publications: *Pamiats’: Historyka-dakumental’naia khronika baradou i raenau Belarusi: Krassnopolle raen* (Minsk, 2001), pp. 198–199; and Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945*, trans. John Glad and James S. Levine (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 236.

Documents relating to the persecution and extermination of the town’s Jewish citizens can be found in the following archives: GAMO; GARF (7021-88-40); NARB (861-1-9); USHMM (RG-48.004M); and VHAP.

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trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. BA-MH, RH 26-221/14b, map, rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte, as of October 9, 1941.
2. NARB, 861-1-9, pp. 329, 333 reverse side, and 336 reverse side.
3. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 236.
4. Kriegstagebuch des Polizei-Bataillons 322, entry dated October 22, 1941, in USHMM, RG-48.004M, reel 2. Soviet sources estimate the number of victims considerably higher (1,000 to 1,500) and report further anti-Jewish Aktions in 1942 and 1943; e.g., Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), pp. 292, 300. The evidence for this, however, is unreliable.
5. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 236.

KRICHEV

Pre-1941: Krichev, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Kritschew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krychau, raen center, Mabilion voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Krichev is situated about 95 kilometers (59 miles) east-southeast of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,362

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Jews living in Krichev. They made up 8.5 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the town on July 17, 1941, approximately four weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. In the interim, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army.

During the occupation, which lasted from July 17, 1941, to September 30, 1943, a German commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town. The Ortskommandantur set up a town authority and a police force composed of a number of local residents. In October 1941, Ortskommandantur (V) 256, subordinated to Security Division 221, was based in Krichev.

Shortly after the occupation began, the town authority, on the orders of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also forced to perform heavy physical labor, such as road repair work.

In August or September 1941, the Germans established an open ghetto in Krichev, moving all the Jews (about 80 families in total) into several houses next to the church. The Jews had to wear patches bearing a Star of David and were forbidden to walk freely about the town.¹

German security forces liquidated the Krichev ghetto in November 1941. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 130 Jews were shot near a flax-processing mill, and 60 to 80 Jews were killed on the grounds of a cement factory.² However, it is likely that in total more than 300 Jews were murdered in Krichev. The mass shootings were carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, with the help of the Belorussian local police.

In November 1941, in the Krichev raion, 122 Jews were killed in the village of Moliatichi and 30 Jews in the village of Antonovka.³ According to an Einsatzgruppen report, in November 1941, several Aktions were conducted in Krichev and the surrounding area for reasons of "security and order," which resulted in the shooting of 1,231 Jews of both sexes.⁴

SOURCES Publications mentioning the ghetto in Krichev include the following: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 266–267; Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 140; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), pp. 300–301; Emanuil Ioffe, *Belorusskie evrei: Tragediia i geroizm, 1941–1945* (Minsk: Arti-Feks, 2003), p. 117; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004), 5:208–209.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58); BA-L; BA-MA; GARF (7021-88-41); NARB (861-1-9); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. "From the testimonies of witnesses Pechkurova, Yakushovka, Kurbako, and Gritova," in Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 266–267.

2. GARF, 7021-88-41, pp. 3–4; NARB, 861-1-9, p. 239. A list of 34 deceased Jews of the town can be found in GARF, 7021-88-41, pp. 32–33.

3. GARF, 702-88-41, pp. 6–7 (Moliatichi); p. 8 (Antonovka); pp. 34–36 (Moliatichi). The shootings in Antonovka occurred on November 14 and 17, 1941.

4. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941.

KRUCHA

Pre-1941: Krucha, village, Krugloe raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krutscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krucha, Krublae raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krucha is located 64 kilometers (40 miles) northwest of Mogilev. According to the 1926 census, Krucha had a Jewish population of 297, comprising 52.4 percent of the total. In the 1930s, the number of Jews in the village decreased slightly.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 8, 1941, approximately two weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During those weeks, some of the Jewish population managed to evacuate to the eastern regions of the country, but some remained in Krucha, as they did not want to leave behind elderly relatives. Most men of military age were drafted or volunteered for military service in the Red Army. No more than 120 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

In late September or early October 1941, the German military authorities resettled all the remaining Jews in Krucha on Kozlina Street in a separate part of the village, creating an open ghetto. In October 1941, more than 100 Jews in Krucha were shot by the Germans and Belorussian police, who wore white armbands. German forces of the Wehrmacht liquidated the ghetto on October 10, 1941, by shooting at least 114 people 400 meters (437 yards) south of the village (in 1968, a memorial was placed at the site of the shooting). After the shooting, the bodies of the Jews were thrown into a pit, where a local non-Jew was ordered to arrange them neatly. Some Jews, who feigned death or were only wounded, were buried alive.¹

A number of Jews tried to run away to a nearby forest during the murder Aktion. However, the policeman Ivan Skoček ran after them and caught two of them. These two Jews were then shot by the pursuing Germans. At least two others are known to have survived and subsequently joined the Soviet partisans.²

The shooting was carried out by soldiers of the 3rd Company (company commander: Hauptmann Friedrich Nöll) of the 1st Battalion of the 691st Infantry Regiment of the 339th Infantry Division. The order for the shooting was given by the commander of the 1st Battalion, Major Alfred Commichau,

on the grounds that the Jews were allegedly assisting the partisans. After the war, the former commander of the 3rd Company, Friedrich Nöll, and the former first sergeant (Hauptfeldwebel) of the company, Emil Zimmer, were found guilty and sentenced by a court in Darmstadt (Germany) to three and two years of imprisonment, respectively.³

SOURCES Relevant publications concerning the destruction of the Jewish population in Krucha include the following: Ida M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniiaakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005), pp. 111–113; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 12 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 398, pp. 375–378; *Pamiats': Krublianskii raion* (Minsk: Belarускаia entsyklopedyia, 1996), pp. 369–370; and Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht. Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944: Begleitbroschüre zur Ausstellung* (Hamburg: HIS, 2004), pp. 28–29.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archive: GAMO (306-1-10, pp. 117–119).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. “Kruchanskii sel'savet,” in *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Resp. Kniha, 1995), p. 450; GAMO, 306-1-10, pp. 117–119; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 12, Lfd. Nr. 398, p. 375. See also *Pamiats': Krublianskii raion*, pp. 369–370. Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 111–113, give the number of victims as 156.

2. Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel' mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 111–113.

3. LG-Darm, verdict of May 8, 1954 (2 Ks 2/54), published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 12, Lfd. Nr. 398; LG-Darm, verdict of March 10, 1956 (2 Ks 2/54), in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 13 (1975), Lfd. Nr. 429; Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht*, pp. 28–29.

KRUGLOE

Pre-1941: Krugloe, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Krugloje, Rayon Krutscha (Krucha), Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krublae, raen center, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krugloe is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Mogilev. In 1939, 238 Jews lived in Krugloe, making up 19.5 percent of its population, and 375 Jews lived in the rest of the Krugloe raion, the bulk of them in the village of Krucha, 17 kilometers (10.6 miles) west of Krugloe.

Owing to Krugloe's location, far from major highways and with no easily accessible railway station, only a few Jews were able to leave the village in 1941 before the Germans captured it. Witnesses do not mention any organized evacuation of the population from Krugloe.

Krugloe was captured by German forces (XLVII Army Corps of the 4th Panzer Army, formerly of the 2nd Panzer Group) on July 8, 1941. Ortskommandantur I/532, subordinated to the 9th Infantry Army, was established in Krugloe. From August 1941, the town was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. Most probably, Krugloe, like nearby Tolochin, was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 683 stationed in Orsha.

According to the survivor Yevgenii Elman, in the first days of the occupation the Germans ordered the appointment of a Jewish elder: Meyer Pevzner, a former tailor. His first job was to compile a list of all the Jews residing in Krugloe. The Germans also introduced the wearing of “Jewish Stars.” Some Jews continued to work in the kolkhoz; the Germans also took Jews (only Jews) for forced labor, repairing roads.

On September 15, 1941, the Germans ordered Pevzner to assemble all male Jews ages 15 to 60, with shovels and other work tools, near the Ortskommandantur. According to Elman, a German punitive squad had arrived in Krugloe the previous day. Not all the Jews turned up; as a punishment, the Germans shot Pevzner on the spot. The rest of the male Jews, some 60 to 100 men, were brought to a nearby forest and shot there.¹ Subsequently there were other murders of groups of Jews in Krugloe.

The testimony of Honya Epshtein, who was brought to Krugloe from Shepelevichi on December 12, 1941, together with the other remaining Jews from the Shepelevichi ghetto, provides a description of the Krugloe ghetto. There were about 25 to 30 people living in each house. Other Jews were also brought there from Teterino. Epshtein's family had to sleep on the floor without pillows or mattresses. Water could only be obtained from the “Jewish well” or the Drut River. There was almost no food. People survived on frostbitten potatoes and whatever meager rations were distributed. Leaving the ghetto entailed risking one's life, as all contacts with the local population were forbidden. Jews caught outside the ghetto were publicly executed at regular intervals. The number of ghetto inmates gradually declined, so that in the spring of 1942, those few Jews who remained were relocated into two small houses on the edge of town. This “two-house ghetto” was surrounded with a 3-meter-high (9.8-foot-high) fence and was closely guarded by the local police. Despite the risks, Jews continued to sneak out to obtain food from sympathetic peasants in the villages of Ostrov, Pavlovo, and Ogloblia, who gave them bread. The police took a roll call every day, and if anyone was missing, they would search for them and cruelly beat everyone.²

The remaining Jews in the Krugloe ghetto, about 200 people, including the resettled Jews, were murdered by the German occupants using gas vans in June 1942. Eyewitnesses interrogated by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) mention the German officer whom they call Nikodemus as the main perpetrator of the mass murder.³ Epshtein managed to hide successfully under the floorboards for several days after the Aktion, despite repeated searches. He escaped at night to the village of Ogloblia, where the Shevchik family fed and clothed him, before he fled further away

from Krugloe, as he knew the local police were still searching for him.⁴

A monument was erected at the killing site by the victims' relatives in 1962, which states that 515 Jews were killed at this spot. Among the victims were also Jews from the villages of Teterino (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] south of Krugloe), Khatkovo (16 kilometers [9.9 miles] east-northeast of Krugloe, now in the Shklov raion), and Shepelevichi (about 20 kilometers [12.4 miles] to the southwest).

Nineteen Jews were killed in the village of Golovchin (22 kilometers [13.8 miles] south-southeast of Krugloe along the P-26 road) in early October 1941. Kh. Zelikova and her five children were shot and killed in Novoprud'e (5 kilometers [3.1 miles] north of Krugloe).

SOURCES The testimony of Honya Epshtein has been published in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 295–298.

The documents of the ChGK for the Krugloe raion can be found in GARF (7021-88-42); and in GAMO (306-1-10). An eyewitness account can be found in YVA (O-3/4674).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/4674.
2. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 295–298.
3. GARF, 7021-88-42.
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 297–298.

KRUPKI

Pre-1941: Krupki, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: raion center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Krupki is located 118 kilometers (73.3 miles) northeast of Minsk.

In 1939, there were 870 Jews out of 3,455 inhabitants (25.2 percent) in Krupki. German forces occupied the town on June 26, 1941. Only a few of Krupki's Jews managed to flee either by road or by rail at the start of the invasion; the majority found themselves trapped under German occupation, together with some refugees from western Belorussia.

The Germans organized a police force consisting of local inhabitants, which was led by Timofei Svitkovskii, a former officer in the Red Army. A man named Baranovskii became head of the Rayon, and successively, Karon', Pavkovets, and Evtishevskii served as town mayor. The commander of the local punitive detachment was Ivanov. The military commandant was a German officer named Gebel (or Goebel). Belorussians Ivan Dranitsa, Vladimir Khvashchevskii, Mikhail Titovets, Vasilii Koran', Daria Urgulevskaia, Dmitrii Molosai,

Fedor Kondratenko, Vasilii Balbas, Vasilii Asipovets, and Ul'ian Keyzo served in the local police.¹

In July 1941, the Germans organized one of the first ghettos on occupied Belorussian soil in Krupki. The Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto without written permission from the mayor. All Jews were obliged to wear distinguishing marks on their clothing and had to perform forced labor. No detailed information is available on whether the ghetto was guarded or on the existence of a fence enclosing it. However, about 1,000 Jews lived within the ghetto. It appears that the Germans did not make long-term plans for the ghetto and its inhabitants; instead, they used it only as a place to collect and hold Jews temporarily until their extermination. There was also a prison in Krupki for people suspected of concealing Jews or those viewed as disloyal or hostile to German rule.²

The Germans conducted a series of initial killing Aktions against the Jews in Krupki between July and mid-September 1941. The largest Aktion took place at the cemetery, half a kilometer (about a third of a mile) outside Krupki. The Germans murdered more than 100 people, including the elderly, women, and children.³

On September 16, 1941, the German occupying authorities separated the Jewish men from their families and other ghetto inmates, and they threatened to kill them if their relatives failed to produce a ransom in the form of fur clothing.

The Germans conducted the main liquidation Aktion against the ghetto on September 18, 1941. At 7:00 A.M., the Germans gathered all the Jews on the market square near the town council building and declared that they would be sent to Germany for work. The Jews were ordered to take with them only their money and other valuables. They were also told to keep their doors unlocked and to hand the keys to the mayor. All the Jews were checked according to a list. Then the German forces escorted them along Sovetskaia Street in the direction of the village of Lebedevo, leading them off to the swampy bank of the Strazhnitsa River on the other side of the Minsk-Moscow highway. Along the way, many Jews began to suspect their fate once the column passed the railway line and continued on towards the swamp. During the march, everyone was prohibited from stopping or talking; those who disobeyed were beaten with sticks.⁴

The column stopped near Panskoe village, at the First of May kolkhoz in the Shatski sel'sovet, where before the war there had been a quarry and now two large pits had been prepared.⁵ The Jews were ordered to sit down on the ground 50 meters (164 feet) from the pits. The guards ordered some of the prisoners to carry a few wide planks, which were then thrown across the trenches. Then 10 people were chosen, including a woman with two children. The mother carried her baby, 10 or 11 months old, in her arms, while the other child held her hand. The prisoners were escorted to the trench and were ordered to strip down to their underclothing. The Germans put the clothes on trucks and wrenched the children away from their mothers. The Germans ordered the Jews, now undressed, to walk across the planks. Panic began to envelop the crowd, and heartrending screams were heard.

Doomed to die, the Jews turned around and were shot in the head by the guards. A volley of rounds was fired, and 9 Jews fell into the trench. An old man who remained standing was shot again to finish him off. Another officer grabbed a child by his legs and smashed him head first into the ground, then let him fall “like a chick” into the trench.⁶

The Aktion in Krupki was carried out by a section of Einsatzkommando 8 based in Borisov under the command of Werner Schönemann, assisted by the locally based unit of the Wehrmacht. Obergefreiter Richard Heidenreich of the 12th Company, 354th Regiment, made a note in his “diary” about the Aktion in Krupki. The evening before, the senior lieutenant selected 15 men with “strong nerves.” Once they had been informed of their task, they marched to the nearest swamp. The victims were ordered to get into the ditch, and the shooting detail stood over the victims. As Heidenreich describes it: “10 shots were heard and 10 Jews fell down. It continued like this until we had killed them all. Only a few people kept a stiff upper lip. Children clung to their mothers, and women to their husbands. I won’t forget this image for a very long time.”⁷ A large part of the Belorussian police was also present at the Aktion. Commander of the police Svitkovskii, military commandant Gebel, commander of the punitive detachment Ivanov, commander of the Rayon Baranovskii, and policeman Broneslav Zakrevskii all actively participated in the Aktion. According to Maria Shpunt, at first the killing site was surrounded by several hundred guards, but later, once many Jews had been killed, some policemen were permitted to go to the mess hall for dinner.⁸

According to the report of Einsatzgruppe B dated October 25, 1941, 912 Jews were murdered in Krupki that day.⁹ After the shooting, local Belorussians were ordered to bury the corpses. According to Anton Krukovskii (born 1883), the bodies of the dead were placed in rows in two pits: one 60 meters long and 3 meters wide (197 by 9.8 feet), the other 15 meters by 3 meters (49 by 9.8 feet) and just over 1 meter (3.3 feet) deep. The corpses were packed almost to the top of the pits. When the Germans came to bury the people, they killed a man, a woman, and a little boy who were still alive. After covering the pits, the Belorussians were allowed to go home. Individual Jews caught subsequently were also shot.¹⁰

In March 1942, men of Einsatzkommando 8 also shot the Jews in two villages, one north and one south of Krupki. In each case, 15 Jews were shot.¹¹ In 1943, the Germans, with the help of Soviet prisoners of war (POWs), exhumed the mass grave and burned the corpses. Afterwards, the Soviet POWs were murdered.

Some Jews survived the Aktion. Among them were Sofia Shalaumova (born 1920), Maria Shpunt, and her younger son. After counting all those who had been killed, the Germans ordered men from the surrounding villages to cover the mass grave. The work was not finished, however, because some Belorussians noticed that the trench was “breathing” and that they needed to wait. After hearing the shots, Sofia, for example, fell into the trench at the proper time without being wounded. Among the peasants who were burying the bodies,

she recognized her acquaintance Nikolai Bogdanov and asked him not to cover her with earth. He did as she asked.¹²

Maria Shpunt tried to persuade the Germans to let her live by claiming that she was not Jewish. While she pleaded for her life, 11 people from her group were killed, and Maria, with her baby, was placed on a pile of breathing bodies as the German soldiers went to get a new group of Jews. The woman took advantage of this pause, crawled out of the pit, and ran into the brush; though the Germans shot at her, she got away unscathed.¹³

SOURCES Information on the Krupki ghetto and the fate of the Jews of Krupki can be found in the following publications: Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech’ i bol’* (Orsha, 1998); “Esli by zemlia mogla govorit,” *Novosti nedeli* (Tel Aviv), April 13, 2000; Hannes Heer, Christian Reuther, and Johannes Bacher, eds., *“Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944”: Visuelle Konzeption und Gestaltung der Ausstellung* (Hamburg: HIS, 1996). Further details on the war period can be found in the local history publications *Pamiats’ Belarus’* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995); and *Pamiats’: Historyka-dakumental’naia kbronika Krupskabo raiona* (Minsk, 1999). On the dating of the murder of the Jews in Krupki, see Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), pp. 586–588.

Documentation concerning the murder of the Jews in Krupki under German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAMINO (634-1-4, 7, 8, 9, 12; and 686-1-5, 10, 19); GARF; NARA; NARB (861-1-8); YVA (M-33/425); and in the personal archive of the author (PALS) (letters from Petr Antonovich Bulakh and Lubov [Mosinoy] Koichu).

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trans. Ilya Bourtman

NOTES

1. YVA, M-33/425, p. 4.
2. GAMINO, 634-1-4, 7-9, 12; and 686-1-5, 10, 19.
3. NARB, 861-1-8, p. 222-a, testimony of Nina Dashkevich (born 1927).
4. YVA, M-33/425, pp. 9–12.
5. “Esli by zemlia mogla govorit.”
6. PALS, letter from Petr Antonovich Bulakh.
7. Heidenreich diary, Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 9/64, Verfügung vom Sept. 9, 1969, pp. 3 f., cited in Heer, Reuther, and Bacher, *“Vernichtungskrieg,”* p. 114.
8. GARF, 7021-87-7.
9. NARA, T-175, reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941; Heidenreich diary, Sta. Dortmund, 45 Js 9/64, Verfügung vom September 9, 1969, pp. 3 f.; NARB, 861-1-8, p. 222a. See also *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 573, LG-Köl, 24 Ks 1/63, verdict of May 12, 1964, p. 178.
10. YVA, M-33/425, p. 714.
11. LG-Bonn, 8 Ks 2/62, verdict of February 19, 1964 (published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19, (1978) p. 564).
12. PAGV, letter from Sofia Yakovlevna Shalaumova, July 7, 1998.
13. YVA, M-33/425, pp. 8–9.

KUBLICHI

Pre-1941: Kublichy, village, Ushachi raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Kublitschi, Rayon Ushatschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kublichy, Ushachy raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Kublichy is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) southwest of Polotsk. Before September 1939, it lay close to the border with Poland. In 1926, it had 546 Jews, according to the population census. The Jewish population of the Ushachi raion (without Ushachi) consisted of 306 people, the bulk of whom lived in Kublichy. Extrapolating from the rate of population decline in the raion in the period 1926-1939, the Jewish population of Kublichy was probably somewhere between 230 and 300 in 1939.

German forces of Army Group Center captured Kublichy on July 3, 1941. There was no organized evacuation. According to survivors, the authorities (among them some Jews) abandoned Kublichy by car after the local unit of the Red Army had left the village. Only a few Jews, mainly men and party or Komsomol members, tried to flee before the Germans entered the village, but almost nobody succeeded.

There was an "interregnum" in Kublichy between the departure of the Soviets and the arrival of the German army. During this period, peasants rushed into Kublichy to rob the abandoned shops and warehouses. According to the survivor Vera Gilman, the peasants tried to prevent the Jews from joining in the plunder. They cried: "Yids, you've got riches enough, soon the end will come for you too."¹

The occupiers appointed local authorities and ordered Jews to register. The registration of Jews was conducted in the square before the Kommandantur and was accompanied by a selection of those fit for work (starting at age 13). There were various kinds of forced labor in Kublichy. Jews were subjected to different forms of abuse; some were killed. For example, according to Gilman, a Jew named Shneiderman appeared at work one day without the yellow patch on his clothing. The Nazis told him to undress and carved a six-pointed star on his back with a knife; when he tried to resist, they killed him (by setting their dogs on him). The Nazis also killed other Jews in Kublichy.

In the fall, most probably in September 1941, the Jews were resettled to Lepelskaia Street; this was the first "ghetto" in Kublichy. The witnesses differ on whether the street was fenced in with barbed wire. The ghetto was not guarded, but there was a high mortality rate among the ghetto inmates.

In the winter of 1941-1942, there was a resettlement of Kublichy Jews to Ushachi. It is unclear from the witness accounts when this resettlement took place. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the Jews of Kublichy were brought to Ushachi together with the Jews of Usaia and Bobynichi in December 1941. Gilman dates this event on December 10, 1941. Nonetheless, both Kublichy survivors Vera Gilman and Nikolai (Kolia) Gilman attest

that when they arrived in the ghetto of Ushachi, it was empty, because all the Jews of Ushachi had been killed. This could only mean that the Kublichy Jews arrived in Ushachi in January 1942. So a more probable date for the resettlement is January 1942, maybe even January 12, when the Jews of Ushachi were shot.

Before the resettlement to Ushachi, some Jewish "specialists" were separated and spared in Kublichy for a while. The eyewitnesses, both Jewish and non-Jewish, give varying information on the names and even on the number of those who were spared. Vera Gilman claims that 15 families of specialists (such as carpenters, tailors, and shoemakers) were singled out and placed in a separate house as early as November 1941; at the same time, the rest of the Jews were resettled into the building of the former maternity hospital. The building was guarded by the local police. Some people from the "maternity hospital" were used for labor too. Gilman attests that there was some cleavage between the specialists (who lived under somewhat better conditions than the rest of the Kublichy Jews) and the maternity hospital dwellers. When the latter came to the specialists asking for some bread for their children, the specialists refused, saying: "You will be killed in any case, and we are permitted to live."

So, according to Gilman, on the day of the resettlement from Kublichy to Ushachi, at 6:00 A.M., the residents of the maternity hospital in Kublichy were driven out of the building and ordered to leave all their warm coats, *valenki* (warm felt boots), and good clothing behind. Half undressed, they were taken on horse sleds and brought to the Ushachi ghetto. Some people died of exposure on the way. After the deportation of the Jews from Kublichy, a local shop sold Jewish belongings to the Belorussian population.

The new arrivals were settled in the houses of the former Ushachi ghetto; they found the ghetto abandoned by its former inmates. The ghetto was guarded. According to the survivors, the resettled people found graffiti in Yiddish in one of the houses: "They are bringing us to be shot. If somebody survives, let him avenge us" (*Undz firt men shisn. Ver vet zikh rateven un bleibn lebn, nemt nekome far undz*). Old people put on their talles (prayer shawls) and prayed.

Some days later, the Jews of Kublichy were killed too. On the morning of the day when the Nazis began to drive the Kublichy Jews out of the Ushachi ghetto, somebody set the ghetto on fire. Some of the Kublichy Jews were killed on the spot, and the rest were brought to the same pits on Doletskaia Street where the Ushachi Jews had been killed, and they were shot there. It is unclear when and how the specialist Jews from Kublichy were killed.

The ChGK estimated the total number of Jews killed in Ushachi at 925. This number is almost certainly too high, taking into account that there were only 893 Jews living in Ushachi and its raion in 1939.

SOURCES Relevant publications include Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belarускаia Navuka, 2000).

The documents of the ChGK for the Ushachi raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-223). Eyewitness testimonies can be found in YVA (O-3/2244 and O-3/4708-4717).

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NOTE

1. YVA, O-3/2244.

LAPICHI

Pre-1941: Lapichi, village, Osipovich raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lapitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Lapichy, Asipovichy raen, Mabilion voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lapichi is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) northwest of Bobruisk. According to the census of 1926, there were 709 Jews living in the village. By mid-1941, emigration had considerably reduced the Jewish population.

German forces captured the village in early July 1941, two weeks after their invasion of the USSR. During this intervening period, a few Jews managed to evacuate to the east, but many who tried to leave were forced to return by the rapid advance of the German forces.¹ About 300 Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

Throughout the German occupation, from July 1941 to June 1944, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German commandant established a village authority and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. Soon after the occupation, the German commandant ordered the village authority to register and mark the Jews and organize their exploitation for various types of forced labor.

On August 18, 1941, the first Aktion took place, in which a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 shot 107 Jews who were accused of engaging in sabotage and supporting the partisans.² Survivor Inna Viktorovna Voinova, who stayed in Lapichi after her attempt to flee from Minsk was blocked by German forces, recalled that on August 18 (Aviation Day in the Soviet Union) rumors spread that the Red Army would come and save them. Instead, Germans and local police (*politsai*) surrounded the town and escorted all the Jewish men into the woods and shot them. After this first Aktion, mostly women, children, and the elderly remained in Lapichi, living in constant fear as news of further executions in the region arrived daily.³

Information on whether a ghetto existed in Lapichi is very sparse. According to Voinova, the Germans did not permit Russians and Jews to live together, but otherwise her testimony seems to indicate that most Jews continued to live in their own homes. In January 1942, the Germans and local police surrounded part of the town and gathered all the Jews there into three houses. Everyone expected that this was the end, but most Jews were sent home and ordered to pack up their warm clothing (presumably for donation to the German army). However, 10 or 12 people—some old men and a few teenagers—were kept behind and then shot next to the village fence.⁴

The women and children remained alive until April 1942. Then, in a single day, Germans and local police from Osipovich surrounded the village, gathered all the Jews together, and shot them in a large ditch. More than 140 people were murdered in this Aktion.

Voinova recalls that her survival was due to a fortunate circumstance: "When the Germans came to take everyone away, my Aunt Tonia told them that there was a Russian girl whose parents had been arrested and that she lived in the house. The German ordered me to go to the other half of the house, where a Russian family lived. And so I continued to live."⁵

Different relatives of the famous Yiddish poet Moshe Kulbak died in all three of the Aktions conducted against the Jews of Lapichi, which meant that they were buried in three separate graves.

SOURCES Inna Viktorovna Voinova's recollections of her experiences in Lapichi during the war were published in *Sovetish Heymland*, no. 8 (1990), and are available in English translation on the Web at www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/kurenets/k_pages/kulbak.html. Other relevant publications include V. Zaitsev and V. Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta v Osipovichskom raione," in D.V. Prokudin and Il'ia Al'tman, eds., *My ne mozhem molchat'. Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste. Vyp. 4: Sbornik* (Moscow: Tsentr i Fond "Kholokost," 2008); Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 568; "Lapichi," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 5: 263-264 (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Akademiia Estestvennykh Nauk, Nauchnyi Fond "Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia," "Epos," 2004); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 705; and Marat Botvinnik, in *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belarускаia Navuka, 2000).

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Lapichi can be found in the following archives: GAMO; GARF (7021-82-5); and NARB.

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NOTES

1. See "War Survivors," available at www.levins.info/his-tory/SurvivedWar.html.
2. See the report of the 252nd Infantry Division for August 18, 1941: "Of the total of 179 prisoners, the SD shot: 107 Jews and three partisans," cited in Hannes Heer, "Die Logik des Vernichtungskrieges. Wehrmacht und Partisanenkampf," in Hannes Heer and Klaus Naumann, eds., *Vernichtungskrieg. Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1997), p. 117. According to Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, 75 Jewish males were shot in a forest near the village in August 1941. In 1993, their remains were reburied in the Jewish cemetery in Osipovich.
3. Testimony of Inna Viktorovna Voinova, born in Minsk in 1931, available at www.eilatgordinlevitan.com/kurenets/k_pages/kulbak.html.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

LENINO

Pre-1941: Lenino (until 1918, Romanovo), village, Gorki raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Gorki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Lenina, Horki raen, Mabiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lenino is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) to the northeast of Mogilev. In 1923, under the Soviets, the Jewish population of Lenino was 498, of whom 41 worked as artisans, while most others were engaged in agriculture.

German forces of Army Group Center captured the village in the second week of July 1941. According to one witness, about 70 Jews were murdered by the Germans and the *politsais* (local police) shortly after the arrival of German forces. The Jews who managed to flee from Lenino, as well as some who lived in nearby villages, were then assembled in Lenino (about 60 Jews altogether) and confined in two houses, as a form of small ghetto; they were subsequently transferred to Gorki, probably in the fall of 1941, and murdered there together with the local Jews. Three Jewish “specialists” continued to work for the Germans in Lenino until the summer of 1942, when they were also killed.¹ During the occupation, probably about 140 Jews from Lenino and the surrounding villages were murdered by the German occupying forces and their collaborators.

SOURCES Information on Lenino can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 722; and in Uladzimir M. Liushyts, *Isblo u byassmertse Haradotksae Heta* (Orsha, 1995) pp. 7–8.

There is a testimony regarding the fate of the Jews in Lenino at YVA (O-3/4666).

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NOTE

1. Stefan Yevmenenko, YVA, O-3/4666.

LEPEL'

Pre-1941: Lepel', town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lepel, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Lepel', raen center, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lepel' is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) west-southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 1,919 Jews lived in the town, comprising 13.9 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Lepel' raion (without the town of Lepel') was 289 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small town of Kamen'.

German forces (XXXIX Army Corps, Panzer Group 3) entered Lepel' on July 3, 1941. From August 1941, Lepel' was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center, being

situated on its western edge, close to the area under “civil administration” (Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien). From August 1941 until July 1942, the Lepel' area lay in the realm of the 403rd Security Division; from July 1942 it fell under the 201st Security Division, with its headquarters in the village of Borovka, northeast of Lepel'. The town of Lepel' was the site of Feldkommandantur 181. In 1941–1942, Ortskommandantur I/851 was based in Lepel'.

The German military authorities appointed Yu.N. Nedelko, a former schoolteacher of physical training, as the mayor of Lepel', and Voitekhovich became head of the Belorussian police.¹

Survivors Roza Fishkina and Semyon Feigelman give good accounts of the situation of the Jews in Lepel' under German occupation. From the start, the Germans shot those whom they suspected were Communists and provoked local people into robbing and murdering Jews.

Both survivors attest that some days after the arrival of the Germans the new authorities introduced the first anti-Jewish measures. One day, early in the morning, they woke up the Jews of Lepel' and assembled them on a boulevard in the town's center for a meeting. All Jews, including small children, old people, and the sick “who had been unable to get up from their beds for several years,” in the words of Fishkina, were told to come to the assembly place. The assembly was accompanied by beatings and other kinds of violence; the boulevard was guarded by German soldiers, so some Jews thought that it was a deportation or mass execution. But once there, the Jews simply had to listen to an officer read out new regulations restricting Jewish life. Among other things, forced labor was introduced. A Jewish committee was appointed with the Jewish elder Gordon at its head.²

A ghetto was established in Lepel' at the end of July 1941. It included the streets Leninskaia, Volodarskaia, Vokzal'naia, and Bannyi Lane (according to another account, Leninskaia, Vokzal'naia, and Kanal'naia Streets). According to Fishkina, the houses in this district of the town were wretched: some of them had neither doors nor windows nor wooden floors. Jews were crammed 30 to 40 people to a house. The ghetto inmates were forbidden to switch on the light, to go out of their houses “without any business,” and to look out of the windows. In winter they were forbidden to take water from wells; they could only melt snow instead. The ghetto inmates did not receive any food.

Every day, the ghetto Jews were escorted to forced labor. On the way they had to sing a song, of which the only words were “Juden kaputt” (the Jews are finished). Fishkina does not mention the Jews being used for any vital or systematic tasks; their work included cleaning the streets of snow, cleaning cesspools without any tools, cutting firewood, transporting bricks, and doing other menial tasks. During the work, “traitors” (local collaborators, most probably, local police) beat the Jews with sticks, trying not to miss anybody.

Germans and *politsais* (local police) robbed the ghetto Jews of their belongings. As can be inferred from Fishkina's account, Mayor Nedelko imposed a “contribution” of gold and

valuables on the ghetto Jews. Raising the contribution proved difficult, and many Jews were killed during the course of its collection. Nedelko may also have tried to extort money from the Jews for protecting them from mass killing. In any case, it is clear that the population, Jewish and non-Jewish, had some knowledge of the forthcoming liquidation of the ghetto.

The ghetto was liquidated on February 28, 1942.³ On the morning of this sunny but very frosty day, the local police, headed by the deputy commander of the Belorussian police in Lepel', Pavel Sorokin, surrounded the ghetto and began to assemble its inhabitants. Later the SS appeared. Some Jews were killed on the spot, which may mean that they put up some resistance. The rest, who, despite the heavy frost, were dressed only in light clothing, were taken in trucks to the killing site: pits near the village of Chernoruch'e, about 5 kilometers (3 miles) south of the town. The initiator of the killing was Obersturmbannführer Wilhelm Wiebens, the head of Einsatzkommando 9. Immediately after the mass murders of Jews in Beshenkovich and Chashniki, Wiebens turned to the Lepel' Kommandantur with a request to hand over the Jews of Lepel' to him for liquidation. The deputy commandant, Major Hirschberg, tried to object, claiming that he needed these Jews as manpower for constructing a major road (*Rollbahn*). As a result, two weeks later Wiebens's representative appeared in Lepel' once more with a new order, and the killing took place.⁴ It is unclear what other units, apart from Wiebens's men, took part. Fishkina mentions also that *narodniki*, or men of the Russian National People's Army (RNNA), participated in the Aktion.

The Vitebsk Regional Commission for Assistance to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of victims as 1,000 or (another estimate) 980 people.⁵ The trial of Einsatzkommando 9 (the main defendant being Wiebens) held in West Berlin in 1966 estimated the number of victims of the Lepel' ghetto at 1,100.⁶

In the village of Kamen', 20 kilometers (12.4 miles) northeast of Lepel', in 1926 there were 426 Jews living in the town (80 percent of the population). There was no formal ghetto in Kamen'. Jews were forbidden to leave the town but continued to live in their own houses. The wearing of yellow stars was introduced. Jews continued to perform agricultural labor at the local kolkhoz.

According to the ChGK, 158 Jews of Kamen' were killed on September 17, 1941. On the day before, the Nazis assembled all the Jews in a building where there had been a wool factory before the war. On September 17, all the male Jews of the town were loaded onto trucks and taken in a northwesterly direction to the cemetery of Borki to dig a mass grave, after which they were killed. Then the Nazis came to the town to take women and children to the massacre site. Before the women were taken to Borki, the teacher Dora Baselovich cried to the others: "Don't believe the Germans! They took the men not for working but for digging pits for us!" The women and children were killed at the same place.⁷ According to the only survivor, Meise (Moisei) Aksentsov, a German officer from the local garrison informed Jews some days before

the murder that they would be killed, but nobody ran from the town. On September 17, when he was brought with the other Jewish men of Kamen' to dig the mass grave, Aksentsov shouted, "Run away," attacked a nearby policeman, and hit him on the head with a shovel. The crowd of Jews scattered, but all were mowed down by machine-gunners except for Aksentsov himself, who ran in the direction of the nearby boggy lake, where he succeeded in hiding among the rushes. On this day his wife and four children were killed.⁸

In February 1942, 26 Jews of the village of Pyshno, 16 kilometers (10 miles) northwest of Lepel', were transferred to Lepel' and shot there, together with the local Jews, on February 28.⁹

Elsewhere in the raion, the nine members of the Jewish Fishman and Klivanov families were killed in the Poliany sel'sovet, about 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) east of Lepel'. Six Jews were killed in the village of Zateklias'e, some 12 kilometers (7.5 miles) west of Lepel'. A one-year-old child of mixed parentage was killed in the area of the village Zabolot'e, 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) southeast of Lepel'.

SOURCES In the book by Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), several pages (pp. 35–40, 45–54) deal with the Holocaust in the Lepel' raion. The events in Lepel' were discussed at the trial of members of Einsatzkommando 9 held in West Berlin in 1966, so a description can be found in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 23 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998).

The documents of the ChGK for the Lepel' raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-104) and GAVO (2088-2-3). Copies can be found also in BA-L (ZStL, Ordn. 423, pp. 280–380) and in YVA (O-53/23). The only extant oral account of the events in Kamen' (although not by an eyewitness) can be found in YVA (O-3/4682).

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-84-104.
2. Testimony of Roza Fishkina; see *ibid.* For Feigelman's account, see Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 46–48.
3. Both survivors, S. Feigelman and Roza Fishkina, name this day as the date of the last Aktion.
4. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 23:517. This source erroneously dates the killing on April 28.
5. GARF, 7021-84-104; GAVO, 2088-2-3.
6. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, 23:517.
7. GAVO, 2088-2-3, pp. 192, 199; Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 35–40.
8. YVA, O-3/4682. Aksentsov died in 1955; his story was retold by his nephew Grigorii Raikhelson from Vitebsk, who claims that he heard this story from Aksentsov many times.
9. GAVO, 2088-2-3, p. 190.

LIADY

Pre-1941: Liady, town, Dubrovno raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ljady, Dubrownno Rayon, Rear Area,

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Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Liady, Dobrouna raen, Vitsebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Liady is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) east-northeast of Orsha. In 1939, 897 Jews lived in Liady, making up 39.2 percent of the population.

Liady was captured by the Germans on July 18, 1941. According to the survivor Vyacheslav (Betsalel) Tamarkin, an evacuation from the town, started by the local authorities on July 14, failed because the Germans advanced rapidly, and the evacuees found themselves caught in the Germans' rear area.¹

Liady suffered greatly in the fighting, and most of its houses were destroyed. The Nazis resettled most of the Jews into a special quarter of the town (a form of "open ghetto"), which was not fenced in; the houses of the area were crammed full of people. A Jewish Council was established. The mayor of the volost' (administrative district) of Liady was Ostapenko.

The occupiers did not disband the "Jewish" kolkhoz, and in the words of Tamarkin, a survivor and a former kolkhoznik, "[f]ormer members of the kolkhoz 'Nayer Lebn' toiled now as slaves for the [German] police chief."² Moreover, the Nazis did not force the Jewish kolkhozniks to wear the patch in the form of the Star of David on the chest and on the back, which they forced on the rest of the Liady Jews. Thus the Jewish kolkhozniks were perceived as "privileged" Jews, and it was rumored that all the Jews of Liady would be killed, but the agricultural workers would be spared.³ Sometime later, at the end of the summer, however, the Jewish kolkhozniks were also resettled into the Jewish area of the town.

There was a flour mill in Liady, and the Germans let the old Jewish millers stay there. The millers, Bogorad and Minkin, were allowed to ask the Jewish Council for whatever number of Jewish workers they "needed" to load the flour for the Germans. Although the Jews were forbidden to mill rye for themselves, and the Belorussian police and *narodniki* (Russian National People's Army [RNNA] men) kept an eye on this, the mill workers managed to provide the Jews of Liady with grain.⁴

Later in the fall of 1941, the Germans drove groups of Jews, including former kolkhozniks, to forced labor: cobbling the main street of Liady with bricks. During this work, the Jews were forbidden to carry bricks in barrows; to work in gloves; to use such tools as picks, shovels, and crowbars; or even to stand up straight.⁵

Sometime in the fall of 1941, the Germans carried out their first killing Aktion; the survivor Faina Kogan (née Velikovskaia) dates it on September 27, 1941. Some days prior to this, they caught several Jewish youths (Sara Malkina, Tanya Kalner, Isaak Kuznetsov, Izya Yukhvich, and three people who were not from Liady) who had left the ghetto and gone east—according to one version, to form a partisan unit, according to another, to cross the front line. The Germans gathered the young Jewish people of the town and abused them. They forced a group of young men to crawl along the main street without using their arms and legs. Another group

was sent to a nearby hollow to dig a pit there. Then they gathered all the Jews of Liady at this hollow and brought the seven Jews who had been arrested and publicly shot them in the pit.

The next morning, the Germans once more assembled all the Jews at the local Jewish cemetery. Tamarkin writes:

[T]he Nazis started sorting out people into women, men, and children. They separated the young boys from the girls, forming two columns, and brought them to the benches. They would put a girl on one bench and a boy on the other one; then they whipped them with rods. After the whipping they threw everyone into a barn. . . . The men of the punitive squad announced that they would free the youngsters if the Jews collected a certain amount of gold and silver valuables by the morning. They picked 29 "intellectuals" from the men's group, took them away and shot them behind the new Jewish cemetery.⁶

In March 1942 the local police and *narodniki* resettled the Jews of Liady into a school building that had been prepared in advance: the windows were boarded up with planks, and the building was surrounded with barbed wire; in the corners of this fence, watchtowers were erected. The prisoners of this new "ghetto" received neither food nor water; according to an eyewitness, the people were crammed together so densely inside the building that it was impossible to lie down. Sometimes the Nazis took some people from the ghetto for work; this allowed the Jews to get some food. Typhus epidemics broke out in the ghetto, and many prisoners died.⁷

At the end of March, it was rumored in the ghetto that the Germans had driven local peasants to deepen antitank ditches on the eastern, Russian side of the Mereia River. This rumor compelled some people to flee the ghetto. On April 2, 1942, the Jews of the Liady ghetto were brought across the Mereia to the Russian side and shot there.⁸

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 1,860 Jews were killed in Liady; this is probably an exaggeration, even taking into account that some Jews were brought to Liady or came there by themselves from nearby villages and that some Jewish refugees from Poland remained in the town under the occupation.

The village of Baevo is situated 28 kilometers (17.4 miles) southeast of Dubrovno, or 13 kilometers (8.1 miles) south of Liady at the border with Russia. No ghetto was established there; the local Jews were mainly agricultural workers. In early October 1941 a "punitive squad" arrived in Baevo from Gorki (Mogilev oblast'). The squad assembled all the Jews from the village, escorted them to the Mereia River (the border with Russia), and shot them in an antitank ditch near the village of Pakhomovo.⁹ According to the ChGK, 115 Jews were killed here. The ChGK compiled a list of 34 Jewish households annihilated by the Nazis in Baevo.

A mixed Russian-Jewish family, the Bruevs, was hidden in the village. In March 1942, the Jewish mother and her three daughters of mixed parentage were transferred to the ghetto

of Liady; the Russian father was left behind. Remarkably, the latter, Boris Mefodievich Bruev, managed to ransom his daughters from the Liady police and bring them back to Baevo. In another mixed family, the punitive squad murdered the Jewish mother in October 1941, but her fair-haired children were spared. In March 1942 they were also transferred to Liady.¹⁰

In Rossasno, the Jews were first assembled in the building of a local school, which was guarded by the indigenous police. On April 2, 1942, they were brought in horse-drawn sledges to Liady and killed together with the local Jews.¹¹ According to the records compiled by the ChGK, 74 Jews were killed.

SOURCES The book of memoirs by V.L. Tamarkin, *Eto bylo ne vo sne* (Moscow, 1998), deals with the Holocaust in Liady. A short essay by Gennadii Vinnitsa, “Liadniaskoe getto,” appeared in *Evrei Belarusi: Istoriia i kul'tura* 1 (1997): 128–133. In the book by the same author, G. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), several pages (pp. 16–31) deal with the Holocaust in the Dubrovno raion.

German documentation concerning Liady may be found in BA-MA (RH 26-707/15). In the 1980s, an amateur historian, a school principal from Liady named Lev Erenburg, collected witness accounts and newspaper clippings pertaining to the Holocaust in Liady. Parts of this archive were copied and brought to YVA (O-3/4670). The papers of Vyacheslav Tamarkin are located in USHMM (RG-10.094). Documents of the ChGK can be found in GARF (7021-84-6); a video testimony can be found at VHF.

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NOTES

1. Tamarkin, *Eto bylo ne vo sne*, p. 62; see also YVA, O-3/4670.
2. Tamarkin, *Eto bylo ne vo sne*, p. 99.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 87.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 104.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 102.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 113–114; see also YVA O-3/4670. According to Kogan (Velikovskaia), whose father Zalman Velikovskii was also among the “intellectuals” shot by the Nazis, they selected 27 people.
7. Tamarkin, *Eto bylo ne vo sne*, pp. 116–118.
8. GARF, 7021-84-6; *Krasnoarmeiskaia Pravda*, October 31, 1943.
9. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 16.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 16–17.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 29. See also **Rossasno**.

LIOZNO

Pre-1941: Liozno, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Liosno, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Liozno, raen center, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Liozno is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) east-southeast of Vitebsk. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, 711 Jews lived in the town, making up 17.3 percent of the population.

The Jewish population of the Liozno raion (without the town of Liozno) constituted 691 people, the bulk of whom lived in the villages of Kolyshki, Babinovichi, and Dobromysli. Based on the Jewish population of these towns in 1930 (951 in Kolyshki, 262 in Babinovichi, and 204 in Dobromysli), there were probably around 420 Jews in Kolyshki, 115 in Babinovichi, and 85 in Dobromysli at the start of the war.

Liozno was captured by German units of the V Army Corps, 9th Infantry Army, on July 16, 1941; Dobromysli was the site of heavy fighting, and it was captured on July 19.

The Liosno Rayon became part of Rear Area, Army Group Center. An Ortskommandantur was established in Liozno, with Hildebrant as the commandant.¹ The chief of the local police in Liozno was Chepik, later Piskunov. Another officer of the local police, Konstantin Turkov, played an instrumental role in the murder of the Jews in Rayon Liosno, as did his subordinates Liarskii, Savitskii, Karavaev, Popov, Seleznev, and others. Some Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) witnesses describe Turkov as a sadist who boasted of killing 500 people with his own hands. The starosta (village elder) of Kolyshki was Roman Korotkii; a survivor characterizes



The Vinogradov family poses in a garden with Polina, the Jewish girl from Liozno whom they saved and adopted (after 1945). Mother Yuliana and daughter Iraida [later Savelieva] were recognized as Righteous Among the Nations in 1997 by Yad Vashem. USHMM WS #57695, COURTESY OF JFR

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him as a man with a measure of conscience who had some compassion for the Jews.

On December 5, 1941, the Soviet counteroffensive from Moscow began. In January 1942, the Soviet 4th Shock Army (under the command of Colonel General A. Eremenko) struck a blow at the junction of German Army Groups Center and North, one of the weakest points of the German front, aiming to recapture Vitebsk. After a number of successful advances, in the first days of February, units of the 4th Shock Army broke through to the approaches of Vitebsk and stopped 5 kilometers (3.1 miles) outside the city. A corridor (the so-called Surazh gate) emerged between Usviaty and Velizh, on the Belorussian-Russian border. On February 6, the Soviet 358th Infantry Division reached Ponizov'e (Russia), close to Liozno and Ianovich. In February, a Soviet reconnaissance unit appeared in Kolyshki.² Some days later, in the course of their counteroffensive, the Germans regained Kolyshki and drove back the advanced Soviet units 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) away from Vitebsk.

Liozno is situated on the highway between Vitebsk and Smolensk; thus many Jewish refugees from Vitebsk, Minsk, Bobruisk, and Orsha were there when the Germans captured it. The refugees swelled the town's Jewish population. During the fighting, some of the town's dwellings were burned. The occupiers ordered Jews to wear armbands bearing a Star of David and resettled them into a ghetto. The ghetto consisted of 30 to 40 houses along one street; the survivor B. Chernyakov estimates its population at 600. In winter the situation in the ghetto deteriorated considerably. Chernyakov writes:

The police burst into ghetto houses in the winter at any time of the day or night. They broke the windows, beat the Jews with sticks and whips, and chased them out into the freezing cold. Not a single pane remained in one of the houses where there had formerly been a cobbler's shop, even though 40 people lived in that house in -40° Centigrade [-40° Fahrenheit] weather. Infested with lice, the people slept on rotten, wormy straw. A typhoid [*sic.*, typhus] epidemic began. Several people died every day.

According to the same eyewitness, in the fall of 1941 the Germans arrested, abused, and shot six aged Jewish men.³ In addition, sometime during the winter, Vulf Grinshtein, a Jew married to a non-Jew, was killed. The *politsai* (local policeman) Yevgenii Lyarskii came to Grinshtein's wife and demanded "gold and a gold watch." When she refused, Lyarskii threatened to kill her or her husband. Some days later, Lyarskii came into Grinshtein's house with several other policemen and once more demanded gold. When the Grinshteins refused, the policemen beat up Grinshtein and shot him.⁴

At the end of February 1942, at the request of the local Ortskommandantur, the ghetto in Liozno was liquidated. Some days before (various accounts date it on February 23, 24, or 27), a six-man German squad from Einsatzkommando 9, accompanied by a detachment of the Liozno auxiliary police

headed by Turkov, appeared in the town. In the night, the town was surrounded by the police, some of whom assembled the ghetto Jews in a big barn on Komsomolskaia Street. During the night, 20 people froze to death in the barn. On February 24 (or 25 or 28), the police started moving the people from the barn to the Adamenki Ravine (2 or 3 kilometers [about 1.5 miles] northwest of Liozno) and shooting them there. The Jews of Liozno were killed together with the Jews of the surrounding villages. The killing was conducted mainly by the local police. Before the killing, the police ordered the Jews to undress. According to a situation report of Einsatzgruppe B, 361 people were killed at that time. After the liquidation of the Liozno Jews, their belongings were sold in a local shop to the non-Jewish population.⁵

Taking into account that some Liozno Jews were killed before the last Aktion and that, according to Chernyakov, the mortality from disease in the ghetto was high in the winter months, we can assume that many more than 361 Jews perished in Liozno. Chernyakov may be close to the real number of victims when he estimates that 600 Jews were concentrated in the Liozno ghetto and met their deaths in 1941–1942.

On February 25 or 27 (according to various sources), a police unit headed by Turkov appeared in Babinovich (27 kilometers [16.8 miles] southwest of Liozno). The squad took "more than 20" Jews from the village and escorted them on horse sledges to Adamenki; however, the *politsais* shot most of them on the way. The list compiled by the ChGK gives 26 names of Jews killed; it is unclear whether the list is complete.⁶

The roughly 40 (36 according to the ChGK) Jews of the village of Dobromysli (15 kilometers [9.3 miles] southwest of Liozno) were assembled into one house and then shot at the end of February 1942 in the Adamenki Ravine by a Belorussian police unit that came from Liozno. See also **Kolyshki** for information on the fate of the Jews in that village.

Elsewhere in the Liozno raion, no fewer than 15 Jews were killed in the village of Ryzhiki, Babinovich sel'sovet (26 kilometers [16 miles] southwest of Liozno); at least 9 Jews were killed in the Sutoki sel'sovet (8 kilometers [5 miles] southwest of Liozno); in the Zamsheno sel'sovet (15 kilometers [9.3 miles] north of Liozno), 6 Jews were killed, members of the Altman family. In Emelianovo, 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) north of Liozno, 20 people were killed in the winter of 1942; it is unclear whether they were Jews. There are some indications that in Veleshkovichi (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] north of Liozno, Zamsheno sel'sovet) a number of Jews were killed by local inhabitants or at least with their assistance.⁷

SOURCES The events in Liozno are mentioned in I. Ehrenburg and V. Grossman, eds., *The Black Book* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), pp. 240–241. On the military operations in this region during the winter of 1941–1942, see A.I. Eremenko, *V nachale voiny* (Moscow, 1964), pp. 434–440.

The documents of the ChGK for the Liozno raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-8); relevant German documents can be found in BStU (ZUV 9, Bd. XXXI); and BA-MA (RW 46/499).

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NOTES

1. The ChGK documents identify it as OK I/991.
2. GARF, 7021-84-8.
3. B. Chernyakov's letter, in Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 240.
4. GARF, 7021-84-8, witness Kulagina.
5. The majority of the witnesses interrogated by the ChGK date the Aktion on February 23–28. According to them, some of the Liozno Jews were killed on February 24 or 25, the others, on the following days; see *ibid.* Contrary to that, Einsatzgruppe B's Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht (BStU, ZUV 9, Bd. XXXI, pp. 176ff.), as well as Chernyakov's letter, date the whole action on February 28.
6. GARF, 7021-84-8; Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 240.
7. Rumors about a killing of Jews in Veleshkovichy circulated in Vitebsk in 1941; see YVA, O-3/4720.

LIPEN'

Pre-1941: Lipen' (formerly Kholui), village, Osipovichy raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Lipen, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Lipen', Asipovichy raen, Mabilou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Lipen' is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) northwest of Bobruisk. According to the 1926 census, Lipen' had a Jewish population of 441. By 1941, migration had slightly reduced that number.

Units of Army Group Center captured the village in early July 1941, two weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR. During this intervening period, some of the Jews managed to evacuate to the east, while men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red Army. Slightly more than 200 Jews remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire occupation period, from July 1941 to June 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German military administration appointed a village head and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from among local residents.

Soon after the occupation of Lipen', the Ortskommandantur ordered the registration of the Jews, who were made to wear yellow stars. They were also required to perform various kinds of forced labor. In August 1941, all the Jews in the village were moved into a ghetto consisting of several houses.

Descriptions of the ghetto by two Jewish survivors present certain inconsistencies. According to Vladimir Kasperskii, the ghetto was on one street that ran from the club to the river. It was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the local police.¹ Sarra Kossperskaia, on the other hand, who was married to a Russian with whom she continued to live, maintains that the whole village was a ghetto and that it was not fenced in. She states that there was no heat, little food, and no ration cards. There were also a few Jewish refugees in the ghetto from places farther to the west. Local policemen entered the ghetto and robbed the Jews.²

The ghetto in Lipen' existed for about two months. German forces liquidated the ghetto in October 1941 by shooting all the Jews, a total of more than 200 people. Some Jews tried to hide at the time of the roundup, but most were uncovered with the help of the local police. The Jews were shot close to the Svisloch' River.

SOURCES Publications regarding the fate of the Jews of Lipen' during the Holocaust include the following: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 734; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaiia Navuka, 2000), p. 304; "Lipen'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 5 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2004).

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Lipen' can be found in these archives: GAMO; GARF (7021-82-5); NARB; RTKIDNI (69-9-14); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 24); and VHF (# 32020 and 44150).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 32020, testimony of Vladimir Kasperskii.
2. *Ibid.*, # 44150, testimony of Sarra Kossperskaia.

LIUBAN'

Pre-1941: Liuban', town and raion center, Liuban' raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ljuban, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Liuban', raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Liuban' is situated 152 kilometers (94 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of the town was 1,077. In addition, 214 Jews lived in the villages of the Liuban' raion.

Liuban' was occupied by units of the German army on July 8, 1941. On August 2, 1941, an unknown German military unit arrived in Liuban' and gathered the adult males of the town in the courtyard of the kolkhoz. The Germans then selected all the Jews, some 150 to 200 men, loaded them onto trucks, and drove them off in the direction of the village of Kostuki. Later that day, it became known that the Germans had shot the men in gravel pits between Kostuki and Dubniki, about 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) from Liuban'. Among those murdered were Giler Retschin, Alter Levin, and Aron Kustanovich. Following this first Aktion, many of the remaining Jewish men went into hiding.¹

The head of the local police in Liuban' was Aleksandr Gidronovich. The Germans shot him in 1943, apparently for aiding the Soviet partisans.²

At the beginning of September 1941, the German authorities concentrated the Jews of Liuban' and the surrounding area into a ghetto on the west side of town. The ghetto was in a separate quarter behind the market square around Pervomaiskaia

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Street and was surrounded by barbed wire. About 1,000 people were confined within the ghetto. Each house contained three or four families. German soldiers from the Ortskommandantur and local policemen guarded the ghetto.³ On German orders, all inhabitants of the ghetto had to wear a yellow star on the front and back of their clothing. Jews could not leave the ghetto without an escort, not even to buy food. Every day the Germans forced adult Jews to work cleaning the streets, repairing roads, digging military defenses, and performing other tasks. The German authorities also spread virulent propaganda against the Jews.

In the fall of 1941, German forces repeatedly entered the ghetto to conduct pogroms, beating Jews without reason and stealing their property. Germans from the local commandant's office demanded "contributions" in gold from the Jewish elder, Boris Molina, threatening to shoot the Jews if their demands were not met. On several occasions, gold was collected and handed in to the commandant's office. The Germans also arrested and shot some non-Jewish Soviet activists, as reported by a certain Mayevski, who was only wounded and managed to escape.⁴

On November 8, 1941, after an attack on Liuban' by Soviet partisans during the night of November 6–7 (in honor of the day of the October Revolution), the German garrison, reinforced by German troops from Urech'e, together with the local police arrested up to 50 Jewish men and shot them the same day. Among the innocent people murdered in this reprisal Aktion were Josef Levin, Samuel Gurevich, David Epstein, and Hayim Lvovitch.⁵

Fanya Lvovitch described the desperate predicament of those who remained just prior to the liquidation of the ghetto: "Escaping from Liuban' was impossible. First, there was nowhere to run to. Jews had no safe haven. Second, for every Jew who escaped they murdered 100 others."⁶

At the beginning of December 1941, a German punitive unit consisting of more than 100 SS men arrived in Liuban'. It was rumored that they came from Glusk, where they had just killed all the Jews. For three days, together with soldiers of the commandant's office, they plundered the ghetto, beating the Jews and demanding their valuables. Then on December 4, 1941, the German forces surrounded the ghetto, together with the local police, and began to drive all the ghetto inmates out onto Pervomaiskaia Street.

Survivors of the massacre, Mot Kustanovich and part of his family, managed to hide in a bunker they had prepared. During the remainder of the day and the next two days, they heard shots from rifles and machine pistols, as well as victims pleading for their lives. More than 1,000 residents of the ghetto, mostly women, children, and the elderly, were murdered on December 4. Most were escorted out of town in a large column and were murdered near the Machine Tractor Station (MTS) on the edge of town. The graves were dug and filled in by local residents, who saw children's clothing strewn by the wayside on the road back to town. Over the following days Jews uncovered in hiding were either shot inside the ghetto or taken to the mill by the peat marsh on the west of town and mur-

dered there. The Kustanovich family is known to have hidden successfully until the night of December 9–10, when they fled under cover of darkness to join the Soviet partisans.⁷

SOURCES The yizkor book for Slutsk, N. Chinitz and Sh. Nachmani, eds., *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteba* (Tel Aviv: Yizkor Book Committee, 1962), contains some information regarding the Jewish community of Liuban', including a letter by Fanya [Lvovitch] concerning the events of the Holocaust. Information regarding memorial sites in the town can be found in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), p. 70.

Information on the destruction of the Jews of Liuban' can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL/II 202 AR-Z 56/75); and GARF (7021-87-5).

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NOTES

1. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 56/75, Bd. I, pp. 28–31, statement of Mot S. Kustanovich on May 5, 1969, pp. 32–35, and statement of Nikolay Lagun on May 8, 1969. Chinitz and Nachmani, *Pinkas Slutsk u-benoteba*, pp. 456–457, Fanya [Lvovitch], "A letter from Lyuban'" (translated from Yiddish by Paul Pascal), gives the figure of 200 for this first Aktion.

2. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 56/75, Bd. I, pp. 22–27, statement by Makar Suchan on April 29, 1969. Suchan served in the local police from the end of November 1941 to the summer of 1944.

3. On August 9, 1941, the Ortskommandantur in Liuban' was OK I/685 (BA-MA, RH/26/221-17), but especially during the initial German advance, the military commandant's offices changed location quite frequently.

4. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 56/75, Bd. I, pp. 22–44.

5. Ibid.; Fanya [Lvovitch] ("A letter from Lyuban'"), who lost her father in this Aktion, dates it on November 8.

6. Fanya [Lvovitch], "A letter from Lyuban'."

7. BA-L, II 202 AR-Z 56/75, Bd. I, pp. 22–44.

MAR'INA GORKA

Pre-1941: Mar'ina Gorka, town and center, Pukhovichi raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Marjina Gorka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Mar'ina Horka, center, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mar'ina Gorka is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) southeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 786 Jews living in Mar'ina Gorka.

Mar'ina Gorka was occupied by units of the German army at the beginning of July 1941. As the Red Army was retreating, local inhabitants killed 11 Soviet soldiers. Sometime in August 1941, about 70 or 80 inhabitants of Mar'ina Gorka (mostly Jewish men) were arrested and taken to the police courtyard where they were held captive and systematically abused for one week. The Germans cut off their beards, cut stars into their heads, forced them to crawl, and beat them with rifle butts, whips, and sticks. Among those held was a

Jew named Isaak Fried, who with the others was forced to eat grass and jump from a roof. After about a week, the captives were driven to the cemetery and shot.¹

At the end of August or in early September 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in Mar'ina Gorka in the area of Gorky Street, May 1 Street, and Soviet Street. Some 600 people were confined within the ghetto, mainly women, children, and the elderly. The local population was forbidden to enter the ghetto, and Jews were forbidden all contact with their former neighbors.²

In the second half of September 1941, Gendarmerie Wachtmeister Bruno Mittmann drove to Mar'ina Gorka from Minsk together with some 20 Gendarmes and 27 Schutzpolizei (Schupo) to carry out an Aktion against the local Jewish population. In charge of the Aktion was SS-Brigadeführer Carl Zenner, as well as Gendarmerie Leutnant Karl Kalla. The Aktion had been ordered personally by the newly appointed Generalkommissar in Weissruthenien, Wilhelm Kube.³

Early in the morning, the Germans and local policemen surrounded the ghetto and forced the Jews to assemble on Lenin Square. The people were beaten severely, and children cried and screamed; those who could not walk were dragged along by the others. The Jews were then loaded onto trucks and conveyed to the Blon' Collective Farm just north of Mar'ina Gorka. One woman, Goda Kogan, called out to a non-Jewish friend as she was driven away: "Live well! We won't see each other again!" Another Jewish woman sprang from the moving truck into the river and was shot by the German guards.⁴

At Blon', the Jews were made to undress in a pigsty and then taken up the hill of Popova Gorka in groups of 10 to be shot with machine guns. The Jews from the nearby Pukhovichi ghetto were also escorted to Blon' on foot that day and were shot together with those from Mar'ina Gorka. Children were thrown into the grave and buried alive. According to one account, some women were raped before they were shot. The shootings lasted nearly all day. The Germans attempted to drown out the noise of the shooting by running tractor engines.

The Rayon mayor, Leonid Derban, was present at the killing site. Clothing and other valuables taken from the victims were loaded onto trucks and taken to Mar'ina Gorka. These items were subsequently sold at the communal shop or stolen by the police. Some 67 Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) were also taken to the killing site on trucks later in the day, and the Germans shot them in a separate mass grave next to the Jews.⁵

The German Einsatzgruppen report states that the Aktion against the Jews in Mar'ina Gorka "became necessary because the Jews were sabotaging all the instructions issued by the occupying authorities. The work assigned to them was done with great reluctance. Nine hundred and ninety-six Jewish men and women were given 'special treatment' in order to break this spirit of resistance."⁶ Of these, probably some 500 came from the Mar'ina Gorka ghetto and the rest from nearby Pukhovichi. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report estimates 970 bodies in one grave and 67 in another nearby.⁷

Bruno Mittmann (born 1901) was tried in Minsk in 1946 for the murder of the Jews in Mar'ina Gorka and Pukhovichi,

among other crimes. The Soviet authorities sentenced him to death and hanged him.⁸ Local policeman Nikifor L. Moshenok was convicted in 1946 for service in the German police. In his interrogations, he admitted guarding the Jews during their roundup and execution but denied having personally taken part in the shooting.⁹ In the records examined for this entry, no mention of Jewish survivors could be found.

SOURCES Documentation on the destruction of the Jewish population of Mar'ina Gorka can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (II 202 179/67 and 202 AR-Z 60/70); GAMINO (15-3-457); GARF (7021-87-12); NARA; NARB; USHMM (e.g., RG-53.002M, reel 12); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. I, statements of Olga Androsik, on March 25, 1968, and Sinaida Bartasevich, on December 18, 1945.

2. Ibid.

3. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, pp. 132–133; Bruno Mittmann at the Minsk trial in January 1946 dated the Aktion on September 28, 1941; Dok. Bd. I, p. 120, Nina Sinoveyna, a local inhabitant of Mar'ina Gorka, dated it on September 24. The ChGK report of September 28, 1944 (USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 12 [GAMINO, 15-3-457]), gives the date of September 17, 1941; USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196 (NARA, RG-242, T-175), reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941. The reason for this intervention by Kube may be related to a previous Einsatzgruppen report about the Jews of the Marina Borka [*sic*] district fleeing to the woods, joining with the partisans and plundering the area; see Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941.

4. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, pp. 87–94, statements of Sinaida Bartasevich and Valentina Cherepko in December 1945.

5. Ibid., Dok. Bd. II, statements of Mikhail A. Koreny and Sinaida K. Bartasevich in September 1944.

6. USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196, reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.

7. USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 12 (GAMINO), 15-3-457. The report includes a sketch of the grave site near Blon'.

8. Records from the Minsk trial can be found in USHMM, RG-06.025 (Selected Records of the FSB concerning war crimes investigations and trials in the Soviet Union).

9. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. I, p. 126, statement of Nikifor L. Moshenok, July 11, 1946.

MOGILEV

Pre-1941: Mogilev, city, raion, and oblast' center, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mogilev, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Mahiliou, raen and voblasts' center, Republic of Belarus

Mogilev is located about 200 kilometers (124 miles) east of Minsk. According to the census of 1939, Mogilev's 19,715 Jews made up 19.8 percent of the city's population.

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The German invasion of the Soviet Union prompted the evacuation to the east of a considerable number of Jews and the conscription of part of the male Jewish population into the Red Army. The exact number of Jews remaining in Mogilev at the start of the occupation is not known.

Units of the Wehrmacht entered Mogilev on July 26, 1941. Occupied Mogilev was at first located in Panzer Group 2's zone of operations and then came under Rear Area, Army Group Center. Authority in the city was divided between the local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/292 under Major Krantz) and the field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 191 under Oberst Jatschwitz), with the former subordinated to the latter. Later, they were replaced by Ortskommandantur I/843 (1942–1943), Ortskommandantur I/906 (1943), and Feldkommandantur 813 (April 1942–1943).

In the very first days of the occupation, the Germans imposed a number of restrictions on the Jews in Mogilev, including a curfew, markings on their clothes, and forced labor. The creation of a Judenrat by the Nazis further isolated the Jews.

In early August 1941 the Germans registered the city's Jewish population, which, according to the witness testimony of N.G. Sorkin, documented 14,000 Jewish residents.¹ The Judenrat was forced to take an active part in implementing this measure. The occupiers then used this information to prepare the lists of persons for execution.

The Jews were divided into three categories. In the first group were those considered capable of heading up a resistance movement or becoming active participants in the anti-Fascist struggle. They were executed first, with 80 Jews being killed in August 1941 by Einsatzkommando 8 under Dr. Otto Bradfisch.² Among the victims were party workers Astrov and Khavkin and business manager Rozenberg.

The second category included the bulk of the Jewish population, which initially had been subjected to confinement in an isolated area. On August 13, 1941, a notice appeared,



Jewish women carrying bundles walk towards an assembly point in Mogilev, 1941.

USHMM WS #68378, COURTESY OF GFH

signed by the head of the city authority, Felitsin: "By order of the Herr Kommandant of the city of Mogilev, all persons of Jewish nationality, both genders, are to leave the city limits within 24 hours and relocate to the Ghetto zone. All persons failing to comply with the stated order in the stated period of time will be forcibly moved by the police and the property of those people will be confiscated."³

Mogilev's Jews, or a great many of them, were herded into the ghetto on Grahdanskaia Street in the Podnikol'e quarter. Jews from Kniazhitsy and the Vorotyn' area were also relocated here.⁴ In September 1941, the ghetto was moved to the bank of the Dubrovenka River, with borders running from Bykhovskii Market to Vilenskaia Street (later Lazarenko Street). Mayor Felitsin selected the territory for the ghetto. A small number of Jews left Mogilev upon hearing of the relocation to the ghetto.

Bada Iudina went to Mstislavl', where she soon found herself among prisoners of the ghetto there. To save herself, she claimed to be a Belarussian woman and was sent to work in Germany.⁵ A student from the Mogilev Pedagogical Institute, Inessa Parkhovnikova, set out for the village of Polykovichi, where she hid with a friend's family.

Confinement to the ghetto was accompanied by the killing of Jews as well. People were shot on the doorstep of their own homes. According to a German Security Police report, "[I]n Mogilev, the Jews also tried to sabotage their resettlement into the ghetto. One hundred and thirteen Jews were liquidated."⁶

Between 40 and 60 people were forced into each house in the ghetto on the Dubrovenka. Foodstuffs were not provided. Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto. The ghetto was a "closed ghetto" and was guarded by the Feldgendarmarie and Belorussian policemen. All those who were capable of work were sent to do hard physical labor. Young people were regularly beaten, while old men were mocked and their beards and mustaches were shorn. The shooting was almost continuous. Accused of impertinent behavior, 337 Jewish women were executed.⁷ Two Jews were killed because they were not wearing the yellow patch. Another 2 were shot as alleged agents of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). Three Jews were shot after being discovered with explosive material, and 4 for refusing to work. Eight Jews were accused of incitement and propaganda and then shot.

According to several sources, besides the ghetto on the Dubrovenka River, there were other places for concentrating Mogilev's Jews, which appeared in September–October 1941 somewhere on Vilenskaia Street and in an enclosed part of a field next to where the Hotel Mogilev stands today.⁸ These should be classified as holding places for victims before execution. A longer period of confinement is connected with the Dimitrov Factory (Strommashina).

In October 1941, the occupiers carried out two Aktions aimed at the destruction of the ghetto on the Dubrovenka River. The first mass killing took place on October 2 and 3, 1941. The executioners were from Einsatzkommando 8, Police Battalions 316 and 322, Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft

Battalion 51, and a police detachment called “Waldenburg.” In all, 2,073 Jews were shot. The first 65 Jews were killed right in the ghetto on October 2. The remaining 2,008 people were first driven into the Dimitrov Factory and then shot on October 3, 1941, in the Mashekovskii Jewish cemetery.⁹

The second Aktion was carried out on October 19, 1941. Einsatzkommando 8, Police Battalion 316, and Ukrainian Schutzmannschaft Battalion 51 all participated in the Aktion. This mass shooting, which claimed the lives of 3,726 Jews, took place predominantly in the villages of Kazimirovka and Novoe Pashkovo.¹⁰ The annihilation of the ghetto inmates followed approximately the same scenario in both cases: “Fall of 1941. When it was already very cold, the Germans arrived in the ghetto in many vehicles, and began to force the Jews from their homes and load them onto the motor vehicles. Screams, noise, crying arose from the ghetto. Those who were not able to walk were shot on the spot. I saw this with my own eyes. All the vehicles were covered with a tarpaulin.”¹¹ The exact date on which the 4,800 Jews reportedly murdered in Polykovichi took place remains unresolved.

In Mogilev, the Germans used “mobile gas chambers” or “gas vans” to kill some of their victims. This instrument of death looked like a large, black-colored enclosed truck. They killed people by feeding the vehicle’s own exhaust fumes into the hermetically sealed chamber where the victims were held.¹²

After the liquidation of the ghetto on the Dubrovenka River, remaining Jewish property there was plundered. The deserted homes were combed in the search for valuables, high-quality clothing, and household objects.

The destruction of the ghetto on the Dubrovenka River marks the end of what is conventionally seen as the first phase in the history of the Holocaust in Mogilev. It should be noted that the second period is less clear and more problematic in terms of reconstructing the events. This second phase is connected to a large extent with the fate of the Jews relegated to the third category drawn up by the Nazis after the census. At issue here are the specialist workers and craftsmen whom the Nazis needed and therefore spared from liquidation until later. The saddlers, shoemakers, locksmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, tailors, tinsmiths, tanners, glaziers, and painters who were thus selected were confined on the premises of the Dimitrov Factory. At the end of September 1941, around 1,000 Jews were driven into the forced labor camp established there.¹³

At the beginning of its existence, the camp probably was filled only with Jews and was a kind of closed ghetto for hard labor, which also had its own 15-man Jewish police force. It was guarded externally by local police, and the Jews were forbidden to leave its premises. According to the testimony of L.M. Naimark, after the liquidation of the ghetto on the Dubrovenka, a considerable number of Jews were taken to the Dimitrov Factory and killed there.

Work for the camp’s Jewish inmates consisted of hard physical tasks. These could have something or nothing at all to do with an inmate’s vocation. The inhabitants of the forced labor camp were also fed poorly. Every Sunday, the Germans

carried out a purge.¹⁴ The corpses were buried in two pits, right where they were shot. A typhus epidemic also broke out as a result of overcrowding and unsanitary conditions.

According to Sorkin’s testimony, the camp contained not only Jews. The ratio of Jews to non-Jews, however, has not been determined. After a visit by Heinrich Himmler on October 23, 1941, the camp was expanded. On the basis of witness testimony, it is estimated that the capacity of the camp was about 2,000 people, and during its existence between the fall of 1941 and the fall of 1943, up to 4,000 people probably passed through the camp, most of whom were killed.¹⁵

Sometimes contingents of Jews from elsewhere were sent to Mogilev. For example, approximately 400 Jews were brought to the camp from Slonim on May 26, 1942. Available testimony indicates that up to 4,000 Jews were liquidated in the camp in a single Aktion in 1942 (the exact date is not known).¹⁶

To cover up the evidence of their crimes, the Germans in the fall of 1943 exhumed their victims’ remains from the mass graves in Polykovichi, Novoe Pashkovo, and Kazimirovka and burned them.

A small number of Jews survived. As for losses, the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) of October 8, 1944, gives an overall figure of 10,000 Jews murdered.¹⁷ However, the aforementioned document says nothing of the shootings in the camp at the Dimitrov Factory. The total number of Jews who perished in Mogilev, therefore, may be as high as 14,000 people.

SOURCES One of the first attempts to describe the Holocaust in Mogilev was the essay by Ida Shenderovich, “Zabytoe getto,” published in the collection *Historiya Mabiliou: Minulaa i suchasnasts’* (Mogilev, 2003), pp. 92–101. Another key source of information is the detailed monograph by Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1999), in which the author examines the murder of Mogilev’s Jews, citing many archival collections. Other relevant publications include the following: Andrej Angrick et al., “‘Da hätte man schon ein Tagebuch führen müssen.’ Das Polizeibataillon 322 und die Judenmorde im Bereich der Heeresgruppe Mitte während des Sommers und Herbstes 1941,” in Helge Grabitz et al., eds., *Die Normalität des Verbrechens. Festschrift für Wolfgang Scheffler zum 65. Geburtstag* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1994), pp. 32–85; *Pamiats’ Mabiliou* (Minsk, 1998); Ida Markovich Shenderovich, *Martirolog: Spiski evreev, pogibshikh vo vremia vtoroi mirovoi voiny: Mogilev* (Mogilev: “Dzhoint,” 2001); Ida M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel’ mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005); Inna Gerasimova and Arkadii Shul’man, eds., *Pravedniki narodov mira Belarusi* (Minsk: Tonpik, 2004); and *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2002), Lfd. Nr. 1044, pp. 284–286.

Relevant documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Mogilev during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58); BA-L (e.g., B 162/3337); BA-MA (e.g., RH 26-286/10); BLH (video testimony of N.G. Sorkin); GAMO (260-1-15); GARF (7021-88-43); NARA; NARB (e.g.,

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570-1-1 and 4683-3- 943); PAGV; PAIMSh; RGVA; USHMM (e.g., RG-53.006M, RG-48.004M, and RG-53.002M); VHAP; VHF (e.g., # 31372 and 43212); and YVA.

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trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. BLH, video testimony of N.G. Sorokin.
2. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 3 (August 15–31, 1941), in Peter Klein et al., ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion, 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 159.
3. GAMO, 260-1-15, p. 14.
4. GARF, 7021-88-43, p. 111, testimony of K.P. Bazylenko.
5. PAGV, testimony of B.G. Iudina.
6. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 6 (October 1–31, 1941), in Klein, *Einsatzgruppen*, p. 230.
7. Ibid.
8. Material in PAIMSh.
9. USHMM, RG-48.004M (VHAP), reel 1, KTB of Pol. Btn. 322, October 2–3, 1941, and report of 9. Company, Pol. Rgt. Mitte, October 15, 1941.
10. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941; and Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht, no. 7 (November 1–30, 1941), in Klein, *Einsatzgruppen*, p. 253.
11. TsAKGBRB, t. 1, gr. 7, op. 7, por. 4, arkh. no. 1277.
12. GARF, 7021-88-43, p. 113, testimony of V.V. Kurochkin.
13. NARB, 570-1-1, p. 137 reverse; BA-MA, RH 26-286/10.
14. BLH, video testimony of N.G. Sorokin.
15. BA-L, B 162/3337 (202 AR-Z 52/59, vol. 4), p. 637.
16. Ibid., pp. 453, 634, 637, 641–642, as cited by Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde*, pp. 771–772.
17. GARF, 7021-88-43, p. 120, ChGK report, October 8, 1944.

MSTISLAVL'

Pre-1941: Mstislavl', town and raion center; Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Mstislavl', Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Mstislavl', raion center; Mabiliov voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Mstislavl' is located 80 kilometers (50 miles) east-northeast of Mogilev. In 1939, 2,067 Jews lived in Mstislavl' (19.7 percent of the population).

Soon after the German invasion on June 22, 1941, refugees from western Belorussia began arriving in Mstislavl'. No organized evacuation from the town was undertaken. Young adult males were mobilized into the Red Army. Most women, the elderly, and children were unable to escape on foot, and it was difficult to get a place on the few available trains. Many families decided not to leave their property behind unprotected. On July 14, 1941, the Germans entered Mstislavl'.

During the battles, some Jewish homes were burned, and people had to move to other houses. Soon after their arrival, the German forces arrested Communist activists, officials of

the local administration, and some Jews. A local police force was established under the command of police chief Kureshev. The local police assisted the German authorities in controlling the Jews: all Jewish houses were marked with six-pointed stars, and all Jews were registered. Every day the Jews had to report to the marketplace to be assigned to forced labor; those unable to work were beaten. Compulsory labor tasks included the cleaning of cesspools and lavatories.

Probably in September 1941, Egon Noack, commander of Vorauskommando Moskau of Einsatzgruppe B, arrived in Mstislavl'; after consulting with the mayor and the head of the local Russian police, he ordered the creation of a ghetto in the "Sloboda" section of town. All Jews were ordered to move into the ghetto, while local Belorussians were evacuated from this area. During this visit, the Security Police under Noack ordered the collection of fur coats from the Jews, and after the ghetto was established, the German Security Police shot about 30 male Jews.¹

Some testimonies, however, indicate that there was no formal ghetto in Mstislavl' and that the Jews were taken from their own houses to be shot. Only the Jews from the collective farm in Kazemirovka were taken to town the day before the mass shooting and were held on Leninskaia Street, which used to be the "Jewish street" before the war. At the beginning of the occupation, some Jews from the western part of town had also moved there after their houses burned. Therefore, it appears that the area around Leninskaia Street, which came to be heavily populated by Jews, was some form of "open ghetto" and apparently was not enclosed.²

On October 14, 1941, a punitive unit commanded by Field Marshal Krause and consisting of Germans and some Ukrainians arrived in Mstislavl'. Krause ordered an Aktion against the Jews to be carried out the next morning. At 7:00 A.M., the Jews were driven from their homes, and 30 older men were transported to the Leshenskii ditch, where the Germans shot them, leaving the bodies unburied. Young women were forced into shops and sexually abused; if they tried to defend themselves, they were shot on the square. The rest of the Jews were gathered in the yard of the pedagogic school. Among them were also Jews from Zarech'e, on the opposite bank of the Vikhra. In early October, the Germans had announced through loudspeakers that the Jews of Zarech'e should prepare for resettlement to Palestine. On October 15, 1941, the Germans and local residents escorted the Jews of Zarech'e to Mstislavl' in columns.

At the school, the guards took the Jews into classrooms, forced them to undress, took their valuables, and sent them back half-dressed to the yard. Among the Jews, rumors soon spread about the killings. At 3:00 P.M., the Jews (at least 700 people) were separated into two columns, one for men and one for women.³ Then the Germans and local policemen escorted them out of town.

The Germans and local policemen escorted the Jews to the west of Mstislavl' to the Kagalny Ravine between the Zamkovaia and Troitskaia hillocks (near the Inovskii sel'sovet, 2 kilometers [1.2 miles] from town). First they selected 50

Jews to dig the pits, then they killed them. Then the others were forced to undress completely and to lie down in the pits, where they were shot from behind in groups of 10.⁴ Some witnesses claim that the local police conducted the shootings while the Germans guarded the site.

The schoolteacher Minkina begged to save the life of her six-year old son, whose father (Orlovski) was Russian. In reply, the Germans stabbed her child with a bayonet and threw him into the pit.⁵ When the shooting was over, the local police checked the dead bodies, and recognizing that two women were still alive, they finished them off.⁶

The report of the Einsatzgruppen recorded that "900 Jews were executed in Mstislavl' as they had [allegedly] provided food, clothing, and shelter to partisans passing through the area."⁷ Another source indicates that the Germans and their collaborators murdered some 700 citizens of Mstislavl' at the mass grave site, most of whom were Jews but including 35 Roma (Gypsies) and 168 Belorussians, shot there subsequently.⁸

Some Jews who had the opportunity to escape decided to die with their relatives. Rusya Zhits was hidden by her friend Nadezhda Lipitskaia, but when the shooting began, she gave herself up because she could not abandon her sick mother. Fanya Eseevich was not taken with the convoy because she was married to a Russian, and the Germans did not recognize her as being Jewish, but when she saw that her relatives, including her eight-month-old son, had been killed, she decided she had no reason to live.⁹

After the shootings, remaining Jewish property was looted. On December 18, 1941, Ortskommandantur I (V)/256 reported the transfer of jewelry and other valuables, which had been secured by the town administration as the property of Jews who had been "finished off" before the unit's arrival in Mstislavl'.¹⁰

Only a few Jews managed to escape the roundup on October 15. When the Germans and police came for the photographer Eseevich, he and his wife, with three daughters (Fania, Mina, and Khaia) and the grandchildren, were at home. Mina and Khaia managed to escape through the backyard of their neighbors Valentina and Ada Vasil'evy. The twin sisters Vasil'evy gave Mina and Khaya their birth certificates and smuggled them out of town at night. In the village of Kazimirovo, the Germans took the two refugee girls for Belorussians and sent them to Germany as forced laborers (Ostarbeiter). After the war, Mina lived in France, and Khaia returned to Belorussia.¹¹

At the time of the mass shooting, Boris Mikhlin (13 years old) hid in the creek that led to the Vikhra River, and nobody found him. Liubov Basnoi was also rescued from the column of Jews.¹² A German looked at her and said: "You don't look like a Jew." She understood this as a sign and, without hesitating, escaped from the column and hid in the town. Ilya Josifovich Malkin lost his children in the massacre on October 15. He managed to escape on his own and joined the Soviet partisans. He survived until the liberation by the Red Army, swearing to avenge his family and bring Nazi criminals to justice. The partisan group "Kazankov" was estab-

lished by Semen Leibovich Sheinin and Iakov Moiseevich Malkov, who escaped from the mass shootings at the very last moment.¹³

The town was liberated on September 29, 1943, by units of the 344th Rifle Division (Colonel Strakhov) and the 196th Tank Division (Lt. Colonel Dukhovny). No Jews were left in Mstislavl' on their arrival. The 49th Army conducted the first investigation into the murder of the Jews on October 4, 1943,¹⁴ estimating that 1,300 people had been murdered, including children and adults. On November 1, 1943, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission found a concealed mass grave near Mstislavl'. In Kagal'nyi Rov, they discovered at least 20 pits full of bodies. After conducting a forensic examination and interviewing witnesses, they established the identities of about 650 people.¹⁵

SOURCES Witness testimonies and other information relating to the fate of the Jewish population of Mstislavl' under the German occupation can be found in the following publications: Vladimir Tsyppin, *Evrei v Mstislavle* (Jerusalem, 2006); Y. Arad et al., eds., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga* (Moscow: Tekst, 1993), pp. 274–275; F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiat. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoy Armii* (Moscow: Rossiiskaia Biblioteka Kholokosta, 1996), pp. 22–23; David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005); L. Bakal and Z. Tsukerman, eds., *Poslednye svideteli* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 243–244; and *Sviatlo Kastrychnika* (Mstislavl'), June 20, 2002, and June 20, 2003.

Documentation on the destruction of the Jews of Mstislavl' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/14); BA-L; GARF (7021-88-45 and 8114-1-966); NARB; SAPAMO; Sta. Kiel (2 JS 762/63); TsGAMORF; and YVA.

Leonid Smilovitsky and Martin Dean
trans. Stefan Stoev

NOTES

1. See Sta. Kiel, investigation of Egon Noack, 2 Js 762/63, vol. 4, p. 152, statement of Woldemar Klingelhöfer, October 5, 1963; and vol. 1, pp. 48–49, statement of Klingelhöfer on July 1, 1947.
2. Vladimir Tsyppin, *Evrei v Mstislavle* (Jerusalem, 2006), p. 199.
3. Arad et al., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, pp. 274–275.
4. YVA, M-40/MAP/81.
5. GARF, 8114-1-966, p. 282.
6. Sverdlov, *Dokumenty obviniaiat*, pp. 22–23.
7. Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 7, in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 252; see also BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941.
8. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 264; Tsyppin (*Evrei v Mstislavle*, p. 158), believes the figure of 900 victims is too low since other estimates of the number of victims in the ravine range from 1,400 to 2,000.
9. N.T. Lipitskaia, "Ya byla ochevidtsem massovogo rasstrela evreev," *Sviatlo Kastrychnika* (Mstislavl'), June 20, 2002.
10. BA-BL, R 2104/14, pp. 512–514.

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11. M. Khutortsova, "Nezabyvaemoe," *Sviatlo Kastrychnika* (Mstislavl'), June 20, 2003.

12. L. Bakal and Z. Tsukerman, eds., *Poslednie svideteli* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 243–244.

13. PALS, letter from Vladimir Tsyypin in Iavnee, July 2, 2004.

14. TsGAMORF, Fond 49th Army-9733-120, p. 47.

15. *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naiia kbronika gorodov i raionov Belorussii. Mstislav'skii raion* (Minsk, 1999), pp. 467–472.

NAPRASNOVKA

Pre-1941: Naprasnovka, village, Gorki raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Naprasnowka, Rayon Gorki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Naprasnovka, Horki raen, Mahiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Naprasnovka is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north-northeast of Mogilev. In 1930, the Jewish population was 248.

German forces of Army Group Center captured the village in July 1941. Evidence regarding the treatment of the Jews under German occupation is sparse, but in the view of the Belarusian historian Marat Botvinnik, a form of ghetto or concentration camp was probably created for the Jews in Naprasnovka at some date before the mass shooting in March 1942. Prior to the killing Aktion, the German occupying forces imposed a "contribution" in gold and valuables on the Jews and beat them severely. According to the interrogations conducted by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission in December 1944, on March 22, 1942, German forces and local police killed 250 Jews, including many women, children, and elderly people. The victims were buried in eight pits in a wood 200 meters (219 yards) west of Naprasnovka.¹

SOURCES Information on Naprasnovka can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 874; in Uladzimir M. Liushyts, *Isblo u byassmertse Haradotskae Heta* (Orsha, 1995), pp. 7–8; and in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belarускаia Navuka, 2000), pp. 297, 308.

Documentation on German crimes in Naprasnovka can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-88-36, pp. 9–10); NARB (845-1-6, p. 55, and 861-1-9, p. 303); copies are also available at USHMM and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky and Martin Dean

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-88-36, pp. 9–10.

OBCHUGA

Pre-1941: Obchuga, town, Krupki raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Obtschuga, Rayon Krupki, Rear Area, Army

Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Abchuba, village Krupki raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Obchuga is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1923, there were 272 Jews, who mostly lived in the center of the town. Between the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, and the arrival of German forces in early July, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east.

Soon after the start of the German occupation, the German authorities imposed the wearing of a yellow Star of David on their clothes and an evening curfew on the Jewish population. The German military administration also ordered the recruitment of a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) and placed a man named Pogorelskii at its head. It is not clear exactly when the ghetto was established in Obchuga, but at some time before the summer of 1942 all the Jews were moved into 10 houses on Logovskaia Street. The area was enclosed by barbed wire, and the Germans placed a sign at the entrance of the ghetto that read: "Anyone entering will be shot; anyone bringing food will be shot."¹

On May 5, 1942, Germans and local policemen surrounded the ghetto and shot most of the Jews (about 440 people). The few survivors of this Aktion were shot in June 1942.² Forces of the Red Army recaptured Obchuga from the Germans in June 1944. After the war, partly owing to the loss of its Jewish population, the Soviet authorities downgraded the town of Obchuga to the status of a village settlement.

SOURCES Publications regarding the Holocaust in Obchuga include the following: Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Listy istorii* (Vitebsk, 1999), pp. 169–175; Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), p. 685; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 918. David Meltzer and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), p. 229, implicate the head of the police in Borisov, David Egor, in the murder of the Jews of Obchuga, citing materials presented at his trial in 1947.

Additional documentation, including the statements of local witnesses, can be found in PAGV. There are statements by local witnesses from Obchuga in the records of the East German trial of Georg Frenzel conducted by Sta. Karl-Marx-Stadt (Chemnitz) in 1970. Some relevant information may also be found in the trial record of David Egor in AUKGBRBMO.

Martin Dean
trans. Adam Kahane

NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Listy istorii*, pp. 169–171.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 172–173.

OBOL'

Pre-1941: Obol', village, Shumilino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Obol, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Obal', Shumilina raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Obol' is located 35 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Polotsk. On the eve of Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, Obol' had a Jewish population of several dozen people.

German armed forces captured the village on July 8, 1941, about three weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. During this intervening period, some Jews managed to evacuate to the east, while men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red Army. About 10 or 15 Jews remained in the village at the onset of the German occupation.

During the entire occupation period, from July 1941 to June 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German military administration created a village authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) made up of local residents.

Soon after the occupation of Obol', the Ortskommandantur ordered the village authority to conduct the registration and marking of the Jews and required them to perform forced labor. In the fall of 1941, all the remaining Jews in the village were placed in a ghetto, for which one small house was allocated. The ghetto was in existence for about seven months; during that time, several Jews died. On June 2, 1942, the Germans and local police liquidated the ghetto, shooting all six of its Jewish inmates at the cemetery.

SOURCES Publications regarding the fate of the Jews of Obol' during the Holocaust include the following: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), pp. 186, 196; and "Obol'," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, vol. 6 (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007).

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Obol' can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-12); and GAVO.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

OBOL'TSY

Pre-1941: Obol'tsy, village, Tolochin raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Obolzy, Rayon Tolotschin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Abol'tsy, Talachyn raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Obol'tsy is located 40 kilometers (25 miles) west-northwest of Orsha. In 1923 the Jewish population was 353 out of a total of 382 residents.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the village in early July 1941. The Germans established a ghetto there on August 14. About 150 people (25 families) were moved into two single-story buildings of a school.¹ The ghetto was guarded by the local police; the chief of the guard unit was Pavel Kuntsevich.² The inmates wore armbands with a yellow star; forced labor was imposed. Boris Etin became the Jewish elder.

According to survivors' accounts, Jewish youth from Obol'tsy collected arms abandoned by the retreating Soviet forces. On March 5, 1942, news of the murder of the Jews in Smoliany, Orsha raion, reached the ghetto. The survivor Anna Iofik recalls: "The decision to flee came immediately. We waited until midnight. Then some 60 Jews, headed by Semion Iakovlevich Iofik [the pre-war chairman of a Jewish kolkhoz in Obol'tsy], escaped from the school and suggested to the local policeman Linich that he let us go, and when we had reached the forest, he should shoot over our heads. Otherwise, Semion Iakovlevich said, we will use our weapons against you. Iakov Iofik and Aron Levin had rifles."³ Leonid Kogan, 16 years old, even succeeded in getting his 4-year-old sister Raisa out of the ghetto.

The number of 60 escapees, as well as certain other details of these accounts, may be an exaggeration, but the fact is that a number of young Jews from Obol'tsy later fought in Soviet partisan units, including the Zaslouov brigade.

The ghetto was liquidated on June 4, 1942; the Aktion began at 5:00 or 6:00 a.m. The remaining approximately 100 Jews of Obol'tsy were shot in a pit close to the site of the ghetto.⁴ The list of victims compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) contains 37 names.⁵

SOURCES Publications regarding the ghetto in Obol'tsy include the books by Gennadii Vinnitsa: *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 126–128; and *Slovo pamiaty* (Orsha: Orshan. Tip., 1997), pp. 27–29. The ghetto is also mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), p. 165.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Obol'tsy can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-14, pp. 28–29); RTKIDNI (69-1-1067); and YVA.

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-84-14, pp. 28–29; Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiaty*, pp. 27–29.
2. RTKIDNI, 69-1-1067, testimony of the partisan Sonia Amburg.
3. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 127.
4. RTKIDNI, 69-1-1067, Sonia Amburg.
5. GARF, 7021-84-14.

ORSHA

Pre-1941: Orsha, city and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Orscha, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army

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Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Orsha, raen center, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Orsha is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) south-southeast of Vitebsk. In 1939, 7,992 Jews lived in the city of Orsha (21.3 percent of the total), and 589 Jews (3.6 percent of the total) lived in the neighboring district of Orshanskii zheleznodorozhnyi poselok (Orsha Railway Settlement, in the census of 1939 referred to as Orshanskii zh.d.). After 1938, in the Orsha raion, there were also the towns of Kopy's, Orekhi-Vydritsa (now Orekhovsk, 123 Jews, or 3.35 percent of the total population in 1939); and Baran'. The rest of the Jewish population of the Orsha raion (excluding the towns of Orsha, Baran', and Kopy's) included 627 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small towns of Smoliany (950 Jews lived here in 1926) and Osintorf. After the war, the borders of the Orsha raion were changed, and Osintorf was included in the Dubrovno raion. (See also **Baran'**; **Dubrovno**; **Kopy's**; and **Smoliany**.)

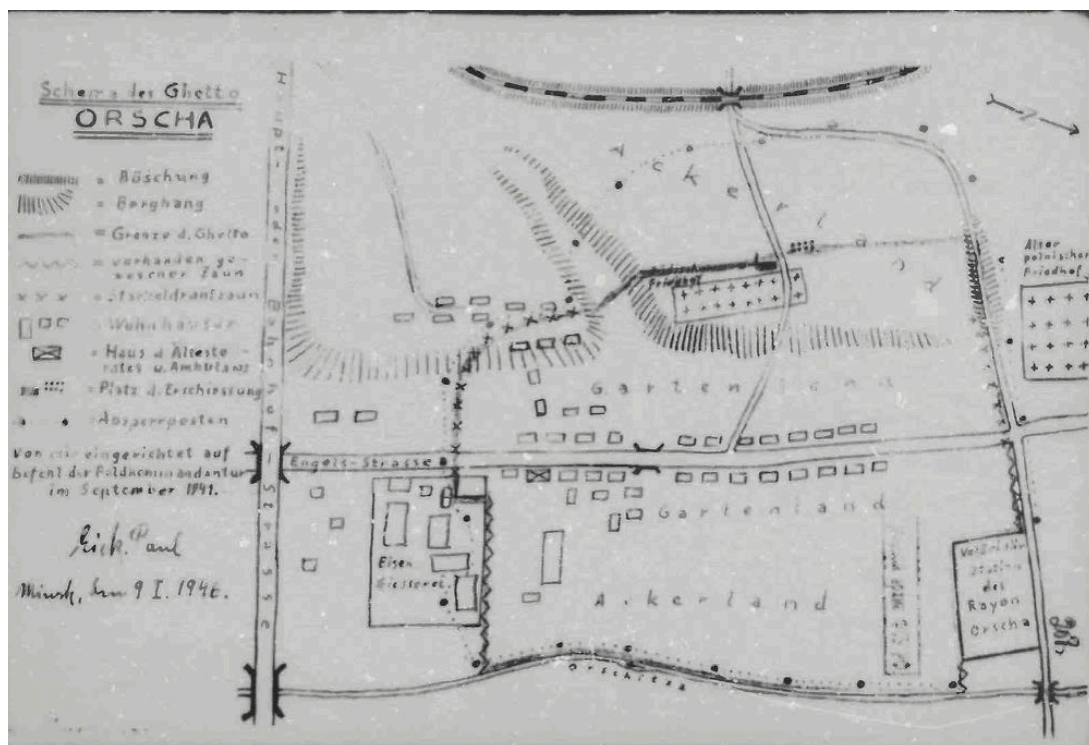
Before World War II, Orsha was one of the most important railway junctions in the western part of the Soviet Union. The Germans bombed Orsha on the first day of the invasion, June 22, 1941, and a further heavy bombing raid followed on the night of June 24–25, when the city center was severely damaged. This event impelled many Jews to leave Orsha,

which, with its railway tracks, depots, and industrial plants, seemed to be a dangerous place.

Orsha was captured by units of the German 2nd Panzer Group in the course of the Smolensk operation between July 10 and July 20, after heavy fighting.

Ortskommandantur I/906 was initially responsible for Orsha's administration. From August 1941 onward, Orsha was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. The area was in the realm of the 286th Security Division, with its headquarters based in Orsha. The city was under the control of Feldkommandantur 683, and of Ortskommandantur I/842, subordinated to it.

A key role in the genocide of Orsha's Jews was played by the commandant of Ortskommandantur I/842, Baron von Ascheberg, and his deputy, Paul Karl Eick, who appeared in the city at the end of July. Eick was attached to the Ortskommandantur as an officer for special tasks and was subordinated directly to the 286th Security Division. Before his arrival, the Ortskommandantur had registered the Jewish population and ordered the Jews to wear a black armband with a yellow star on it. Some witnesses recollect that, apart from this, the Orsha Jews wore star-shaped patches on their backs. A witness at the Minsk trial in 1946 related that the "[Belo-]russian population was allowed to remain outdoors until 7:00 p.m., the Jews, until



Sketch map of the Orsha ghetto, January 9, 1946, prepared for the Minsk trial by Paul Eick, who in September 1941 built the ghetto "on the order of the Field Commandant's Office."

USHMM RG-06.025*03, MICROFICHE 13, FILES 514-517

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933-1945

6:00 P.M. Food was scarce, and when it was sold at the market, according to a commandant's order, two separate queues were formed: one for the [Belo]russian population and one for the Jewish population. Food products were allotted to the Jewish population only if something remained after the [Belo-]russian population had finished their purchases.¹ It is not clear whether the Judenrat in Orsha was formed before Eick's arrival or after it (witness accounts diverge on this point). The chairman of the Jewish Council was Kazhdan, a former bookkeeper. Only one survivor refers to a Jewish police force, which helped to guard the ghetto in Orsha.²

Upon his arrival, Eick imposed a "contribution" on the Jews, amounting to 150,000 rubles. According to Eick's testimony at the Minsk trial, the Jews were able to pay 125,000 rubles in valuables and cash, of which the cash was left for Orsha's city authority, and the valuables (silver and gold, according to the testimonies at the Minsk trial) were transferred to the Reichsbank in Berlin.³ Forced labor was imposed on the Jews; it consisted mainly of clearing the city of the ruins left after the bombings.

In early September, Eick, following a decision made at a meeting in the office of the Ortskommandantur, established a ghetto. It consisted of 39 houses on Engels Street (also known previously as Gorodnianskaia),⁴ where about 2,000 people were to be concentrated. The Jews were given three days to move into the ghetto. On one side, the ghetto was bordered by the Orshitsa River, and on the other sides it was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded. The ghetto also bordered the Krasnyi Borets ("Red Fighter") Iron Foundry. The Jewish cemetery was included in the ghetto area.⁵

The ghetto inmates were crammed together under severely overcrowded conditions; in some houses, according to one survivor's account, they even divided rooms with planks horizontally, thus creating more space for sleeping.⁶ The Germans provided inadequate food (a witness at the Minsk trial speaks of 10 to 15 grams (0.4 to 0.6 ounce) of flour and some potato per person per day). Typhus epidemics broke out in the ghetto.⁷ According to witnesses, some younger Jews managed to leave the ghetto and exchanged various possessions for food with the local non-Jewish population. Despite the barbed-wire fence, ghetto inmates suffered from intrusions by people whom the witnesses at the Minsk trial called "German soldiers." Most probably they were locals, perhaps men of the local police. Whoever they were, the intruders robbed Jews of their belongings and sometimes raped women. Ghetto inmates tried to complain about this to Eick, but to no effect.

The first mass shooting of Jews in Orsha was carried out by Einsatzkommando 9 (commanded by Dr. Alfred Filbert) of Einsatzgruppe B, in August 1941. In this month, a group of Jews, 43 people, were killed.⁸ A large mass shooting of Jews in Orsha took place in September 1941 when Einsatzkommando 8 (commanded by Dr. Otto Bradfisch) and part of Einsatzgruppe B, on its way to Mogilev, shot an unknown number of Jews of both genders.⁹

The liquidation of the Orsha ghetto was carried out by the forces of the local SD with the participation of the Ortskom-

mandantur, primarily von Ascheberg and Eick. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), it took place on November 27, 1941. In the evening of November 26, the ghetto was surrounded by members of the Feldgendarmarie, commanded by Eick. The mass shooting began at 7:00 A.M. The Jews were brought from the ghetto in groups to the Jewish cemetery, where Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) had dug pits. The victims were ordered to undress and made to lie down in the pits; then they were shot with automatic rifles. In this one-day Aktion, 1,873 people were murdered.¹⁰

In April 1942, several Jewish families, 53 people in total, were murdered. It is unclear whether these were "specialists" or Jews discovered in the countryside.

In September 1943, the Nazis attempted to erase the traces of the mass murder. Using a labor force of Soviet POWs, they exhumed and burned the bodies of those who had been killed in 1941–1942; the operation continued for five days. Nevertheless, in 1944 the ChGK was able to estimate that the total number of bodies buried in Orsha was 6,000 (not all of them were Jews).

The town of Orekhi-Vydritsa is located about 20 kilometers (12 miles) north of Orsha. According to the witnesses interrogated by the ChGK, in December 1941, 7 Jewish men were brought to the nearby village of Briukhovo and killed there. The rest of the Jews, mainly women and children, were killed in April 1943. Estimates by witnesses of the number of Jews killed during the last Aktion range from 30 to 50. Such a late (for eastern Belorussia) killing of Jews appears unusual; it may actually have occurred in 1942. The list of victims prepared by the ChGK contains 14 names, 6 of which sound Russian, and suggesting, perhaps, that the victims may have been Jews passing as "Aryans."

Elsewhere in the Orsha raion, a Jew named Finkelshtein, who had worked as a driver in a local kolkhoz, and his two sons were killed in the village of Krashino (about 10 kilometers [6.2 miles] southeast of Orsha). Fourteen Jews were killed in the Krasnyi Bereg kolkhoz in a northern suburb of Orsha. Three Jews, the Vingrover family, were killed in the village of Mezhevo and nine in the village of Shemberevo (5 and 13 kilometers [3.1 and 8.1 miles] northwest of Orsha, respectively). A Jewish blacksmith was killed in the village of Ozerok (22 kilometers [13.7 miles] from Orsha along the Lepel' railway). A Jewish woman married to a Belorussian was killed in the Tuminichi sel'sovet (about 15 kilometers [9.3 miles] west-southwest of Orsha). A Jewish woman was killed in the village of Solov'e (5 kilometers [3.1 miles] northeast of Orsha).

SOURCES The events in Orsha are described in the trial of Nazi war criminals held in Minsk in January 1946; the proceedings of the trial were published as *Sudebnyi protsess po delu o zlodeiianiiakh, soversbennykh nemetsko-fasbistskimi zakhvatshikami v Belorusskoi SSR (15–29 ianvaria 1946 goda)* (Minsk, 1947). With some precautions, the information found in this book can be useful. In the book by a local historian from Orsha, Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), considerable attention is devoted to the Holocaust in the city. There is also a short survivor testimony published in Rima Dulkinienė

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and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 81–82.

Christian Gerlach concludes that there were one or two massacres perpetrated by Einsatzkommando 8 in Orsha, with 600 to 800 Jews killed in each of them; in one of the massacres, he suggests that as many as 3,000 Jews may have been killed. See Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), p. 600.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews in the Orsha raion during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216); BA-MA (RH 26-221/17a, and 17b; and RH 26-286/3); GARF (7021-84-10); RGVA (500-1-770); USHMM (RG-06.025*03); and YVA (e.g., O-3/11082, O-3/4617, and O-3/4618).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. *Sudebnyi protsess*, p. 169, testimony of Gladkov.
2. YVA, O-3/11082, testimony of Zinaida Suvorov [sic]. Given the considerable age of the witness at the time (1999), it should be construed carefully.
3. USHMM, RG-06.025*03, "War Crimes Investigation and Prosecution," microfiche 13, files 514–517, interrogations of Paul Eick (born April 24, 1897) from December 1945.
4. The eyewitnesses at the Minsk trial mention only "20 to 25 houses" in the ghetto. However, 39 buildings can be counted on the ghetto sketch that Eick drew for the Minsk trial, including one long barrackslike building. See Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 66–69.
5. Ibid. Eick's sketch of the ghetto bears an explanatory legend, "Von mir eingerichtet auf Befehl der Feldkommandantur im September 1941," signed "Paul Eick."
6. YVA, O-3/11082, testimony of Zinaida Suvorov.
7. An eyewitness, Basia Pikman, wrote to Ilya Ehrenburg: "Twenty old Jewish carpenters . . . gathered at the home of Eli Gofshtein on Pushkin Street, poured kerosene on the house, and burned themselves alive." See Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), p. 205. The story told by Pikman evokes doubts. The eyewitnesses at the Minsk trial in 1946 did not mention this extraordinary incident. Further, why was it that fire did not lead to a greater fire in the surrounding area? And what a dreadful method for a group suicide. Perhaps Pikman, who was not a local inhabitant (she had come to Orsha from Minsk), retold some gossip, which possibly distorted a real tragic event.
8. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 67, August 29, 1941. "In Orsha, 43 Jews were found, some of whom were actively spreading atrocity stories, while others acted as snipers. Among them there were two Party officials." Most probably, all were shot, although the report does not state this directly.
9. Neither the published protocols of the Minsk trial nor the documents of the ChGK in 1944 mention this mass shooting. The murder (or two murders) is (are) discussed in the trial of members of Einsatzkommando 8 held in Munich in 1961. The verdict estimates the number of those killed at 600 in one Aktion and 200 in the other; see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), 17:677.

10. According to the eyewitness Skakun, a former official of the city authority (*uprava*), this was the number of food ration cards he was ordered to remove from the *uprava's* card file; see *Sudebnyi protsess*, p. 168.

OSIPOVICHY

Pre-1941: Osipovichy, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ossipowitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Asipovichy, raen center, Mahilou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Osipovichy is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Bobruisk. According to the 1939 census, there were 1,694 Jews living in Osipovichy (12.3 percent of the total population).

German forces occupied the town on June 30, 1941, just over one week after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, the Germans bombed the town, and a small part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army. Around 1,200 to 1,300 Jews remained in Osipovichy at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire occupation, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town, setting up a town administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) composed of local residents. Immediately after the town's occupation, the Ortskommandantur ordered the town administration to register and mark the entire Jewish population and imposed a program of forced labor on the Jews. At the end of July or at the start of August 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 carried out the first Aktion in the town. A group of Jews was shot as Soviet activists.¹

In August or September 1941, a ghetto was created in the town.² It included the following streets from Rosa Luxemburg to Vera Khoruzhaia: Kommunisticheskaia, Chumakova, Oktiabr'skaia, Gorky, Raboche-Krest'ianskaia, Polevaia, Kalinin, and Serov; and these streets in their entirety: Karl Liebknecht, Krasnoarmeiskaia Sotsialisticheskaia, Revoliutsionnaia, Karl Marx, Promyshlennaia, and Protasevichskaia. Jews who lived in the northern part of town and in other places were resettled into this area, on Oktiabr'skaia and Promyshlennaia (now Golanta) Streets. Non-Jewish inhabitants were not evicted from their homes. The Jews living in the ghetto were still able to exchange possessions for food. A ration card system was introduced in the town, and a daily ration of 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread was issued to each Jewish cardholder. On the left side of the chest and on the back, Jews were required to wear large circular yellow patches. They were forbidden to go to public places such as the markets and the movie theater; to teach children in schools; to greet and engage in conversation with the Belorussian population; to walk on sidewalks; to go outside the boundaries of the ghetto; and to gather on the streets in groups of more than three persons. For failure to comply with any of these restrictions, there was only one punishment: death by shooting. Every morning all able-bodied Jews over the age of 14, including most women (only those with

infants were exempted), were taken out of the ghetto to perform forced labor, tearing down ruined barracks and other buildings and working at the railroad station and other sites.

A Jewish Council (Judenrat) was organized in the ghetto. One of its three members was Afroim Khavkin, who before the war had been the chief accountant of the *voentorg* (military store). The members of the Judenrat were appointed by the German Ortskommandantur on the recommendation of the town's mayor, a man named Goranin. Before the war, Goranin had been a construction technician for Military Construction Administration no. 76 in Osipovichy. It is known that, as directed by the Ortskommandantur, the members of the Judenrat registered the Jewish population.³

On October 11, 1941, the Germans conducted a second Aktion in the town. A combined force of SS, Wehrmacht, and local police entered the ghetto and seized at least 300 Jewish men, women, and youths, all of working age. The Jews were brought to a barracks, where all their valuables were confiscated. Then they were shot by an execution squad made up of men from the 7th Company of the 339th Infantry Division, which was based in Osipovichy until November 1941.⁴ The remaining women, children, and elderly were left in the ghetto. The ghetto was liquidated on February 5, 1942, when an SS detachment arrived and shot all the remaining Jews at the Jewish cemetery.⁵

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Osipovichy during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Yehuda Slutski, ed., *Bobruisk: Sefer zikaron le-kebilat*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Bobruisk in Israel and the USA, 1967); V. Zorin and G. Ershova, *Osipovichy: Istoriko-ekonomicheskii ocherk* (Minsk, 1972), p. 53; "Asipovichy," in *Pamiats': Belarus'. Respublikanskaia Kniba* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Entsiklopedyia, 1995), p. 391; V. Zaitseva and V. Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta v Osipovichskom raione," in D.V. Prokudin and Il'ia Al'tman, eds., *My ne mozbem molchat'. Shkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste. Vyp. 4* (Moscow: Tsentr i Fond "Kholokost," 2008); Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 946; Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 311; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 6:161.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Osipovichy can be found in the following archives: GAMO (852-1-1, p. 169); GARF (7021-82-5); NARB (845-1-60, p. 57); USHMM (RG-50.378*031); VHF (# 34546); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. See the report of Einsatzgruppe B on the Aktions conducted at the end of July and in the first half of August 1941, in Johannes Hürter, "Auf dem Weg zur Militäropposition. Tresckow; Gersdorf, der Vernichtungskrieg und der Judenmord. Neue Dokumente über das Verhältnis der Heeres-

gruppe Mitte zur Einsatzgruppe B im Jahre 1941," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte* (2004): 560.

2. GAMO, 852-1-1, p. 169; NARB, 845-1-60, p. 57; "Asipovichy," in *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 391; and VHF, # 34546, testimony of Aleksandra Utevskaia (Otyevskaya).

3. Zaitseva and Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta"; and USHMM, RG-50.378*031, testimony of Aleksandra [Sara] Otyevskaya; as she was married to a non-Jewish man, Otyevskaya managed to avoid being registered.

4. Bezirksgericht Erfurt, verdict of December 13, 1962, against Werner Kurt Ha., in *DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Die ostdeutschen Verfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), Lfd. Nr. 1072, pp. 243–245. In October 1941, OK (I) 304 was the Ortskommandantur in Osipovichy.

5. Zaitseva and Novik, "Iz istorii Kholokosta"; USHMM, RG-50.378*031.

OSTROVNO

Pre-1941: Ostrovno, village, Beshenkovichi raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ostrovno, Rayon Beshenkovitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Astrouna, Beshankovichy raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ostrovno is located 20 kilometers (12 miles) northeast of Beshenkovichi. In 1939, fewer than 300 Jews lived in the village of Ostrovno.

The XXXIX Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group captured Ostrovno in early July 1941. Before their arrival, about half of the Jewish population of the village managed to evacuate or flee to the east. From August 1941 onward, the village came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center.

On July 19, 1941, the Germans ordered the establishment of an open ghetto in Ostrovno. The ghetto consisted of 10 wooden houses on one side of the main street; it was not fenced. On the day of the resettlement, a young Jew who refused to move into the ghetto was shot and killed. On September 30, 1941, the Jews of Ostrovno were killed for "hostile behavior and insubordination to orders." Einsatzgruppe B, which reported this, indicated having shot 169 people. Immediately after the mass shooting, the Germans organized the sale of Jewish belongings to local peasants for food.¹ According to a survivor, after the liquidation of the ghetto, the authorities organized a feast in the town: "People drank [liquor], ate, danced and kissed one another."² The same survivor stated that Jewish/non-Jewish relations deteriorated under the occupation; for example, a Belorussian family denounced a Jew who came to them and asked to be hidden. She herself narrowly escaped being denounced by a former kolkhoz chairman in a nearby village, to which she fled after the mass shooting in Ostrovno.

SOURCES The book of memoirs by Raisa Ryzhik, *Spasi i pomilui: Ocherk moei zhizni* (Vitebsk, 1997), deals with the ghetto in Ostrovno and its annihilation. The existence of a ghetto in

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Ostrovno is mentioned also in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 952.

The documents of the ChGK for the Beshenkovichi raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-1). Relevant German documentation is located in BA-BL (R 58/217). In YVA can be found the witness statements consulted (O-3/4615-18).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124; see also YVA O-3/4615, O-3/4617, O-3/4618.
2. Ryzhik, *Spasi i pomilui*.

OSVEIA

Pre-1941: Osveia, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Osweja, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Groups North, then Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord/Mitte); post-1991: Asveia, Verkhniadzvinsk raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Osveia is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) northwest of Polotsk. In 1939, 350 Jews lived in the town, making up 15.1 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Osveia raion (without the town of Osveia) was fewer than 100 people.

The Osveia raion, including the town of Osveia, was taken over by the forces of Army Group North (not Army Group Center, like the rest of the Vitebsk region). On July 5, 1941, the Red Army abandoned all the area west of the Sarianka River. The forces of the II Army Corps of the 16th Army took over the area to the north of the Zapadnaia Dvina bend, including the town of Osveia, mainly on July 12, 1941.

From August until December 1941, the Osveia raion was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group North; it was within the area controlled by the 281st Security Division, stationed mainly in Latvia. At the beginning of December 1941, the raion was transferred to the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center, and became part of the realm of the 403rd Security Division.

At the start of the occupation, the German authorities did not resettle the Jews into a ghetto. They introduced the wearing of yellow Magen Davids (Jewish Stars) and forced labor, initially making the Jews clear the debris that remained after the heavy bombing and conduct repair work on the roads.¹

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in February or March 1942 the Germans assembled the Jews of Osveia in a "camp" (ghetto), and five days later they shot them in pits that had been dug in a town park. According to one survivor, a Belorussian policeman whose mother worked at the Kommandantur warned him and some other Jews about the impending Aktion, and several young people succeeded in fleeing from the ghetto.²

The witnesses interrogated by the ChGK give the number of Jews killed as 650, which seems to be an exaggeration. A list

of the victims compiled by the ChGK contains the names of 149 Jews.³ The book *Pamiats': Verkhniadzvinski raion*, volume 1, gives a different number of Jews killed in the Osveia park: 459. A list of the victims of the Osveia ghetto given in the book contains 178 names, "assembled from all extant documents";⁴ 25 of them share the surname of Gelfand.

Elsewhere in the raion, no fewer than 37 Jews, members of the Karl Marx kolkhoz, were killed in Kokhanovichi, 16 kilometers (10 miles) south of Osveia (or 16 kilometers [10 miles] northeast of Drissa).⁵

SOURCES The ghetto in Osveia is mentioned in V.I. Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941-1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 99.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Osveia under German occupation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-92-218); and YVA (O-3/6907).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/6907.
2. Ibid.
3. GARF, 7021-92-218.
4. *Pamiats': Verkhniadzvinski raion* (Minsk, 1999), 1:326.
5. GARF, 7021-92-218.

OZARICHI

Pre-1941: Ozarichi, town, Domanovichi raion, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Osaritschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Azarychy, Kalinkavichy raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ozarichi is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) west of Gomel'. The 1939 census indicated that 1,059 Jews lived in Ozarichi, or 46.9 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the settlement in the second half of August 1941. In the weeks following the German invasion on June 22, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were called into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Probably around one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Ozarichi at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire course of the occupation, a German military administration was in charge of the settlement. The local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) created a local administration and an auxiliary police force recruited from local residents. In the summer and fall of 1941, the German military administration imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures in Ozarichi. Jews were forced to wear yellow patches in the shape of a star, they were obliged to perform forced labor, and they were forbidden to trade or speak with non-Jews.

By October 1941, the German authorities had established a ghetto on a part of one street in Ozarichi, which (according

to historian Marat Botvinnik) was surrounded with barbed wire. The Jews in the ghetto were unable to buy food and suffered from hunger. Belorussians sometimes came at night and brought food, such as potatoes or bread, for the Jews. Some Jews from other places were also incarcerated in the Ozarichi ghetto. Forced labor included cleaning the Germans' vehicles; if they were not spotless, some of the workers might be shot immediately. Some children from the ghetto were taken to a nearby hospital in order to give blood for use, presumably, by the German army. Jews in the ghetto tried to help each other as best they could, and some of those who died were buried secretly according to Jewish ritual.¹

In the winter of 1941–1942, the Jews suffered from the cold. By this time, Jews were aware of the mass shootings in other places, and some planned to escape. Jewish survivors recall that the local policemen were brutal, robbing them and beating anyone who tried to escape. The cruelest policeman was known as Senka. “He was ready to kill anybody for moonshine and tried to gain as much favor with the Germans as he could.”² In February 1942, Abram Volfson and his sister fled the ghetto, encouraged by a resistance fighter named Taras, who came periodically to the ghetto. Efim Golod, who was nearly blown up by a mine when collecting weapons for the local police, managed to escape by running away as he was being escorted to the site of the mass shooting in March 1942.³

The Germans liquidated the ghetto on March 3, 1942, when all the Jewish inmates were shot near the Jewish cemetery.⁴ The shooting was apparently carried out by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8. The precise number of Jewish victims is unknown, but it was probably several hundred. Based on the list of names prepared by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), at least 263 people were murdered.⁵ In February 1942, there were also shootings of Jews in nearby villages. In the village of Davydovka, 74 Jews were shot, and 12 Jews were shot in the village of Semenovich.⁶ Another source indicates that some Jews from Ozarichi were among 133 Jews murdered in Karpilovka in late March or early April 1942 by members of Infantry Regiment 727, following an antipartisan sweep through the region.⁷

Estimates of the number of Jewish victims in Ozarichi may have been complicated by the existence of three Wehrmacht internment camps for evacuated civilians there in March 1944, in which the appalling conditions resulted in the rapid deaths of several thousand people, including many women and children.

SOURCES Information about the ghetto in Ozarichi can be found in the following publications: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 258–261; V. Smoliar, “Zhizn’ i smert’ Beni Matiuka,” *Mishpokha* (Minsk), no. 2 (1996): 79–80; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 958; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belar-uskaia Navuka, 2000), p. 220.

On the Wehrmacht camp established in 1944, see, for example, Nicholas Terry, “The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front” (Ph.D. diss., King’s College, University of London, 2005), pp. 247–257; and Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Handbuch der Haftstätten für die Zivilbevölkerung auf dem besetzten Territorium von Belarus 1941–1944* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 111.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 26-707/5); GARF (7021-91-12); NARA; USHMM; and VHF (# 312 and 51237).

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 312, testimony of Abram Volfson, and # 51237, testimony of Efim Golod.
2. “Efim Golod, Ozarichi Ghetto Prisoner,” in Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 258–261.
3. VHF, # 312 and 51237.
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 261; Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, dates the ghetto liquidation in February 1942. At the end of October 1943, the corpses were burned. This source gives the figure of 6,000 Jews in the ghetto, which is clearly too high.
5. GARF, 7021-91-12, pp. 98–100.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 32–33 and reverse side.
7. BA-MA, RH 26-707/5.

PARICHI

Pre-1941: Parichi, town and raion center, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Paritschi, Raion center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Parychy, Svetlaborsk raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Parichi is located 115 kilometers (72 miles) west-northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, there were 1,881 Jews out of 3,736 inhabitants of Parichi (50.4 percent of the total) and another 1,750 Jews (3.29 percent of the rural population) living in the villages of the Parichi raion.

There was no organized evacuation from Parichi after the German invasion began on June 22, 1941. Attempting to leave the town on foot was a hazardous choice in view of the rapidly advancing German forces and the danger of punishment by the Soviet authorities. The only other option was to get a ride aboard a barge on the Berezina River, which would then proceed slowly down the Dnieper River towards Ukraine. Older people recalled the relatively good behavior of the Germans in 1918. Relying on this assessment, many people stayed in Parichi to protect their homes and property. It is estimated that more than half of the Jewish population remained in Parichi at the start of the German occupation.¹

By June 30, 1941, German tanks had forced their way across the Berezina to the north, and on July 5 they entered

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Parichi for the first time. Initially, the German forces were thrown back by Soviet resistance on July 11, but on July 21 the Germans occupied the town. Resistance within the Parichi raion continued a few days longer; the 4th Soviet Army abandoned the line of the Berezina only on August 13, 1941.

By mid-August, the Parichi raion was completely occupied by German forces. A German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) assumed control over the local administration (in the fall of 1941, it was OK I(V)324). Parichi lay within the jurisdiction of the 203rd Security Division based in Bobruisk. Military commandant's offices were also established in the villages of Shatilki and Chernin. Officials of the Ortskommandantur in Parichi put those arrested into a local school building as a makeshift prison, and they requisitioned bread and other agricultural products for the German army.²

The mayor, Nekrashevich, was in charge of the local administration. The administration had separate departments for political affairs, agriculture, finance, commerce, industry, road construction and transportation, medicine, and veterinary matters. Yakov Mishutin headed the general administration in Parichi, while also taking charge of the department of commerce. The sel'sovets were transformed into military districts and governed by local village headmen (starshiny). Each headman had at his disposal a clerk and a police detachment of between 20 and 50 men. Village elders (starosty) were appointed in the villages, each with 2 to 5 policemen for assistance. Nekrashevich himself organized the police in Parichi, and in August 1941, there were 15 people who signed up as the first volunteers. Ivan Krik, a former accountant, became the chief of police. The policemen helped the Feldgendarmerie of the German army in searches for former Soviet activists, party workers, and members of the combat battalion. They also conducted the registration of the Jewish population.³

Among the policemen, there were former neighbors, acquaintances, and relatives of the Jews. These people did not always help the victims. Before he joined the police squad, for example, Ivan Ments killed his Jewish wife, Fridl Nisman, and their two children. Then there was the Jewish teacher Masha Papernaia and two of her children, who hid with relatives in the nearby village of Davydovka. She was denounced to the Germans by her own mother-in-law.⁴

Until September 1941, the Jews lived in their own homes and were required to perform labor, but there were no large-scale killings. According to the report of the investigative commission of the Red Army, "in order to separate the Jews from the rest of the population the Germans made them wear a six-pointed Star [of David]." At the end of September 1941, the Ortskommandantur ordered all the Jews to be resettled on Bobruiskaia Street, which was surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by local policemen. Estimates of the number of Jews confined within the ghetto range from 1,100 to 1,500.⁵

Jews were taken out each day for forced labor, and when there was no work to be done, the authorities made them move sand around on the bank of the Berezina River. The Germans

did not feed the Jews, and according to survivor accounts, famine was an even greater torment than fear, because one could never get used to starvation. People dreamed of being able to eat. The most valuable products were flour and fat. There were no livestock, poultry, and other domesticated animals in the ghetto. No one ate meat or fruit; occasionally there were some carrots, potatoes, or cabbages, which enabled the ghetto prisoners to cook vegetable soup. Bones were warmed up after they had been salvaged from the trash in the German mess hall, and Jews extracted any fat they could find to prepare a jellied broth, which they ate or used for barter.⁶

According to a report by Ortskommandantur I(V)324: "on October 18, 1941, a security command of the SD in Bobruisk appeared in Parichi and liquidated the Jews living here."⁷ The German security forces appeared in the streets, armed with rifles and whips and accompanied by the local police. They rounded up all the Jews in the ghetto and assembled them under close guard at the former hotel, where the Ortskommandantur was based. The chief of the local police Krik directed his men to "fish out" the Jews.⁸

The prisoners were then loaded onto trucks and transported in groups to the vicinity of Bol'shaia Luzha, 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) from Parichi between the villages of Vysokii Polk and Belitsa. Some of the Jewish men were ordered to dig a ditch. When they had finished, they had to undress and climb down into the mass grave, where they were shot. After them came a line of women, children, and the elderly. At first, the murderers lined the people up in rows in the ditch and shot them using automatic fire. Then they put them on the ground and shot them, finishing off the wounded with shovels. The mass shooting began at 7:00 A.M. and continued until the evening. The report of Einsatzgruppe B stated that a "special Aktion" was conducted against the Jews of Parichi, as they displayed a hostile attitude towards the Germans and had close links to the partisans. In the course of the Aktion, 1,013 male and female Jews were shot.⁹

The Germans spared the boot maker M.V. Kaplan and his family from the mass shooting, as he was a master craftsman. He spoke fluent German and thus also functioned as a translator. The Germans shot him and his family in 1943. All the belongings of the Jews were confiscated. The Feldgendarmerie and officials from the Ortskommandantur searched the empty houses of the Jews and collected some 7,000 rubles in cash and more than 18,000 rubles in bonds, which were to be forwarded on to the Reich Treasury War Booty Office in Berlin.¹⁰ The department of commerce in the Parichi town administration assumed responsibility for the distribution of less valuable materials such as clothes, which were sold for the benefit of the Rayon Paritschi administration.¹¹

In February and March 1942, the 40 men of the punitive detachment shot Jews in the various settlements of Rayon Paritschi, principally: in Kovchitsy (318 people), Shatilki (351 people), Pechishche (82 people), and Davydovtsy (129 people). The remaining possessions of these Jews were also looted.¹²

In March 1944, the Germans attempted to cover up the crimes. They ordered the exhumation of the corpses, then poured tar and flammable material on them and burned them in bonfires.¹³

Only a handful of Parichi's Jews were able to survive the German occupation. On October 18, 1941, as the Jews were being transported to the killing site, the neighboring Belorussians began shouting that 12-year-old Boris Gorelik was Russian, because his father was married to a non-Jewish woman. Availing herself of the opportunity, Musia Papernaia, the grandmother of Boris, snatched her grandson from the line. He then ran into the forest.¹⁴

Also on that day, 11-year-old Emma Igol'nikova and her mother could find no room in an overcrowded truck. The policemen ordered them to wait for the next convoy. The mother helped her daughter climb over a fence. At that moment, a submachine gun round was fired, killing the mother. Emma ran away and hid in the village with friends of her parents until January 1942. Then she encountered partisans who were foraging, and she joined the partisan detachment.¹⁵ In the Parichi raion, two families—those of N. Gaishun from the village of Kovchitsy and Mariia Chaplinskaia from Parichi—have been recognized by Yad Vashem for saving Jews.

Elka Steinbuk ended up in the last line of prisoners being taken to their deaths. At the pits, she was only lightly wounded in the arm and pretended to be dead. When the executioners left, she escaped from under the corpses and made her way to the hamlet of Sakirits. Then she lived with the peasants, passing as an "Aryan" until eventually she was denounced.¹⁶

The Soviet army liberated Parichi on June 26, 1944. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) determined in April 1945 that during the occupation of Parichi and the Parichi raion (which included the towns Kopchitsy, Shatilki, Shchedrin, and Pechishche and the villages Krupki, Ala, Shupeika, and Malmony), there were 3,271 people murdered, including 1,728 women and 862 children.¹⁷ In the ChGK documents, the nationality of the victims was not specified.

SOURCES Information and testimonies can be found in the following published sources: *Pamiat': Svetlogorskii raion—Istoriko-dokumental'naiia kbronika* (Minsk, 2000); *Not to Be Forgotten: Eye-witness Accounts of the Holocaust from Melbourne Residents* (Melbourne: Association of Former Inmates of Nazi Concentration Camps and Ghettos from the former Soviet Union, 2003); Leonid Smilovitsky, "Righteous Gentiles, the Partisans and Jewish Survival in Belorussia, 1941–1944," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 11:3 (Winter 1997): 309; and David Meltser and Vladimir Levin eds., *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii* (Baltimore, 1996). There is also a "letter from Paritsh" to be found in the Bobruisk yizkor book, edited by Yehudah Slutski, *Bobroysk: Sefer zikaron li-kehilat Bobroysk u-venoteba* (Tel Aviv: Tarbut ve-hinukh, 1967), pp. 804–805.

Documentation on the extermination of Parichi's Jews under German occupation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (file 10503 of the accused Y.F. Mishu-

tin); BA-BL (R 2104/25); GAGOMO (1809-4-6); NARB (4-29-113 and 845-1-60); TsAKGBRB (statement of A. Dolgitskii, April 10, 1945); TsGAMORF (233-2374-58); USHMM; and YVA (M-33/1151).

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NOTES

1. *Not to Be Forgotten*, p. 106.
2. NARB, 4-29-113, pp. 758, 797, 801–802, 808; GAGOMO, 1809-4-6.
3. Statement of Aleksandr Dolgitskii (born 1898), April 10, 1945, in TsAKGBRB.
4. When the husband of Masha Papernaia returned from the front and realized what had happened, he killed his mother. The NKVD arrested Ivan Mikhailovich Ments on June 30, 1944; see TsGAMORF, 32-11302-244, p. 64 (copies of these documents can be found in USHMM, RG-22.008).
5. TsGAMORF, 233-2374-58, pp. 58–59, 172–174, and 32-11302-244, pp. 61–72, reports of the Red Army investigation into crimes committed by the Nazi German occupying forces in Parichi, June 28, 1944. See also information from files located in TsAKGBRB examined by Leonid Smilovitsky; one source dates the establishment of the ghetto at the beginning of October 1941.
6. Statements of the accused Yakov Frantsevich Mishutin (born 1890), AUKGBRBGO, file 10503, pp. 9–14, 39.
7. BA-BL, R 2104/25, report of OK I(V)324 in Parichi, n.d.
8. YVA, M-33/1151, pp. 94–95; Slutski, *Bobroysk*, pp. 804–805.
9. USHMM, RG-30, Acc. 1999.A.0196, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941. Figures in the various ChGK reports vary. USHMM, RG-06.025*04 (FSB collection from Moscow), Military Tribunal Bobruisk, Case N-19095 against Alexander Edmund Conrady, vol. 3, box 43, 694 report for the town of Parichi, 1945, gives the figure of 872 victims of the Aktion on October 18. NARB, 845-1-60, p. 33, gives the figure of more than 1,700 victims in October 1941. See also statement of the accused Y.F. Mishutin (born 1890), AUKGBRBGO, file 10503, pp. 9–14.
10. BA-BL, R 2104/25.
11. Statement of accused Y.F. Mishutin (born 1890), AUKGBRBGO, file 10503, p. 39.
12. YVA, M-33/1151, p. 87.
13. NARB, 861-1-12, pp. 157–158; TsGAMORF, 32-11302-244, p. 62.
14. Meltser and Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami*, p. 247.
15. *Not to Be Forgotten*, p. 107.
16. Slutski, *Bobroysk*, pp. 804–805. According to the yizkor book, the woman was subsequently denounced and killed by the Germans. A similar story concerning a person named "Steinbuk" is mentioned also in the various ChGK reports. See NARB, 845-1-60, p. 33; and TsGAMORF, 233-2374-58, pp. 58–59.
17. From the ChGK SSR report on the victims of the German-Fascist aggressors in Parichi, April 10, 1945, YVA, M-33/1151, pp. 83–85.

POLOTSK

Pre-1941: Polotsk, city and raion center, Vitebsk oblast, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Polozk, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Polatsk, raen center, Vitebsk voblasts, Republic of Belarus

Polotsk is located about 110 kilometers (68 miles) west-northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 6,464 Jews lived in the city (21.9 percent of the total). The Jewish population of the Polotsk raion (without the city of Polotsk) consisted of 621 people, who lived in the nearby “military settlement” Borovukha 1-ia (the First), in the village of Trudy, and in some other places. (See also **Borovukha 1-ia** and **Trudy**.)

After July 15, 1941, Polotsk and its raion found themselves in the Rear Area, 9th Army, administered by Ortskommandantur 930. Later in the summer of 1941, Polotsk came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. Ortskommandantur 262 and, from the end of 1941, Feldkommandantur 815 of the 403rd Security Division were both based in the city. In July 1942, Feldkommandantur 815 was transferred to Vitebsk, and Polotsk became the site of the 201st Security Division’s headquarters. There were Ortskommandanturen also in Dretun and Trudy.

The mayor of Polotsk was Kichko, and later Dmitrii Petrovskii; his deputy in charge of Rayon Polozk was Bubnov. The chief of police was Albert M. Abukhovich (or Obukhovich). The Belorussian police numbered 50 men, all of them volunteers. Numerous local policemen actively participated in the mass murder of Jews, among them Shastitko, N. Oguretskii, Avlasenko, V. Pravilo, and others.

Abram Sherman, a former carpenter, was appointed Jewish elder (starosta) in the city of Polotsk; the deputy elder, according to witnesses, was Apkin, a former bicycle repair mechanic. Sherman’s main function was assigning ghetto inmates to forced labor; some witnesses describe him as a brutal man who punished those guilty of any “violation” with a lashing.

With the occupation came registration, markings, forced labor, and the killing of some Jews whom the Germans accused of being Communists.

The first ghetto was established on the initiative of the local Ortskommandantur in early August 1941. It was situated in the city center, not far from the railway station, and had a total area of some 135,000 square meters (161,459 square yards). The ghetto extended from Kommunisticheskaia Street in the south to Internatsional’naia Street (formerly Evreiskaia; the street does not exist now) in the north, and from Sakko i Van’tsetti Street in the west to Gogolevskaia in the east, thus enclosing 13 blocks of buildings, although some of the houses were wrecked. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire but not guarded. Ten families lived in each house. Jews were forbidden to leave the ghetto. The entrance to the ghetto was from Gogolevskaia Street, where there was a sign saying “Ghetto.” Non-Jews from this area were resettled in former Jewish apartments. During the resettlement of the Jews to the

ghetto, the Nazis confiscated valuables and other belongings; many Jews were beaten in the process.

In the middle of August, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 (commanded by Dr. Alfred Filbert) was sent to Polotsk,¹ and this unit carried out an Aktion. The victims were Jewish men (maybe also some women). According to a survivor, removing the men from the city did not greatly frighten the rest of the ghetto population; those who stayed in the ghetto believed the Germans’ story that the men had been taken for forced labor: harvesting or something else. The number of victims and the date of the first Aktion remain unclear.²

Witnesses interrogated by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) mention some Jews killed in the fall of 1941 on the outskirts of Polotsk. One witness mentions a killing of 22 to 25 Jews who lived in Zapolot’e (northwest of the city center, across the Polota River); other witnesses mention “around 25 Jews” killed, who lived on Lepel’skaia and Krasnoznamenaiia Streets (south of the city center, on the left bank of the Zapadnaia Dvina River). It is not clear whether these Jews were killed within the framework of the Aktion carried out in August or in a separate Aktion.

In mid-September the ghetto was transferred to a former brick factory in Lozovka (now a northern suburb of Polotsk).³ This resettlement was accompanied by the confiscation of valuables and other belongings from the Jews. The new ghetto consisted of 10 barracks and maybe also some other premises. Some of the Jews had to live outdoors. The new ghetto was surrounded by a fence and guarded by the local police. Forced labor was imposed, and food was rationed, limited to 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per person each day. Some young people managed to escape from the ghetto and exchange clothes, household utensils, and other items for food. A survivor recalls that sometimes Germans would come to the ghetto to rob Jews, even forcing women to strip naked to be searched. Some people died of starvation and disease. According to a non-Jewish witness, more than 500 corpses were removed from the ghetto and buried.⁴

On November 21, 1941, the majority of the Jews of Polotsk were shot in the area of a former firing range in the military settlement Borovukha 2-ia (the Second), close to Lozovka. According to the survivor Mikhail Minkovich, four pits had been prepared at this place beforehand; about 15 Germans and no fewer than 30 local police (*politsais*) participated in the murder of 2,300 Jews. Before the shooting, the victims were ordered to undress. Witnesses attest that the perpetrators tossed small children alive into the pits. Some Jews succeeded in fleeing from the killing site; only 2 of them survived until the end of the war.

Some relatively small-scale murders of Jews in Polotsk must have taken place in December 1941. Forces of Einsatzgruppe B killed, most probably, more than 200 Jews “for sabotaging German orders.”⁵

On February 3, 1942, the last 615 Jews of Polotsk were killed. The killing site is described by the witnesses interrogated by the ChGK as “in Lozovka, in a grove near the railway

crossing.” The perpetrators were most probably members of Einsatzkommando 9, with some participation by men of the 201st Security Brigade.⁶ According to the ChGK, three “specialists,” among them a tailor, were spared for the time being. Some individual Jews, most probably including the specialists, were killed after February 1942.

The extant data do not permit an exact determination of the number of Jews who were killed in Polotsk by the Nazis. The ChGK’s witnesses estimate the number of Jews killed at between 2,500 and 8,000. Some Jews fled the city or were drafted into the Red Army; others took refuge there. For these reasons, there may have been as many as 7,000 or 8,000 Jews in the city when the Germans arrived. Nonetheless, Minkovich’s estimate that 2,300 people were killed by the Nazis in Borovukha 2-ia during the great Aktion of November 1941 seems reliable. By adding to this 250 people killed in December 1941, 615 people killed on February 3, and then 500 people who, according to a witness, died in the second ghetto and were buried, we obtain a total number of victims of the second ghetto: 3,665. To this must be added an uncertain number of Jewish men (and maybe some women) killed by the Nazis in August 1941; taking into account that in other ghettos of the area the number of victims of the “men’s” Aktion generally was no more than one quarter of the entire Jewish population, a maximum estimate for the number of victims probably lies in the range of 4,800 to 4,900. By adding the victims of individual killings in 1941 and “specialists” killed in 1942, we can say that probably around 5,000 Jews in total perished in Polotsk under the German occupation.⁷

Elsewhere in the Polotsk raion, in the Domniki sel’sovet, to the east of Polotsk, 4 Jews were killed in Kotliany, and 8 Jews in another village. According to witnesses interrogated by the ChGK, in the village of Zamozh’e (20 kilometers [12.4 miles] east of Polotsk), of the same sel’sovet, three Jewish families, 17 people, refugees from Polotsk, lived in the bathhouse during the winter of 1941–1942. Sometime in the winter, a German unit arrived from Polotsk, beat the Jews, and then burned them in the same house. According to the account, the Jews who rushed to the windows to get out of the burning house were met with bullets and killed. According to other witnesses interrogated by the ChGK, in March 1942, on the order of the local Kommandant named Schulz, 21 Jews of the village of Kazimirovo (22 kilometers [13.7 miles] northeast of Polotsk), Iurovichi sel’sovet, 4 Jews from Iurovichi, 3 Jews from the nearby village of Sitenets, and probably some more Jews who were found in the territory of the sel’sovet were assembled and locked up in a barn in Kazimirovo. Then the Germans put them in trucks, brought them to a nearby forest, and shot them there. According to another source, the murder took place on February 13 or 16, 1941, and 70 Jews were killed.⁸ In Bel’skii sel’sovet, 8 Jews were killed in the sovkhos “Pobeda” (later Sel’tso-Beloe, to the northwest of Polotsk) in December 1941 by a squad that arrived from Borovukha 1-ia. Four Jews were killed in Zales’e, east-southeast of Polotsk, and 14 Jews in Novye

Goriany, 18 kilometers (11.2 miles) southeast along the Vitebsk highway.

SOURCES The testimony of an unknown witness regarding the Polotsk ghetto is published in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 285–287. Other relevant publications include *Pamiats’: Historyka-dakumentalnaia khronika Polatska* (Minsk, 2002).

Documents on the Polotsk ghetto and events in the Polotsk raion under German occupation can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58); BA-MA (WF-01/13302, F 42358, F 56828); GARF (7021-92-220 and 221); LG-Be (3 PKs 1/62 [case against Dr. Filbert], vol. 22); NARB (846-1-64 and 861-1-13); USHMM; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 90.
2. Depositions of the survivor Mikhail Minkovich; see GARF, 7021-92-220, pp. 115–116; see also Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 285–287.
3. Dates given by witnesses vary; see GARF, 7021-92-220.
4. *Pamiats’*, pp. 411–412; see also GARF, 7021-92-220; Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 285–287; and E.G. Ioffe et al., eds., *Kholokost v Belarusi 1941-1944: Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk, 2002), pp. 231–238.
5. BA-BL, R 58/219, EM no. 149 (December 22, 1941), mentions “special Aktions” carried out in Polotsk and three villages of the area in which 286 Jews were killed.
6. BA-MA (BarchP)F 42358, pp. 142, 145, KTB 201. Sich. Brigade, reports of February 3 and 10, 1942, as cited by Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 684.
7. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 285–287, give the figure of around 5,000 Jews in the first ghetto.
8. Interrogation conducted by the ChGK; see GARF, 7021-92-221. For another version of the events in the Iurovichi sel’sovet, see YVA, O-33/270.

PROPOISK (SLAVGOROD)

Pre-1941: Propoisk, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Propoisk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); 1945: renamed Slavgorod; post-1991: Slaubarad, raen center, Mabiliou voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Propoisk is located about 112 kilometers (70 miles) north of Gomel’. According to the 1939 census, 1,038 Jews were living in Propoisk (22 percent of the total population).¹

German armed forces occupied the town on July 30, 1941, approximately five weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were

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called up to the Red Army. Around 150 Jews remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

During the entire occupation, the town was controlled by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). The Ortskommandantur set up a town authority and a police force consisting of local residents.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the town authority, on the orders of the Ortskommandantur, organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also forced to perform various kinds of heavy labor.

In August 1941, Sonderkommando 7b arrived in the town and carried out the first anti-Jewish Aktion. The Security Police officers arrested 19 Jews accused of being "instigators and Communist agitators" and shot them.²

In August 1941, an open ghetto was established in the town. German security forces and local police collaborators liquidated the ghetto in November 1941. First, on November 5, the Germans gathered all the Jewish men, took them out of town, and shot them. Then on November 14, they assembled all the Jewish women, on the pretense that they would harvest potatoes, but again they shot them all, close to the pit in which the men were buried. After this, only the children remained in the ghetto. On November 28, 1941, a woman warned the remaining children that the execution squad was on its way, but most were unable to escape or hide. Policemen rounded up the children and threw them onto a truck. Reportedly the children were then drowned in the lake.³ One source estimates the total number of Jewish victims in November as 117.⁴ The killings were apparently carried out by the SD, probably assisted by men of the 1st Company, 317th Police Battalion, which was stationed in Propoisk from November 1941 to March 1942.⁵

During the roundup, 11-year-old Vladimir Smolitskii managed to hide and subsequently survived by wandering among the villages, where various people gave him temporary food and shelter, probably assisted by the circumstance that he did not appear to be Jewish. In the fall of 1943, he was liberated by the Red Army, and despite his youth, he became the "son of a field-engineer battalion," serving as a messenger with the troops in Romania, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.⁶

SOURCES Publications on the ghetto in Propoisk include the following: David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 244–245; *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Knih, 1995), p. 466; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), pp. 293, 304–305, and 312.

Relevant archival documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-88-532, pp. 4–6); and SHLA (Abt. 352 Lübeck Nr. 1.645, pp. 44–56).

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NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 39.

2. See the report of Einsatzgruppe B on police actions from August 24 to 30, 1941. Bundesbeauftragte für die Unterlagen des Staatssicherheitsdienstes der ehemaligen DDR, Zentralarchiv, ZUV 9, vol. 31, p. 47.

3. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 244–245.

4. *Pamiats' Belarus'*, p. 466. GARF, 7021-88-532, pp. 4–6, gives the number of 115 Jews shot, including women, the elderly, and children.

5. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 698, citing SHLA, Abt. 352 Lübeck Nr. 1.645, pp. 44–56, statement of J.B.

6. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 244–245.

PUKHOVICH I

Pre-1941: Pukhovichi, town, Pukhovichi raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Pucbowitschi, Rayon Marina Gorka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Pukhavichy, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Pukhovichi is located about 60 kilometers (37 miles) south-east of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 976 Jews living in the Pukhovichi raion (without the raion center, Mar'ina Gorka), most of them in Pukhovichi. A number of Jews worked on two kolkhozy, one Jewish and the other mixed, not far from Pukhovichi.

Pukhovichi was occupied by units of German Army Group Center at the beginning of July 1941. The head of the local police in Pukhovichi was Alexander Goncharik. During the second half of August 1941, a German punitive unit arrived in Pukhovichi. On instructions from the Rayon mayor, Derban, and with the aid of the local police, the German unit rounded up more than 90 Jewish men. These men were interrogated by the Germans in turn and beaten cruelly before being sent back to the group. They were then loaded onto trucks and transported to a site behind the Jewish cemetery in Pukhovichi, where they all were shot. Two Russian women who had worked for the Soviet administration were shot together with the Jews.¹

At the end of August or in early September 1941, the Germans assembled all the Jews of Pukhovichi in the courtyard of a barracks and told them they were going to be sent to Palestine. In preparation for this they had to move into the former postal service sanatorium, which formed a makeshift ghetto.

In the second half of September 1941, Gendarmerie Wachtmeister Bruno Mittmann drove to the area of Mar'ina Gorka and Pukhovichi from Minsk together with some 20 Gendarmes and 27 men of the Schutzpolizei to carry out an Aktion against the local Jewish population. In charge of the Aktion was SS-Brigadeführer Zenner, as well as Gendarmerie Leutnant Karl Kalla. The Aktion was carried out on orders

issued by the newly appointed Generalkommissar in Weissruthenien, Wilhelm Kube.²

In Pukhovichi, the Rayon mayor, Derban, instructed the local police to surround the Jewish “ghetto,” as a German police unit had arrived. Among the local police who participated in the Aktion were the leader Goncharik, Alexander Mayevskiy, and Fedor Mayko. The Jews were instructed to put on their best clothes and to take their most valuable belongings with them. When the column was ready, the Germans and their collaborators escorted the Jews to the Blon’ kolkhoz near Mar’ina Gorka.

At Blon’, the Jews were made to undress in a pigsty and then taken up the hill of Popova Gorka in groups of 10 to be shot by German police with machine guns. The Jews from the nearby Mar’ina Gorka ghetto were also taken on foot to Blon’ on the same day and were shot together with those from Pukhovichi. Children were thrown into the grave and buried alive. According to one account, some women were raped before they were shot. The shootings lasted nearly all day, and the Germans tried to drown out the noise from the local inhabitants by running tractor engines.³

SOURCES Documentation on the destruction of the Jewish population of Pukhovichi can be found in the following archives: BA-L (II 202 179/67 and 202 AR-Z 60/70); GAMINO (15-3-457); GARF (7021-87-12); NARA; and USHMM.

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NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. II, statements of Mikhail A. Koreny, Anna Biryukova, and Nadezhda I. Syrez, September 1944.

2. *Ibid.*, ZStL, II 202 179/67, pp. 132–133; Bruno Mittmann at the Minsk trial in January 1946 dated the Aktion on September 28, 1941; Dok. Bd. I, p. 120, Nina Sinoveyna, a local inhabitant of Mar’ina Gorka, dated it on September 24; the ChGK report of September 28, 1944 (USHMM, RG-53.002M, reel 12 [GAMINO, 15-3-457]), gives the date of September 17, 1941. Also see USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196 (NARA, RG-242, T-175), reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941. The reason for this intervention by Kube may be related to a previous Einsatzgruppen report about the Jews of the Marina Borka [*sic*] district fleeing to the woods, joining with the partisans, and plundering the area; see Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941.

3. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. II, statements of Mikhail A. Koreny, Anna Biryukova, and Nadezhda I. Syrez, September 1944.

RIASNO

Pre-1941: Riasno, village, Dribin raion, Mogilev oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rjassno, Rayon Dribin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rasna, Drybin raen, Mahiliou voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Riasno is located about 55 kilometers (34 miles) east-northeast of Mogilev. According to figures from the 1939 census, there were approximately 350 Jews living in Riasno.

The village was occupied on July 14, 1941, about three weeks after the German attack on the USSR on June 22. At that time, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army. Many Jewish refugees also arrived and settled in the village, adding to the population. Following the occupation of the village, the German military commandant appointed a village elder (starosta) and organized a Belorussian police force (Ordnungsdienst) consisting of local residents, including Fedor Hot’man and Fedor Terent’ev.¹

In the summer and fall of 1941, a series of anti-Jewish measures were implemented in Riasno. Jews were registered and forced to wear patches in the shape of the Star of David; they had to perform heavy labor without pay, were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village, and were subjected to systematic beatings and robbery by the local police.

In September 1941, the German authorities established some form of ghetto for the Jews in the center of the village. According to historian Marat Botvinnik, it existed for about six months. The ghetto was liquidated on March 3, 1942, when a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 from Krichev numbering 30 or 40 men arrived in Riasno. With the help of the local police, they collected the entire Jewish population (men, women, children, and old people) and escorted them to a killing site about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) to the east of Riasno. Here the Germans ordered the Jews to remove their clothes down to their underwear. Then the Jews were ordered to get into the prepared ditches, and the Germans and their collaborators shot them with machine guns. At least 410 persons, including Jews from the village and Jewish refugees, were murdered.² On March 18, 1942, Landeschützen Battalion 285, which formed the Ortskommandantur in Riasno, reported that money had been found in the clothes of Jews who had been “liquidated” (*erledigt*) that month by a German punitive unit assisted by the local police.³

In April 1942, only a few weeks after the liquidation of the ghetto, the mayor of Mogilev sent several hundred civilian evacuees who had just arrived from the Russian town of Gzhatsk from Mogilev to Riasno, where they were accommodated in the former ghetto.⁴

SOURCES Information on the extermination of the Jews in Riasno can be found in the following publication: “Rasnianski sel’sovet,” in *Pamiats’: Belarus’* (Minsk: Resp. Kniha, 1995), p. 430. Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), names Riasno as a ghetto on page 291.

Documents about the extermination of the Jews in Riasno on the basis of Soviet official commissions, German documents, and the testimonies of witnesses can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216–220, R 2104/28); GARF (7021-88-37); NARB (861-1-9); TsGAMORF (Fond 49th Army, opis’ 9733, delo 120, p. 46); USHMM; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-53.002M (NARB), reel 7, 861-1-9, p. 166.
2. TsGAMORE, Fond 49th Army, opis' 9733, delo 120, p. 46; GARF, 7021-88-37, pp. 1-2, and 7; and NARB, 861-1-9, p. 163, all give the figure of about 600 Jewish victims. See also BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 194, April 21, 1942.
3. BA-BL, R 2104/28, report of Landesschützen Bataillon 285, March 18, 1942.
4. Nicholas Terry, "The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942-1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front" (Ph.D. diss., King's College, University of London, 2005), p. 194, citing Mikhail Badaev, ed., *Pamiat' kbranit vse*, (Smolensk: "Smiadyn," 1995), pp. 81-82 (testimony of Anna Ivanova, 16 years old in 1942).

ROGACHEV

Pre-1941: Rogachev, city and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Rogatschew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rabachou, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rogachev is located 121 kilometers (76 miles) north-northwest of Gomel.' In 1939, the Jewish population was 4,601 (30.3 percent of the total).

Shortly after the German invasion of the Soviet Union, a great many refugees started to arrive in Rogachev from Minsk, Bobruisk, and other places in western Belorussia. As the tide of refugees increased, schools and other buildings were taken over to accommodate them. Some refugees continued moving east across the Dnieper River, but many remained in Rogachev. Fewer than half of the Jews managed to leave, either as members of labor collectives of enterprises and organizations or on their own initiative by foot in the direction of Gomel' before Soviet forces destroyed the bridges across the Dnieper.¹

German forces entered Rogachev on July 3, but resistance continued. Rogachev finally surrendered on August 19, 1941, as Army Group Center swung south towards Gomel' and Kiev, outflanking the city.

The territory of the Rogachev raion was administered by the German Rear Area, Army Group Center. In Rogachev, a local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) and a field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 528 (V)) were established. In the building of the former Machine Tractor Station (MTS), an office of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP-724) was established, and units of the military Feldgendarmarie and the Security Police and SD all operated in the city. According to Soviet sources, in the Rogachev raion, Major Marlo and his deputy, Major Diller, were in charge of the Feldkommandantur; Captain Zipke headed the agricultural commandant's office (Landwirtschaftsführer); Oberleutnant Rudolf headed the Ortskommandantur; Oberleutnant

Mentrop (or Matron) was the head of the Security Police (Gestapo) branch; Kresse headed the punitive squad; and Lobikov became head of the local Belorussian police. The German authorities established camps for Soviet prisoners of war (POWs) at Gadilovich and Dvoretz near Rogachev, as well as in Novyi and Staryi Dovsk, about 30 kilometers (18.6 miles) to the northeast.²

The first victims of the Nazis were Soviet activists and Jews. German security forces conducted mass shootings near the timber mill, in the basements, and around the building of the central warehouse in Rogachev. Among those shot were Pribylskii, the former chairman of the timber mill executive committee; Frumenkov, a member of the raion party executive committee (*raiiispolkom*); and Admiralov, the kolkhoz chairman.³

Initially, under the German occupation the Jews continued to live in their own homes. They were not permitted to go out into public spaces, walk along the main streets of the city, or engage in relations with non-Jews. In September 1941, the Nazis introduced measures for their complete isolation from the Belorussians and Russians. On September 9, the Rogachev administration began implementing an order for the resettlement of the Jews into the building of the city's heating and power plant. Then the process of selection began. Able-bodied men were taken away to a labor camp and quartered in the basement of a former military warehouse. In the course of the resettlement, Jews had to leave behind all their belongings at their old place of residence, leave their doors unlocked, and leave the keys in a visible place. The police watchmen guarded the ghetto around the clock. They used rubber batons to beat prisoners for their own "amusement." Since the Germans did not entirely trust the local police in Rogachev, only those men were armed who were given the task of guarding the Jews.⁴ The Germans led away groups of Jews to perform the most grueling and dirty labor, using methods that amounted to torture. The Jews had to clear stone and brick rubble and carry sand and water without proper tools. Often the labor was very degrading. They made women and young teenage girls clean up feces with their hands in lavatories that were designated "Only for Germans." There were many similar incidents.⁵

To survive, Jews had to rely on their own modest reserves of food, barter, or gain the assistance of the local Belorussians. The Belorussians provided some buckwheat, frozen turnips, cabbage, and a small amount of bread. As a rule, the local residents helped out their "own" Jews free of charge. Those who were married to Belorussians or Jews from nearby villages were assisted by former neighbors and fellow villagers. These more integrated Jews were only a small minority of those in the ghetto. Most Jews had to barter goods for food, which was forbidden. They did so anyway, despite the risk to their lives. The barter trade required careful organization and mutual trust, and in many cases, Jews worked with local policemen who looked the other way. Escape from the ghetto was impossible. Sometimes the Belorussian policemen and the Germans would beat Jews they caught bartering, to teach them a lesson.⁶

The first Aktion was organized by a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 based in Gomel', under the command of Wilhelm Schulz, on November 6, 1941. The chosen site for the mass shooting was a very large antitank ditch about 120 meters by 10 meters, and 5 meters deep (394 by 33 by 16 feet), behind the cardboard factory and the bread-making plant on the banks of the Drut' River.⁷ The German Security Police and their helpers selected several hundred Jews from among ghetto inhabitants in Rogachev and drove them in groups towards the river in trucks, where they ordered them to undress. With the assistance of local policemen, the SS men lined up their victims at the bottom of the ravine in groups of 10, then shot them in the back of the head with their automatic weapons and rifles. They finished off the wounded with the butts of their firearms and with shovels. They seized young children by the legs, smashed their heads on the frozen ground, and threw them into the ditch. According to the German Einsatzgruppen report, 2,365 male and female Jews were murdered for their alleged support of the partisans in the course of an Aktion in Gomel', Rogachev, and Korma.⁸

The second Aktion was conducted on December 1, 1941. Under the guise of escorting them out for a work assignment, the Germans took 72 Jews from the ghetto and used them for clearing roads near the villages of Novyi and Staryi Krivsk. Afterwards they shot all of these people.

The third Aktion was carried out on January 1, 1942, at Starina, near the village of Khatovnia. The Germans shot 172 Jews there.

The fourth Aktion took place on February 12 (or according to another source, in March), 1942, in an antitank ditch 70 meters (230 feet) from the Drut' River. This time, the Jewish victims included the children from mixed marriages, who were gathered from the surrounding villages. They also included the Jewish special laborers who had been set apart during the first Aktion. According to witnesses, six Roma (Gypsy) families were shot together with the Jews.⁹

On December 27, 1941, 260 Jews from the village of Sverzen', in the Rogachev raion, were shot.¹⁰

The Nazi German occupiers carried out the killings at a Russian cemetery that came to be called "the valley of death" (*dolina smerti*). Around 1,000 people were killed there. Later, 10 mass graves were unearthed; they were 3 meters in length, 6 meters in width, and 3 meters deep (almost 10 by 20 by 10 feet).

In the spring of 1942, the Drut' River flooded, and the water washed away the soil, revealing a few hundred Jewish corpses. According to the testimony of Nina Barantseva, several bodies were recognizable. There were some adults who held children in their arms as they died, not wanting to let them go. The German authorities ordered the local residents of Rogachev to rebury the exposed corpses.¹¹

In November and December 1943, part of Sonderkommando 7a arrived in Rogachev to carry out Operation "Wettermeldung" ("Weather Report") under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Stertzinger. They removed 20 Soviet POWs from the SD prison in Rogachev for work as slave laborers to burn the corpses. The unit cordoned off the site of

the Jewish graves so that no local residents could witness the events. They informed the POWs that they would be leaving for work in Germany, giving them vodka and cigarettes. Five of the men passed out from the stench of rotting corpses. The corpses were removed from the graves with iron hooks and placed in stacks, covered with tar, and cremated. The remaining ash was transported away in trucks.¹²

During the liquidation of the ghetto in Rogachev, some people managed to escape. Tat'iana Duktovskaia saved the life of Liuda Mazheiko. In May 1941, Tat'iana arrived in Rogachev from the city of Chita but did not manage to evacuate in time. After the liquidation of the ghetto, Liuda's father Vladimir spoke with 18-year-old Tat'iana and persuaded her to pass off his 5-year-old daughter as her own. The German authorities required a medical certificate, and a Doctor Zubits issued a statement saying that the time of "birth" could not be determined. For 3 years, Tat'iana hid Liuda in the countryside, moving her from one village to another.¹³

A German army officer took in eight-year-old Alevtina Igol'nikova, who lost both her parents in the fighting on July 3, 1941. For several months, he kept her in his home, then sent her away to be raised by a woman named Anastasia Tristenetskaia.¹⁴

On February 24, 1944, forces of the 1st Belorussian Front liberated Rogachev. In November 1944, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) ascertained that 3,700 people were murdered by the German occupants in Rogachev, and 6,353 perished in the raion. The surnames of 2,233 victims (about 35 percent) were established.¹⁵

The national affiliation of the victims could not be determined precisely by the commission. Overall, during the occupation the population of the Rogachev raion decreased from 57,115 in 1941 to 28,000 in 1944 (49 percent of the prewar population level).¹⁶

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jews of Rogachev under German occupation can be found in the following publications: *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naiia kbronika Rogachevskogo raiona* (Minsk, 1994); Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belarускаia Navuka, 2000); David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, *Cbernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii* (Baltimore, 1996), p. 408; *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii, 1941–1944gg.: Dokumenty i materialy* (Minsk, 1963); and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1086.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews in Rogachev can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBGO (240); GAGO (1345-1-15); GARF (7021-85-217a, 218); NARB (4-33a-65; 861-1-6; 3500-2-38); TsAKGBRB; and YVA (M-33/477-478). Relevant German documentation can be found in BA-L; BA-MA; and NARA. There is also a letter received from Naftolia Farber dated May 5, 2002, in the personal archive of the author (PALS).

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trans. Steven Seegel

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NOTES

1. PALS, letter of Naftolia Farber from Rekhovot, Israel, May 5, 2002.
2. AUKGBRBGO, 240.
3. GAGO, 1345-1-15, p. 2.
4. BA-MA, RH 26-221/21, Appendices to War Diary Ia, p. 317, FK 528 (V) in Rogachev, September 13, 1941.
5. TsAKGBRB.
6. GARF, 7021-85-217a, p. 2.
7. *Ibid.*, 7021-85-218, p. 23.
8. NARA, T-175, roll 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 148, November 19, 1941; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 17 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1977), p. 679 (LG-Mü I, 22 Ks 1/61, verdict of July 21, 1961). NARB, 861-1-6, pp. 99–100, indicates that as many as 3,000 Jews were killed in Rogachev during the first 10 days of November.
9. YVA, M-33/477–478, p. 38.
10. *Pamiat'*, p. 171.
11. AUKGBRBGO. According to one published source, on November 28, 1943, in Rogachev the Germans set fire to 200 Jews in a shed. The nationality of those murdered is not known with certainty, but it is possible that all of them were Jews. See *Prestupleniia nemetsko-fashistskikh okkupantov v Belorussii*, p. 231.
12. Interrogation of SS-Rottenführer Erwin Hansen of Sk 7a, April 24, 1944, NARB, 3500-2-38, pp. 431–433.
13. In 1997, Tat'iana Dutovskaia received the title of "Righteous Among the Nations." See *Evreiskii kamerton*, October 5, 2004.
14. It is not explained whether the rescuer of Igol'nikova knew that she was Jewish. See Meltser and Levin, *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami*, p. 408.
15. YVA, M-33/477–478, p. 5.
16. GAOOGO, 144-155-6, p. 218.

ROSSASNO

Pre-1941: Rossasno, village, Dubrovno raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Dubrovno, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rossasna, Dubrovna raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rossasno is located a few kilometers to the northeast of Dubrovno on the southern bank of the Dnieper River. In 1939, the Jewish population of the Dubrovno raion (without the town of Dubrovno) consisted of 222 people, most of whom lived in the villages of Baevo and Rossasno. There were probably around 100 Jews living in Rossasno at the beginning of June 1941. Only part of the Jewish population remained in Rossasno at the start of the German occupation in mid-July 1941.

At first the German occupiers did not resettle the Jews into a ghetto, and the Jews continued to live in their own homes. They were forbidden to leave the limits of the village, and for this reason at least one person, a woman named Khaia, was shot by the local police in the village of Goncharovo.¹

Approximately one month before the murder of the Jews of Rossasno, in early March 1942, the Jews were gathered together in the local school building, where they were held until the start

of April. These were predominantly children, old people, and women. Few details are available about this confinement, but historian Gennadii Vinnitsa conjectures that the school served as a form of ghetto, as they were held there for almost one month and during that period they were guarded by the local police. Thus the ghetto served as a collection point until the Germans were ready to consign them to their deaths. On April 2, 1942, the inmates of the small ghetto in Rossasno were loaded onto sleighs and taken to Liady.² On that day, the Jews of the Liady ghetto together with those from Rossasno were brought across the Mereia River to the Russian side, where the Germans shot them and buried them in a mass grave.³

Information from the Zonal State Archive (ZGAGO) in Orsha reveals the names of 58 of the Jews from Rossasno who were murdered. It is likely that the number of Jews killed was higher than this. The *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* indicates that 74 Jews from Rossasno were murdered in total.

SOURCES A short section on the Rossasno ghetto, including the 58 victims' names, can be found in the work by Gennadii Vinnitsa: *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 28–31. Of use also is the entry for "Rossasno" in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2007), 6:376–377.

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NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 28–31.
2. *Ibid.*
3. GARF, 7021-84-6; and *Krasnoarmeiskaia Pravda*, October 31, 1943.

ROSSONY

Pre-1941: Rossony (until 1939, Stanislavovo), village and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rasony, raen center, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Rossony is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) north of Polotsk. According to the census of 1939, the Jewish population of the Rossony raion consisted of 419 people, 49 of whom lived in Rossony.

Units of the German XXIII Army Corps of the 9th Army, supported by the LVII Army Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group, initially captured the Rossony raion. The western part of the raion (west of the line Iukhovichi-Kliastsitsy) was taken by these two Army Corps on July 14, 1941. On July 15, the Germans advanced quickly to the east, overrunning Rossony, and by July 16, they were close to the shores of Lake Neshcherdo. By July 17 the entire raion was in German hands. From August 1941 onward, Rossony was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center, being situated on its western edge, near the area under "civil administration" (Generalkommis-

sariat Weissruthenien). This area was the realm of the 403rd Security Division; Rossony was under the control of Ortskommandantur 262.

In the fall of 1941, the local commandant in Rossony, Otto Lenz, ordered the Jews of the raion to be resettled to the village of Rossony, where a ghetto was established. The ghetto was fenced with barbed wire and guarded. A sign was erected near the ghetto gate, announcing that any inmate who crossed the fence and left the ghetto would be shot. The Nazis confiscated all the belongings of the ghetto Jews, including clothes and even food supplies. In 1945, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of Rossony ghetto inmates at 488. The inmates received no food, and many of them died before the ghetto was liquidated. In January 1942, the Germans and the local police escorted the Jews out of the village to the northeast, where they shot them near the Osinniki road, in three pits that had been dug beforehand. Before being murdered, the victims were instructed to undress. The mass grave remained open until April 1942, when it was closed on the orders of Mayor Iazutov.

The number of Jewish victims in Rossony named by the witnesses interrogated by the ChGK seems to be exaggerated, taking into consideration that the whole Jewish population of the raion prior to the war was only 419 people. It should be noted that the raion was situated close to the Polotsk fortified area (Polotskii ukrepraion), part of the pre-war fortifications of the old Soviet-Polish border line, and therefore it may have attracted dozens of refugees from western, formerly Polish, areas.

Jews of the Starye Dvory sel'sovet (later Krasnopol'e sel'sovet) were killed mainly by the German staff of the prisoner-of-war (POW) camp in Demekh that was situated 2 or 3 kilometers (about 1.5 miles) east of Krasnopol'e, on the northern side of the Drysa River, close to the camp. According to the depositions made for the ChGK in 1945, the men of the Demekh garrison were engaged in cleansing the vicinity of Jews; the Jews were first collected in the camp and then killed. For example, in August or September 1941, five Jewish families (about 15 people) from the village of Karpino, 2 to 3 kilometers (about 1.5 miles) north of Krasnopol'e, were shot near the Demekh camp. According to a witness interrogated by the ChGK, 12 Jews (four families) from the Krasnopol'e village were assembled in September 1941 under the pretext of their registration and the issuing of new personal documents, then murdered in the same place; according to another witness, 7 Jews from Krasnopol'e were killed near Demekh, and 2 others managed to flee; it is unclear whether this refers to one and the same Aktion or two different ones.

Elsewhere in the raion, 36 Jews from the Maxim Gorky kolkhoz (most probably the village of Albrekhtovo) were killed in the Albrekhtovo sel'sovet (later Biriuzovo sel'sovet).¹ Eight Jews from the village of Vladimirovka were shot near the road to Trodovichy (3 or 4 kilometers [about 2 miles] northwest of Krasnopol'e). On September 21, 1941, a squad of three German soldiers from the Krasnopol'e garrison arrived at the village of Shuliatino (later a part of the Amosenki village, 6

kilometers [4 miles] west of Krasnopol'e along the Rossony road). The squad arrested 6 Jewish peasants when they were working in the fields and shot them on the spot. According to a witness in the village of Berezovka near Krasnopol'e, partisans executed the starosta, who had denounced a local Jewish woman to the Germans. In January 1944, in the village of Shalashniki, Germans shot a Jew named Hirsh Gilevich.

SOURCES Information can be found in *Pamiats': Historyka-dakumental'naia kbronika Rasonskaia raiona* (Minsk, 1994). The documents of the ChGK for the Rossony raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-222).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-92-222.

SENNO

Pre-1941: Senno, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Sianno, raen center, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Senno is located about 60 kilometers (37.3 miles) southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, the last pre-war census recorded a total of 1,056 Jews living in the town, 24.5 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Senno raion (without the town of Senno) was 165. In 1939, there were 569 Jews living in the nearby raion center of Bogushevsk (32 kilometers, or 20 miles, east of Senno).

The XLVII Motorized Army Corps of the 2nd Panzer Group entered Senno on July 6, 1941. However, the battle for this town between the German motorized corps and the Soviet 14th and 18th Tank Divisions went on until the evening of July 8. Bogushevsk was taken on July 10, 1941; on July 14, it was in the operational area of the V Army Corps of the 9th Army.

From August 1941 onward, Senno was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. In 1941, the Senno raion was the realm of Feldkommandantur 815 of the 403rd Security Division. Later, until mid-February 1942, Senno was under the authority of Feldkommandantur 181 of the 286th Security Division, with Ortskommandantur 846 located in the town. From mid-February 1942, Senno was returned to the authority of Feldkommandantur 815.

In Senno, the Germans appointed former school principal Samuil Davidovich Svoiskii as the Jewish elder. The Germans resettled the Jews of Senno at least twice, most likely several times. At each new place the Jews were settled more densely, and the regime was stricter than at the previous one. For example, initially the Germans turned a blind eye to communication between Jews and non-Jews; later they punished such communication. In the fall of 1941, most probably in October, the Germans established a formal ghetto in the town's upper area, Golyinka, mainly on Voroshilov Street. The Jews were

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crammed 45 to 50 people to a house; Belorussian policemen guarded the ghetto. According to a witness interviewed by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the ghetto Jews received 50 grams (less than 2 ounces) of bread per person per day.

On October 16, 12 Jews were shot for “showing up late for work.” At the end of December 1941, the ghetto of Senno was liquidated. On December 29, a punitive squad appeared in Senno. The SS and the local police surrounded the ghetto. The next day the SS drove Jews from their houses and declared that they were to be moved to Orsha. Instead, the Jews were brought from Golyinka to the village of Kozlovka, about 1.5 kilometers (1 mile) east of the town, on a hill, and ordered to dig pits. On the sunny and frosty day of December 30 (according to other accounts, December 31), all the Senno Jews were shot. The Aktion lasted from 8:00 A.M. to 2:00 P.M. that day. According to all accounts, the Belorussian police played a crucial role in the massacre.¹

The ChGK documents vary in their estimates of the number of victims, ranging from 850 to 965. The inscription on the monument erected in Senno says there were 850 victims of the massacre.

Apart from the town of Senno, a Jewish family by the name of Bekker—11 people, among them six children—was killed in the village of Zabor'e, 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) south of Senno.

The nearby raion center of Bogushevsk was the site of one of the earliest wholesale massacres of Jews in the Vitebsk area. Although witnesses date the Aktion differently,² the killing most probably took place in early September 1941.

According to both the ChGK and the witness Sofya M., the execution in Bogushevsk was a reprisal Aktion for an abortive attempt on the life of a German officer. Indeed, on September 4, 1941, a skirmish took place between partisans and the German garrison of Bogushevsk. Its details, minus the exaggerations made by Soviet official historiography, roughly correspond to the description made by both Sofya M. and the ChGK. According to these witnesses, an SS squad arrived in town following this skirmish and, with the assistance of the Belorussian police, assembled all the population of this small town in the square in front of the raion party committee (*raikom*) building. Then the Germans and *politsais* (local police) began to check the identification documents, sending the Russians and Belorussians to one side of the square, the Jews to the other side. According to the ChGK, they released the non-Jewish women and children and told the rest of the people that their fate would be decided by the Orsha commandant. The commandant arrived and ordered the shooting of all the Jews and several non-Jewish men. The people were machine-gunned on the spot; 20 non-Jewish men were ordered to bury the bodies.³

An inscription on the monument erected in Bogushevsk after the war states that 86 Jews were killed in the town on the day of the massacre. The ChGK documents give a different figure: 64 Jewish victims. The eyewitnesses in the town are divided between these estimates concerning the number of victims.

SOURCES For additional information, see Gennadii Vinnitsa's book *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998).

The documents of the ChGK for the Senno raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-11); for the former Bogushevsk raion, in GARF (7021-84-2). Some information on the German authorities in this vicinity can be found in BA-MA (RH 26-201/17). Eyewitness accounts can be found in YVA (O-3/4683-89).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-84-11; YVA, O-3/4683-89.
2. The ChGK report of March 29, 1945, dated the mass murder of the Jews in Bogushevsk in October 1941; another ChGK document, dated June 26, 1944, gave a date of September 5, 1941; see *Zverstva nemetsko-fasbistskikh zakhvatnikov: Dokumenty*, vyp. 14 (Moscow, 1945), p. 42. According to the survivor Sofya M., the killing took place on August 9, 1941. The survivor describes the day as a warm one; she says that the Jews had not been registered, marked by patches, stripped of their property, or resettled up to that day. The Belorussian witnesses interviewed by Vinnitsa also point to August as the month of the mass murder; see Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 118–119.
3. GARF, 7021-84-2; YVA O-3/4689.

SHCHEDRIN

Pre-1941: Shchedrin (Yiddish: Seliba), town, Poles'e oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schtschedrin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shchadryn, Zhlobin raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shchedrin is located 48 kilometers (30 miles) west of Zhlobin. In 1926, there were 1,759 Jews living in Shchedrin.

After the German invasion on June 22, 1941, most men of military age in Shchedrin were mobilized for service in the Red Army. As the town was some distance from the railroad, it did not suffer from aerial bombardment, and because there was no organized evacuation, only a small part of the population managed to leave the town. Those who left expected to return soon. A number of Communists and sel'sovet activists stayed behind to conduct underground work in Shchedrin.

German armed forces occupied Shchedrin in July 1941, and within 10 days a local police force was recruited, made up of Belorussians and Poles who were natives of Shchedrin and the neighboring villages. Adam Rudinskii became the town's mayor, and his deputy was a man named Kuchinskii. The senior police officials were Vladislav Semashko and Antanas Trizno. The local administration helped the Germans search for Communists and Jews and also registered the Jews.

Relations between the Jews and the Belorussians changed with the arrival of the Germans. The Jews lost their civil rights, and anyone could take their property with impunity. The keeper of the kolkhoz granary, a man named Rubinshtein, was shot for refusing to give a policeman his leather

boots. Zimel' Kimmel'man, his wife Malka, and his young daughter were hidden in the village of Solotin in the home of a peasant they knew, a man named Anan, in return for a sum of money. Anan took the money, but then at night he informed the Germans, who shot the Jews.

The Jews, 1,560 in total, remained in their homes in Shchedrin until early August 1941, when the Germans forced them all to move onto two small streets, "Sair gas" and "Bod gas," where a ghetto was created. It was partially enclosed by barbed wire, and policemen were posted at the ghetto gates. The Germans appointed Antanas Trizno to be in charge of the ghetto. The Jews were strictly forbidden to go into the center of Shchedrin without special permission. When the blacksmith Berl inadvertently violated this ban, he was shot on the spot.¹ Several families had to share each apartment. There was no synagogue within the ghetto, so the Jews would gather to pray in their apartments.²

The most attractive girls were rounded up and taken to a brothel for the German soldiers. The Jews were ordered to wear yellow six-pointed stars on the front and back of their clothing. Not everyone had fabric of that color, and feverish searching began because the Nazis threatened to kill anyone who failed to comply with the order by a certain date. The police forced those who had committed offenses to eat sand.

The Jews had to organize their own supplies of food. They bartered with the local residents for potatoes and vegetables, and some received help from relatives and Belorussian neighbors. Each day, under escort, the Jews were led out of the ghetto to perform forced labor from dawn until dusk. They were made to work in workshops, in the gristmill, and in the sawmill; to clean cesspools and toilets; to repair roads; and to collect garbage. For performing work, a Jew received a daily ration of only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread, in contrast to 1 kilogram (2.2 pounds) of bread for a non-Jew, even though the output quota for Jews was three times greater.³

Jews were among the Nazis' first victims in Shchedrin, well before a large-scale Aktion took place. In July 1941, the Germans shot two men named Pishchalo and Khort, who had secretly taken cheese and dairy products from the Shchedrin creamery to the village of Shatilki, where there were still Soviet troops. Pishchalo was killed in the yard of the Kommandantur in Shchedrin, and he left behind five orphaned children. Khort was taken into a tea shop and severely lashed; then he was blindfolded and taken to the Jewish cemetery, where he was made to dig his own grave and then shot. After this, Trizno drove two Germans to the village of Uspalishche, where they murdered Khort's wife and raped his 15-year-old daughter Sasha. Sonia Asovskaiia was hanged in the yard of the creamery just after her 5-year-old son was shot before her eyes. Permission to remove her body was denied for a long time, as the authorities wanted to remind the Jews daily of the severe punishments they faced. Before the arrival of fall in Shchedrin, 17 Communists had been shot.

The son of Boris Porton came to Shchedrin in the summer of 1941 on vacation from Vitebsk, where he was studying. He was among 11 Jewish men who were forced into a shop that

sold kerosene and were beaten there. Porton's son and the shop manager, a man named Zverev, were the first to be handed spades and taken to the cemetery. When Boris Porton was told that his son had been taken away to be shot, he ran after them, crying, "Spare my son, kill me!" The Nazis killed Boris, and next they shot his son and Zverev.

Iosel' Samardin took two grandchildren to the village of Kitin, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) from Shchedrin, and asked friends to hide them. After the ghetto was established, the Germans announced that they would kill anyone found to be hiding Jews. Acting on a report to the authorities, the policeman Semashko discovered Samardin's grandchildren and shot them.⁴

In December 1941, there were rumors that a German punitive detachment would be sent to Shchedrin, and people began to go into hiding. The cobbler Wolfson was found in a haystack and stabbed with bayonets. The pharmacy manager Arkadii Kheifets, who had leg problems, was taken to the fire station and harnessed to a wagon with a barrel of water. When Kheifets fainted, they sent for his wife Sonia. She grabbed a vial of liquid and ran to her husband. They both poisoned themselves and died on the spot.⁵

The Germans planned the destruction of the ghetto for March 8, 1942. In the days before the mass shooting, the police surrounded the ghetto and began to force the Jews out of the houses. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, the prisoners were beaten with whips, people were screaming and sobbing, and parents shielded their children with their own bodies to protect them from the blows. The Jews were herded into groups, and then, under the guard of policemen on horseback and Germans on motorcycles, they were driven into the school building. Many mothers carried their children in their arms. The cemetery grounds were cordoned off, and no Belorussians were allowed to enter.⁶ The chief of police, Mikhail Govor, and three Germans met the prisoners at the school gates and questioned them.⁷

Simultaneously, the German authorities mobilized peasants from the neighboring villages, who were ordered to dig a pit in the Jewish cemetery about 30 meters long and 5 meters wide (98 by 16 feet). On the morning of March 8, 1942, the Jews were taken in groups of 90 to 100 from the school to the cemetery, guarded by local policemen and four German soldiers.⁸ They were led to the edge of the pit, then had to undress and lie facedown in the pit in groups of 10. A German officer then killed the people with a submachine gun, firing single shots. Policemen from Parichi also participated in shooting the Jews. The Aktion ended late in the evening.

Estimates of the total number of Jewish victims murdered in Shchedrin on March 8, 1942, range from around 1,000 up to 2,000.⁹ Among the victims were a number of Jews brought to Shchedrin from neighboring villages and some refugees. After the mass shooting, the Nazis checked the registration lists of the Jews and found that 17 were missing, including Girsh and Tsilia Erenburg, Grigorii Ol'shanskii, and Sara Livshits. After two or three days, the German security forces that conducted the Aktion left Shchedrin and went to the village of Kitin. For a week, with local assistance, the police continued

to hunt for escaped Jews in hiding. Tolik and Tsezik Kuchinskii rode on horseback from village to village, looking for Jews in exchange for a reward. The police arrested about 10 people, whom they killed in a common grave.¹⁰ The Germans gave most of the Jews' clothing to Rudinskii, the town's mayor, who sold some of the things and distributed the rest to the local policemen.¹¹

Not all of the survivors of the Aktion on March 8, 1942, escaped with their lives. Two Jewish girls froze to death near the village of Pekalichi, 7 kilometers (4.4 miles) from Shchedrin, after local residents denied them shelter. Luba was caught by 20-year-old Pavlik Prokopovich, who had been a school classmate of hers in Shchedrin and who served in the local police in Parichi. Prokopovich also killed the physics teacher from his school, Isaak Galerkin. (After the arrival of the Red Army, Prokopovich was sentenced to 20 years in corrective labor camps.) Only a few Jews who escaped from the ghetto managed to join Soviet partisan units and take part in the resistance against the Germans.

Soviet forces recaptured Shchedrin in the second half of June 1944. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) of the USSR uncovered, at a distance of 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from Shchedrin, a mass burial site measuring 20 by 10 meters and 1.2 meters deep (66 by 33 by 4 feet). There they discovered 1,100 corpses, arranged haphazardly. On most of the victims, there was no clothing of any kind.¹² The ChGK established that in all more than 9,000 civilians, including more than 1,000 Jews, had died at the hands of the Nazis in Shchedrin and the surrounding villages during the years of German occupation.¹³

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Shchedrin during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), pp. 219, 232; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1169; *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995); *Zbor pomnikau historyi i kul'tury Belarusi. Homel'skaia voblasts'* (Minsk, 1986); Moisei Liakhovitskii, "Mestechku Shchedrin—100 let," *Rodnik* (Minsk), no. 25 (April 1993).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews in Shchedrin can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (813); NARB (12-1-4; 861-1-2; 845-1-60); TsAKGBRB; VHF (# 6936); YVA (M-33/1151, p. 103); and ZGAMO (463-3-8). In the personal archive of the author (PALS) are the letters sent by Nadezhda Khoroneko from Kiryat Ata (Israel) on September 12 and October 23, 2004.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. TsAKGBRB.
2. VHF, # 6936, testimony of Dora Polonskaya (born May 25, 1927).
3. TsAKGBRB.
4. See also PALS, letter of Nadezhda Khoroneko, September 12, 2004.

5. *Ibid.*, October 23, 2004.
6. Testimony of Mikhail Kharitonovich Govor, April 9, 1945; see AUKGBRBGO, 813.
7. NARB, 861-1-2, pp. 93–95.
8. *Ibid.*, 845-1-60, p. 33.
9. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, states that there were 1,600 (or 2,000 victims). YVA, M-33/1151, p. 103, gives the figure of 1,100 corpses found in the mass grave.
10. YVA, M-33/1151, p. 104.
11. Testimony of Mikhail Fedorovich Govor, October 27, 1948; see AUKGBRBGO, 813, pp. 3, 35–36.
12. From a ChGK report for Shchedrin, July 30, 1944, YVA, M-33/1151, p. 103.
13. *Pamiats': Belarus'*, p. 267.

SHEPELEVICHI

Pre-1941: Shepelevichi, village, Krugloe raion, Mogilev oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Shepelevitschi, Rayon Krutscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shapialevichy, Krublae raen, Mabiliou voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shepelevichi is located 55 kilometers (34 miles) west-northwest of Mogilev. German forces occupied the village on July 8, 1941, slightly more than two weeks after their invasion of the USSR. During those two weeks a few of the Jews in the village managed to evacuate eastward. Several dozen Jews remained in the village at the start of the occupation.

On their arrival, the Germans immediately appointed a local police force. Among the local inhabitants who served in the police were Semion Vladyko, Makar Golovkov, and a man named Petrok. The Jews were registered by the new authorities. The local policemen frequently entered Jewish homes and robbed the Jews of anything they wanted, threatening that they would shoot them. The Germans also imposed a series of anti-Jewish measures. Jews were required to sew yellow stars on their clothes. They were forbidden to buy foodstuffs, use the sidewalks, or speak with Belorussians.¹

Soon after the start of the occupation, the Germans arrested 3 Jewish men in Shepelevichi and shot them near the Mokrov cemetery, not far from Belynichi, after forcing them to dig their own graves. In mid-October, news arrived of the murder of 81 Jews in the nearby village of Es'mony, 8 kilometers (5 miles) to the south; the perpetrators may have used gas vans or may have shot their victims. The pretense for the killings may have been a report by Infantry Regiment 691 that the local Jews there were supporting the partisans.² Then on October 29, 1941, a truck with Gendarmes arrested the father and uncle of Honya Epshtein and shot them in the neighboring village of Stai. The German Gendarmes (probably Feldgendarmerie of the Wehrmacht) were assisted by the local police, who also took the clothes and boots of the victims.³

On November 15, 1941, all the Jews of Shepelevichi were driven out of their houses and escorted by local police carrying spades to a quarry about 500 meters (547 yards) outside the

village. Here a military unit with machine guns was awaiting them. The Germans conducted a selection, according to principles that remained unclear. Then they shot about 30 or 40 people, including women, babies, old men, and teenage boys. The bodies were buried in a mass grave that had been prepared in advance. The screams of those who were shot could be heard some 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) away.⁴

After the shooting, the remaining Jews were put into several houses, in what Honya Epshtein has described as a small remnant ghetto. At first the ghetto was very overcrowded. Germans or policemen came regularly to the houses, however, to take people out and shoot them. On December 12, 1941, the few remaining Jews were transferred to the Krugloe ghetto, where they shared the fate of the other Jews gathered there, most of whom were shot in the first half of 1942, except for a few who managed to escape.⁵

According to one account in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report, 144 people from Shepelevichi were shot in 1941, including 57 women and 52 children. This account by Alexander Tikhonovich Dasevich does not mention whether all the victims were Jewish.⁶

SOURCES Information on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Shepelevichi can be found in Honya Epshtein, “My Father’s Boots,” in David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005), pp. 295–298; and Ida. M. Shenderovich and Aleksandr Litin, eds., *Gibel’ mestechek Mogilevshchiny: Kholokost v Mogilevskoi oblasti v vospominaniakh i dokumentakh* (Mogilev: MGU im. A.A. Kuleshova, 2005), pp. 108–111.

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NOTES

1. Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel’ mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 108–109, testimony of Ivan Ivanovich Pliskach.
2. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 295; BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941.
3. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, pp. 295–296; and Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel’ mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, p. 111, testimony of Nadezhda Nikitovna Sharoiko (née Golubeva).
4. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 296; and Shenderovich and Litin, *Gibel’ mestechek Mogilevshchiny*, pp. 108–111, testimonies of Pliskach and Sharoiko.
5. Meltser and Levin, *The Black Book with Red Pages*, p. 296.
6. GARF, 7021-88-42, Akt no. 55, December 26, 1944, pp. 1 and reverse side.

SHKLOV

Pre-1941: Shklov, town and raion center, Mogilev oblast’; Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schklow, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shklov, raen center, Mahiliov voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Shklov is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) north of Mogilev. According to the 1939 census, 2,132 Jews lived in Shklov, comprising 26.7 percent of the total population. In addition, there were some 457 Jews living in the Shklov raion, most in the village of Starosel’e (about 200).

The German attack on the Soviet Union forced many Jews to evacuate to the east. In addition, some Jewish men were called up to the Red Army. Therefore, it is not known exactly how many Jews remained in Shklov under the German occupation.

Units of the German XLVI Panzer Corps, subordinated to Panzer Group 2, captured the town on July 11, 1941. The region of Shklov was administered by Rear Area, Army Group Center. The town was controlled by the local commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur), which reported to the 286th Security Division based in Orsha. According to one German report, about four fifths of Shklov was destroyed in the fighting, which together with the supposed threat of disease provided an incentive for relocating the Jews to ghettos.¹

By the end of July 1941, the city council, consisting of eight local non-Jews, forced the Jewish population of Shklov and the towns of Zarech’e and Ryzhkovichi, located in the southern suburbs, into two ghettos.

The first was located in an area near the Orthodox church in Ryzhkovichi, which was fenced off by barbed wire and guarded by Belorussian policemen. Some Jews were able to remain in their own houses within this area,² but others had to sleep in the open. The Jews were able to leave the ghetto and trade their property for food. The German officers and soldiers, exploiting the absolute lawlessness, robbed the ghetto inhabitants, taking everything that was at all valuable. According to the testimony of B.M. Galperin, the Taruch family was thrown into a well, and one Jew, after having his gold teeth knocked out, was murdered.³

It appears that in August 1941 some of the Jews were herded into a second ghetto, this time a closed ghetto, located in Shklov on L’nozavodskaia Street. The inhabitants of the ghetto were forced to live in horribly cramped conditions. Each house held between 100 and 150 people. The ghetto inmates were not allowed to leave their houses after 6:00 P.M. The Jews were regularly beaten. In order to transmit its instructions to the Jews, the Germans created a Jewish Council (Judenrat), but very little is known about its activities in Shklov.

Galperin recalls “how they buried the wife of the Shklov rabbi. They allowed her to be buried at the cemetery and even provided a horse. I carried her torn jacket on the street and was horrified to see that it was covered in lice. My mother said quietly, ‘My child, the lice ate her.’”⁴

From the first days of the occupation, the German forces spread their propaganda, which exploited and inflamed inter-ethnic hatred. For example, they distributed leaflets proclaiming that the “the days of Judeo-Bolshevik commissars in Russia are over” and that “the biggest enemy of society are the kikes [Jews].” In Shklov a newspaper was published by Loshakov that included antisemitic articles.

1730 EASTERN BELORUSSIA REGION

The first Aktion or mass shooting was conducted in Shklov at the beginning of August 1941, when Sonderkommando 7b of Einsatzgruppe B murdered 84 Jews. According to the Einsatzgruppen report, the victims “comprised 22 arsonists, 25 looters, 22 terrorists, 11 functionaries and franc-tireurs and 4 people who had spread malicious rumors.”⁵

It is possible that this initial Aktion was a response to some actual displays of resistance, but it may also have been merely a pretext used by the Germans to justify their preemptive measures against the Jewish “intelligentsia.” Participation in sabotage was the reason alleged for the shooting of 627 Jews living in “Schidow” (in or near Shklov) in October 1941, as well as the murder of 812 men and women (presumably in Shklov itself) by units of Einsatzkommando 8.⁶ It is possible that the 627 Jews were the inhabitants of the Ryzhkovichi ghetto, and the 812 Jews were from the ghetto in Shklov.⁷

According to local testimony, in October 1941, the Germans transported the prisoners from the ghetto in Ryzhkovichi across the Dnieper River on boats to Zarech’e. In the center of the village, the Jews were forced to the ground and searched, with all their valuables being taken. Then they were organized into a column and were herded by German soldiers towards the village of Putniki.⁸ The Jews were shot in an antitank ditch.

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report dated December 18, 1944, mentions that near the village of Putniki, 2,700 people were executed or buried alive, but the report does not state whether those killed were all Jews.⁹

The inhabitants of the second ghetto, located in Shklov, were taken by the occupiers in motorized vehicles and driven to the ditches around the villages of Zarech’e and Ryzhkovichi. They were made to undress down to their underwear, forced to lie on the ground, and were shot. Many were beaten beforehand, and children were thrown into the ditch alive. The number of victims estimated by the ChGK is approximately 3,000 people.¹⁰ In light of the pre-war Jewish population, however, it seems unlikely that the total number of Jewish victims in Shklov was much over 2,000.

According to the testimony of S.M. Petrovskoy, the Germans conducted the shootings in the autumn of 1941 and in December 1941. Furthermore, according to R.A. Sher, an eyewitness of the events, Rogner, senior lieutenant of the “secret police” (probably the Geheime Feldpolizei), played an active role in these executions, as did his assistants Julius Ewald and Obergefreiter Emil Eger.

Before the war, a Jewish cemetery was located in the village of Ryzhkovichi (in the southern suburb of Shklov), but during the war it was completely destroyed. The tombstones were leveled to the ground, and local citizens took the stones and bricks for their own building purposes.

Aleksandra Shuminaia and Liza Ratsevskaia both survived the war, serving in the “Chekist” partisan brigade. Tatiana Pushilina, who ran away during the shootings, became a fighter in the “Kerpicha” brigade. The Soviet partisans did not initially believe Iakov Shumin, who also fled from the site of the massacre, and he was forced to prove to them that he was not a traitor to his homeland.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

In the village of Ganchvichi, Maria Dubovskaia protected Clara Altshuler, even against the wishes of her husband and son. For saving Asia Tzelinina and Anastasiia Dereviago, Nadezhda and Efim Shutikov were awarded the honor of “Righteous Among the Nations” by Yad Vashem.¹¹

According to the wishes of the relatives, in Shklov in 1955 the bodies of the murdered Jews were exhumed and moved to the Jewish cemetery in Ryzhkovichi, where a memorial was placed.¹²

On the Iskra kolkhoz, near Ryzhkovichi, the Germans herded 96 Jews into a large barn near the judicial hall. At the end of September or the beginning of October 1941, they were shot. Among those murdered were 30 men, 40 women, and 26 children.¹³

Starosel’e is a village about 10 kilometers (6.2 miles) to the northwest of Shklov. The exact date of the massacre of the village’s Jewish population is not known. The few survivors state that it occurred in August or September 1941, while the memorial to the victims states that it occurred in 1942 (without a more specific date or month). The night before the killing, all the Jews were herded into a school. In the morning, the Jews were formed into a column and ordered to march to the Brinkov Forest, located 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) south of the village. There, in two predug ditches, the Jews were shot.¹⁴ Approximately 200 people were killed. Maria and Iosef Tsukerman survived and later joined the partisans. Braina Surina also avoided being killed by crossing the front line into Soviet-controlled territory.

SOURCES The first article on the Holocaust in Shklov was published by the author: “Tragediia evreev Shklova,” in *Evrei Belarusy. Istorii i kul’tura*, vols. 3–4 (Minsk, 1998), pp. 128–136; some relevant information can also be found in the publication *Pamiats’: Shklov raion* (Minsk, 1998).

Documents and other materials relating to the fate of Shklov’s Jews during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/215); GARF (7021-88-50); PAGV; VHF (# 49152); USHMM; and YVA (O-3/4668 and M-31).

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NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/215, Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 36, July 28, 1941.
2. VHF, # 49152, testimony of Aleksandra Shumina.
3. Testimony of B.M. Galperin, in R.A. Chernoglazova, ed., *Tragediia evreev Belorussii v 1941–1944 gg.: Sbornik materialov i dokumentov* (Minsk: Izd. E.S. Gal’perin, 1997), pp. 202–204.
4. Ibid.
5. BA-BL, R 58/215, EM no. 50, August 12, 1941; and Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 2, July 29 to August 14, 1941, in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 137.
6. USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196, reel 234, EM no. 124, October 25, 1941; see also Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 6 (October 1–31, 1941), in Klein, *Die Einsatzgruppen*, p. 230, which mentions only the killing of 627 Jews.

7. Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 2000), p. 599, assumes that both these figures refer to the ghettos in Shklov and states that 1,459 [sic] Jews were killed there in October 1941: the correctly added total should be 1,439.

8. PAGV, testimony of Z.D. Surin.

9. GARF, 7021-88-50, p. 1.

10. Ibid.; GARF, 7021-88-522, pp. 4–5, gives the figure of 3,000 victims and dates the Aktion in September 1941.

11. See YVA, M-31.

12. YVA, O-3/4668, p. 1.

13. GARF, 7021-88-50, p. 1.

14. PAGV, testimony of Z.D. Surin.

SHUMILINO

Pre-1941: Shumilino, town and raion center, Sirofino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Schumilino, Rayon Sirofino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shumilina, raen center, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Shumilino is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 376 Jews lived in the town, making up 16.4 percent of the population.

German armed forces of the 3rd Panzer Group captured Shumilino on or about July 10, 1941. Shumilino was included within the Rear Area, Army Group Center, in the realm of the 403rd Security Division, and its Ortskommandantur 262 was established in Shumilino. Only a few Jewish families succeeded in fleeing the advancing German forces.

Jews were ordered to wear yellow patches on their clothes. The ghetto was established on Pionerskaia Street sometime in August 1941. A Jewish survivor recalls:

During the first weeks [of the German occupation] nobody touched us. . . . After something like a month . . . they set aside about 10 houses inside the town limits, where there is a cemetery now, resettled the [Belo-]Russians out of the area, and drove all the town's Jews together into this place. So a ghetto appeared. It was surrounded with barbed wire. Old cans and bottles were hung on the wire, and if somebody touched it, they rang. A guard with a machine gun sat on a watchtower, and he opened fire on everybody who came close to the wire.¹

Several Jewish families were settled into each house.

According to a commission report prepared by the Red Army, all the Jews of Shumilino were herded into a ghetto, which Russians were forbidden to enter and the Jews were forbidden to leave. The Jews were given nothing to eat. The Germans hanged the town elder and put a sign on his corpse, "This is how the Russian people treat saboteurs."²

There was, however, a natural exchange through the barbed wire: Jews exchanged their belongings and valuables for bread

and potatoes. The guards—local police—turned a blind eye to the exchanges but demanded their share of the valuables and items bartered. Some children succeeded in crawling under the wire and went to the villages to barter. Forced labor at the local railway station was imposed on the Jews.³ The survivor Yakov Magelnitzkii stated that there were Jewish policemen in the ghetto and that the Germans very rarely entered the ghetto.⁴

Forced labor was introduced for the Jewish men. According to the same witness, one day the men did not return from their work, so it was clear to the other ghetto inmates that they had been murdered by the Nazis.⁵ In November 1941, rumors spread that all the Jews would be killed. It was probably the local policemen (*politsais*) who started these rumors. Two old men hanged themselves in the ghetto.

The ghetto was liquidated on November 19, 1941. Germans and local police took the Jews from the ghetto to the site of the former peat-cutting facility "Dobeevskii Mokh" and shot them there. The number of people killed is unclear.⁶

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) report of March 12, 1945, states that 493 "Soviet citizens, predominantly from the Jewish population," were killed in the Sirofino raion.⁷ It is estimated that probably around 300 Jews were killed in Shumilino.

Yakov Magelnitzkii managed to escape at the time of the liquidation and wandered from one hiding place to another; though local inhabitants were generally helpful, they would not allow him to stay for long periods. After staying for a while with the Pyatnitskoye family, he joined the Soviet partisans in the fall of 1942.⁸

SOURCES An essay on the events of 1941 in Shumilino by M. Mishin and A. Novich titled "Pravedniki mira" was published in *Mishpokha* 1 (1995); in an abridged form, the essay was included in the book on the non-Jewish rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust in the Vitebsk region by Arkadii Shulman and Mikhail Ryvkin, *Porodnennyye voynoi* (Vitebsk, 1997). In the book by G. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), several pages (pp. 171–176) are devoted to the events in Shumilino.

The documents of the ChGK for the Sirofino raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-12) and in NARB (861-1-4). The accounts of Yakov Mogelnitzkii can be found in YVA (O-3/7729) and in USHMM (RG-50.378 #007). A commission report prepared by the Red Army is located in TsGAMORF (336-5136-151, pp. 85–86).

Daniel Romanovsky

NOTES

1. Eyewitness Yakov Mogilnitskii, cited by Shulman and Ryvkin in *Porodnennyye voynoi*, p. 33.

2. TsGAMORF, 336-5136-151, pp. 85–86.

3. Eyewitness Yakov Mogilnitskii; see also Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 172–174.

4. YVA, O-3/7729; see also the oral testimony by the same witness, USHMM, RG-50.378 # 007.

5. YVA, O-3/7729; USHMM, RG-50.378 # 007.

6. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 174–176.

7. GARF, 7021-84-12.

8. USHMM, RG-50.378 # 007.

SIROTINO

Pre-1941: Sirofino, village, Sirofino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Rayon Sirofino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Sirotsina, Shumilina raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Sirofino is located about 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, the Jewish population of the Sirofino raion (without the town of Shumilino) consisted of 332 people, the bulk of whom lived in Sirofino.

On June 28, 1941, the Germans bombed Sirofino from the air. Nevertheless, there was no mass evacuation from the town. Units of the German 18th Motorized Division, 3rd Panzer Group, captured Sirofino after heavy fighting on July 10, 1941, on their advance from Polotsk to Gorodok. The town and its area were defended by the 19th Army of the Soviet Western Front. In the severe fighting, much of the town was burned.

Sirofino was included in the Rear Area, Army Group Center; it was situated in the realm of the 403rd Security Division, and Ortskommandantur 262 was established in nearby Shumilino.

Under the German occupation, the former technician Borodulin became the head of the Sirofino Rayon, and the former bookkeeper Koroshkov became Sirofino's mayor.¹

After taking over Sirofino, the Germans turned the local synagogue into a stable; they forced old Jews to burn the Torah scrolls and other religious literature in the presence of the rest of the Jews. The Jews were ordered to wear round yellow patches on their clothes.² The Germans also introduced forced labor for Sirofino's Jews. Some Jewish men did roadwork, including repaving a central road with cobblestones. Those Jews who were members of the former Jewish kolkhoz continued to work in the fields.

In September 1941, the Germans conducted the first Aktion in Sirofino. A unit of Einsatzkommando 9 arrived, arrested about 30 or 40 males, taking many of them from their work in the fields, and informed them that they would be sent immediately to Vitebsk for forced labor. Then the SS and the indigenous police loaded the Jewish men into two or three trucks and transported them in the direction of Vitebsk. All these men were shot; according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the place of their murder was Gniloi Most, halfway between Sirofino and Shumilino.³

Most probably, it was after this first Aktion that a ghetto was established in Sirofino. The ghetto consisted of four or five ramshackle houses close to the Jewish cemetery. The Jews were densely packed into these houses. The ghetto was not surrounded with barbed wire.

The ghetto was liquidated late in the fall of 1941. On November 18, 1941 (the date is marked on the monument erected in Sirofino after the war), the Germans and indigenous police surrounded the ghetto and brought the Jews to the killing site, a ravine 2 kilometers (1.2 miles) outside the town, and shot them there. Rumors that the Jews of Sirofino would be killed

began to spread in advance. Some young people, among them Ester Lupilova, managed to leave the ghetto a few days before the Aktion. Some others, among them Grigorii Skoblov, fled on the day of the massacre. According to the ChGK, the number of Jews killed in Sirofino in the two Aktions was 178.⁴

As evident from the survivors' accounts, Jewish relations with non-Jews in wartime Sirofino were rather bad. The survivor Skoblov claims that "all the people in Sirofino were traitors," meaning that many local men volunteered to serve the Germans, and he ascribes that to the impact of collectivization: in 1930 the Jews had supported the kolkhoz, while the Belorussians had not. The survivor Lupilova, in her account, dwells on cases of robbery and abuse of Jews by local non-Jews.⁵

SOURCES Sirofino ghetto survivor Grigorii Skoblov published a short article titled "Zabyt' nel'zia" in *Mishpokba* 9 (2001). Another short article on the Holocaust in Sirofino by Klara Mindlina, "K istorii odnogo pamiatnika," was published in *Evrei Belarus* 1 (1997). Relevant information can also be found in the book by G. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998).

The documents of the ChGK for the Sirofino raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-12) and in NARB (861-1-4). Survivor accounts can be found in YVA (O-3/4596 to O-3/4601).

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NOTES

1. Mindlina, "K istorii odnogo pamiatnika," p. 137.
2. Skoblov, "Zabyt' nel'zia."
3. YVA, O-3/4597 and O-3/4599. The Aktion is not mentioned in the Einsatzgruppen reports. Gniloi Most is mentioned as the place of the murder in the ChGK report; see GARF, 7021-84-12. No place with such a name can be found on a modern map. The same ChGK report dates the Aktion on September 24.
4. ChGK report of March 12, 1945, GARF, 7021-84-12. A similar estimate was given by Skoblov and other witnesses interviewed in 1985 (YVA, O-3/4597 and O-3/4598). The same Skoblov, in his essay "Zabyt' nel'zia," and Vinnitsa in *Gorech' i bol'* write about several hundred victims, an estimate that is probably too high.
5. YVA, O-3/4597 and O-3/4599. See also O-3/4596 (Beilinson).

SLAVNOE

Pre-1941: Slavnoe, village, Tolochin raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Slavnoje, Rayon Tolotschin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Slaunae, Talachyn raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Slavnoe is a railway station located 65 kilometers (41 miles) southwest of Orsha. The census of 1939 does not give precise information for the Jewish population of Slavnoe, but there were about 200 Jewish inhabitants who resided in the village mainly on three "Jewish streets."¹

The Germans bombed Slavnoe from the air during the first days of the invasion. According to a witness, Jews made an

attempt to leave the town (they went, with horses and carts, in the direction of Krucha, to the southeast) but were intercepted by the Germans, who landed an airborne unit in their path. The Germans captured the town on July 6, 1941.

According to survivors, a ghetto was established on July 9, 1941, on Tolochinskaia Street. Its population was 143; the people were crammed together, with three families in each house. Jews were forced to wear armbands with a “yellow star.” The ghetto was fenced on one side with barbed wire and was guarded by the indigenous police. All Jews aged 10 and older were made to perform forced labor: road construction, cleaning military barracks, and similar tasks. The survivor Vera Pogorelaia describes the forced labor: “Men were engaged in hard work. . . . Children collected pine and fir cones in the forest for them to be sent to Germany. The quota was high, so they worked from [morning] dark to [evening] dark. In winter people were sent to clear snow from the Moscow-Minsk railway.”²

The Germans did not allot any food to the ghetto inmates. Some young people, however, managed to leave the guarded compound and exchange belongings for food. Sometimes Jewish refugees from other ghettos appeared in Slavnoe. An epidemic of typhus broke out in the ghetto. Reportedly Belorussian medical workers, at the risk of their lives, entered the ghetto in Slavnoe to treat people suffering from typhus.³

The ghetto of Slavnoe was liquidated on March 16, 1942. Pogorelaia recalls this day:

On March 16, 1942, in the morning, I and some other girls washed the floor in the military barracks. As soon as we heard shots, we put on our coats and went outside. Right away we saw two trucks full of SS men beyond the railway; they went in the direction of the ghetto. The shots became more frequent. . . . When the rest of the soldiers entered the barracks, an elderly [German] soldier came close to us and said: “Run away from here. They are killing the Jews in Slavnoe.”⁴

The ghetto’s inmates were shot near the village of Gliniki, about 1 or 2 kilometers (about 1 mile) east of Slavnoe. Who the perpetrators were is not clear; witnesses call them Feldgendarmerie. Taking into account the date of the Aktion, most probably it was the same unit that carried out the murders in Tolochin; that is, it was a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 that came from Orsha. The monument erected on this site in 1959 mentions 106 victims. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of Jews killed in Slavnoe at 150; Pogorelaia stated the number was 143. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains 118 names.

Some ghetto Jews succeeded in saving themselves from being killed, among them S. Shpunt, Moisei Gutkin, the sisters Lyubov’ Belenkaia (née Fridliand) and Vera Fridliand (Pogorelaia), and some others. Many others who fled from the killing site were subsequently denounced by local peasants; for example, a neighbor denounced the two-year-old daughter of the survivor Lyubov’ Belenkaia, hidden by a peasant woman, and the girl was killed immediately.

Slaveni is a village 14 kilometers (9 miles) west-southwest of Tolochin, or 6 kilometers (4 miles) northeast of Slavnoe. In this village, 120 Jews were killed on March 16, 1942 (the same day as in Slavnoe). The corpses were burned over several days. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains 96 names.⁵

SOURCES Publications regarding the Holocaust in Slavnoe include the books by Gennadii Vinnitsa: *Gorech’ i bol’* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 132–136; and *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshan. Tip., 1997), pp. 24–25. The ghetto is also mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaiia Navuka, 2000), pp. 165, 183; and in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1198.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Slavnoe can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-14); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 8); YVA; and ZGAGO (162-7-7).

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NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, p. 24.
2. Vinnitsa, *Gorech’ i bol’*, p. 132.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 130.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 136.
5. GARF, 7021-84-14.

SLOBODA

Pre-1941: Sloboda, village, Besbenkovichi raion, Vitebsk oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ssloboda, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Slabada, Besbankovichy raen, Vitebsk voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Sloboda is located about 65 kilometers (41 miles) northwest of Vitebsk.

German forces occupied the village on July 6, 1941, about two weeks after the German attack on the USSR on June 22. In this period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were inducted into the Red Army. Following the occupation of the village, the German military commandant appointed a village elder (starosta) and organized a Belorussian police force (Ordnungsdienst) consisting of local residents.

In the summer and autumn of 1941, the Germans implemented a series of anti-Jewish measures in Sloboda. Jews were registered and forced to wear patches in the shape of the Star of David; they had to perform heavy labor; they were prohibited from leaving the limits of the village; and they were subjected to systematic beating and robbery by the local police.

In early August 1941, all the Jews remaining in the village were forced to move into a few houses. Jews from neighboring villages—Bortniki, Sokorovo, and others—also were placed in this ghetto. The ghetto was in existence for more than a year, until October 1942, when it was liquidated by shooting

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all the Jews, some 350 in number, in two ditches in a nearby forest.

On the day of the liquidation, a few individuals were saved. Reportedly, the physician Zarogatskaia and Anna Gurevich hid Ivan and Anastasiia Zhernosek. Two children, a boy and a girl, also were hidden and saved from the violence, but their surnames are not known.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Sloboda can be found in the following publications: A. Shul'man, *Sto let spustia. Mesto ego uzbe ne uznaet ego . . .* (Vitebsk, 2008); and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaiia Navuka, 2000), pp. 168, 188.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

SMOLIANY

Pre-1941: Smoliany, town, Orsha raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Ssmoljani, Rayon Orscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Smoliany, Orsha raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Smoliany is located 24 kilometers (15 miles) west-northwest of Orsha. In 1926, 950 Jews lived in the town (52.8 percent of the total).

German forces of Army Group Center captured the town on July 9, 1941. At the start of the occupation, the Jews were permitted to remain in their own houses. It seems that the situation in Smoliany was less harsh than in Orsha. The eyewitness Zinaida Suvorov stated that she brought food from Smoliany to her relatives in the Orsha ghetto. Later some Jews managed to flee from Orsha and found refuge in Smoliany.¹

The Germans established a ghetto in Smoliany, which consisted of some 30 houses on Shkol'naia Street, with the synagogue at the end of the street. According to one source, between 700 and 840 Jews resided there. The ghetto was not enclosed, and the Jews were still able to leave it to exchange their remaining possessions for food with local non-Jews. It would have been possible for many of the Jews to escape, but most did not want to abandon their families.² Some sources date the establishment of the ghetto in the fall of 1941, just before the first snow, and others in March 1942.³ According to Sarra Leyenson, it was only sealed off just before the liquidation in early April 1942, when Jews were brought in from the surrounding villages.

Suvorov stated that one day before the mass shooting the Germans distributed some flour to the Jews "to bake matzot for Passover." They did it, most probably, to calm the Jews, because the Jews of Smoliany were well aware of the liquidation of the Orsha ghetto. Nobody had time to use this flour, because the next morning the Germans conducted a mass shooting of the local Jews.⁴

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in Smoliany on April 5, 1942, on the second day of Passover. They prepared the ditches on the day before the Aktion in the forest at Gubinskaia Dacha,

about 3 kilometers (2 miles) east of the town, using explosives. A force consisting of 15 Germans in uniform, four officers, and local police escorted the Jews to the ditch and shot them there.⁵ A number of Jews tried to hide and escape, but most were found by the local police. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) laid the responsibility for the massacre on the local commandant Kregel, or Kroegel. The ChGK estimated the number of victims at 610 people. The list of victims compiled by the ChGK contains the names of 254 Jews.⁶

SOURCES In the book by Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati* (Orsha: Orshan. Tip., 1997), there is a short section on the Smoliany ghetto (pp. 51-53). The Smoliany ghetto is also mentioned in the following publications: Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaiia Navuka, 2000), p. 177; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1204; and Leonid Smilovitsky, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii 1941-1944 gg.* (Tel Aviv: Biblioteka Matveia Chernogo, 2000), p. 282.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Smoliany under German occupation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-84-10); VHF (# 14353 and 35029); and YVA (e.g., O-3/11082).

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NOTES

1. YVA, O-3/11082.
2. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, pp. 51-53.
3. Vinnitsa, *ibid.*, dates it on March 9, 1942; VHF, # 35029, testimony of Sarra Leyenson (born 1915), dates it in the fall of 1941.
4. YVA, O-3/11082.
5. Vinnitsa, *Slovo pamiati*, pp. 51-53.
6. GARF, 7021-84-10.

STARYE DOROGI

Pre-1941: Starye Dorogi, town and raion center, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Starye Dorogi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Staryia Darohi, raen center, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Starye Dorogi is located 107 kilometers (67 miles) south-southeast of Minsk. In 1939, there were 1,085 Jews living there, representing 28.6 percent of the population.¹

In the summer of 1941, slightly more than 1,000 Jews were living in Starye Dorogi. The populace largely believed the official propaganda claiming that in the event of war the enemy would be defeated on foreign territory. According to the testimony of Liubov' Bukengol'ts, the residents heard about the approaching war, but only the arrival of refugees from Poland put them on guard.² The declaration of war was not followed by an organized evacuation. All men of military age were called up to the Red Army, and their families were left to survive on their own. Part of the population tried to flee the

town independently, while another part remained, not suspecting the danger that threatened. Those who decided not to leave were motivated chiefly by a desire not to be parted from their property, concerns about health or old age, and the expectation of a rapid victory by the Red Army.

Those who managed to get to the nearest railroad station, just outside of Starye Dorogi in the direction of Osipovichy, before June 26, 1941, succeeded in escaping. They were among the refugees sent to Central Asia, the Urals, and Siberia. Other Jews left on foot or used motorized or horse-drawn transport (carts). Mania Ansolis was saved because she was studying at the Belorussian State University in Minsk and was unable to return to her parents in Starye Dorogi. She walked to Gomel' and from there traveled to Kirgizia. Elena Kuptsova, with her mother and grandmother, walked to Rogachev and from there traveled by various means to Syzran' in the Kuibyshev oblast'. Basia Dubina traveled to her mother in Starye Dorogi from Moscow in December 1940, on maternity leave. On May 19, 1941, she gave birth to a son. On June 24, with her baby in her arms, and together with her parents and relatives of her husband, she set out for Bobruisk. The family managed to board a train only in Orsha, and from there they were evacuated to Kazakhstan. Some Jews found that they were encircled and were forced to return home.³

Starye Dorogi was captured by the Germans on June 28, 1941. German authority was exercised by a series of local military commandants. In October 1941, units of the 1st Battalion, Infantry Regiment 691, were quartered in the town, which at that time was in the operational area of the 339th Infantry Division.⁴ A local police force was established during the summer, based in the building of the former militia district branch on Pervomaiskaia Street. Among those recruited were people who were dissatisfied with the Soviet authorities. The head of the police was a man named Subtsel'nyi.

The ghetto was established on the grounds of the former Jewish school on Kirov Street. Along with the school, several houses were fenced in and guarded. There were approximately 750 people in the ghetto. The Jews were ordered to wear yellow armbands and forbidden to interact with non-Jewish Belorussians or Russians.⁵

With the arrival of the Germans, the attitude of local inhabitants of Starye Dorogi towards the Jews changed. Some no longer hid their antisemitism and stole from the Jews, while others felt sorry for them and even attempted to help them. The Nazis cruelly persecuted anyone attempting to help or rescue the Jews. Doctor Shapelko concealed two Jewish women in the hospital, but when it became known, the women were shot and the doctor was hanged. The agronomist Kunbin and Anna Koroleva were killed for concealing Jews and supporting the partisans.⁶

Before the mass slaughter, there were only individual murders of Jews, Komsomol members, and Soviet activists in Starye Dorogi.⁷ Among the first victims were Dr. Livshits and his sons. According to the testimony of the prisoner of war Sipnov (a Russian), who had escaped from Starye Dorogi, a group of Jews, including women and children, were driven

into the river by the Nazis, who cried out, "Swim, you dirty kikes!" But when they tried to reach the other side of the river, the Germans opened fire. No one returned from the river alive.⁸ Scores of Jews in Starye Dorogi were shot on August 6, 1941.⁹

A major Aktion was carried out in Starye Dorogi on January 19, 1942. A punitive detachment, with police assistance, drove the remaining Jews from the ghetto along the Bobruisk-Slutsk highway to a sand quarry near Kasharka. The victims were made to undress in the bitter cold and then were shot at a previously prepared site. On the same day, Jewish families and individuals were shot in the nearby villages of Verkhutino, Gorki, Paskova Gorka, and Iazył', in the Starye Dorogi raion.¹⁰ A German report in early February stated that as of February 1, 1942, there were still 239 Jews in Rayon Starye Dorogi, but it is not clear if this reflected the number still alive before or after the above-mentioned Aktions.¹¹

The survivors from Starye Dorogi consisted only of a few dozen young Jews, who managed for a variety of reasons to escape the town before the liquidation of the ghetto and joined the partisans.¹² Among those joining the partisans was Samuil Gol'dberg. He was accepted into the Kirov detachment on the recommendation of Aleksei Ivanov, who had been a doctor before the war, a native of Podares'e in the Starye Dorogi raion, and a former lodger of Gol'dberg's.¹³

Starye Dorogi was liberated on June 28, 1944. A number of Jews returned to the town from their places of evacuation. It was decided to put them into surviving houses and return to them any belongings they could prove had been theirs.

SOURCES Some relevant information can be found in the local history volume *Pamiat': Starodorozhskii raion. Istoriko-dokumental'naia khronika gorodov i raionov Belarusi* (Minsk, 1998). Personal accounts of local inhabitants can be found in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 268–269. Additional details can be found in the journal *Evreiskii mir*, no. 718 (August 13, 1998). The ghetto in Starye Dorogi is mentioned in Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaiia Navuka, 2000), p. 80.

Relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: BA-MA; GARF (7021-82-8 and 8114-1-961); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 24). In addition, a number of letters from the personal archive of Leonid Smilovitsky (PALS) were used, including those from Liubov' Bukengol'ts, Starye Dorogi, January 13, 2000; Mania Ansolis, Ashdod, Israel, March 23, 2001; Nikolai Blumenshtein, Starye Dorogi, January 27, 2001; Elena Kuptsova, Haifa, Israel, August 22, 2002; and Basia Dubina, Tel Aviv, Israel, February 22, 2002.

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trans. Eliyana Adler

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust: A Social and Demographic Profile* (Jerusalem, 1998), p. 232.

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2. PALS, letter from Liubov' Bukengol'ts, January 13, 2000.
3. Ibid., letter from Mania Ansolis, March 23, 2001.
4. BA-MA, RH 26-221/14 b.
5. PALS, letter from Nikolai Blumenshtein, January 27, 2001.
6. *Neizvestnaia "Chernaia kniga." Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev o Katastrofe sovetskikh evreev, 1941–1944 gg.* (Moscow, 1993), p. 267.
7. PALS, letter from Nikolai Blumenshtein, January 27, 2001.
8. GARF, 8114-1-961, p. 328.
9. Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi*, p. 80.
10. *Pamiat': Starodorozhskii raion*, p. 117.
11. BA-MA, RH 26-203/3, FK 581 (Bobruisk)—Verwaltungsgruppe, situation report of February 10, 1942.
12. *Evreiskii mir*, no. 718 (August 13, 1998).
13. PALS, letter from Elena Kuptsova, August 22, 2002.

STRESHIN

Pre-1941: Streshin, town and raion center; Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Streschin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-2001: Streshyn, Zhlobin raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Streshin is located 105 kilometers (65 miles) northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, the Jewish population was 531, about one third of the total.

On the outbreak of war, men of eligible age were drafted into the Red Army. Despite the absence of an organized evacuation, part of the population managed to leave Streshin in time. They embarked on boats and barges on the Dnieper or left on foot. On August 13, 1941, the 145th Infantry Division of the Red Army, which was defending Streshin, received the order to withdraw. The next day, the German XLIII Corps crossed the Dnieper and, not encountering serious resistance, pushed on towards Buda-Koshelevo and Uvarovichi.¹ German forces captured Streshin on August 14, 1941. The Germans established new organs of authority in the village. Verbitskii became mayor of the Rayon; his deputy was Migai. Vasilii Kashparov became chief of a new police force; his deputy was a man named Gerasimov. Among the policemen were Savelii Bodilovskii, Anton Kurganov, Grigorii Genov, Bodrunov, Drozdov, Foma Gritskov, and Ponomarev. These men volunteered for service, assisting the Germans to find Soviet activists and Communists, and they also organized the registration of the Jews in Streshin.²

In September 1941, the Germans and their Belorussian collaborators established a ghetto in Streshin, which initially contained some 480 Jews.³ On the orders of the mayor Verbitskii, the chief of police Kashparov assembled the Jews at a site on Kul'mashevka Street, which was closely guarded. The new local authorities forbade the inmates all contact with local Belorussians and made them wear a yellow cloth patch on the left side of the chest as a distinguishing mark. Leaving the area of Kul'mashevka Street, and especially the limits of Streshin, was strictly prohibited. Breaking the rules resulted in fines and exposure to further punishment. Chief Kashparov's deputy,

Gerasimov, kept an eye on the inmates to spot any infraction of the restrictions placed on the Jews. The local authorities named Zalman Melamed as head of the ghetto. They required him to report daily to the police that all Jews were present. In February 1942, the police shot a Jewish woman who had left the limits of Streshin without permission. At about the same time, the police arrested a Jewish soldier who had been hiding behind the German lines. They killed him on the bank of the Dnieper.⁴

The ghetto had no major economic significance, and the Germans and their Belorussian collaborators paid no heed to the unsanitary conditions in which the inmates had to live. The occupiers' overriding goal was the concentration of the Jews and the prevention of escape before their extermination. The prisoners had to take care of their own subsistence. Forced labor tasks included collecting trash, clearing obstructions, loading and unloading fuel, and performing other menial tasks. Kashparov himself beat those Jews who did not follow orders, and he instructed the Belorussian police to follow his example. In mid-September 1941, the police beat Berko Rabinovich, Yosef' Khasin, and Zil'bert for failing to remove firewood from the police quarters.⁵ Some individual killings of Jews took place in the fall and winter of 1941. L.P. Khodorenko witnessed the shooting of two young children whose father, Klebanov, was serving in the Red Army.

According to a German report, on February 1, 1942, 394 Jews remained alive in the Streshin Rayon, presumably most, if not all, in the Streshin ghetto.⁶ On March 30, 1942, the German authorities moved them all to Zhlobin, where they were housed on Tovarnaia Street and in the barracks of a poultry farm. On April 1, 1942, Kashparov, the mayor Verbitskii, and the latter's deputy, Migai, traveled to Zhlobin. The Zhlobin chief of police had requested that Kashparov personally witness the killing of "his Jews."

The mass killing Aktion began on April 14, 1942, in a field at the village of Lebedevka, about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from Zhlobin. At that same place, on April 12, the Nazis and their collaborators had already killed around 1,000 Jews from Zhlobin. On April 14, the police brought the Streshin Jews to two large pits dug at the site. The Zhlobin policemen were posted as guards. Soon several vehicles arrived, carrying about 8 or 10 Germans. Some 20 Jews—elderly men and women and children—were unloaded from the truck, and Kashparov checked them off a roster. The German translator ordered the Jews to undress and lie facedown on the ground. Then members of the German killing squad opened fire with submachine guns. The Germans threw the children into the grave still alive; people were screaming; mothers clung to their children and begged for mercy. A younger man, perhaps 25 years old, who had served in the Red Army and lived for a while behind German lines before his capture, managed to shout, "You will pay for spilling our blood! For all this you will answer with your own black blood!" Several times an enclosed, black gas van pulled up to the pit, and the police extracted Jewish corpses from inside. A German officer, noticing the "curiosity" of the Belorussian police, explained that this was a special vehicle in which the victims were killed with carbon monoxide gas.⁷

Among the victims were some half-Jews: Sonia Kalinovskaia-Pesina (born 1904) and her children; Raia Malashkova-Elkina (born 1919) and one child; Basia Rudnitskaia-Shapiro (born 1915) and two children; and Sara Makei-Nekhamkina and her two children. Having refused to leave the ghetto, Sara's non-Jewish husband, Nikola Makei (born 1908), died with her. The Germans also shot three young Babitskii children (two brothers and a sister), who had some Jewish grandparents.⁸

The Aktion lasted about five hours. Streshin chief of police Kashparov, mayor Verbitskii, and his deputy Migai all played an active role. Kashparov shot seven people with a revolver.⁹ When the shooting was over, around 5:00 P.M., the large pit had been filled with bodies. According to eyewitnesses, this mass "was moaning and stirring." Nevertheless, the punitive authorities ordered it to be covered with earth. It is possible that Jews from the neighboring villages of Krasnii Bereg, Pirevichi, Staraiia Rudnia, and Kazimirovo perished together with those from Streshin.¹⁰ Gel'shtein, a teacher, somehow escaped the mass killing of April 14, 1942. When Commandant Horn became aware of this, he gave the order that Gel'shtein be found and shot, which was duly carried out.¹¹

When the Germans had arrived in Streshin, Jewish property was considered "ownerless" and thus subject to plunder. Taking Jewish belongings was not considered a crime. At the beginning of 1942, Kashparov ordered the arrest of the Kaganovich family, whom the Germans sent to Zhlobin, where they were shot. The Streshin authorities gave the Kaganoviches' house and belongings to Degtyarev, a policeman related to Kashparov. The police tore down the Kaganovich house for firewood. Policeman Genov took for himself two beds, a sewing machine, and a bicycle. After the liquidation of the ghetto and the mass shooting, the remaining belongings of the Jews were auctioned off.¹²

Red Army troops of the 1st Belorussian Front liberated Streshin on November 21, 1943. A number of Nazi collaborators were arrested and brought to trial at the end of the occupation, among them Kashparov, Bodilovskii, Kurganov, and Genov.¹³

SOURCES Publications concerning the fate of the Jews of Streshin under German occupation include Izrail' Slavin, "Tragicheskaia arifmetika," *Evreiskii kamerton* (Tel Aviv), February 15, 2001; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1252; and Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belarускаia Navuka, 2000), p. 219.

Documentation on the Streshin ghetto and its liquidation can be found in the following archives: AUKGBRBGO (file 234, vol. 6; and file 10560); BA-MA (RH 26-203/3); GAG-OMO (1345-1-8); GARF (7021-85-41); NARB (861-1-6); and USHMM (RG-53.002M, reel 7).

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trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90.
2. Statement of defendant Saveliy Kaspovich Bodilovskii, January 20, 1944, AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, pp. 145–146.

3. GARF, 7021-85-41, pp. 2, 7; and NARB, 861-1-6, pp. 144, 381.

4. Statement of defendant Vasilii Evstratovich Kashparov, January 8, 1944, AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, p. 40.

5. Statement of witness Efim Ilarionovich Bodilovskii, December 13, 1943, *ibid.*, p. 74.

6. BA-MA, RH 26-203/3, FK 581—Verwaltungsgruppe-, Lagebericht, February 10, 1941.

7. Statement of defendant Vasilii Evstratovich Kashparov, January 22, 1944, AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, p. 58.

8. Slavin, "Tragicheskaia arifmetika."

9. In the Streshin raion in October 1943, partisans seized Verbitskii together with Migai and hanged them both (L.S.).

10. GAGOMO, 1345-1-8, p. 3; GARF, 7021-85-41, pp. 2, 7.

11. AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, p. 311.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 310.

13. The counterespionage unit SMERSH operating with the 170th Rechitska Infantry Division arrested Vasilii Kashparov, Saveliy Bodilovskii, Anton Kurganov, and Grigorii Genov in early December 1943 upon the liberation of Streshin. The military field court of the 4th Infantry Division in open session sentenced Bodilovskii and Kurganov to 20 years' penal servitude; Kashparov and Genov, to death by hanging. The latter sentence was carried out on February 22, 1944, in Streshin. AUKGBRBGO, file 10560, pp. 316–318.

TAL'KA

Pre-1941: Tal'ka, village, Pukhovichi raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Talka, Rayon Marina Gorka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Tal'ka, Pukhavichy raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Tal'ka is located about 75 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Minsk. According to the 1939 census, there were 976 Jews living in the Pukhovichi raion (without the raion center, Mar'ina Gorka). Most of these Jews lived in Pukhovichi, but about 200 lived in Tal'ka, to the southeast, and a few more lived in other neighboring villages.

Units of German Army Group Center occupied the village in early July 1941. In early September, several hundred Jews from Tal'ka and the surrounding villages were concentrated in a former Soviet pioneer camp about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside the village, forming a makeshift ghetto. Those who were too slow in moving into the ghetto were beaten. No food was provided to the Jews, and they were made to perform forced labor, such as road construction, tasks sometimes beyond their physical capacity. The local police who guarded the ghetto cursed the Jews. When Jewish elder Meyer Rabinovich protested about the treatment of his community, he was shot together with two other Jews.¹

In mid-September 1941, units of the German Gendarmerie arrived in Tal'ka and together with the local police surrounded the ghetto. They escorted all the Jews into a forest about 500 meters (547 yards) away and shot them into a ditch in groups of about 15. Before the shooting, the German officer made a speech condemning the Jewish population and praising the German race.

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During the shooting, Raisa Surbayeva pleaded for the life of her infant, but a German Gendarme shot both her and her child. Another woman attempted to bribe the head of the local police, Kulobizian, with 300 rubles, but he took the money and shot her anyway. The property of the Jews was taken to Pukhovichi by the Gendarmerie, but the local police also stole part of it.²

According to a German Einsatzgruppen report, 222 Jews were “liquidated” in Tal’ka for “persistently spreading anti-German propaganda and terrorizing the local inhabitants with price gouging.” From Tal’ka, the same German police force went on to carry out a similar mass shooting of the Jews from the neighboring Mar’ina Gorka and Pukhovichi ghettos.³

In the records examined for this article, no mention of Jewish survivors of Tal’ka could be found.

SOURCES Documentation on the destruction of the Jewish population of Tal’ka can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/218); BA-L (ZStL, II 202 179/67 and 202 AR-Z 60/70); GAMINO (15-3-457); and GARF (7021-87-12).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. BA-L, ZStL, II 202 179/67, Dok. Bd. I, statements of Semen Panshey and Kondrat Molchan in 1945; Dok. Bd. II, statement of Anna Koreny in September 1944.

2. Ibid.

3. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.

TOLOCHIN

Pre-1941: Tolochin, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast’, Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Tolotschin, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Talachyn, Talachyn raen, Vitebsk voblasts’, Republic of Belarus

Tolochin is located about 94 kilometers (58 miles) south-southwest of Vitebsk. In 1939, 1,292 Jews lived in the town, making up 21.2 percent of the population. The Jewish population of the Tolochin raion (excluding the town of Tolochin) consisted of 978 people; they lived in the town of Kokhanovo (480 Jews in 1926; the 1939 census does not give the Jewish population of the town) as well as in the villages of Slaveni, Slavnoe, Obol’tsy, Drutsk, and several other places.

German forces of Army Group Center (18th Panzer Division of the XLVII Army Corps, Panzer Group 2) captured Tolochin on July 6–7, 1941. In the second half of July 1941, this area came under the control of the 286th Security Division; on July 18, Ortskommandantur II/650 assumed authority in Tolochin; it was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 683, stationed in Orsha.¹

Only a few Jews succeeded in leaving the town before the Germans arrived.² The Germans established a ghetto in Tolochin in September or October 1941. According to historian Gennadii Vinnitsa, it consisted of 15 houses on Nikol’skaia Street and had 2,000 inmates. It was not fenced

with barbed wire but was guarded by the local police. Jews were forced to wear a yellow patch in the shape of the Star of David on their clothes. The Jews were made to perform various forced labor tasks, including road construction. In October, 3 (or 4) men were hanged in the central square “for their refusal to report for work.” A Jewish youth who pilfered a can of food from a starch mill was hanged from the gate of the factory.

There were some cases of people fleeing the ghetto. For example, the blond-haired Mariya Shapiro, assisted by a local policeman she knew, left the ghetto, went to Orsha, and with forged documents volunteered as an “eastern worker” (Ostarbeiter) and was sent to Germany.³

The ghetto was liquidated on March 12 (or 13), 1942.⁴ Its inmates were killed near the town in the field of the kolkhoz Rekonstruktor (now Raitsy, a northwestern suburb of Tolochin).⁵ According to witnesses, the victims were led to the pits in batches of 30 and killed there. A group of Jews tried to run away while being escorted to the killing site, and some were successful. However, a number of those who fled were found by the Nazis and killed the next day. The perpetrators were most probably a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B.⁶

The number of victims is not clear. The estimate of 2,000, made by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) and used also by Vinnitsa, seems too high. The town had only around 1,300 Jews before the war, and some of them were drafted into the Red Army or succeeded in evacuating. It seems unlikely that this unimportant railway station would have attracted many Jewish refugees coming from the west. Einsatzkommando 8 reported that it had murdered 1,551 Jews in March, and there is reason to assume that the victims were Jews from the Tolochin raion. Estimating the number of those killed in March 1942 in Slavnoe at 150, and in Slaveni at 120, one can infer that the number of Jewish victims in Tolochin was no greater than 1,280.

Drutsk is a village 8 kilometers (5 miles) southeast of Tolochin. The ChGK mentions six Jews (the Dardyk family) killed there. Documents and witness accounts give conflicting impressions of the relations between Jews and non-Jews in the area. After the liberation, an investigating commission set up by the Soviet authorities confiscated cows from local people who had “acquired them in an illegal way” during the occupation: had taken them from Jews.⁷ This means that the robbery of Jewish property under German rule was rather widespread. However, despite some denunciations, other local Belorussians risked their lives to assist Jews.

SOURCES Publications regarding the Holocaust in Tolochin include the book by Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech’ i bol’* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 124–143, which deals with the Holocaust in Tolochin and the Tolochin raion.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Tolochin can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-MA (RH 26-286/3); GARF (7021-84-14); NARA (T-177, reel 1141); NARB; USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-286/3.
2. Shalom Cholawski, *Be-sufat ba-kilayon: Yahadut Beilorusiya ba-Mizrakhit be-Milkbemet ha-Olam ha-Sbniya* (Jerusalem, 1988), p. 49.
3. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 141–143; GARF, 7021-84-14.
4. GARF, 7021-84-14. NARA, T-177, reel 1141, fr. 478–479, Wi Kdo Orscha, Lagebericht Nr. 4, March 27, 1942, gives another date: March 15, 1942. It is the survivors who maintain that the date of the Aktion was March 12.
5. Information gathered from a personal conversation with Gennadii Vinnitsa.
6. The extant SS sources do not mention this Aktion in Tolochin. At this time, Einsatzkommando 8 was stationed in Mogilev with Teilkommandos in Borisov, Orsha, Gomel', and Bobruisk, while Einsatzkommando 9 was stationed in Vitebsk with Teilkommandos in Smolensk, Nevel', and Polotsk. Logistically, it was easier for a unit of Einsatzkommando 8 to reach Tolochin from Polotsk. Besides, only this command reported a large number of Jews killed in March 1942.
7. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, p. 142.

TRUDY

Pre-1941: Trudy, village, Polotsk raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Polozk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Polatsk raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Trudy is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) east-northeast of Polotsk. In 1926, the Jewish population was 126 (out of a total of 1,463).

Nine Jewish families were living in the village prior to the war; and in the summer and fall of 1941, 46 refugees, most probably all of them Jewish, arrived in Trudy from Polotsk. The Germans occupied the village in July. The village was run by a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur), which introduced forced labor for the Jews but did not provide them with any food. The military commandant recruited a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) made up of volunteers recruited from the local population. Yuhan Ivanovich Leiburg (an Estonian) became the head of the police in Trudy, and his deputy was Stepan Lopukhov. The local police took an active part in the persecution and murder of the Jews.

In November 1941, the Germans established a kind of ghetto in three houses.¹ A non-Jewish witness Z. states that in November the mayor of the local *volostnaia uprava* (village authority), Kirill Kosoryga, and two leaders of the local police, Leiburg and Lopukhov, came to his house and demanded that he abandon it because Jews were to be settled there; 17 Jews were moved into Z.'s house. The witnesses interviewed by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) state that on February 4, 1942, the Germans (according to some accounts, local Kommandant Ernst Schuldes) assembled all the Jews in one house and demanded that they surrender all their valuables, promising that in return

they would receive food—according to some accounts, that they would also be set free. The Jews gave up the valuables they had and received some bread from the Germans, but on February 6 they were assembled in this house again. A punitive squad, most probably not German but either local or manned by some other collaborators, arrived from Polotsk in the night, and its members got drunk in Trudy. The next morning they brought the Jews to the Riabinovka Forest, 700 meters (766 yards) south of the village of Zheltsy, and shot 76 Jews. Four non-Jews were murdered at the same time. The shooting Aktion lasted two or three hours, because the men of the squad were armed only with rifles. According to the witnesses, the perpetrators killed small children by hitting them with rifle butts or tossed them up and tried to hit them while in the air. In the evening of that day, the Germans sent local peasants to bury the bodies.²

In December 1943, the local Investigation Commission exhumed 60 corpses (of 80 buried) from the pit in the Riabinovka Forest, including the bodies of 19 children, 27 women, and 14 men.

SOURCES The existence of an informal ghetto in Trudy is mentioned in Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh primuditel'nogo sodержaniia grazhdanskogo nasele-niia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001), p. 101; and in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1336.

The documents of the ChGK for the Polotsk raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-221).

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1. GARF, 7021-92-221, p. 5, ChGK report for the Polotsk raion, April 15, 1945, testimony of Pavel Danilovich Shunevich.
2. Ibid.

UKHVALA

Pre-1941: Ukhvala, village, Krupki raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Uchwala, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Ukhvala, Krupki raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ukhvala is located 118 kilometers (73 miles) north-northeast of Minsk. German armed forces occupied Ukhvala in early July 1941, two weeks after their invasion of the USSR. During that time, some Jews were able to evacuate eastward, and men of suitable age were inducted into the Red Army. About 200 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the occupation up until June 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the village. The German military administration

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formed a village authority and police force (Ordnungsdienst) made up of local residents.

In about mid-July 1941, German security forces conducted a first Aktion in the village in which around 80 Jewish males were arrested and shot in the nearby forest. The women, children, and old people remaining in Ukhvala were forced to move into a ghetto, for which five houses were set aside; around 30 people lived in each house. All Jews from the age of seven up were required to wear a yellow armband. The women were forced to perform various types of work in support of the German garrison: they did the German soldiers' laundry, washed the floors in the school used to house the German garrison, and peeled potatoes for the German soldiers. The Jews themselves lived on rotten potatoes, bran, and grass. On May 4, 1942, the ghetto in the village was liquidated, and all the Jews were shot.

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Ukhvala can be found in the following publication: A. Shul'man, "Posledniaia obstanovka," in *Mesto ego uzbe ne uznaet ego . . .* (Vitebsk, 2008).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Ukhvala can be found in the following archives: GAMINO; and GARF (7021-87-7).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

ULLA

Pre-1941: Ulla, town, Beshenkovichi raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Rayon Beshenkovitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Ula, Beshankovichy raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ulla is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) west of Vitebsk. In 1939, Ulla had a Jewish population of 516 (20.4 percent of the total).

On July 5, 1941, units of the German XXXIX Army Corps, 3rd Panzer Group, captured Ulla. From August 1941 onward, Ulla came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. About half of the Jewish population managed to evacuate the town or flee to the east ahead of the advancing German forces. In the summer of 1941, the local German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) established a local administration in Ulla and organized an auxiliary police force of local inhabitants.

In December 1941, the German authorities resettled the remaining 200 or so Jews into a large administrative building (one witness calls it a *kazarma*—"military barracks"), establishing a "ghetto" in the town, which was fenced with barbed wire. The local Belorussian police guarded the building. Jews were permitted to leave the building to exchange their possessions for food as long as they returned by the evening.¹

According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), 204 (or 206, according to another document) Jews from Ulla were killed by the Nazis on January 17, 1942, at the area of a former "military settlement," half a kilometer (0.3 mile) southeast of Ulla. Non-Jewish witnesses interviewed by

Gennadii Vinnitsa state that on the day of the mass murder the Germans forced those locals who had horse carts to bring old people from the ghetto to the place of the mass killing at the military settlement.²

According to the ChGK, no fewer than 70 Jews were killed at the Lenin kolkhoz of the Khotino sel'sovet (12 kilometers [7.5 miles] southwest of Ulla); 2 of those killed were young people (one of them, a student) who had come back from other places to see their parents over the summer.

SOURCES Information on the ghetto in Ulla can be found in the book by Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), pp. 144–147. The existence of a ghetto in Ulla is also mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1360.

The documents of the ChGK for the Beshenkovichi raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-1) and NARB (845-1-7).

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NOTES

1. Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'*, pp. 144–146.
2. GARF, 7021-84-1; another report, NARB, 845-1-7, p. 1, gives the figure of 350 victims, dating the shooting on December 5, 1941.

USHACHI

Pre-1941: Ushachi, town and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Ushatschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Ushachy, raen center, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Ushachi is located 101 kilometers (63 miles) west of Vitebsk. In 1939, 487 Jews lived in the town, making up 23.8 percent of the total population. The Jewish population of the Ushachi raion (without the town of Ushachi) constituted 306 people, the bulk of whom lived in the small town of Kublichy.

There was no organized evacuation from Ushachi because the town had no significant factories. Some Jews who held senior positions in the administration managed to flee, but the majority remained in the town. Ushachi did not suffer much damage from the fighting.

Ushachi was captured by units of the XXXIX Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group on July 3, 1941. On July 15, 1941, when the 3rd Panzer Group moved east, the area was occupied by the XX Corps of the 9th Army. From this time on, Rayon Ushatschi belonged to the Rear Area, 9th Army. Later in the summer of 1941, Ushachi came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center, being situated on its western edge, close to the area under "civil administration" (Generalkommissariat Weisruthenien). There was a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) in Ushachi.

The Germans imposed forced labor on the Jews. For example, the Jews had to haul out the timber that remained in

the Ushacha River, a tributary of the Zapadnaia Dvina, when timber rafting was stopped because of the war. Some work tasks were senseless and purely humiliating: for example, they forced girls to pull water in big barrels for the horses of the German cavalry. According to a witness, during the first days of the occupation the Germans pulled down a Lenin statue using a tractor, then forced Jewish youngsters to break up its pedestal with hammers.¹

Eyewitnesses (non-Jewish) mention a certain Azril Nemtsov, who most probably was the Jewish elder in Ushachi. Before the war, Nemtsov was an employee (possibly a manager) of the Administration for Leather Procurement (*Zagotkoz*). According to Anna Shnitko, he had to collect gold and valuables from the Jews and was beaten for the small quantity of gold he was able to gather for the Germans.

A ghetto was established in Ushachi in October 1941 on Oktiabr'skaia Street. It was fenced with barbed wire, most probably in November 1941, and guarded by a sentinel. According to various witnesses, it consisted of 10 to 15 houses. Barter between Jews and non-Jews continued, at least in the initial stages of ghettoization. Non-Jewish witnesses attest that Belorussians came to the ghetto to exchange food for fabric and clothing; sometimes Jews also left the ghetto to conduct barter transactions.

In December 1941 or, more probably, in January 1942, the Nazis resettled Jews from nearby Usaia (29 kilometers [18 miles] east of Ushachi), from the Kublichy ghetto (18 kilometers [11.2 miles] to the west), and perhaps also from Bobynichy (17 kilometers [10.6 miles] northwest of Ushachi) into the ghetto of Ushachi.² The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) estimated the number of people resettled at 500; this may be an exaggerated number.

Judging from the interviews with non-Jewish witnesses conducted in the 1980s, Jewish/non-Jewish relations under the German occupation were tense but not hostile. All the witnesses stated that they deplored the passivity and cowardice they saw in the Jews. Soon after the ghetto was established, the stove maker Mikhail Grokholskii came to the ghetto and told the Jews that things looked bad for them and advised them to flee to the forests. However, one Jew denounced Grokholskii to the Germans. As a result, Grokholskii, his denouncer, and two other Jews were arrested by the German police and interrogated; the two arrested Jews testified that it was not the stove maker Grokholskii who came to the ghetto, and Grokholskii was released.³

The Ushachi Jews in the ghetto were murdered on January 12, 1942. Two weeks prior to that, local residents were drafted to dig pits near the Russian Orthodox cemetery on Dolet'skaia Street, to the south of the town's center, ostensibly "for potatoes"; the labor took much time because the ground was frozen. Rumors circulated immediately that in fact the pits were "for the Jews." Panic spread in the ghetto, but a German officer who came to the ghetto succeeded in calming the Jews, saying that the pits were indeed for potatoes and that the Jews would be resettled to Polotsk. In any case, before the mass shooting took place, the people of Ushachi already had some

foreknowledge of what was to come. In spite of this, very few Jews attempted to flee the ghetto. There are no records of Jews from the Ushachi ghetto having survived the war.

On the day of the ghetto liquidation, the Belorussian police went down the streets through which the Jews were to be led to the killing site and ordered all the residents to lock their doors and not to let in any Jews. The Jews were told that they would be moved to Polotsk. People took food and clothing with them, and while they were being formed into a column, four abreast, they remained relatively calm; some were even greeting Belorussian acquaintances who happened to pass by. The column was escorted mainly by the Belorussian police; only a few Germans were present. When the column turned south towards Dolet'skaia Street, the Jews realized where they were being led and, according to non-Jewish witnesses, began to throw their photographs, letters, clothing, valuables, and other things away on their way to the killing site.

According to the non-Jewish witnesses, the main perpetrators of the killing were indigenous local police (*politsais*). The victims were brought to the pits in groups of four; near the pits they were told to undress. Witnesses attest that many people were still alive when they were thrown into the pits.

According to Kublichy survivors Vera Gilman and Nikolai (Folya) Gilman, when they arrived in the Ushachi ghetto under guard, it was empty because all the Jews of Ushachi had been killed. The new arrivals found graffiti in Yiddish in one of the houses: "They are bringing us to be shot. If somebody survives, let him avenge us" (*Undz firt men sbisn. Ver vet zikh rateven un bleibn lebn, nemt nekome far undz*). Old people put on their talles (prayer shawls) and prayed.

Some days later, the Jews of Kublichy were killed too. On the morning of the day when the Nazis began to drive the Kublichy Jews out of the Ushachi ghetto, somebody set the ghetto on fire. Some of the Kublichy Jews were killed on the spot; the rest were brought to the same pits where the Ushachi Jews were killed and were shot there.

After the ghetto liquidation, the Germans distributed the belongings of the Jews among the population. In addition, some local people dug up the mass graves looking for gold and valuables, sometimes also for clothing.⁴

The ChGK estimated the total number of Jews killed in Ushachi as 925 people. This number is almost certainly exaggerated, taking into account that there were only 893 Jews living in Ushachi and its raion in 1939.

SOURCES A relevant publication is Marat Botvinnik, *Pa-miatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaiia Navuka, 2000), p. 195.

The documents of the ChGK for the Ushachi raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-223). Eyewitness testimonies can be found in YVA (O-3/2244 and O-3/4708-17).

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NOTES

1. Gennadii Vinnitsa, *Gorech' i bol'* (Orsha, 1998), p. 149.
2. See Ehrenburg's archive, YVA, P-21/II-44.

3. Details of the incident with Grokholskii are given by his son, also a witness; see YVA, O-3/4710.

4. Accounts of non-Jewish witnesses: GARF, 7021-92-223; also YVA, O-3/4708-4714.

UVAROVICHI

Pre-1941: Uvarovich, town, Buda-Kosbelevo raion, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Uwarowitschi, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Uvarovichy, Buda-Kashaleva raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Uvarovich is located some 26 kilometers (16 miles) northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, there were 517 Jews living in the town (11.3 percent of the total population).

After military operations started in June 1941, all men of eligible age were called up to serve in the Red Army. In July 1941, a combat battalion of 588 men under the command of Klimenok was organized in Uvarovich, which defended the town and punished deserters.¹ Uvarovich was not located directly on the railroad and therefore was not subjected to German aerial bombardment. Many refugees who arrived in Uvarovich from the former Polish areas and other western regions of Belorussia reported on the Nazi treatment of Jews. While some residents fled or were evacuated before the rapid German advance, others remained until it was too late, reassured by official Soviet propaganda asserting that the enemy would soon be defeated. Overall, less than half of the Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation, primarily families and the elderly who were unable to leave.

On August 16, 1941, German forces arrived in Uvarovich and quickly organized a new local administration. Fedor Makarenko, an accountant under the Soviets, was appointed mayor of the town. He served in this position until November 1941, when he was replaced by Lev Revnovskii (mayor until September 1943). Makarenko remained as his deputy and simultaneously presided as a local judge. Makarenko and Revnovskii organized an administration with departments for agriculture, finance, public services and utilities, education, police, and other functions. They oversaw the administration of the agrarian communes and assisted in the appointment of village elders. Radchenko became the head of the Uvarovich Rayon; Anton Dzvinskii, the chief of police; Leonid Antipov, the superintendent of police. Koksekov and Titorenko served as police detectives.²

An "open ghetto" existed in Uvarovich by the fall of 1941. Jews were not permitted to leave their separate residential area, which was guarded by the local police. The Jews remained in their own homes and were prohibited from using the town's main street or having any contact with local non-Jews. They were required to perform forced labor as demanded by the German army and the local administration.

At the end of October 1941, the German military commandant in Gomel' issued instructions for all the Jews of Rayon Uwarowitschi to be rounded up by November 10, 1941.

Revnovskii and Makarenko also signed this order and transmitted it to the headmen (elders) of the villages where the Jews were living. The Jews from the surrounding area were then all sent to Uvarovich with their cattle and other property and were resettled on Naberezhnaia Street. Only the Jews from the village of Gut did not appear as instructed. Makarenko issued new orders for their transfer and gave them only 24 hours to comply. On the next day, 47 people, mostly women, the elderly, and children, were conveyed to Uvarovich by wagon, with a police escort.³ In total, 17 Jewish families (about 250 people) were brought to Uvarovich.⁴

On November 15, 1941 (according to another source, on November 18), an SS punitive detachment under the command of four German officers arrived from Gomel' (probably a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8). With the help of the local police, German security forces assembled the Jews they could find in the former courthouse building. Then they escorted them in a column to a killing site prepared in advance. They selected a grain warehouse located on a kolkhoz not far from the cemetery on the outskirts of Uvarovich (about 500 meters [547 yards] to the southwest of the town, near a windmill). There were three silage pits (*silosnye*) there, each 8 meters long, 4 meters wide, and 3 meters deep (26 by 13 by 10 feet). The Germans made the Jews kneel down under guard and then escorted them into the ditches in groups of five. The Jews were made to lay facedown, and the security forces then shot them in the back of the head.

Among those who actively participated in the mass murder were Hoffmann, the German agricultural commandant (Landwirtschaftsführer) in Uvarovich, and his deputy, Drescher; the Sonderführer Steinmeyer and Ronfleisch [phonetic]; Anton Dzvinskii, the chief of the Uvarovich district police; Grigorii Novikov and Mikhail Titorenko, the heads of the first and second police departments; Mayor Lev Revnovskii; the policemen Kirpichev, Zhurov, and Baranchukov; and Trusov, the headman (elder) of the village of Ivanovka. After the mass shooting, Makarenko handed over Jewish cattle and property to the Germans, who had collected all the personal belongings of those killed. The Germans took the most valuable items and then rewarded the local policemen from the spoils. Whatever remained after that, Mayor Revnovskii distributed among the local Belorussian population.⁵

On November 27, 1943, the 4th Infantry Division and the 231st Tank Unit of the 48th Army of the Belorussian Front liberated Uvarovich. It was one of the first Belorussian settlements to be recaptured. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) arrived in Uvarovich in February 1944. It ascertained that 633 residents of the Uvarovich raion (including 290 people of the town itself) had been killed by the German occupying forces. The villages of Goleevka, Alekseevka, Zadorovka, Zesel'e, Klenovitsa, and Reshetniki were completely destroyed.⁶ Between 1941 and 1943, the population of the Uvarovich raion declined from 48,563 to 35,906 (74 percent of its pre-war level). The population of Uvarovich itself fell from 3,887 to 2,544 (65.4 percent of the 1941 total).⁷ The Soviet authorities arrested and tried several local collabora-

tors, among them Fedor D. Makarenko, who was initially sentenced by a military tribunal to 15 years, which was subsequently commuted to 10.⁸

SOURCES There is a short article on Uvarovichi in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1368. The book *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaja Kniha, 1995) contains information on Uvarovichi during World War II but mistakenly states that the mass shooting took place in 1942.

Archival sources on the events in Uvarovichi under the German occupation include the following: AUKGBRBGO; GAOOGO (144-5-6); and NARB (861-1-6).

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NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90, report of the military branch of the Gomel' Oblast' Communist Party Committee (*obkom*) on the status of the national militia detachment of the oblast' on August 1, 1941.
2. AUKGBRBGO, file case no. 686, p. 73.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 29, witness testimony of Fyodor Alekseevich Drobyshevskii, October 26, 1945.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 16, interrogation of accused Fedor Dmitrivich Makarenko, July 4, 1947.
5. AUKGBRBGO, file case no. 686, p. 79.
6. NARB, 861-1-6, pp. 413–416.
7. GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218, data on the population of the Gomel' oblast' on May 1, 1944.
8. See AUKGBRBGO, file case no. 686, p. 118.

VETKA

Pre-1941: Vetka, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Vetka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Vetka, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Vetka is located 19 kilometers (12 miles) north-northeast of Gomel' on the Sozh River. In 1926, the Jewish population was 2,094 (35.5 percent), and in 1939, 944 (15.7 percent).

Following the German invasion on June 22, 1941, men of military age were mobilized into the Red Army. Vetka was some distance from the nearest railroad station and therefore was not subjected to aerial bombardment. Despite the absence of an organized evacuation, part of the population succeeded in fleeing. Some left on foot, taking with them the elderly and children on carts, hoping they would soon be able to return.

Vetka was occupied by German forces on August 18, 1941. Within 10 days, a local police force was established, commanded by Vasily Samsonov. In September 1941, on direct orders from the military commandant in Gomel', the local police registered the entire Jewish population. The Jews continued to live in their own houses.¹ According to the book

Pamiats': Vetkauski raen, however, the German authorities ordered that the Jewish population of the entire Rayon be herded into Vetka (probably in September), establishing an open ghetto there that held more than 400 people. The Jews were ordered to stay within this residential area and were made to wear distinguishing marks in the form of the Star of David. Living conditions in the open ghetto were inhumane, and the Jews were regularly compelled to perform hard labor for 12 to 14 hours at a time.²

On December 1, 1941, six officers from the Gomel' Gestapo arrived in Vetka. They ordered the commandant in Vetka to assemble all the Jews regardless of age, gender, or health for a registration at 8:00 A.M. on December 2. Furthermore, it was stressed that those Jews who disobeyed the order would be shot on the spot. By 10:00 A.M. the following day, the registration of the Jews had been completed on the main square. The keys to every household were confiscated. Then the police searched the Jews' homes and brought out all those who had not registered. Subsequently, 360 Jews were herded into a stable and imprisoned there—among them were adolescent youths and infants in their mothers' arms. According to the testimony of eyewitnesses, the Jews screamed: "What are you going to kill us for?"³

The same day that the Jews were isolated, the theft of their belongings began. According to German instructions, all valuable items were taken from the Jews' homes, placed in eight trucks, and driven to Gomel'. On the evening of December 2, "Max," the officer in charge, ordered Samsonov, the commander of the police, to assemble all his men on December 3 to assist in the "resettlement" of the Jews.⁴

The first Aktion in Vetka took place in December 1941 on the orders of Kauman, the acting commandant of Rayon Vetka; Fritz Zhano, the police chief of Rayon Vetka; and Leutnant Max. On the morning of December 3, 1941, all the Jews were formed into a column and led 400 meters (437 yards) from the center of Vetka to a ditch on the southern edge of town close to a large grain elevator. Among the assembled Jews were many women, children, and the elderly. The policemen ordered groups of 10 people to lie down in the ditch. Three Germans standing on the edge of the ditch then shot them with automatic weapons. After the mass shooting, the policemen ordered local citizens to cover the bodies in the mass grave.⁵ When the German murderers left, the former neighbors of the Jews—policemen, local citizens, and peasants from local villages—divided up whatever belongings remained.

The second Aktion took place in September 1942. Orders from Gomel' led to 61 Jews and Gypsies being shot about 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) outside Vetka. According to the findings of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) of the Gomel' oblast', in total during the years of German occupation, the Nazis and their accomplices murdered 631 "peaceful citizens" in the Vetka raion.⁶

According to incomplete data, in the two main Aktions and in other killing operations, more than 500 Jews died; however, until recently only 217 surnames of the victims could be established, including those of 134 women (62 percent) and 69

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children (32 percent) of up to 15 years of age of both genders. Among the deceased, people aged between 50 and 60 years old made up 8.3 percent, and those older than 60 constituted 18.4 percent.⁷

Among the few Jews who were able to escape and avoid the shootings was Isaac Pevzner, who was not called up to the army, owing to his nearsightedness, and was unable to evacuate Vetka because of his elderly parents. During the two years of occupation, his wife, Anastasia Nabokina, hid Pevzner in Vetka (first in the cellar of their house and later in a ditch in the garden). Because she refused to betray the hiding place of her husband, their one-and-a-half-year-old daughter was killed in Anastasia's arms.⁸

Another known survivor was Elena Markovich-Shanovich. The Germans murdered her father David in the autumn of 1941. Elena's mother was told that David had committed the crimes of being born a Jew and of serving in the Red Army. Thanks to neighbors who decided to help her, the girl was saved. They drove her to the town of Soboli, and when the Germans arrived there, they took her to another town from which Elena ran into the woods and joined the partisans.⁹

The Survivors Registry of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum has information on more than 15 survivors from Vetka. Of these Isaak Gutin (born 1924) and Semin Starin (born 1933) apparently remained in or around Vetka during the German occupation. Most of the others were evacuated to the east in time or were in other cities during the German occupation.¹⁰

Vetka was liberated on September 28, 1943. Some of the Jews (about 30 families) returned from their evacuation to the east, but most soon moved to Gomel'.

SOURCES Apart from general works on the Holocaust in Belarus, such as Marat Botvinnik's *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belarускаia Navuka, 2000), there is also an article in Russian dealing specifically with the Jews of Vetka by David Fabrikant, "Jewish Vetka: History and Geography," *Evreiskii kamerton* (Tel Aviv), September 6, 2001. The ghetto in Vetka is also mentioned in the local history volume: *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 1 (Minsk: BelTA, 1997), p. 192; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1390; and Marat Botvinnik, *Kholokost v knigakh "Pamiat'" Respubliki Belarus'* (Minsk: Kovcheg, 2008), pp. 83–84.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Vetka during World War II can be found in the following archives: AMVDGO (12-1/8-1, vol. 1); PALS; and YVA (M-33/461).

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NOTES

1. *Zbor pomnikau historyi i kul'tury Belarusi: Homel'skaia voblasts'* (Minsk, 1985), p. 119.
2. *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 1, p. 192; see also Botvinnik, *Kholokost v knigakh "Pamiat'" Respubliki Belarus'*, pp. 83–84.
3. YVA, M-33/461, p. 3.
4. *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 1, p. 192.

5. PALS, information from the political committee of the Vetka raion, November 3, 1992.

6. AMVDGO, 12-1/8-1, vol. 1, p. 118.

7. Author's estimate based on materials in the book *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 2 (Minsk: BelTA, 1998), pp. 107–109.

8. Fabrikant, "Jewish Vetka: History and Geography."

9. *Pamiats': Vetkauski raen*, vol. 2, p. 28.

10. See *Benjamin and Vladka Meed Registry of Jewish Holocaust Survivors* (United States Holocaust Memorial Council, 2000), vol. 3, p. 402, and vol. 4, p. 714. An updated electronic version of the Survivors Registry is available on the Web at www.usahmm.org.

VETRINO

Pre-1941: Vetrino, village and raion center, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wetrino, Rayon center, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Vetryna, Polatsk raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Vetrino is located about 24 kilometers (15 miles) southwest of Polatsk. Neither the 1926 population census nor that of 1939 provided a separate listing for the population of the town of Vetrino. According to the census of 1926, 737 Jews lived in the Vetrino "agricultural raion" (not congruent with the Vetrino raion of 1938). According to the 1939 census, the Jewish population of the Vetrino raion was 395 people.

Before World War II, Vetrino (with its railway station on the Polatsk-Grodno line) was a border checkpoint on the frontier with Poland. The area was well fortified. These circumstances made Vetrino a point where many refugees from the "western regions," the areas annexed by the USSR from Poland in 1939, assembled. Judging from the partial list of victims compiled by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) in 1945, the town's Jewish population had almost doubled, owing to the influx of refugees from the western regions before the Wehrmacht captured Vetrino.

The western part of the Vetrino raion, including the village of Vetrino, was captured by the Germans in the course of their operation to seize Polatsk between July 6 and July 11, 1941; the village of Vetrino was taken over on July 11, 1941. It was the LVII Corps of the 3rd Panzer Group that captured the area: the same corps that entered Polatsk at this time. The eastern part of the raion was captured by July 15, after the fall of Vitebsk.

Vetrino was heavily bombed from the air, mainly on June 26 and 27, 1941. However, the evacuation of the population from Vetrino failed: most of those Jews who left the village were forced to return.

Like nearby Polatsk, the Vetrino raion was in the rear area of the German 9th Army; later in the summer of 1941 it came under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. It was under the authority of the Feldkommandantur 815 of the 403rd Security Division.

The ChGK names the German commandant of Vetrino as Geiger; according to this source, he was responsible for ordering the mass killing of the Jews in the village.

In the first days of the occupation, the Germans registered the Jews in Vetrino and confiscated their property, including food supplies. Forced labor was introduced for the Jews. Two weeks after the Germans arrived in Vetrino, the local mayor, Sinkevich, issued an order for the resettlement of the Jews to Polotsk. After staying in Polotsk for three days, the Jews from Vetrino were allowed to return to their homes. Most probably, the German authorities had planned to resettle the Vetrino Jews in the Polotsk ghetto, but they then abandoned this plan.

In September 1941, the Vetrino Jews were resettled into a ghetto in Vetrino, which consisted of three houses on Chkalova Street. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded. Locals were prohibited from having any contacts with the Jews and from giving any parcels to them, on pain of death.

On January 11, 1942, a German punitive squad came from Polotsk in two cars. The Germans and the local police formed the ghetto Jews into a column of about 30 people, escorted them to a nearby boggy area, and shot them. The pits had been dug beforehand; the bodies were buried three days later. A group of 13 Jews (the Kantor and Rabinovich families, and two unmarried women) hid in a potato cellar. They were found after the massacre of the ghetto inmates, interned in a local prison, and some days later killed in a nearby forest. According to one account given to the ChGK, it was Mayor Petrov who found and interned them.¹

In 1945, the ChGK opened the mass grave; 59 names are recorded on the list of those killed compiled by the commission, among them 14 children aged 1 to 14. Among the 59 Jews killed in 1941–1942 in Vetrino, 27 were refugees from the western regions.

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the Vetrino raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-210).

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NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-92-210; NARB, 3797-1-9.

VITEBSK

Pre-1941: Vitebsk, city, raion center, center of Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Witebsk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Vitebsk, raen and voblasts' center, Republic of Belarus

Vitebsk is located 221 kilometers (137 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1939, according to the last pre-war census, 37,095 Jews lived in the city, comprising 22.2 percent of the population. Between the census of 1939 and June 22, 1941, 3,820 Jewish refugees from Poland settled in the Vitebsk region, of whom, most probably, between 1,800 and 2,000 settled in the city of Vitebsk.¹ The Jewish population of the Vitebsk raion



Jews at forced labor pushing a German field kitchen in Vitebsk, 1941. USHMM WS #25123, COURTESY OF YIVO

within its pre-war borders (without the city of Vitebsk) numbered 538.

In early July 1941, with the approach of German forces, Soviet authorities began to evacuate the most important industrial enterprises along with their workers, including many Jews. Thousands of Jews left Vitebsk between June 22 and July 8; at the same time, many Jewish refugees from northwestern Belorussia entered the city, swelling its Jewish population; not all of them succeeded in continuing their trek eastward. According to eyewitness accounts, the number of Jewish refugees in Vitebsk under the German occupation was significant.

The city fell to units of German Panzer Group 3 on July 11, after two days of fighting, during which the city suffered considerable damage, partly because of large fires that the retreating Soviets set. Sonderkommando 7a of Einsatzgruppe B, which entered the city that month, reported that Vitebsk was much more devastated than even Minsk.

Vitebsk became the headquarters of the 9th Army, coming under the authority of its rear area command (Korück 582). From August 1941 onward, Vitebsk fell under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center. The 403rd Security Division had its headquarters there, along with those of its subordinate commands, Feldkommandantur 815 and Ortskommandantur 282.

The first mayor of Vitebsk was Vsevolod F. Rod'ko from western (formerly Polish) Belorussia, who had been known as a Belorussian nationalist leader in the interwar period. Lev G. Brandt, a local ethnic German (*Volksdeutscher*), was appointed as his deputy. A Belorussian police force was formed, headed by P.A. Shostak, also from western Belorussia. Formally the police was subordinated to the *uprava* (local authority); in fact, it acted on the orders of the Feldgendarmarie.²

The German military authorities set up a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in Vitebsk; the Germans demanded that only local Jews, not refugees, should make up the council. It included D.S. Blen, a former director of the House of Children's Artistic Education; Kagan, a former schoolteacher of German;

Leitman, a former bookkeeper in a chemical *artel*; Beizerman, a schoolteacher; and also V.T. Tsadikman, I.O. Glezerman, and D.Kh. Ginzburg.³ With the assistance of the Jewish Council, the authorities registered the Jewish population. An announcement on July 17 stated that the registration of the Jews would be conducted on July 18–20; those liable for registration included not only Jews but also *Mischlinge* (half-Jews) of the first and second degrees, as well as everybody cohabiting with a Jew.⁴ The registration did not cause a panic among the Jews, but it took a long time; on July 26, Sonderkommando 7b reported that only 3,000 Jews had been registered. It is unclear how many Jews were registered in total; estimates vary from 10,000 to 16,000.

The Germans shot several groups of Jews between July and September 1941. On July 20, they ordered all Jewish men ages 15 to 50 to assemble at the Lenin Park. They formed the Jews into several rows, arbitrarily selected 30 men from each row, and then shot them as a punishment for the failure of some Jews to affix yellow badges to their clothes.⁵ At the end of July, some Jews were shot publicly for “failure to report for work.”⁶ At about this time, the second Aktion took place: 300 Jewish men, mainly the younger and stronger ones, were taken for “hard labor” on the outskirts of Vitebsk; they were even given picks and shovels. All of them were shot in the vicinity of Mazurino and Ulanovichi (northern suburbs of Vitebsk); a notice posted by the commandant the next day informed people that they had been “executed” for committing arson in the city.⁷ Witnesses interrogated by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) mention a mass shooting of members of the Jewish intelligentsia near Tulovo on August 26, 1941. In early September, the military authorities permitted Einsatzkommando 9 to select 397 Jewish prisoners from the civilian internment camp (*Zivilgefangenenlager*) whom they regarded as terrorists, and the Einsatzkommando shot them. On September 4, Einsatzkommando 9 reported shooting 149 Jews from the “NKVD leadership, political functionaries, as well as persons evading forced labor.”⁸ There were also some other shootings of groups of Jews in this period, albeit on a smaller scale.

On July 25, the Feldkommandantur ordered the Jews to move to the right (in Vitebsk this means the western) bank of the Dvina by July 28. Soviet forces had blown up the bridge across the Dvina before their retreat, and the Germans prohibited the civil population from using the pontoon bridge they had constructed, so the only way to get across was by boat. Many of the locals who lived close to the river had boats; they offered to take Jews across the river in return for payment. Some Jews made primitive rafts.

The Germans turned the river crossing into a slaughter of the Jews. German soldiers in boats in the middle of the Dvina overturned boats and rafts that were carrying Jews and their belongings; Jews who could not swim were left to drown. Other soldiers, who remained on the right bank, did not let the Jews disembark onto the bank; some even shot at the boats. According to various estimates, some 200 to 300 Jews perished during the crossing.⁹

The Nazis established an area of Jewish residence in the northern part of the right bank along the Il'inskii Embankment (former Nizhne-Naberezhnaia). The city's inhabitants dubbed this area the “pale of Jewish settlement.” This “pale” consisted of several sites of Jewish residence. Some of the city's Jews were crammed into a former vegetable store, others into the yeast plant, the former flyers' club, the tobacco factory, a house at 30 Komsomol'skaia Street, and other places.¹⁰ This pale of settlement can be regarded as the first ghetto of Vitebsk. Einsatzkommando 9 (under Filbert), which entered Vitebsk either in the last days of July or on August 1–2, found the ghetto already in existence, “fenced and guarded by Jewish orderlies.”

The second, much smaller “ghetto” was established at the metalworkers' club (Dom metallistov) and in the surrounding area. It was set up sometime in September; the exact date is unclear. On September 16, 1941, the uprava issued an order forbidding the citizens “of non-yid origin” (*nezhidovskogo proiskhozhdenia*) to remain in the ghetto area, as well as forbidding “all yids” to leave the ghetto area, which gives a rough indication of the date of the second resettlement. All the Jews from the previous ghetto area were crammed into the metalworkers' club. Because of the shortage of medical workers in Vitebsk (only 29 “Aryan” doctors remained in the city), some Jewish doctors were allowed to stay outside the ghetto fence.

The second ghetto was enclosed by the Il'inskii Embankment, Engels Street, Komsomol'skaia Street, and Kirov Street. At both corners of the embankment, barriers were established. The ghetto was fenced. There was a narrow passageway from the ghetto to the river near one of the barriers, and the inmates were able to collect water from the Dvina. The passageway was also fenced; later it was closed. The main entrance to the ghetto was on Engels Street. After the great fire, the right bank, where Jews had been made to resettle, was an area of scorched, charred ruins, according to an eyewitness; there were almost no buildings fit for habitation. People created makeshift dwellings from bricks, planks, and old beds. Having no firewood, the inmates broke window frames from wrecked houses and burned them for cooking and heating.¹¹

In the period of existence of the larger ghetto, some Jews were made to perform forced labor, mainly clearing the city of ruins and rubble left after the fighting and the fire and performing services for the local garrison. Work columns were escorted in the morning across the pontoon bridge to their workplaces, and in the evening they were led back to the ghetto.

Neither in the first, larger ghetto nor at the metalworkers' club did the Germans provide the inmates with food, except on rare occasions. The Jews soon exhausted the food supplies they had brought with them; non-Jews came up to the ghetto fence and exchanged food for clothing. The rate of exchange was very unfavorable for the ghetto Jews, because famine prevailed throughout the city. There was no water supply in the second ghetto other than one pipe from which water poured constantly. There was a permanent queue of inmates at this

pipe. All the witnesses attest that the mortality rate from starvation in the ghettos of Vitebsk was very high.

The number of Jews who perished from hunger and disease is not clear. Soviet witnesses who gave their testimony to the ChGK estimated the rate of “natural deaths” in the Vitebsk ghetto variously: from between 30 people a day in September to 70 people a day in early October, which adds up to between 1,100 and 2,600 deaths from September 1 to October 8. It was not until September that the deaths began in the ghetto of Vitebsk. Historian Christian Gerlach estimates the total number of deaths at between 5,000 and 10,000, which would mean that a majority of the Jews who remained in Vitebsk starved to death or perished from typhus, rather than being shot by Filbert’s Einsatzkommando.

The Vitebsk ghetto was liquidated on October 8 and 10, 1941, under the pretext of the “danger of an epidemic” (*Seuchengefahr*). Einsatzkommando 9, quartered in Vitebsk at this time, with the assistance of the Belorussian police, brought the last Jews of the Vitebsk ghetto to the Tulovskii (Ilovskii) ravine near the village of Sebiakhi, east of Vitebsk, and shot them.

A survivor, a man of mixed Jewish-Belorussian parentage, says that when he came to the ghetto fence on October 10 to find his mother, the ghetto site was empty; all its inmates were gone.¹²

The number of Jews killed by Filbert’s unit has been a matter of dispute. Ereignismeldung 124 of October 25, 1941, reports a figure of around 3,000 Jews killed; however, Ereignismeldung 148 of December 19, 1941, mentions 4,090 Jews killed in Vitebsk. Some scholars are inclined to think that these reports deal with two different mass murders—one in October, the other in December 1941—and therefore they add these numbers together (thus arriving at the estimate of 7,000 or even 8,000 victims). Christian Gerlach questions whether the Einsatzgruppen reports deal with one or two Aktionen. Both reports mention the same Aktion on October 8 and 10, 1941; the second total simply is more accurate than the previous one. The witnesses who gave testimonies to the ChGK may have exaggerated the numbers of victims, but it is unlikely that they would completely forget the second mass shooting of Jews in Vitebsk. No survivors mention a second Aktion, either.

Mikhail Ryvkin and Arkadii Shulman interpret the accounts collected by the ChGK to mean that the mass murder continued until October 12, rather than until October 8. On the basis of several witness accounts, they maintain that some group shootings of Jews (and prisoners of war) also took place in Vitebsk during the second half of October. The number of victims in this subsequent October Aktion was 800.¹³ According to Ryvkin and Shulman, in early November another relatively small group of Jews was shot.¹⁴ The precise fate of the Vitebsk Jews in late 1941 is still a subject of debate among scholars.

The Jewish doctors and artisans who were left in the city were killed at about the same time. They may have been included in the report of December 19, 1941. Some Jews contin-

ued to live clandestinely in Vitebsk even after this; thus the list of prisoners arrested between July and September 1942 and detained in the city’s SD prison contains more than 120 Jews.¹⁵

The number of Jews who perished in Vitebsk in 1941 may be estimated at between 6,500 and 13,000. The most probable estimate is 7,500, which constitutes 20 percent of the pre-war population of Vitebsk; this means that 80 percent of the Jews evacuated or fled from this industrial city. If there were indeed two separate mass shootings of Jews (probably separated by a very short interval, and they might have been conflated in the memories of the witnesses into a single event), the most probable estimate of the number of victims is 10,500.¹⁶

It is not clear in which villages of the Vitebsk raion Jews were killed. Some sel’sovets (Dolzha, Borovliany, Nikolaevo) are notable for the large number of people killed in them by the Nazis. It is unclear whether there were Jews among these victims.

Jewish/non-Jewish relations in Vitebsk in 1941 were not uniform. On the one hand, some survivors attest that in the first weeks of the occupation some “shady characters” were trying to break into their houses and rob Jewish belongings.¹⁷ On the other hand, the partisan Yevdokiya Spiridonova in 1941 escorted many Jews from Vitebsk to a partisan base at the former peat-cutting facility “20 let Oktiabria” (20th Anniversary of the October Revolution), and from there they were taken across the front line to the Soviet side in 1942.¹⁸

SOURCES In the late 1940s, a short memoir by Iv. Ivanov (a pseudonym), “Iz nedavnego proshlogo: Vitebskoe getto,” appeared in *Sotsialisticheskii vestnik* [a leftist journal in Russian, which was published in New York and Paris] 32:1–3. An essay by Ph. Friedman, “Umkum fun vitebsker yidn,” appeared in the collection *Vitebsk amol*, ed. I. Trunk (New York, 1956). A book of memoirs written by a wartime German soldier with leftist leanings, Paul Koerner-Schrader, *Ostlandreiter* ([East] Berlin: Dt. Militärverlag, 1961), devotes much attention to the ghetto of Vitebsk. The fictionalized story of the extermination of Vitebsk Jews, the novel by Aleksandr Tverskoi, *Turetskii marsh* (Moscow, 1983), must not be neglected, either, despite its numerous historical mistakes. A. Zeltser and D. Romanovsky have published an account of the fate of the Jews of Vitebsk in: *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve* 4 (1994): 198–228. This essay also includes published versions of some eyewitness accounts now located at Yad Vashem. See also “Skol’ko evreev pogiblo v promyshlennykh gorodakh Vostochnoi Belorussi v nachale nemetskoii okkupatsii (iul’–dekabr’ 1941 g.)?” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta* 4:22 (2000): 151–172. In 2004, the book by Mikhail Ryvkin and Arkadii Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei: Tragediia Vitebskogo getto*, was published in Vitebsk. Despite its journalistic, nonacademic style, this book represents the first history of the Holocaust in the city. Christian Gerlach’s *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999) also includes a detailed analysis of the murder of the Jews of the Vitebsk ghetto.

The documents of the ChGK for Vitebsk and the Vitebsk raion can be found in GARF (7021-84-1, 3, 4). The trial against members of Einsatzkommando 9 that was held in

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Berlin in 1962–1963 dealt extensively with the events in Vitebsk and its vicinity; its materials can be found in the respective German regional archive; part of the material has been copied for the YVA and is deposited there as TR-10/388; the court decision can be found in the published collection *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* vol. 18 (Amsterdam, Amsterdam University Press: 1978) Lfd. Nr. 540. Relevant German documentation is deposited also in the Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv in Freiburg (BA-MA, RH 22, 23, and 26). At the Yad Vashem archives, not only witness statements (O-3/4124, O-3/4720–O-3/4722) but also copies of the German documentation from the Freiburg archives (see YVA, M.29.FR/215–M.29.FR/244 and others) can be found.

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NOTES

1. NARB, 4-21-2075.
2. N.I. Pakhomov, N.I. Dorofeenko, and N.V. Dorofeenko, *Vitebskoe podpol'e*, pp. 22–25.
3. Information from the Vitebsk Museum of Local Lore (VKM), as cited by Ryvkin and Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei*, pp. 46–47.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 48.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.
6. BA-BL, R58/215, EM no. 34, July 26, 1941.
7. Ivanov, “Iz nedavnego proshlogo,” p. 27.
8. YVA, TR-10/388, p. 69.
9. GARF, 7021-84-3; YVA, O-3/4720.
10. YVA, TR-10/388, p. 46.
11. Ryvkin and Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei*, pp. 63–64.
12. Testimony of Georgiy Shantyr, Oral History Collection of the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, Hebrew University in Jerusalem.
13. Ryvkin and Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei*, pp. 96–101.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 130–131.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 132–133.
16. For arguments in favor of the lower estimate, see Romanovsky, “Skol'ko evreev pogiblo,” pp. 151–172.
17. Ryvkin and Shulman, *Khronika strashnykh dnei*, p. 87.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 49–50.

VOLYNTSY

Pre-1941: Volyntsy, village, Drissa raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Wolyntzy, Rayon Drissa, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Volyntsy, Verkhniadzvinsk raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Volyntsy is located about 40 kilometers (25 miles) northwest of Polotsk. On July 10, 1941, the German 14th Panzer Division of the newly formed 4th Panzer Army captured the villages of Volyntsy and Borkovichi. From August 1941 onward, the Drissa raion, including the village of Volyntsy, was under the authority of Rear Area, Army Group Center.

In January 1942, the remaining 84 Jews in Volyntsy were assembled “behind a fence” (that is, in a ghetto surrounded

with barbed wire). About one month later, a punitive squad of about 20 men arrived in Volyntsy from Drissa in two cars; they drove the Jews from the ghetto, forming them into a column, 4 abreast, and escorted them to a nearby forest, where a pit 8 meters by 2 meters (26 by 7 feet) had been dug beforehand, and shot them. Members of the local population could observe the massacre with their own eyes, as the killers conducted the Aktion close to the town's marketplace. After the massacre, the Germans sold part of the Jews' belongings to the locals and took away the most valuable objects.¹

SOURCES According to Marat Botvinnik, *Pamiatniki genotsida evreev Belarusi* (Minsk: Belaruskaja Navuka, 2000), pp. 170, 189, the Aktion in Volyntsy took place on February 2, 1942. The mass shooting of the Jews of Volyntsy is also mentioned in *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaja Knihha, 1995), p. 132.

The documents of the ChGK for the Drissa raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-215); USHMM; and YVA.

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NOTE

1. GARF, 7021-92-215.

VORONICHI

Pre-1941: Voronichi, village, Vetrino raion, Vitebsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Woronitschi, Rayon Wetrino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Varonichy, Polatsk raen, Vitebsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Voronichi is located 25 kilometers (16 miles) southwest of Polotsk. In 1920, there were 65 Jews living in the village out of a total population of 163.

Forces of German Army Group Center captured Voronichi during the first days of July 1941. It appears that very few Jews fled the village before their arrival. According to witness accounts collected for the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in early November 1941, an SS unit arrived in three cars. They arrested 6 Jewish men, told them to take shovels, and escorted them to the Ostivki Forest, where the SS told the Jews to undress and then shot them. A local policeman, Semen Rumakov, who took part in the Aktion, was rewarded with a coat that had belonged to one of the victims. At the end of November, the authorities, including the village elder (starosta) Konstantin Harbuk (or Gorbuk), assembled the Jews of Voronichi, 62 people in total, in a ghetto, which consisted of two houses and was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded. During the ghetto's existence, some men came from time to time to Voronichi from the Vetrino authority; they interrogated Jews, beat them, and took their belongings. According to another account, before the ghetto was established, Harbuk regularly came to the Jewish houses and extorted valuables and good-quality belongings from them, promising that those who gave things to him would not be resettled to the ghetto in Polotsk.

On January 16, 1942, a Belorussian police squad from Polotsk, 12 men, headed by two Germans, arrived from Bobynichi. Supported by Harbuk and the local policeman Rumakov, they began to assemble the Jews from the ghetto. Some Jews attempted to flee; they were shot at and wounded. The men of the squad beat the wounded with rifle butts. According to one account, they put out the eyes of 17-year-old Sonia Vaiman, who had attempted to flee, and then killed her. A Jewish woman, Malka Rubin, tried to hide with her 3-year-old son, but Harbuk found them. The rest of the Jews from the ghetto were led to an old cemetery and shot. In all, 62 people were killed on that day, among them 28 children ages 1 to 14 years. The men of the police squad collected the clothing of the victims.

A total of 68 Jews were killed in Voronichi.

SOURCES The documents of the ChGK for the Vetrino raion can be found in GARF (7021-92-210, p. 104).

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ZEMBIN

Pre-1941: Zembin, village, Borisov raion, Minsk oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941-1944: Sembin, Rayon Borissow, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Zembin, Borisau raen, Minsk voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zembin is located about 70 kilometers (43 miles) northeast of Minsk. In 1926, there were 838 Jews out of 1,199 inhabitants of the village (69.9 percent).

German armed forces occupied Zembin on June 30, 1941. With the exception of the Shifrin family (with many children), who traveled to the east a few days before the Germans arrived, most Jews found themselves under German occupation. Some families with more than 20 carts fled to the Berezina River but became encircled by the rapidly advancing German spearheads and were all forced to return to Zembin. Because there was shooting on the streets that night, some of the inhabitants decided to hide near the swamp, but two days later they also returned to the village. One week after the Germans arrived, the Jews were ordered to wear distinguishing marks on their chests and back: a yellow circle 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter. They were also forbidden to communicate with non-Jews.¹ A police force was formed in Zembin, headed by Vasilij Kharitonovich (chief of police) and Feofil Kabakov, his deputy.²

In mid-July 1941, houses on Gatskaia and Raboche-Krestianskaia Streets, not far from the Jewish cemetery, were enclosed with barbed wire, and a ghetto was formed. More than 900 people were confined in the ghetto. The Jews were compelled to perform a variety of jobs meticulously, without pay and without questioning the orders given to them. They were used for collecting garbage, cleaning the area, loading and unloading fuel, and doing other menial tasks. The Germans had no long-term plans for the ghetto in Zembin but simply

used it as a place to gather and contain the Jews before exterminating them. In mid-August, the German authorities chose 18 of the strongest men to dig a pit 800 meters (about half a mile) outside Zembin at a place called Zagornoe, ostensibly as a dump for useless military equipment. The pit was 46 meters long and 3 meters wide (about 151 by 10 feet). This task took several days to complete; however, the earthen stairs leading down into the pits aroused suspicion.³

In the early morning of August 18, 1941, policemen Gnot and Golub went through the ghetto and declared that according to a German order all the Jews were to gather at the marketplace. This was done under the pretense of checking documents and resettling the people from Zembin. When the Jews had gathered at the predetermined place, Gendarmes with dogs encircled them. Policemen organized the prisoners into columns and led them into the forest. The guards demanded order and shouted and hit those who stepped out of line. Not far from the forest, behind which was the pit, the column stopped, and people were ordered to kneel; after that, they were permitted to sit down to "rest." At first, 20 of the healthiest men were led away. There were few men in the ghetto, because the majority had been mobilized into the Red Army. Shots were heard. Then one by one, groups of 15 to 20 people were taken away and led to the pit. A young teacher shouted: "Don't cry, these are fascists! Either way they will have to pay, our people will avenge us!" She was among the first killed. Families sat together in small groups, planning to die together. People were ordered to undress and lie down in the pit in line, then were shot. Among the victims was a cadet from the Military Aviation College who came to Zembin before the war to visit relatives.⁴

According to the testimony of Rema Asinovskaya-Khodasevich, people instinctively crept away from the edge of the field where they were sitting and waiting for execution, hoping to avoid being the next group selected to die. The German translator Lutske shouted: "Ten people! Not everyone will be killed, examinations are conducted there, don't panic!" A sick old man named Shenderov, who was brought with the help of his relatives, died from a heart attack due to anxiety before his turn came.⁵

Only two children, both Khasia Khodasevich's, were spared, supposedly because they came from a mixed marriage. Following her mother's advice, the elder child took her four-year-old brother by the hand and approached the German officer who was in charge of the execution. The girl said that she was in the crowd of Jews by accident. The officer consulted David Ehof, an ethnic German (*Völkedeutscher*) who was formerly a teacher of German in Zembin and later became the chief of police in Borisov, and demanded that he confirm what the child was saying. Ehof answered in the affirmative, and the children were sent to a car. One boy, a classmate of theirs, ran behind them and begged: "Remka, tell them that I'm your brother, that I'm Russian!" But he was seized and thrown into the pit. According to the testimony of Stanislav Turchinovich, afterwards the guards ordered local Belorussians to bury the corpses and fill in the grave. When

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the work was almost completed, an old Jewish woman who had been missed initially was brought in and executed. The pit was dug out again, and she was placed inside. The Belorussians feared that the Germans would kill them because they were witnesses, but the Germans let them go home.⁶

That day more than 750 people were murdered, including more than 250 children.⁷ The Aktion was conducted by the chief of the Borisov SD, Hauptsturmführer Werner Schöne-mann, Gestapo men Berg and Walther, the commandant in Borisov, Scherer, and the commandant in Zembin, Ilek. The policemen Rabetski, Kursevich, Golub, Glot, Deshkovich, Orehov, and Kontur, as well as the Oniskevich brothers—who received copious amounts of alcohol—also took an active role in the massacre.⁸

In its own report, Einsatzgruppe B claimed that it had received “repeated complaints . . . that all the Jews there were working against German instructions” and that many had recently arrived from elsewhere. In postwar testimony, however, a member of the Einsatzgruppe, Willy Kremers, noted that in Zembin there were no attempts by the Jews to flee. Nevertheless, the Einsatzgruppe report concluded: “in order to prevent any further opposition, a number of Jews were rendered harmless.”⁹

Zembin was liberated on June 30, 1944. In August, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Borisov raion was able to confirm the murder of only 5 Jews in Zembin: Gil and Liba Beneson, Meer and Haia Kats, and Fania Harik. By the late 1980s and early 1990s, through the efforts of the historical-educational society Svet Menory, 222 surnames of Jews who were killed in Zembin were established.

SOURCES The ghetto in Zembin is mentioned in Vladimir Adamushko et al., eds., *Spravochnik o mestakh prinuditel'nogo soderzhaniiia grazhdanskogo naseleniia na okkupirovannoi territorii BSSR 1941–1944 gg.* (Minsk: State Committee for Archives and Documentary Collections of the Republic of Belarus, 2001); and David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *The Black Book with Red Pages (Tragedy and Heroism of Belorussian Jews)* (Cockeysville, MD: VIA Press, 2005). The book by Aleksandr Rosenbloom, *Pamiat' na krovi* (Petah Tikvah, 1998), pp. 89–117, includes the family names of some of the Jews murdered in Zembin. Additional information on the fate of the Jews of Zembin during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: A. Rosenbloom, *Sledy v trave zabveniiia. Evrei v istorii Borisova* (Borisov, 1996); *Pamiat': Istoriko-dokumental'naiia khronika Borisova i Borisovskogo raiona* (Minsk, 1997), pp. 421–431; *Pamiats' Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Kniha, 1995); and *Zbor pomnikau historyi i kul'tury Belarusi. Minskaia voblasts'*, vol. 1.

Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Zembin can be found in the following archives: BA-L (202 AR-Z 184/67, Dok. Bd. I); TsAKGBRB; and YVA (M-33/422).

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NOTES

1. *Pamiat'*, pp. 421–431.
2. YVA, M-33/422, p. 8.

3. *Zbor pomnikau historyi i kul'tury Belarusi*, 1:70.
4. Rosenbloom, *Pamiat' na krovi*, p. 66.
5. Rosenbloom, *Sledy v trave zabveniiia*, p. 34.
6. David Meltser and Vladimir Levin, eds., *Chernaia kniga s krasnymi stranitsami: Tragediia i geroizm evreev Belorussii, 1941–1944 gg.* (Baltimore, 1996), p. 255.
7. *Pamiats' Belarus'*, p. 495, gives the figure of 760 victims; according to another source, YVA, M-33/422, p. 11, there were 927 people killed, including 255 children.
8. TsAKGBRB; on the Aktion in Zembin, see also the interrogation of David Ehof on March 7, 1947, BA-L, 202 AR-Z 184/67, Dok. Bd. I, p. 210.
9. Einsatzgruppe B, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht für 24-31.8.1941, cited by Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999) p. 570; BA-L, 202 AR-Z 81/59 (investigation against Bradfisch et al.), Bd. III, statement of Willy Kremers on June 15, 1962. In this case, it seems that German reports of resistance were probably exaggerated to justify the brutal murder of women and children.

ZHLOBIN

Pre-1941: Zhlobin, town and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1944: Shlobin, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Zhlobin, raen center, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zhlobin is located 83 kilometers (52 miles) northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, 3,709 Jews (19.2 percent of the total) resided in Zhlobin.

When the war began, several hundred men eligible for military service were conscripted into the Red Army. Due to German air raids, few people managed to evacuate by train, but more than half of Zhlobin's Jews escaped on foot towards Gomel' before Soviet troops blew up the bridges over the Dnieper River on August 13, 1941.¹

A combat detachment of 500 men, including many Jews, defended Zhlobin tenaciously. German forces captured the town on July 3, 1941, but were driven out again 10 days later by the Soviet 63rd Infantry Corps. Only on August 14, 1941, did the Germans secure Zhlobin.²

Under German occupation, the mayor was Nikolai Zabelin, and Ivan Dombrovskii volunteered to head the town guard, selecting his 30 subordinates. Chernousov was head of the town police; Turchanovich headed the Secret Field Police (GFP); Stolytko was head of the Political Section; and Kozhemiakin headed the Investigation Section. The Shlobin Rayon police was headed by Mikhail Kashin, who commanded 150 men.³

The murder of Jews in Zhlobin began in the late summer or fall of 1941. A detachment of Einsatzgruppe B shot 31 Jews in the town in September 1941, as alleged saboteurs or plunderers.⁴

At first the Jews lived in their own homes, but they were forbidden to go to public places, use the main streets in the town, and associate with non-Jews. Ol'ga Sorkina was arrested for speaking with Russians. In October 1941, two ghet-

tos were set up on the southern outskirts of town. The first was in the dormitory of a school for training factory and mill workers. The second was in three converted huts on the other side of the railway and a hut near the bakery. The elder of the first ghetto was an old man named Zalman; the elder of the second ghetto was Bizur, assisted by a man named Samchen. Dombrovskii registered a total of 1,145 Jews. Adults able to work were used for forced labor.⁵

Jews from surrounding towns and villages also were brought to Zhlobin. Ermolenko, the assistant mayor of Zhlobin, ordered the Rayon police under Kashin to round up the 300 Jews of Karpilovka. Initially, the Jews could take their property with them (cattle, food, and clothing), but later the cattle were taken away. The local police guarded the ghetto around the clock, in shifts.⁶

The food that people brought with them, obtained by barter or given by Belorussians, was their only means of subsistence. Generally the local population helped, without payment, "their own" Jews who were married to Belorussians, and village Jews were helped by former neighbors, but people in these categories formed only a small part of the ghetto population. Most people had to rely on illegal barter, which required great organization and trust. Sometimes it was necessary to bribe the police to turn a blind eye.⁷

The guards beat the Jews with rubber batons. It was impossible to escape from the ghetto, and sometimes the Germans and policemen beat Jews for "amusement." During the night of December 31, 1941, and January 1, 1942, Kashin publicly shot two Jews, Ginzburg and Garelik, for attempting to escape.⁸ On February 10, 1942, Feldkommandantur 581 in Bobruisk reported that 739 Jews were residing in the Shlobin Rayon.⁹

The plan to liquidate the ghetto of Zhlobin was kept secret. There were rumors about a mass shooting, but not everybody believed them. The evening before April 11, 1942, policeman Trofim Tomkov and police chief Kashin, on the pretext of road repair work, assembled about 40 men from the village of Lebedevka with shovels. But the peasants were sent into a field, to an old antitank ditch, and ordered to dig pits. On April 12, 1941, Kashin ordered Zhlobin policemen to go at 7:00 A.M. in trucks to the ghetto, where German forces were already at work.¹⁰

Germans and local police herded the Jews out of their houses, counted them, and then "loaded" them into 30 closed trucks, 40 persons per vehicle. The column left the town and came to a halt 1 kilometer (0.6 mile) from the village of Lebedevka. The Jews were herded out of the trucks and led to the killing site, the antitank ditch. Then 20 meters (66 feet) from the ditch, the Jews were ordered to undress. Some 20 policemen cordoned off the area, while the others forced the people to remove their clothing. The shooting was directed by the assistant mayor, Ermolenko, and the chief of police, Kashin. The first to be shot were the 30 most able-bodied Jewish men. The police brought the victims to the edge of the pit, where a plank lay. The adults had to stand on the plank, and Mikhailovskii hit them with a stick on the back of the neck; as each one fell

forward, the other policemen opened fire with submachine guns. The last to be killed were small children.¹¹

By 3:00 P.M. the massacre was over, and it was "suggested" that the peasants of Lebedevka cover the pit (containing around 800 corpses).¹²

The killing of the Jews of Zhlobin continued from April 12 to April 15, 1942. In the field between Zhlobin and Lebedevka, it is estimated that at least 1,200 people were shot, primarily elderly people, women, and children. According to the statement of Artem Vasil'chenkov, as the burial was in progress, a 10- to 12-year-old girl raised herself from the pit, resting on her arms, and screamed, "Finish me off or let me go!" A German noticed this, took his pistol from its holster, and killed the child with two shots. On April 14, 1942, the Jews of the village of Streshin (480 people) were killed at the same location.¹³

During the occupation, the Nazis and their collaborators killed more than 10 Jewish mothers with children from mixed marriages whose non-Jewish husbands were serving at the front. Nikolai Makei, a Belorussian, chose to die with his Jewish wife, Sara Nekhamkina, and their children, seven-year-old Vladimir and six-year-old Tamara. The Babitskii brothers and their young sister were killed, though their Jewish origin was three generations in the past.¹⁴

Quite probably, the pits near Lebedevka contain, along with the inmates of the Zhlobin and Streshin ghettos, some Jews from the neighboring villages of Krasnyi Bereg, Pirevichi, Dobrogoshcha, Staraia Rudnia, and Kazimirovo.

Few survived the liquidation of the Zhlobin ghetto. The witness Basia Palei (born 1906) was searching for food in the countryside during the shooting. When she returned, her husband and three children had been killed. El'ka Sorkina (born 1925) jumped from a truck on the way to the killing site, hid, and managed to find the partisans.¹⁵ Aleksandra Kushner helped save Nadezhda Gorevaia and her son by her Jewish husband, who was in the Red Army. She hid them in her home and later helped them reach the partisans. Boris Glakovskii (born 1941) was saved by Tina Makovskaia and her mother, Aleksandra Reviakova. The father of Boris, Semen Isaakovich, a militia officer, perished in the defense of Zhlobin in 1941. Semen's wife, Tsilia Shaevna, and their four children (ages 1, 4, 6, and 10) were put into the ghetto. On April 12, 1942, during transport to the execution site, Tsilia managed to hand Boris to Tina, who saved him.¹⁶

On June 26, 1944, Zhlobin was liberated by troops of the 1st Belorussian Front. At the end of the occupation of Zhlobin, only about 20 percent of the pre-war population of 20,909 people remained.¹⁷ Representatives of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), visiting Zhlobin, ascertained that a total of 3,091 people were murdered in Zhlobin and the Zhlobin raion by the Nazis, without specifying whether they were Jews or non-Jews. The ChGK established 548 names of the murdered Jews from Zhlobin.¹⁸

SOURCES Information about the persecution and murder of the Jews of Zhlobin during the Holocaust can be found in

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these publications: *Pravedniki narodov mira v Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004); Izrail' Slavin, "Tragediia arifmetiki," *Evreiskii kamerton* (Tel Aviv), February 15, 2001; and *Pamiats': Belarus'* (Minsk: Respublikanskaia Knaha, 1995).

Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Zhlobin can be found in the following archives: AUKG-BRBGO (files 1354 and 5823); BA-MA (RH 26-203/3); GARF (7021-85-214, 413); NARB (4-33a-65; 845-1-55; 861-1-1, 6); and PALS.

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NOTES

1. Slavin, "Tragediia arifmetiki"; and PALS, letter from Moisei Dvorkin, October 16, 2004.

2. PALS, letter from Izrail' Slavin, September 23, 2004; and NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90.

3. AUKGBRBGO, file 5823, p. 120, Efim Barzens, July 14, 1944.

4. Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 205, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppen no. 5, September 15–30, 1941.

5. AUKGBRBGO, file 1354, p. 28, Ivan Dombrovskii, April 4, 1944.

6. *Ibid.*, file 5823, pp. 28, 312, Mikhail Kashin, August 1, 1945.

7. L. Smilovitskii, *Katastrofa evreev v Belorussii* (Tel Aviv, 2000), pp. 46–48.

8. AUKGBRBGO, file 5823, p. 252, Mikhail Kashin, August 1, 1945.

9. BA-MA, RH 26-203/3, Lagebericht FK 581, February 10, 1942.

10. AUKGBRBGO, file 5823, p. 119, Mikhail Vasil'evich Mulev, July 14, 1944.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 132, Stanislava Bronislavovna Rokhlina, August 23, 1944.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 37, Ivan Evdokimovich Pashkovskii, October 31, 1944.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 25, Artem Vasil'chenkov, December 5, 1944.

14. NARB, 861-1-6, p. 14.

15. Slavin, "Tragediia arifmetiki."

16. In 1996, Tina Makovskaia and Aleksandra Reviakova were posthumously awarded the title of "Righteous Among the Nations." See *Pravedniki narodov mira v Belarusi*, p. 52.

17. Gomel' oblast' population data, May 1, 1944, GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218.

18. NARB, 845-1-55, p. 46.

ZHURAVICHI

Pre-1941: Zhuravichi, village and raion center, Gomel' oblast', Belorussian SSR; 1941–1943: Shuravitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Zhuravichy, Robachou raen, Homel' voblasts', Republic of Belarus

Zhuravichi is located 94 kilometers (58 miles) north-northwest of Gomel'. In 1939, the Jewish population was 616, 25.7 percent of the total.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

When hostilities began, all the males eligible for military service joined the Red Army. In late June 1941, a local combat battalion of 180 men was formed, commanded by a man named Gerasimov, which performed security tasks in Zhuravichi.¹ As Zhuravichi was not on the railroad, it did not suffer from aerial bombardment, nor did many refugees from places further west arrive there, who might spread news about the Nazis' treatment of the Jews. Soviet officials did not order an official evacuation, and only a small part of the Jewish population managed to leave the town in time. They left on foot, dragging along the elderly and children in carts, hoping for a speedy return.

German forces entered Zhuravichi on August 14, 1941, and the German military administration appointed new local officials during the first 10 days of the occupation. A man named Filipchenko became the Rayon head (Rayonchef). The first chief of police, Vakhnaley (September–December 1941), was later replaced by Grigorii Alesiuk (December 1941–February 1943), a former district militia officer in the Zhuravichi People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD).² A number of local residents were recruited to serve in the police.

In the summer of 1942, in connection with the strengthening of the partisan movement, Alesiuk called on the youth to join the Zhuravichi police, increasing police manpower from about 100 up to 500 men.³

Until September 1941, the Jews remained in their own homes. They were forbidden to appear in public places and to converse or trade with Belorussians and Russians. The Jews were required to perform forced labor for the German military authorities and the local administration.

A ghetto was set up in the town in September 1941. The Germans ordered Vakhnaley, assisted by the police force, to round up all the Jews of Zhuravichi and the village of Novye Zhuravichi,⁴ a total of 170 people, and herd them into the garden of the kolkhoz named for the "Twelfth Anniversary of the October Revolution." They were quartered in six buildings, some of which had previously served as a school. The ghetto, which was guarded by local police, remained in existence for about four months. Food was scarce, the buildings were not heated, and no medical assistance was provided. The Jews presumed what their fate would likely be, but they did not escape because they were bound to each other by mutual responsibilities. The Germans appointed Jewish "elders," who maintained order, received demands for forced labor, and were made personally responsible for ensuring that no Jew escaped or hid.⁵

In the final days of December 1941, the German military administration (Ortskommandantur) in Zhuravichi ordered a pit to be prepared for the mass killing of the Jews. Alesiuk allocated 40 policemen, 10 of whom were sent to dig the pit, while the rest were posted in a circle around the ghetto as guards. The Jews were locked in the barn and kept there until the Germans arrived. Then 12 Germans, probably of the Security Police, drove up to the barn in a covered truck and began loading the prisoners for transport to the pit. They brought out 30 people at a time, loaded them in the truck, and drove them beyond the Zhuravichi hospital into a pine forest.

Most of the victims were old people, women, and children. Among others, they included Iankel' Aleshinskii (70 years of age), his wife, his son, and daughter-in-law, and a man named Bogorad (38–40 years old) with his sister (26). Among the victims were also the kolkhoznik Mikhail Mazurov and the barber Moisei Starovoitov, who were both married to Russian women and had taken their surnames. Five or six trips in total were made that day. The doomed prisoners were led to the edge of the pit and shot with rifles and submachine guns in the presence of the policemen. The police buried the corpses. A number of local policemen assisted the Germans in carrying out the mass shooting of Jews in Zhuravichi.⁶

Alesiuk arranged for victims' belongings to be guarded, and two days later the Jewish possessions were taken to the Rayon authority. The best items were appropriated by the Germans, and the others were sold at a store, with the profits going into the coffers of the Rayon authority.⁷

Soviet forces liberated Zhuravichi on November 25, 1943. It was one of the first populated localities in Belorussia to be liberated. The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), which reached Zhuravichi in March 1944, determined that during the occupation of the town and the raion of the same name, the Nazis and their accomplices had killed 2,477 civilians, including 144 people in Zhuravichi itself. The population of the Zhuravichi raion decreased from 42,298 in May 1941 to 28,100 in May 1944: 66.4 percent of the pre-war level.⁸ Some of the Nazis' accomplices, including G.V. Alesiuk, were arrested and tried.⁹

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Zhuravichi during the Holocaust can be found in the fol-

lowing publication: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001).

Documentation regarding the ghetto in Zhuravichi and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in these archives: AUKGBRBGO (case 5745, trial of Alesiuk); GAOOGO (144-5-6, p. 218); and NARB (4-33a-65, p. 90).

Leonid Smilovitsky
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARB, 4-33a-65, p. 90, Information from the Military Section of the Gomel' Okrug Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Belorussia about the personnel of the defense force detachments on August 1, 1941.

2. Grigorii Vasil'evich Alesiuk, born in 1895, worked in the militia from 1922 to 1941; in August 1941 he avoided evacuation and remained in occupied territory.

3. AUKGBRBGO, case 5745, p. 52.

4. Novye Zhuravichi is a village 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) from the small town of Zhuravichi.

5. AUKGBRBGO, case 5745, pp. 86–88.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 89–92. This file names many local policemen who participated in the Aktion against the Jews.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 68.

8. GAOOGO, 144-5-6, p. 218.

9. Alesiuk was arrested on February 16, 1946, and held in Prison No. 1 in Gomel'. He was tried on April 27, 1946, in Zhuravichi, and the military tribunal of the MVD for the Gomel' oblast' sentenced Alesiuk to death by shooting. AUKGBRBGO, case 5745, p. 113.



EASTERN UKRAINE AND CRIMEA REGION



Two Jewish men are forced by German troops with the 6th Army to hang three other Jews in a village outside of Khar'kov. All five of the Jewish men were eventually hanged as suspected members of the resistance, 1942.
USHMM WS #67069, COURTESY OF YIVO

EASTERN UKRAINE AND CRIMEA REGION

Pre-1941: eastern part of the Ukrainian SSR and Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941–1943: (Crimea occupied 1941–1944), initially Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), then 1942–1943: Rear Area, Army Group B (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet B); 1943: eastern part of the Ukrainian SSR and Crimean ASSR (from 1945, Crimean oblast', RSFSR, from 1954, Ukrainian SSR); post-1991: eastern part of Ukraine and Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Between the fall of 1941 and the summer of 1942, the Germans established around 19 ghettos in the military-occupied territory of eastern Ukraine and Crimea; as many as 19,000 Jews may have been confined within these ghettos. Most of these ghettos existed for only a few weeks, prior to the rapid extermination of the Jewish population. With reference to the Soviet administrative divisions as of 1939, the ghettos were distributed as follows: six in the Chernigov oblast'; two in the Sumy oblast'; four in the Stalino oblast'; and three (possibly four) in the Khar'kov oblast'. In addition, there were four ghettos (or camps mainly for Jews) in German-occupied Crimea.

German forces penetrated into eastern Ukraine following the Battle of Kiev in August and September 1941, reaching, for example, the town of Priluki, Chernigov oblast', on September 18. German forces captured Belopole in the Sumy oblast' and Artemovsk in the Stalino oblast' on October 7 and 14, respectively. Units of the German 6th Army occupied Khar'kov on October 24, 1941. Kramatorsk and Stalino were also occupied in late October. The greater part of the Crimean peninsula was captured by units of the German 11th Army in the second half of October 1941.

Due to the passage of several months after the start of the invasion before these regions were occupied, a considerable portion of the Jewish population was evacuated or able to flee. German registration statistics for the number of Jews encountered have survived for several locations. For example, in Khar'kov, just over 10,000 Jews were registered from a 1939 Jewish population of 130,250. Even allowing for considerable underregistration, probably less than 10 percent of the Jewish population remained. In Dzhankoi, Crimea, on their arrival, the Germans discovered only 44 Jews out of a pre-war population of 1,397 (less than 4 percent). In some smaller locations, such as Voikovshadt and Alushta in Crimea, or Shchors (Chernigov oblast'), about one third of the Jews came under German occupation. Regarding Yalta, on the southern tip of the Crimean peninsula, Soviet documentation indicates that at least 1,120 Jews were evacuated from the city in an organized fashion. However, other Jews fleeing before the German advance became trapped there, such that the number of Jews killed in Yalta probably exceeded 50 percent of the city's pre-war Jewish population of 2,109.¹

The two largest ghettos established by the Germans in eastern Ukraine and Crimea were those in Khar'kov, holding about 10,000 Jews, and in Stalino, which held up to 3,000 Jews. Three other ghettos had populations in excess of 1,000:

those in Priluki, Artemovsk, and Yalta. Of the remaining ghettos, only those in Dzhankoi, Enakievo, and Shchors had populations of around 500 Jews—all the others containing less than 150. The two ghettos in the Sumy oblast' and the two (or three) smaller ghettos in the Khar'kov oblast' all probably held less than 40 Jews each.

In many large cities of eastern Ukraine and Crimea, however, as well as in many towns in these regions, no ghettos were established. Instead, the remaining Jews were killed in mass-shooting Aktions or by other means without formal ghettoization. In Mariupol', for example, after introducing the wearing of the Star of David and establishing a Jewish Council (Judenrat) to register the Jews in mid-October 1941, the German authorities initiated the murder of 8,000 Jews on October 18. The Jews were assembled briefly in a barracks on the edge of town for a few days before being taken in groups to be shot and buried in an antitank ditch on the Maxim-Gorki Kolkhoz, a few kilometers outside the city. The mass shootings conducted here by Sonderkommando 10a of Einsatzgruppe D went on for several days, with most Jews being murdered on October 20–21.²

The Wehrmacht was responsible for imposing a series of anti-Jewish measures following its arrival in eastern Ukraine and Crimea. In addition to the registration of the Jews and the introduction of distinctive markers, Jews were also required to perform forced labor. In Yalta, Sonderkommando 11a was mainly responsible for introducing the anti-Jewish measures, including the formation of a Jewish Council and the introduction of a six-pointed star, to be worn by the Jews on their chests and backs. All money and valuables had to be surrendered to the Germans via the Jewish Council.³

The process of ghettoization is documented for only a few of the ghetto locations. In Khar'kov and Stalino the local Ukrainian administration played an active role in its implementation. According to the testimony of the deputy mayor, Eichmann, on orders from Einsatzkommando 6, the mayors of the city districts and the police chiefs in Stalino organized the transfer of the Jews into the ghetto.⁴ In Khar'kov, probably prompted by Sonderkommando 4a under the command of Paul Blobel, the city administration issued a resolution on November 22 excluding Jews from working in public institutions and ordering that they be resettled into one district. The city administration also registered the Jews in early December, prior to their resettlement on December 16. The Wehrmacht commandant in the city signed the placards, which ordered the Jews to move into the ghetto or be shot.⁵

A variety of different structures were used as ghetto sites. In Khar'kov, for example, the ghetto was established in the barracks of a factory district on the outskirts of town. In Yenakievo, four large barracks were also used for the ghetto. In Stalino, the ghetto was located in a settlement named "Belyi Kar'er" (White Pit) at a former quarry on the outskirts of the city. The cottages in this settlement were virtually destroyed before the Jews moved in. In Artemovsk, the Jews were confined within the cellars of the town's administrative headquarters. In Priluki, two school buildings were used for the ghetto, which was surrounded by barbed wire.

Five open ghettos are known to have been established in Borzna, Gorodnia, Korop, Semenovka, and Shchors, all in the Chernigov oblast'. In Gorodnia, the ghetto was established several weeks after the town was first combed by a detachment of Sonderkommando 7b in late September 1941, which had resulted, according to an Einsatzgruppen report, in the shooting of 21 allegedly "thieving Jewish terrorists."⁶ The "Jewish residential district" consisted of only one street and was liquidated in December after only about a month. In some of these open ghettos, individual specialist Jews, such as a dentist, were left alive for a while longer after the main shooting Aktion, as their services were still required. These open ghettos reflect a pattern similar to the open ghettos established by the military authorities further to the west, for example, in areas that were subsequently incorporated into Generalkommissariat Zhitomir.

Since most of the ghettos were improvised and several served primarily as holding pens until the Jews could be murdered, the living conditions were deplorable. A detailed description has been given by a survivor of the Khar'kov ghetto: "Hundreds of people were settled in barracks intended for 60 to 70 people. In the ghetto the Germans starved people and prevented them from going out to get water and food. At night people were prevented from going outside even for the needs of nature. Anyone spotted violating the established regime was immediately shot. Many people became sick and died. The corpses of the dead remained in the barracks."⁷ The Jews were robbed and plundered by the German and Ukrainian police; and local people plundered their vacated apartments. Jews attempting to leave the ghetto were shot by men of the German police battalion on guard. The Khar'kov ghetto existed for only about three weeks before all the inmates were shot.⁸

Little is known about the Jewish Councils in these ghettos, as there is little to no information available on them. Such councils were definitely established, for example, in the ghettos in Priluki and Yalta. In Yalta, the Jewish Council was made responsible for organizing the transfer of the Jews into the ghetto and also organized workshops, a hospital, and a Jewish police force inside the ghetto.

The exploitation of forced labor was not a significant factor in the establishment of most of these ghettos, but it occurred in several, including the ghettos in Stalino and Dzhankoi. To the northwest of Khar'kov, in both Dmitrovka and Bogodukhov, small groups of Jews were confined within a single building and taken out daily to perform forced labor—in the case of Bogodukhov, for several months before the Germans shot

them. There is a report of a third small ghetto, in Danilovka, not far from Bogodukhov, but it was not possible to locate this site with certainty using available maps.⁹ In the open ghettos of the Chernigov oblast', forced labor for Jews was introduced prior to ghettoization and presumably continued until just before the liquidation Aktions. The ghetto in Belopol'e, established in 1942 for the remaining Jews found there, was intended as a means to exploit them as forced laborers.¹⁰

There is little detailed evidence of organized resistance in these short-lived ghettos other than attempts to evade registration and ghettoization and some escape attempts that often cost Jews their lives. In the enclosed ghetto of Priluki, tunnels were dug to enable young Jews to sneak out and scavenge for food. Those who did escape successfully from the ghettos often received some assistance from, or managed to pass as, non-Jews. Those from mixed marriages had better chances for these reasons. Jews also had more success if they moved away from their former place of residence, to reduce the danger of their being recognized and denounced.

A few of the ghettos or camps in these regions also included some non-Jewish prisoners. In Dzhankoi, non-Jewish peasants who had assisted the Jews were confined with them. Available sources indicate that the ghetto or camp in Kramatorsk may also have contained non-Jews, either alongside the Jews or possibly after the Jews had been murdered. In Alushta, Crimea, Gypsies were confined with the Jews in a single building closely guarded by the Tartar militia.

Places of temporary confinement for Jews, or destruction ghettos, which existed for only a few days, were established at several locations in Crimea, most notably in Feodosiia and Evpatoriia. These locations have not been given separate entries in this volume because the Jews were confined for only a week or less.¹¹ For example, in Feodosiia, about 800 Jews were held in a prison "ghetto" for a few days as an integral part of the killing Aktion there in early December 1941.¹² In Evpatoriia, around 750 Jews were confined from November 21, 1941, in a former military school building. Exactly how long they were held there is uncertain. However, contemporary German documentation suggests it was only hours, or a few days, before the men of Sonderkommando 11a shot them all. The town was declared to be free of Jews by December 15.¹³ In Simferopol', the Germans established a Judenrat and subjected the Jews to making large monetary contributions and forced labor, but no formal ghetto was established. From December 9, 1941, Sonderkommando 11b ordered the Krimchaks and Jews to assemble at several collection points; then they shot them successively over the following four days, implying some temporary confinement during the course of the Aktion. In the weeks that followed, additional Jews were found and shot, bringing the total number of Jews murdered in Simferopol' to around 10,000, in addition to 1,500 Krimchaks. The children of mixed marriages involving Jews were murdered here using a gas van in July 1942.¹⁴

In the winter of 1941–1942, the advance of the Red Army successfully liberated one ghetto in Crimea. After capturing the village of Voikovshtadt in November 1941, the German

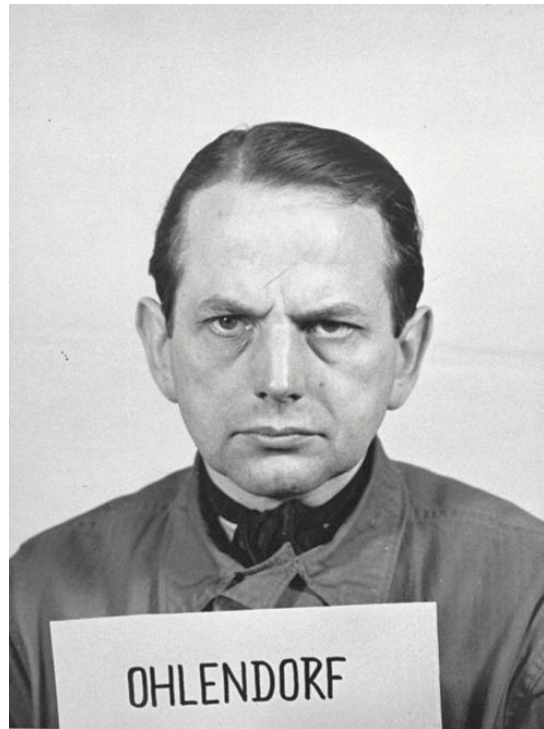
authorities established a small ghetto in one building on the outskirts of the village for the less than 100 Jews who remained. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by Romanian troops. The landing of Soviet forces on the Kerch' peninsula on December 26, 1941, forced the Germans to retreat, enabling the Red Army to liberate the remaining Jews in the Voikovshadt ghetto. They were then evacuated, together with the Soviet forces, before the Germans reoccupied the village in May 1942.¹⁵

Nearly all the ghettos in this region existed for only a few weeks. Most of the mass shootings conducted to liquidate the ghettos were organized by the respective detachments of Einsatzgruppen C and D, assisted by locally based units of the Waffen-SS, the Wehrmacht, the Order Police, and Ukrainian, Tartar, or other native auxiliaries. Some of the smaller Aktions, however, were conducted without the participation of the Einsatzgruppen. Large ditches or ravines were used in most cases for the mass shootings, but in Artemovsk the Jews were shot in an alabaster mine, which was sealed afterwards, once the task was completed. By July 1942, all of these ghettos had been liquidated.

The last occupying German forces were driven from the region with the conquest of the Crimea by the Red Army during the course of April and May 1944. Precise figures are not available, but it seems likely that of the Jews trapped by the German occupation in this region, only a few hundred managed to survive. The postwar populations in these towns and cities were composed overwhelmingly of Jews who had returned (or arrived) from the Soviet interior or the Red Army.

SOURCES Relevant secondary publications concerning the Holocaust in eastern Ukraine and Crimea include the following: Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), also available in German as Il'ia Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008); Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003); *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomitee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000); Alexander Kruglov, *The Losses Suffered by Ukrainian Jews in 1941–1944* (Kharkov: Tarbut Laam, 2005); and Norbert Kunz, *Die Krim unter deutscher Herrschaft (1941–1944): Germanisierungspolitik und Besatzungsrealität* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005).

Published sources include the following: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vols. 1–39 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–); Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002); and M.I. Tiaglyi, ed., *Kholokost v Krymu: Dokumental'nye*



Mug shot of Einsatzgruppen Trial defendant Otto Ohlendorf, former commanding officer of Einsatzgruppe D, which murdered over 90,000 civilians, mostly Jews, in Eastern Ukraine and Crimea, 1947. USHMM WS #09929, COURTESY OF BENJAMIN FERENCZ

svidetel'stva o genotside evreev Kryma v period natsistskoi okkupatsii Ukrainy, 1941–1944 (Simferopol, 2002).

Relevant archival collections include the following: ASBUDO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DACgO; DADnO; DAKhkV; DARMARK; DASBU; DASO; GAARK; GARF; NARA; RGVA; TsDAHOU; TsDAVO; TsGAMORF; USHMM (e.g., RG-31.018M); VHF; YiU; and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. For data on the evacuation of Jews from Yalta, see DARMARK, R-137-9(d)-7, pp. 32–34.
2. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 211–225; and Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, pp. 311–315.
3. GARF, 7021-9-59, p. 25, report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) on the crimes of the Nazi-German occupiers in the city of Yalta, July 17, 1944.
4. See the Eichmann trial in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 1, pp. 32–33.
5. DAKhkV, 2982/2/1/3; and I.M. Liakhovitskii, *Poprannaiia mezuzza: Kniga Drobitskogo iara. Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty o natsistskom genotside evreiskogo naseleniia Khar'kova v period nemetskoj okkupatsii 1941–1942*, no. 1 (Kharkov: Osnova, 1991), pp. 80–81.

6. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941.

7. *Dokumenty obviniaiat: Sbornik dokumentov o chudovishchnykh prestupleniakh nemetsko-fasistskikh zakhvatnikov na sovet-skoi territorii*, no. 2 (Moscow: Ogiz-Gospolitizdat, 1945), pp. 307–309.

8. BA-BL, R 2104/25 (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle), Pol. Btl. 314 report on 83 dollars and 850 Swedish Crowns handed in, dated January 24, 1942, signed Christ, Obltn. d. Schupo. u. Kp. Führer.

9. From late October 1941, all the Jews in Danilovka (12 people) were confined within a single house. The Germans took two young girls away and subjected them to rape and torture for several days. Sometime later, all the Jews were shot. Source: Report of the deputy commander of the Political Unit of the 53rd Motorized Rifle Brigade to the head of the Political Section of the 5th Guards Tank Army, dated March 17, 1943 (TsGAMORF, Collection of the 5th Guards Tank Army, 4982-35, p. 419), published in F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiat. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr "Kholokost," 1996), pp. 54–55. The report places Danilovka in the Bogodukhov raion. However, the only place named Danilovka that could be found on a detailed postwar map of the area is Malaia Danilovka, a little further to the east in the Dergachi raion. Owing to the sparse and uncertain nature of this information, no separate entry has been prepared for Danilovka.

10. Andrej Angrick, "Annihilation and Labor: Jews and Thoroughfare IV in Central Ukraine," in Ray Brandon and

Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008), p. 204.

11. Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, pp. 127–128, uses the term "ghettos or places of temporary confinement."

12. Kunz, *Die Krim unter deutscher Herrschaft (1941–1944)*, pp. 200–201, uses the term "ghetto" with regard to Feodosiia, but most other accounts do not.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 199, interprets the contemporary German documentation as suggesting the Jews were killed only hours after their initial confinement or over the following days. Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, p. 128, gives December 2 as the date for the liquidation of this temporary place of confinement. For a slightly different interpretation, based more on testimony from German war crimes investigations, see Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, pp. 346–347.

14. BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 170, February 18, 1942; Tiaglyi, *Kholokost v Krymu*, pp. 64, 98–102; and Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, pp. 338–344. It does not appear that gas vans were deployed for the murder of the inmates of any of the ghettos described in this essay. For further information on the fate of Krimchaks, Karaites, Mountain Jews, and Roma in Crimea, see, for example, Kunz, *Die Krim unter deutscher Herrschaft (1941–1944)*, pp. 187–194.

15. M. Goldenberg, "Kerchensko-Feodosiiskaia desantnaia operatsiia v sud'be evreev i krymchakov Vostochnogo Kryma," *Tkuma. Vestnik nauchno-prosvetitel'skogo tsentra "Tkuma"* (Dnepropetrovsk, 2004), nos. 4–5 (47–48), p. 2.

Ghettos in Eastern Ukraine and Crimea Region under German Military Administration 1941 - 1942



Map Legend

- Ghetto
- OBLAST' CENTER
- ⊙ OBLAST' CENTER AND GHETTO
- - - Regional border
- Oblast' border
- x x German advance
- Rivers

0 25 50 100 Miles
0 25 50 100 Kilometers

Reich Commissariat borders as of September 1942
Ukraine oblast' borders as of May 1941

AKHTYRKA

Pre-1941: Akhtyrka, town and raion center, Sumy oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Akhtyrka, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Okhtyrka, Sumy oblast', Ukraine

Akhtyrka is located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) south of Sumy. Records from the 1939 census reveal that 277 Jews lived in Akhtyrka (almost 1 percent of the town's population). The town was occupied by German troops on October 14, 1941, about 16 weeks after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Before the arrival of German troops, about 90 percent of the local Jews managed to escape to the east. There were many Jewish men who were recruited into the Red Army, while others joined voluntarily.

During the entire period of the German occupation of Akhtyrka, from October 1941 to September 1943, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was responsible for the administration of the town. The German military authorities established a local government and also an auxiliary police force recruited from the local Ukrainian population.

A short time after the German occupation of the town, the German military authorities issued an order that the Jews had to register and wear armbands on their sleeves. In addition, they were forced to conduct various kinds of physically demanding work. In November 1941, Feldkommandantur 198 counted 29 Jews in Akhtyrka.¹ In December 1941, all the Jews of the town were "gathered at one place," which meant that they were resettled into a form of ghetto. During December three Jewish women died.² Between the end of January and the beginning of February 1942, all the Jews of the ghetto were murdered in a series of shooting Aktions.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews in Akhtyrka can be found in the following archives: DASO; GARF (7021-74-487); and NARA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. NARA, T-501, reel 33, fr. 893 report of Feldkommandantur 198, November 29, 1941.

2. *Ibid.*, report of Feldkommandantur 198, December 31, 1941.

ALUSHTA

Pre-1941: Alushta, town and raion center in the Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941–1944: Alushta, (in 1941–1942) Rear Area, 11th Army; post-1991: Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Alushta is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) southeast of Simferopol' on the coast of the Black Sea. According to the 1939 census,

there were 251 Jews living in Alushta, comprising 2.6 percent of the town's total population. Another 277 Jews lived in the settlements of the Alushta raion, comprising about 1 percent of the raion's total population, excluding the town of Alushta itself.¹

Units of the German 11th Army occupied the town on November 2, 1941, four and a half months after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this interim period, according to a report compiled by the statistical office of the town authority of Simferopol' in February 1942, 120 Jews managed to evacuate eastward,² while men eligible for military service were inducted into the Red Army. Around 100 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the period of occupation—from November 1941 to April 1944—a German military administration was in charge of the area around Alushta. The German occupying forces operating in the town included a detachment of Sonderkommando 11b, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe D. This detachment was sent to the town immediately following its occupation and was active there until the summer of 1942; it was primarily this detachment that conducted the mass shootings of Jews. Its commander, until February 1942, was SS-Obersturmführer Hans Stamm, who simultaneously performed the duties of town commandant. Stamm consulted almost daily with the local mayor and the "militia" recruited from local Tartars.

Soon after the occupation of Alushta, the German commandant ordered the town authority to organize the registration and marking of the Jews, who were required to wear white armbands bearing a yellow six-pointed star. Then the Jews were gathered together in a single building, which was sealed from the outside and guarded by a Tatar militia; Gypsies were also placed in this building along with the Jews.³ This building served as a prison-style ghetto.

On November 24, 1941, units subordinated to Einsatzgruppe D conducted the first Aktion against the Jews of Alushta. On that day, in retribution for a partisan attack on a German column of vehicles (three Germans were killed, and six were wounded), 32 Communists and 30 Jewish men from the village of Biun-Lambat and from Alushta were shot.⁴

In early December 1941, German security forces conducted a second Aktion in Alushta, in which all the Jews and Gypsies were shot in a ravine in the park of Sanatorium no. 7.⁵ At the beginning of January 1942, Einsatzgruppe D reported that Alushta and the area around it had been rendered *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews).⁶

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Alushta can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/220); GAARK (R-1289-1-5); GARF (7021-9-31); and Sta. Mü I (22 Js 205/61).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research

Center, "Epos," 2000), 4:40; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 36; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 31; and M.I. Tiaglyi, *Mesta massovogo unichtozheniia evreev Kryma v period natsistskoi okkupatsii poluostrova (1941–1944): Spravochnik* (Simferopol: BETS "Khesed Shimon," 2005), p. 27. This source indicates that of the Jews living in the Alushta raion, only 20 were evacuated.

2. GAARK, R-137-9-7, p. 6.

3. See the interrogation of Hans Stamm, May 10, 1966, Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 205/61, p. 2456.

4. See BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 156, January 16, 1942. Bium-Lambat: correctly, Biiuk-Lambat, now Malyi Maiak.

5. GAARK, R-1289-1-5, p. 84. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:40, dates the final liquidation on December 5, 1941, noting that 250 Jews were shot (in view of the above-cited evacuation figures, this number roughly reflects the losses for both Alushta and the surrounding Alushta raion). In his interrogation on May 10, 1966, Stamm denied responsibility for the murder of the Jews and Gypsies, but other members of Sonderkommando 11b conceded on interrogation that they were aware of the murder of these prisoners; see Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 346, fn. 475.

6. See BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 150, January 2, 1942. This report indicates that the Jews of Alushta were shot before December 15, 1941.

ARTEMOVSK

Pre-1941: Artemovsk (until 1924 known as Bakhmut), city, Stalino oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Artemovsk, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Artemovsk, Donetsk oblast', Ukraine

Artemovsk is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) north of Donetsk. The 1939 census reported 5,299 Jews in the city (9.56 percent of the total population).

Troops of the German 17th Army occupied the city on October 31, 1941, more than four months after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. The majority of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east. However, approximately one quarter of the pre-war Jewish population remained under German occupation.

From the start of the occupation until its end in September 1943, a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the city. The German military authorities set up a city administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force, which took an active part in the persecution and murder of the Jews. The man appointed to be in charge of the city administration was Golovnya, a former German-language teacher.

Sonderkommando 4b, a detachment of Einsatzgruppe C, was stationed in the city from mid-November 1941 until the

summer of 1942. SS-Untersturmführer Hans-Joachim Sommerfeld was its commander.¹ It was this unit in particular that organized the murder of the remaining Jews in Artemovsk.

On November 18, 1941, the Ortskommandantur ordered all Jews to be registered and to wear "a white armband three fingers wide" on their right sleeves. The Jewish population was also conscripted to perform different forms of heavy labor.²

In the middle of December 1941, Sonderkommando 4b planned to carry out a "cleansing Aktion" in Artemovsk. However, this operation was halted on orders from the chief of staff of the 17th Army, "to await clarification from the front."³ When the go-ahead was finally given, the Sonderkommando made preparations to murder all the Jews of Artemovsk.

On January 7, 1942, the newspaper *Bakhmutskii vestnik* (*Bakhmut Herald*) published an article titled "The Treatment of the Jews in the City of Bakhmut" in which the Jews were ordered to assemble "in the park where the former NKVD railway was located" with "the aim of [establishing their] isolated accommodation." Every Jew could bring along up to 10 kilograms (22 pounds) of luggage and food supplies for eight days.⁴ Upon their arrival at the meeting point, the Jews were then resettled into the cellars of the city's administrative headquarters, where they remained until the middle of February 1942.⁵ From these cellars they were taken on February 15, 1942,⁶ to a deserted alabaster quarry where members of Sonderkommando 4b shot them. There were 1,224 Jewish victims of this Aktion.⁷

On January 12, 1973, in the criminal case against former members of Sonderkommando 4b for their participation in the murder of the Jews in Artemovsk, the court in Düsseldorf declared:

At a later point during their visit to Artemovsk, the defendant [Fritz] Braune—who was then commander of Sonderkommando 4b—informed the defendant Sommerfeld—who was then in the city with the detachment—about the order of the former commander for murdering all the Jews in Artemovsk, and at the same time delivering instructions to put together lists of all the Jews living there for the sake of their future liquidation. The defendant Sommerfeld then ordered the local police to put together the lists. After that was done, the defendant Sommerfeld took the results to the defendant Braune. A few days later, the defendant Braune again came to Artemovsk, where he supervised the rounding up of all the Jews and preparations for their mass execution. Both of the defendants consulted with an officer from the intelligence section who was on the staff of the XLIV Army Corps, which was then functioning as part of the German 17th Army. Together they inspected the situation in the city and selected a site for the execution, in the quarry of a former alabaster production facility.

The rounding-up of the Jews went on for one or two days, and was carried out by the local police. The Jews were taken into a large building in the city,

and placed under guard. Altogether there were at least 300 Jewish men, women, and children. The cleansing Aktion was carried out sometime between the end of January and early February 1942. On an unspecified day, the defendant Braune, his deputy at the time, Thiemann, and some of the members of the Sonderkommando came to Artemovsk to take part in the operation. At night the victims were taken in large trucks . . . to the alabaster mining area. . . . Upon their arrival, the trucks headed off about 80 to 100 meters [262 to 328 feet] and into the mining gallery [*sbtol'nia*]. There the victims had to lie down in groups in the large cavern, which had been carved out of the stone. The cavern was located 30 or 40 meters [about 98 to 131 feet] from the parking lot, next to the mining gallery. Near the entrance door to the cavern from the mining gallery, there was an entrance in the rock, which measured less in length and width than the doors. Floodlights were set up in the car parking area and in the cavern where the shootings would take place. After the victims entered the cavern, the members of the Sonderkommando unit killed them with shots to the back of the head. . . . The shooting went on for a few hours, and when it was over, the entrance to the cavern was sealed from the outside.⁸

Despite the threat of being killed, some local residents hid Jews in their own homes. For around 19 months, the family of Dr. D.V. Plygunovaia hid a Jewish girl. Sofia Skibina and Ksenya Chistiakova, the residents of the house at 8 Tsiolkovskaia Street, gave shelter to a young Jewish boy, Tolia Wainshtein. A doctor named Ionov handed out passports of dead ethnic Russians to the Jews. A doctor named Balashova gave false testimony about some deaths in order to save the lives of the captured Jews. Aleksandra Smirennomudrenskaia and her son Nikolai hid a 12-year-old girl named Pana Olykus, but they were caught and murdered together.⁹

SOURCES A short article on the fate of the Jews of Artemovsk (“Artemovskaia tragediia”) by S. Tatarinov was published in 2000; see *Katastrofa evropeis'koho evreistva pid chas druhoi svitovoi viiny: Refleksii na mezhi stolit'*—*Zbirnik naukovykh prats'*; *Materialy konferentsii 29–32 serpnia 1999 r.* (Kiev: Instytut iudaiky, 2000), pp. 114–115.

Documentation regarding the destruction of the Jews of Artemovsk can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/14472); GARF (7021-72-30); and StA-N.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. In 1973, Sommerfeld was sentenced by LG-Düss (8 Ks 3/70) to six years in prison.
2. Tatarinov, “Artemovskaia tragediia,” p. 114.
3. See the report on the activities of the 1st Staff unit of the 17th Army for the period from December 13, 1941, to

March 10, 1942 (memorandum for December 14, 1941), in StA-N, Bestand KV-Anklage, N-Doc. 3350.

4. GARF, 7021-72-30, pp. 3–4.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 22–23.

7. Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 177, March 6, 1942, in BA-BL, R 58/220. According to the report, “Sonderkommando 4b executed 1,317 persons, including 63 political activists, 30 saboteurs and partisans, and 1,224 Jews. By these means the city of Artemovsk was ‘cleansed’ of its Jewish population.” Information on the executions and activities of Sonderkommando 4b are for the period February 13–19, 1942.

8. See the verdict of LG-Düss (8 Ks 3/70), December 1, 1973, BA-L (B 162/14472).

9. Tatarinov, “Artemovskaia tragediia,” p. 115.

BELOPOL'E

Pre-1941: Belopol'e, town and raion center; Sumy oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Belopolje, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgruppe Süd); post-1991: Bilopillia, Sumy oblast', Ukraine

Belopol'e is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) northwest of Sumy. According to the 1939 census, there were 125 Jews living in Belopol'e (about 0.72 percent of the town's population).¹ In the 1930s, the town was located close to a railway junction and had an electricity-generating plant and a tractor station. Local industries included machine construction and metalworking factories, a flour mill, and a sugar plant.

The town was occupied by German troops of Army Group South on October 7, 1941, about four months after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Before the arrival of German troops, a number of local Jews managed to escape to the east, and some Jewish men were recruited into the Red Army. During the entire period of the German occupation of Belopol'e, between October 1941 and September 1943, a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) was in control of the town.

In the fall or winter of 1941, German authorities sent the remaining Jews they could find in Belopol'e to work cutting peat. Subsequently these people were transferred to Konotop, where they were shot by members of the 1st SS-Infantry Brigade or other German occupation forces.²

According to a report by Feldkommandantur (V) 200, based in Konotop, dated June 1942:

The Jewish question in this area was taken care of in the months of October and November 1941 by the 1st SS-Infantry Brigade, which was deployed here. In May 1942, a further 24 Jews were discovered in the town of Bilopillia [Belopol'e], whose housing in mass accommodations and their subsequent sending away to forced labor was authorized.³

In the view of historian Ilya Altman, the concentration of these 24 Jews in an unguarded building and their subjection

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to forced labor there prior to redeployment for forced labor elsewhere can be viewed as a form of “open ghetto.”⁴

SOURCES Relevant documentation, including the files of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission’s (ChGK) investigations into the crimes committed by the German occupying forces and their collaborators in Belopol’e, can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 22/201); DASO; GARF (7021-74-486); NARA (RG-238, T-501, reel 33, frame 351); and TsDAVO (CMF-8-2-157, p. 205).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 28.

2. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 145. This source dates these events to early 1942.

3. BA-MA, RH 22/201, FK V (200), Abt. VII, Dem Kommandierenden General der Sicherungstruppen und Befehlshaber im Heeres-Gebiet Süd, Abt. VII, Betr. Tätigkeitsbericht zum 20.6.1942, as cited by Andrej Angrick, “Annihilation and Labor: Jews and Thoroughfare IV in Central Ukraine,” in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2008), p. 204.

4. Il’ja Al’tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), pp. 97–98.

BOGODUKHOV

Pre-1941: Bogodukhov, town and raion center, Khar’kov oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Bogoduchow, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Bogodubiv, Khar’kiv oblast’, Ukraine

Bogodukhov is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) west-northwest of Khar’kov. In 1920, the Jewish population was 288, and by 1939, it had declined to 136.

German armed forces of the 6th Army occupied the town in mid-October 1941. Soon after this date, all the Jews remaining in Bogodukhov were rounded up and forced to live together in one building, creating a de facto ghetto. The Jews suffered from starvation and only received 40 grams (1.4 ounces) of bread per day. They were obliged to wear armbands, and those Jews fit for work were taken to perform forced labor.

On June 23, 1942, the Germans escorted the remaining Jews (34 or 35 people) into a nearby forest and shot them. Among those killed were a number of children.¹

SOURCES Published sources on the Jewish community of Bogodukhov include Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 167; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia En-*

tsiklopediia (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, “Epos,” 2000), 4:150.

Information on the destruction of the Jews of Bogodukhov during the Holocaust can be found in the following archives: DAKhkvO (3746-1-202, pp. 5 and reverse side); and USHMM (RG-22.016, folder 20 [TsGAMORF, 236-2675-42, p. 201]).

Martin Dean
trans. Edward Hurwitz

NOTE

1. TsGAMORF, 236-2675-42, p. 201; and DAKhkvO, 3746-1-202, pp. 5 and reverse side. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, p. 167, however, date the destruction of the Jews of Bogodukhov to November 1942.

BORZNA

Pre-1941: Borzna, town and raion center, Chernigov oblast’, Ukraine; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgruppe Süd); 1943: Chernigov oblast’, post-1991: Chernibiv oblast’, Ukraine

Borzna is located 85 kilometers (53 miles) southeast of Chernigov. In 1939, a total of 326 Jews were registered in the town (3.1 percent of the total population).

On September 11, 1941, about 10 weeks after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union, German troops occupied Borzna. By this date, two thirds of the Jewish population had escaped to the east. All the available men of military age were drafted into or voluntarily joined the Red Army. Only about one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town.

During the entire period of German occupation between September 11, 1941, and September 8, 1943, the local German military commandant (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town of Borzna. The German military administration established a local administration for the Borzna Rayon and an auxiliary police force recruited from local inhabitants.

A short time after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant responsible for the Borzna Rayon ordered the registration of the Jews. They were also obliged to wear distinguishing marks in the form of armbands on their sleeves. In addition, the Jewish population was forced to carry out hard physical work of various kinds. In November 1941, all the Jews of the town were settled into a “Jewish residential area” or open ghetto. The ghetto area consisted of one street. In February 1942, German forces liquidated the ghetto and shot its residents. The shooting Aktion was carried out close to the village of Shapovalovka, and all the Jews of the ghetto, a total of 108 persons, were murdered there.¹ Throughout the entire German occupation of Borzna, according to Soviet sources, altogether 126 civilians were murdered.² Therefore, the Jewish population formed 85.7 percent of the civilian victims in the town.

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Borzna can be found in the following archives: DACgO and GARF (7021-78-34).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-78-34, p. 18; *Vaad Ukrainy programma "Pamiat' Kholokosta," Chernigovskaia oblast'*.
2. "Borzna," in P.T. Tronko et al., eds., *Istoriya mist i sil URSR: U 26m Chernibiv's'ka oblast'* (Kiev, 1972).

DMITROVKA

Pre-1941: Dmytrovka, village, Bogodukhov raion, Khar'kov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941-1943: Dmytrovka, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Dmytrivka, Khar'kiv oblast', Ukraine

Dmytrovka is located about 7 kilometers (4 miles) northwest of Bogodukhov. German armed forces of the 6th Army occupied the village on October 16, 1941. Soon after this date, over the course of three or four days, all the Jews remaining in Dmytrovka and the surrounding villages were rounded up and placed in one of the barns of a kolkhoz. This barn actually served as a temporary ghetto for the Jews. Jews deemed fit for work were used each day to perform road construction work. After a few days, the girls were raped by groups of soldiers, and all the Jews, at least 40 people, were shot.

SOURCE Report of the senior instructor of the Political Section of the 5th Guards Tank Army to the head of the Political Section of the 5th Guards Tank Army on August 16, 1943 (TsGAMORE, Collection of the 5th Guards Tank Army, 4982-35, p. 418), published in F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaiat. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow, 1996), p. 54.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

DZHANKOI

Pre-1941: Dzhankoi, town and raion center, Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941-1944: Dshbankoj, administered initially by the Rear Area, German 11th Army; post-1991: Dzhankoi, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Dzhankoi is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) northeast of Simferopol'. According to the census of January 1939, there were 1,397 Jews living in Dzhankoi and 2,610 in the entire Dzhankoi raion.

German troops occupied the town on October 31, 1941. Ortskommandantur II/939 administered the town. It was headed by Hauptmann Weigand, who was subordinated to Generalleutnant Döhla, the commanding officer of the Rear Area of the German 11th Army (Korück 553).

At the beginning of January 1942, a subunit of Sonderkommando 10b arrived in Dzhankoi from Kerch'. The unit, which remained in the town until August 1942, was commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Siegfried Schuchart.

In September 1942 a Security Police post was established in Dzhankoi. It was subordinated to the commanding officer of the Security Police and SD in Simferopol'. A Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer (Gendarmerieleutnant Fitzke) based in the town was in charge of four Gendarmerie posts.

Since the town was occupied four months after the start of the war, most Jews managed to evacuate. The Germans found only 44 Jews there on their arrival. The Ortskommandantur ordered the mayor to place them in a ghetto on November 7, 1941.¹ The first Jewish Aktion was carried out in early December 1941, when 15 Jewish men were shot in District 21 by the Gendarmerie during the course of some house searches.²

In mid-December 1941, a "concentration camp" was established in the town. Jews both from within the town and the surrounding district were held there. The Jews were used for various work tasks in the town and were guarded by the local militia.³ The camp was located in the attic of a dairy in the center of the town. G. Purevich, who managed to escape with the help of a Ukrainian acquaintance, recalled the conditions in the camp:

The crowding and congestion were intolerable. The children were tormented by hunger and thirst. Every morning we found that several had died. . . . [The Jews] were driven to hard labor—hauling rocks. The guard made sure that each person hauled one rock. Anyone who collapsed from the weight was shot on the spot. . . . When I found myself in the attic and saw what was going on there. . . . I almost went mad. . . . In the congestion I met all the Jews who had not been evacuated from Dzhankoi—many Jewish collective farmers from the surrounding countryside and also non-Jews. The non-Jewish peasants were being held here for helping the unfortunate or for giving them food.⁴

According to Purevich, "[E]very day several dozen people were selected from among us and taken to the trench made into a grave." He mentions also that one Jew was appointed by the Germans as responsible for the camp as a form of Jewish elder. However, he soon became very unpopular with the other inmates after denouncing the ghetto's quartermaster, Radchenko, for secretly helping the Jews with extra rations as much as he could.⁵

The Germans decided to liquidate the camp because of the danger of epidemics spreading from it. A report by the 1c Department of the 11th Army staff dated January 1, 1942, for the period December 16-31, 1941, describes the liquidation as follows:

One particular incident, the creation of the "Jewish concentration camp" in Dzhankoi, led to repeated

negotiations between the SD, the 1c/AO, the Field Gendarmerie, and ourselves. According to a report by the Ortskommandant of Dzhankoi, hunger is rampant in the camp and there is a danger of an epidemic, so that the “cleansing” had to be carried out immediately. The SD refused to carry out the Aktion because it did not have enough men, and it demanded that Field Gendarmes undertake it. Field Gendarmes should in principle not be involved in such Aktions. Only after we stated that we were prepared to make available the Field Gendarmes to cordon off the camp did the SD chief issue orders to carry out the Aktion, which would presumably be done on January 2, 1942.⁶

An SD unit from the Gruppenstab in Simferopol’ carried out a “Jewish Aktion” on December 30, 1941: 443 Jews were shot in a hilly area near the road to Simferopol’.⁷ The passage quoted above suggests there may have been a second Aktion, shortly after that on December 30, but witnesses who refer to two Aktions may also be referring either to smaller killings carried out beforehand or to others later.⁸ In early January 1942, Ortskommandantur II/939 sent back to Berlin a number of items of property confiscated from Jews who had been arrested and placed into the “Jewish camp” in Dzhankoi between December 5, 1941, and January 3, 1942, by the Field Gendarmerie.⁹

Subsequently the local military commandants from time to time arrested additional Jews who had gone into hiding and handed them over for execution by the SD. In late February 1942, the Ortskommandantur handed over to the SD “the Jew Alterman, who had escaped from the Jewish camp here.”¹⁰ Six Jews were handed over to the SD in Dzhankoi in April, and two more were handed over “for execution” in June 1942.¹¹

SOURCES There is a firsthand account of conditions in the “ghetto” of Dzhankoi by G. Purevich in Vasilii Grossman and Il’ia Ehrenburg, eds., *Chernaia kniga: O zlodeiskom povsemestnom ubiistve evreev nemetsko-fasistskimi zakhvatchikami vo vremennno okkupirovannykh raionakh Sovetskogo Soiuz a i v lageriakh Pol’shi vo vremena voiny 1941–1944gg.* (Kiev: Oberih, 1991), pp. 291–292.

Documents regarding the Jewish camp or “ghetto” in Dzhankoi can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/15); NARA (T-501, reels 56–59); and Sta. Mü I (22 Js 203/61).

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trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. N-Doc., NOKW-1582, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, November 10, 1941, NARA, T-501, reel 56, fr. 422.
2. NOKW-1592, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, December 10, 1941, NARA, T-501, reel 56.
3. NOKW-1593, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, December 20, 1941, NARA, T-501, reel 56, fr. 535.
4. Testimony of G. Purevich in Grossman and Ehrenburg, *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 291–292.
5. *Ibid.*

6. NOKW-1866, NARA, T-501, reel 59, fr. 291.

7. NOKW-2231, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, January 1, 1942, NARA, T-501, reel 57, fr. 218; Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 203/61, vol. 6, pp. 1347–1349, and vol. 11, statements of Oskar Rimmele.

8. Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), pp. 360–361, interprets the documents as indicating two Aktions, one on December 30, 1941, and the second on January 2, 1942. According to the testimony of Siegfried Schuchart, Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 203/61, vol. 5, pp. 1113–1114, before the Aktion that he led, there had been a previous Aktion in the town conducted by men from the Gruppenstab of Einsatzgruppe D in Simferopol’ in which the Jews still living in town were murdered; in the second Aktion, those from the surrounding countryside were killed.

9. BA-BL, R 2104/15, p. 556.

10. NOKW-1811, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, February 28, 1942, NARA, T-501, reel 57, fr. 345.

11. NARA, T-501, reel 57, Ortskommandantur II/939 to Korück 553, July 10, 1942; NOKW-1696, OK II/915 report dated April 9, 1942.

GORODNIA

Pre-1941: Gorodnia, town and raion center, Chernigov oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Cherniviv oblast’, Ukraine

Gorodnia is located 146 kilometers (91 miles) east–northeast of Kiev. According to the 1926 census, there were 1,359 Jews residing in Gorodnia and 1,427 Jews in the entire Gorodnia raion. According to the 1939 census, 731 Jews resided in the town (comprising 10.33 percent of the total population).¹ The decrease in the Jewish population between these two dates was most probably due to the migration of Jews to other regions and also the effects of the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933.

The German Army occupied the town on August 28, 1941, almost nine weeks after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this time the majority of Jews were either evacuated or fled to the east, while many of the men were conscripted into or volunteered to join the Red Army. Those remaining behind at the start of the German occupation represented only about 15 percent of the pre-war Jewish population (about 100 people).

During the entire period of German occupation (from August 28, 1941, to September 24, 1943), the town was administered by the German military commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur). The German military authorities established a local administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from local inhabitants.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the registration of the Jews and compelled them to wear distinctive markings (an armband). The Jews were also forced to perform all kinds of heavy labor tasks.

According to an Einsatzgruppen report, in the second half of September 1941, the town was combed by units of Sonderkommando 7b, which shot a “leading Bolshevik, as well as 21 thieving Jewish terrorists.”² Probably in November 1941, all those Jews who remained in the town were relocated to a special “Jewish residential district” established for them (an “open ghetto”), consisting of one street. On December 20, 1941, this ghetto was liquidated when the German forces shot almost all the Jews (82 people). The life of 1 Jew was temporarily spared until October 24, 1942, when he was also shot.³ In total, 289 citizens were murdered in Gorodnia during the German occupation.⁴

SOURCES Documents of the Soviet “Extraordinary State Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes by the German-Fascist Invaders” and the testimonies of witnesses and survivors regarding the extermination of Gorodnia’s Jews can be found in the following archives: DACgO and GARF (7021-78-6).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Michael Rosenbush

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.

2. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941. The activity and situation report for November, however, cites the liquidation of 165 “Jewish Terrorists” in Gorodnia; see Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 6 der Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in der UdSSR (Berichtszeit v. 1.10.-31.10.1941), published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 230.

3. GARF, 7021-78-6, pp. 94–96.

4. P.T. Tron’ko et al., eds., *Gorodnia: Istoriia mist i sil URSR: U 26m.* (Kiev, 1972).

KHAR'KOV

Pre-1941: Khar'kov, city and oblast' capital, Ukrainian SSR (of which it was also the capital from 1919 to 1934); 1941–1943: Charkow, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Khar'kiiv, Ukraine

Khar'kov is located 478 kilometers (299 miles) east-northeast of Kiev. In January 1939, there were 130,250 Jews in Khar'kov, comprising 15.64 percent of the city’s population.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied Khar'kov on October 24, 1941. Anticipating that acts of sabotage and diversion would occur in the city, on October 17, 1941, the 6th Army ordered: “Jews and Bolsheviks should be taken first for collective reprisals. Saboteurs and persons offering armed resistance would be hanged in public.” To force the population to report mined buildings, hostages were to be held in them, again preferably Jews.¹ In compliance with this order, the 57th Infantry Division (commanded by Generalmajor Anton Dostler) had by the end of October shot three civilian political commissars

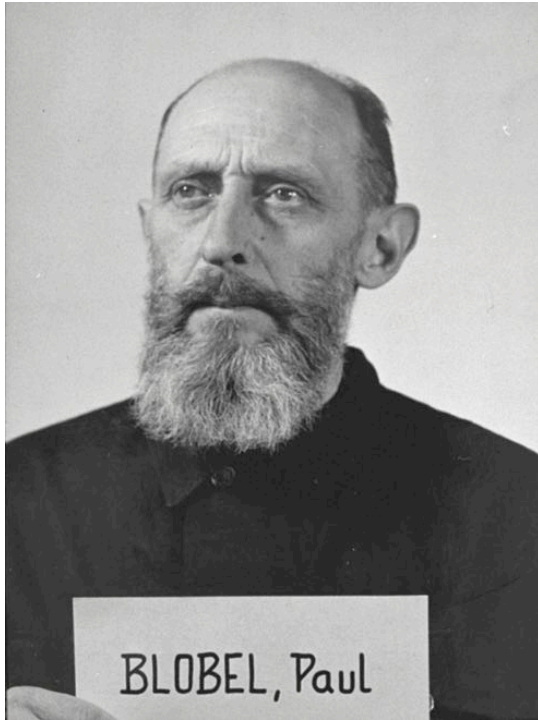
and publicly hanged seven saboteurs, one of them a woman.² At a conference on November 4 at Field Command (Feldkommandantur) 787 (commanding officer Colonel Laudenschach), which was in charge of the city, it was stated: “The cleansing operation continues, but the work is difficult because unlike other cities no material and no lists have been found in Khar'kov. . . . Jews, who are often left behind as messengers, arouse the greatest suspicion. Since most of the Jews are still hiding, an Aktion against the Jews is anticipated only after some time. First of all, an order to the ‘chief rabbi’ of the Jews here to ‘secure’ Jewish property by turning in all cash and foreign currency.”³ A series of explosions in the city on November 14 resulted in further reprisals. Among those killed by the blasts were Generalleutnant Georg Braun, the commanding officer of the 68th Infantry Division, and his chief of staff. As a punitive Aktion, 200 “Communists” were immediately shot or hanged and 1,000 hostages arrested.⁴

The municipal administration, headed by Oleksii I. Kramarenko, was actively involved in both the terror and the anti-Jewish measures taken in the city at this time. In its first announcement (prior to November 3, 1941) the municipal administration ordered “the Jewish population of the city” to elect a committee by November 5. The committee was then to appear at the municipal administration for confirmation. Seventy-one-year-old Efim Gurevich, a doctor of medicine and a professor, was elected head of the Jewish community.⁵

Kramarenko responded to the events of November 14 by ordering the mayor of the fifth district, A.P. Orobchenko, to assemble in the district office “no less than 50 Communists and Jews (more is permitted).”⁶ The mayors of the other 18 districts probably received similar orders that same day. The “Communists and Jews” who were assembled with the assistance of German soldiers were held as hostages at the Hotel International. On November 22, the “presidium” of the municipal administration deliberated on “the Jewish question.” The resolution on this point read: “Jews have no right at all to work in state or public institutions. Except for the head of the community, Jews are not to be admitted to the administration offices. Jews must wear armbands on their sleeves. All Jews are to be resettled into one district. The attention of the German command should be drawn to the desire of the population to take measures against the Jews.”⁷ On December 5, the municipal administration passed a resolution to start registering the city’s population on December 6. Jews were to be registered on separate lists. The total number of registered Jews came to 10,271: 1,959 children under the age of 16 (960 boys and 999 girls) and 8,312 people over the age of 16 (2,907 men and 5,405 women).⁸

The main contingent of Sonderkommando 4a, commanded by Standartenführer Paul Blobel, arrived in Khar'kov in mid-November 1941. Blobel began the “final solution of the Jewish question” in the city by concentrating the Jews in one place. According to the report of Einsatzgruppe C:

An area was chosen, where the Jews could be housed in the barracks of a factory district. Then, on



Mug shot of Paul Blobel, commanding officer of Sonderkommando 4a and later Sonderkommando 1005, taken during the Einsatzgruppen Trial, 1947.

USHMM WS #09921, COURTESY OF BENJAMIN FERENCZ

December 14, 1941, the city commandant issued a summons in which the Jews of Khar'kov were told to move to the area by December 16, 1941. The evacuation of the Jews went off without a hitch except for some robberies during the march of the Jews in the direction of their new quarters. Almost without exception, only Ukrainians participated in these robberies. So far, no report is available on the number of Jews who were arrested during the evacuation. At the same time, preparation for the shooting of the Jews is under way. 305 Jews who spread rumors against the German Army were shot immediately.⁹

The text of the summons mentioned above was approximately as follows: "The entire Jewish population of the city of Khar'kov is to report to the machine-tool factory for work and residence. Precious objects and money are to be surrendered. Anyone found in the city after 4:00 P.M. on December 16 will be shot."¹⁰ Dr. L.P. Nikolayev observed the transfer of the Jews: "I saw how they went down Pushkin Street and gathered in groups in front of the 'Hotel Krasnaia.' It was a very sad sight. They were thin and pale, dressed in ragged clothes with suitcases, baskets, and packages. They wanted to

make a deal with the cart-drivers, but the latter demanded outrageous prices from them."¹¹

The "barracks of a factory district" were the barracks of a machine-tool factory in the city's tenth district.¹² There were 26 barracks, and in early December 1941, 861 people were still living in them (each barracks had between 3 and 71 inhabitants). On December 12 and 13, all these people were resettled to make room for the Jewish population.¹³

The following table, compiled from the documents of the municipal administration, shows the number of Jews resettled to the tenth district on December 15–16, 1941.

District	Number of Registered Jews	Moved to Tenth District (some numbers open to question)	
		Number of Families	Number of Persons
1	522	84	250
2	1,239	312	1,500
3	1,247	441	1,455
4	108	30	100
5	386	157	518
6	1,403	446	1,494
7	84	25	80
8	816	231	802
9	26	8	25
10	60	20	60
11	1,525	278	1,525
12	117	41	122
13	1,468	351	1,158
14	193	36	126
15	94	23	58
16	201	37	130
17	578	156	467
18	47	13	40
19	157	50	150
Total	10,271	2,739	10,060

In September 1943 a report prepared by the municipal commission for the investigation of Nazi crimes in Khar'kov described the conditions in the "Jewish district" or "ghetto" as follows:

The doors and windows in the barracks to which the Jewish population was herded were broken, and the plumbing and heating were ruined. Hundreds of people were settled in barracks intended for 60 to 70 people. In the ghetto they had established, the Germans starved people and prevented them from going out to get water and food. At night people were prevented from going outside even for the needs of nature. Anyone spotted violating the established regime was immediately shot. Many people became

sick and died. The corpses of the dead remained in the barracks. Taking them outside was not permitted. . . . Every day the Germans made new demands to deliver warm clothing, watches, and other valuable objects. If these demands were not met because the objects were not available, "soldiers" [probably German police, ed.] took several dozen people away from the barracks and shot them.¹⁴

This description is largely corroborated by contemporary German documentation. A report from Police Battalion 314 indicates: "from December 17, 1941, to January 7, 1942, the companies took it in turn to guard the ghetto. During the guard duty of the First Company, Jews trying to leave the ghetto who did not stop when called were shot by the ghetto guards."¹⁵

The account of Maria M. Sokol, who managed to escape from the barracks just before the final liquidation, gives further details of conditions there. She slept on the floor in the freezing cold, and her hands and feet grew numb. She suffered from hunger but notes that some Germans would let people go to the market or fetch water if they were bribed. But the Germans also shot people at will, killing about 50 people per day prior to the order for the general execution of everyone.

After concentrating the Jews in one spot, Sonderkommando 4a set about exterminating them. But first, on December 24, 1941, about 200 Jewish patients from the psychiatric hospital were murdered, although the pretext given for their removal from the hospital was that they were being transferred to the Jewish community.¹⁶ On December 27, several hundred Jews who had been concentrated at the factory settlement were executed after being told that they were being sent to work in the Poltava oblast'. The total liquidation of the Jews began on January 2, 1942. It lasted several days because Soviet air raids repeatedly interrupted the shootings, which took place in a ravine outside the city (Drobitskii Iar). In all, more than 9,000 people were shot.¹⁷

SS-Obersturmführer Victor Woithon, an officer of Sonderkommando 4a who took part in the shootings, recalled at his trial in Darmstadt in 1967:

It was a horrific picture. Several layers of corpses lay at one end of a trench 60 to 80 meters [about 197 to 262 feet] long. There was movement in the trench. . . . I saw one man who shouted, "Finish me off," and although there was still shooting up ahead, I went down into the trench and finished him off with a pistol. . . . Then I ordered that a carbine be given to me because it has a great penetrating force and with a pistol I could not get to the people who were still alive in the lower layers. Walking on the mountain of corpses, which gave way under foot, was horrible. At this point Blobel ordered me to come out of the trench because there was still shooting. He accused me of being careless. . . . Eight men did the shooting. Others loaded the magazines or sorted the valuable objects.¹⁸



The Pustova family poses with Maya Reznikova (front row, wearing glasses) and her baby daughter, 1962. Yad Vashem honored members of the Pustova family for helping Reznikova's family, including Maya's mother Rebeka, whose escape from the Khar'kov ghetto they facilitated. USHMM WS #64261, COURTESY OF JFR

Several hundred sick or elderly Jews who could not get to the new place of residence because of their physical condition did not obey the order to resettle into the tenth district. They were assembled at the synagogue on Meshchanskaia Street where they soon died of cold and hunger.¹⁹ The murder of the Jews of Khar'kov, although clearly racially motivated, should also be seen in the context of the general hunger of the city's civilian population resulting from the requisition of food for the German army. In November 1941, a report by the Corps Intendant (supervisor) of the German LV Army Corps considered evacuating the Russian population due to the threat of widespread starvation.²⁰ More than 500 people died of hunger in January 1942, and by April, more than 2,000 city residents were starving each month.²¹

In addition to the sick and elderly, some Jews were still hiding in the city. To expose them the municipal administration issued Order no. 53, dated January 24, 1942, to all district mayors to establish (until the question of a Ukrainian police was resolved) a special unit consisting of three groups. The first group was charged with exposing "Communists, Bolsheviks, Jews, and others." This group was to check "all suspicious persons and to prepare lists of all Communists, Jews, and Bolsheviks in the district."²² Jews who had been exposed were handed over to the Security Police for execution. According to Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 187 of March 30, 1942, in addition to "193 agitators and seditious elements," 64 Jews were executed.²³

In total, about 12,000 Jews were exterminated in Khar'kov in 1941–1942. Sonderkommando 4a of Einsatzgruppe C was primarily responsible for the extermination of the Jews of Khar'kov. The American military tribunal at Nürnberg sentenced the unit's commanding officer, SS-Standartenführer Paul Blobel, to death in 1948. He was executed in 1951.

Generalmajor Dostler, who at the end of the war had the rank of Infantry General, was sentenced to death by an American military court in Rome on October 12, 1945. In 1947 the

Soviet military tribunal in Berlin convicted 15 policemen from the Third Platoon of the Third Company of the Reserve Police Battalion 9. (They were all sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment.) This platoon, which was commanded by Zugwachmeister Tecklenburg, was most active in killing Jews in Khar'kov. In 1948, former SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinz Hellenbroich, who had served in Sonderkommando 4a from October 1941 until February 1942 and was one of the organizers of the extermination of Khar'kov's Jews, was executed by a French military tribunal.

In 1967, a group of officers and noncommissioned officers from Sonderkommando 4a, some of whom had taken part in executing Jews in Khar'kov (i.e., Victor Woithon and others), was brought to trial in Darmstadt, West Germany.²⁴

The 314th Police Battalion, which arrived in Khar'kov in early December 1941, was also involved in exterminating Jews. A West German investigation of former members of this battalion led to the conviction of two former officers in Traunstein in 1982, but this was for executing Jews in Volhynia in July and August 1941 and in Dnepropetrovsk in October 1941 and not for killing Jews in Khar'kov. Oskar Christ, a former senior officer of this battalion, had faced trial in Wiesbaden in 1968, but for killing his mistress in March 1942 and not for taking part in killing Jews. The court ordered his case closed.²⁵

SOURCES The following publications in the Russian language contain details about the fate of the Jewish population of Khar'kov under the German occupation: I.M. Liakhovitskii, *Poprannaia mezusa: Kniga Drobitskogo iara. Svidetel'stva, fakty, dokumenty o natsistskom genotside evreiskogo naseleniia Khar'kova v period nemetskoj okkupatsii 1941–1942*, no. 1 (Khar'kov: Osnova, 1991); V.P. Lebedeva and P.P. Sokol'skii, *Skazbi, Drobitskii lar . . . Oberki, vospominaniia, dokumenty, stikbi* (Khar'kov: Prapor, 1991); Iu.M. Liakhovitskii, *Perezhivshie Katastrofy: Spassbisia, spasiteli, kollaboranty. Martirolog. Svidetel'stva. Fakty. Dokumenty* (Khar'kov and Jerusalem, 1996); A. Kruglov, "Tragediia evreev Khar'kovshchiny 1941–1942 gg.," *Istoki: Vestnik Narodnogo Universiteta Evreiskoi Kul'tury v Vostochnoi Ukrainie* (1999), no. 4; A.I. Kruglov, "Istreblenie evreiskogo naseleniia na Levoberezhnoi Ukrainie (zona voennoi administratsii) v 1941–1942 gg.," in S.Ia. Ielisavets'kyi, ed., *Katastrofa i opir ukrains'koho ievreistva (1941–1944): Narysy z istorii Holokostu i Oporu v Ukraini* (Kiev: Natsional'na Akademiia nauk Ukraïny, Instytut politychnykh i etnonatsional'nykh doslidzhen', 1999), pp. 172–201. Two published survivor testimonies concerning the Khar'kov ghetto can be found in Pinchas Agmon and Iosif Maliar, *V ognie Katastrofy (Sboa) na Ukrainie: Svidetel'stva evreev-uznikov kontslageriei i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniia* (Kirzat-Heim, Israel: Izd. "Beit lokhamei kha-gettaot," 1998), pp. 60–91, 168–184.

Documents on the extermination of Jews in Khar'kov can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; DAKhkvO; GARF; HHStA-(W); USHMM (RG-50.226*0010 and *0011); VHF, and YVA.

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NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 24-17/262, AOK 6/Ia/Oqu, 17.10.1941—betr.: Charkow.

2. *Ibid.*, RH 26-57/57, 57 ID/Ic, Tätigkeitsbericht 1.9.-31.10.1941.

3. Besprechung bei der Feldkommandantur Charkow am 4.11.1941: KTB 57 ID/Ib, quoted in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, *Vernichtungskrieg: Verbrechen der Wehrmacht 1941 bis 1944. Ausstellungskatalog* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1996), p. 96.

4. Aus den privaten Aufzeichnungen des Intendantur-Offiziers beim LV. Armee-Korps, Charkow, 28.11.1941, in *ibid.*

5. DAKhkvO, 2982/4/1/6.

6. *Ibid.*, 3074/2/7/9.

7. *Ibid.*, 2982/2/1/3.

8. *Ibid.*, 2982/2/16/54.

9. BA-BL, R 58/215-20, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 164, February 4, 1942.

10. Liakhovitskii, *Poprannaia mezusa*, pp. 80–81 (testimony of Olga Pankova). The date of December 16, 1941, is confirmed in the oral testimony of Lidia Gluzmanova; see USHMM, RG-50.226*0010.

11. Diary of Dr. L.P. Nikolayev on the German occupation of Khar'kov; see BA-L, Dokumentation UdSSR, Bd. 422, deutsche Übersetzung, pp. 376–407.

12. A poor-quality photograph of several of the barrack buildings taken in 1943 can be found in Liakhovitskii, *Poprannaia mezusa*, p. 64.

13. DAKhkvO, 2982/1/226/3–4.

14. *Dokumenty obviniaiat: Sbornik dokumentov o chudo-vischnykh prestupleniakh nemetsko-fasistskikh zakhvatnikov na sovetskoj territorii*, no. 2 (Moscow: Ogiz-Gospolitizdat, 1945), pp. 307–309.

15. BA-BL, R 2104/25 (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle), Pol. Btl. 314 report on 83 dollars and 850 Swedish Crowns handed in, dated January 24, 1942, signed Christ, Obltn. d. Schupo. u. Kp. Führer.

16. DAKhkvO, 2/14/127/5.

17. According to a document issued by the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) on September 5, 1943, more than 15,000 Jews were executed. They were buried in two trenches. One contained 8,000 to 10,000 corpses; the other, about 350 meters (1,148 feet) away from the first, contained 5,000 to 6,000. However, the second trench was hardly investigated. The number of corpses in it was estimated by eye. It is entirely possible that it contained the remains either of prisoners of war (military ammunition was found in the trench) or of non-Jewish civilians. In addition, the figure of 15,000 exceeds (by 5,000) the number of registered Jews. It is unlikely that so many Jews could have evaded registration. It should also be kept in mind that some of the registered Jews were killed before January 1942 and that for various reasons still other Jews were not resettled into the factory barracks. *Dokumenty obviniaiat*, pp. 307–312. A German translation of the ChGK report of September 5, 1943, can be found in BA-L, 4 AR-Z 269/60, Dokumentenband, pp. 164–169.

18. *Darmstädter Echo*, November 1, 1967.

19. About 400 Jews were assembled at the synagogue. (See the ChGK report dated September 5, 1943, cited above.)

20. BA-MA, RH 24-55/11, Bericht des Korpsintendant des LV Armeekorps über die Ernährungslage im Winter 1941–42 vom 11.11.1941.

21. USHMM, RG 31.010M (DAKhkvO), reel 7, 2982/4/390a, Report by City administration of Khar'kov on the death rate of the population dated September 1942.

22. DAKhkvO, 2982/2/2/108.

23. BA-BL, R 58/215-20, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 187, March 30, 1942.

24. LG-Darm Ks 1/67(Gsta).

25. LG-Wies 2 Ks 1/67.

KOROP

Pre-1941: Korop, village and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: initially controlled by Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Korop is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) northwest of Konotop. According to the 1926 census, there were 787 Jews living in Korop itself and 826 in the entire Korop raion. In the 1939 census, 350 Jews were recorded as living in Korop (5.66 percent of the total population).¹ The decrease in the Jewish population by more than half during this period can be accounted for by the resettlement of Jews to other districts and also by the effects of the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933.

German forces occupied Korop on August 28, 1941, that is, some two months after the German invasion of the USSR. During this intervening period, about two thirds of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of military age were conscripted or volunteered for the Red Army. Only about one third of the Jewish population remained behind under German occupation.

During the entire period of the occupation (from August 28, 1941, to September 4, 1943) the village was administered by a German military commandant (Ortskommandantur). The German authorities created a local administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force. A man named Shilo was appointed as commander of the Ukrainian police.

Soon after the occupation of the village, the local authorities organized the registration of the Jews in accordance with instructions issued by the German military commandant. The Jews were also marked (compelled to wear a distinguishing armband) and made to perform various kinds of hard labor. Probably in November 1941, all the remaining Jews in the village were resettled into a specially created “Jewish residential district” (open ghetto) consisting of one street. At the beginning of December 1941 the Ukrainian police from Korop under the command of Shilo murdered a number of Jews, probably about 20, in the nearby village of Ponornitsa.² Then on February 9, 1942, the Korop “ghetto” was liquidated when German forces shot the Jews (111 people). The life of 1 Jewish woman (a dentist) was temporarily spared, although she was later shot on November 4, 1942.³

After the shooting of the Jews of Korop in the second week of February 1942, the Ukrainian auxiliary police shot the Jews in the villages of Rayon Korop, especially in the villages of Budenovka, Gorodishche, Obolon'e, and Karylskoe; in

these villages 10 Jews were killed.⁴ During the occupation a total of 198 local citizens were killed.⁵ Thus, the Jews represented 56.7 percent of all the victims in Rayon Korop.

SOURCES The documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Investigation of War Crimes by the German-Fascist Invaders, including information regarding the persecution and extermination of Korop's Jewish community, can be found in the following archives: DACgO; GARF (7021-78-13); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
2. NARA, T-501, reel 32, fr. 290–291.
3. GARF, 7021-78-13, pp. 56–65.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 33, 38, 44–45, 50.
5. P.T. Tronko et al., eds., *Korop: Istorii mist i sil URSR: U 26m.* (Kiev, 1972).

KRAMATORSK

Pre-1941: Kramatorsk, city, Stalino oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Donetsk oblast', Ukraine

Kramatorsk is located 170 kilometers (106 miles) southeast of Khar'kov. According to the 1926 population census, 136 Jews lived in the city of Kramatorsk, and 141 Jews in the remainder of the Kramatorsk raion.¹ According to the 1939 population census, there were 1,849 Jews living in the city (1.96 percent of the total population).² The rapid increase in the Jewish population from 1926 to 1939 can be explained by the arrival of a number of Jews in the city as it developed into an important manufacturing center during the industrialization of the Soviet Union in the 1930s, becoming the site of two large power plants and several armaments factories.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the city in late October 1941, more than four months after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. As Kramatorsk was a major industrial center, the Soviet authorities evacuated a good part of the working population into the Soviet interior, including a majority of the Jews. Men of an eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Approximately 10 percent of the pre-war Jewish population came under German occupation in Kramatorsk.

During the course of the occupation from October 1941 to September 1943, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the affairs of the city. The German military commandant established a city administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police force recruited from local inhabitants. The man appointed as mayor was an ethnic German named Schopen. Sonderkommando (Sk) 4b (a mobile detachment of the Security Police [Sipo] subordinated to

Einsatzgruppe C) was stationed in the city under the command of SS-Sturmbannführer Fritz Braune from November 1941 to March 1942.³

Shortly after the occupation of the city, the German military commandant ordered the registration and identification of the Jews, who were forced to perform various kinds of heavy physical labor. According to one source, the Germans established a ghetto in the Melovaia gora area, on the western outskirts of the city. The ghetto was surrounded by barbed wire, and many Jews died from starvation and the horrific sanitary conditions. From there, the Germans took groups of Jews to the nearby quarry and shot them.⁴ Other sources, however, indicate that non-Jewish civilians (suspected Communists) and Soviet prisoners of war may have been interned in the same camp and suffered the same fate as the Jews, either at the same time or subsequently.⁵

On January 25–26, 1942, Sk 4b, assisted by the local Ukrainian police, carried out a mass killing Aktion. All the remaining Jews were shot, along with a number of Communist activists, in a ravine in the Melovaia gora area.⁶ According to an Einsatzgruppen report, Sk 4b shot 139 Jews at that time, probably reflecting the number of Jews murdered in Kramatorsk. More than 700 non-Jews also were murdered by Sk 4b around this time.⁷

German soldier Kurt Rogel, who was based in Kramatorsk in early 1942, observed a camp consisting of six or seven wooden barracks, which was surrounded by a wire fence and contained about 400 civilian prisoners (men, women, and children). The camp was guarded by Gendarmes (probably Feldgendarmarie). One day the SD arrived, took out all the prisoners in groups of 20, and shot them in a nearby gravel pit. Rogel was surprised that the prisoners spoke “German” among themselves but could not say if all the victims were Jews.⁸ A few remaining Jews were still being tracked down and shot by the Feldgendarmarie in the vicinity of Kramatorsk in the spring of 1942.⁹

SOURCES Documentation regarding the murder of the Jews in Kramatorsk can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L (B 162/3793); DADnO; GARF (7021-72-21); NARA; and StA-N.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. *1926 All-Union Census*, (Moscow, 1929), 13:412.
2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 24.
3. On January 12, 1973, Fritz Braune was sentenced by a court in Düsseldorf, Germany, to nine years in prison.
4. See the report of January 12, 1944, regarding the crimes of the German Fascist invaders in the city of Kramatorsk, extracts reproduced in Samuil Gil', ed., *Krov' ikh i segodnia govorit* (New York, 1995), pp. 85–86.
5. *Handbuch der Lager, Gefängnisse und Ghettos auf dem besetzten Territorium der Ukraine (1941–1944)* (Kiev: Staatskomi-

tee der Archiven der Ukraine, 2000), p. 147. This source indicates that the Germans shot some 3,500 persons in the Kreidianii gora area near Kramatorsk during the occupation.

6. See the report of January 12, 1944, regarding the crimes of the German Fascist invaders in the city of Kramatorsk, in *Nimets'ko-fasbysts'kyi okupatsiinyi rezhym na Ukraini* (Kiev, 1963), pp. 263–270. See also the report of January 26, 1942, by the section of the 1st Staff of the 17th Army Section, which details the mass-cleansing operation of the SD in Kramatorsk, in StA-N, Bestand KV-Anklage, N-Doc. 3350.

7. BA-BL, R 58/220, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 173, February 25, 1942, states that SK 4b “shot 861 persons from January 14 to February 12, 1942, according to the regulations of military law. Among those killed were 649 political functionaries, 52 saboteurs and partisans, and 139 Jews.” Since SK 4b was at that time located in Kramatorsk, one may surmise that the 139 Jews were shot there. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), more than 600 Jewish families, or 2,000 persons, were shot. See the document of January 26, 1944, in GARF, 7021-72-21, pp. 72, 74, 78, 81, 84. This figure, however, seems too high. A second source makes mention of 72 Jewish families; see I. Erenburg, “Narodoubiitsy,” *Znamia* (1944), Kn. 1–2, p. 190.

8. BA-L, B 162/3793, pp. 2–6, statement of Kurt Rogel (Feldweibel in Krankentransport-Abt. 562), February 11, 1965. Rogel dates this incident to February or March 1942, but it was probably linked to the Aktion on January 25–26, 1942.

9. NARA, N-Doc., NOKW-767, military report for the period March to May 1942.

PRILUKI

Pre-1941: Priluki, city and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: controlled by Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), from summer 1942, center of Gebiet Priluki, Generalkommissariat Tschernigow, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Chernihiv oblast', Ukraine

Priluki is located 128 kilometers (80 miles) east-northeast of Kiev. According to the 1939 census, 6,140 Jews resided in Priluki (16.5 percent of the total population).¹ After Germany attacked the USSR on June 22, 1941, especially in August and September 1941, a majority of the Jews in the city evacuated to the east, and many men were inducted into the Red Army. Probably no more than about one fifth of the Jewish population remained in the city at the start of the occupation.

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the city on September 18, 1941. Ortskommandantur I/317 soon assumed responsibility for administering the city and its surrounding area. It established a municipal government and a Ukrainian local police, which became the executive bodies of the Ortskommandantur.

In the fall of 1941, a section of the Secret Field Police (GFP-Gruppe 730) was stationed in Priluki, which relocated to Iagotin in late December 1941, leaving behind a squad in Priluki. In early February 1942, this unit was recalled and replaced by a unit from GFP-Gruppe 721. Due to the absence of any SD or other German police forces in Priluki at

that time, the GFP basically oversaw all police duties in the city.

Soon after the city was occupied, the Ortskommandantur ordered all the Jews to register and wear a white armband with a yellow Star of David. Jews were forbidden to go to the market in the city center or to the cinema. They were deprived of their means of making a living and forbidden even to talk with their non-Jewish neighbors. Jewish men were compelled to perform forced labor: repairing highways, clearing up factory ruins, digging trenches for communication cables, and recovering unexploded bombs from the river.

On January 1, 1942, Ukrainian police began to drive the entire Jewish population into a ghetto on orders of the Ortskommandantur. The ghetto was created near the market, in two buildings that had housed Jewish and Ukrainian schools before the war; the buildings were surrounded by barbed wire. A Jewish Council (composed of “headmen”) was formed, and its members were responsible for maintaining order in the ghetto. The Germans posted the ghetto regulations on billboards in the schoolyards. In order to acquire food, the Jews secretly dug tunnels under the barrier and would slip unnoticed into the city. When the ghetto guard was strengthened, the ghetto residents began to send out their children, especially teenagers, who were able to traverse the barbed wire, get into the city, and bring food back into the ghetto, thereby saving the ghetto residents from starvation. When possible, some non-Jews also provided supplies to friends residing in the ghetto.²

According to the report of Feldkommandantur 197 in Nezhin on February 15, 1942, to which the Priluki Ortskommandantur was subordinate, there were 1,178 Jews in the city; the same account stated that the GFP had shot several Jews in Priluki.³ The report of the same Feldkommandantur on April 20, 1942, stated that there were 1,210 Jews in the jurisdiction of the Feldkommandantur, and most were in Priluki.⁴

On May 20, 1942, German forces organized the liquidation of the Priluki ghetto. The Jews were marched out of the city to the east in a large column four persons abreast, escorted by policemen and other armed guards. They were then shot in a ravine behind the prison.⁵ Altogether some 1,290 Jews were shot on this day.⁶ This number includes both the Jews that had resided in the ghetto and Jews from the surrounding towns and villages, driven to Priluki on that day. Thus, together with the Jews from Priluki, 15 Jews (one man, seven women, and seven children) from Ladan were shot.⁷ The shootings were carried out by the SD-Sonderkommando Plath (commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Karl Julius Plath) with the assistance of the Ukrainian police and the German Feldgendarmarie.

SOURCES Documents regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Priluki can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 22/204); DACgO (3103-1-101); GARF (7021-78-37); NARA (T-501, reel 33); and TsDAVO (3676-4-317). There is also a short article in English in Boris Zabarko, ed., *Holocaust in the Ukraine* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 2005), pp. 329–331.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ester-Basya Vaisman

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.

2. V. Chepur, “Daleke Vidlunnia,” *Evreiskie Vesti: Prylozhenie k Gazete Verkhovnogo Soveta Ukrainy “Golos Ukrainy”*—*Gazeta Obschestva evreiskoi kul'tury Ukrainy* (1995), no. 5. The article “Distant Echo” has also been published in English in Zabarko, *Holocaust in the Ukraine*, pp. 329–331.

3. NARA, T-501, reel 33, fr. 98.

4. *Ibid.*, fr. 117.

5. *Chernigovshchina v period Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny 1941–1945: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Kiev, 1978), p. 79; Chepur, “Daleke Vidlunnia.” See also BA-MA, RH 22/204, Lagebericht FK 197/VII, June 19, 1942.

6. TsDAVO, 3676-4-317, report of the Higher-SS and Police Leader in Ukraine for the period June 1–30, 1942. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), on that day some 3,000 Jews were murdered; see *Chernigovshchina v period Velikoy Otechestvennoy Voiny 1941–1945*, p. 79.

7. GARF, 7021-78-37, pp. 122–123.

SEMENOVKA

Pre-1941: Semenovka, town and raion center, Chernigov oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Semenovka, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Semenivka, Chernibiv oblast', Ukraine

Semenovka is located 240 kilometers (149 miles) north-northeast of Kiev. According to the December 16, 1926, census, 852 Jews lived in the town of Semenovka, and a total of 1,049 Jews lived in what was then the Semenovka raion. According to the 1939 census, 402 Jews (5.39 percent of the total population) lived in Semenovka.¹ The decrease in the Jewish population was mainly the result of Jews moving to other districts, as well as the Holodomor famine of 1932–1933.

German forces of Army Group South occupied Semenovka on August 25, 1941, two months after Germany's attack on the USSR on June 22. During this period, a considerable number of Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and all men eligible for the draft were either drafted or had voluntarily joined the Soviet Armed Forces. Only about 14 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

During the entire German occupation (from August 25, 1941, to September 22, 1943), the town was ruled by the German military commandant located in Novgorod-Severskii. The German military authorities established a local Rayon administration and an auxiliary Ukrainian police force recruited from the local population.

Soon after the German occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the registration and public identification of the Jews (they were required to wear an armband on their sleeves), as well as their employment in a variety of onerous forced labor tasks. At the beginning of

November 1941, all Jews who remained in town were moved into a specially created “Jewish residential district” (open ghetto) that occupied one designated street. On November 30, 1941, this open ghetto was liquidated. In the course of the liquidation Aktion, the Jews were first gathered in the school basement. The next day, German forces shot them in the birch woods nearby. A total of 55 people were shot.² The shooting was carried out by a section of the 10th Motorized Infantry Battalion of the 1st Waffen-SS Motorized Infantry Brigade. During the entire period of the occupation, the total number of civilians killed in Semenovka was 66.³ Therefore, the Jewish victims comprised over 83 percent of the town’s total losses.

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and extermination of the town’s Jewish population can be found in the following archives: DACgO and GARF (7021-78-37).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
2. GARF, 7021-78-37, p. 144; and Association for the Jewish Organization and Communities in Ukraine (*Vaad Ukrainy*) “Memory of the Holocaust” Program: Chernigovskai oblast’.
3. “Semenivka,” in P.T. Tron’ko et al., eds., *Istoriya mist i sil URSR: U 26 t (Chernibiv’s’ka oblast’)* (Kiev, 1972).

SHCHORS

Pre-1941: Shchors (Snovsk prior to 1935), town and raion center, Chernigov oblast’, Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Schtschors, initially controlled by Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd), then from summer 1942 center of Gebiet Schtschors, Generalkommissariat Tschernigow, Reichskommissariat Ukraine; post-1991: Shchors, Chernibiv oblast’, Ukraine

Shchors is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) west-northwest of Konotop. According to the census conducted on December 16, 1926, 2,416 Jews lived in Shchors. Altogether 2,447 Jews resided in the former raion surrounding the town.¹ However, at the time of the 1939 census, only 1,402 Jews still lived in Shchors, comprising 16.3 percent of the town’s total population.² The decrease in the number of Jews by more than 1,000 people between 1926 and 1939 occurred for several reasons: part of the Jewish population moved away to settle in other areas, and others were hit by the Holodomor famine that affected the country in the years 1932–1933.

German troops had occupied the town of Shchors by September 3, 1941, about two and a half months after their surprise attack on the Soviet Union. By the time the German army reached the town, more than half of the local Jewish population had managed to escape to the east. All the available men suitable for military service were drafted into the

Red Army or joined it voluntarily. When German occupation forces entered Shchors, only about 40–45 percent of the pre-war Jewish population still resided there.

From the start of the German occupation in early September 1941, a German military commandant was in charge of the town. The military commandant established a local administration and a Ukrainian auxiliary police unit, which was recruited from the local inhabitants. From the summer of 1942, Shchors became part of the German civil administration for the Generalkommissariat Tschernigow as the center of its own district (Gebiet). Referent Buchmeier was nominated as the Gebietskommissar in Shchors.³ Before the German retreat in September 1943, authority was transferred back to the military authorities as the front line approached.

A short time after the arrival of German troops, the military commandant instructed the local administration to register the Jewish population. The military administration also ordered the Jews to wear a visible patch on their clothes. In addition, the Jews were compelled to perform hard physical labor. All the Jews still residing in the town were settled into a special “Jewish residential district,” or open ghetto. Proreznaiia Street was one of the main streets of the ghetto area.⁴

On November 9, 1941, German security forces conducted an Aktion against the Jews in Shchors. On the pretext of transporting the victims to another place of work, about 50 Jewish men were gathered, escorted into the forest close to town, and shot there.⁵ In January 1942, a second, larger Aktion was carried out in Shchors. This was the final liquidation of the ghetto. At the beginning of this Aktion, the victims were transferred to a large building that was the former dormitory of the technical school. After three days, the German forces shot approximately 80 elderly and young people in the forest just outside Shchors. Then, at night, the remaining women and children from the ghetto (probably 500 people altogether) were escorted in carts to Chernigov, where they were shot immediately upon arrival.⁶ On September 20, 1942, a few dozen Jews from the surrounding villages were brought to Shchors and shot there.⁷

SOURCES The documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) for the Shchors raion can be found in the following archives: DACgO and GARF (7021-78-32 and 39).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. *1926 Soviet Population Census*, vol. 11 (Moscow, 1929).
2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 26.
3. USHMM, RG-31.002M, reel 3, 3206-1-19, p. 35.
4. Evidence from witness P.V. Kondratenko, October 14, 1943, GARF, 7021-78-39, p. 36.
5. GARF, 7021-78-32, pp. 3, 14; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1169, date this Aktion on November 20, 1941.

6. Evidence from witness P.V. Kondratenko, October 14, 1943, GARF, 7021-78-39, p. 36; according to Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1169, “[I]n January 1942, a few dozen children were shot and a few days later about 80 more men were executed. The women and remaining children were murdered at a later date.”

7. Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1169.

STALINO (DONETSK)

Pre-1941: Stalino (Iuzovka before 1924), city and capital, Stalino oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Donets'k oblast' center, Ukraine

Stalino is located 594 kilometers (369 miles) southeast of Kiev. According to the 1939 census, the population of Stalino was 462,395 people, of which 24,991 (5.4 percent) were Jews.

Troops of German Army Group South occupied Stalino on October 20, 1941.¹ The city remained under German military administration until September 1943. At the beginning of December 1941, Feldkommandantur 240 reported: “So far the Jewish problem does not play a major role in Iuzovka. The number of remaining Jews is estimated at around 3,000. As in other places, the wealthy Jews have fled. Measures for the evacuation of the Jews by the SD have so far not been carried out because of the weather conditions.”²

In eastern Ukraine more than 80 percent of the Jewish population was able to escape before the occupation. At the same time, it can be assumed that nearly all the Jewish families that came under German occupation in Stalino were murdered. After the liberation of the Donbass, the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) found, in the Stalino oblast' alone, mass graves containing—according to its estimates—more than 323,000 corpses (about 174,000 civilians and 149,000 Soviet prisoners of war) who had been shot, hanged, or asphyxiated with gas by the Germans or had just died in camps from hunger, freezing, and disease.³ Although the accounts of the ChGK concerning the larger mass graves were often estimates based on volume calculations, and therefore sometimes probably too high, they clearly show the dimensions of the terror exercised by German rule in the region.

Einsatzkommando 6, headed by Robert Mohr from October 1941 until September 1942, and responsible for the murder of Jews, Communists, Gypsies, and other “enemies” in Stalino, was based in the city prior to the establishment of a fixed office of the Kommandeur of the Security Police and SD (KdS) there at the end of June 1942.⁴

At the end of February 1942, Einsatzkommando 6 ordered the city mayor of Stalino, Petushkov, and his deputy Eichmann to establish a Jewish ghetto. The intended location for the ghetto was a settlement named “Belyi Kar'er” (White Pit) at a former quarry on the outskirts of the city. During his interrogations before a Soviet military tribunal in 1946, Eichmann recalled: “At the end of February 1942 . . . Heidelberger [head of

the executive department and deputy chief of Einsatzkommando 6] arrived from Berlin at the SD. Together with Graf [head of the intelligence section of Einsatzkommando 6], he came to the city administration to Petushkov and I. During a joint meeting with the police chiefs and the mayors of the city districts it was decided to create a Jewish ghetto at a special place, where the entire Jewish population, including children and old people, would be sent.” The existing inhabitants of Belyi Kar'er were evicted from their cottages within two days. The quarry was surrounded by a barbed-wire fence, and police guards were posted. In March 1942, the police chiefs and the mayors of the city districts were ordered to transfer the Jews into the ghetto. Families had to take their valuables, their best clothes, and food for five or six days. Apartment keys were handed over to the policemen who carried out the resettlement. During the resettlement action, children and the infirm were supported or carried on the arms of others. The policemen drove the Jews before them with whips and rifle butts, accompanied by groaning, screaming, and the weeping of children. Due to the limited number of cottages, part of the population remained under the open sky. All valuables and property were collected and handed over to the SD.⁵

The chiefs of the different police districts and their policemen played a major role in identifying and arresting the Jewish families. The chief of the first police district, Babenko, testified at his postwar trial: “In accordance with an order issued by the SD deputy chief Graf, I had to compose name lists for all of the Jews who lived in my police district. The other police districts received the same order. . . . Then, two days later Graf came to me and demanded the list. He took one copy and left two with me. He ordered that on the same day, after the curfew hour, all Jews had to be evicted from their apartments, informing them that they would be evacuated to the Zaporozh'e region, because of the approaching front line.”⁶ After these evictions, Graf and Eichmann usually inspected the apartments of the Jewish families and took away any remaining property.

Indirectly the establishment of the ghetto was reflected in the local press, which mentioned on March 15, 1942, the approaching resettlement of Stalino's Jews.⁷ There is very little information concerning living conditions in the ghetto in the few testimonies by survivors. According to these accounts, more than 300 families lived in the ghetto. Policemen guarded the ghetto, and the inmates were not allowed to leave.⁸ During daytime the ghetto inmates had to work hard. The survivor B.A. Geker recalled: “When I was in ‘Belyi Kar'er’ every morning policemen came to us, took 10, 20, or 100 people, men and women, with them and drove them to work somewhere. Some of them came back, others disappeared without a trace. When I was in ‘Belyi Kar'er,’ the entire Jewish population lived in destroyed houses without windows and doors or directly on the street. But it was winter and cold. Food was not distributed at all. I was starving, as were the other Soviet citizens. Children and old people died of hunger and nobody took any notice of that.”⁹

The separation and murder of the Jews was largely visible to the local population. The chiefs of the different police

districts and their policemen played a major role, and a point was made of ensuring that local policemen were present when Jews were shot. It was the Germans' intention "to break the fascination which Jews had as bearers of political power in the eyes of many Ukrainians." By contrast, mass killings of Ukrainians and Russians were generally carried out by Einsatzkommando 6 in a much more secretive manner.¹⁰

The ghetto in Stalino existed for less than two months. As different witness testimonies confirm, it was liquidated during the night of April 30 to May 1, 1942. The city deputy mayor Eichmann recalled: "At that time the whole Jewish population—more than 3,000 people—were shot or taken away in special gas vans. The dead bodies were thrown into a coal shaft at the Kalinovka mine. Then the cottages were destroyed by the police."¹¹

The Jewish survivor B.A. Geker testified at Eichmann's postwar trial: "On April 30, 1942, around 2:00 A.M., policemen and Germans came to the quarry. They announced that we should all assemble and take with us bread for three days, valuables, and good clothes. They would take us to another place to work. One of the Soviet citizens said that they were going to shoot us now. I told my son that he should run away and tried to hide myself in the gorge. I was lying there for several hours. Then I fled to the Poltava region, pretending to be Polish. Regarding my 28 family members, who were also in the quarry—none of them ever came back. Their fate is unknown."¹²

It appears that Einsatzkommando 6 began the mass killings of Jewish families in Stalino at the beginning of April 1942. Friedrich Zapp, a member of Einsatzkommando 6, testified during his court inquiry in Germany in June 1962:

I witnessed the first executions in Stalino on Easter Monday [April 6]. . . . It was an Aktion using a gas van. Several hundred people were gassed. Men, women, and children were loaded into the van. On that Easter Monday by no means all of them were gassed. I think, that starting from around 7:00 A.M. until 10:30 A.M., when the Aktion was ended for that day, I had to load and unload four vans. . . . They were Jews, without doubt. In such a composition and number they could only be Jews. There were no plunderers and saboteurs in such numbers. And above all the presence of children confirms this conclusion. The Jews had to get into the van with all their clothes on. No selection took place. Men, women, and children had to get on board. I would estimate that each time around 60 people had to climb into the van. . . . It did not look like the Jews knew they would be gassed. After the door was closed, we drove either in front of or behind the gas van to a closed coal shaft. The gas van could not drive close to the shaft. So we had to haul the dead bodies out of the van, drag them to the coal shaft, which was about eight meters away, and throw them into it.¹³

At this closed coal shaft of the "4-4-bis Kalinovka" mine on the outskirts of Stalino, the German Einsatzkommandos frequently carried out mass shootings.¹⁴ After the city's liberation, the ChGK found in this coal shaft one of the largest mass graves of the entire region, holding—according to the ChGK's estimates—up to 75,000 corpses.¹⁵

In December 1967, a trial against Robert Mohr, the commander of Einsatzkommando 6, and other members took place in Wuppertal. Mohr was sentenced to eight years in prison.¹⁶ Other German trials against members of Sonderkommando 4b and members of the office of the KdS in Stalino took place in Düsseldorf and Dortmund in the late 1960s and early 1970s.¹⁷

In Stalino, a Soviet military tribunal convicted the former deputy and later city mayor Eichmann, together with 17 other members of the city administration and local police, in 1946. Eichmann and the head of the police, Babenko, were sentenced to death. The other defendants were sentenced to either 15 or 20 years of forced labor.¹⁸

SOURCES Information on the Jewish population of Stalino and its fate during the Holocaust can be found in the wartime collaborationist newspaper *Donetskii vestnik* and in Iurii Iukhimovich Korytnyi's *Sorok let spustja* (Donets'k: Iugo-Vostok, 1998).

Documentation on the murder of the Jewish population of Stalino can be found in the following archives: ASBUDO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; GARF; HStA-Dü; NARA; RGVA; StA-Mü; and TsDAHOU.

Tanja Penter

NOTES

1. RGVA, 1458-40-221, p. 280.
2. BA-MA, RH 22/10, p. 146.
3. See the report of the ChGK for the Stalino region dated May 30, 1945, in GARF, 7021-72-811, pp. 12–13.
4. See the German war crimes trial against members of Einsatzkommando 6 in HStADü, Gerichte Rep. 240, Nr. 119 and 120 (verdict); and also the German postwar trial against commander Erich Körting and others in StA-Mü (Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund 45 Js 31/61).
5. See the Eichmann trial in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 1, pp. 32–33. Regarding the ghetto in Stalino, see also BA-BL, ZStL, AR-Z 370/59, vol. 10, pp. 531–536, 573–605, 641–646, 713–716.
6. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 4, p. 104.
7. See *Donetskii vestnik*, March 15, 1942.
8. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 7, p. 126.
9. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 271–274.
10. BA-BL, R 58/217, pp. 46–48, 53, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 81, September 12, 1941.
11. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 1, pp. 32–33.
12. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 271–274; Korytnyi, *Sorok let spustia*, pp. 61–87.
13. StA-Mü, Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, Zentralstelle 45 Js 31/ 73, Nr. 198, p. 849.

14. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 5, pp. 156–177; and StA-Mü, Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, Zentralstelle 45 Js 31/ 61, Nr. 1763, pp. 24–25.

15. See Eichmann case in ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vol. 5, pp. 156–177.

16. HStA-Dü, Gerichte Rep. 240, Nr. 120 (Urteil).

17. Ibid., Gerichte Rep. 388, Nr. 0372; and StA-Mü, Staatsanwaltschaft Dortmund, Zentralstelle 45 Js 31/ 61.

18. See ASBUDO, Fond 1, file 60090, vols. 1–8.

VOIKOVSHTADT

Pre-1941: Voikovshtadt, village, Lenino raion, Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941–1944: Wojkowstadt, Rear Area, 11th Army; 1944: Crimean ASSR; post-1991: Kirove, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Voikovshtadt is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) west of Kerch' on the Kerch' peninsula. The village was founded 10 kilometers (6 miles) south of the regional center of Semu-Kolodezy at the beginning of the 1930s with financial support from the Agro-Joint (a subdivision of the AJDC). According to the 1939 census, about 349 Jews resided in the Lenino raion, most of them in Voikovshtadt itself.

The village was occupied by units of the German 11th Army (46th Division of the XLII Army Corps) on November 2, 1941, just over four months after the start of the German invasion. Most of the Jews from this region were able to flee or were evacuated with the retreating Soviet forces. There was an organized evacuation for about 180 people,¹ while a few fled independently or were drafted into or voluntarily joined the Red Army. Fewer than 100 Jews remained in Voikovshtadt at the start of the German occupation.

Immediately upon occupying the village, the German authorities registered the population. People had to wear a large, visible Star of David on their clothes, and all their livestock was taken. At the end of November 1941, the Jews were forcibly brought to a building, which was surrounded by barbed wire. It was located on the outskirts of the village and served as a small enclosed ghetto. Every night a roll call was held to ensure that no one was missing. Romanian soldiers guarded the ghetto.²

On December 26, 1941, Soviet forces landed on the Kerch' peninsula, and on December 29, the Red Army liberated the city of Feodosiia. This forced the German Armies to flee Kerch' and the neighboring raions of Lenino and Maiak-Salyn'.

In their hurry to evacuate the Kerch' peninsula, the German forces had no time to destroy the ghetto. The ghetto in Voikovshtadt is one of the very few ghettos in the territories of the former Soviet Union in which the majority of inmates survived the German occupation.

When on May 8, 1942, German troops reoccupied the Kerch' peninsula in their counteroffensive, the Jewish villagers were hurriedly evacuated across the Kerch' straits to the

Tamanski peninsula in the North Caucasus. The Red Army liberated Voikovshtadt again in April 1944.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Stefan Stoev

NOTES

1. GAARK, R-137/9(D)-7, p. 32.

2. M. Goldenberg, "Kerchensko-Feodosiiskaia desantnaia operatsiia v sud'be evreev i krymchakov Vostochnogo Kryma," *Tkuma. Vestnik nauchno-prosvetitel'skogo tsentra "Tkuma"* (Dnepropetrovsk, 2004), nos. 4–5 (47–48), p. 2.

YALTA

Pre-1941: Yalta, city and raion center, Crimean ASSR, RSFSR; 1941–1944: Yalta, administered initially by the Rear Area, Eleventh Army; post-1991: Yalta, Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Ukraine

Yalta is located 444 kilometers (276 miles) south of Dnepropetrovsk. According to the census of December 1926, of the 28,811 inhabitants of Yalta, 2,392 were Jews, including 39 Crimean Jews (Krymchaky). In the Yalta district, including the towns of Alupka, Gurzuf, and Simeiz, there lived another 213 Jews, 14 of them Crimean Jews. In January 1939, of the 36,653 residents of Yalta, 2,109 were Jews. In addition, 911 more Jews were living in the surrounding Yalta raion.¹

Between the attack of Nazi Germany on the USSR on June 22, 1941, and the German occupation of the area at the beginning of November 1941, 1,120 Jews were evacuated from the city of Yalta in an organized fashion, 140 Jews from the Yalta area countryside, and 430 from the Yalta area towns (Alupka, Simeiz, Koreiz, Miskhor, Gaspra, Livadiia, Massandra, and Gurzuf), accounting for 1,690 Jews in total.² In addition, a number of Jews escaped from the city in late October and early November 1941 in the course of a spontaneous evacuation after German troops broke through the Soviet line of defense across the Perekop isthmus. Furthermore, at least 100 Jews were drafted or volunteered for the Red Army. At the same time, a number of Jewish refugees from Odessa and also other regions of the Crimea arrived in Yalta.

Yalta was occupied by the troops of the German 11th Army on November 8, 1941. The city and nearby districts were administered by Ortskommandantur II/662, with Hauptmann Kump in charge. Nineteen people, including four officers and several bureaucrats, worked in the Kommandantur.³ The Kommandantur reported to the commander of the Rear Area of the 11th Army. The Kommandantur established a local administration in the city (Stadtverwaltung) and a police force recruited from local residents; the city administration dealt mostly with running city services under the supervision of the Kommandantur.

On approximately November 9–10, 1941, part of Sonderkommando 11a, under the command of SS-Hauptsturmführer Eberhard Heinze, arrived in Yalta. The Sonderkommando, under

overall command of SS-Sturmbannführer Paul Zapp, was part of Einsatzgruppe D of the German Security Police, at that time commanded by SS-Oberführer Otto Ohlendorf. One of the Sonderkommando's tasks, together with the identification and extermination of Soviet partisans, Communists, members of the underground, and saboteurs, was the extermination of the Jewish population.

Sometime in the middle of November 1941, Sonderkommando 11a created a Jewish Council (Judenrat) in the city that consisted of five or six members, and several days later, the German authorities issued an order for all Jews to wear a six-pointed star 10 centimeters (almost 4 inches) in diameter on the left side of their chests and on their backs and to turn in all their money and valuables to the Jewish Council.⁴

On November 21, 1941, the first anti-Jewish Aktion was conducted in the city: the Feldgendarmerie surrounded house no. 14 on Sredne-Slobodskaia Street, arrested all the Jewish tenants (17 people), presumably for alleged contacts with the partisans, and shot all of them that same day. On November 22, 2 Jews who were only wounded during the shooting returned from the grave site.⁵

A week later, on November 28, 1941, on the order of the Security Police and SD, the Jewish Council conducted a registration of the Jews. The next day, November 29, SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinze ordered the remaining Jews to move into the ghetto by December 5, 1941. The ghetto consisted of the former buildings for adult education courses of the Agricultural College on the outskirts of the city, near the suburb of Massandra, which were surrounded by high stone walls. The Jews were only allowed to enter the city between 8:00 A.M. and 2:00 P.M.; those who had a job were required to work. The Jewish Council was ordered to organize the move of the Jews into the ghetto. The German authorities issued instructions that due to the cramped space (2.5 square meters [27 square feet] per person) Jews were only permitted to take a few of their most valuable possessions with them. The Jewish Council was also required to organize a cooperative, workshops, a hospital, and a police force within the ghetto. The latter consisted of young people who wore white armbands with a blue six-pointed star on the left arm and who controlled the return of the Jews into the ghetto at the gate.⁶

On December 16, 1941, the ghetto was closed, and even the working Jews were not allowed into the city. On December 17, men were taken out of the ghetto to a ravine near the towns of Massandra and Magarach and made to dig two ditches; after completing the job, the German forces shot them. On December 18, the rest of the Jews were driven to the ditches and shot by members of Sonderkommando 11a. Altogether up to 1,500 people were killed during those two days.⁷ On the order of the Security Police and SD, members of the Jewish Council had to help organize the conveying of all the Jews to the killing site. With the aid of a detailed registration list, they put family after family onto the trucks that departed and then returned for more families; the members of the Council checked off on the list those who had been taken away. The last truck took away the members of the Jewish Council.⁸

In the first half of 1942, several more small groups of Jews who had escaped previously from the ghetto and had been hiding were discovered and also shot.

According to the first postwar census in 1959, 1,200 Jews lived in Yalta. On February 26, 1970, the regional court (Landgericht) in Munich sentenced former SS-Obersturmbannführer Paul Zapp, who commanded Sonderkommando 11a in 1941–1942, to life imprisonment. Together with him, former SS-Scharführer and interpreter for Sonderkommando 11a Baron Leo Karl Eugen von der Recke, who took an active part in the shooting of the Yalta Jews, was sentenced to 13 years in prison. The man immediately responsible for organizing the anti-Jewish Aktions of December 17–18, 1941, SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinze, was killed in Poznań on January 22, 1945.

SOURCES The main publications on the extermination of the Yalta Jews in 1941–1942 are indicated in the notes below. Some documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews in Yalta has been published by the author in *Sbornik dokumentov i materialov ob unichtozbenii natsistami evreev Ukrainy v 1941–1944 gg.* (Kiev: Institut iudaiki, 2002).

Documentation on the extermination of the Yalta Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, 213 AR 1898/66); DARMARK (R1289-1-4 and R156-1-31); GARF (7021-9-59); and NARA (NOKW-1591).

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trans. Igor Puchkov

NOTES

1. *Krym mnogonatsionalnyi. Voprosy-otvety*, no. 1 (Simferopol': Tavria, 1988), pp. 70–72.
2. DARMARK, R137-9(d)-7, pp. 32–34.
3. NARA, T-501, reel 63, fr. 609.
4. GARF, 7021-9-59, p. 25, report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) on the crimes of the Nazi-German occupiers in the city of Yalta, July 17, 1944.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 66; see also Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), pp. 333–334.
6. See the diary of Yalta inhabitant O.I. Shargorodskaya, entries from November 28 and 29, 1941, published in M.I. Tiaglyi, ed., *Holokost v Krymu. Dokumental'nye svidetelstva o genitside evreev Kryma v period natsistskoi okkupatsii 1941–1944* (Simferopol: BETS “Hesed Shimon,” 2002), pp. 89–90; and also M. Tiaglyi, “Evreiskie komitety v okkupirovannom natsistami Krymu: postanovka problemy,” *Holokost i suchastnist. Naukovo-pedagogichnyi buleten' Ukrainskoho tsentru vychennia istorii Holokostu*, no. 11 (2003). See also Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, p. 349, citing BA-MA, Film WF-03/7503, pp. 497 ff., OK II/662 activity report, December 10, 1941; and BA-L, ZStL, 213 AR 1898/66, vol. 18, statement of Paul Zapp, January 10, 1968.
7. Vasily Grossman and Ilya Ehrenburg, eds., *Chernaia kniga. O zlodeiskom povsemestnom ubiistve evreev nemetsko-fasistskimi zakbvatshchikami vo vremenne okkupirovannykh raionakh Sovetskogo Soiuza i v lageriakh Pol'shi vo vremia voiny 1941–1945* (Kiev: MIP “Oberig,” 1991), pp. 285–286. Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord*, p. 350, notes that several members of Sonderkommando 11a dated the shooting of the Jews as

having taken place between Christmas and New Year's Day in their postwar interrogations. LG-Mü I, verdict of February 26, 1970, in case IV 9/69 against Paul Zapp, states only that at least 250 Jews were killed in an Aktion at the end of December 1941; see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2005), 20:450, Lfd. Nr. 724a.

8. Tiaglyi, "Evreiskii komitety."

YENAKIEVO

1938–1941: *Yenakievo, town, Stalino oblast', Ukrainian SSR; 1941–1943: Jenakjowo, Rear Area, Army Group South (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Süd); post-1991: Yenakievo, Donets'k oblast', Ukraine*

Yenakievo is located 240 kilometers (149 miles) east of Dnepropetrovsk. By 1939, there were 3,293 Jews living in the town (3.72 percent of the total population).

Units of the German 6th Army occupied the town on November 1, 1941, more than four months after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. Most Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Approximately 15 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained at the start of the German occupation.

From November 1, 1941, until the end of the occupation in September 1943, a military commandant's office administered Yenakievo. From the end of November 1941 to August 1942, the occupying authority was Ortskommandantur I/270, which was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 240 in Stalino.¹ The commandant established a local administration and a Ukrainian police force in the town. The Ukrainian policemen actively participated in the persecution and elimination of the Jews.

Shortly after the occupation of Yenakievo, the Ortskommandantur ordered the local administration to register and mark the Jews. The Jews were also forced to perform heavy labor.

In February 1942, the remaining 509 Jews (175 families) in Yenakievo were resettled into a ghetto by an official administrative order. The ghetto consisted of four large barracks in the Krasnyi Gorodok settlement area. The Jews remained confined within the ghetto for around three months. At the end of May or the beginning of June 1942, the Jews were driven out to Gorlovka and shot together in a mine, where their corpses were

then covered over. There were 25 Communists who were also taken out to Gorlovka and shot along with the Jews.²

One Jewish woman, Maria Markovna Konovalova (née Ginzburg), escaped from the ghetto on the eve of its liquidation, after being tipped off by non-Jewish friends of the Kvasha family. The ghetto was closely guarded, but dressed only in her underwear she fled at night by swimming across a river. She was met on the other side by Andriy and Petro Kvasha, who gave her clothes, put a cross around her neck, and subsequently helped her to move from village to village to avoid recognition and betrayal.³

The extermination of Jews in Yenakievo was organized by Sonderkommando 4b with the assistance of the Ukrainian police. The headquarters staff of Sonderkommando 4b was located in Gorlovka from March 1942. At that time, it was headed by SS-Sturmbannführer Walter Haensch.⁴

After the liquidation of the ghetto, some 30 Jews (10 families) composed of artisan specialists remained in the town. In September 1942, they were also taken out and shot in the mine area near Gorlovka.⁵

SOURCES Documentation concerning the German occupation of Yenakievo and the murder of the town's Jews can be found in the following archives: GARF; NARA; and YVA. A brief mention of the ghetto can also be found in a book by Yakov Suslensky, *They Were True Heroes: Citizens of Ukraine, Righteous among the Nations* (Kiev: Society "Ukraine," 1995), pp. 141–143.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. See report by Feldkommandantur 240 dated December 4, 1941. NARA, T-501, reel 6, fr. 818.
2. GARF, 7021-72-18, pp. 23, 26–27. According to another account in this file, the ghetto was liquidated on May 17 or May 18, 1942 (see p. 40 and reverse) or perhaps in April 1942 (see pp. 15, 19, and reverse).
3. Suslensky, *They Were True Heroes*, pp. 141–143.
4. In 1948 in Nürnberg, Haensch was sentenced to death. In 1951, the sentence was commuted to 15 years in prison. In 1955, he was released from prison before completing his sentence.
5. GARF, 7021-72-18, pp. 15, 27.



OCCUPIED RUSSIAN TERRITORY



German propaganda placard in Smolensk, 1941 - 1943. The slogans at top and bottom read, "The Yids — Your Eternal Enemies!" and "Stalin and the Yids Together — One Gang of Criminals!"

COURTESY OF FRANK WÜNSCHE, BERLIN, PHOTO NUMBER 0001.000480

OCCUPIED RUSSIAN TERRITORY

Pre-1941: RSFSR, Soviet Union; 1941–1944: partly under German occupation, initially Rear Area, Army Groups Center and North (rückwärtige Heeresgebiete Mitte und Nord), then 1942–1943, also Rear Area, Army Group B (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet B) on the southern front and in the northern Caucasus; post-1991: Russian Federation

Between July 1941 and December 1942, the Germans established around 50 ghettos in the occupied territory of the Russian Federation, which probably held some 22,000 Jews. In total, there were somewhere between 70,000 and 120,000 Jewish victims of the Holocaust in the territory of the present-day Russian Federation; therefore, probably around one quarter of the victims were confined within a ghetto prior to being killed.¹

Most of the ghettos established by the Germans in occupied Russian territory were located on the eastern fringe of the former Pale of Settlement (in the former Vitebsk and Chernigov gubernias), to which nearly all Jews in Tsarist Russia were confined up to 1917. The area to the east of the Belorussian cities of Mogilev and Vitebsk, comprising the western part of the Smolensk oblast', was soon occupied by the German Army in July 1941. In this region, the Germans established 20 ghettos, most of them within weeks of their arrival. Einsatzgruppe B, initially under the command of Arthur Nebe,² which was responsible for security operations in the area behind Army Group Center, reported on September 23, 1941, that in all towns visited by the Sonderkommandos and Einsatzkommandos Jewish ghettos had been established, and in larger places, Jewish Councils as well.³ For example, the ghetto in Tartarsk was established in September 1941 by a detachment of Vorkommando Moskau, which coordinated the necessary arrangements with the local mayor and the head of the Russian local police (Ordnungsdienst, OD).

Just to the south of the Smolensk oblast', in the western part of the present-day Bryansk oblast' (in 1939, part of the Orel' oblast'), which the Germans occupied during the course of August 1941, they established another 12 ghettos (including larger ghettos of around 1,000 people or more in Klinty, Starodub, Pochev, and Novozybkov), most in the fall of 1941. Sonderkommando 7b, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Günther Rausch, based in Klinty from the end of September 1941, was the main unit responsible for establishing ghettos in this region.

German forces also established a number of smaller ghettos from the summer of 1941 in the region between Smolensk and Leningrad, behind Army Groups Center and North, on a more ad hoc basis: 4 in the former Leningrad oblast' and 10 in the former Kalinin oblast'. The Commander of Rear Area, Army Group North issued an order on September 3, 1941, noting that the Army High Command (OKH) had ordered that ghettos could be established in places with a large Jewish population, insofar as time and personnel were available, but that this was not to be seen as a priority.⁴ Nevertheless, some

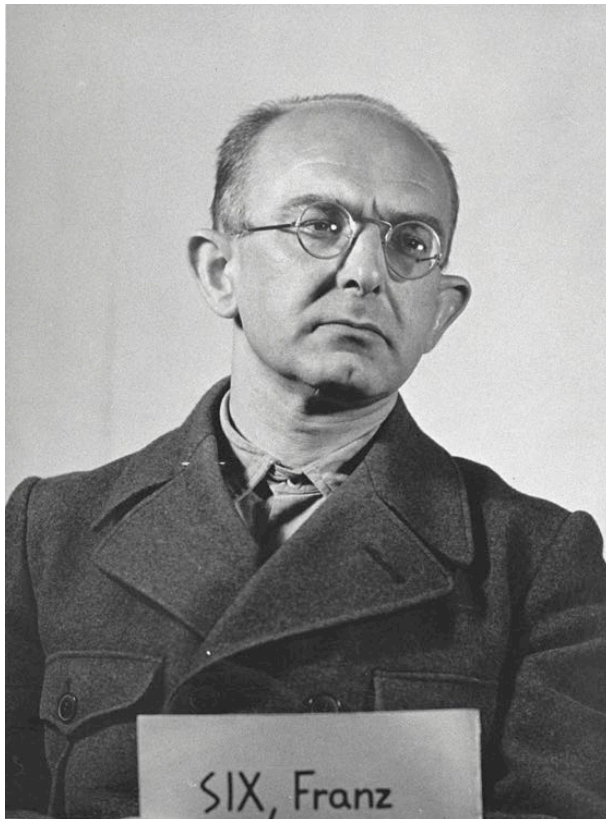
ghettos were established in the area for relatively small populations of Jews (between 30 and 150). The two largest ghettos in the region were in Nevel', holding 640 Jews (established by Einsatzgruppe B), and in Pskov with 232 Jews, under the direction of Sonderkommando 1a (Einsatzgruppe A).

As German forces advanced east again after the start of Operation Typhoon (the planned encirclement of Moscow) on September 30, they established two more ghettos immediately behind the advancing troops in Kaluga (in 1939, in the Tula oblast') and Dmitriev-L'govskii (Kursk oblast') in November 1941. It is interesting to note that only the Sonderkommandos of Einsatzgruppe B followed closely behind the advancing front, while the Einsatzkommandos remained in place, consolidating control over the territory already conquered, with a major focus on the destruction of the Jews.⁵

In some larger Russian cities, however, such as Bryansk, Orel, and Rostov on Don, as well as in many towns, no ghettos were established. Here the remaining Jews were killed in mass shooting Aktions; or in many places, such as Gzhatsk, Mozhaisk, and Iukhnov, the German Einsatzkommandos reported that almost all the Jews had been evacuated or had fled.⁶

In some locations the Jews were confined in an improvised manner for only a few days prior to being murdered. In the town of Mtsensk, Orel oblast', the Germans confined the Jews in an unheated school building for a week without food, before escorting them out of the town to shoot them in January 1942.⁷ In Pushkin, a town about 15 kilometers (9 miles) south of Leningrad, more than 100 Jews, composed mostly of women, children, and the elderly, were confined for about one week in the cellars of the Catherine Palace, before a detachment of Sonderkommando 1b shot them in groups on the palace grounds.⁸

Precise figures on the number of Jews able to evacuate from specific locations in the Germans' path are not available. From Rudnia and Liubavichi in the Smolensk oblast', where ghettos were subsequently established, it seems that roughly half of the Jews managed to flee. From Smolensk, it is estimated that over 13,000 of the city's 14,800 Jews managed to leave in time, probably assisted by the protracted fighting for the city. From some isolated towns and villages, without good communications, such as Zakharino, the proportion that fled was much lower (only 10 or 20 percent); and some places saw an influx of refugees prior to the Germans' arrival, as Jews fleeing from the west were trapped by the rapid German advance.



Mug shot of Franz Six, commanding officer of Vorkommando Moskau, during the Einsatzgruppen Trial at Nuremberg, 1947.

USHMM WS #09923, COURTESY OF BENJAMIN FERENCZ

The ghettos served several functions, including isolating and controlling the Jews. They facilitated the seizure of remaining Jewish property or other resources, including labor. Ghettoization was also useful preparation for the massacres to come, as it demoralized and weakened the Jewish population, who received little or no food. However, the sequence of ghetto establishment, preceded or followed in some places by smaller Aktions against male Jews, allegedly for acts of resistance or infractions against German regulations, before the ghetto liquidation Aktions, indicates that German genocidal plans were pursued in stages. A number of ghettos existed into the spring or summer of 1942. In particular, the large ghetto in Smolensk, where about 1,500 Jews were exploited systematically for forced labor, was not liquidated until mid-July 1942.

In general, ghettos were not established behind the German advance on Stalingrad in the summer and fall of 1942, mainly because large numbers of Jews were not encountered. Exceptions were isolated towns on the German route of advance, mostly in the northern Caucasus, which had populations of Mountain Jews, local Ashkenazim, and refugees from the western regions of the USSR. Four places have been identified in this region where Jews were concentrated under ghetto-like conditions in the second half of 1942: in Kagal'nitskaia

(for about a month), in Elista (for only 10 days), and in Nal'chik and Essentuki (each for about 6 weeks). It appears that the Mountain Jews were "ghettoized" in Nal'chik but excluded from the killings on the recommendation of the head of Einsatzgruppe D, SS-Oberführer Bierkamp, as they were viewed rather as a local mountain tribe.⁹

The Wehrmacht was responsible for imposing a series of anti-Jewish measures following its arrival in the territory of the Russian Federation. These can be documented effectively from surviving German placards (*Bekanntmachungen*). In Demidov, on August 6, 1941, the Ortskommandant ordered all Jews over the age of 10 to wear yellow markers 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter. Jews of both sexes were required to perform forced labor. The ritual slaughtering of animals for kosher meat was also forbidden.¹⁰ Similar orders were issued in Kaluga on November 8, 1941, together with the appointment of a Jewish elder; Jews were prohibited from leaving the city or having relations with non-Jews, and the establishment of a ghetto was decreed.¹¹

One of the first ghettos established by the Germans on Russian territory was in the "Sadki" district of Smolensk, on August 5, 1941. It was under the control of the local Russian administration, which ordered the evacuation of the

non-Jewish population from the ghetto area. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by the OD.¹² From the beginning, Jews caught leaving the ghetto or not wearing the Star of David were to be arrested and shot.¹³

Other than for Smolensk, the process of ghettoization is documented for only a few locations, including Rudnia. Here the Ortskommandantur ordered all the Jews into a ghetto in August 1941, threatening to shoot those who did not comply. The OD used physical force to intimidate the Jews and confiscated Jewish property during the transfer, including all livestock. The ghetto, located on one street, consisted of 20 half-destroyed houses fenced off with barbed wire and guarded by German soldiers and the OD. Around 1,200 Jews, including some refugees, were assembled on the market square and herded into the ghetto. Initially, the Jews could still come and go freely, and some received food from non-Jewish neighbors.¹⁴

A variety of different structures were used as ghetto sites. The typical small wooden houses, or cottages, common in the region, were used in a number of towns, including Smolensk, Rudnia, and Starodub. In Karachev and Krasnyi, the ghetto consisted only of an open-air holding camp with no shelter, similar to many camps for Soviet POWs. In other ghettos, such as Nevel' and Starodub, due to insufficient housing, some Jews had to sleep in dugouts or barns. In Opochka and Pochep, former barracks were used; in Zlynka, a Machine Tractor Station (MTS) was used; and in Mglin, a prison was converted into a ghetto. Several smaller ghettos, including Dmitriev-L'govskii and Loknia, were established by forcing all the Jews into a single house. Jews were sometimes brought into the ghettos from surrounding villages; this is documented for Klimovo and Monastyrshchina. The population of most ghettos was composed primarily of women, children, and the elderly, with only a few males of working age.

Living conditions in the ghettos were horrific. The inmates of the Rudnia ghetto suffered from overcrowding and poor sanitation, receiving rations of only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread per day. All Jews had to surrender any valuables at gunpoint, and the more prosperous members of the community were taken hostage and held for ransom.¹⁵ In the Velizh ghetto, about 500 people lived in pigsties, furnished with bunk beds, as the 27 houses were all full. In the Kaluga ghetto, established in a former nunnery, although ration cards were issued, no food was distributed to the Jews. Even children in the Kaluga ghetto were forced to work, removing bodies from the streets. Children also sneaked out of the ghetto to scavenge for food.¹⁶ In most ghettos that existed for more than a few weeks, there were deaths from starvation and disease. Reports from several ghettos, including those in Smolensk, Krasnyi, Petrovichi, and Khislavichi, mention the rape of Jewish women by members of the OD and also Germans.

The Soviet evacuation of most heavy industry during their retreat and the severe food shortages in the towns meant that there was no large-scale use of Jews as a professional labor force. Indeed, in Smolensk, Jewish craftsmen were ordered to surrender their tools for use by the non-Jewish population. Nevertheless, the Jews in most ghettos of the region were ex-

ploited for forced labor on immediate tasks such as road repairs, clearing rubble, loading railway cars, and also digging defensive trenches. Some assigned labor tasks, such as cleaning toilets, served more to humiliate those workers. In several ghettos, including those in Klinty and Rzhev, selected skilled craftsmen were saved for a time after most of the Jews had been shot. In Staraiia Russa, Jews living outside the ghetto in mixed marriages were arrested and shot one month after the ghetto's liquidation.

Little is known about the Jewish Councils in German-occupied Russian territory. Most comprised just a few members, and in some ghettos there was only a single Jewish elder. As elsewhere, their tasks included the implementation of German orders, especially the organization of forced labor, meeting German demands for "contributions," and providing social services, including rudimentary medical care. This latter reason may explain the strong representation of physicians, including some women, on the councils. Ilya Al'tman has identified the professions of 19 Jewish Council members from more than 10 ghettos; of these, 11 were doctors or dentists. Other professions represented included a bookkeeper as the Jewish community's representative in Kaluga and a teacher in Velizh.¹⁷

Examples of resistance are known for several ghettos. Some acts of resistance are cited by the Einsatzgruppen as the alleged pretext for extermination Aktions. Such references must be treated with caution, but the descriptions may in part be based on actual events. Einsatzgruppen report no. 124, on October 25, 1941, noted:

The staff unit (Gruppenstab) [of Einsatzgruppe B] and Vorkommando Moskau carried out an operation against the Jews in Tatarsk. The Jews had begun to leave the ghetto of their own volition, and return to their former residences. Russians had occupied their apartments in the meantime, and the Jews tried to drive them out. Therefore, the place was systematically searched and the Jews gathered in the market square. Some of them had fled, and had to be hunted out of the nearby forest. In punishment for not following the orders of the German Security Police, all the Jewish men in Tatarsk and three women were shot.¹⁸

In Rudnia, the Germans raided the home of a young Jew who had been studying to be a radio technician. They arrested and shot him for not surrendering his radio, together with another 15 to 20 young Jews. The Germans also discovered a pistol in the Rudnia ghetto and shot 100 Jews, ostensibly for concealing weapons.¹⁹ Shortly after this, Ida Brion fled the ghetto after hearing from escapees of the Vitebsk ghetto that all the Jews would be shot unless they escaped.²⁰ Jews escaped from several Russian ghettos just before or during their liquidation, with the aim of going into hiding or joining the Soviet partisans. Outside the ghetto, they had to contend with patrols of the Wehrmacht and the OD, hunting for escapees.

The advance of the Red Army in the winter of 1941–1942 successfully liberated three ghettos in the region from the Germans, saving most of their inmates from certain death. These were the ghettos of Il'ino, Kaluga, and Usviaty.²¹ Unfortunately, the liberation of these three ghettos was quite exceptional. In Velizh, the Germans and Russian police burned down the ghetto on January 30, 1942, just as Soviet forces were attacking the town, and only a few dozen of the ghetto's Jews managed to survive.

The Soviet counteroffensive may, however, have delayed the liquidation of some ghettos by a few weeks. Sonderkommando 7a, for example, was forced to retreat hastily by the Soviet advances in late December, its men suffering from cold and exhaustion as many vehicles broke down. It was then transferred to Klinty further to the rear to rest and recover, only arriving there in late February. Thus the Red Army's advance rendered it largely inactive for almost two months.²² In the ensuing weeks from March 1942, this unit murdered nearly all the remaining Jews in the area around Klinty in a series of Aktions coordinated by the unit's energetic new commander, Albert Rapp. These Aktions included the destruction of ghettos in Pochep, Unecha, Starodub, and Mglin.²³

The ghettos in Russian territory existed for only a few weeks or months. They were established just as the Einsatzgruppen, Order Police, and SS forces were escalating the genocide from the shooting of groups of male Jews and alleged Communists to the destruction of entire Jewish communities. Most ghetto liquidation Aktions were organized by the respective Einsatzkommandos, but they also required support from the OD and local Wehrmacht forces. The murder of the Jews of Gusino, for example, just west of Smolensk, can be reconstructed from the testimony of German soldiers given in post-war war crime investigations. The Jews were driven out of the ghetto to a pit through a narrow cordon formed by soldiers of a Landeschützen Company. The pit was only about 150 meters (492 feet) from the ghetto, close to the company's quarters in the local school. The Jews were then shot in the back of the neck in groups of 2 or 3 by two SS men on the edge of the pit. The German forces murdered more than 200 Jews in the Aktion, which lasted several hours. The Jews remained orderly. However, some soldiers recall a Jewish girl calling out: "Please don't shoot me, I will do any work!" The clothing of the Jewish victims was subsequently distributed among the local Russian population.²⁴

Little evidence has remained concerning the ghettos on occupied Russian soil. Just occasionally, however, these ghettos are mentioned in sources that reflect the perspective of so-called bystanders. Local resident Nikolai Karpov in Roslavl', who was subsequently deported to Germany for forced labor, recalls in his published memoir learning about the clearance of the ghetto. Neighbors reported with horror that all the inhabitants, including women, children, and the elderly, had been shot near the old Jewish cemetery. The graves had been hastily covered with earth, and Russian policemen had plundered the houses. Karpov observed one policeman

attempting to drag away a cow that had belonged to a Jewish tailor, but the cow resisted, not wanting to go with someone it did not know.²⁵ In the two months following the Aktion, about 20 more Jews were brought into Roslavl' by Wehrmacht patrols in the surrounding countryside and placed in the SD prison. These Jews had been denounced by local inhabitants and handed over to the Wehrmacht. They were subsequently shot by the German Security Police.²⁶

Only a few hundred Jews managed to survive from the ghettos in German-occupied Russian territory, either hiding among the local population or serving with the Soviet partisans.²⁷ The experience of Solomon Bazhalkin, a 14-year-old boy who escaped from the Unecha ghetto, reflects the difficulties Jews faced in trying to survive. He knocked on people's doors in the surrounding villages, saying he was an orphan. Some local inhabitants offered him food and occasionally shelter for a short while; but usually he had to move on again, as people suspected that he was a Jew. On one occasion, he was denounced to the police, but he successfully convinced them he was an orphan and was released. Subsequently he linked up with the Soviet partisans, as did many of the surviving escapees from ghettos in Russia.

The last occupying German forces were driven from Russian territory in July 1944 with the capture by the Red Army of the town of Pskov.²⁸

SOURCES Relevant secondary publications concerning the Holocaust in the territories of the Russian Federation include the following: Ilya Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), also available in German as Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zürich: Gleichen, 2008); Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoy territorii Rossiiskoy federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik. Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istorii. Kul'tura. Tsvilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; Aleksandr I. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220; Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003).

Published sources include the following: Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Complete Black Book of Russian Jewry* [English edition translated and edited by David Patterson; with a foreword by Irving Louis Horowitz and an introduction by Helen Segall] (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2002); Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007); I. Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001); *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vols. 1–39 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1968–); and several articles published in the Yiddish-language journal *Eynikayt*.

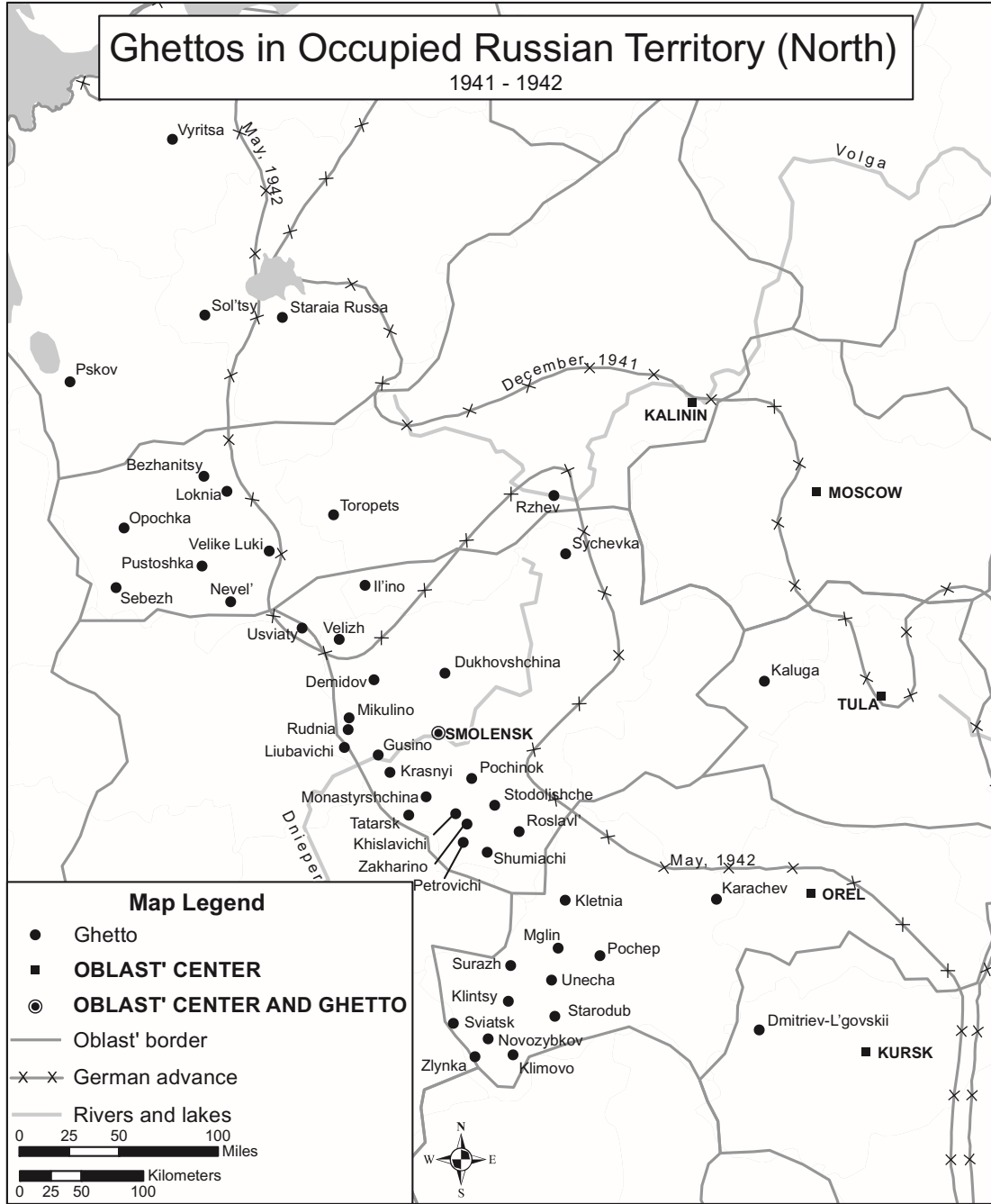
Relevant archival collections include the following: AFSB-SmO; BA-BL; BA-L; BA-MA; GAPO; GARF; GASmO; GATO; NARA; RGVA; RTKIDNI; Sta. Kiel; TsGAMORF; USHMM; VHF; and YVA.

Martin Dean

VOLUME II: PART B

NOTES

1. The high figure of 120,000 is given by Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, p. 348. He relies, however, mainly on the figures of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports, which are sometimes exaggerated.
2. Nebe was succeeded by Erich Naumann on about November 1, 1941.
3. USHMM, RG-30, Acc.1999.A.0196, reel 233, Ereignismeldung (EM) UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941, p. 42. See also Sta. Kiel, investigation against Egon Noack, 2 Js 762/63, vol. 1, pp. 205–207, testimony of Noack, June 11–12, 1959, in which he notes that he was entrusted by Nebe with the task of setting up ghettos in the villages around Smolensk.
4. BA-MA, RH 26-285/45, Befehlshaber des rückwärtigen Heeresgebiets Nord, Betr. Einrichtung von Gettos, September 3, 1941.
5. Christian Gerlach, "Die Einsatzgruppe B 1941–42," in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), pp. 52–70, here p. 59.
6. USHMM, RG-30, Acc.1999.A.0196, reel 234, EM UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941, no. 144, December 10, 1941, and no. 146, December 15, 1941.
7. Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, p. 324.
8. On October 2–12, 1941, detachments of Einsatzgruppe A shot 260 people in various towns and villages in the Leningrad area (EM UdSSR no. 116, October 17, 1941). This number probably includes the Jews shot in Pushkin. According to the testimony of Mitrofan Kress, 250 Jews were shot in the Catherine Park between September 17, 1941, and January 1, 1942 (GARF, 7021-30-1275, p. 4).
9. NARA, RG-242, T-454, reel 16, frame 1272, Report on Mountain Jews (Bergjuden) by Dr. Otto Bräutigam, plenipotentiary of the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories with Army Group A, December 26, 1942.
10. OK I/593 Demidow, August 6, 1941, Kommandantur Order no. 6, as cited by Theo Schulte, *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), pp. 326–327.
11. GARF, 7021-47-4, pp. 17–18.
12. Testimony of Aleksei Novozhilov, YVA, O-53/28, p. 818; testimony of Vladimir Khizvera, YVA, O-3/4671, p. 227; and testimony of Evgeniia Gromyko, in "Smolenskoe getto: Eshche odin svidetel'," *Smolenskii novosti* (Smolensk), October 25, 1995.
13. GARF, 7021-114-6, pp. 20–21.
14. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 285, 293; testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 79; and USHMM, RG-50.378*0006, testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.
15. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 285 reverse, and 315 reverse; testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 80; Sh. Dol'nik, "Koroteyah shel kehillah yehudit be-Brit ha-Moasot," *Yalkut Moreshet* no. 21 (1976): 94.
16. USHMM, RG-50.378*0016, oral history interview with Yuri Izrailovich German, August 5, 1995.
17. Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti*, pp. 117–119; Doubson, "Ghetto," p. 167. German aversion to Communists and the absence of religious or political Jewish leadership meant that apolitical professionals by default became the obvious source of local leadership.
18. BA-BL, R 58/219, EM UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.
19. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 285 reverse; GASmO, 2434-3-37, p. 168.
20. USHMM, RG-50.378*0006, testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.
21. Doubson, "Ghetto," p. 159.
22. It is possible, however, that Sonderkommando 7a was also involved in the liquidation of the Sychevka ghetto on around January 1, 1942, during the course of its hasty retreat.
23. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (1979), Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 726–786.
24. BA-L, ZStL/II 202 AR 946/61, vol. 1, pp. 13–109, vol. 2, pp. 333–351; and TsGAMORF, 2082526/264, p. 36.
25. Nikolai Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter: Erzählung* (Münster: Ardey-Verlag, 2003), p. 7.
26. BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80.
27. To locate survivors, see VHF and also the Survivors' Registry of the USHMM, which both indicate if Jews managed to flee or survived in German-occupied territory.
28. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin.





Oblast' borders as of May 1941

BEZHANITSY

Pre-1941: Bezhanitsy, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Besbanizy, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Bezhanitsy, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Bezhanitsy is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) north-northwest of Velike Luki. According to the 1939 census, there were only 24 Jews living in Bezhanitsy.

German forces captured Bezhanitsy on July 18, 1941, almost one month after their invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During this period, some Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and the eligible males were required to report for military service. Only some of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

During the occupation, which lasted until July 1944, a German military Kommandantur ran the town. The German Kommandantur formed a town administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), staffed by local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German Kommandantur ordered the town administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as their use for various kinds of forced labor. In October 1941, all the remaining Jews in Bezhanitsy were rounded up and moved into a ghetto, consisting of an unheated house whose windows had been smashed, which was surrounded by a fence. The prisoners did not receive anything to eat for many days. The ghetto existed for several weeks, and then it was liquidated by shooting all the Jews. First 10 people were selected to dig two large graves. Then they were shot into the graves, which were filled in by the next group of 10. This was repeated until all the Jews had been shot. According to one source, 120 Jews were shot in total. This figure is considerably overstated. However, some Jewish refugees from other places likely were among the victims.¹

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Bezhanitsy can be found in the following archives: GAPO and GARF (7021-39-319 and 8114-1-963, pp. 111–112).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. Il'ia Al'tman, *Zbertyy nenyavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 96, 99, 101; Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), p. 404.

DEMIDOV

Pre-1941: Demidov (until 1918 known as Porech'e), town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943:

Demidov, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Demidov, Russian Federation

Demidov is located about 110 kilometers (68 miles) northwest of Smolensk on the Kasplia River. In 1939, the Jewish population was 206 (2.6 percent of the town's total population).

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 13, 1941, about four weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During this intervening period, much of the Jewish population fled or was evacuated to the east, and men eligible for military service were drafted into the Red Army. It is not known how many Jews remained in the town, but it was most probably less than 50 percent of the preinvasion population.

At the end of July 1941, the German military administration in Demidov, Ortskommandantur (OK) I/593, appointed a local mayor.¹ A police force (Ordnungsdienst) was also recruited from local inhabitants. On August 6, 1941, the Ortskommandant ordered that all Jews living in the town over the age of 10 had to wear a yellow marker at least 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter on the right sleeve of their clothes and overcoats, which they were to make themselves. Jews of both sexes were not to be evacuated but were to remain in the town and to perform forced labor. The same order also forbade the ritual slaughtering of animals to prepare kosher meat.²

On August 29, 1941, two suspected Soviet partisans (non-Jews) were publicly hanged in Demidov, as a warning to the rest of the population. On September 4, OK I/593 issued an order denying the Jews freedom of movement and prohibiting them from trading with non-Jews.³ The detailed effects of this order are not known, but it may have resulted in the establishment of an open ghetto for those Jews that still remained in Demidov.

Shortly after this, during the second week of September 1941, units of the German 161st and 183rd Infantry Divisions, together with part of Sonderkommando (Sk) 7a and the Ortskommandant in Demidov, conducted an antipartisan sweep in the area south of the town, which resulted in the arrest of some 2,000 people “capable of bearing arms,” of whom about 200 were shot or hanged.⁴ On September 28, OK I/593 in Demidov reported the execution of 398 individuals under the heading of “Partisans, Political Commissars, and Party Functionaries,” as well as 3 commissars.⁵

One Jewish woman, who was seized and brought to Demidov together with her brother and another Jewish girl at some time in the fall of 1941, stated that the Germans raped the other Jewish girl. When she learned that she would be next, she managed to escape in time.⁶

From mid-August 1941, a Sonderkommando 7a detachment headed by SS-Untersturmführer Claus Hüser was located in Demidov for several weeks. According to German postwar investigative sources, the Russian Ordnungsdienst frequently handed over individuals they had arrested to the detachment while it was based in Demidov. Those prisoners that were Jews were shot without being interrogated. Allegedly up to 50 Jews

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were murdered by SK 7a in this manner while it was based in Demidov or shortly thereafter.⁷

More reliable information about the murder of the Jews of Demidov has not been uncovered. According to one partisan report, the remaining Jews in the town were allegedly shot at the start of 1942, by which time advancing Red Army forces had almost cut off the town. However, as this source considerably overestimates the number of victims, it may refer to the German antipartisan sweeps of September 1941 or other subsequent similar Aktionen that were directed mainly against non-Jews.⁸

SOURCES Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jewish population of Demidov can be found in the following archives: BA-L; BA-MA (RH 23/223); GARF (7021-44-622); GASmO; and NARA (NOKW-1320 and 1326).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 23/223, Activity Reports of Korüeck 582 for the period August to December 1941; OK I/593 Demidov, Kommandantur Order no. 2, July 31, 1941.

2. OK I/593 Demidov, August 6, 1941, Kommandantur Order no. 6, as cited by Theo Schulte, *The German Army and Nazi Policies in Occupied Russia* (Oxford: Berg, 1989), pp. 326–327.

3. BA-MA, RH 23/223, OK I/593 Demidov, Kommandantur Order no. 17, September 4, 1941.

4. Nicholas Terry, “The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front” (Ph.D. diss., King’s College, University of London, 2005), p. 217; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643, pp. 299–311.

5. Schulte, *The German Army*, p. 223.

6. USHMM, RG-50.378, # 006, oral testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.

7. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 2/65, verdict of December 22, 1966, against Meyer and others, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643, pp. 311–315.

8. RGASPI, 17-88-1067, p. 86.

DMITRIEV-L’GOVSKII

Pre-1939: Dmitriev-L’govskii, town and raion center, Kursk oblast’, RSFSR; 1941–1943: Dmitriev, Army Group Center (Heeresgruppe Mitte); post-1991: Dmitriev-L’govskii, Russian Federation

Dmitriev-L’govskii is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) northwest of Kursk on the railway line from Briansk to L’gov. The census of 1939 revealed that the Jewish population stood at 111.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on October 8, 1941, three and a half months after Germany’s invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this intervening period, the overwhelming majority of the Jews managed

to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were inducted into the Red Army. According to Soviet sources, only 16 Jews remained in the town at the start of German occupation. These included several key professionals, such as the dentists Kaplan and his wife, the head of the pharmacy, a tailor, a cobbler, and a barber.¹

During the entire occupation period, from October 8, 1941, to March 2, 1943, a German military Kommandantur ran the town. The German military administration formed a town council, and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) was recruited from among local residents.

Soon after the occupation, the town council organized the registration of the Jews, as well as their use in various kinds of heavy labor. The German occupiers spread antisemitic propaganda and imposed a special tax of 5,000 rubles per month on each Jew. They also proceeded to seize and rob remaining Jewish property.²

In November 1941, the Germans set up a “ghetto” in Dmitriev-L’govskii, forcing all the Jews to move into a single house, which bore the following inscription on the door: “Entry forbidden to non-Jews.” (Another source indicates that some Jews were shot in the town shortly after the arrival of the Germans, and the remainder were placed in the ghetto.) Jews were also required to wear a Jewish star on their clothes, on the chest and back, and were forbidden from having any contact with non-Jews.³ The Jews in the ghetto were forbidden from carrying out their former professions and were taken under guard to perform heavy, dangerous labor, including digging up bombs that had failed to explode. As they worked, they were whipped and beaten mercilessly with sticks.⁴

The fate of a 16-year-old Jewish boy named Boris is known from two witnesses. He was the barber’s apprentice and was forced to work for the Germans, carrying water and cleaning toilets. By accident he splashed water on a German dog, and the Germans started to beat him. When they discovered from other boys that he was Jewish, they beat him further for concealing that he was a Jew. The Germans threw him into the cold cellar of the Pedagogical School for three days, and on the fourth day a German came and shot him with a pistol. His body was left there among the trash until spring 1942, when it was thrown into the pit behind the cemetery.⁵

Following a Soviet counteroffensive, the Jews feared that they might be killed, and a few managed to run away. Shortly after this escape effort, probably in March 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto by shooting the remaining Jews.⁶

SOURCES Some information on this ghetto is available in Il’ja Al’tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zürich: Gleichen, 2008), pp. 123–127.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Dmitriev-L’govskii can be found in the following archives: GAKO; GARF (7021-29-14 and 979); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 9, 7021-29-979, pp. 19–20.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.; and GARF, 7021-29-14, pp. 2, 19–20.
4. GARF, 7021-29-14, pp. 19–20.
5. USHMM, RG-22.002M (GARF), reel 9, 7021-29-979, pp. 19–20.
6. GARF, 7021-29-14 and 7021-29-979; and Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, pp. 123–124, 127.

DUKHOVSHCHINA

Pre-1941: Dukhovshchina, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Duchowshchina, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Dukhovshchina, Russian Federation

Dukhovshchina is located 57 kilometers (35 miles) north-east of Smolensk. According to the 1939 census, 102 Jews were living in Dukhovshchina (2.64 percent of the total population).

German units of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 15, 1941, 24 days after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. During that time, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, in late July or early August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur appointed a mayor (Bürgermeister) of Dukhovshchina and ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jewish population was also exploited for various forms of forced labor. The town's remaining Jews were moved into a ghetto, to concentrate them in one location and isolate them from the rest of the population. The ghetto was liquidated in the summer of 1942 at which time the Jews of the town were shot. The number of Jewish victims is reported to be 300, but this figure may be exaggerated. The chief of the raion police force, Shershukov, took an active part in the shooting Aktion; there were several dozen victims. At least two Jewish families (the Gurevich and Bliumin families) were saved with the help and support of local residents.¹

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Dukhovshchina can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-635); GASmO (R-1630-2-28); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

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NOTE

1. R. Zharikova, "Ia videla, kak ubivali evreev," *Raionnaia gazeta* (Dukhovshchina raion), no. 76, July 2, 1992, p. 4; and GASmO, R-1630-2-28, p. 135.

ELISTA (AKA STEPNOI)

Pre-1942: Elista, capital, Kalmyk ASSR, RSFSR; August–December 1942: Army Group A (Heeresgruppe A); post-1991: Kalmyk Republic (Kalmykia), Russian Federation

Elista is located about 250 kilometers (155 miles) south of Stalingrad. Between June 1941 and August 1942, a number of Jewish refugees arrived in Elista from Gomel', Dnepropetrovsk, Kiev, and other places occupied by the Germans. The lack of any rail communications made it difficult for Jews to flee from Elista in the face of the rapid German advance across the Kalmykian steppe in the summer of 1942.

Units of the German LII Corps occupied Elista on August 13, 1942. During the period of occupation, which lasted until December 31, 1942, German Ortskommandantur I/649 administered the town's affairs. The German military administration created a town authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) made up of local residents. For part of the occupation, units of the German 16th Motorized Infantry Division were stationed in the town.

Among the German punitive organs based in the town from the end of August to the end of December 1942 was the Security Police Sonderkommando Astrakhan, part of Einsatzgruppe D. The Sonderkommando, consisting of about 10 to 20 men, was headed by Hauptsturmführer Rolf Maurer, who died in February 1943.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German authorities ordered the registration and marking of all Jews, the confiscation of Jewish property, and the use of Jews for forced labor. All Jews had to wear distinguishing badges in the form of a white six-pointed star. After their registration and marking, the Jews were forced into a ghetto, for which one of the buildings on Rosa Luxemburg Street was designated. The Jews were not allowed to leave the ghetto, and they were deprived of food and water. They remained in the ghetto for 10 days.

On September 9, 1942 (or shortly thereafter), Sonderkommando Astrakhan under Maurer's command carried out the liquidation of the ghetto. According to testimony by members of the unit, about 80 to 100 Jews were taken out into the steppe outside the town to a place where a large ditch had already been prepared. Maurer and his men then shot all the Jews in small family groups (composed of men, women, children, and the elderly).¹ Soviet sources place the number of victims considerably higher, at 93 families, or more than 300 people altogether. The site of the mass shooting is reported to have been near the town's waste dump.²

Shortly after the mass shooting, the Germans began to encounter partisan resistance in the region and acts of sabotage in Elista, organized in part by the German-appointed mayor of the town and other local officials, who apparently were working for the NKVD. Sonderkommando Astrakhan responded by executing a number of non-Jews before its retreat at the end of December.

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SOURCES Documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission and other sources regarding the extermination of the Jews of Elista can be found in the following archives: BA-MA (RH 24-40/116); GARF (7021-8-27, pp. 87–89); the National Archive of the Kalmyk Republic (68-1-5, pp. 21–22); Sta. Mü I (22 Js 204, vols. 3–5); and TsGAMORF (8523-33-15).

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NOTES

1. Sta. Mü I, 22 Js 204, vol. 3, p. 687, statement of Georg Weiss, February 16, 1961, vol. 4, pp. 813–814, statement of G. Weiss, November 30, 1962, vol. 4, pp. 860–861, statement of Emil Mikisch, February 5, 1962, and vol. 5, pp. 1155–1156, statement of Leo Luft, July 12, 1962. See also Joachim Hoffmann, *Deutsche und Kalmyken, 1942 bis 1945* (Freiburg: Rombach, 1986), pp. 103–104.

2. BA-MA, RH 24-40/116, unpaginated, copy of Soviet propaganda material, probably dated early 1943; see also GARF, 7021-8-27, pp. 87–89.

GUSINO

Pre-1941: Gusino, village, Krasnyi raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Russian Federation

Gusino is located 45 kilometers (28 miles) west-southwest of Smolensk on the Dnieper River and on the main highway from Minsk to Moscow. According to the 1926 census, 427 Jews resided in the town (with a total population of 706).

Units of the German 18th Panzer Division captured Gusino in mid-July 1941. Soon after their arrival, German forces established a ghetto for the Jewish population of approximately 250 people on July 28, 1941.¹ Members of the 1st Company, Landeschützen (LS) Battalion 507 (later renamed Security Bn. 545), which was stationed in Gusino during the winter of 1941–1942, note that on their arrival a ghetto had already been established in the town. The Jewish population was also forced to wear Jewish stars on their clothing and was made to perform forced labor, such as the clearing of snow and the unloading of railroad cars; a few of them also worked for the German soldiers based in the town. According to some accounts, a chicken-wire fence surrounded the ghetto, with barbed wire on top. The Jews lived in all the houses on one long street. In the town there was also a local Russian mayor and a local Russian police force designated only by armbands but armed with rifles. The Russian police was subordinated to the local German commandant.

The mass shooting of the Jews from the ghetto took place on February 6, 1942. On the evening before, a small unit of the SS and SD, comprising about 10 people, arrived in Gusino and informed Captain Schmitt, in charge of 1st Company, LS-Bn. 507, that all the Jews in the ghetto would be shot. It is not precisely clear which unit the SS men belonged to, but it was probably a Security Police (Sipo) and SD squad subordinated



The Gusino memorial, photographed in 1998 by Miron Ioffe. Ioffe's immediate family was murdered in Gusino during the Holocaust. USHMM 2004.421, COURTESY OF MIRON IOFFE

to Einsatzkommando 8 (commanded by Heinz Richter from January 1942), probably based in Orsha or Krugloe.

A mass grave had already been prepared in advance, close to the ghetto. Because of the hard ground, the Germans used explosives to prepare a pit some 10 meters long and 3 meters deep (33 feet by almost 10 feet). The Sipo/SD unit requested that members of the LS Company cordon off the ghetto during the Aktion to prevent any escapes. Some men of the company were deployed around the ghetto during the night. However, it appears that a few Jews got wind of the operation following the explosions and managed to flee, as other company members also searched the woods vainly in the morning just prior to the Aktion, trying to find escaped Jews.

The Aktion began at 9:00 A.M., when the Jews were driven out of the ghetto and forced through a narrow cordon, formed by members of the LS Company, to the pit. The pit was only about 100 or 200 meters (328 feet to 656 feet) from the ghetto, close to the company's quarters in the local school. Before arriving at the pit, the Jewish victims had to remove their upper clothing and their shoes. These items were subsequently distributed among the local Russian population. The Jews were then shot in the back of the neck in groups of 2 or 3 by two SS men on the edge of the pit. The German forces murdered more than 200 Jews, including men, women, and children of all ages in the Aktion, which lasted several hours. (A report by a Soviet military commission of investigation records that more than 250 people were shot altogether.)² The Jews remained calm during the shooting. However, some soldiers in the cordon recall a Jewish girl calling out: "Please don't shoot

me, I will do any work!"³ During the Aktion at least one Russian boy tried to escape. However, he was fired on and wounded by men from the cordon, then brought back to the killing site.

The attitude of the Wehrmacht troops is hard to assess from the investigative sources, as they knew they might be prosecuted if they admitted that their participation was motivated by racial hatred. Nevertheless, the company consisted almost exclusively of middle-aged men who had no particular Nazi sympathies. Several men mentioned that one company member tried to save two young Jewish sisters who had worked for the company and received bread from their rations in return. When the SS men found out about these two Jewish girls a few days later, they also took them away to be shot. One soldier claimed that the events preoccupied him so much that he wrote to his wife about it, mentioning especially the shooting of the two sisters. Others said that they were so affected they could not eat.

About one week after the main shooting, the local Russian police carried out their own Aktion. They shot those Jews who had escaped from the first Aktion. Accounts by Wehrmacht soldiers stationed in the town mention Jews returning, but they were probably hunted down and brought in by the local police.⁴

SOURCES This entry is based mainly on the statements of former members of 1st Company, Landeschützen Battalion 507, taken by the German authorities in the 1960s. This documentation can be found in BA-L (ZStL/II 202 AR 946/61). Additional documentation can be found in the following archives: TsGAMORF (2082526/264, p. 36); VHF (# 13160, 16575, and 39900); and YVA (O-33/3275, Miron Ioffe).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Vadim Doubson, "Ghetto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istorii. Kul'tura. Tsvilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184, here p. 159.

2. TsGAMORF, 2082526/264, p. 36.

3. BA-L, ZStL/II 202 AR 946/61, vol. 1, p. 21.

4. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 13–109, vol. 2, pp. 333–351.

IL'INO

Pre-1941: Il'ino, village and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Iljino, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Il'ino, Tver oblast', Russian Federation

Il'ino is located 82 kilometers (51 miles) east-southeast of Velike Luki. By 1939, the number of Jews stood at 221. Il'ino was remote from larger towns and 48 kilometers (30 miles) from the nearest railway station. It was not the site of any industry, and consequently the local authorities did not organize an evacuation as the German forces drew near. The inhabitants of Il'ino appealed to the raion authorities for help but received only a terse response: "Don't stir up panic; if it's

necessary, we'll evacuate." After loading their belongings into carts, many Jewish families tried to leave Il'ino on foot, seeking to get to the railway station at Staraiia Toropa, but German troops stopped them, and they turned back.¹

German forces took Il'ino on July 22, 1941. Shortly afterwards, the occupiers ordered the Jews in the village to sew a yellow six-pointed star on the chest and back of their outer garments and to mark their homes with the stars.² A Jewish elder was named. One witness recalls that he was "an ordinary person, by no means a betrayer." He was "caught between the devil and the deep blue sea."³ The occupiers did not undertake the registration of the Jews since local non-Jewish citizens had given the Germans complete lists of the Jewish population in the village.⁴

The occupiers began to assign Jews to work servicing the German garrison. Germans treated the Jews scornfully and subjected them to taunts and beatings. On one occasion, eight German Air Force pilots gathered a number of Jewish men and took them to a neighboring village, made them dig pits, and staged a mock hanging. Subsequently, one of those Jews became deranged.⁵ According to one account, Finnish Army soldiers were especially brutal in dealing with the Jews. In one case, a woman's sister who was a witness indignantly told how a Finnish soldier took all the sugar from their house. Then, on horseback, he chased the woman for 3 kilometers (1.9 miles).⁶

Wehrmacht soldiers and those in Finnish, Estonian, and Hungarian units quartered in neighboring communities robbed the Jewish inhabitants. They took mostly foodstuffs. The chief of the Russian police obliged the Jewish elder, under threat of being shot, to procure various things for him. On one occasion, he asked for a black suit to be furnished by the Jews; on another, he demanded a supply of blank paper.⁷

In September 1941, the occupiers issued an order concerning the establishment of a ghetto. It designated a short street on the outskirts of the village from which all residents—mostly Russians and Latvians—were told to move out. Low, marshy ground flanked the street on one side, and a small stream intersected it. The Jewish cemetery lay at the end of the street. Several Jewish families moved into each house. The occupiers allowed them to bring with them only a few possessions and scarcely any provisions. Barbed wire partly surrounded the area of the ghetto, and German soldiers and Russian policemen guarded it. The occupying authorities did not allow the Jews to leave the ghetto and forbade local inhabitants to visit them.

The ghetto held as many as 200 people—residents of Il'ino and surrounding villages and refugees from Belorussia.⁸ The inmates were mostly women, children of various ages, and elderly men. Local authorities carried out a registration of the Jewish inmates once the ghetto had been established.⁹

The Jews in the ghetto suffered severely from hunger, even eating flaxseed meal. They avoided starving to death only because they had dug up potatoes from their kitchen gardens and brought them along when resettled to the ghetto. Every potato counted.¹⁰ Teenagers in the ghetto managed to obtain some bread and potatoes from former neighbors and acquaintances. A woman who had been confined in the ghetto recalled that

parents feared the Germans might shoot the children.¹¹ Occasionally, Russian boys would steal into the ghetto at night to bring food to their friends.¹²

Ghetto inmates suffered from an insufficient water supply. During the winter, they had to melt snow for drinking water. There was no place where they could wash up; they were covered with scabs and tormented by lice.¹³ Not enough firewood was available for heating. Improvised medical aid was provided for sick Jews in the ghetto by a doctor who was a refugee from Vitebsk and who managed the local drugstore. Taking advantage of her “Aryan appearance,” on several occasions a female inmate left the ghetto to buy medication from him.¹⁴

Russian police arrived on the scene shortly after the ghetto was established; their aim was to seize the Jews’ belongings. They helped themselves to one thing after another—from linens to floor runners. The Komissarov family begged them, “Leave the strips of carpet!” The police chief replied, “What do you need your carpet for? You’ll soon have the ground under your feet.”¹⁵ That was a thinly veiled reference to the planned extermination of the Jews. German soldiers and the Russian police repeatedly carried out searches in the ghetto. They were looking for valuables, and they also seized warm clothing, even shabby garments, “for the German Army.”¹⁶

The lack of clothes to keep them warm heightened the suffering of the Jews in the ghetto during the severe winter of 1941–1942. Russian inhabitants of Il’ino recall that when the Germans ordered the Jews taken out of the ghetto in January 1942 (with the intention of shooting them), many of them were almost naked. Despite the ban on communicating with the inmates, one Russian woman brought warm clothing for a family in the ghetto with whom she had been friendly.¹⁷

According to orders passed through the Jewish elder, the guards escorted Jews outside the ghetto for compulsory labor. They assigned women and teenage children to do heavy and dirty work: to saw firewood; clean stables and toilets; wash motorcycles and cars; haul water for the field kitchen; and repair roads and, in winter, shovel them clear of snow.¹⁸

Former ghetto inmates recollect that many of them did not believe they could safely flee the ghetto, and they could not count on help from the local population. One ex-inmate said, “[N]obody could go anywhere. There was nowhere to go.” A former female inmate who was then still a child told how she often said to her mother, “Let me go out!” Her mother would reply, “Wherever you go, they’ll turn you in.”¹⁹ Nevertheless, some young people did leave the ghetto, a number of them to join the partisans.²⁰

A detachment of Russian police entered the ghetto on January 24, 1942. They brought all the Jews out of the ghetto under guard and assembled them near the German commandant’s office. The police kept the poorly clad Jews there for several hours in the freezing cold. Local inhabitants who witnessed the event and the Jews themselves later recalled that they were certain that this activity was in preparation for a mass shooting. A local midwife managed to snatch a little girl

from the column of Jews and subsequently hid the child in her house.

Through an interpreter, the German commandant criticized the assembled Jews for alleged offenses: spreading rumors that disparaged the German Army, hailing Soviet aircraft, and so on. Then the Germans ordered the Jews to return to the ghetto and not to venture out of their houses. They nailed the doors shut and posted a guard of Russian policemen.²¹

Apparently the Germans did not have time to carry out the massacre, for their military command was by then busy warding off an attack by Soviet forces. On January 24, elements of the Soviet 4th Shock Army attacked Il’ino, but without immediate success. During the night, additional Soviet forces came up to the outskirts of the village, and at dawn the attack was launched again. Having overcome stubborn German resistance, by midday on January 25, elements of the Red Army liberated Il’ino.

This unexpected salvation was a shock to the ghetto inmates, who had thought they were going to die. They could not sleep all night. One woman, the mother of four children, lost all her hair. On the morning of January 25, when neighbors knocked on a woman’s door and reported that they had seen men wearing white coveralls and with red stars on their caps, the woman fainted from shock at this news.²²

Almost all the ghetto inmates who had survived to that point were saved. (Several elderly Jews had frozen to death on the eve of liberation.) But the very narrow escape of the inmates of the Il’ino ghetto was sadly quite exceptional in the history of the Holocaust in the territory of the Soviet Union.

SOURCES Information concerning the Il’ino ghetto may be found in the article by the author, “Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.),” *Vestnik Evreiskogo universiteta v Moskve. Istoriia. Kul’tura. Tsvivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; and in A.I. Eremenko, *V nachale voiny* (Moscow, 1965).

Archival sources include GARF (7021-44-1073); GATO (R-1583-1-3563); and YVA. The municipal archives of the town of Zapadnaia Dvina also contain a collection of documents concerning the Il’ino ghetto (Fond 30, 22 files from 1994 and 1995).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. Testimonies of Fruma Komissarova and Zinaida Bel’chikova, “Kholokost v Rossii,” *AMI* (St. Petersburg), April 20, 1995.
2. YVA, M-62/67, testimony of Aleksandr Portiankin, p. 9; and testimony of Zinaida Bel’chikova.
3. Testimony of Moisei Akseľrod, author’s personal archive.
4. Testimony of Fruma Komissarova.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*; and testimony of Khana Zhuk, in *Krovotocha-shechaia pamiat’ Kholokosta* (Kaliningrad, 2001), p. 52.

8. GARF, 7021-44-1073, p. 8; GATO, R-1583-1-3653, pp. 25, 46, 63; testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova; and testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod.

9. GATO, R-1583-1-3563, p. 46.

10. Testimony of Fruma Komissarova; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.

11. Testimony of Khana Zhuk; and testimony of Aleksandr Portiankin.

12. GATO, R-1583-1-3563, pp. 63–64; R. Dzkuia, "Sel'skoe getto," *Obshebaia gazeta*, January 24–30, 2002.

13. Testimony of Khana Zhuk.

14. Testimony of Fruma Komissarova.

15. *Ibid.*

16. Testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.

17. GATO, R-1583-1-3653, pp. 25, 63–65.

18. GARF, 7021-44-1073, p. 8; GATO, R-1583-1-3653, p. 63; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.

19. Testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod; and testimony of Fruma Komissarova.

20. *Ibid.*; and YVA, M-62/67, p. 7.

21. GARF, 7021-44-1073, pp. 74–75; GATO, R-1583-1-3653, pp. 46, 64–65; testimony of Moisei Aksel'rod; and testimony of Zinaida Bel'chikova.

22. GATO, R-1583-1-3653, p. 65.

KAGAL'NITSKAIA

Pre-1942: Kagal'nitskaia, village and raion center, Rostov oblast', RSFSR; 1942–1943: Kagal'nitskaja, Rear Area, Army Group B (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet B); post-1991: Kagal'nitskaia, Russian Federation

Kagal'nitskaia is a Cossack village (*stanitsa*) located 58 kilometers (36 miles) southeast of Rostov on Don. In 1939, there were only seven Jews living in the village.¹

German armed forces occupied the village in late July 1942. Throughout the entire six months of the occupation, a German military commandant's office was in charge of the village. It established a local administration and an auxiliary police force, made up of local residents.

In August 1942, all the Jews in the village—38 families, primarily Jewish refugees—were assembled in a large barn, which became a temporary ghetto. Those Jews who were fit for work were required to perform forced labor. The Jews remained in this barn ghetto for one month. In September 1942, the German forces liquidated the ghetto by shooting all of the Jews, about 200 people in total.

SOURCE Documentation Center for the Modern History of the Rostov Oblast', 1886-1-6, p. 114.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 5:13.

KALUGA

Pre-1941: Kaluga, city and raion center, Tula oblast', RSFSR; October–December 1941: VIII Army Corps, Army Group Center (Heeresgruppe Mitte); post-1991: oblast' center, Russian Federation

Kaluga is located 188 kilometers (117 miles) southwest of Moscow on the Oka River and on the railway line from Moscow to Kiev. In 1939, the Jewish population was 833.

Warned of the German advance, the majority of the Jewish population managed to flee, leaving slightly in excess of 150 Jews behind. Part of the XIII Corps, of German Army Group Center, occupied Kaluga on October 12–13, 1941, only two weeks into Operation Typhoon (the German offensive towards Moscow). According to a child survivor (Yuri German), many people in the city initially greeted the German army with flowers. Some of his relatives had successfully evacuated from the city, but he remained behind with his mother.¹

Shortly after their arrival the German authorities forbade Jews from appearing in the market square or other public places and prohibited non-Jews from associating with them. Jews were denied access to the public baths, electricity, first aid, restaurants, and health services. The newly appointed local Russian mayor, Shcherbachev, also signed orders issued by the German commandant authorizing the seizure of Jewish property. Both before the establishment of the ghetto and thereafter, Jews were subjected to frequent raids by German and local police in search of property. Some Jews were murdered during these property raids. As Anna Veller recalls, a police officer entered her apartment just prior to the establishment of the ghetto and demanded all her valuables and money, threatening to kill her, as he had another Jewish woman. He took with him various objects, including silver spoons and 130 rubles in cash.²

On November 1, 1941, the mayor issued orders for all Jews to be registered and for them to wear a yellow star on the chest and shoulders of their outer garments, stigmatizing the Jews to the local population. On November 7, 1941, the German forces arrested 23 Jews and detained them for three weeks, starving them for several days. Of these, 8 of the younger people were shot, and the remainder were subsequently resettled in a "ghetto."³

Kaluga was the easternmost ghetto established in the area occupied during Operation Typhoon. On November 8, 1941, the city administration issued an order for the Jews to be confined together in one area on the outskirts of town. In addition, the Jews were ordered to establish a Jewish Council, which in turn would choose an elder, who would be the sole means of communication with the city administration. The same decree forbade the ritual slaughter of animals according to Jewish religious practice.⁴

In mid-November 1941, the German authorities ordered all 150 Jews to leave their houses and enter the ghetto within two hours. Many people moved into the ghetto, based in the former "Black Mountain" nunnery. They were only permitted

to take with them what they could carry in their hands, forcing them to leave behind many precious belongings and food-stuffs, which were then snapped up by looters who soon followed in their wake.

The Germans issued orders for all Jews between the ages of 14 and 60 to perform hard physical labor, often accompanied by beatings. Forced labor began at the start of the German occupation, but once the ghetto was established, the main task for the next two weeks was constructing a fence around the ghetto. There were no construction materials, so the fence from around another building had to be dismantled. Three German Feldgendarmes and local Russian policemen oversaw the work.

On November 27, 1941, the German commandant threatened that if on the following day 100 workers did not appear for work, then every tenth person would be shot. At that time the Kaluga “Gestapo” had registered 154 Jews, of which only 17 were able-bodied men, 43 were men aged over 60 or disabled, 8 were mothers with babies or young children, 21 were women over 60 or disabled, and 47 were children aged under 14, the remaining 18 being women aged 14 to 60. Therefore, only 35 to 40 ghetto inmates were fit to work, but all the children and elderly also reported to avoid the collective punishment. Although a number of local craftsmen (tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, and others) were represented within the ghetto, they were no longer permitted to perform these trades.⁵ The assigned work included cleaning the streets and burying the corpses of German soldiers. The overseers often beat Jews as they performed forced labor. Even the children in the ghetto were forced to work, some being made to move bodies in the streets outside the ghetto.

Once it was enclosed, two Feldgendarmes and the local Russian police guarded the ghetto. Jews could only exit the ghetto during certain limited hours. If they were even a few minutes late, the guards would beat them. Although ration cards were issued for pickled cucumbers, pickled tomatoes, and salt, very little food was actually distributed to the Jews. Some children therefore sneaked out of the ghetto to scavenge for food. Inside the ghetto there were also deaths from starvation, among them a boy named Gurevich, who was only seven years old.⁶

In December 1941, the Red Army counterattacked, and the Germans began searching for valuables in the ghetto. According to Anna Veller, on December 18–19, 1941, ghetto inmates began to hear cannon fire and took refuge in the cellars. Then at 11:00 A.M. on December 22, German soldiers burst into the ghetto and began firing from automatic weapons. They doused part of the ghetto in gasoline and then set fire to it. Veller reported that apart from the 8 Jews shot in prison, 10 were shot in the ghetto settlement and 3 afterwards, while another 10 were lost (presumably in the burning ghetto)—the elderly Gershevich was burned alive in his bed. Other Jews were reportedly injured as they made their escape.⁷

Yuri German managed to escape under the cover of smoke and hide with a neighbor for a few days until the Red Army arrived. According to his account, prior to the German re-

treat, only Jewish invalids from the sanatorium had been systematically shot.⁸ According to the OKW daily report for December 30, 1941, Kaluga was evacuated “according to plan.”⁹ It appears that the burning of the ghetto had been an attempt to destroy the Jewish population as the Germans retreated. Nevertheless, a large proportion of the ghetto inmates in Kaluga survived, indicating that the Red Army intervened before the German forces could organize the systematic liquidation of the ghetto.

SOURCES The main archival sources for the Kaluga ghetto are the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports, which are located in GARF (7021-47-1, 22, and 353) and some testimonies by surviving Jews (e.g., USHMM, RG-50.378*0016, oral history interview with Yuri Izrailovich German, August 5, 1995; and VHF, # 28740, 29422, 39439, and others). There is also some relevant German documentation in BA-BL and BA-MA.

The article by Vadim Doubson on ghettos in the Russian Federation has several detailed references to the Kaluga ghetto; see his “Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii rossiiskoi Federatsii,” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kultura. Tsvilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184. Also see the article “Evreiskoe getto v Kaluge,” in the regional historical publication *Vestniku Dobroi Voli* (Kaluga, 1998).

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NOTES

1. USHMM, RG-50.378*0016, oral history interview with Yuri Izrailovich German, August 5, 1995.
2. GARF, 7021-47-4, pp. 21–23, testimony of Anna Abramovna Veller, June 9, 1943.
3. See GARF, 7021-47-1 (also USHMM, RG 22.002M, reel 11), pp. 56–60, Soviet Extraordinary State Commission report for the town of Kaluga.
4. GARF, 7021-47-4, pp. 17–18.
5. Ibid.
6. See GARF, 7021-47-1, pp. 56–60; 7021-47-4, pp. 17–18, 21–23.
7. GARF, 7021-47-1, pp. 56–60; and 7021-47-4.
8. USHMM, RG-50.378*0016, oral history with Y.I. German.
9. Percy E. Schramm, ed., *Kriegstagebuch des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht* (Augsburg: Bechtermünz, 2002), 2:871.

KARACHEV

Pre-1941: Karachev, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Karatschew, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Karachev, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Karachev is located 44 kilometers (27 miles) southeast of Briansk. Jews probably first arrived in Karachev in the late nineteenth century. In 1897, there were 326 Jews residing in the town, and by 1926 the number had increased to 522.¹ According to the results of the 1939 census, the number of Jewish residents had decreased to 443 people (or 2.48 percent of the

total population).² Karachev was occupied by units of the German 2nd Panzer Army, Army Group Center, on October 5, 1941, almost three and a half months after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. By this time, a large number of the local Jews had managed to escape to the east. Jewish men fit for military service were drafted into the Red Army. When German troops occupied Karachev, only about one quarter of the pre-war Jewish population was still in town, roughly 100 people.

During the entire period of the German occupation (from October 1941 until August 1943), a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) exercised authority in the town. The military commandant established a local administration and an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local inhabitants. The chief district administrator (Rayonleiter) in Karachev was an ethnic German physician, Dr. Schepel.

A short time after the start of the occupation, the local Russian administration organized the registration of the Jews. They were forced to wear a distinctive symbol on their clothes marking them as Jews. Men and women were forced to conduct physically exhausting labor. Probably at the end of October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in Karachev. It was more like a temporary holding camp, as it was in the open air and there were no buildings within the confines of the camp.³ On December 12, 1941, the ghetto was liquidated. All the Jews were shot. The number of victims is estimated to have been about 100 people.⁴ It is most probable that the liquidation of the ghetto was carried out by a sub-unit of Einsatzkommando 8, which was based in Briansk at this time.⁵

SOURCES The files of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission into the crimes of the German occupying forces and their collaborators, including the statements of witnesses, can be found in the following archives: GABrO and GARF (7021-19-3).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 595.

2. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1993), p. 31.

3. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsvilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) 2000: 157–184, here pp. 158–159.

4. Il'ia Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 98.

5. See USHMM, RG-30, Accession 1999.A.0196 (NARA, RG-242, T-175), reel 234, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 146, December 15, 1941.

KHISLAVICHI

Pre-1941: Khislavichi, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Chislavitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Khislavichi, Russian Federation

Khislavichi is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) south of Smolensk on the Sozh River. In 1939, 1,427 Jews were living in Khislavichi.

Units of German Army Group Center entered Khislavichi on July 16, 1941. As early as the first few days of the German occupation, the Jewish population was subjected to robbery, assault, and other forms of human degradation.¹

At the end of August and in early September 1941, the headquarters unit of Vorkommando Moskau (a detachment of Einsatzgruppe B) ordered the registration and marking of all the Jews of Khislavichi. On the orders of the Vorkommando, the German military administration resettled the Jews in a ghetto and required them to perform forced labor. A few weeks later, members of the Vorkommando were responsible for shooting the members of the Judenrat and 20 other Jews.²

The Germans established the ghetto on the outskirts of town in older houses next to the Jewish cemetery and the synagogue. A barbed-wire fence surrounded the ghetto. Nobody could enter or leave the ghetto without permission. The ghetto inmates had to wear distinguishing markings: a yellow ring with a dark sign in the middle. Around 800 people were moved into the ghetto, where they lived in only 40 or 50 houses, with roughly 25 to 30 people in each.³ Among the prisoners of the ghetto were many children of various ages.

All property remained in the Jews' vacated homes when they were forcibly resettled into the ghetto. The property passed into the hands of the German military administration and local Russian policemen, who then occupied the best of the confiscated Jewish homes.

Sometime in the second half of September or early October 1941, the Germans rounded up Jewish men, telling them they were needed for work. Then they transported the men to a Machine Tractor Station (MTS) and shot them in a large ditch. According to Soviet sources, around 125 to 150 people were shot.⁴

The report of Einsatzgruppe B dated October 9, 1941, describes this event as follows: "In Khislavichi, according to reports from the Russian population, the Jews living in the ghetto have during the last few days tried to incite a mood of panic by spreading false rumors about an alleged offensive by the Bolsheviks. They also threatened to exact revenge once the Bolsheviks returned. Consequently, the Vorkommando sent out a detachment [Kommando], which liquidated 114 Jews."⁵

The German occupying authorities tried to cover up the shooting of the Jewish men by claiming that they had been sent to work in Belorussia. Jewish craftsmen were not shot at this time, as the Germans spared leather tanners, boot makers, and tailors from the ghetto. For making a suit, a tailor

would receive half a packet of Russian tobacco. An irreplaceable Jewish mechanic named Dvorkin was ordered by the Germans to work at a mill. They gave his family an apartment and supplied them with basic foodstuffs. In the course of the final German evacuation of the town, however, the family was murdered.

The remaining ghetto inmates had to perform grueling physical labor. In January and February 1942, nearly all able-bodied Jews had to participate in laying concrete for various permanent defensive fortification sites for the German army.

German soldiers and Russian policemen often entered the ghetto to rob the Jews. They stole valuable items, clothing, and other property. In early January 1941, some German pilots who had just arrived in Khislavichi threatened the Jews and took all their warm clothing at gunpoint, including their winter coats with the yellow badges.

The ghetto inmates were constantly subjected to assault and other forms of humiliation. The Germans and Russian policemen raped Jewish girls and young women. For example, two 15-year-old twin sisters named Dimentman were raped in front of their parents. In January 1942, a group of young Jewish boys and girls were taken away from the ghetto and never seen again.⁶

In the view of the Einsatzgruppe, in the second half of September 1941 the Jews of Khislavichi could be characterized by their “passive resistance.”⁷ Young Jews looked for any opportunity to escape the ghetto. Sometimes they escaped when they were assigned to labor tasks outside the ghetto. In the words of one former ghetto inmate, “[T]hose who had all their closest relatives in the ghetto tried not only to escape, but also to organize armed resistance.” When the ghetto was first set up, one young Jewish man tried to mobilize his compatriots by crying out, “Don’t be afraid! Resist their power!” He was killed for speaking out. Another young girl who escaped from the ghetto came back a few times by sneaking past the guards. Among the ghetto inmates she spread Soviet leaflets dropped by planes.

Part of the population came to disbelieve the claims of German propaganda that “all misfortunes come from the Jews; and that this parasitic group is living off the people.” One witness observed that when the Germans talked with the local population, they “were not able to refute the fact that the Jews were the same kind of hardworking people as the rest of the population, for this was indisputable.”⁸

Evgenii Rzhetskii, a former teacher of German and director of the school branch of the raion administration in Khislavichi, became a translator for the Germans. He was able to save a number of Jews. One of the ghetto inmates, a schoolteacher, produced a certificate attesting to her falsified Russian nationality. Rzhetskii was apparently able to help some of the Jews by finding them work. Local residents of Khislavichi helped save the life of the tailor Iakov Bass, whose family perished in the ghetto.

At dawn on March 20, 1942, the Russian police broke into the Khislavichi ghetto. According to witness testimonies, a detachment of local Russian police, under the command of the German Security Police and SD, carried out the Aktion.⁹

Some of the policemen surrounded the ghetto while the others drove the Jews from their homes, not even allowing them to put on their clothes. Those who were too old or sick to move were shot in the ghetto. Local policemen on foot and on horseback escorted the Jews to the killing site. Some younger Jews and children tried to escape, but they were killed. On the way there, and during the shooting itself, the policemen seized the Jews’ remaining clothing and shoes.

The killing was carried out in a gully only about 150 meters (492 feet) northwest of the town. The Jews were shot with rifles and automatic pistols. Young children were forced to kneel with their heads to the ground. The policemen threw some of the children into the ditch alive. A 12-year-old girl who escaped was apprehended by the Rayon head, Shevandin. A 12-year-old boy with frozen hands and feet made it as far as the edge of town, but he too was caught and shot by the police. For about two weeks the grave site remained only partially covered, and dogs dragged away some of the bodies.

In the documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), two different figures are given for the number of victims of the mass shooting on March 20, 1942. Some documents report 800 victims, and others only 600.¹⁰ About 200 Jews had perished before the shootings, so the latter figure is probably more accurate. The commander of the partisan detachment operating in the Khislavichi raion reported to the western headquarters of the partisan movement that 550 Jews had been killed in Khislavichi in one day.¹¹

The police searched for those Jews who had escaped and caught many in the nearby villages. With each Jew who was found and shot, the police seized any valuables and other possessions, including tobacco. Sometimes the Jews were handed over by local inhabitants. Of all the inmates of the ghetto, only a few managed to save themselves. A 6-year-old boy sneaked away at night after emerging from the mass grave, and he succeeded in escaping from Khislavichi. A Russian father was able to hide a 12-year-old girl, although her Jewish mother and infant brother were both shot.

Jewish property—featherbeds, pillows, clothing, and ornaments—was divided as spoils among the Germans and Russian police. Some of it was resold in a local store in Khislavichi.

The ChGK investigation concluded that the mass killing of the “Soviet citizens” of Khislavichi was organized and carried out by the German commandant Dolerman, his deputy Mais, and their collaborators, including the Rayon head Shevandin and the chief of police, Bobkov.¹²

SOURCES Publications regarding the Khislavichi ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Khislavichi include the following: I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i lary Smolenshbiny* (Smolensk, 2001), pp. 156–65, 473–475; Vadim Doubson, “Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–1942),” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; Yitzhak Arad et al., eds., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga* (Jerusalem: Tekst, 1993), pp. 390–402; and F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obviniaut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr “Kholokost,” 1996), pp. 66–68.

Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Khislavichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-634); GASmO (R-1630-1-360 and 369; R-1630-2-28; and R-2434-3-38); TsDNISO (8-8-115, p. 76); Ts-GAMORF (49-9733-120, p. 39); USHMM (Acc.1999.A.0196); VHF; and YVA (O-3/3709 and M-62/58).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GASmO, R-1630-2-28, p. 117.
2. Activity and situation report no. 5 of the Einsatzgruppen, September 15–30, 1941, YVA, TR-2, 11/560/E, p. 107 (NO-2655).
3. GASmO, R-1630-1-369, p. 200, and R-1630-2-28, p. 117; “Spasenie evreiskoi sem’i iz mestechka Khislavichi Smolenskoi oblasti,” in Arad et al., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, p. 396; “Zhizn’ i gibel’ Khislavichskikh evreev,” in Tsynman, *Bab’i lary Smolenshchiny*, p. 158.
4. GASmO, R-1630-2-28, p. 117, and R-2434-3-38, p. 69.
5. USHMM, Acc.1999.A.0196, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 108, October 9, 1941.
6. GASmO, R-1630-2-28, p. 117.
7. YVA, TR-2, 11/560/E, p. 107 (NO-2655), Activity and situation report no. 5 of the Einsatzgruppen, September 15–30, 1941.
8. GASmO, R-1630-1-369, p. 204.
9. Ibid.; “Zhizn’ i gibel’ Khislavichskikh evreev,” p. 158.
10. GASmO, R-1630-1-360, p. 38 (797 persons); R-1630-1-369, p. 204 (600 persons); R-1630-2-28, p. 117 (800 persons); and R-2434-3-38, p. 73 (600 persons).
11. TsDNISO, 8-8-115, p. 76. An erroneous date of February 1942 is given in the report.
12. GASmO, R-1630-2-28, pp. 117 and reverse side.

KLETNIA

Pre-1941: Kletnia, town and raion center, Orel oblast’, RSFSR; 1941–1943: Kletnja, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Kletnia, Briansk oblast’, Russian Federation

Kletnia is located about 90 kilometers (56 miles) west-northwest of Briansk. According to the 1939 census, there were 286 Jews residing in Kletnia (4.43 percent of the total population).

German forces occupied the town on August 10, 1941, almost two months after the start of the German invasion of the Soviet Union. By this time, most of the Jews of Kletnia had managed to escape to the east. Jewish men liable for military service had been drafted into the Red Army. When the German occupiers reached the town, probably less than half of the pre-war Jewish population was still there.

During the entire period of the German occupation (from August 10, 1941, until September 1943), a military headquarters (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. It also established a local Russian administration and an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from the local population. In the fall of 1941, between 10 and 12 members of the Secret Field

Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP) Unit 729 operated in the area. They were mainly engaged in combating Soviet partisan activity, but their special tasks also included punitive Aktionen against suspected partisans or those believed to be supporting them. There was also a German “Landesschützen” unit based in the town, which guarded the local sawmill factory that was supplying wood to the German forces at the front.¹

A short time after the arrival of German troops, the military administration instituted several measures against the Jewish population, such as personal registration, marking them as Jews with special signs on their clothes, and using them for forced labor under very harsh physical conditions. It appears that by the end of 1941, the Germans had established a small ghetto in Kletnia. It consisted of a few buildings that were set apart in the town. The ghetto guards were Russian policemen. During the existence of the ghetto a number of the inmates died of hunger or disease.

In late March 1942, Sonderkommando 7a, under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Albert Rapp based in Klintsey, organized the liquidation of the ghetto. He traveled to Kletnia accompanied by more than 20 men of the Sonderkommando (both Waffen-SS and Security Police/SD) and was joined in Mglin by about 20 or 30 local Russian policemen.

In Kletnia, men of the Waffen-SS surrounded the ghetto, and local Russian policemen drove the Jews out of their houses. Under close escort, at least 100 men, women, and children were then gathered in a barn on the edge of town. Those unable to walk were carried on stretchers. A few days later, under the personal supervision of Rapp, all the Jews were made to undress and then were shot by members of the Sonderkommando into a ditch in the woods about 100 meters (328 feet) from the barn. Due to the fear of partisans in the region, some of the force was used to guard the killing site externally as well as to prevent any escape.² In total, about 120 people were murdered.³

Rapp was tried after the war by the Landesgericht in Essen and sentenced on March 29, 1965, to life imprisonment.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community in Kletnia during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 635; A. Kruglov, “Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.,” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220; and *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 43–52.

Documents of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission can be found in the following archives: GABrO; GARF (7021-19-3); USHMM; and YVA.

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 43–52.

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2. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 43–52. This account of events in Kletnia is based mainly on the evidence of German witness Ri., who was a member of Sonderkommando 7a.

3. Il'ia Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 98. Witnesses before the court in Essen give estimates ranging from 30 to 250 victims; see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 51–52.

KLIMOVO

1938–1941: Klimovo, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Klimovo, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Klimovo, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Klimovo is located 170 kilometers (106 miles) southwest of Briansk. The 1939 census recorded that the Jewish population was 224, or 4 percent of the total.

German units of Army Group Center occupied Klimovo on August 25, 1941, two months after their invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During that time, approximately half of the Jews were able to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were inducted into the Red Army. Around 50 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the occupation period (from August 1941 to September 1943), the town was governed by a German military commandant's office. The German military administration created a local town council and an auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, the town council organized the registration and marking of the Jews and arranged for their use in various forms of forced labor. On August 29, 1941,¹ the Germans conducted the first Aktion in the town, during which a detachment of Sonderkommando 7b shot 27 “Jewish Bolshevik agents and terrorists.”² A ghetto probably was created in the town in October 1941, and Jews from the neighboring villages—Churovichi, Novii Ropsk, and others—also were forced to move into it.³ The ghetto was liquidated in early March 1942, when German-led security forces shot all the Jews, 280 people in total.⁴

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Klimovo can be found in the following archives: GABrO and GARF (7021-19-5).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-19-5, p. 147.
2. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941.
3. GARF, 7021-19-5, pp. 171–173.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 148.

KLINTSY

Pre-1941: Klintsy, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Klinzy, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Klintsy, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Klintsy is located approximately 150 kilometers (93 miles) southwest of Briansk on the railroad from Moscow to Kiev. In 1939, the Jewish population was 6,505 (16.07 percent of the population).

German units of the 10th Motorized Division, belonging to Panzer Group Guderian's XXIV Panzer Corps (Army Group Center), occupied Klintsy on August 20, 1941, almost two months after the start of the German invasion of the USSR. It was one of the few towns that fell to the Germans intact, and it became an important administrative base. Prior to the Germans' arrival, some Jews had managed to evacuate to the east, while men of military age were drafted into the Red Army. Approximately half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town under German occupation.

Throughout the occupation, the town was ruled by a German military administration. In October 1941, a military field commandant was established in the town (Feldkommandantur 528), which also supervised the activities of the local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur). At the beginning of March 1942, a new local commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/888) arrived in Klintsy from France, assuming control of the town and also the surrounding area. In the fall of 1941, Unit 729 of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP) arrived in Klintsy; it was mainly engaged in fighting against Soviet partisans. In the last days of September or the beginning of October 1941, a subunit of the Security Police's Einsatzgruppe B, Sonderkommando 7b (commanded by SS-Sturmabführer Günther Rausch), arrived in Klintsy, where it was stationed until the end of February, being replaced up to the end of April 1942 by Sonderkommando 7a (commanded by SS-Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp). Sonderkommando 7b established a local town administration in Klintsy, headed by the ethnic German (*Volksdeutsche*) Gretsii, and also a Russian local police unit (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local citizens, which played an active role in the anti-Jewish Aktions.¹

Immediately after the occupation of the town, the military administration ordered the registration of all local Jews and their recruitment for hard labor. An order published in the German-controlled Klintsy newspaper (issue no. 1, September 26, 1941) announced that by the end of September all Jews, male and female, aged over 10 years were obligated to wear a yellow Star of David 10 centimeters (4 inches) in diameter.²

At the end of September 1941, Sonderkommando 7b organized the first anti-Jewish Aktion in Klintsy. According to an Einsatzgruppen report, during this Aktion “83 Jewish terrorists and 3 Communist Party leaders were killed (liquidated),” and during subsequent Aktions “3 Communist officials, 1

politician, and 82 Jewish terrorists” were murdered, making a total of at least 165 Jews and 7 Communist victims.³

At the beginning of October 1941, Sonderkommando 7b ordered that the Jews in town were to be relocated into a ghetto on the edge of town, which was guarded by the Russian local police.⁴ In the ghetto, the Germans established workshops for shoemakers. Jewish doctors, barbers, and typists were conscripted to serve the German and local authorities.⁵ One Jewish female baby was rescued from the ghetto and eventually adopted by her family’s non-Jewish housekeeper.⁶

The ghetto in Klintzy existed for more than two months. On December 6–7, 1941, Einsatzkommando 8, which was located in Gomel’ (commanded by SS-Obersturmführer Wilhelm Schulz), assisted by men of the Russian Ordnungsdienst, murdered the inhabitants of the ghetto.⁷ In the course of these two days they shot about 2,500 people. Afterwards a number of Jewish specialist workers remained in the town with their families. These Jews were arrested successively and held in prison before being murdered in March 1942. The order for this mass shooting of at least 100 Jews was given by Rapp of Sonderkommando 7a. In addition to the Jews, the Security Police shot 30 Gypsies (Roma), who had also been collected in the prison.⁸

SOURCES There is an article in Russian by the author (Alexander Kruglov) on the destruction of the Jews in the Smolensk and Briansk oblasts, “Nichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.,” published in *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220. Some additional information can be found in Il’ia Al’tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002). A published German contemporary account of Klintzy during the occupation was written by Walter Engelhardt: *Klintzy: Bildnis einer Stadt nach der Befreiung vom Bolschewismus* (Berlin, 1943). Some details of the German occupation can also be found in the local history volume compiled by A.S. Balaev et al., *Klitsam 250 let* (Briansk, 1959).

Documentation and witness testimonies on the extermination of the Jews of Klintzy can be found in the following archives: BA-L (ZStL, II AR-Z 399/63); GABrO; GARF (7021-19-5); and VHF (# 26511). See also the German trials of Albert Rapp and Kurt Matschke conducted by the regional court (Landgericht) in Essen in 1965 and 1966.

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Stefan Stoev

NOTES

1. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, in the case of Albert Rapp, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588.

2. Balaev et al., *Klitsam 250 let*, p. 38.

3. BA-BL, R 58/218, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 106, October 9, 1941.

4. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, in the case of Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20; the ghetto is mentioned also in VHF, # 26511, testimony of Dina Kozina.

5. Al’tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti*, p. 172.

6. VHF, # 26511, testimony of Dina Kozina.

7. GARF, 7021-19-5, pp. 9, 10, 21.

8. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, in the case of Albert Rapp, *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20. See also LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/65, verdict of February 10, 1966, in the case against Kurt Matschke and others, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 23 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1998), Lfd. Nr. 620.

KRASNYI

Pre-1941: Krasnyi, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast’, RSFSR; 1941–1943: Krasnij, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Krasnyi, Russian Federation

Krasnyi is located about 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Smolensk. In 1939, there were about 100 Jews living in Krasnyi.

Units of German Army Group Center occupied Krasnyi on July 13, 1941. The office of a German military commandant (Ortskommandantur) administered the town. The commandant appointed a Russian mayor and a local Russian police force (Ordnungsdienst), which was designated by armbands and armed with rifles.

On July 26, 1941, the commandant called the residents of the town to a meeting and announced that anyone who wanted to could move into a house belonging to a Jew and that all Jews had to obey the orders issued by the German Army. Soon after this German forces entered Jewish apartments, beating the inhabitants and taking their boots.

On August 8, 1941, soldiers of a German Death’s Head Unit (Totenkopfverband) arrested Boris Semenovich Glushkin and humiliated him. The next day they announced that he would be publicly executed. First they stripped him naked, then dragged him behind a horse until he was half-dead, before killing him. The Germans also raped his wife.¹

On August 27, 1941, a German special unit arrived in the town and collected the Jews together. They issued instructions for the Jews to surrender their possessions and move into the ghetto. The Germans fenced off a piece of ground with barbed wire and put up a sign that read: “Ghetto. No entrance.” All Jews, including children, had to wear six-pointed stars on their clothing cut from bright yellow material. Anyone was permitted to insult or beat a Jew with impunity.

According to the account of Sophia Glushkin, subsequent “checks” were carried out regularly in the ghetto at night. “People were herded into the cemetery, girls were raped, and people were beaten unconscious.”²

Some younger Jews escaped from the ghetto to the forest and joined the Soviet partisans. However, it was not possible for the older people or women with children to escape in this way. On April 8, 1942, Glushkin learned that a German punitive unit had arrived in the town, and with some others she decided to flee.

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The German forces and their local police collaborators surrounded the town and hunted down the Jews. They gathered the Jews in a yard and made them remove their clothes before shooting them so that they would fall into a pit. After the mass shooting, the Germans returned to the ghetto to look for any items of value and also discovered and murdered a baby who had been left behind in a crib.³

In liquidating the ghetto on April 8, 1942, the German forces (probably a detachment of Einsatzgruppe B) shot about 30 Jews. In total at least 63 Jews lost their lives in the Krasnyi ghetto.⁴

Sophia Glushkin with her eight-year-old son managed to make it to the nearby prisoner-of-war camp, where she had some contacts. From there she escaped to the partisans, where she served for two years as a courier and endured many hardships until the Red Army liberated the area.⁵

SOURCES The account of Sophia Glushkin can be found in Ilya Ehrenburg and Vasily Grossman, eds., *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981), pp. 254–256.

Additional relevant documentation can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-626); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, pp. 254–256, testimony of Sophia Glushkin on November 9, 1943, regarding Krasnyi.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 255.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 256.

4. *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, “Epos,” 2004), 5:195; Christian Gerlach, *Kalkulierte Morde: Die deutsche Wirtschafts- und Vernichtungspolitik in Weissrussland 1941 bis 1944* (Hamburg: HIS, 1999), p. 685; Vadim Doubson, “Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42),” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsvilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.

5. Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 256.

LIUBAVICHI

Pre-1941: Liubavichi (Yiddish: Liubavich), village, Rudnia raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Ljubawitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Liubavichi, Russian Federation

Liubavichi is located 75 kilometers (47 miles) west of Smolensk. By 1926, the number of Jews there stood at 967, or 50 percent of the population.

German forces of Army Group Center occupied Liubavichi on July 21–22, 1941. Approximately one month later, the

German military commandant issued an order requiring Jews, under penalty of death, to wear badges in the form of circular patches of yellow fabric on their chests and backs and, subsequently, an armband. They were forbidden to have any contacts with German soldiers and the local population. Soon after this, a number of Jewish men were sent to Rudnia to work, but they never returned.¹

The Jewish population was subjected to various humiliations. People were lined up in formation and made to run. The Nazis knew that Liubavichi was a Jewish religious center and called it a “holy city of Jehovah, rabbis, and ritual murders.” Therefore, the treatment of observant elderly men was particularly cruel. Public floggings were held daily. The men’s beards were pulled out with pliers, and they were forced to dance on the parchment of the Torah scrolls. Then they were shot.²

On September 27, 1941, a detachment of the Security Police and SD from Einsatzkommando 8 arrived in Liubavichi from Rudnia (one witness stated that the detachment was based in Mogilev), accompanied by members of the Rudnia local police force. Assisted by the local police of Liubavichi, they started moving the Jewish population into a ghetto. The Jews were allowed to take with them only what they could carry. The property left behind was confiscated, in part by local policemen and some items were sent to Rudnia. The oppressors assembled all the Jews in the central square of the village, where they took away their warm clothing, kitchen utensils, and other items. Under the pretext of assigning them to work, they selected and escorted away 17 Jewish men, who apparently were shot.³

Allocated to the ghetto were 19 small houses on one of the village streets in which 500 to 600 people were forced to reside: alongside the residents of Liubavichi were also refugees from Orsha, Vitebsk, Smolensk, and Rudnia. The majority of the Jews in the ghetto were craftsmen before the occupation, working in the village’s *artels*. Going outside the ghetto’s boundaries was forbidden. On the road leading into the ghetto, a police post was set up, and unauthorized persons were denied access to the ghetto.

Inside the ghetto, the Jews lived in extremely congested conditions, with 20 to 30 individuals crowded into a single room. The prisoners in the ghetto were not supplied with food. They built and repaired roads and bridges and did other types of heavy labor. Because of poor sanitation and physical exhaustion, various diseases spread among the Jews. Apparently, several dozen people died in the ghetto before its liquidation. The mortality rate among children was especially high. As one of the witnesses, a Liubavichi resident, noted, the Jewish population was placed in circumstances that doomed it to extinction.⁴

In early November 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 and the Rudnia local police arrived in Liubavichi again. Several times they tried to gather the Jews together within the confines of the ghetto, in a pasture where livestock were usually put to graze, but the Jews kept running off in different directions. As one woman, a Liubavichi resident, recalls,

the Jews were treated worse than cattle. Those who tried to escape were shot on the spot.⁵

On the night of November 4, 1941, Russian policemen from Rudnia and Liubavichi, under the leadership of Security Police and SD officials, encircled the ghetto. The next morning, under the pretext of sending the Jews to perform agricultural work, they led them out of the ghetto into the center of the village. The aged and the ill, along with the bodies of those shot at the previous assembly site, were taken in carts. In the main square of the village, the ghetto inmates were divided into two groups of about 250 people each. One group was herded into the basement of the Church of the Dormition (Tserkov' Uspe-niia Bogoroditsy), the other into a large barn. Around noon, beating the first group of Jews with whips, the German and Russian policemen drove them towards the southern edge of the village and herded them into a slaughterhouse building. From there they led the Jews in groups of 20 to 30 to a small ditch. They made the victims lie facedown on the ground, then shot them with submachine guns. The shooting was carried out by officials of the Security Police and SD. The Germans made parents lie down on the corpses with their small children. After the shooting of the first group of Jews, the second group was murdered in the same way. The shooting lasted about one and a half to two hours. Then the Russian policemen made a group of male village residents cover the grave. The Russian policemen also finished off those Jews who were trying to find their way out from under the mountain of corpses, and they buried some who were still alive. The corpses were lightly covered with earth.⁶

In 1943, after the Red Army liberated Liubavichi, the grave was opened, and 483 corpses were found there. In the file of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) on the opening of the grave of the murdered Jews, it was stated that "the corpses of the children in most cases were found in the embrace of adult corpses." It was also noted that "the presence of corpses with no signs of damage leads one to assume that these victims of the German fascist invaders were buried alive, which should apply in particular to individuals who were young children."⁷

A few small children succeeded in escaping from the execution site. They all returned to Liubavichi, to their own homes, where members of the local police seized them. They gathered the children together in a single house, then shot them. Their bodies were tossed into the grave of the murdered Jews.⁸

The report of Einsatzgruppe B for December 19, 1941, contains information about the shooting in Liubavichi of 492 Jews of both genders. It was reported that they had been shot "for hostile attitudes towards the Germans and for sympathizing with the partisans."⁹ According to ChGK data, more than 500 Jews were shot in Liubavichi.¹⁰

Along with the Security Police and SD, the German army and, in particular, the local Ortskommandantur (OK (II) 930) also bear responsibility for the extermination of the Jewish population of Liubavichi. The German military authorities represented the murders of the Jews as a measure

taken in response to partisan attacks. A man named Korotchenkov headed the detachment of the Rudnia local police that participated in setting up the ghetto in Liubavichi in September 1941. Subsequently the Germans shot him for concealing property stolen from the Jews.¹¹ Divakov, the deputy chairman of the Rudnia raion authority, headed the detachment of Russian police that came from Rudnia and participated in the extermination of the inmates of the Liubavichi ghetto on November 4.¹² The local police, under the command of a man named Astrakhanskii, took part in all the cleansing Aktions against the Jews in Liubavichi. He and two other former policemen from Liubavichi were tried by the Soviet authorities in Rudnia. The court sentenced them to be hanged for participation in the shooting of the families of Communists and partisans and in the murder of the Jewish population.¹³

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Liubavichi during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: Iosif Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk: Rus', 2001); Yitzhak Arad et al., eds., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga* (Jerusalem: Tekst, 1993); Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184.

Documentation regarding the ghetto in Liubavichi and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-630; and 8114-1-961); GASmO (R-2434-3-37); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

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NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 209, 213 reverse, 214.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 213 reverse; and "V mestechke Liubavich," in Arad et al., *Neizvestnaia chernaia kniga*, pp. 270–271.
3. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 209 reverse, 213 reverse. On these events, see also BA-MA, RH 23/223, Ortskommandantur II/930, Ljubawitschi, September 28, 1941.
4. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 207, 209 reverse, 213 reverse, 214, 322; and testimony of Tat'iana Buravskaiia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 96.
5. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 293 reverse; and testimony of Marfa Davydenkova, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 97.
6. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 209 reverse, 210, 213 reverse, 214 reverse, 215 reverse, 322; Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 96.
7. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 219–221.
8. Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 97.
9. Yitzhak Arad et al., eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), p. 264.
10. GASmO, R-2434-3-37, p. 168.
11. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 213 reverse; and Arad et al., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports*, p. 263; also testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, p. 75.
12. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 214.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 213 reverse; and testimony of Maria Trofi-menko, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary*, pp. 92–93, 95.

LOKNIA

Pre-1941: Loknia, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941-1944: Loknija, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Loknia, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Loknia is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) north-northwest of Velike Luki on the railway line running from Vitebsk to Leningrad. According to the 1939 census, there were 193 Jews living in Loknia, accounting for 8.8 percent of the total population.

German armed forces occupied the village on July 20, 1941, four weeks after their invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a large portion of the Jews managed to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were inducted into the Red Army. At the start of the occupation, 52 Jews remained in the village.¹

Throughout the entire occupation period—from July 1941 to February 1944—a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German military administration created a raion authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants.

Soon after the occupation of the village, the German military commandant's office ordered the raion authority to organize the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as their deployment for various types of forced labor. In September 1941, all the Jews remaining in Loknia were forced to move into a ghetto, for which the house at 11 Sotsialisticheskaya Street was allocated; a Jewish family, the Filonovskii, had lived in the house previously.² The ghetto was in existence for more than four months. It was liquidated on February 1, 1942, by shooting all the Jews, 38 in total.³ The shooting took place outside the village, near the Machine Tractor Station (MTS); the Jews were taken there in a truck and a bus. At first they were crowded into the MTS building, but then they were led out 2 at a time to a pit near the building, made to kneel beside the pit, and killed with a shot to the back of the head.⁴ The shooting was carried out by an SD detachment (commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Hermann Hubig) that was part of Einsatzgruppe A, with the participation of Russian policemen. (Actually, 37 Jews were shot. A bullet struck Aleksandr Filonovskii's hat; he fell into the pit, and after the shooting was finished, he climbed out and hid in various villages until the liberation of Loknia in February 1944.)

In the spring of 1942, two more Jewish families were shot: one in the Loknia sel'sovet and one in the Olokhov sel'sovet; in late 1942, the four members of the Sandalovskii family were shot.⁵

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Loknia can be found in the following archives: GAPO and GARF.

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NOTES

1. Recollections of Aleksandr Filonovskii, in S. Nemeslov, *Kholokost na Pskovshchine: My ne mozhem molchat'. Sbkol'niki i studenty o Kholokoste*. Issue # 2: Collection. Comp. A.E. Gerber and D.V. Prokudin, ed. I.A. Al'tman (Moscow: Fond "Kholokost," 2005).
2. Ibid.
3. BA-BL, R 58/215-20, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 165, February 6, 1942; and Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 181, March 16, 1942.
4. Recollections of Aleksandr Filonovskii.
5. Nemeslov, *Kholokost na Pskovshchine*.

MGLIN

Pre-1941: Mglin, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941-1944: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Mglin is located 100 kilometers (62 miles) west-southwest of Briansk. In 1939, 726 Jews (10 percent of the local population) were living in Mglin.

German forces occupied Mglin on August 18, 1941. By this time, a number of local Jews had managed to escape to the east. Jewish men liable for military service were drafted into the Red Army. At the start of the German occupation, just over two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population was still in the town. From October 1941, Mglin was subordinated to the military field headquarters (Feldkommandantur) FK (V) 528 based in Klinty. In Mglin the German military authorities established a local administration and a Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the town administration organized the registration and marking of the Jews with distinctive symbols. Furthermore, the Jews were forced to perform physically demanding labor of all kinds. On January 21, 1942, all the Jews of Mglin were resettled into a ghetto. The building of the local prison was chosen to serve as the ghetto. The Russian guards who supervised the Jewish prisoners took away their coats and boots. There were no windows in the cells of the prison. The heating system did not function, which meant that during the very cold winter many inmates developed frostbite.¹ About 60 people died of starvation and disease inside the ghetto.²

On March 2, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. On this day a subunit of Sonderkommando 7a, which had arrived from Klinty under the leadership of SS-Obersturmführer Franz Tormann, shot about 500 Jews with the assistance of the Russian auxiliary police. The majority of the victims were women and children. The Russian police took the outer clothes and any valuables from the half-starved victims and escorted them to the grave site at the edge of a forest about 500 meters (1,640 feet) from the prison ghetto. Some 10 to 20 SS men conducted the shooting. In the course of the Aktion, one member of the SS unit, SS-Oberscharführer Hermann Glockmann,

was killed accidentally when a bullet ricocheted off the frozen ground and struck him directly in the heart.³ During the Aktion, some Jews succeeded in hiding, but on the following day, 7 of these individuals were captured and shot.⁴

In June 1942, Feldkommandantur 528 sent to the Reich War Booty Office (Reichshauptkasse Beutestelle) in Berlin some gold coins that had been confiscated from the deputy head of the local Russian police in Mglin. He was shot, apparently for the illegal possession of property.⁵

Tormann was sentenced on February 10, 1966, to three years' imprisonment.⁶

SOURCES Documentation on the fate of the Jews of Mglin can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 2104/28); GA-BrO; GARF (7021-19-2 and 94); TsGAMORF (239/2187/94); and USHMM. Additional material can be found in the West German trials conducted against Albert Rapp (LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64) and Kurt Matschke et al. (LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/65).

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trans. Katrin Reichelt

NOTES

1. Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istorii. Kul'tura. Tsvilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159, 164–165; GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 225.

2. GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 239.

3. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict in the case of Albert Rapp, March 29, 1965, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588a, pp. 30–36. The German court concludes that at least 200 Jews were shot in Mglin. See also the Russian-language article by Alexander Kruglov on the destruction of the Jews in the Smolensk and Briansk oblasts, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941–1943 gg.," published in *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220; and GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 239.

4. GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 241.

5. BA-BL, R 2104/28, report of Feldkommandantur 528, June 7, 1942.

6. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/65.

MIKULINO

1938–1941: Mikulino, village, Rudnia raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Russian Federation

Mikulino is located on the shores of a small lake close to the border with Belarus, 69 kilometers (43 miles) west-northwest of Smolensk. According to the 1939 census in the former raion of Rudnia (not counting Rudnia), there were 556 Jews.

Mechanized units of Army Group Center occupied the village in July 1941, approximately four weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. In these four weeks, a portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and eligible men volunteered for or were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ordered the village administration to organize the registration of the Jews. The Jews were also required to wear distinctive yellow patches and had to perform heavy labor of various kinds, including work on the nearby kolkhoz. German soldiers made their quarters in the local school.¹

In August 1941, the Germans established a ghetto in the village. The transfer into the ghetto took place late in the evening, when local Russian police summoned all the Jews to leave their houses and forcibly moved them to Barkovskaia Street.² The local authorities designated five houses that had been vacated by their Russian residents as the ghetto. The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence but was guarded by the Russian police, and the Jews were not allowed to leave that street. Including refugees from Smolensk and Rudnia, around 250 Jews resided in the ghetto, with about 50 people sharing each house; many people had to sleep on boards or on the floor.³ There was a terrible shortage of food, and some of the young people occasionally left the ghetto to beg for food from the peasants. As there was little opportunity to wash, disease soon spread, and many children and elderly ghetto inhabitants died. Survivors do not recall any Jewish leadership within the ghetto. Harassment was common, including beatings, thefts, and some rape attempts by the Russian police. In the winter of 1941–1942, most of the Jews did not try to escape, as they had received news of the Soviet counteroffensive and expected to be liberated by the Red Army soon.⁴

On February 22, 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. They took the remaining 200 or so Jews to Rudnia and shot them there two days later.⁵ German Security Police from Einsatzkommando 9 and local Russian police carried out the mass shooting. The synagogues and Jewish books in Mikulino were destroyed during the German occupation.⁶

SOURCES Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Mikulino can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-22-430); GASmO; VHF (# 23069); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 23069, interview with Gutia Turk, November 23, 1996.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.; Il'ya Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), pp. 99, 258; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istorii. Kul'tura. Tsvilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184, here pp. 159, 164; I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), pp. 81, 435; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 823.

4. VHF, # 23069, interview with Gutia Turk, November 23, 1996.

5. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 319 and reverse side.
 6. VHF, # 23069, interview with Gutia Turk, November 23, 1996.

MONASTYRSHCHINA

Pre-1941: Monastyrshchina, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941-1943: Monastyrshchina, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Monastyrshchina, Russian Federation

Monastyrshchina is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) south-southwest of Smolensk, on the Vikhra River. There were 856 Jews living there in 1939.

On July 18, 1941, units of German Army Group Center entered Monastyrshchina. In July and August, the occupying authorities hanged a number of Soviet activists and Jews in the town square. Among those executed were the head of the Jewish kolkhoz and a Jewish doctor, who was accused of trying to poison the Germans.

German soldiers and members of the local Russian auxiliary police (Ordnungsdienst) also robbed the Jewish population. They took any valuable items, cattle, and other property.

Sometime in September 1941, a detachment of the "Vorkommando Moskau" section of Einsatzgruppe B arrived in Monastyrshchina and ordered the marking and registration of the Jewish population. This visit was reportedly in response to the "daring and defiant" behavior of the Jews. The Jews had to wear a yellow Star of David on their clothing. All Jews were resettled into a ghetto and were allowed to bring in only their most essential items.¹

The Germans established the ghetto on one of the streets on the outskirts of town. Approximately 30 houses near the Zhelezniak River were designated for this purpose. Around 800 Jews were moved into the ghetto. In addition, the OD was ordered by the occupying authorities to round up all Jews in the villages of the Rayon Monastyrshchina and move them into the ghetto. The ghetto was surrounded by a fence, and the inmates were guarded by Russian policemen.²

The majority of the prisoners in the ghetto had large families with many children. The average age of the men was 45 years old. Those brought into the ghetto included traders, kolkhoz workers, and many who were in service professions. The women were mostly homemakers.³

All able-bodied persons were sent out of the ghetto to perform various kinds of forced labor. The prisoners of the ghetto did not receive sufficient rations and suffered from hunger. During the harsh winter of 1941-1942, furniture was burned for heating purposes, along with anything else the inmates could find. People in the ghetto suffered from infectious diseases, including typhus. Ivan Blinov, the head of the OD in Rayon Monastyrshchina, became known for "treating the Jews with cruelty and callous disregard for their lives."⁴

Before the ghetto was liquidated, a site for mass shootings had already been selected to deal with those Jews caught outside the ghetto or trying to escape its confines. In December 1941, V. Grachev, the head of the second department of the OD, shot a Jewish woman and her two children, who were 3 and 6 years old. At the start of January 1942, six women and a 12-year-old girl were shot. In the same month, another six Jews were shot at the Jewish cemetery. The killings were carried out by three Germans and a number of Russian policemen.

In February 1942, 10 SS officers from Einsatzkommando 8 (members of the Security Police and SD) arrived in Monastyrshchina.⁵ Also taking part in the mass shootings were Russian policemen (OD) under the command of the mayor of Monastyrshchina, Trofim Savel'ev, and a detachment of "Ukrainian Cossacks," composed of Ukrainians and former Soviet prisoners of war.

The prisoners were driven out of the ghetto with blows from rifle butts and lashes and were placed in four houses guarded by the Ukrainians. Next, 100 of them were transported to a cheese-processing factory and herded into the basement. From there, the Jews were taken out in smaller groups to the large ravine called "Chertov Iar," located on the outskirts of Monastyrshchina.⁶

Near the ravine, all were ordered to strip naked, despite the brutal cold. Anyone who refused was beaten cruelly. The Jews were then ordered to lie down at the bottom of the ditch, where they were shot with automatic rifles. The Aktion continued in this manner, as subsequent groups of Jews had to lie down on top of the corpses before they were shot in turn. Bodies of new rows of victims piled up on top of some who were only wounded.⁷ The perpetrators also buried young children who were still alive. When a policeman named Dudin was apprehended subsequently by the Soviet authorities and asked if he threw young children into the ditch alive, he responded, "I did not throw them, I was putting them down."⁸

As the ghetto prisoners were taken to the killing site, a three-year-old boy attempted to escape and hid among the residents of Monastyrshchina who were some distance away. However, Russian policemen captured the boy and killed him by smashing his head on the ground. Moreover, the OD found and shot a number of Jews who were hiding in Monastyrshchina. A month after the liquidation of the ghetto, on the orders of the German military commandant, Captain Rechke, and the mayor of the town, Trofim Savel'ev, 49 Jews who were incarcerated and had remained alive after the first Aktion were also shot.⁹

In February and March 1942, more than 800 Jews in total were shot in Monastyrshchina.¹⁰ During the same period, Jews from the ghetto in Tatarsk were also shot. According to the findings of the Smolensk provincial committee for the investigation of the crimes committed by the Nazis in the years 1941-1942, 1,700 Jews were executed in the Monastyrshchina raion of the Smolensk oblast'.¹¹

As a rule, the Nazis also murdered the children of mixed (Jewish/non-Jewish) marriages. In Monastyrshchina, two Russian residents had to bring their wives and children to the

killing site and watch as they were shot. The Germans spared one 11-year-old child whose Russian father was at the front and whose Jewish mother and brother were murdered.¹²

Isaak Rozenberg, a resident of Monastyrshchina was hidden by his Russian wife for more than two years, concealed in an underground bunker behind the stove. She only went down to visit him at night. His two young children did not even know that their mother was hiding their father underground. In September 1943, in the course of a battle between the Red Army and retreating German soldiers in Monastyrshchina, Rozenberg's home was burned down, and he died of smoke inhalation.¹³

Prime responsibility for organizing the murder of the Jews of the ghetto lies with Paul Rechke, who was in command of Ortskommandantur (OK) (I)/292¹⁴ in Monastyrshchina at that time, and members of the detachment of Einsatzkommando 8. After the liberation of the town, Soviet authorities arrested several members of the collaborating local police (OD).¹⁵ In October 1942, the former head of the Monastyrshchina police, V. Borozdin, and the former head of the second detachment of the Monastyrshchina police, V. Grachev, were sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment.

SOURCES Publications regarding the Monastyrshchina ghetto and the murder of the Jews in Monastyrshchina include the following: G. Riabkov, ed., *V basseine reki Vikbry: Oberki istorii sel i dereven' Monastyrshchenskogo raiona* (Smolensk, 1993); I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshbiny* (Smolensk, 2001); and *Chernaia kniga* (Jerusalem: Izd-vo "Tarbut," 1980), pp. 229–230.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Monastyrshchina can be found in the following archives: GARF (R-7021-44-628); GASmO (R-1630-1-334; and 2434-3-37); and TsDNISO (8-2-150).

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NOTES

1. Report of Einsatzgruppe B, September 26, 1941, published in Y. Arad, S. Krakowski, and S. Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), p. 149.
2. GARF, R-7021-44-628, p. 65; Riabkov, *V basseine reki Vikbry*, p. 282; A. Simkin, "O sobtiiakh v poselke Monastyrshchina v 1941–1942," in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshbiny*, p. 228.
3. See the list of 220 Jews who were shot in Monastyrshchina, GASmO, R-1630-1-334, pp. 36–38.
4. GARF, R-7021-44-628, p. 65.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 421; H. Krausnick and H.-H. Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskriegs* (Stuttgart: DVA, 1981), p. 182; GARF, R-7021-44-628, pp. 65 and reverse.
6. Riabkov, *V basseine reki Vikbry*, p. 282.
7. Simkin, "O sobtiiakh," p. 228; GARF, R-7021-44-628, pp. 65 and reverse.
8. *Chernaia kniga*, p. 229.
9. GARF, R-7021-44-628, pp. 65 and reverse.
10. *Ibid.* See also GASmO, R-1630-1-334, p. 39; and the Center for Documents of the Contemporary History of the Smolensk Province (TsDNISO), 8-2-150, p. 40.

11. GASmO, 2434-3-37, p. 81.

12. GARF, R-7021-44-628, pp. 65 and reverse; *Chernaia kniga*, p. 229; I. Tsynman, "Gibel' monastyrshchinskikh evreev," in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshbiny*, p. 226.

13. *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 229–230.

14. Riabkov, *V basseine reki Vikbry*, pp. 281–282.

15. Simkin, "O sobtiiakh," p. 229.

NAL'CHIK

Pre-1942: Nal'chik, capital, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, RSFSR; October 1942–January 1943: Nal'schik, Army Group A (Heeresgruppe A); post-1991: Nal'chik, Kabardino-Balkar Republic (Kabardino-Balkaria), Russian Federation

Nal'chik is located about 600 kilometers (373 miles) south-east of Rostov on Don. According to the 1939 population census, 3,007 Jews were living in Nal'chik (6.27 percent of the total population). After the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941, a number of Jewish men were recruited into the Red Army, and some others managed to flee or were evacuated before the German advance into the region in the fall of 1942. There were likely about 1,000 to 1,200 Mountain Jews who remained in and around Nal'chik at the start of the German occupation, as well as a few score of Ashkenazi Jews, including some refugees from towns and cities further to the west.

German forces of Heeresgruppe A captured the city at the end of October 1942. During the occupation, which lasted until early January 1943, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur I/794) administered the city. Ortskommandantur I/794 was subordinated to the field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur 248) in Piatigorsk. The German military administration established a local city council and recruited an auxiliary police force from among local residents. Sonderkommando 10b, commanded by SS-Sturmbannführer Alois Persterer and belonging to Einsatzgruppe D, was stationed in the city in November and December 1942.

Shortly after the occupation of the city, the occupying authorities issued orders calling for the registration of the Jews, the confiscation of their possessions, and the introduction of forced labor for Jews. The Jews also were ordered to wear distinctive markers in the image of a six-pointed star. Consequently, they tried not to venture out into the streets.

According to Soviet sources, German security forces (probably of Sonderkommando 10b) murdered most of the Ashkenazi Jews at some time during the first weeks of the occupation. About 10 Mountain Jews were also shot at this time, probably as alleged Soviet activists.¹

In November 1942, a camp or form of "open ghetto" was established in the city. It was an isolated district into which the Mountain Jews were resettled from different areas of the city.² Some sources describe it rather as a camp, noting that the Mountain Jews did not receive any provisions, although most of them probably survived here until the Red Army returned.³

1808 OCCUPIED RUSSIAN TERRITORY

The regulation for the marking of the Jews was changed after December 6, 1942, on the orders of Feldmarschall Ewald von Kleist, the commanding officer of the 1st Panzer Army, after negotiations by the city's Jewish community with the occupying authorities. Some witnesses recalled that the Jews were required to wear yellow armbands before setting out for labor. Around the same time, a Judenrat consisting of five individuals was formed in Nal'chik.⁴ In December 1942, the head of Einsatzgruppe D, SS-Oberführer Bierkamp, visited the Mountain Jews in the "environs of Nal'chik," where he "received a welcome reception and declared that other than their common religion, they [the Mountain Jews (Bergjuden)] had nothing to do with the Jews." Along with this, Bierkamp issued an order to the occupying organs not to harm the Mountain Jews and in general did not speak of them as Jews but as "Taten" (as the local Jews called themselves).⁵ It is likely that for this reason most of the city's Mountain Jews remained alive.

On January 1, 1943, a few dozen Jewish men, women, and children (probably refugees from the western regions of the Soviet Union) were shot in Nal'chik. SS-Sturmbannführer Eduard Jedamzik organized the mass shooting on the day after he took over command of Sonderkommando 10b on New Year's Eve. The Jews were shot in an antitank ditch just outside the city and buried on top of the victims of a previous mass shooting. The fur coats of the victims were distributed among the men of the Sonderkommando, who then drank schnaps before evacuating the city to the north.

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish population of Nal'chik under the German occupation can be found in the following publications: *Kabarno-Balkariia v gody Velikoi Otechestvennoi voiny 1941–1945 gg.: Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Nal'chik, 1975); *Gorskie evrei: Istoriia, etnografiia, kul'tura* (Moscow and Jerusalem: Daat/Znanie, 1999); and S.A. Danilova, *Iskhod gorskikh evreev: Razrushenie garmonii mirov* (Nal'chik, 2000).

Documentation on the Jews of Nal'chik during World War II can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 6/65); GAK-BR; GARF (7021-7-109); NARA; Sta. Mü I; and YVA (e.g., O-3/5157 and JM/5640).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-7-109, p. 202.
2. *Gorskie evrei*, pp. 91–92; Danilova, *Iskhod gorskikh evreev*, pp. 64–65.
3. Kiril Feferman, "Nazi Germany and the Mountain Jews," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 21, no. 1 (Spring 2007), p. 106.
4. *Gorskie evrei*, pp. 91–92; and Danilova, *Iskhod gorskikh evreev*, pp. 64–65.
5. NARA, RG-242, T-454, roll 16, frame 1272, Report on Mountain Jews (Bergjuden) by Dr. Otto Bräutigam, plenipotentiary of the Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories with Army Group A, December 26, 1942.

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF CAMPS AND GHETTOS, 1933–1945

NEVEL'

Pre-1941: Nevel', town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Newel, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Nevel' Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Nevel' is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) southwest of Velike Luki. According to the Soviet census, in 1939 there were 3,178 Jews living in Nevel', comprising 20.4 percent of the total population.

After bombarding the town, German forces of Army Group Center captured Nevel' on July 16, 1941. Because of the town's good rail communications, many Jews were able to evacuate to the east in the four weeks following the start of the German invasion, while men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Some Jews, however, soon returned to their homes due to misleading information in the Soviet media. Less than one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Nevel' at the start of the occupation.

During the period of occupation, from July 1941 until October 1943, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The German military established a local administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, Sonderkommando (Sk) 7a established a Jewish Council (Judenrat). The Judenrat was responsible for registering the entire Jewish population. It also had to ensure that the Jews wore distinguishing marks in the form of a yellow star. Able-bodied Jews were formed into work details for various kinds of manual labor, especially cleaning up the town following the bombardment. Jews were also looted and robbed from the first days of the occupation. In the first half of August 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando 7a, which was headed by SS-Obersturmführer Friedrich Meyer, shot 74 Jews, allegedly in retribution for an arson attack by Jews in the town.¹ A Jewish survivor recalls that after the fire all the Jews were gathered together, at which point 25 of the strongest young men were shot in front of everyone.²

On August 7, 1941, all the Jews of the town were resettled into a ghetto, which was located approximately 3 kilometers (1.9 miles) outside the town, in the "Golubaia Dacha" (Blue Dacha) Park.³ The ghetto consisted of an area fenced off by barbed wire, which included several very overcrowded houses and wooden shacks, as well as dugouts prepared in the ground that were also used by the Jews for shelter. The precise number of ghetto inmates is unknown, but it was probably around 700. Some Jews may have been brought into the Nevel' ghetto from the surrounding area.⁴

The ghetto existed for only about one month. In September 1941, Dr. Alfred Filbert, in charge of Einsatzkommando 9 based in Vitebsk, sent a detachment headed by SS-Untersturmführer Heinrich Tunnat to Nevel' in response to reports of Soviet partisans being active in the area. Tunnat soon reported on the ghetto in Nevel' to Dr. Filbert, who ordered Tunnat to shoot the Jews as soon as possible. According to the report of Ein-

satzgruppe B, a German doctor had detected an outbreak of disease in the ghetto, which was then liquidated to prevent the contagion from spreading.

At some time in the first week of September 1941, a squad of Waffen-SS commanded by SS-Untersturmbannführer Waldemar Clauss drove the Jews out of the ghetto and escorted them to a site nearby, where Soviet prisoners of war had recently prepared a large pit. At the killing site, the Jews were ordered to remove their outer clothing, which was neatly piled up by the head of the Judenrat. The Jews were then shot into the pit by a squad of five or six men armed with machine pistols. Members of the Russian police also participated in the shooting. According to the Einsatzgruppen report, the forces of Einsatzkommando 9 shot 640 Jews during the Aktion. Afterwards the remaining buildings of the ghetto were burned to the ground.⁵ Only a handful of Jews managed to escape from the ghetto and avoid the roundups, living in hiding, on the “Aryan” side, or serving with the Soviet partisans until the Red Army liberated the area in October 1943.⁶

SOURCES Information on the fate of the Jewish community of Nevel’ during the Holocaust can be found in the following publications: *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1978), Lfd. Nr. 540, pp. 621–622; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 887.

Documentation regarding the ghetto in Nevel’ and the extermination of the Jews there can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/216-17); BA-L (B 162/21177); GAPO; GARF; NARA (N-Doc., NO-4415); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9); VHF (# 2301, 15070, and 15072); and YVA.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 73, September 4, 1941.

2. VHF, # 15070, interview with Musia Bogat, May 16, 1996.

3. Ilya Al’tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 249.

4. Vadim Doubson, “Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.),” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve: Istoriia, Kul’tura, Tsvilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159, gives the figure of 800 to 1,000 ghetto inmates. German sources mostly give lower figures of from 100 to 640. Wila Orbach, “The Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-Occupied Territories of the USSR,” *Soviet Jewish Affairs* 2:6 (1976): 44, gives a range from 710 to 1,800.

5. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941; LG-Be, verdict of June 22, 1962 (3 PKs 1/62) against Filbert and others, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 18, Lfd. No. 540, pp. 621–622. In his own statement, see BA-L, B 162/21177, pp. 34ff., Tunnat estimates the number of victims at only 100–120. Il’ja Al’tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zürich: Gleichen, 2008), pp. 303–304, cites a captured German document now in the

FSB archives that indicates that about 600 women and children were shot in Nevel’ shortly before September 8, 1941. See also VHF, # 2301, interview with Tatiana Nemizanskaia, April 20, 1995.

6. VHF, # 2301, testimony of Tatiana Nemizanskaia, and # 15072, testimony of Roza Shafran.

NOVOZYBKOV

Pre-1941: Novozybkov, town and raion center, Orel oblast’, RSFSR; 1941–1943: Nowosybkow, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Novozybkov, Briansk oblast’, Russian Federation

Novozybkov is located 60 kilometers (37 miles) northeast of Gomel’ on the railway line from Gomel’ to Briansk. In 1939, there were 3,129 Jews (12.78 percent of the total); an additional 213 Jews lived in the villages of the Novozybkov raion.

Following an aerial bombardment, which killed a number of civilians, German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on August 16, 1941. In the two months following the start of the German invasion in June, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and the Soviet authorities inducted many men into the Red Army. The rapid progress of the German advance forced back to Novozybkov some of those who sought to flee following the bombing.¹ Around one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the occupation.

Until the Germans’ retreat on September 25, 1943, the town was run by a German military commandant’s office (Ortskommandantur), which was subordinated to the Feldkommandantur in Gomel’. The German military authorities established a town administration and organized a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) from among the residents of Novozybkov. Shortly after the occupation began, the town administration organized the registration of the Jews and subjected them to various forms of forced labor; for example, some Jewish women had to clean the toilets in the prison. Jewish homes were marked with yellow stars, and the Jews had to wear yellow stars on their chests. German soldiers were quartered in some Jewish homes, confining the Jewish families to just one room. The Germans shot an unknown number of Jews and suspected Communists, mostly adult men, during the first weeks of the occupation.²

In October or November of 1941, the Ortskommandantur ordered the establishment of a ghetto in Novozybkov. The ghetto comprised approximately five streets. Reports differ on whether or not the ghetto was enclosed with barbed wire.³ However, Russian police were present during the day to prevent Jews from leaving the area without permission. The sole Jewish survivor interviewed in the 1990s does not recall there being a “Jewish Soviet” [Jewish Council] in the ghetto nor encountering there any Jewish refugees from outside Novozybkov.⁴

By early 1942, news had arrived in Novozybkov of the fate of the Jews in Klinty, where German forces from Gomel’ had liquidated the ghetto in early December 1941.⁵ After this, the Jews had few illusions about their own chances of survival,

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especially as some non-Jewish acquaintances now advised them to run away or hide. Bella Nepomniashchaia was able to escape with her mother on the eve of the liquidation, and she convinced a Russian policeman that she was not Jewish, assisted by her appearance. She received aid in the form of food from some local non-Jews but also had to sleep outside in freezing weather before she was able to link up with the Soviet partisans.⁶

The available sources give somewhat contradictory information on the liquidation of the Novozybkov ghetto. German Security Police forces from Einsatzgruppe B, either part of Sonderkommando 7a based in Klintsy, or from Trupp Schulz subordinated to Einsatzkommando 8 in Gomel', arrived in Novozybkov in early 1942 (snow was still on the ground) to organize the murder of the "Jews and Communists" in the town with the assistance of the local Russian police.⁷ It appears that several pits were prepared in advance, according to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), in the Karkhovsk Forest near the railroad station.⁸ On the day before the Aktion, the Jews (more than 800 souls) were all confined within the meeting room of the match factory.⁹ According to one version in the ChGK materials, the Germans and their collaborators shot the remaining 950 Jews (men, women, and children); sources date the Aktion as occurring on either January 18 or February 18, 1942.¹⁰ A German witness, who was a member of a Landesschützen Battalion stationed in Novozybkov at the time, mentions that 1,000 to 1,200 people were killed, although some sources indicate that non-Jews may have been among the victims on that day.¹¹ After the Aktion, the local police plundered the empty houses in the ghetto as they searched for Jews in hiding.

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Novozybkov can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GABrO; GARF (7021-19-2); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9; and RG-68, Acc.1998.A.0002); and VHF (# 39394 and 41050).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 36394, interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, April 12, 1998.
2. Ibid., interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, December 5, 1997, and April 12, 1998. The Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht no. 5 of the Einsatzgruppen (for the period from September 15–30, 1941) reports only the capture and liquidation of one secret agent of the NKVD in Novozybkov; see Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941/42* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 204.
3. VHF, # 36394, interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, December 5, 1997, and April 12, 1998, states that there was no fence around the ghetto. "A briv fun a yidishen partizaner," *Eynikayt*, no. 10 (September 5, 1942), states, however, "In the city of Novozybkov, I saw the Jewish ghetto, the barbed wire. We will take revenge."
4. VHF, # 36394, interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, December 5, 1997, and April 12, 1998.

5. Ibid.; on the events in Klintsy, see GARF, 7021-19-5, pp. 9, 10, 21.

6. VHF, # 36394, interview with Bella Nepomniashchaia, December 5, 1997, and April 12, 1998.

7. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 786–788.

8. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 907.

9. USHMM, RG-68, Acc.1998.A.0002 (Jewish Anti-fascist Committee Records from GARF), article titled "Korbones in eyn tog in shtetl Novozybkov" submitted to be published in *Eynikayt*.

10. GARF, 7021-19-2, p. 142, gives January 18. "Korbones in eyn tog in shtetl Novozybkov" dates the Aktion on February 18.

11. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 786–787. This German court verdict, LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, March 29, 1965, however, estimated that only "700 Jews and other so-called potential enemies" were victims of the mass shooting in Novozybkov. See also USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 9 (GARF 7021-19). The ChGK estimated that 2,860 corpses were located in the seven pits in Karkhovsk Forest that it examined on the liberation of the town. The same document, however, also reported that 1,562 "peaceful citizens" were tortured and shot in Novozybkov and the Novozybkov raion.

OPOCHKA

Pre-1941: Opochka, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Opotschka, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Opochka, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Opochka is located about 125 kilometers (78 miles) west-northwest of Velike Luki on the Velikaia River. According to the 1939 population census in Opochka, which at that time was part of the Kalinin oblast', 289 Jews lived in the city (2.59 percent of the total population). The town was occupied on July 9, 1941, a little over two weeks after the initial German invasion of the USSR on June 22. At that time a number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 200 Jews remained in the town under German occupation.

During the period of the occupation from July 1941 until July 1944, a German military commandant's office ran the affairs of the town. The German military commandant established a local administration and recruited a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) for security purposes from among the local residents.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, German security forces murdered a number of Jews at the Jewish cemetery. The German military commandant issued an order calling for the registration and marking of the Jews. They were also forced to perform heavy labor. In August 1941, all the remaining 100 to

200 Jews were resettled into a ghetto located in a half-burned barracks building.¹ The ghetto existed for more than six months. From November 1941 onward, groups of Jews were taken out and murdered near the villages of Maslovo and Pukhili. On March 9, 1942, the ghetto was liquidated, and German forces shot the last remaining 100 or so Jews.²

In the fall of 1943 the Germans dug up the bodies of their victims and burned them in an attempt to cover up the evidence.

SOURCES Documentation and witness testimonies regarding the extermination of the Jews of OPOCHKA can be found in the following archives: GAPO; GARF (7021-20-18); and YVA. Additional information can be found in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 938.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-20-18, pp. 2-3; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941-42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve: Istorii, Kul'tura, Tsvizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.

2. N.I. Vasil'ev, A.V. Stepanov, and T.F. Fedorov, *OPOCHKA: Putevoditel'* (Leningrad, 1973), p. 90.

PETROVICH I

Pre-1941: Petrovichi, village, Shumiachi raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941-1943: Petrowitschi, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Petrovichi, Russian Federation

Petrovichi is located 90 kilometers (56 miles) south-southeast of Smolensk. On the eve of war in 1939, the several hundred Jews living in Petrovichi accounted for about half of the village's population. Some famous Jews were natives of Petrovichi: Isaac Asimov, who became a central figure in American science fiction, and Semen Lavochkin, who later became a designer of Soviet fighter aircraft.

German troops captured Petrovichi on August 2, 1941. Before the occupation, many Jewish families attempted to leave the village in horse-drawn carts. Almost all of them, however, were forced to turn back. Some Jews did not believe the Soviet propaganda and were in no hurry to evacuate. Only a few succeeded in escaping. One who did manage to leave with his family was Leib Ryskin, chairman of the *Imeni Tret'ego Internatsionala* (Third International) *kolkhoz*. His actions were influenced by a German leaflet that he happened to pick up along the road: "Pick up a stick, and drive the Yids back to Palestine!"¹

The German troops established a ghetto soon after their arrival. It held approximately 400 Jews, including some peo-

ple who had fled from other places or who had come to visit relatives during the summer vacation.² About 40 percent were women over the age of 16, and approximately one third of the ghetto's prisoners were children under 16, based on the lists of Jews who were shot.³

The ghetto consisted of a single street, and as many as five or six families lodged in each house. Overcrowding was intense—everyone slept on the floor in a single row. German soldiers, followed by the local police, looted most of the possessions the Jews had been forced to leave behind in their former homes. All Jews were required to wear a badge with the word "Jude" sewn on their outer garments. A small plaque with the same inscription was affixed to every house in the ghetto. A Jewish elder (*starosta*) was chosen and required to report to the *Kommandantur* for the assignment of work details to the Jews.

German soldiers and Russian police constantly made the rounds of the Jews' houses in the ghetto and robbed them of their meager belongings. Any attempt at resistance resulted in cruel beatings of the ghetto dwellers.

The oppressors subjected the Jews in the ghetto to refined taunts and seized any opportunity to kill them. Soon after the ghetto's establishment, some of the men were taken forcibly and transported to an unknown destination; they never returned. Observant elderly men were subjected to savage treatment. Some of them were shot, and others were tied to wagons by their beards and dragged through the village.⁴

If no other work could be found for them, the Jews were made to carry manure from one place to another. The women had to hold the stable dung in their skirts, while the men were forced to use their hands. An eyewitness of the events described the German atrocities in detail:

Our stables all were about half a kilometer apart. And the Jews were ordered to pick up the manure with their hands and run, carrying it from one stable to another. Old men and young ones had to run and run without stopping. There was rain and slush. The children were crying. Even the mothers, grandmothers, and grandfathers were running, urged on by lashes, with manure in their hands. The people couldn't keep it up, of course. I remember how Khana-Rokhl Berman, a neighbor, came running up to a stable and pushed her children inside, and later she went in behind them.

The Germans forced the Jews to lie on boxes used to hold potatoes, then lashed them and beat them with sticks. The others had to stand there and watch. The beatings continued until the person's skin was stripped off, and pieces of scarlet flesh showed through. Sometimes they forced the Jews' own comrades to flay them.⁵

Semen Azimov, a former teacher of mathematics and physics, was subjected to malicious insults. He left the ghetto and wandered through the woods and villages, begging for a piece

of bread. With the help of the local residents, the Russian policemen caught him, put him in a cage, and humiliated him, beating him mercilessly. He showed the Germans his letters from relatives in America, counting on favorable treatment, but his efforts only brought him additional blows.

At night the Russian policemen used to drag young girls out of Jewish houses and rape them—frequently, they also killed them. Instances of Germans raping Jewish girls also took place. For example, the two Novikov sisters, who had fled to Petrovichi from Smolensk, were brutally raped. Afterwards the ghetto residents found one of the sisters hanged and the other murdered.

Part of the non-Jewish population of Petrovichi and the neighboring villages treated the Jews sympathetically. Some brought bread, milk, and other foodstuffs to their Jewish friends and acquaintances in the ghetto. Occasionally, local residents helped Jews who had escaped from the ghetto and hid them or their children. In most cases, however, the local collaborationist Russian police (Ordnungsdienst, or OD) hunted down the escaped Jews and killed them.⁶

According to German data, on May 31, 1942, 107 Jews were transferred from Petrovichi to Roslavl'. One of them was killed during an attempt to escape.⁷ The documents of the Smolensk Oblast' Commission contain a list of the names of 84 Jews sent from Petrovichi to the Roslavl' Gestapo.⁸ In Roslavl', the Jews from Petrovichi were most probably shot by forces subordinated to Sonderkommando 7c within a short time.

In early June 1942, the approximately 230 Jews remaining in the Petrovichi ghetto were shot.⁹ One week before the Aktion, they were rounded up and placed in five or six houses near the Jewish cemetery. Each house held about 40 people.

Thirty members of the local police (OD) who had come from Khislavichi, under the command of three Germans and the chief of the local police in Petrovichi, carried out the Aktion. Several dozen local inhabitants dug the pit. After the shooting, the same locals buried the victims' corpses. The shooting went on for three hours. The residents of Petrovichi were ordered to cover their windows and were forbidden to watch the Jews being led to their deaths. Later, those Jewish specialist workers who were kept alive at the time of the ghetto liquidation were also shot; they included several tailors, cobblers, and a saddler.

As the column of Jews moved towards the killing site, the student Sara Iasman, who had blue eyes and light, wavy hair, was repeatedly urged to leave, but she refused. Before she was shot, she cried out, "Fascists, you'll get what you deserve!"

Many Jews tried to run away once the mass shooting started, but they were mown down by submachine-gun fire. Some time later, the Russian police found and shot young children who had escaped and were hidden before the ghetto prisoners were taken away to be shot. Those who had fled to other villages were caught and shot on the spot. Only one girl, who chanced upon a partisan detachment, and a 12-year-old boy managed to escape.

The inhabitants of the village of Stakhovshchina hid a woman doctor, Konikova, with her three sons. The chief of police in Shumiachi, Gavrilok (the Germans shot him along with his family), had given her a document certifying that her husband was a Russian. One year later, however, she was shot, and one month before the arrival of the Soviet forces, her children, whom the villagers had hidden, also were killed.

The day before the destruction of the ghetto, some 30 Jewish teens had left it. In the forest, they encountered a group of armed Soviet soldiers that happened to be in the area, and they formed a partisan detachment. Khaim Gurevich, an 18-year-old, became a platoon leader in the detachment, and his 15-year-old brother Lev was a scout. The detachment sabotaged railroads and highways, and it also engaged in heavy fighting against German units and detachments of the OD, which was receiving support from a portion of the local population. A betrayal resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the partisan detachment. Seriously wounded, Lev Gurevich was hidden by the family of Prokofii Ivanov, a teacher from the village of Kosachevki, and he spent eight months living in a hole dug beneath the cellar. Ivanov's wife was hanged.¹⁰

SOURCES Publications regarding the Petrovichi ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Petrovichi include the following: I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i Iary Smolenscbiny* (Smolensk, 2001), which includes several witness testimonies and lists of Jews killed in Petrovichi; I. Agracheva, "Eto bylo ne so mnoi" (testimony of Lev Gurevich), *Vesti* (Israel), June 6, 1995; I. Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002); V. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii 1941–42 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Petrovichi can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-635); GASmO (R-1630-1-337, R-1630-1-360, and R-2434-3-38); VHF (# 33553); and YVA (O-33).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. V. Maksimchuk, "Tragediia v Petrovichakh," in Tsynman, *Bab'i Iary Smolenscbiny*, pp. 183–184.
2. GARF, 7021-44-635, p. 22; Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii," p. 157.
3. GASmO, R-1630-1-337, pp. 126–127, 130.
4. Testimony of Lev Gurevich.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.; and Maksimchuk, "Tragediia v Petrovichakh," pp. 183–185.
7. "Korück 559" report on antipartisan actions, May 25–31, 1942 (YVA, M-29, FR/38, p. 7).
8. GASmO, R-1630-1-337, p. 130.
9. GARF, 7021-44-635, p. 22.
10. Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti*, p. 369; and testimony of Lev Gurevich.

POCHEP

Pre-1941: Pochep, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941-1943: Potschep, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Pochep, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Pochep is located about 80 kilometers (50 miles) to the southwest of Briansk on the Sudost' River and on the railway line from Moscow to Kiev. By 1939, the number of Jewish residents in the city stood at 2,314 people (14.87 percent of the total population). An additional 266 Jews were counted in the villages of the Pochep raion.

Units of the German XLVIIth Panzer Corps occupied Pochep on August 21, 1941, two months after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union. During these two months, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army. Up to 75 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

During the period of occupation, which lasted until September 21, 1943, the Germans set up a military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) and a local administration in the city. They also recruited a Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst, or OD) from among the local residents.

In March 1942, at the time of the mass killing, a 10-man detachment of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP) Unit 729 and a small detachment (2 or 3 men) of Sonderkommando 7a (part of Einsatzgruppe B) were based in the town.

Shortly after the start of the German occupation, the town administration organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also forced to perform various forms of heavy labor.

Sometime at the start of 1942, the commandant's office in Pochep ordered the establishment of a ghetto. The ghetto consisted of a series of barracks on the grounds of a cabbage-pickling factory on the edge of the town, guarded by the OD.¹ It is possible that some Jews were also resettled into the ghetto from the outlying villages in the Pochep raion with the aid of the OD.

In March 1942, Sonderkommando 7a, under the command of Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp based in Klinty, organized the liquidation of the ghetto, shooting all the Jewish inmates. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, the number of victims was 1,854, including men, women, and children.² The shooting, which lasted several hours, was carried out by six men of Sonderkommando 7a, with the help of the OD who escorted the victims and members of the GFP 729 and Feldgendarmarie that cordoned off the area. The killing site was a large ditch, possibly prepared by the Russians as an antitank ditch, located less than 100 meters (328 feet) from the site of the ghetto.³

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and elimination of the Jews of the city can be found in the following archives: GABrO and GARF (7021-19-4).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588. Extracts from the verdict have been published in Russian in A. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Brianshchiny v 1941-1943 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205-220.

2. See GARF, 7021-19-4, p. 278, for the period January-March 1942.

3. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588.

POCHINOK

Pre-1941: Pochinok, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941-1943: Potschinok, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Pochinok, Russian Federation

Pochinok is located 62 kilometers (39 miles) southeast of Smolensk on the rail line from Orel to Riga. According to the 1939 census, 283 Jews were living in Pochinok (8.89 percent of the total population).

German units of Army Group Center occupied the town on July 17, 1941, approximately four weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. During these four weeks, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, in August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur appointed Dr. Nikolai Nikitin mayor (Bürgermeister) of Pochinok¹ and ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jewish population was also exploited for various forms of forced labor.

Sometime in August 1941, the German administration established a ghetto on the site of the Machine Tractor Station (MTS). German security forces, probably belonging to Einsatzkommando 9 or Trupp Smolensk, liquidated the ghetto on April 21, 1942,² when they shot up to 200 people.³

Basya Pikman, a Jewish woman who was fleeing from the Germans, was arrested by the Germans in Pochinok after the liquidation of most of the ghettos in the region. She was whipped and had her teeth knocked out as she was interrogated about her possible Jewish roots, but she remained silent. In Pochinok, she witnessed the Germans hang Russians. Fortunately she was released and managed to make her way further to the east and survive the occupation.

SOURCES Documents dealing with the persecution and murder of the Jews of Pochinok can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-629); GASmO; and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. NARA, RG-238, T-77, reel 1155, fr. 476, WiKdo zbV Hirschberg Gruppe La, Tätigkeitsbericht in der Zeit v. August 12–26, 1941, im Abschnitt Smolensk, August 27, 1941.

2. Vadim Doubson, “Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42),” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istorii. Kul'tura. Tsvilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.

3. P. Kurbatova, *O zlodeianniakh nemetsko-fasbistskikh zakhvatchikov na Smolenskbine* (Smolensk, 1944), p. 24.

PSKOV

Pre-1941: Pskov, city and raion center, Leningrad oblast', RSFSR, 1941–1944: Pleskau, initially Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord), then Gebiet Petschur, Generalkommissariat Estland; post-1991: Pskov, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Pskov is located 256 kilometers (159 miles) southwest of Leningrad on the Velikaia River. According to the 1939 census, 1,068 Jews lived in Pskov (1.77 percent of the total population).

On July 9, 1941, two and a half weeks after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, units of the 4th Panzer Division occupied the city. A significant portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Eligible men were mustered into the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 25 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the city at the start of the occupation.

In the summer and fall of 1941, a German military commandant's office ran the city. A local administration was set up, and an auxiliary police unit (Ordnungsdienst) was recruited from among the local population.

At the start of 1942, authority was transferred to the German civilian administration. Pskov became part of Gebiet Petschur. SA-Standartenführer Bombe became the Gebietskommissar. Major Warnholz of the Schutzpolizei became the SS- und Polizei-Standortführer (senior police leader) in the town. Leutnant Hermann Hidde of the Schutzpolizei became the Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer. In turn, Gebiet Petschur was incorporated into Generalkommissariat Estland. Initially the residence of the Gebietskommissar was located in Petschur but it was moved to Pskov in 1942 and remained there until 1944.¹

From July 10, 1941, the German Security Police detachment Sonderkommando 1a was located in Pskov. It was later reorganized into an outpost of the Security Police (Sipo-Hauptaussonstelle), which was subordinated to SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Sandberger, the Commander of the Security Police and SD (KdS) in Tallinn. The head of the Sipo-Hauptaussonstelle in 1941–1942 was SS-Obersturmführer Otto Bleyemehl.

Shortly after the occupation of the city, the German military commandant's office ordered the registration of the Jews and the institution of forced manual labor. Jews were also required to wear a distinctive yellow patch on their clothing.

In August 1941, a ghetto was created in the city.² During the forced resettlement into the ghetto, 13 Jews were murdered.³ The ghetto existed until some time between December and February 1942, when German forces liquidated the ghetto by shooting all the Jews in the nearby village of Vasilevo.⁴ In June 1942, a number of Jewish doctors were murdered. They had been working in a hospital for those wounded in the war.⁵ Under these various circumstances, according to German sources, the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei) shot 232 Jews in total.⁶

In November 1941, the commander of Sonderkommando 1a, SS-Sturmbannführer Martin Sandberger, forcibly resettled more than 100 Jews from Estonia together with other prisoners into a labor camp near Pskov. From February to April 1942, Höhere SS- und Polizeiführer (HSSPF) Russland-Nord under the command of SS-Obergruppenführer Friedrich Jeckeln was stationed in Pskov. Jeckeln's command ordered that these Jews from Estonia should be eliminated quickly.⁷ The shootings were carried out by members of the Sipo-Hauptaussonstelle in Pskov with the assistance of the local police.

In September 1943, the Germans started to burn the bodies of the victims at the grave sites near Pskov in an effort to remove all traces of their crimes. The Red Army liberated the city in August 1944.

After the war, Otto Bleyemehl was under investigation for some time, but the investigation was eventually discontinued.⁸

SOURCES Documents and witness statements regarding the persecution and annihilation of the Pskov Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GAPO (R-903-3-1 and 12); GARF (7021-97-881); and RGASPI (17-1-313).

Alexander Kruglov
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NOTES

1. BA-BL, BDC, SShO 2432, Organisationsplan der besetzten Ostgebiete nach dem Stand vom 10. März 1942, hg. vom Chef der Ordnungspolizei, Berlin, den 13. März 1942.

2. I. Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 99.

3. P. Vagin and M. Nikitin, *Pod igom gitlerovskikh palachei* (Moscow: OGIZ, 1943), p. 4.

4. *Pskov: Oberki istorii* (Leningrad, 1971), p. 291; Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1037. Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), p. 821, mentions that the Schutzpolizei unit in Pskov carried out a mass shooting of at least 150 Jewish men, women, and children on December 27–28, 1941, but does not mention the precise location of this Aktion (although it was probably in Pskov); see also Sta. Hamburg, 141 Js 220/61, indictment of December 12, 1961, against P. and others, p. 3.

5. Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti*, p. 251.

6. Annual report of the Security Police and SD commander in Generalkommissariat Estland from July 1, 1942,

on affairs from July 1941 to June 30, 1942, appendix no. 12, GARF, 7021-97-881. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), around 1,000 Jews were shot in February 1942. However, this figure seems too high. See *Pskov: Ocherki istorii*, p. 291.

7. Testimony under oath by Martin Sandberger, November 19, 1945 (N-Doc., NO-3844); testimony under oath by Martin Sandberger, April 23, 1947 (N-Doc., NO-2891). The prison was probably established at the end of 1941 in the village of Mogilno, near Pskov. Prisoners of war and civilians were held captive there. The civilians included Jews and Gypsies (Roma). The total number of victims was around 700 people. Among them were 112 Jews: 14 men, 57 women, and 41 children; see RGASPI, 17-1-313, p. 114.

8. BA-L, ZStL/207 AR-Z 246/59 (Sonderkommando 1a—Bleyemehl).

PUSTOSHKA

Pre-1941: Pustoshka, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Pustoshka, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Pustoshka, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Pustoshka is located 190 kilometers (118 miles) south-southeast of Pskov. According to the 1939 census for Pustoshka, the Jewish population stood at 308, comprising 11.9 percent of the total.

German units of Army Group North captured the town on July 15, 1941. During the intervening three weeks since the start of Germany's invasion of the USSR, many of the Jews had managed to evacuate to the east, and eligible males were ordered to report for military service in the Red Army. Around 20 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire period of occupation, from July 1941 to February 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. The German military administration created a local authority and police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German Ortskommandantur ordered the registration and marking of the Jews with badges. The Jewish population also was forced to perform various types of heavy labor. In early February 1942, all the remaining Jews in the town were moved into a ghetto, consisting of a single building, which was either fenced in or guarded.¹ The ghetto existed for several weeks, until late February 1942, by which time all the Jews had been shot. According to one source, the total number of Jewish victims was 58.²

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Pustoshka under German occupation can be found in the following archives: GAPO (R-481-2-65) and GARF (7021-39-334).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. GAPO, R-481-2-65, p. 23; and Il'ia Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), pp. 97, 99, 101.

2. N. Masolov, *Ballada o krasnom desante* (Moscow, 1967), p. 97.

ROSLAVL'

Pre-1941: Roslavl', town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Roslavl', Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Roslavl', Russian Federation

Roslavl' is located 107 kilometers (66 miles) southeast of Smolensk. According to the 1939 population census, 2,935 Jews lived in Roslavl'.

Following heavy aerial bombardments of the town in June and July 1941, German mobile forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on August 3. Due to its location on a main east-west railroad, a large portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east before the Germans' arrival. It is estimated that between 300 and 600 Jews remained in Roslavl' at the start of the German occupation. The German military administration established a local Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst), which not only maintained order but also carried out repressive measures against the local population.

Shortly after the start of the occupation, the Germans hanged 4 people in the center of Roslavl' who had been denounced as Communists.¹ According to Soviet sources, on August 5–6, 1941, German security forces murdered a group of Jews, possibly as suspected Communist activists.² German sources indicate that probably in the first half of September 1941, the 2nd Platoon of the 2nd Company, Reserve Police Battalion 9, which was attached to Einsatzgruppe B, came to Roslavl', where it arrested and then shot about 50 men (mostly Jews). The same unit subsequently conducted a second Aktion in Roslavl' in which about 25 Jews (including some women) were arrested by members of the SD and shot by members of the battalion on a command from their platoon leader.

In October (or possibly the first part of November) 1941, the German military administration established a ghetto or "Jewish residential area" (*Judenviertel*) on Red Fleet Streets # 1 and # 2. All the Jews were moved into several empty houses and were prohibited from having any contact with the other residents of the town. The area was enclosed and guarded day and night to ensure that nobody escaped.³

In the fall of 1941, Roslavl' came under the control of Feldkommandantur (V) 199, which was subordinated to Security Division 286. Other units based in the town included a unit of Feldgendarmarie commanded by Leutnant Vogt, an OT unit, a bakery company, and a Luftwaffe repair unit. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 commanded by Kriminalkommissar Wilhelm Döring arrived in Roslavl' in mid-November 1941. It remained there until the end of December

1941, when it was replaced by a detachment of Sonderkommando 7c. German investigative records indicate that shortly after his arrival Döring received an unwritten order from Einsatzkommando 8 to shoot the Jews who had already been concentrated (ghettoized) in Roslavl'.⁴

According to Soviet sources, the German Security Police liquidated the ghetto in mid- or late November 1941.⁵ Einsatzgruppen report no. 148, dated December 19, 1941, stated that a total of 510 Jews of both sexes were shot in Shumiachi and Roslavl', on grounds of "public security and order." Testimonies by members of the Feldgendarmarie unit subordinated to Feldkommandantur (V) 199, based in Roslavl', give the figure of at least 200 Jews being shot there in the winter of 1941–1942.⁶

These testimonies and information from the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) permit a fairly detailed reconstruction of the ghetto liquidation Aktion in Roslavl'. A few days prior to the Aktion, a group of able-bodied Jews was selected from the ghetto and ordered to prepare a large pit under the supervision of the Russian Ordnungsdienst on the grounds of the Jewish cemetery. On the assigned day, men of the Feldgendarmarie were ordered to get up early in order to conduct a roundup in the Jewish quarter. These men claim that they thought initially the Jews were being assembled for transfer to a forced labor assignment. They searched the Judenviertel and collected together at one point about 200 Jews, including a number of women and children, who were then handed over to the men of the SD. The Jews were then escorted to a ditch about 6 meters by 5 meters and 2 meters deep (19.7 by 16.4 by 6.6 feet), which had been prepared at the cemetery, apparently located close to the POW camp on the southwestern edge of town. Here the Jews had to remove their outer clothing and were searched by the SD for any valuables. About seven or eight SD men then shot the Jews with machine pistols in groups of 2 to 5 people at the ditch. Children were thrown into the ditch and buried alive. The Feldgendarmarie served as an external cordon to guard the site against escape attempts and prevent onlookers from approaching. The Jews remained calm throughout the Aktion, more or less resigned to their fate. Among the victims was Dr. Magidson of the children's hospital. Afterwards, Döring reported the date and the number of people shot back to the headquarters of Einsatzkommando 8.⁷

Local resident Nikolai Karpov recalled that after a few days it became known that the houses of the ghetto were empty again, and people who lived nearby reported with horror that all the inhabitants, including women, children, and the elderly, had been shot near the old Jewish cemetery and that the graves had been hastily covered with earth. Russian policemen then plundered the houses of the ghetto. He observed how one policeman attempted to remove the cow that had formerly belonged to the large family of a Jewish tailor, but the cow did not want to go with someone it did not know.⁸

In the two months following the Aktion, about 20 more Jews were brought into Roslavl' by Wehrmacht patrols in the surrounding countryside and placed in the SD prison. These Jews of all ages and both sexes had been denounced by local inhabitants and handed over to the Wehrmacht. They

were subsequently shot together with other prisoners by the SD in the course of mass shootings conducted at irregular intervals to "make room" in the prison cells.⁹

The Red Army drove the Germans from Roslavl' on September 23, 1943. Only a handful of Jews from Roslavl' managed to survive on German-occupied territory, either hiding among the local population or serving with the Soviet partisans.¹⁰

SOURCES The memoir of forced laborer Nikolai Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter: Erzählung* (Münster: Ardey-Verlag, 2003), has a few pages on the start of the German occupation of Roslavl', including mention of the ghetto.

Documents on the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Roslavl' can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/219); BA-L (ZStL/27282); GARF (7021-44-630 and 631); GASMO (1630-1-337); NARB (861-1-25); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10; and RG-53.002M); and YVA.

Martin Dean

NOTES

1. Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter*, p. 6.
2. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 125–127; and Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), pp. 310, 313.
3. NARB, 861-1-25, p. 77 V. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1941–42 gg.," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159; Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter*, p. 7.
4. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 564, p. 712.
5. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1941–1942 gg.," p. 159; NARB, 861-1-25, p. 82. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 129, indicates that the Jews were shot on November 14, 1941, only three days after the establishment of the ghetto.
6. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941, p. 10; BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80.
7. BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 564, p. 712; NARB, 861-1-25, p. 80.
8. Karpov, *Der kleine Ostarbeiter*, p. 7. (It may also have been a Jewish family named Schneider [tailor].)
9. BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80.
10. The Survivors' Registry of the USHMM has registered 40 survivors from Roslavl', but the overwhelming majority of them were evacuated from the town in time and spent the war on the Soviet side of the front.

RUDNIA

Pre-1941: Rudnia, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rudnja, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Rudnia, Russian Federation

Rudnia is located 68 kilometers (42 miles) west-northwest of Smolensk on the railroad from Smolensk to Vitebsk. By 1939 there were 1,640 Jews living there.

Because of the rapid advance of the German army, only a small number of Jews were able to evacuate or escape from Rudnia in an organized fashion. Some Jewish families tried to leave the town to the east on foot or in carts, but they were ordered to turn back. German airplanes dispersed leaflets with the message: "Take up the stick, and drive the Jew to Palestine." Local collaborators took the Jews' livestock, vehicles, and other belongings. Those Jews who refused to comply were killed.

German forces captured Rudnia on July 14, 1941. Shortly after the occupation began, the occupying authorities registered Jews. Jews were ordered to sew yellow rings onto the backs of their clothing. In the first days of the occupation, German propaganda organs actively promoted antisemitic agitation among the local population. Many residents of Rudnia took advantage of this lawlessness to rob the Jews.

In August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur issued an order for all the Jews in Rudnia to be resettled into a ghetto. Those who refused to comply were to be shot on the spot. Jews who owned farm animals, such as cattle or poultry, were not permitted to bring their animals with them. The local police (Ordnungsdienst) used physical force to intimidate the Jews and confiscate their clothing, watches, domestic items, gold, silver, and other jewelry. One woman who survived the ghetto observed that "nothing was off limits to any of them."¹

The ghetto was established on one street in the town, and it consisted of 20 or so half-destroyed homes. It was fenced off with barbed wire and guarded by German soldiers and local police. Around 1,200 Jews, residents of Rudnia as well as Jewish refugees from the Baltic states and Belorussia, were assembled on the small market square and then crammed in the ghetto.² Initially, people could come and go freely, and some Jews received food brought by neighbors from outside the ghetto.³ Judging from the list of those Jews who were subsequently shot, many families with multiple children resided in the ghetto. About half of the children were under the age of 16. There were also some elderly men living in the ghetto and many artisans of various professions, including 32 carpenters.⁴

In August, the Germans raided a home where the 17-year-old student Abram Dol'nik lived. At school, Dol'nik had been studying to be a radio technician, and he refused to hand over his equipment to the Germans. For this, they shot him and another 15 to 20 young Jews. In September, the Germans discovered in the courtyard of one of the homes in the ghetto a pistol obtained during the retreat of the Red Army. As a result, 100 Jews were shot, ostensibly for concealing military weapons.⁵

The inmates of the ghetto lived under conditions of great overcrowding and poor sanitation. They were subjected regularly to assault and degradation. Only 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread were allotted each day to the prisoners. All Jews had to hand over any valuable items or face being shot. Those who were considered prosperous were taken hostage and held for ransom. The Jews were also taken out for forced labor. Young Jews had to do the heaviest physical work, including road and

gas pipeline repairs. One of the few medically trained people in the ghetto, Ida Brion, fled eastward in the fall of 1941 after hearing from escapees of the Vitebsk ghetto that all the Jews would be shot unless they escaped.

On October 21, 1941, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 9 arrived in Rudnia from Vitebsk. With the help of the local police, the detachment shot a large number of ghetto inmates. The Jews were told that they were being transported to Vitebsk and that they should take enough food and belongings for two days. Drunken local policemen randomly assaulted the Jews. Before sending the Jews to the place of execution, the Germans shot young children, the infirm, and others hiding in the ghetto who had refused to leave. The column of ghetto prisoners included women, children, elderly persons, and young infants. The mass shooting took place in an antitank ditch on the outskirts of the town. Those persons wearing good clothing were ordered to strip down to their underwear. The Germans forced several people into the ditch and then shot them. The corpses were flung into the water. They threw children alive into the ditch and tossed infants up in the air and shot them. The killing went on for several hours. According to the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), more than 1,000 Jews were shot.⁶ After the shooting, there were heartrending moans from down in the ditch. The Germans and their collaborators then threw down heavy stones and covered the grave with three layers of dirt.

The report of Einsatzgruppe B indicates that it had conducted a "large-scale Aktion" against the Jews in Rudnia because the Jews had "provided significant help to the partisans, spread subversive propaganda, occasionally refused to work, and would not wear distinguishing markings for Jews." The report states that 835 Jews were shot in total.⁷

Subsequently the Germans shot the chief of the local police in Rudnia, a man named Korotchenkov, on the same spot where the Jews were killed. The Germans tortured him in front of his underlings as a punishment for having concealed goods stolen from the Jews. The policemen threw his body on top of the corpses of the Jews who had been shot previously. The Germans then confiscated Korotchenkov's belongings from his apartment.⁸

A group of young Jews from the ghetto was taken out to work and they were not shot on October 21, the day of the mass shooting.⁹ Instead, they were grouped together with a number of specialists: doctors, shoemakers, carpenters, painters, bakers, and others. These Jews remained in the Rudnia ghetto.

In the fall of 1941, the residents of the Jewish kolkhoz "The Path to Socialism" (Put' k sotsializmu) were also shot. Having captured Rudnia, the Germans took over the kolkhoz and forced the Jews to work there for them. One day in the fall, the Jews were taken out into the field to gather in the harvest, and after they were finished, they were shot. Only two children managed to survive.¹⁰

On February 24, 1942, the last prisoners of the ghetto in Rudnia were shot at the request of the local Ortskommandantur, Feldkommandantur 815, and also General Max von

Schenckendorff, the commanding officer of Rear Area, Army Group Center. The victims included refugees from various raions of the Smolensk oblast' and from Belorussia. The remaining Jews in Rudnia were killed along with 200 Jews from the nearby ghetto of Mikulino and also Jews who had been brought in from other towns and villages of the Rudnia raion. When the Jews from Mikulino arrived, the Jews in the Rudnia ghetto understood that they were about to be shot, and many tried to escape. About 20 persons were killed inside the ghetto.¹¹ Those remaining were gathered into a column, taken out to the antitank ditch, and then shot.¹² According to the activity report of Einsatzgruppe B for the second half of February 1942, first 311 Jews were shot in Rudnia, then another 55 Jews and Communists.¹³

In 1941–1942, the Germans and their collaborators shot between 1,500 and 2,000 Jews in total in Rudnia.

Some members of the local population disapproved of the actions of the German occupying authorities. One witness recalled “an exchange with German soldiers from the Ortskommandantur on the question, ‘Why in the world are they shooting innocent Jewish families?’” The Germans answered that “the Jews had betrayed Germany in the past, and that because they had kept the Germans down whenever they could, they were no longer allowed to live. They would only take vengeance on the German nation.”¹⁴ However, many of the residents of Rudnia supported the destruction of the Jews. After the liberation of Rudnia, one young housewife bluntly said to a soldier who stayed overnight in her home, “It was tough to live with the Germans. But they did something good by shooting the Jews. The Jews deceived us by supporting the Soviet powers.”¹⁵ She did not know, apparently, that the soldier was Jewish.

Not many Jews successfully escaped from the ghetto. On the night before the large-scale Aktion, two girls got away. One of them, Chaia Sheftlina, saw the mass shooting of October 21, 1941. She later gave her testimony to the ChGK. During the occupation, she hid in the home of a Russian friend in Rudnia.¹⁶ A few Jewish children were also able to climb out from under the pile of corpses after the mass shooting and escape. One nine-year-old boy hid for a time with residents of Rudnia, then managed to escape from the town.¹⁷

Of the Jews who survived the ghetto, the majority ended up in partisan detachments. I.L. Finkel'shtein escaped from the ghetto together with his wife after the October shooting. Apparently, he was among the group of artisans who were spared on October 21. Because he was not called up for the war, he elected to join one of the partisan detachments that were active in the Smolensk oblast'. After he left the ghetto, the Germans hanged his wife and children. In the winter of 1941–1942, Finkel'shtein's detachment blew up several bridges and killed up to 100 German soldiers. One Jewish girl was a partisan agent in Rudnia. For two months she was inside the ghetto, but she escaped and again joined the partisans. Many young Jews successfully escaped from the ghetto at the time of the mass shooting on February 24, 1942, and were accepted into various partisan detachments.¹⁸

The ChGK documents indicate that a German punitive detachment of the Security Police and SD arrived from Vitebsk for the mass shooting of the Jews on October 21, 1941. It was headed by the chief of the Gestapo in Rudnia, a man named Walter Bruk (or Buk).¹⁹ Tit Nikonov, the deputy head of the local police under Korotchenkov, was arrested and executed by the Soviet authorities in Smolensk after the liberation of Rudnia by the Red Army on October 29, 1943.²⁰

SOURCES Publications regarding the Rudnia ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Rudnia include the following: I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), which includes several witness testimonies; Vadim Doubson, “Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42),” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsvilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; S. Dol'nik, “Koroteyah shel kehillah yehudit be-Brit ha-Moasot,” *Yalkut Moreshet*, no. 21 (1976): 89–100.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Rudnia can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-630); GASmO (R-1630-1-337 and R-2434-3-37); Ts-DNISO (8-1-426); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10; and RG-50.378*0006); VHF (# 27533, 34506, and 42985); and YVA (O-33).

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 293.
2. Ibid., pp. 285 and reverse; testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 79.
3. USHMM, RG-50.378*0006, testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.
4. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 287 and reverse; GASmO, R-1630-1-337, pp. 35–38 and reverse.
5. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 285 reverse; GASmO, R-2434-3-37, p. 168.
6. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 286 and reverse; testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 74; Dol'nik, “Koroteyah shel kehillah,” p. 95.
7. Y. Arad, S. Krakowski, and S. Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), p. 263.
8. Ibid.; testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 75; USHMM, RG-50.378*0006, testimony of Ida Moyseyevina Brion.
9. Testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 75.
10. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 287; “Krov' zamuchennykh zovet k mesti,” *Rabochii put'* (Organ of the Smolensk General Committee VKP (b)), April 7, 1942.
11. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 316; testimony of Gutu Turk, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 85; testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in idem, p. 81.
12. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 287, 293 reverse; GASmO, R-2434-3-37, p. 168.
13. RGVA, 500-1-770, Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht der Einsatzgruppe B für die Zeit vom 16.–28.2.1942.
14. GARF, 7021-44-630, p. 316.
15. Dol'nik, “Koroteyah shel kehillah,” p. 94.

16. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 293 and reverse; “Zverstva nemtsev v gorode Rudnia,” in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 73.

17. Testimony of Taisia Lupikovaia, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 80.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 77–78, 80; TsDNISO, 8-1-426, pp. 4–5.

19. GARF, 7021-44-630, pp. 286, 316.

20. Testimony of Valentina Tolkacheva, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny*, p. 75.

RZHEV

Pre-1941: Rzhev, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast'; 1941–1943: Rshew, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Rzhev, Tver oblast', Russian Federation

Rzhev is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) southwest of Kalinin on the Volga River. In 1939, the census recorded 457 Jews in the town, a scant 0.85 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied Rzhev on October 14, 1941, more than three and a half months after the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941). During that time, a significant number of Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and the Soviets began to draft eligible men for military service. The Jewish population in Rzhev at the start of the German occupation was about one tenth of the pre-war figure.

A German military administration (Ortskommandantur I/532) governed the town during the entire period of occupation (October 1941 to March 1943). The Germans created a town council and an auxiliary police unit (Ordnungsdienst), both staffed by local inhabitants. Among German punitive organs in Rzhev from October to December 1941, and again from the end of April 1942, was a detachment of Sonderkommando 7a, subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B. By the end of October 1941, the German military commandant had ordered the registration of the Jews in Rzhev, and Sonderkommando 7a established a Jewish Council (Judenrat).¹ On November 13, 1941, the German military commandant required Jews to wear a distinguishing armband.

In the spring of 1942, the occupiers ordered all the Jews to resettle into a ghetto, which was located in a building that had formerly housed a nursery school. Some Jewish families were moved into the ghetto. In July 1942, the Germans liquidated the ghetto. In a gully near the airfield, they shot all the Jews (38 persons) except a watchmaker, a tailor, and their families. Members of Sonderkommando 7a carried out the shooting, with the participation of the Russian police. The Germans subsequently shot the watchmaker and his wife, in February 1943.²

SOURCES Information concerning the extermination of the Jews of Rzhev may be found in the book by E.S. Fedorov, *Pravda o voennom Rzheve. Dokumenty i fakty* (Rzhev, 1995).

Documentation concerning the German occupation of Rzhev and the fate of the Jewish population can be found in

the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/219); GATO (R-1925-1-5); and USHMM (RG-06.025*04, 693).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Robert Haney

NOTES

1. See BA-BL, R 58/219, p. 83, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 133, November 14, 1941.

2. Fedorov, *Pravda o voennom Rzheve*; and GATO, R-1925-1-5.

SEBEZH

Pre-1941: Sebez, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Sebesch, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Sebez, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Sebez is located 130 kilometers (81 miles) west-southwest of Velike Luki on the main railroad from Moscow to Riga. According to the 1939 population census, there were 845 Jews (14 percent of the total population) living in Sebez.

On July 7, 1941, the town was captured by units of the SS-Motorized Division “Totenkopf,” just over two weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During this period, a large portion of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Only about 15 to 18 percent of the pre-war Jewish population, composed now mainly of women, children, and the elderly, remained in the town at the onset of the German occupation.

During the entire occupation, from July 1941 to July 1944, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ran the town. Initially, the commandant was an Austrian, and the Jews bribed him in an effort to ameliorate conditions. The German military administration created a raion council and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) from among local residents. Shortly after the occupation of the town, the German military commandant ordered the council to organize the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also made to perform heavy physical labor, such as digging trenches and repairing railroad tracks.¹

As early as the summer of 1941, the first 2 Jews were shot in the town as agitators.² In September 1941, a ghetto was created in Sebez, and 100 to 150 Jews were forcibly relocated into it.³ The ghetto existed until early March 1942, when the Germans ordered its liquidation.⁴ During the liquidation Aktion more than 100 Jews were shot into pits.⁵ The shooting of the Jews was carried out by Russian policemen, headed by the chief of police, a man named Buss. Afterwards local Russians filled in the pits and reported that many of those shot had not been killed outright and had moaned for some time, as the earth thrown over the corpses continued to move. One 12-year-old boy managed to escape from the mass shooting by hiding in a chimney and then made it to the village of Presni. However, despite his pleading, the head of the village handed him over to the Germans to be killed.⁶

1820 OCCUPIED RUSSIAN TERRITORY

SOURCES Relevant documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Sebezh can be found in the following archives: GAPO; GARF (7021-39); and YVA (M-33/4654, 4655).
Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. YVA, M-33/4655, testimony of V. Burnosovaia, published in Yitzhak Arad, ed., *Unichtozbenie evreev SSSR v gody nemetskoj okkupatsii (1941–1945): Sbornik dokumentov i materialov* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1991), p. 214.
2. YVA, M-33/4654.
3. Vadim Doubson, “Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.),” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve: Istorii, Kul'tura, Tsvivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.
4. Ibid.
5. Iu.V. Kukanov, *Sebezh: Putevoditel'* (Leningrad, 1973), p. 108.
6. YVA, M-33/4654.

SHUMIACHI

Pre-1941: Shumiachi, village and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Schumjatschj, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Shumiachi, Russian Federation

Shumiachi is located 120 kilometers (75 miles) south-southeast of Smolensk. According to the 1939 population census, 744 Jews lived in Shumiachi, comprising 21.5 percent of the population.

At the end of July or the beginning of August 1941, about five weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941, German forces of Army Group Center occupied the village. Shumiachi was bombed several times after the start of the invasion, and a number of buildings were also damaged in the fighting as the Germans entered the town. In the interim period, part of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were called up to the Red Army or enlisted voluntarily. Around 350 Jews remained in Shumiachi at the start of the German occupation, including some refugees from Poland who had become trapped there.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, the German military ordered the registration and marking of all Jews. The Jews were also required to perform forced labor, including clearing rubble and collecting trash. In October 1941, the German military administration established a ghetto, or “separate Jewish residential area,” in the village.¹ Jewish families suffered from hunger in the ghetto.²

German forces of Einsatzkommando 8 liquidated the ghetto on November 18, 1941.³ On that day, after arriving from Roslavl', they drove the Jews out of their houses in the ghetto and loaded them onto several trucks. From here they were taken to a prepared pit on the edge of the village, where the men of Einsatzkommando 8 shot 320 Jews.⁴

According to the report of Einsatzgruppe B, dated December 19, 1941, 510 Jews of both sexes were shot in Shumiachi and Roslavl' altogether, on grounds of “public security and order.” The same report noted that in Shumiachi 16 mentally ill Jewish and Russian children were also shot around this time. The children were from the children's home, which had been abandoned by the Soviet authorities. They were found living in filthy conditions with severe eczema on their bodies. The senior German doctor, Dr. Raefler, at the medical field hospital in Shumiachi (Feldlazarett 6/562), approved of the shooting, as the children's home and its inhabitants were viewed to be a dangerous source of disease.⁵ The children, who were all under 10 years of age, were shot in the clay pit of a brick factory on the edge of Shumiachi by men of Einsatztrupp 5 (part of Einsatzkommando 8), which was based in Roslavl' under the command of Kriminalkommissar Wilhelm Döring.⁶

SOURCES Documents on the persecution and extermination of the Jews of Shumiachi can be found in the following archives: BA-L; GARF (7021-44-635), GASmO; USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10); VHF (e.g., # 35186); and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. V. Doubson, “Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1941–42 gg.,” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159; I. Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 99; *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 564 (LG Bonn, verdict of February 19, 1964 [8 Ks 2/62] against Wilhelm Döring), pp. 718–720.
2. VHF, # 35186, testimony of Fruma Sapozhnikova.
3. Doubson, “Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1941–42 gg.,” p. 159.
4. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 564, pp. 718–720.
5. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 148, December 19, 1941, p. 10; BA-L, B 162/27282, pp. 47–49, 60–66, 76–80, testimonies of members of FK (V) 199, based in Roslavl'. All give the figure of around 200 Jews shot there in winter 1941–1942; therefore, the number of victims in Shumiachi must have been around 300.
6. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 19, Lfd. Nr. 564, pp. 712–713. Einsatztrupp 5 was most probably also responsible for the shooting of the 320 Jews in Shumiachi.

SMOLENSK

1938–1941: Smolensk, capital city, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Russian Federation

Smolensk is located 419 kilometers (260 miles) west-southwest of Moscow on the Dnieper River and on the main railroad from Moscow to Minsk. According to the 1939 census, 14,812



Wehrmacht and SS defendants sit in the dock during their trial in Smolensk for perpetrating war crimes against the Soviet people, 1945. USHMM VWS #79149, COURTESY OF RGAKFD

Jews were residing in the city (out of a total population of 156,900). The Smolensk ghetto was the largest in all the occupied territories of the Russian Federation and also the one that lasted for the longest time, one year. This reflected the need of the German army for labor in the city, as Smolensk was a strategically important railway junction directly on the main line of advance towards Moscow.

On July 16, 1941, the Germans occupied the greater part of the city, which lay on the left bank of the Dnieper River. The battle for the right bank of the river lasted until July 29. The majority of the Jewish population (about 12,000 people) was evacuated or managed to escape.

The German authorities issued the order to resettle the Smolensk Jews into a ghetto at the end of July, three days after the establishment of the field commandant's office (Feldkommandantur, or FK, (V) 813).¹

In August, the "advance squad Moscow" (Vorauskommando Moskau) of Einsatzgruppe B searched certain quarters of Smolensk for "officials, agents, criminals, members of the Jewish intelligentsia, and others." During this operation the Security Police arrested and shot 74 people.² Shortly afterwards, Einsatzgruppe B reported the shooting of "38 Jewish intellectuals, who had tried to create unrest and discontent in the newly established Smolensk ghetto."³

The ghetto was established in the northwestern area of the city known as the "Sadki" district, located on the right bank of the Dnieper River, not far from the Jewish cemetery and the railway. The ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire, and a local Russian police unit (Ordnungsdienst), under the overall command of a Russian named Umnov, guarded the perimeter.⁴

The ghetto was under control of the local Russian administration, which had been established by the German military administration. The notes of the mayor of Smolensk, B. Menshagin, regarding the establishment of the ghetto have survived:

[1-3 not included here.]

4. Excluding the Jewish district, the entire city shall be free of Jews by 4:00 P.M. on August 5, 1941.
5. All Jews who remain in the city after that designated hour shall be arrested and shot.
6. In the settlement area, Jews do not have the right to exit without special permission. This permission can be granted only by the official commandant of the city, or by the police.
7. The area for Jewish settlement shall be surrounded by barbed wire and by a certain date it has to be enclosed by walls.
8. Residences liberated from the Jewish population shall be administered by the head of the city in the interests of the local population.

[9 and 10 not included here.]

11. All Jews in Smolensk shall be prohibited from having any direct contact with the city's administrator and his headquarters, or with any Russian citizens. Contacts must be mediated through the Jewish Council [Judenrat].
12. All Jews over the age of 10 are obliged to wear a yellow Star of David, measuring 10 centimeters [4 inches] in diameter. The symbol shall be worn on the front and back of their clothing. Jews caught not wearing the yellow star after 4:00 P.M. on August 5, 1941, shall be arrested, locked up [in the building of the former NKVD], and shot.⁵

According to the city administration of Smolensk, there were some 1,200 people collected in the ghetto as of November 1, 1941.⁶ That number subsequently increased a little. The Jews in the ghetto included those from Smolensk and the surrounding areas, as well as some refugees from Belorussia.

On the basis of a list containing the names of 1,364 Jews who were shot from the Smolensk ghetto, which Soviet authorities compiled after the liberation of the city, the breakdown of the ghetto inhabitants was roughly as follows: 350 men, 614 women, and 350 children less than 15 years old. Of the men, some 50 percent were over age 50. About 40 percent of the women were aged 19 to 39.

The commandant appointed Dr. Painson, a well-known dentist, as the elder in charge of the ghetto's affairs. In the words of one witness, he "complained many times about this onerous duty, which he had to carry out in the interests of the Jewish population but without any prospect of a good outcome."⁷ He organized the Jews for forced labor in accordance with the commandant's orders and enforced security inside the ghetto. According to one German source, the Judenrat in Smolensk consisted of four or five people who spoke good German, including one woman, and was responsible for ensuring that the restrictions imposed on the Jews were strictly observed.⁸

About 70 small houses were located in the ghetto.⁹ Each house contained several families. There was neither electricity nor sufficient space for people to sleep at night. Many people slept in a sitting position, still wearing their clothes.

The Jews were able to leave the ghetto at times in order to barter possessions for food, although the Russian-speaking population was not supposed to associate with them. Approximately two months before the destruction of the ghetto, a much stricter regime was enforced, in which anyone entering and exiting the ghetto was closely monitored. That put an end to the vital trade between Jews and non-Jews.

During the first months after the ghetto was established, Jewish craftsmen received their work instructions from the labor office (Arbeitsamt). The commandant's office issued a few work permits for tailors and shoemakers to continue their trades. In October 1941, the mayor B. Menshagin received a directive ("Regarding the Jews") from the Feldkommandantur. It included the following instructions:

Based on order no. 50023/41 issued by the Economic Inspectorate on October 22, 1941, it is determined that Jews shall be excluded from the list of workers available for employment. . . . Jews must be dismissed immediately by the Wehrmacht. After the exclusion of the Jews from the list, their equipment must be confiscated and handed into protective custody at the mayor's administrative headquarters. The mayor is obliged to consult with the labor registration office and distribute the confiscated equipment to Aryan craftsmen. . . . Any usable items found in the possession of Jews should be confiscated and stored. All Jews shall be confined in a ghetto.

The directive further emphasized that Jews should be gathered in groups for forced labor and assigned to the most demanding physical work.¹⁰

All able-bodied Jews went out daily to perform forced labor. Initially they cleared debris from the streets and repaired damaged buildings. Then, on the order of the Feldkommandantur, they began to work on the railway. They were escorted to work in columns of 50, 100, or more people, guarded by the Ordnungsdienst and Germans with dogs. At the railway station, Jews cleaned, unloaded, and loaded railway wagons. They hauled railway ties and cleaned toilets, even though they never received adequate tools for these tasks. In the winter they cleared snow from the tracks, the roads, and the air base. Weak and infirm Jewish workers were shot, and their coworkers were forced to bury them on the spot.

Jews in the ghetto did not receive any food rations. When Dr. Painson asked the commandant, "How are we to feed our families?" he answered that such trifles were not his problem.¹¹ According to the newspaper of the Smolensk City Committee, called *Rabochii put'* (The Worker's Way), people in the ghetto ate nettles to ward off starvation.¹² The prisoners exchanged personal items such as clothes, footwear, and valuables with local peasants for food or got it from friends and acquaintances. Workers received a ration of 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread that consisted of bran dust mixed with turnips and beetroots. For those who could not leave the ghetto, the only hope was the children who sneaked out of the ghetto and foraged or begged.

In the ghetto there was no running water, although it was bounded by the Dnieper River. Russian policemen and Germans frequently took water away from Jews or poured it on the ground, so the exhausted prisoners had to go and get more. Because of the lack of water and food, many diseases broke out and spread quickly. These included dysentery, typhus, and tuberculosis. In the winter of 1941–1942, because of famine, cold, and disease, more than 200 people perished, particularly young children and old men. It was forbidden to bury the dead in the cemetery, even though it was located nearby. Graves were dug randomly in the ghetto. The dead were buried naked, since those still surviving needed their clothes.

German Feldgendarmes repeatedly robbed the Jews in the ghetto. They stole watches, gold and silver items, and utensils. Starting in September 1941, they started to demand any warm clothing from the Jews. They took fur coats and fur caps and even peeled the fleece cuffs from some articles of clothing. Night searches were accompanied by beatings and shooting. On several occasions, the ghetto prisoners were ordered to pay taxes. They were required to hand over specific amounts of gold items, furs, clothing, and so forth.

Shortly before the liquidation of the ghetto, a very large fine was imposed on the Jews for not delivering a "contribution" to the German city administration. On July 5, 1942, Mayor Menshagin reported to SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Matschke of the Trupp Smolensk unit of Einsatzgruppe B: "On the order of the commandant's office, 60 complete sets of bedding and 3 sewing machines were requested from the ghetto. The Jewish Council was fined 5,000 rubles for the failure to deliver the requested bedding material on time."¹³ One witness recalled that in June 1942 the mayor of the city ordered the Jews to bring 7,000 rubles in gold to the city administration.

Jewish girls and young women were subject to mockery and sexual violence from the Germans and Russian policemen. On one cold night the Germans rounded up Jewish girls, forced them to undress, lined them up, and then started to beat them. Several witnesses recalled that "the Germans regularly came into the ghetto and raped women at will."¹⁴ Sometimes at night, old men and women stood guard to warn people of intruders. But Russian policemen conducted random inspections in the ghetto during the evenings and took away beautiful girls who did not always return.

Killings of Jews in Smolensk continued throughout the entire period of the ghetto's existence. The German Police Regiment "Mitte" shot 1 Jew in the first half of January 1942 during an attempted escape. In the first half of February 1942, 1 Jew was shot as a Communist and for not wearing the Star of David. In the second half of February 1942, 5 Jews were murdered for disseminating provocative rumors and for refusal to work. Around the same time, 3 Jews were killed for not wearing the Star of David and for being outside the ghetto without permission. In March 1942, "Trupp Smolensk" of Einsatzgruppe B shot 18 Jews.¹⁵ Hostages were repeatedly taken from the ghetto on the pretext of having broken the regulations with the aim of extorting money or valuables. Most did not return.¹⁶ A Soviet partisan source reported that "drunken German officers with

the sanction of the commandant of Smolensk were able to shoot Jews without any fear of being brought to account."¹⁷

In the reports of witnesses, including those of ghetto survivors, there is only fragmentary information about Jewish resistance. One interesting source comes from a reconnaissance report by Soviet partisans. The following is noted:

In the suburbs of Smolensk there are three or four prison camps for the Jews. No food is given to them. Many have no trousers or outer clothing, and are covered only with blankets. They have bartered their clothes for food. Owing to these conditions among the Jews, there were revolts during which they killed the guards and tried to escape. But they were caught and shot.¹⁸

Two Jewish women did manage to escape from the ghetto and hide in the city with Russian friends. Eventually they received new identity documents. Several children from mixed Russian-Jewish families were also rescued with the help of their Russian relatives and friends. There are also several other cases of Jews in Smolensk who were rescued with the help of the local population.

On the night of July 14–15, 1942, members of the Security Police and SD, German Feldgendarmerie, and Russian police arrived in the ghetto. The Russian policemen acted on the orders of G. Gandziuk, the first deputy to the mayor of Smolensk, and possibly also a man named Alferchik, who was the head of the 2nd (Political) Section of the Russian police.¹⁹ They drove the Jews out of their homes and loaded them onto covered trucks. Throughout the day until the evening of July 15, 1942, the Jews were transported in groups to a prepared ditch in a wood near the village of Magalenshchina. According to the statements of local residents taken by officials of the military counterintelligence section (SMERSh), after the liberation of the city on September 25, 1943, some of the Jews were poisoned in three gas vans that transported them on four successive trips, and some were shot at the ditch.²⁰ The shooting was carried out by members of Trupp Smolensk.²¹ An estimated 1,200 to 2,000 people were shot.²² A few skilled worker-specialists were selected out and allowed to remain alive for a while longer. A small number of Jews managed to escape on the night of July 14, 1942, just as the loading of the trucks commenced.

Russian witnesses testify that the remaining property of the Jews in the ghetto was plundered by the Russian police. One German source indicates that the clothes and other items from the ghetto were distributed as follows: 25 percent for hospitals and the Russian police and 50 percent for the civilian employees of the Wehrmacht. Jewish woman Asia Shneiderman, who was living in Smolensk in 1942, testified that "items from the ghetto were brought to the Gestapo and used to dress the prostitutes in Smolensk."²³

According to the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK), the following persons were identified and accused of the murder of the Jews: Erich Naumann, the



Portrait of Raisa Pisareva, who was honored in 1998 by Yad Vashem for saving Jewish lives in Smolensk during the Holocaust. Photo taken September 18, 1949 at the Pedagogical Institute in Smolensk. USHMM WS #57692, COURTESY OF JFR

head of Einsatzgruppe B from November 1941 until early in 1943; Franz-Josef Tormann, the head of the Security Police and SD unit Trupp Smolensk; Oberleutnant Schit, the chief of police; and von Schwetz, the military commandant of Smolensk.²⁴

SOURCES There is an article on the Smolensk ghetto by L. Kotov, "Kak bylo unichtozheno Smolenskoe getto," *Krai Smolenskii*, no. 2 (1990): 40–48; in addition, the book published by I. Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), contains several witness testimonies concerning the ghetto. The author's own article on ghettos in the occupied territory of the Russian Federation also includes a number of detailed references to events in the Smolensk ghetto; see V. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184.

The Acts of the ChGK for the Smolensk province, including witness testimonies, are located in GARF (7021-44-15, 41, and 1092). The Acts of the Smolensk Provincial Commission, including witness testimonies, are located in GASmO (1630-2-19). Witness testimonies by inhabitants of Smolensk, collected by members of the counterintelligence group "SMERSh," of

the Western Front and other relevant survivor testimonies can be found in YVA (O-53/28 and record groups O-3 and O-33).

The Materials of the Commission for the Study of the Great Patriotic War pertaining to the occupation of Smolensk can be found in NAIRI. The witness testimony of Professor Boris Bazilevskii dated September 28, 1943, "Obshchaia kartina zhizni v Smolenske vo vremia nemetskoï okkupatsii," is located in AFSBSmO (case 9856-S, pp. 20–29). Additional materials from West German criminal investigations can be found in Sta. Kiel (2 Js 762/63 and 2 Js 467/65) and BA-L.

Vadim Doubson
trans. Steven Seegel and Stefan Stoev

NOTES

1. BA-MA, RH 26-286/3 FK (V) 813, Abt. VI[I], situation report of August 1, 1941.
2. Ereignismeldung UdSSR (EM) no. 67, August 29, 1941, cited in Y. Arad, S. Krakowski, and S. Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York, 1989), p. 116.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 123, EM no. 73, September 4, 1941.
4. Testimony of Aleksei Novozhilov, YVA, O-53/28, p. 818; testimony of Evgeniia Gromyko, in "Smolenskoe getto: Eshche odin svidetel'," *Smolenskii novosti* (Smolensk), October 25, 1995.
5. GARF, 7021-114-6, pp. 20–21.
6. I. Repukhov, "O sostave naseleniia Smolenska," *Smolenskii vestnik*, November 19, 1941.
7. Testimony of Professor Boris Bazilevskii, September 28, 1943, p. 28.
8. Testimony of Vladimir Khizver, GARF, 7021-44-15, pp. 228–29; Sta. Kiel, investigation of Egon Noack, 2 Js 762/63, vol. 1, p. 205, statement of Egon Noack, June 11, 1969.
9. Testimony of Aleksei Novozhilov, YVA, O-53/28, p. 818.
10. Kotov, "Kak bylo unichtozheno Smolenskoe getto," p. 44.
11. B. Kovalev, *Natsistskaia okkupatsiia i kollaboratsionizm v Rossii, 1941–1944* (Moscow: Izd-vo AST: Tranzitkniga, 2004), p. 247.
12. "Chto proiskhodit v okkupirovannom Smolenske," *Rabochii put'*, October 11, 1942.
13. Kotov, "Kak bylo unichtozheno Smolenskoe getto," p. 45.
14. GARF, 7021-44-15, p. 27.
15. Arad, Krakowski, and Spector, *The Einsatzgruppen Reports*, p. 334, EM no. 194, April 21, 1942.
16. Testimony of Tat'iana Tret'iakova, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshbiny*, p. 44.
17. Intelligence report of Sublieutenant Sadchikov, commander of a group of partisan detachments from June 20–August 20, 1942, TsDNISO, 8-2-151, p. 52.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Kotov, "Kak bylo unichtozheno Smolenskoe getto," p. 45; testimony of Professor Boris Bazilevskii from September 28, 1943, p. 29; *Report of the Investigations of War Criminals in Australia* (Canberra, 1993), pp. 83–84.
20. YVA, O-53/28, pp. 770–771, 818–819, 823–826, 828, 831–832, 834, 836, 844, 850. See also Acts of the Smolensk Provincial Commission, including witness testimonies, GASmO, 1630-2-19, pp. 5 and reverse side; and the

transcript of a conversation with L. Ya. Madziuk, in NAIRI, 2-2-15, pp. 3 and reverse side; see also Sta. Kiel, 2 Js 762/63 and 2 Js 467/65.

21. The report of Einsatzgruppe B for September 1942 indicated that 2,439 persons were liquidated by the Smolensk detachment. Probably the majority of the victims were Jews from the Smolensk ghetto. See YVA, M-53/243, p. 6; the testimony of Aleksei Novozhilov, p. 819; and the testimony of Sergei Gorbachev, YVA, O-53/28, pp. 831–832. The overall Aktion was apparently organized by the head of Section IV of the Einsatzgruppe's Headquarters unit, Eduard Holste; see Sta. Kiel, 2 Js 762/63 and 2 Js 467/65.

22. Testimony of Professor Boris Bazilevskii from September 28, 1943, p. 29. Bazilevskii puts the estimate at 1,200 persons. In the transcript of a conversation with Secretary Mozynyi of the Smolensk City Committee (VKP(b)), in NAIRI, 2-2-24, pp. 6 and reverse side, he estimated 1,500 persons. In the report of Acts of the Smolensk Provincial Commission, including witness testimonies, GASmO, 1630-2-19, p. 20, the estimate is 1,500 persons. L. Korobov in "Na Smolenskoï zemle," *Pravda*, October 21, 1942, has estimated 1,860 persons. In the documents found in GARF, 7021-44-1092, pp. 4–5, the estimate is 2,000 persons.

23. From a report by Asia Shneiderman, "Okkupirovannyi Smolensk," in the TsK (Central Committee) VLKSM from September 14, 1942, RGASPI, 69-1-935, pp. 43 and reverse side.

24. GARF, 7021-44-41, p. 14.

SOLT'SY

Pre-1941: Sol'tsy, town and raion center, Leningrad oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1944: Solzy, Rear Area, Sixteenth Army, Army Group North (Heeresgruppe Nord); post-1991: Sol'tsy, Novgorod oblast', Russian Federation

Sol'tsy is located 78 kilometers (48.5 miles) southwest of Novgorod on the Shelon' River. According to the 1939 census, there were 156 Jews living in Sol'tsy, accounting for 1.74 percent of the total population.

German armed forces of the LVI Motorized Corps occupied the town on July 13, 1941. On July 16, 1941, the Germans withdrew from Sol'tsy as a result of a Soviet counteroffensive, but they retook it on July 22, 1941. By the time the town was occupied, some of the Jews had succeeded in evacuating to the eastern regions of the USSR, and men liable for military service had been conscripted into the Red Army. No more than 100 Jews remained in the town.

Throughout the occupation period (from July 1941 to January 1944), a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) was in charge of the town. The German military administration set up a town authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) composed of local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German commandant's office ordered the town authority to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. They were obliged to wear a white armband with a yellow six-pointed star. The

Jews also were used for various types of forced labor, and all their valuables were confiscated. In the fall of 1941, all the Jews who remained in the town were concentrated and isolated in one place, to which Jews from surrounding towns and villages also were resettled. In 1941, all the Jews were shot in a nearby forest.¹

In 2007, a monument was erected at the site where the Jews were shot. Funds for the memorial were collected by the Jewish community of Novgorod.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Sol'tsy can be found in the following archives: AFSBNO; GANO; and GARF (7021-34-360).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. According to ChGK documents (GARF, 7021-34-360), several dozen Jews were shot. According to data from the Novgorod Jewish Culture Society (<http://novgorod.allnw.ru/soletsky/news/43769>), about 150 Jews were shot in December 1941 and 104 on January 17, 1942; about 500 Jews are said to have been living in Sol'tsy before the war. In the author's opinion, these figures are too high.

STARAIYA RUSSA

Pre-1941: Staraiya Russa, town and raion center, Leningrad oblast', RSFSR; 1941-1944: Staraja Russa, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Staraiya Russa, Novgorod oblast', Russian Federation

Staraiya Russa is located about 100 kilometers (62 miles) south of Novgorod on the Polist' River, to the south of Lake Il'men'. According to the 1939 census, there were 828 Jews living in Staraiya Russa, accounting for 2.2 percent of the population.

Units of the German 16th Army occupied the town on August 9, 1941, seven weeks after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. In that time, some Jews had managed to evacuate eastward, and men liable for military service were inducted into the Red Army. Approximately 15 to 20 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town.

Throughout the occupation (August 1941 to February 1944), a German military commandant was in charge of the town. For much of the occupation, Feldkommandantur 820, under Oberstleutnant Colonel Mossbach, was based in Staraiya Russa. The German military administration established a town authority and a police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local residents. An ethnic Estonian was named as chief of police: Alexander Kiutt (in 1948 a Soviet tribunal sentenced him to 25 years in prison). The police force was made up of men of various nationalities, including Pavel Goldt (employed in the investigative division), who had one Jewish parent and posed as an ethnic German. Especially active in persecuting Jews was the town's deputy mayor, Vasilii Bykov (arrested and sentenced in 1944), whose responsibilities included oversight of "Jewish affairs."¹

Among the German security units operating in the town were the Feldgendarmarie, which was subordinated to Feldkommandantur 820, and a detachment of Einsatzkommando 1b of Einsatzgruppe A. This detachment was sent to the town immediately after its occupation² and was active there until November or December 1941; it probably organized most of the shootings of Jews.

In the first few days of September, the German military commandant's office in Staraiya Russa ordered the registration and marking of all the Jews, requiring them to wear a white armband with a yellow six-pointed star. Jews were also used for various kinds of forced labor, and all their property was confiscated. A few days after the registration, the Germans arrested all the Jews and placed some in the prison and the rest into a monastery, which served as a temporary ghetto for them.³ The liquidation of the ghetto, accomplished by shooting all the Jews gathered in the monastery, apparently was carried out on October 15, 1941; around 80 people were shot.⁴ One month later, Jews who were married to non-Jews were arrested. These Jews, some 30 in total, were shot between December 6 and 10, 1941.⁵ A former employee of the town police, Tamara Finagina, questioned after the war in connection with these events, stated:

I also know that under Kiutt's leadership, the police arrested up to 30 Jews in December 1941; initially, after the Germans came, these people had been left alone because they had Russian husbands or wives. In August and September 1941, the Germans exterminated Jewish families in which there were no Russians. All these Jews were herded by the police and Gendarmes into the monastery and shot inside the ruined walls by the police and Gendarmes. That was told to me by policemen, whose names I don't recall.⁶

Besides the above-mentioned shootings, it is likely there were other shootings of Jews in the town. In total, about 150 to 200 Jews were shot in Staraiya Russa in the period from August to December 1941.

A number of townspeople, at great danger to themselves, hid Jews in their homes. Some of them paid for it with their lives. On September 21, 1941, the sisters Anna and Taisia Degtarev were sentenced to death for hiding Jews. Two days later, several others were publicly executed for concealing Jews: Ivan Nikolaevich Burmagin, 69, a carpenter; Ol'ga Sergeevna Burmagin, 68, a housewife; Nina Ivanovna Burmagin, 40, a teacher; Anna Egorovna Voskoboinikov (age not specified), a member of the church choir; and Sidor Timofeevich Voskoboinikov, 64, a church elder.⁷

SOURCES Documentation regarding the extermination of the Jews of Staraiya Russa can be found in the following archives: AFSBNO (file 1/6995); GANO; GARF (7021-34-361 and 765); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. G. Nasurdinova, "Pamiat' i bol' kholokosta," *Novgorodskie vedomosti*, no. 45, September 27, 2003; and G. Nasurdinova, "Zakat na ulitse Betkhovena," *Novaia Novgorodskaiia Gazeta*, no. 9, 2007.
2. See BA-BL, R 58/216, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 71, September 2, 1941.
3. Nasurdinova, "Pamiat'"; Nasurdinova, "Zakat"; and GARF, 7021-34-361.
4. See official diary of Police Chief Alexander Kiutt (AFSBNO, investigative file in the case against Alexander Kiutt).
5. Ibid.
6. Cited in B.N. Kovalev, "Svidetel'skie pokazaniia v ugovolnykh delakh kollaboratsionistov v Rossii," *Vestnik Novgorodskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, no. 33 (2005): 111. Another source states that the Germans shot the Jews in the courtyard of the prison in groups of 25 to 30 while the other victims looked on, awaiting their fate; see GARF, 7021-34-765.
7. Nasurdinova, "Zakat."

STARODUB

Pre-1941: Starodub, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941-1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Starodub is located about 140 kilometers (87 miles) southeast of Briansk. In 1939, there were 1,629 Jews in Starodub (12.96 percent of the total population).

The German army occupied the town on August 18, 1941, almost two months after the start of the German invasion of the USSR. In this period men of military age were drafted into the Red Army, and some Jews decided to evacuate to the east, but others hesitated. The Soviet authorities tried to calm civilians with radio broadcasts calling on them not to panic, claiming that the Red Army's counterattack would start very soon. This information served to confuse the inhabitants of Starodub, as the growing flood of refugees fleeing from the western borderlands brought quite different rumors—of the rapid German advance. The last group of evacuees left town on August 17, consisting mainly of members of the Jewish collective farm "Red Star." By this time, however, it was too late. Germans forces blocked their path, and the Jews were captured and brought back to Starodub. About two thirds of the pre-war Jewish population came under German occupation.¹

During the occupation, a German military commandant (Ortskommandant) administered the town. The military commandant also established a local town administration and a Russian police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants.

Shortly after the occupation of Starodub, the local authorities organized the registration of the town's Jews and assigned them to perform hard labor. The German military authorities issued numerous orders and decrees that circumscribed Jewish daily life, such as the wearing of distinguishing marks on clothes and by creating an atmosphere of hopelessness and

humiliation. The Jews' last remaining valuables were invariably looted by either the Germans or their collaborators.

At the end of September 1941, the Jews of the town were forced to relocate to a ghetto within 24 hours. The ghetto consisted only of a few cottages and sheds designed for farm animals and surrounded by barbed wire in the suburb of Belovshchina, on the edge of town, from which the Germans had expelled the farmers.² The ghetto was probably established on the orders of Sonderkommando 7b (commanded by SS-Sturmabführer Günther Rausch). According to a German report, at the time of the resettlement, Sonderkommando 7b shot 272 people on September 25, 1941, allegedly on the grounds of resistance to ghettoization by Jews. Accounts by local witnesses indicate that the Germans lined up all the Jewish males over 14 years of age, some 400 people in all, gave them shovels, and then marched them under close armed guard in the direction of the villages of Brezgunovka and Sokolovka to "work." The men were ordered to dig "antitank ditches" in the Galye swamps that were actually mass graves. Then they were stripped naked and shot with submachine guns.³

The Jews left after this Aktion, consisting of a few men and many women and children of all ages, were confined inside the ghetto for more than five months. Overcrowding in the ghetto was appalling, as the Jews were packed together with 65 or 70 people to each small cottage, while those who could not be accommodated in the cottages had to live in stables and pigsties. Russian policemen of the Ordnungsdienst guarded the ghetto.

The daily ration for the ghetto inmates was only about 100 grams (3.5 ounces) of bread. As leaving the ghetto to go to the marketplace was forbidden, the inmates were starving. Some occasionally ventured out, at the risk of their lives, to the surrounding fields for some vegetables. Several mothers were killed as they sneaked out to the vegetable plots next to the Babinetz River, looking for something edible to bring back to their children. Some sympathetic local policemen looked the other way, enabling the Jews to smuggle a little food into the ghetto. Due to starvation, exposure, and beatings, the mortality rate from hunger and disease was very high; 153 people died in the ghetto prior to its liquidation.

On February 22, 1942, the inhabitants of the ghetto were awakened by the sound of explosions nearby. The policemen tried to calm the panic among the inmates, assuring them it was only part of German fortification efforts. In reality the Germans were preparing huge mass graves only 500 meters (1,640 feet) from the ghetto, using explosives to break the frozen ground.⁴

A subunit of Sonderkommando 7a under the command of SS-Obersturmführer Kurt Matschke shot the remaining several hundred Jews on March 1, 1942.⁵ The local Russian police under the command of Nikolai I. Molodzhevsky played an active role in guarding the Jews during the mass shooting.⁶

Several Jews managed to escape the massacre, but most were captured by policemen the next day on the edge of the forest. The Germans ordered the captives to dig a grave, then to undress, after which they shot them. Two survivors from

this group of escapees were the Israeliev sisters who reached the village of Shniaki where they convinced a local policeman to help them. They hid in the cellar of an elderly couple of Baptists. The family's son was a brutal member of the local police living in the same house, who remained ignorant of their presence. Once the policeman had left for work, the Jewish girls were able to come out of the cellar for warmth each day. They managed to survive until the Red Army liberated Starodub on September 22, 1943.⁷

SOURCES There are accounts of the Starodub ghetto and the destruction of its inhabitants in the following publications: Semen Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by: Veteranam Vtoroi mirovoi voyny, truzbenikam tyla, uznikam fashistskikh kontslageri i getto, zbiyym i pavshim posviasbchaetsia* (Baltimore, MD: Vestnik Information Agency, 1997), pp. 338–344; and Rima Dulkinieni and Kerry Keys, eds., *With a Needle in the Heart: Memoirs of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Concentration Camps* (Vilnius: Garnelis, 2003), pp. 201–202.

Documents and witness testimonies regarding the annihilation of the Jews of Starodub can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; GABrO; GARF (7021-19-3); LG-Ess (trials of Albert Rapp [29 Ks 1/64] and Kurt Matschke et al. [29 Ks 1/65]); and USHMM (RG-31.018.M, reel 5, fr. 8889-8960, trial of Ivan Mikhailovich Tereshchenko).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Stefan Stoev and Ksenia Krimer

NOTES

1. Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344. This account is based on the testimony of Grigory Sigalov from Starodub.
2. GARF, 7021-19-3, p. 188; Dulkinieni and Keys, *With a Needle in the Heart*, pp. 201–202.
3. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941. In the report, Starodub is misspelled as Sadrudub; see also Tätigkeits- und Lagebericht Nr. 6 der Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in der UdSSR (Berichtszeit v. 1.10.-31.10.1941), published in Peter Klein, ed., *Die Einsatzgruppen in der besetzten Sowjetunion 1941–42: Die Tätigkeits- und Lageberichte des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (Berlin: Hentrich, 1997), p. 230. According to the materials of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (GARF, 7021-19-3, p. 188), allegedly some 400 Jewish men aged over 14 years were shot; GARF, 7021-19-3, p. 192. See also Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344.
4. Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344.
5. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588. On the basis of Matschke's own testimony, it is assumed that at least 200 Jews, including men, women, and children of all ages, were shot. For a summary in the Russian language, see also A. Kruglov, "Unichtozhenie evreev Smolenshchiny i Bryanshchiny v 1941–1943 gg," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (7) (1994): 205–220. On February 10, 1966, Matschke was sentenced to five years' imprisonment by the court in Essen; GARF, 7021-19-3, p. 188; see also Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344.
6. USHMM, RG-31.018.M, reel 5, fr. 8889-8960, trial of Ivan Mikhailovich Tereshchenko.
7. Zolotarev, *Liudi i sud'by*, pp. 338–344.

STODOLISHCHE

Pre-1941: Stodolishche, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Stodolishchtsche, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Stodolishche, Russian Federation

Stodolishche is located 76 kilometers (47 miles) southeast of Smolensk on the railroad from Smolensk to Briansk. According to the 1939 census, there were 232 Jews in Stodolishche, accounting for 10.37 percent of the total population.

German units of Army Group Center occupied the village on July 19, 1941, 28 days after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. During that time, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the village, in late July and early August 1941, the German Ortskommandantur appointed a community leader (starosta) of Stodolishche and ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jewish population was also exploited for various forms of forced labor. According to one source, German security forces shot a few Jews in Stodolishche during the second half of July 1941. The remaining Jews were forced to move into a ghetto to concentrate them in one place and isolate them from the rest of the population. In April 1942, the Ortskommandantur in Stodolishche was OK (I) 364. The ghetto was liquidated in May 1942, when German security forces shot all the remaining Jews.¹

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTE

1. I. Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshchiny* (Smolensk, 2001), p. 435; and "Stodolishche," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1246.

SURAZH

Pre-1941: Surazh, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Surash, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Surazh, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Surazh is located about 42 kilometers (26 miles) north-northeast of Klinty on the railway line from Unecha to Orsha. The 1939 census showed 2,052 Jews in the town, comprising 22.8 percent of the total population.

German forces occupied Surazh on August 17, 1941, almost two months after the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union (on June 22, 1941). During this intervening period, a number of the town's Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and all men obligated to serve in the military were called up to the Red Army. When the Germans occupied the town, only around 30 percent of the Jewish population was still there.

1828 OCCUPIED RUSSIAN TERRITORY

The town remained under the jurisdiction of the Wehrmacht throughout the occupation and was run by a German military commandant, who set up a town administration and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local inhabitants. Soon after the occupation of Surazh, the town administration organized the registration, marking, and exploitation of Jews for various kinds of hard labor.

In the late autumn of 1941, a ghetto was established. Several dozen Jews died there from hunger, cold, and sickness. On March 27, 1942, the ghetto was liquidated. On that day, 560 people were shot in the village of Kislovka.¹ The shooting was carried out by Sonderkommando 7a, which was headed at the time by SS-Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp.²

After the war the bodies were dug up and reburied in a common grave at the Jewish cemetery.

SOURCES The ghetto is mentioned in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1265.

Documents about the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of Surazh can be found in the following archives: GABrO; GARF (7021-19-6; 7021-19-1); USHMM; and YVA.

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Ray Brandon

NOTES

1. GARF, 7021-19-6, p. 342; see also USHMM, RG-22.002M, reel 9 (GARF, 7021-19-1, p. 18).

2. Rapp was sentenced to life imprisonment by the Regional Court (Landgericht) in Essen on March 29, 1965. See LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979). Rapp denied any knowledge of the shooting in Surazh, but an Aktion (probably in Surazh) in March or April 1942 is mentioned by other witnesses; see idem, 20:775–778.

SVIATSK

Pre-1941: Sviatsk, village, Novozybkov raion, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Sviatsk, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Sviatsk, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Sviatsk is located 202 kilometers (126 miles) southwest of Briansk directly on the border with the Republic of Belarus'. According to the 1926 census, there were 588 Jews living in Sviatsk.¹ The results of the 1939 census reveal that the Jewish population had been roughly halved from the 1926 figure. This decline was due primarily to the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

Units of German Army Group Center occupied the village on August 16, 1941, about two months after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During that time, approximately half of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men who were eligible for military service were inducted into

the Red Army. Only about 150 Jews remained in the town at the start of the German occupation.

Throughout the period of occupation (from August 1941 until September 1943), a German military administration (Ortskommandantur) governed the village. The German military administration appointed a village elder (starosta) and policemen who were local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the village, the local authorities organized the registration and marking of the Jews and arranged for their use in various kinds of forced labor. German security forces conducted a first Aktion about 4 kilometers (2.5 miles) outside the village of Sviatsk on October 12, 1941, when they shot 27 people (23 Jews, 2 Communists, and 2 prisoners of war). The remaining Jews were moved into a ghetto, which remained in existence until January 25, 1942. On that day, the Jews were gathered in the courtyard of the village administration building where they were forced to wait stark naked in the freezing cold for several hours before being taken out to be shot on the grounds of an old brick factory.² German security forces (probably a detachment subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B), assisted by the Russian local police, shot 116 people on this day, and 9 more Jews on the following day.³

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Sviatsk can be found in the following archives: GABrO and GARF (7021-19-1 and 2).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. *Vsesoiuznaia perepis' naseleniia 1926 goda. Tom 2* (Moscow, 1926), p. 40.

2. GARF, 7021-19-1, p. 6. See also Benjamin Pinkus, *Jews and the Jewish People, 1948–1954: Collected Materials from the Soviet Press* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, Centre for Documentation of East European Jewry, 1973), p. 147; and Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1269.

3. GARF, 7021-19-2, pp. 141, 146; see also *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, "Epos," 2000), 6: 460; and Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zürich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 321.

SYCHEVKA

Pre-1941: Sychevka, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Sytschewka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Sychevka, Russian Federation

Sychevka is located 70 kilometers (43 miles) north of Viaz'ma on the Vazuza River. According to the 1939 census, Sychevka had a Jewish population of 138, or 1.64 percent of the total.¹

German units of Army Group Center occupied the town on October 10, 1941, approximately 16 weeks after the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. During

that time, some Jews were able to evacuate to the east, and men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, in October 1941, the German Ortskommandantur appointed a mayor (Bürgermeister) of Sychevka and ordered the local administration to organize the registration and marking of the Jews. The Jewish population was also exploited for various forms of forced labor. To concentrate the town's remaining Jews in a single place and isolate them from the rest of the population, the Germans ordered them to be moved into a ghetto.² The Jews may have been separated out from among 4,500 civilians, which the Secret Field Police Group 580 (GFP-Gruppe 580) had temporarily placed in a prisoner-of-war (POW) camp in Sychevka by the end of October 1941.³

The ghetto was liquidated on January 1, 1942, when the town commandant, Oberleutnant Kiesler, ordered all the Jews—probably around 100 mainly women, children, and the elderly—to be shot in the village of Piskovo, outside of Sychevka.⁴ It is most likely that a detachment of Sonderkommando 7a, which had been based in the town in October and November 1941 and again from late April 1942, carried out the Aktion. Sonderkommando 7a, which at that time was under the command of Kurt Matschke, retreated hastily from Kalinin via Staritsa, Rzhev, Sychevka, and Gzhatsk to Viaz'ma between mid-December 1941 and January 7, 1942, in response to the Soviet winter offensive. This would have placed the unit in Sychevka on around January 1, 1942, corroborating the date given in the Soviet military investigation report.⁵ Russian policemen also took an active part in the shooting.

SOURCES Documentation regarding the persecution and murder of the Jews of Sychevka can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-43, 637); GASmO (R-1630-1-324); NARA (N-Doc., USSR-279); TsGAMORF (208/2526/264); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 10).

Alexander Kruglov
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 32.

2. GASmO, R-1630-1-324, pp. 101–102.

3. Nicholas Terry, “The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942–1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front” (Ph.D. diss., King’s College, University of London, 2005), p. 188.

4. TsGAMORF, 208/2526/264, Akt gorod Sychevka (military investigation), March 8, 1943, this source gives the date of January 1, 1942, and states there were up to 250 victims. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakbvatnikov. Dokumenty. Vypusk 10* (OGIZ, 1943), p. 5. Another source (Sychevka Raion Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, October 23, 1943) indicates that 27 Jewish families were shot in Sychevka as early as November 1941. NARA, N-Doc. USSR-279, mentions that there were 100 Jewish victims in the town.

5. On the details of the retreat of Sonderkommando 7a, see *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 558, p. 727, and vol. 23 (1998), Lfd. Nr. 620, pp. 147–150. Kurt Matschke, on interrogation, denied that any executions were carried out during the retreat; but the temporal coincidence is striking.

TATARSK

Pre-1941: Tatarsk, village, Monastyrshchina raion, Smolensk oblast’, RSFSR; 1941–1943: Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Russian Federation

Tatarsk is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) south-southwest of Smolensk. According to the 1939 census, there were 819 Jews living in what then comprised the raion of Monastyrshchina (excluding the village of Monastyrshchina itself). The majority of these Jews (around 600 people) were inhabitants of the village of Tatarsk.¹

German forces occupied Tatarsk in July 1941, approximately four weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. During these four weeks, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army. Approximately 400 Jews remained in Tatarsk at the start of the German occupation.

Just after the occupation of the village, the German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) ordered the registration and marking of the Jews and also the exploitation of Jews for various kinds of forced labor. The commandant's office also established a local auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) and appointed a local Russian mayor.

In September 1941, a detachment of the Vorkommando Moskau (a small squad subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B), commanded by SS-Hauptsturmführer Woldemar Klingelhöfer and assisted by SS-Hauptsturmführer Egon Noack, arrived in Tatarsk from Smolensk. On arrival, they met with the local mayor and the head of the Ordnungsdienst, to set up a ghetto in Tatarsk. The local authorities defined two streets containing about 10 houses, to which all the Jews had to move. The ghetto was surrounded by a wooden fence and guarded by the Ordnungsdienst, but initially Jews were able to leave fairly easily, as the Russian guards were not strict. During this first visit (probably in mid-September 1941), Noack and Klingelhöfer collected all fur items of clothing from the Jews and organized the shooting of about 50 male Jews in a ditch. It was probably at this time that a Judenrat consisting of not more than 3 people was established.²

Living conditions in the ghetto were deplorable. The Jews received only the bare minimum necessities for subsistence. Between 7 and 10 families, or between 35 and 50 people, had to share living quarters in each house.³ The conditions were so bad that soon the Jews tried to leave the ghetto and return to their old homes. The German Security Police viewed this as an act of subversion against the established order, and in early October 1941, on orders from the head of Einsatzgruppe

1830 OCCUPIED RUSSIAN TERRITORY

B, SS-Gruppenführer Arthur Nebe, Klingelhöfer and Noack returned to carry out a second anti-Jewish Aktion.⁴

In Security Police Report (Ereignismeldung UdSSR) no. 124, issued on October 25, 1941, these events are described as follows:

The staff unit (Gruppenstab) [of Einsatzgruppe B] and Vorkommando Moskau carried out an operation against the Jews in Tatarsk. The Jews had begun to leave the ghetto of their own volition, and return to their former residences. Russians had occupied their apartments in the meantime, and the Jews tried to drive them out. Therefore, the place was systematically searched and the Jews gathered in the market square. Some of them had fled, and had to be hunted out of the nearby forest. In punishment for not following the orders of the German Security Police, all the Jewish men in Tatarsk and three women were shot.⁵

According to postwar accounts given by Klingelhöfer, some 200 Jews were rounded up on this second occasion, and the remaining 30 or so male Jews were among those shot.⁶ According to one source, the Germans and their collaborators continued to hunt down those Jews in hiding and shot another 10 or 15 Jews uncovered over the following weeks. In total, at least 300 Jews are estimated to have been murdered in Tatarsk.⁷

A non-Jewish local inhabitant, Petro Rashkeev, witnessed the murder of Jewish children. It was a cold, rainy day, and the children were grabbed out of their houses naked and driven to the grave site with whips. Here, the Germans hit some babies on the head with iron rods and threw them into a pit without checking to see whether or not they were still alive. The children died, buried in the damp, blood-saturated earth.⁸

Local witnesses recall efforts by several individuals to rescue Jews in Tatarsk, but only a few Jews succeeded in evading capture. Lev Sorin hid in the pharmacy during the second Aktion and received help from a Communist. He noted that the Russian police played an active part in the killing. Subsequently, he obtained papers that helped him to pass as a Russian.⁹ A man named Klimov hid a Jewish woman but was denounced to the Germans. The Germans tortured him to death, but he refused to reveal where the Jewish woman was hiding. A 70-year-old man tried unsuccessfully to protect four Jewish boys by saying they were his grandsons. The Germans suspected they were Jewish and killed them and then almost beat the man to death.¹⁰

SOURCES A brief article on the annihilation of the Jews of Tatarsk can be found in B. Vest, ed., *Be-bevlei kelaya: Yebudei Russia ha-sovietit be-shoa ha-nazit, 1941–1943* (Tel Aviv, 1963), p. 265. The short article “Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske,” submitted to *Eynikayt* by Meyor M. Rabinovich, can be found in USHMM (RG-68, Acc.1998.A.0002, Jewish Antifascist Committee Records from GARF, 8114-1-418, transl. Sonia Isard) and YVA.

Documents about the persecution and elimination of the Jews of the village can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/219); GARF (7021-44-628); GASmO (R-2434-3-37); NARA (NO-4235); SHLA (Abt. 352 Kiel, Nr. 1129/1); VHF (# 17264); and YVA.

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NOTES

1. VHF, # 17264, testimony of Lev Sorin; and Rabinovich, “Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske”; Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 64.

2. NARA, N-Doc., NO-4235, testimony of Woldemar Klingelhöfer, July 2, 1947, published in Henry Monneray, ed., *La persecution des juifs dans le pays de l'Est, présentée à Nuremberg: Recueil de documents* (Paris: Editions du Centre, 1949), pp. 275–276; Ilya Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 119; SHLA, Abt. 352 Kiel, Nr. 1129/1 (Sta. Kiel, 2 Js 762/63, investigation of Egon Noack), vol. 1, pp. 49–50, and vol. 4, pp. 152 ff., statement of Klingelhöfer, October 5, 1963; and VHF, # 17264, testimony of Lev Sorin.

3. Vadim Doubson, “Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42),” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriiia. Kul'tura. Tsivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 164.

4. NARA, N-Doc., NO-4235; SHLA, Abt. 352 Kiel, Nr. 1129/1, vol. 1, pp. 49–50.

5. BA-BL, R 58/219, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 124, October 25, 1941.

6. NARA, N-Doc., NO-4235; SHLA, Abt. 352 Kiel, Nr. 1129/1, vol. 1, pp. 49–50. Rabinovich, “Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske,” gives the figure of around 200 Jews shot during the second Aktion in the courtyard of the “Trudovik” Jewish kolkhoz. According to the Einsatzgruppen reports, between September 29 and around October 12, 1941, the staff unit and Vorkommando Moskau (VKM) shot 428 persons; it is likely that these numbers included the Jews killed in Tatarsk.

7. Rabinovich, “Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske,” states the figure of up to 600 victims, but this reflects the pre-war population.

8. Ibid.

9. VHF, # 17264, testimony of Lev Sorin.

10. Rabinovich, “Krovavaia reznia v Tatarske.”

TOROPETS

Pre-1941: Toropets, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1942: Toropez, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Toropets, Tver oblast', Russian Federation

Toropets is located 69 kilometers (43 miles) east-northeast of Velike Luki. According to the 1939 census, there were 500 Jews living in the town, at that time a raion center in the Kalinin oblast'. The Jewish population then accounted for 3.87 percent of the town's total population.

German forces of Rear Area, Army Group Center occupied Toropets on August 29, 1941, two months after the German attack on the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941). During that interval, a large number of Jews from Toropets had succeeded in evacuating to the east. Meanwhile, the Soviets began drafting eligible men into the Red Army. At the start of the German occupation, probably less than 100 Jews remained in the town.

A German military administration governed Toropets throughout the occupation (from August 29, 1941, until January 21, 1942). The German commandant appointed local citizens to a newly created Rayon authority and established a local police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from non-Jewish local residents.

On September 20, 1941, the chief of the local police, invoking the authority of the German military commandant, ordered that lists be prepared for him of all the Jews in the town, specifying their ages; that they all be resettled into a designated section of the town (a ghetto); and that they be checked to verify whether they were all wearing identifying armbands.¹ To house the Jews, the authorities selected a building belonging to a local flax mill on the edge of town. They chose a dentist as the ghetto elder. The ghetto elder was responsible for organizing forced labor details for the German authorities.²

A weekly report by the responsible commandant's office Ortskommandantur (OK) I/532 in Toropets, probably from the end of September 1941, noted that a "Jewish quarter" (*Judenviertel*) had been established and that the Jews had been marked and registered (21 male and 25 female Jews, out of a total population of 5,724).³

On October 23, 1941, OK I/851, under the command of Major Hirschberg, took over the administration of Toropets from OK I/532.⁴ Shortly afterwards, on October 28, 1941, servicemen of the SS-2nd Cavalry Regiment raided the ghetto, "confiscating" items of women's clothing and money.⁵ Also stationed in the town at this time were elements of Police Reserve Battalion 131.

The ghetto, which contained about 75 people, remained in existence for about three months.⁶ Postwar testimony by German servicemen reveals a number of additional details about the ghetto and its liquidation, some of which is corroborated by several of the witnesses. According to Hauptmann Pohl, the intelligence officer (Ic) with OK I/851, the Jews consisted mainly of women and children, including a number of young women, and the flax mill was surrounded with barbed wire. The Jews all wore white armbands bearing numbers.⁷

In early November 1941, a detachment of Geheime Feldpolizei (GFP)-Gruppe 710 consisting of 15 to 20 men arrived in Toropets under the command of Feldpolizeisekretär Blohm. In early or mid-December, Blohm received a written order to shoot all the Jews in the ghetto, including the women and children. Several German witnesses maintain that in order to avoid having to shoot the roughly 20 Jewish children in the ghetto, the local commanders planned for a German doctor to kill them using poison or a lethal injection, according to one account, in the context of a "Christmas celebration." The doctor, however, refused to comply, reporting himself sick.⁸

The Germans liquidated the ghetto in the second half of December 1941.⁹ The Jews were escorted on foot from the flax mill to a gravel pit only a few hundred meters away, where there was a trench about 10 meters long and 3 meters wide (33 by 10 feet). Here the Jews were ordered to undress and place their clothes in a pile. They also had to surrender any valuables, and some Jews were found to have been hiding money in their shoes. The Jews then had to kneel in the ditch in groups and were shot in the back of the neck. The mass shooting was carried out by men of GFP-Gruppe 710. Some of the clothing was distributed to local Russian women who worked for the Germans.¹⁰

A mixed family with a Jewish wife who lived outside the ghetto was initially spared from the massacre. The Germans shot the entire family a short time later, stealing their property.¹¹ Within a few weeks of the ghetto's liquidation, the Soviet winter counteroffensive had driven German forces out of Toropets by January 21, 1942, seizing this important supply base in the rear of the German 9th Army.

SOURCES Documents concerning the extermination of the Jews of Toropets can be found in the following archives: BA-L (B 162/27220); GARF (7021-20-24); GATO (1925-1-5); and NARA (N-Docs. NO-4415 and NOKW-1319 and 2385).

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NOTES

1. GATO, 2757-1-2, p. 10.
2. GARF, 7021-20-24, p. 1; GATO, 1925-1-5, p. 2. On Jewish forced labor, see Nicholas Terry, "The German Army Group Center and the Soviet Civilian Population, 1942-1944: Forced Labor, Hunger, and Population Displacement on the Eastern Front" (Ph.D. diss., King's College, University of London, 2005), p. 95, citing NOKW-2385.
3. NARA, RG-238, T-1119, reel 18, fr. 0270-71, NOKW-1319, OK I 532, Toropez, Wochenbericht der Abteilung I, n.d.
4. BA-L, B 162/27220, p. 62.
5. Martin Cüppers, *Wegbereiter der Shoab: Die Waffen-SS, der Kommandostab Reichsführer-SS und die Judenvernichtung 1939-1945* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), p. 202.
6. Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941-1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 326, states that differing sources report either 75 or 59 inmates of the ghetto; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941-42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriiia. Kul'tura. Tsvivilizatsiia*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159.
7. BA-L, B 162/27220, pp. 63-66, summary of testimony by Hauptmann Pohl.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-66. Different versions of the plan for the doctor to kill the children are given by witnesses Orth, Arnold, Dr. Christ (Adjutant of OK I/851), and Pohl.
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 60-73; *Zverstva nemetsko-fasbistskikh zakbvatnikov: Dokumenty* (OGIZ-Voenizdat, 1942), 3:79-80, dates the Aktion, however, on November 13, 1941.
10. BA-L, B 162/27220, pp. 60-73; witnesses Orth, Arnold, Hirschberg, Dr. Christ, Pohl, Kirsten, Vogt, Witt, and

Witte all mention the mass shooting. The German investigation cautiously estimated that at least 25 people were shot.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 66, testimony of Pohl.

UNECHA

Pre-1941: Unecha, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941-1943: Unetscha, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwartiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Unecha, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Unecha is located on the Unecha River approximately 120 kilometers (75 miles) southwest of Briansk. According to the 1939 census, 1,708 Jews lived in Unecha (comprising 12.24 percent of the total population).

German forces of Army Group Center occupied the town on August 17, 1941, almost two months after the initial German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22. The advent of war led to panic in the marketplace, making it difficult to buy provisions. Based on information from Polish refugees, as well as heavy German bombing, some Jews decided to evacuate. Since Unecha was an important railway junction, a large portion of the Jewish population was able to escape to the east. However, the local government only organized the evacuation of specific groups of workers, and Soviet regulations made it difficult for others to flee.¹ Men of eligible age were called up to enlist in the Red Army. It is estimated that around 20 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Unecha under German occupation.

Shortly after the arrival of German forces, the Germans established a military commandant's headquarters (Ortskommandantur), which was responsible for the administration of the town. They also recruited a Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) composed of local residents. In the summer of 1941, the authorities compelled the Jews to wear six-pointed stars made out of white cloth, and they were forbidden to leave the town limits.² Police tasks in the area were also carried out by German forces of the Field Gendarmerie (Feldgendarmerie) and by a detachment of the Secret Field Police (Geheime Feldpolizei, GFP); beginning in the fall of 1941, GFP-Gruppe 729 was based in Unecha.

In October 1941, all Jews remaining in the town were resettled into a ghetto close to the railway line. The ghetto area was based around an old poultry factory and surrounded by a wooden fence.³ Any Jews caught outside the ghetto were shot. The ghetto was unsanitary, particularly because dead bodies were not removed from the area. All Jews over the age of 15 had to perform difficult and dirty forced labor from morning until night. The ghetto inmates were composed mainly of women, children, and the elderly. Some additional women and children were brought into the ghetto after the male members of their families had been arrested and shot. The local Russian police frequently robbed the Jews. It was difficult to obtain water in the ghetto, and there was hardly any food, only a few old potatoes, so some Jews risked leaving the

ghetto to barter things with local peasants in exchange for food.⁴

In mid-March 1942, German security forces liquidated the ghetto.⁵ Just prior to the ghetto's liquidation, about 70 Jews from the village of Zhudilovo (in the direction of Pochep) were brought into the ghetto, as were a number of Gypsies (Roma) transported on sleds.⁶ On the afternoon of March 15, the German-led forces assembled the Jews into a column and escorted them to the edge of town where a 10-meter-long (33-foot-long) ditch had been prepared. Men of the Feldgendarmerie and from GFP-Gruppe 729 cordoned off the killing site. Four or five SD men, probably a detachment of Sonderkommando 7a that was based in Klinty (in March 1942 under the command of SS-Obersturmbannführer Albert Rapp) then shot the Jews in the back of the neck with pistols.⁷ All the Jews (including some who had converted to Christianity) and Roma were shot. In total, probably around 342 persons were murdered on that day not far from the Unecha railroad station.⁸

Solomon Bazhalkin, then 14 years old, escaped from the ghetto just prior to its liquidation. He knocked on people's doors in the surrounding villages, saying he was an orphan. Some local inhabitants offered him food and occasionally shelter for a short while; but usually he had to move on again soon, as people suspected that he was a Jew. On one occasion he was denounced to the police, but he successfully convinced them he was an orphan and was released. Subsequently he linked up with the Soviet partisans. The Red Army liberated the region during its offensive in September 1943.⁹

SOURCES The ghetto in Unecha is mentioned in the following publications: Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoyi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941-42 gg.)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 158-159; Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941-1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), pp. 98, 262-264; and Emmy E. Werner, *Through the Eyes of Innocents: Children Witness World War II* (Boulder, CO: Westview, 2000), pp. 32-33.

Documentation on the persecution and annihilation of the Jews of the town can be found in the following archives: BAL; GABrO; GARF (7021-19-4); USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9); and VHF (# 29265). Additional information can be found in the trial verdict against Albert Rapp, published in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588.

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin, May 6, 1997.
2. Werner, *Through the Eyes of Innocents*, pp. 32-33.
3. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin, May 6, 1997; Werner, *Through the Eyes of Innocents*, pp. 32-33, citing Yuri Kirshin, a non-Jewish child in Unecha who corroborates the accounts of Jewish survivors; Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoyi territorii," p. 174.
4. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin.

5. Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannyoi territorii," p. 159. According to another source, the shooting took place on March 18, 1942; see *Partizany Brianskobiny* (Tula, 1970), p. 96.

6. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin.

7. LG-Ess, 29 Ks 1/64, verdict of March 29, 1965, against Albert Rapp, in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 794–795. The description of the killing Aktion is based on testimony by members of GFP-Gruppe 729.

8. GARF, 7021-19-4, pp. 237–238; see also GARF, 7021-19-1, p. 8. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1361, give the figure of 342. According to partisan sources cited by Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti*, pp. 262–264, the number of victims was considerably higher, but the figures given in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission reports are likely more accurate, as *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 794–795, estimates the number of ghetto inmates at around 300.

9. VHF, # 29265, interview with Solomon Bazhalkin.

USVIATY

Pre-1941: Usviaty, village and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Usvjati, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Usviaty, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Usviaty is located about 70 kilometers (44 miles) south-southeast of Velike Luki. According to the 1939 census, 136 Jews were living in Usviaty (5.46 percent of the total population). In the villages of the Usviaty raion, there were another 10 Jews.¹

German armed forces occupied the settlement in July 1941, approximately three weeks after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22, 1941. In those three weeks, some of the Jewish population was able to evacuate to the east. Men of an eligible age were called up for service in the Red Army.

During the course of the occupation, from July 1941 until January 1942, a German military commandant's office (Ortskommandantur) controlled the village. The Ortskommandantur appointed a village head and recruited a police force (Ordnungsdienst) from local residents.

Shortly after the occupation began, the local administration organized the registration and marking of the Jewish population. Jews were also exploited for various kinds of heavy labor.

At the end of September 1941, a ghetto was created in the village. A few homes that had been emptied of their Russian residents were designated for this purpose, and the "Jewish quarter" was surrounded with barbed wire. Jews in the ghetto did not receive provisions. Food rations were issued only to Jews who performed labor, and they received only 200 grams (7 ounces) of bread per day.² Most sources estimate that around 160 Jews were living in the ghetto, but the actual number was probably less than this.³ The ghetto existed for about four months. The German security forces did not have time to liquidate the ghetto. On January 28, 1942, the Red Army liber-

ated the remaining Jews in the ghetto in the course of their winter counteroffensive. Unfortunately about 30 Jews perished in the ghetto from cold and starvation just before the arrival of the Red Army.⁴

SOURCES Documentation regarding the ghetto in Usviaty can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-20-25); GASmO (R-1630-1-369); and YVA (M-62/55 and O-33/3275).

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trans. Steven Seegel

NOTES

1. Mordechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), p. 64.

2. GARF, 7021-20-25, p. 113.

3. Ilya Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 99; Vadim Doubson, "Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42)," *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Tsvilيزاتsiii*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 159. The number of Jews in the ghetto given by these sources is probably too high. There were only 136 Jewish residents before the war, and some of these people were able to evacuate the area. Therefore, one can surmise that there were probably around 100 people in the ghetto.

4. Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti*, p. 99.

VELIKE LUKI

Pre-1941: Velike Luki, town and raion center, Kalinin oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1942: Velikije-Luki, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Velike Luki, Pskov oblast', Russian Federation

Velike Luki is located on the Lovat' River, about 220 kilometers (137 miles) south-southeast of Pskov. According to the 1939 census, 1,519 Jews were living in Velike Luki, at that time a raion center in the Kalinin oblast'. The Jewish population then accounted for 4.34 percent of the town's total population.

German forces of Army Group Center first captured the town on July 19, 1941, but they were then temporarily driven out by a Soviet counterattack. The Germans recaptured the town on August 24, 1941, but this temporary reprieve in the meantime had enabled a large number of Velike Luki's Jews to evacuate to the east.¹

A German military administration (Ortskommandantur) asserted authority in the town, assisted by a Russian auxiliary police force (Ordnungsdienst) recruited from local inhabitants. From September 4 to around September 17, 1941, Ortskommandantur (OK) 1/302 and Feldkommandantur (V)/181 were based in the town, subordinated to Korück 582 of the German 9th Army. From the start of September until mid-October 1941, a detachment of Sonderkommando (Sk) 7a, comprising 20 or 30 men, and a subordinated group of Waffen-SS men were based in Velike Luki. Also present in the area to guard the railway lines was part of Police Reserve Battalion 131, which

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assisted Sonderkommando 7a in the arrest and shooting of suspected Communists and Jews.²

Soon after occupying the town, the German military administration established a ghetto in Velike Luki, which was located on a single street.³ Information on the ghetto and its inhabitants is sparse. According to documents in the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission files, the German commandant (Ortskommandant) soon appointed a Jewish headman, the 65-year-old dentist Labas, who was made responsible for the Jews. He had to report in writing every day that all the Jews were present and correct. If any Jews were missing, Labas would be beaten. German records indicate that in September 1941, there were 59 Jews registered in Velike Luki.⁴

From the accounts of German servicemen based in the town in September 1941, it appears that the Jews of the ghetto (at least 50 men, women, and children) were shot in one or more small Aktions conducted during the month of September, as were a number of Jews uncovered in neighboring villages at this time. The members of the Sonderkommando were assisted in these Aktions by members of 2nd Company Police Reserve Battalion 131, the Ordnungsdienst, the Feldgendarmarie, and possibly also a detachment of Latvian auxiliaries. The total number of Jews shot in the region by members of Sk 7a may have been 175 to 200 people.⁵ Il'ja Al'tmann indicates that the Germans had completely liquidated the ghetto by October 1941.⁶

Velike Luki was also the location of a German camp for Soviet prisoners of war, as around 30,000 men had been captured in the region at the time of the German offensive in late August 1941.⁷ According to a report to Korück 582, on October 4, 1941, German Wachbataillon 720, which was in charge of a Soviet POW camp in Velike Luki, handed over to the Security Police "three Soviet prisoners of Jewish nationality," who they then shot following an interrogation. According to German sources, there was reportedly a strong Soviet partisan resistance in the area at this time, which led Sonderkommando 7a to shoot a number of people as suspected partisans or partisan helpers at around the same time as the shooting Aktions against the Jews.⁸

SOURCES The contents of some of the German court-related testimonies on the ghetto and the murder of the Jews in Velike Luki are briefly summarized in *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2001), Lfd. Nr. 643a, pp. 301–311.

Documentation regarding the persecution and annihilation of the Jews in Velike Luki can be found in the following archives: BA-BL; BA-L; GARF (7021-26-4); NARA (e.g., N-Doc., NOKW-1303); and USHMM (RG-22.002M, reel 9).

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NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1381.

2. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643a, pp. 301–311.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 301–306; and Il'ja Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses: Der Holocaust in der UdSSR 1941–1945* (Zurich: Gleichen, 2008), p. 129.

4. GARF, 7021-26-4, p. 1 reverse, as cited by Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, pp. 150–151 (see also pp. 127–130); Spector and Wigoder, *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life*, p. 1381.

5. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643a, pp. 301–306. The official records of Einsatzgruppe B, however, record a smaller number of Jewish victims who may have been murdered in Velike Luki; for this period see BA-BL, R 58/216-18, Ereignismeldungen UdSSR nos. 73, 92, and 108. On the role of Reserve-Polizeibattalion 131, see also Wolfgang Curilla, *Die deutsche Ordnungspolizei und der Holocaust im Baltikum und in Weissrussland 1941–1944* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006), pp. 607–608, 819.

6. Al'tmann, *Opfer des Hasses*, pp. 127–130.

7. Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, ed., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht: Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941–1944* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2002), p. 209.

8. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 25, Lfd. Nr. 643a, pp. 301–311; see also NARA, RG-238, N-Doc., NOKW-1303, report dated October 5, 1941.

VELIZH

Pre-1941: Velizh, town and raion center, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Welish, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Velizh, Russian Federation

Velizh lies on the banks of the Western Dvina River, 125 kilometers (78 miles) north-northwest of Smolensk and 80 kilometers (50 miles) northeast of Vitebsk. The Jewish population stood at 1,788 in 1939.

On July 13, 1941, units of German Army Group Center captured Velizh. At the end of July and the start of August 1941, the occupying authorities established a Judenrat and ordered the Jews to register and to wear a yellow patch for identification.¹

Jews were not permitted to socialize with Russians or to appear at the market. Some of the Russian population began to treat the Jews with unconcealed hostility. One witness reported that the Russians viewed the Jews mainly as an opportunity to extract booty.²

Each day, Jewish men ages 15 to 60 had to appear before the Kommandantur, where they were given shovels for different forced labor projects. Generally they worked repairing the Velizh-Demidov-Smolensk highway. At work, they were beaten and humiliated. Occasionally, the guards ordered their victims to squat down and get up 100 times while holding an axe or shovel.

Jewish women also had to perform heavy labor, hauling bricks, logs, or beams, or cleaning toilets. Others had to do pointless tasks, such as gathering stones and putting them into a pile, then the next day dispersing them again. Sometimes they had to do more grueling work, such as collecting water from the river, carrying it up a hill, pouring it on the earth, and then

climbing down the hill to get more. The guards often whipped the women.

In August 1941, Sonderkommando 7a (subordinated to Einsatzgruppe B) shot a Jewish woman and eight former Komso-mol members from Velizh for sabotage at the Voroshilov kol-khoz 17 kilometers (11 miles) from Velizh. They were accused of having “attempted to intimidate the population by spreading false rumors.”³ From September 4 to the start of October 1941, Sonderkommando 7a was based in Velizh, where it apparently played a key role in the persecution of the Jews. In September 1941, on the pretext of a work assignment, the Germans gathered approximately 150 Jewish men ages 18 to 35, took them out of the city, and shot them. Shortly afterwards, 50 young women were brutally beaten with rifle butts for trying to run away through the streets.

At the end of September 1941, the Kommandantur issued an order for the Jewish population to be resettled into a ghetto. They were allowed to bring with them only essential items, namely, basic foodstuffs and warm clothing. The Jews’ remaining property was to be turned over to the Russian policemen and redistributed. The ghetto was set up on the edge of the city, next to a large pig farm. A fence surrounded the ghetto, reinforced with barbed wire. Men of the Russian police (Ordnungsdienst) guarded the perimeter.⁴

There were 1,400 to 1,500 Jews in the ghetto. About 1,000 people lived in just 27 houses. The living conditions were atrocious, and many people were unable to wash themselves. About 500 people lived in the pigsty, in which rows of bunk beds, two or three tiers high, stood around one oven, with hardly any room to sleep. Food had to be prepared over bonfires.

Jews were forbidden from leaving the ghetto on pain of death. Non-Jews were also not allowed to enter it. Russian policemen, upon spotting someone trying to escape, would run after them, shouting: “Catch the Jew [*zbid!*]” Those whom they caught were brutally beaten. They chased the ghetto inmates out of their dwellings and made them watch the executions. The one exit from the ghetto was usually locked; only trucks carrying corpses to the Jewish cemetery were permitted to pass through.⁵

Sources are scarce on the Judenrat’s activities in the Velizh ghetto. The foreman (starosta) in charge was the teacher Mendel’ Itkin. One witness recalled that “the leaders of the Judenrat did not have any detailed or reliable information. . . . [T]hey were unfortunate people themselves.”⁶ The main task of the Judenrat was to pass on German orders to the ghetto population. The foreman assigned people to labor tasks according to the demands of the occupying authorities.

Initially, the Jews lived on whatever they had brought from their homes into the ghetto. But most of the goods spoiled, and famine set in. Many of the inmates were refugees from Belorussia and other places, and without any supplies, these people suffered badly. People grew swollen from hunger, and many young Jews died in the streets. The more fortunate with regard to rations were those in mixed families, as they generally received help from their Russian kin. Neighbors and friends gave some assistance to the ghetto, providing the in-

mates with potatoes and bread. Sometimes ghetto inhabitants, having removed their yellow markers, managed to get out of the ghetto and obtain foodstuffs from people they knew. They bartered gold and silver items for food.

Winter came, and in the pigsty it was unbearably cold. The Jews were unable to obtain firewood for heating; instead, they broke up the bunk beds. Living conditions deteriorated further. The prisoners used kerosene lamps until the fuel ran out. Several people died each day of hunger, cold, and typhus. Some elderly people fell out of their high bunk beds and died. There was no medicine. The Russian doctor Vasilii Zhukov lived in the ghetto with his Jewish wife and their three children. He was responsible for treating everyone.

Many ghetto inmates owned gold and silver items. Some of the Russian policemen who guarded the ghetto accepted such things in exchange for a little food. But the Germans found out about the barter and shot those policemen. Then the guards started to rob the Jews more systematically.

Witness testimonies provide little information about forced labor by ghetto inmates. They indicate that the Jews were taken out in convoys to work from morning to evening. As a rule, they performed heavy physical and menial jobs. Some Jewish tailors had to mend clothing for the Germans.

On several occasions in December 1941 and January 1942, the Russian police took young Jewish girls and teenagers for work in the city and shot them after they had finished. In a Smolensk court in March 1960, Piotr Sychev, who worked with the German Secret Field Police (GFP), recounted how he had participated in these shootings on three separate occasions.⁷

The Jews did not see any prospect of being rescued from their hopeless situation. A former ghetto inmate recalled that in the ghetto “they gathered in groups and sat silently in the darkness. They didn’t want to speak with each other.”⁸ Jews who came back to the ghetto observed the silence and tried to support the inmates who remained behind each day.⁹

There were some incidents of resistance during the course of an Aktion carried out against the young men. According to testimonies gathered by the Soviet 4th Shock Army, “an unidentified Jew tried to organize a resistance movement armed with axes, but the Germans shot him and his associates before they could realize their plans.”¹⁰ A group of young Jewish girls also escaped from the ghetto and joined Soviet partisan detachments.

With the advance of the Red Army close to the city in late January 1942, some Jews escaped from the ghetto. They hid with acquaintances in the town or went across the front line. Two days before the destruction of the ghetto, the Russian doctor Vasilii Zhukov managed to get his family out and save them.

On the morning of January 30, 1942, the 4th Shock Army attacked Velizh from three sides. Fighting was heavy until February 2, 1942, when Soviet forces successfully liberated the northwestern part of the city up to the Western Dvina River. Then their advance was halted.¹¹

On January 30, the Germans and Russian police sealed all the exits from the pigsty, poured gas on it, and set it on fire.

Then they burned down the houses in the ghetto where other Jews were still living. The police opened fire on any Jews who tried to escape from the flames.¹² Maria Savinskaia, one of the ghetto inmates, recalled at a trial in Smolensk in March 1960: “I saw my mother’s black hair catch fire. We got her out through a small window. Then shots were fired. I was wounded, but my friends did not make it. We could only save ourselves. For a long time . . . there was the stench of charred corpses and burnt hair. I’ve never been able to forget that smell.”¹³

Approximately 100 people managed to escape from the pigsty, and of that number, most were wounded or later killed. Dozens of Jews who escaped from the ghetto and hid in the basements of town buildings were discovered and shot by members of the Ordnungsdienst. About 600 people were killed during the liquidation of the ghetto.¹⁴ Some of those who initially escaped from the burning ghetto were killed subsequently during the fighting in the town. Only a few dozen Jews survived, including the teenagers and young women who fled and joined the Soviet partisans.¹⁵ The report of the Velizh District Commission in August 1944 indicates that not 1 Jew remained in the town.¹⁶

The Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) assigned responsibility for the crimes against Soviet citizens to the local German military administration in Velizh (Ortskommandantur 849); the Wehrmacht officers Kohlman, Ageant, Lugash, and Rosenfeld; Bidiukov, the mayor of Velizh; and Murashkin, the chief of the Russian police.¹⁷ The Soviet authorities tried a number of Russian policemen who took part in the murder of the Jews. In March 1960, a Smolensk court sentenced two former policemen to death, and a third received 15 years in prison.¹⁸

SOURCES Publications regarding the Velizh ghetto and the murder of the Jews of Velizh include the following: I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshbiny* (Smolensk, 2001), which includes several witness testimonies; Vadim Doubson, “Getto na okkupirovannoi territorii Rossiiskoi Federatsii (1941–42gg).” *Vestnik Evreiskogo Universiteta v Moskve*, no. 3 (21) (2000): 157–184; A.I. Eremenko, *V nachale voiny* (Moscow, 1965); F.D. Sverdlov, ed., *Dokumenty obrviniatut. Kholokost: Svidetel'stva Krasnoi Armii* (Moscow: Nauchno-prosvetitel'nyi tsentr “Kholokost,” 1996), pp. 65–66; and Leonid Koval, *Kniga spaseniia* (Urmala: Golfstrim, 1993), 2: 42–44.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Velizh can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-20-25; 7021-44-619); GASmO (R-1630-1-314 and R-2434-3-36); TsGAMORF (32/11302/32, p. 81); VHF; and YVA (e.g., O-3/4389 and O-33/3275).

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NOTES

1. GASmO, R-1630-1-314, p. 8; Y. Arad, S. Krakowski, and S. Spector, eds., *The Einsatzgruppen Reports* (New York, 1989), p. 117; *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty*, (Moscow, 1942) 5:61; V. Abramov, “Gitlerovskie liudoedy,” *Rabochii put'* (organ of the Smolensk district Communist Party Committee—VKP), August 21, 1942, p. 2;

testimony of Vera Fainshtein, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshbiny*, p. 117; and Sverdlov, *Dokumenty obrviniatut*, p. 65.

2. Testimony of Vera Fainshtein, p. 117.

3. Arad, Krakowski, and Spector, *The Einsatzgruppen Reports*, p. 117.

4. A. Bordiukov, “Tragediia Velizhskogo getto,” in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshbiny*, p. 123; testimony of Vera Fainshtein, pp. 117–118; and GASmO, R-1630-1-314, p. 16.

5. Testimony of M. L'vin, YVA, O-33/3275, p. 3; testimony of Issak Bruk, YVA, O-33/3275, p. 7; and testimony of Emma Kudrianovich, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshbiny*, pp. 114–115.

6. Testimony of Issak Bruk, p. 8.

7. Testimony of A. Bordiukov, in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshbiny*, p. 124.

8. Testimony of Emma Kudrianovich, p. 115.

9. Testimony of Issak Bruk, pp. 6–7.

10. YVA, M-40, MAP/103, p. 28.

11. Yeremenko, *V nachale voiny*, pp. 445–455.

12. *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov*, 5:62.

13. Testimony of A. Bordiukov, pp. 124–125.

14. Abramov, “Gitlerovskie liudoedy,” p. 2.

15. Testimony of Vera Fainshtein, p. 118; testimony of M. L'vin, p. 3; and testimony of Issak Bruk, pp. 10–11.

16. GASmO, R-2434-3-36, p. 55.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 57

18. A. Bordiukov, “Litso velizhskikh banditov,” in Tsynman, *Bab'i iary Smolenshbiny*, p. 126.

VYRITSA

Pre-1941: Vyritsa, town, Gatchina raion, Leningrad oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Vyritsa, Rear Area, Army Group North (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Nord); post-1991: Vyritsa, Russian Federation

Vyritsa is located 56 kilometers (35 miles) south-southeast of Leningrad. In 1926, there were 49 Jews living in Vyritsa, and in 1939, the census recorded 138 Jews, representing 1.2 percent of the total population of the town.¹

German forces of Army Group North captured the settlement on August 31, 1941, more than two months after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, some Jews were able to evacuate to the East, and the eligible males were required to report for military service in the Red Army. About one third of the pre-war Jewish population remained in Vyritsa at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire period of occupation, a German military Kommandantur ran the town. The German military administration formed a local council and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), staffed by local residents.

Soon after the occupation of the town, the German Kommandantur ordered the council to organize the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as their use for various types of heavy labor. In October or November 1941, all the remaining Jews in the settlement were rounded up and moved into a ghetto, for which a barn was allocated. This ghetto contained around 50 people. German security forces soon liquidated the

ghetto, probably in November 1941, when all the Jews were shot in the forest outside the town.²

SOURCES Documents regarding the extermination of the Jews of Vyritsa can be found in the following archives: GALO and GARF (7021-30-242).

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1418; and Mondechai Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939* (Jerusalem, 1993), p. 30.

2. Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), pp. 96, 99, 101.

YESSENTUKI

Pre-1942: Yessentuki, town, Ordzhonikidze krai, RSFSR; August 1942–January 1943: Yessentuki, Army Group A (Heeresgruppe A); post-1991: Yessentuki, Stavropol' Krai, Russian Federation

Yessentuki is located about 150 kilometers (93 miles) southeast of Stavropol'. According to the 1939 population census, there were 581 Jews living in the town.¹ After the German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, the Jewish population initially decreased, as men of eligible age were conscripted into the Red Army. However, about 1,500 Jews—out of several thousand Jews who were evacuated at the start of the war from the western regions of the USSR to the northern Caucasus—arrived in the town, and most were unable to flee in the summer of 1942 due to the rapidity of the German advance.

On August 11, 1942, German armed forces occupied Yessentuki. Throughout the town's occupation, which lasted until January 11, 1943, a German military administration ran the town. In August 1942, the Ortskommandant in Yessentuki was Oberstleutnant von Beck. The German military created a town administration and an auxiliary police force, recruited from among local residents.

The murder of the Jews of the town was organized by the Security Police of Einsatzkommando 12 (Einsatzgruppe D). This detachment was stationed in Piatigorsk, and it was headed by SS-Hauptsturmführer Heinrich Wiens, who went missing from the military at the end of the war.

Shortly after the occupation of the town, Ortskommandant von Beck ordered the establishment of a Jewish Council, or Judenrat, which consisted of five members. The Judenrat was responsible for carrying out the registration of all the Jews in the town. The results indicated 507 able-bodied Jews and around 1,500 deemed unfit to work, including children and elderly people.² Other regulations excluded Jews from receiving bread rations, and able-bodied Jews were exploited for various kinds of heavy physical labor, including the cleaning of military hospitals. On September 7, 1942, all Jews except those in

mixed marriages were ordered to appear on September 9 at a school on the outskirts of the town, on the pretext of being resettled to sparsely populated areas. Most of those who obeyed the instruction were taken out in the early morning of September 10, 1942, and murdered in an antitank ditch near the glass factory at Mineral'nye Vody.³

It appears from the sparse information available that the several hundred able-bodied Jews in Yessentuki were temporarily spared and returned to the school building, which may have served as a form of remnant ghetto or labor camp for six more weeks. According to one source, this camp was liquidated on October 29, 1942, when 483 Jews were shot in a nearby forest. About 15 Jews from mixed marriages were excluded from the antisemitic measures and survived in Yessentuki, although these people also went into hiding during the last days of German occupation, fearing that the Germans might kill them too before they retreated.⁴

SOURCES Published accounts on the fate of the Jews in Yessentuki during the brief German occupation include Vasilii Grossman and Il'ya Ehrenburg, eds., *Chernaia kniga o zlodeiskom povsemestnom ubiistve evreev nemetsko-fasistskimi zakbvatchikami vo vremenno okkupirovannykh raionakh Sovetskogo Soiuzna i v lagerakh Pol'shi vo vremia voiny 1941–1945* (Kiev, 1991), pp. 279–280—available in English as *The Black Book: The Ruthless Murder of Jews by German-Fascist Invaders Throughout the Temporarily-Occupied Regions of the Soviet Union and in the Death Camps of Poland During the War of 1941–1945*, trans. John Glad and James S. Levine] (New York: Holocaust Library, 1981); and I. Al'tman and Sh. Krakovskii, *Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga: Svidetel'stva ochevidtsev o Katastrofe sovetskikh evreev (1941–1944)* (Jerusalem, Moscow, 1993), pp. 389–390—published in English translation by Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 271–272.

Relevant documentary sources can be found in the following archives: GARF; Sta. Mü I (119c Js 12/69); USHMM; and YVA.

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NOTES

1. “Yessentuki,” in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow: Russian Academy of Natural Sciences, Jewish Encyclopedia Research Center, “Epos,” 2000), 4:434.

2. Grossman and Ehrenburg, *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 279–280; A. Tol'stoi, “Korichnevyy Durman,” *Pravda*, August 5, 1943. Andrej Angrick, *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord: Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941–1943* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 2003), p. 618, names the head of the Jewish Council as the physician Grigory Konievich; but other sources state it was a Jewish lawyer.

3. Grossman and Ehrenburg, *Chernaia kniga*, pp. 279–280. According to A. Tol'stoi, the extermination of the Jews took place on the night of September 6–7, 1942.

4. Testimony of the artist L.H. Tarabukin and his daughter D. Gol'dshtein, published in Al'tman and Krakovskii,

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Neizvestnaia Chernaia kniga, pp. 389–390; I. Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 94, 100, 101, 273, 281. In nearby Kislovodsk, the Germans also temporarily kept alive a few cobblers and tailors; see Ehrenburg and Grossman, *The Black Book*, p. 269.

ZAKHARINO

Pre-1941: Zakharino, village in the Khislavichi raion, Smolensk oblast', RSFSR; 1941–1943: Zacharino, Chislavitschi Rayon, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Novoe Zhakarino, Russian Federation

Zakharino is located a few kilometers to the southeast of Khislavichi. In 1925, there were 550 Jews living in Zakharino, representing 92 percent of the village's population. In the 1930s, Zakharino was Jewish national sel'sovet within the Khislavichi raion.¹ By 1941, the number of Jews had dropped to only about 275,² primarily as a result of the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

German forces captured the village on August 1, 1941, more than one month after the German invasion of the USSR on June 22. During that time, a few Jews managed to evacuate to the east, and eligible men were required to report for military service in the Red Army. More than 90 percent of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the village at the start of the German occupation.

During the entire period of occupation, a German military administration was responsible for the Chislavitschi Rayon, including the village of Zakharino. The German administration ordered the registration and marking of the Jews, as well as their use for various forced labor tasks such as clearing snow in winter. During the first weeks of occupation, Germans stole poultry and would humiliate Jews by forcing them to fetch water from the well, then pouring it away. Later Germans came from Khislavichi and shot into Jewish homes, killing several Jews. In another incident, two fat Germans forced a Jew to pull them on a cart through the village, as if he were a horse, before they hanged him on an old broom tree.³

The Germans established a Judenrat in Zakharino, which was responsible for passing on German orders and regulations to the Jewish population. In October 1941, all the remaining Jews in the village were rounded up and moved into a ghetto, for which several streets were designated.⁴

A number of Jews arrived in Zakharino who had fled from towns in Belorussia, including Minsk, Vitebsk, and Mstislavl'. According to one fugitive, the Jewish children in Mstislavl' had been buried alive. After hearing such stories, the Jews of Zakharino lived in fear. German Gendarmes and local collaborators periodically entered the Jews' houses to conduct searches. During these searches, they robbed items, raped girls, beat people, and dragged away Jewish men for purposes unknown. In February 1942, a large punitive squad arrived and ordered the Jews to pile up their clothing, cooking uten-

sils, and bed linen in several designated huts. The Germans then transported away these vitally needed possessions in the depth of winter.⁵

The ghetto existed until May 9, 1942, when German security forces liquidated it by shooting all the Jews. According to the records of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission, there were more than 260 victims, of which the names are known for about 215 people.⁶ After the Aktion, local policemen continued to search for Jews hiding in nearby villages and in the forests, as they received the victims' clothes and several packets of tobacco as a reward from the commandant for every Jew they brought in. These Jews would be escorted to the ravine and shot. Very few Jews from the village survived. The Germans took away the remaining horses and cows and set fire to the village just before their retreat. The Red Army liberated Zakharino on September 27, 1943.⁷

SOURCES A personal account describing the fate of the Jews in Zakharino, prepared by a Russian woman who was married to a Jew, can be found in Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2007), pp. 386–397.

Documents on the persecution and murder of the Jews of Zakharino can be found in the following archives: GARF (7021-44-634 and 8114-1-960); GASmO; and YVA.

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trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. "Zakharino," in *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia* (Moscow, 2000), 4:475.
2. According to the 1939 census, there were 292 Jews living at that time in the Khislavichi raion (excluding Khislavichi); most of them lived in Zakharino.
3. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 387–388.
4. I. Al'tman, *Zbertvy nenavisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941–1945 gg.* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 96, 99, 101; and *Rossiiskaia Evreiskaia Entsiklopediia*, 4:475.
5. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 388–389.
6. I. Tsynman, ed., *Bab'i iary Smolenshbiny* (Smolensk, 2001), pp. 475–477. See also "The Jews of Zakharino, Chislavichi District of Smolensk Region, Russia, Shot by the Nazis on May 9, 1942," compiled by Shlomo Gurevich, available at www.jewishgen.org/belarus/jews_of_zakharino.htm, which includes an English translation of the list of names with gender and ages from a copy of the ChGK report held at YVA; and "Zakharino," in Shmuel Spector and Geoffrey Wigoder, eds., *The Encyclopedia of Jewish Life before and during the Holocaust*, (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem; New York: New York University Press, 2001), p. 1483. Ibid., Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, p. 393, however, estimates the number of victims at around 500.
7. Rubenstein and Altman, *The Unknown Black Book*, pp. 393–397.

ZLYNKA

Pre-1941: Zlynka, town and raion center, Orel oblast', RSFSR; 1941-1943: Slynka, Rear Area, Army Group Center (rückwärtiges Heeresgebiet Mitte); post-1991: Zlynka, Briansk oblast', Russian Federation

Zlynka is located 50 kilometers (31 miles) east of Gomel' on the highway to Briansk, which lies 200 kilometers (124 miles) to the east-northeast. The town lies close to the point where the borders of Russia, Ukraine, and Belarus now meet. The 1939 census indicated a decline in the town's Jewish population to 432 (5 percent of the total). This reduction was primarily due to the resettlement of Jews to other regions.

German troops of Army Group Center occupied Zlynka on August 25, 1941, two months after Germany's invasion of the USSR on June 22. The morning that the war started, a loudspeaker announced the news, leading to a general panic. Frightened residents quickly bought as many groceries as they could afford, causing long lines to form. People also exchanged items of clothing to obtain food. At the same time, young people volunteered or were mobilized for the front. During the intervening period before the Germans arrived, approximately half of the Jews were able to evacuate to the east. Slightly more than half of the pre-war Jewish population remained in the town at the start of the German occupation, approximately 230 in total.¹

During the entire period of the occupation until September 26, 1943, a German military Kommandantur ran the town. The German military administration formed a town council and a police force (Ordnungsdienst), recruited from local inhabitants. Soon after the occupation, the town council organized the registration and marking of the Jews with stars on their chests, as well as the recruitment of Jews for various forms of heavy labor.

In early September 1941, in the first Aktion against the Jews of Zlynka, Sonderkommando 7b arrested 27 Jewish men as alleged "terrorists." The men were taken about 10 or 15 kilometers (6 or 9 miles) outside the town and shot.² Shortly after this, by October 1941, the Germans established a ghetto about 3 kilometers (almost 2 miles) outside the town on the premises of the Machine Tractor Station (MTS).³ The Zlynka ghetto existed for around four months. A few Jews who had fled from other towns, including Novozybkov and Gomel', were also settled within the Zlynka ghetto.⁴ The ghetto was composed of two barracks, a few nearby houses, and a bathhouse. The rabbi lived in one of the houses. There was a Jewish elder in charge of the ghetto who organized the collection of valuables and other items demanded by the Germans. The ghetto was not enclosed by a fence, but the Jews were forbidden to leave. Due to severe hunger in the ghetto, sometimes

Jews would remove their stars and sneak into nearby villages where local inhabitants gave them food. Some young people in the ghetto celebrated the New Year in 1942 with a tree, music, and singing.⁵

On February 15, 1942,⁶ German-led security forces liquidated the ghetto. When the German and Russian police first arrived and surrounded the ghetto, many Jews gathered in an apartment to pray.⁷ All the remaining Jews were shot and buried in a pit; the total number of victims was 190. The alleged pretext for the ghetto's destruction was that the Jews had established contact with the partisans, after 12 Jews from Zlynka had joined Soviet partisans operating in the region.⁸ However, the German Einsatzgruppen had instructions to murder all Jews in the region. A detachment of Einsatzkommando 8 (Trupp Schulz) probably organized the liquidation of the ghetto, but local witnesses mention that local Russian police also participated in the shooting. During the Aktion, one boy vehemently maintained that his parents were Russian, but nobody paid attention to his pleading, and he was shot together with the others.⁹

SOURCES Published sources mentioning the destruction of the Jews of Zlynka include *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1979), Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 786-788; and Ilya Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenasivisti: Kholokost v Rossii 1941-1945 gg.* (Moscow: Fond Kovcheg, 2002), p. 263.

Documentation on the persecution and murder of the town's Jews can be found in the following archives: BA-BL (R 58/217); BA-L; GABrO; GARF (7021-19-4); RGVA (500-1-770); USHMM; and VHF (# 37382 and 38878).

Alexander Kruglov and Sonia Isard
trans. Kathleen Luft

NOTES

1. VHF, # 37382, interview with Mikhail Liubkin, May 30, 1997; Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenasivisti*, p. 96.
2. BA-BL, R 58/217, Ereignismeldung UdSSR no. 92, September 23, 1941; VHF, # 38878, interview with Busia Liubkina, November 24, 1997.
3. GARF, 7021-19-4, pp. 11-12; and VHF, # 38878, interview with Busia Liubkina, November 24, 1997.
4. VHF, # 37382, interview with Mikhail Liubkin, May 30, 1997.
5. *Ibid.*, # 38878, interview with Busia Liubkina, November 24, 1997.
6. GARF, 7021-19-4, p. 3.
7. VHF, # 38878, interview with Busia Liubkina, November 24, 1997.
8. See RGVA, 500-1-770, report of Einsatzgruppe B, March 1, 1942, on its activities from February 16 to 28, 1942.
9. *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*, vol. 20, Lfd. Nr. 588, pp. 786-788. This source cites only 60-70 Jews and Communists as victims and is uncertain as to the date of the Aktion. Also see Al'tman, *Zhertvy nenasivisti*, p. 263.



SECTION VIII

GERMAN-OCCUPIED GREECE

Following Germany's invasion of Greece from the north in April 1941, in support of its ailing Italian Axis partner, German forces secured control of the Greek mainland by early May 1941. Germany, Italy, and Bulgaria then partitioned Greece into three occupation zones. The Italians became responsible for the bulk of mainland Greece until the surrender of Italian forces in September 1943. The Bulgarians were awarded a strip of territory in the northeast, comprising part of Macedonia and much of Thrace. To the east of this Bulgarian sector there was a small strip along the border with Turkey, which remained under German control. The main block of German-occupied land lay in the center of northern Greece, around the city of Thessalonikē. The Germans were also responsible for Athens and a small area around it, for several islands in the Aegean Sea, and also for most of Crete.

Until September 1943, the German administration in occupied Greece consisted initially of the theater command Military Commander Southeast (Wehrmachtsbe-

fehlshaber Südosten), which was exercised by Army High Command 12 (Armeeoberkommando 12). At the start of 1943, Army Group E (Heeresgruppe E) took over this responsibility. Directly in charge of the area around Thessalonikē was the commander for the Thessalonikē-Aegean region (Befehlshaber Saloniki-Ägäis). Under his authority, the German officer primarily responsible for occupation policy in Thessalonikē was Kriegsverwaltungsrat Colonel Dr. Max Merten.

German SD officers subordinated to Adolf Eichmann ordered the establishment of a ghetto consisting of three sections in Thessalonikē in March 1943. No other ghettos were created in German-occupied Greece. Following ghettoization, almost all the Jews of this ancient city were deported to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp within six months. Northern Greece was liberated by Allied forces at the end of 1944, although on some of the islands, German forces held out until May 1945.



THESSALONIKĒ



The adult Jewish male population of Thessalonikē is assembled at Eleftheria (Freedom) Square by German troops, July 11, 1942.
USHMM WS #33097, COURTESY OF DAVID SION

THESSALONIKĒ (AKA SELĀNIK OR SALONIKI)

*Pre-1940: Thessalonikē, city, Macedonia periferias, Greece;
1941–1944: Salonika, capital, Besatzungszone Saloniki-Agāis;
post-1945: Thessaloniki, capital, Thessaloniki prefecture and
Central Macedonia periferias, Greece*

Thessalonikē is located about 300 kilometers (186 miles) north-northwest of Athens. The Jewish population of the city in 1940 was about 50,000.

The German army entered Thessalonikē on April 9, 1941. In the first 10 days the German authorities closed down Jewish community offices, shut down the Jewish press, and imprisoned the Jewish communal council and other community leaders. Immediately thereafter, they confiscated their communal archives, which contained community and member financial data. In a separate operation, the Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg scoured Thessalonikē's Jewish libraries and archives, seizing property and sending it back to the Reich. Thessalonikē's chief rabbi, Tzevi Koretz, was arrested in Athens and transported to the Gestapo prison, Hotel Metropole, in Vienna. He returned to Thessalonikē in February 1942.¹

Until July 1942, the German authorities did not implement racist legislation against Thessalonikē's Jews. However, in April 1941, some Thessalonians initiated the placement of signs forbidding entry to Jews, stating that their presence was unwelcome in all restaurants and coffee shops in the city. From the outset, the Germans permitted only antisemitic newspapers. The new newspaper *Nea Europi* (*New Europe*) joined the already established, pro-German *Apoyevmatini* in publishing scurrilous, defamatory, and historically inaccurate articles against Thessalonikē's Jews. Local rumors spread of a secret referendum, according to which the Thessalonians implored the German authorities to apply racial legislation. The German officer who became responsible for the city of Thessalonikē in August of 1942, Kriegsverwaltungsrat (KVR) for the Saloniki-Aegean Theater, Colonel Dr. Max Merten, referred to this rumor to blackmail the Jews.

In July 1942, General Kurt von Krenzski ordered all Jewish males, aged 18 to 45, except for Italian or Spanish passport holders, to appear at Freedom Square (Plateia Eleftherias) at 8:00 A.M. on Saturday, July 11, threatening dire penalties for nonconformity. The Jews soon found out they were to be used in forced labor for military work and road construction. Dozens of Greek municipal employees under German supervision registered some 6,000 to 9,000 Jews.² During this assembly the German authorities mistreated and humiliated the Jews, with beatings, penal exercises, and assaults by guard dogs. In the days that followed, the men received cursory medical examinations by Greek physicians. By September 1942, some 2,000 to 3,000 Jewish laborers were engaged in building military roads, under the supervision of the German Müller construction firm. From the outset, living conditions were so bad that medical assistance was needed immediately. The forced

laborers worked for more than 10 hours a day, primarily in quarries. Physical abuse was routine. Summer heat, malaria, and the lack of basic hygiene contributed to the spread of epidemics. The first dead engendered uproar in Thessalonikē's Jewish community and prompted immediate intervention.

From August 20, 1942, the task of relieving the hard-pressed forced laborers fell, with the agreement of Merten and Müller, on the Jewish community's Central Coordinating Committee for Welfare Works. Exempted from forced labor were men who fell into the categories of sole breadwinners and high school or university students, while exemptions could be purchased for a minimum of 1 million drachmas. It is estimated that in its first 20 days of operation the liaison office drafted 3,000 new laborers, established buyout fees for 500 draftees, and exempted 6,000 students plus 1,000 others. The buyouts raised approximately 7.5 billion drachmas, held in trust by the Jewish community.

Meanwhile, Organisation Todt (OT), the Nazi construction organization, dispatched Jewish laborers to various sites in Chalkidiki. The OT work supervisors' savagery resulted in escapes, arrests, and on-the-spot executions. Due to the high number of deaths, the Central Coordinating Committee sent Yomtov Yakoel to visit the works in Gida, Methoni, Aghios Dimitrios, and elsewhere with Müller and Greek General Lavranos. So shaken was Yakoel that he wrote a report, contrasting the peasants' compassion with the OT's cruelty. After witnessing the forced laborers' miserable condition, Müller proposed the replacement of Jewish workers by non-Jewish road builders. He estimated that if an amount of 2 billion drachmas could be collected from the Jewish workers' buyout fees, it would suffice to pay the non-Jewish workers' wages. Merten endorsed the idea of replacing the Jewish workers but raised the ransom to 3.5 billion drachmas. Meanwhile, Koretz, recently released from a second stint in German custody, and the committee members replied that they could not collect this huge sum in such a limited time. Merten thereupon recommended that the Jewish community pay 2 billion drachmas in cash; the balance was to be taken in the form of the



A German corporal leads three Jewish men in forced calisthenics at Eleftheria (Freedom) Square in Thessalonikē, July 11, 1942. USHMM WS #33097, COURTESY OF DAVID SIDN

Jewish community relinquishing its claims to the Jewish cemetery, which was to be used for military purposes. In responding to Merten's blackmail the committee members wrote that an amount of 2 billion drachmas could be collected and that it was up to Merten to decide whether military considerations necessitated the Jewish cemetery's destruction.

Acting on a request by Macedonian General Governor Vassilis Simonidis, the Thessalonikē-Aegean military command sent a letter to the Jewish community to collaborate with the municipality in the Jewish cemetery's transfer, which like the Greek Orthodox cemetery was located in the city's center. But the 10 days allotted to relocate the remains were insufficient to perform such a huge operation, as the old cemetery measured 350,000 square meters (86.5 acres) and contained nearly 300,000 graves. On December 6, 1942, the municipality dispatched thousands of workers who destroyed the cemetery, in the process ignoring German instructions to set aside certain tombs of high archaeological and historical value. The municipality used the tombstones to repair sidewalks and the Church of St. Demetrius and to build a swimming pool for German officers. The cemetery's demolition was a political, not a military, act, since Merten thought it would bring the non-Jewish population over to his side. Destroying the Jewish cemetery, subsequently the site of the Aristotelian University of Thessalonikē, completed the city's Hellenization.

In December 1942, Chief Rabbi Dr. Tzevi Koretz replaced Sabi Saltiel as head of the Jewish community. In the early



A British army lieutenant colonel views tombstones from the desecrated Jewish cemetery in Thessalonikē, November 11, 1944. The official caption reads, "Indian Units arrived by sea at Salonika on 11th Nov., 1944. A German strongpoint, with slit trenches lined with tombstones from Jewish graves. In the background can be seen the concrete emplacement adjoining the slit trenches."

USHMM VWS #49979, COURTESY OF JOSEPH EATON

months of 1943, Koretz served as de facto Jewish elder over the communal council and from February had to meet twice weekly with representatives from the Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei, Sipo). Appointed chief rabbi of Thessalonikē in 1932, his behavior as Jewish community president during the Holocaust prompted accusations of collaboration, but subsequent historical accounts have begun to reassess his role. Indeed, Koretz's name headed a list of Jewish collaborators drawn up after the war and submitted to the Special Court of Thessalonikē.³ In a memoir secretly written during the deportations, Yakoel blamed Koretz for moral blindness: "At the head of this multifarious and multifaceted organization [the communal council] stood the Chief Rabbi, Dr. Koretz, occupying himself personally, from morning till late at night, with the smallest and least important details, neglecting the examination of the greater problem: the fate that awaited the Jewry of Salonika."⁴ A Polish Jew, Koretz held a doctorate from the University of Vienna and spoke German, Greek, and Spanish. As historian Minna Rozen has recently argued, he was a useful scapegoat for the Sephardic community: not only was he viewed as an Ashkenazi outsider, but his uncovering of financial irregularities that implicated the community's leaders in the mid-1930s created lasting enemies. As historian Steven Bowman has argued, it is difficult to imagine how another community leader could have done any more than Koretz, given the impossible situation the Germans created.

In January 1943, SS-Sturmabführer Rolf Günther of the Reich Security Main Office (Reichssicherheitshauptamt, RSHA) IV B 4 (Jewish Affairs) arrived to prepare for the destruction of Thessalonikē's Jews. At Adolf Eichmann's behest, he demanded the compilation of a historical, demographic, and economic report on the Jewish community and its members.⁵ Following Günther's mission, on February 6, 1943, Eichmann's specialists, SS-Hauptsturmführer Dieter Wisliceny and SS-Hauptsturmführer Alois Brunner, came to Thessalonikē. Requisitioning a Jewish house at 42 Velissariou Street, near the Jewish community offices, they established the headquarters for the Special Detachment for Jewish Matters of the Security Police Saloniki-Aegean (Sonderkommando für Judenangelegenheiten der Sicherheitspolizei, Saloniki-Ägäis). Early accounts of the Holocaust in Thessalonikē erroneously referred to their mission as the "Rosenberg Kommando." At the International Military Tribunal, Wisliceny self-servingly testified that Brunner handled the "technical" (i.e., railway) aspects of the "Final Solution" and therefore did not answer to him.⁶

The destruction process in Thessalonikē took only five weeks from the badging order to ghetto formation and the first deportation. In carrying out the Final Solution, as historian Hans Safrian points out, Eichmann's team got vital assistance from the Wehrmacht, in particular Merten, whose signature appeared on many orders. On February 6, Wisliceny and Brunner ordered that Jews not carrying a foreign passport had to wear the yellow star from age five and for all Jewish property to be marked with Greek and German labels. Additionally, the order required the Jews to move to certain

defined areas (ghettos) by March 6, 1943, while all other areas were barred to them.⁷ These laws restricted the Jews' movement and simultaneously forbade their entry into cafés and travel by tram or motor vehicle and mandated their return to the ghetto before sundown. Failure to obey these orders resulted in on-the-spot shooting.

The short notice given to implement the measures prompted community leaders to ask Merten for more time, but to no avail. The Jews had to register all belongings and to submit household goods to the occupation authorities. The communal council worked indefatigably to move 7,500 families, who formerly lived throughout the city's neighborhoods, to the confines of three ghettos.

Three predominantly Jewish areas served as ghettos in Thessalonikē. From north to south, the first "ghetto," known as Baron Hirsch, comprised the Aghia Paraskevi quarter, the Regie Vardar and surrounding streets, and the Baron Hirsch quarter. Some accounts do not classify Baron Hirsch as a ghetto at all but as a concentration or transit camp. In 1939, the Baron Hirsch quarter comprised an area of 30,000 square meters (7.4 acres) and 593 rooms. In 1940, new housing facilities were built in the Aghia Paraskevi quarter for homeless Jews. Although the three areas were in close proximity, they were not adjacent but are still considered a single ghetto. A label in German, Greek, and Judeo-Spanish identified the Baron Hirsch ghetto's three exits, two leading to two different streets and one to the adjacent freight railway station from where the deportation trains left. E.D. Gebin, a young Nazi, headed the transit camp, and Vitali Hasson served as his interpreter.

Further south, the second ghetto, Syngrou, was in the center and northwest side of the city and was named after the Monasteriote Synagogue on Syngrou Street. It formed a parallelogram with Egnatia Avenue in the west, the Chalkeon Square in the south, the Kyverneion Street in the east, up to the "Viozah" factory and the Langada Street in the north. The third ghetto was situated in the center and southeast of the city in the Campagnas district (Greek: Exoches) and extended in the west from Vassilissis Sofias Avenue to Vassileos Georgiou Avenue, Evzonon Street in the north, and 25 Martiou Street to the south, including the Kalamaria working-class district in the east to Papaphi Street.

Non-Jews continued to reside in the Syngrou and Campagnas ghettos, while Jewish domiciles were marked with black Stars of David. Jewish houses situated along the ghettos' peripheries were likewise marked with black Stars of David. Many Jews who did not find rooms to rent had to move in with family members who lived in the areas prior to their ghettoization. Non-Jewish policemen and Jewish volunteers wearing yellow armbands inscribed "Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst" (Jewish Order Police; Greek: *politofylakes*) guarded ghetto entrances.⁸ The Jewish militia chief was Salis, a former Greek army officer from Chalkis. Vitali Hasson's right-hand man, Iossef (Jacques) Albala, like Hasson notorious for brutalizing fellow Jews, was assigned the post of Jewish Police chief by Eichmann's Sonderkommando. He organized the 250 members of the Jewish Police and reported daily to the Gestapo.

The German authorities' numerous restrictions, effectively turning the Jews into prisoners, drove some to disguise themselves, leave the ghettos, and flee to the Italian occupation zone and Athens by train. Most Jews, however, followed Koretz's instructions for strict obedience to German orders.

As of March 1, 1943, the Jews were required to register their personal property for statistical purposes. From March 6 they were strictly forbidden to leave the ghetto, and all exits were guarded by German police (Schutzpolizei, Schupo) and Greek police. During the first weekend after enclosure, they went hungry until the communal council was able to distribute some food. Relief came from soup kitchens organized at the beginning of the occupation by certain community leaders and from members of Matanoth Laevionim (Gifts to the Needy, an association founded in 1901 by a group of Jewish leaders and doctors that established several soup kitchens). These organizations were subsequently able to distribute up to 5,000 portions daily, thanks to help from the International and Hellenic Red Cross.

The Baron Hirsch ghetto's proximity to the railway station meant that its 2,315 inhabitants were among the first deported to the Auschwitz II-Birkenau concentration camp. The first transport also included 85 Jews from the village of Langadas and from the Campagnas ghetto. Among the Campagnas ghetto families were the Kounios, who, as fluent German speakers, became interpreters. On March 17, the Aghia Paraskevi's inhabitants were deported, after which came Regie Vardar's turn. After March 19, when the Aghia Paraskevi-Regie Vardar-Baron Hirsch areas were emptied, the Baron Hirsch quarter became a transit camp (*Durchgangslager*) for the remaining Jews in Thessalonikē. The camp was fenced in by high wooden boards reinforced by barbed wire and guarded by machine guns.

Every couple of days the Germans marched approximately 3,000 Jews to the Baron Hirsch camp from either of the two remaining ghettos, from which they were quickly deported. Most convoys consisted of 40 goods wagons designed to hold no more than 40 men each. Yet the Germans managed to cram up to 70 to 80 people in each, with at least 2,800 per convoy. Deaths occurring in the Baron Hirsch camp and during the deportation went unrecorded. Of the 19 convoys that left from Thessalonikē between March 15 and August 10, 1943, 5 left from March 15 to 27, 9 from April 3 to 28, and 2 in May. According to statistics provided by Hellenic Railways, 42,830 people were deported by May 9.

Koretz unsuccessfully tried to persuade the Greek authorities, including the collaborationist prime minister Ioannis Rallis, to intervene. This attempt led to his third imprisonment, this time in the Baron Hirsch camp.⁹ Some 150 Thessalonikē jurists protested against the deportations and submitted a petition to request that the convoys would be diverted to other parts of Greek territory. The intelligentsia of Athens, including Archbishop Damaskinos, also tried to intercede in favor of the Jews.

In the last two major convoys of May 1943, 2,034 Jews from the smaller communities of Florina, Veria, Didymoticho, Soufli, and Nea Orestiada were included since these towns were

part of the Thessalonikē-Aegean occupation zone. Another 820 “privileged” Jews—communal council members and collaborators—departed on June 1 not for Terezín (Theresienstadt), as was rumored, but for Auschwitz II-Birkenau.

Some 74 Greek Jewish communal leaders, including Koretz and his family, and another 367 Jews of Spanish citizenship were deported to the Bergen-Belsen camp on August 2.¹⁰ (Koretz died of typhus in June 1945.) Finally, on August 10 the last convoy with 1,800 Jewish slave laborers, dispatched in March 1943 to repair the railway’s north-south Boetia line, was also deported to Auschwitz.

With the exception of some escapees who joined the Greek resistance or hid in cities of the Italian Zone with the help of non-Jewish friends, a few Turkish Jewish citizens, and others who escaped to Palestine, the only ones to escape the German “Final Solution” were several hundred Spanish and Italian Jews who had the right of repatriation. But the Spanish Jews had to hand over their valuables before being deported to Bergen-Belsen, while the Italian Jews were sent to Athens.¹¹

Nineteen convoys consisting of 45,891 people left the city within five months. Of those, 37,387 were gassed on arrival in Auschwitz II-Birkenau; most of the others died in forced labor at Auschwitz. At the end of August 1943, Thessalonikē, the Jerusalem of the Balkans, with more than 2,000 years of active Jewish life, had become *judenrein* (cleansed of Jews). Only 4 percent of the Jews living in Thessalonikē in 1940 returned after the war.

Documentation from various diplomatic consulates and from the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) underscored the German authorities’ difficulty in keeping word of the Thessalonikē Jews’ fate from the outside world. Not only did the U.S. State Department gather testimony about the deportations from Turkish Jewish returnees in Istanbul, but consuls representing Axis and neutral governments, including Lucillo Mercè of Italy, were able to gather detailed information on the Eichmann Sonderkommando’s decrees within days of their issuance.¹² Especially well informed was Fridolin Jenny, the former Swiss consul in Thessalonikē, who repeatedly dispatched reports to Geneva, pleading for relief for Thessalonikē’s Jews.¹³

To date, Alois Brunner has escaped justice for his role in the Holocaust, but the Czechoslovakian government executed Dieter Wisliceny in 1948. In 1957, chief Greek prosecutor Andreas Toussis had Max Merten arrested during the latter’s visit to Athens. Charged with 15 counts of extortion and murder, Merten was found guilty of most charges and condemned to 25 years’ imprisonment, but he only served a minimum of his sentence in Greece: the government of Konstantine Karamanlis released him as soon as it was politically convenient to do so, in the name of preserving good trade relations with West Germany. In 1945, the Thessalonikē Special Court, formed to try collaborators, convened two trials against the journalists of *Apoyevmatini* and *Nea Europi*, which led to many convictions. The most important Jewish collaborator to be tried in Thessalonikē was Vitali Hasson, who was executed in 1946.

SOURCES To date there is not a monograph-length study of the Thessalonikē ghettos. The following secondary sources address aspects of these ghettos and the destruction of Thessalonikē’s Jewish community: Andrew Apostolou, “The Exception of Salonika: Bystanders and Collaborators in Northern Greece,” *HGS* 14:2 (Fall 2000): 165–196; Joseph Ben, “Jewish Leadership in Greece during the Holocaust: Patterns of Jewish Leadership in Nazi Europe,” *Proceedings of the Third Yad Vashem International Historical Conference* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1979): 335–352; Rika Benveniste, ed., *I Evraioi tis Ellados stim katochi* (Thessalonikē: Vaniias, 1998); Steven B. Bowman, *The Agony of Greek Jews, 1940–1945* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Steven B. Bowman, “Greek Jews and Christians during World War II,” in Yehuda Bauer et al., eds., *Remembering the Future: Working Papers and Addenda, Jews and Christians during and after the Holocaust*, 3 vols. (New York: Pergamon Press, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 215–223; Gila Hadar, “Space and Time in Thessalonikē on the Eve of World War II and the Expulsion and Extermination of Thessalonikē Jewry (1939–1943)” [in Hebrew], *Yalkut Moresbet* 82 (October 2006): 9–37; Eleni Haidia, “The Punishment of Collaborators in Northern Greece, 1945–1946,” in Mark Mazower, ed., *After the War Was Over: Reconstructing the Family, Nation, and State in Greece, 1943–1960* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), pp. 42–61; Michael Matsas, *The Illusion of Safety: The Story of the Greek Jews during the Second World War* (New York: Pella, 1997); Mark Mazower, *Inside Hitler’s Greece: The Experience of Occupation, 1941–1944* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1993); Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims, and Jews, 1430–1950* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005); Michael Molho, “El cemeterio Judío de Thessaloniki, verdadero museo epigráfico, histórico y arqueológico,” *Sefarad*, no. 9 (1949): 1–24; Michael Molho and Joseph Nehama, *In Memoriam: Hommage aux victimes juives des Nazis en Grèce*, 2nd ed. (Thessalonikē: Communauté Israélite de Thessalonique, 1988); Bernard Pierron, *Juifs et Chrétiens de la Grèce moderne: Histoire des relations intercommunautaires de 1821 à 1945*, preface by Vidal Séphiha (Paris: L’Harmattan, 1996); Minna Rozen, “Jews and Greeks Remember Their Past: The Political Career of Tzevi Koretz (1933–43),” *Jewish Social Studies History, Culture, and Society* 12:1 (Fall 2005): 111–166; Minna Rozen, ed., *The Last Ottoman Century and Beyond: The Jews in Turkey and the Balkans, 1808–1945*, 2 vols. (Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 2002); Hans Safrian, *Eichmann und seine Gehilfen* (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 1995), also available in English as *Eichmann’s Men*, trans. Ute Stargardt (New York: Cambridge University Press in association with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, 2010); and Susanne-Sophia Spiliotis, “‘An Affair of Politics, Not Justice’: The Merten Trial (1957–1959) and Greek-German Relations,” in Mazower, *After the War Was Over*, pp. 293–302.

Published primary sources on Thessalonikē begin with the collection of German documents, with French translations, found in Molho and Nehama, *In Memoriam*. Wisliceny’s self-serving testimony on Thessalonikē at Nuremberg may be found in International Military Tribunal, ed., *Trial of the Major War Criminals* (Nuremberg, 1967), vol. 4, pp. 363–367. Additional sources may be found in Irith Dublin-Knebel, ed., *German Foreign Office Documents on the Holocaust in Greece (1937–1944)* (Tel Aviv: Goldstein-Goren Diaspora Research Center, 2007); and Alexandros Kitroeff, “The Jews in Greece,

1941–1944: Eyewitness Accounts,” *Journal of the Hellenic Diaspora* 12:3 (1985): 5–32. The latter consists of U.S. diplomatic and intelligence documents, some of which pertain to Thessalonikē. A useful published diary is Joseph Rochlitz, ed., “Excerpts from the Salonika Diary of Lucillo Merci (February–August 1943),” introduction by Menachem Shelach, *Yad Vashem Studies* 18 (1987): 293–323. An important collection of published testimonies by Yomtov Yakoel, Isaac Aaron Matarasso, and Salomon Mair Uziel is Steven Bowman, ed., *The Holocaust in Salonika: Eyewitness Accounts*, trans. Isaac Benmayor (New York: Bloch Publishing Company, 2002). Another significant testimony is Jacques Stroumsa, *Violinist in Auschwitz: From Salonika to Jerusalem, 1913–1967*, trans. James Stuart Brice, ed. Erhard Roy Wiehn (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre, 1996). Also see Renee Levine Melammed, “The Memoirs of a Partisan from Salonika,” *Nashim: A Journal of Jewish Women’s Studies & Gender Issues* 7 (Spring 2004): 151–173. A compelling open letter by an anonymous witness to the unfolding deportations in Thessalonikē, unfortunately of unknown provenance, may be found in Walter Zwi Bacharach, ed., *Dies sind meine letzten Worte . . . Briefe aus der Shoah*, trans. Marice Tzorf, foreword by Yehuda Bauer (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag; Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2006), pp. 106–108.

Major archival holdings on Thessalonikē may be found in A-ICRC, CAHJP, JCTh, and YVA. At USHMM, major collections on Thessalonikē include RG-11.001M.21 (ERR, microfilmed from RGVA); RG-11.001M.51 (Records of the Jewish Community of Saloniki, Greece, microfilmed from RGVA); RG-19.045M (ICRC, Commission of Prisoners, Internees, and Civilians; Jews=Israélites, 1939–1961); RG-45.001 (Hellenic Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jewish Collection, 1885–1957); and the digitized ITS holdings, especially 01 (CNI) and 1.1.47.1 (Various Concentration Camps [VCC]). The USHMMPA has an extensive collection of photographs relating to the public humiliation of Jews at Freedom Square.

Rena Molho and Joseph Robert White

NOTES

1. On Koretz’s imprisonment in Vienna, see the CNI card for his cell mate, Dr. Hinko Gottlieb, USHMM, ITS Collection 0.1, document No. 23040595; and Hinko Gottlieb, *The Key to the Great Gate: A Novel*, trans. Fred Bolman and Ruth Morris, illustrated by Sam Fischer (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1947), p. 4, which integrates portions of his experience in captivity, including his time as cell mate with Dr. Tzevi Koretz in the Vienna city jail.

2. See the panoramic photograph of the assembly, USHMMPA, WS #33097 (Courtesy of David Sion), July 11, 1942.

3. “Salonika Jews Sponsor Trial of Collaborators (1945),” available at www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org.

4. Quoted in *The Memoir of Yomtov Yakoel*, reprinted in Bowman, *The Holocaust in Salonika*, p. 120.

5. The reports for Günther were probably based on JCTh (unclassified documents in a private collection), Daoud Levy, “Notas Historicas sobre la Comunidad Judia de Thessaloniki, 1870–1940” (unpub. MSS, 1942); Daoud Levy, “Peri proeefsseos merous tis akinitou perioussias tis Israilitikis Kinotitos tis Thessalonikis” (Of the origin of part of the real estate property of the Jewish community of Thessalonikē), trans. D. Benveniste (unpub. MSS, 1942).

6. IMT, *TMWC*, vol. 4, p. 363 (quotation).

7. Befehlshaber Saloniki-Ägäis Abteilung Militärverwaltung (Merten) an die Jüdische Kultusgemeinden Saloniki, February 6, 1943, reproduced in Molho and Nehama, *In Memoriam*, p. 151.

8. For Jüdische Ordnerpolizei, see the stamps on Passierschein zwecks Entlassung eines Häftlings aus dem Judenlager “Baron Hirsch,” May 25, 1943, USHMM, ITS Collection, 1.1.47.1 (VCC).

9. Sonderkommando für Judenangelegenheiten der Sicherheitspolizei, Saloniki-Ägäis, April 15, 1943, Wisliceny, to Commander Saloniki-Ägäis KVR Merten re: Chief Rabbi Tzevi Koretz; Deutsche Generalkonsulat, signed Dr. Schönburg (no. 2933391 and 2933392), April 6, 1943, to Wisliceny, for Plenipotentiary Günther Altenburg for the Reich in Athens, both in YVA, Microfilm Doc. no. 2933300, Stamped 8002527.

10. CNI for Dr. Heinrich [sic] Koretz (“Chief Rabbi of Greece” [sic]), USHMM, ITS Collection 0.1, Document ID 28176883; Verschiedene Gefangenenlisten, die von Hilfskomitees 1944/1945 aufgestellt wurden, ferner eine Nachkriegsaufstellung betreffend Patienten im kath. Krankenhaus Celle und eine 1954 mit Begleitschreiben WORLD JEWISH CONGRESS übersandte Liste (Nachkriegsaufstellungen), ITS Collection 1.1.3.1, Document ID 3393870.

11. Sonderkommando der Sicherheitspolizei für Judenangelegenheiten Saloniki-Aegaeis, Wisliceny, to Generalkonsul of Saloniki, Dr. Schönburg, June 1, 1943, attached to Dr. Schönburg’s letter forwarding the above on June 2, 1943, to Deutsche Gesandtschaft Athens, concerning a list of Jews with citizenship of enemy powers, both in YVA.

12. On Turkish Jews as witnesses to the deportations, see, for example, U.S. Consulate-General, Istanbul, to State Department, Report no. 1083 (R-992), August 7, 1943, reproduced in Kitroeff, “Documents: The Jews in Greece”, 18; and Joseph Rochlitz, ed., “Excerpts,” in *YVS* 18 (1987): 300 (entry for February 19, 1943).

13. See, for example, Fridolin Jenny to M. Schwarzenberg, March 18, 1943, USHMM, RG-19.045M, ICRC, Commission of Prisoners, Internees, and Civilians; Jews=Israélites, 1939–1961, reel 12, G59/8/53–341, “Déportés de Salonique, 11.02.1943–20.01.1950,” frames 0702–0703.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAN	Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie (Archive of New Documents), Warsaw
Abt.	Abteilung (section)
Ädj	Ältestenrat der Juden (Jewish Council of Elders)
AEG	Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft (German General Electric Co.)
AEL	Arbeitserziehungslager (work education or discipline camp)
AFSBNO	Arkhiv FSB Novgorodskoi oblasti (Archive of the Federal Security Service for the Novgorod Oblast')
AFSBSmO	Arkhiv FSB Smolenskoi oblasti (Archive of the Federal Security Service for the Smolensk Oblast')
AG	Aktiengesellschaft (public company)
AGAD	Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (Central Archive of Historical Records), Warsaw
AgB	Akta gminy Białobrzegi (Files of the community of Białobrzegi)
AGK	Archiwum Głównej Komisji (Main Commission Archives; also IPN)
A-HIS	Archiv des Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung (Archive of the Hamburg Institute for Social Research), Hamburg, Germany
A-ICRC	Archives of the International Committee of the Red Cross
AIZP	Archiwum Instytutu Zachodniego w Poznaniu (Archive of the Institute of Western Studies in Poznań)
AJA	Jacob Rader Marcus Center of American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, OH
AJDC	American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (aka "the Joint," or AJJDC)
AK	Armia Krajowa (Polish Home Army)
aka	also known as
AMS	Archiwum Muzeum Stutthof (Archives of the Stutthof Museum), Sztutowo, Poland
AMv	Archiv Ministerstva vnitra (Archives of the Czech Ministry of the Interior), Prague
AMVDGO	Arkhiv MVD Gomel'skoi oblasti (Archives of the Ministry of Interior for the Gomel' Oblast'), Belarus
ANA	Australian National Archives, Canberra
AOKBZH	Akta Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich (Files of the Regional Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes)
AOKBZHŁ	Akta Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Łodzi (Files of the Regional Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Łódź)
AOKBZHw	Akta Okręgowej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich we Wrocławiu (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Wrocław)
APB	Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku (Białystok State Archives)
APC	Archiwum Państwowe w Częstochowie (Częstochowa State Archives)
APGd	Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsku (Gdańsk State Archives)
APK	Archiwum Państwowe w Kielcach (Kielce State Archives)
APKat	Archiwum Państwowe w Katowicach (Katowice State Archives)
APKra	Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie (Kraków State Archives)
APL	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie (Lublin State Archives)
APL-Chełm	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Oddział w Chełmie (Lublin State Archives, Chełm branch)

1850 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

APL-Kraśnik	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Oddział w Kraśniku (Lublin State Archives, Kraśnik branch)
APL-Radzyń	Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie, Oddział w Radzynie Podlaskim (Lublin State Archives, Radzyń Podlaski branch)
APŁ	Archiwum Państwowe w Łodzi (Łódź State Archives)
APŁmż	Archiwum Państwowe w Łomży (Łomża State Archives)
APMM	Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum na Majdanku (Archives of the State Museum at Majdanek)
APMO	Archiwum Państwowego Muzeum w Oświęcimiu (Archives of the State Museum at Auschwitz-Birkenau)
APO	Archiwum Państwowe w Otwocku (Otwock State Archives)
APP	Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu (Poznań State Archives)
APPł	Archiwum Państwowe w Płocku (Płock State Archives)
APPrz	Archiwum Państwowe w Przemyślu (Przemyśl State Archives)
APR	Archiwum Państwowe w Radomiu (Radom State Archives)
APSi	Archiwum Państwowe w Siedlcach (Siedlce State Archives)
APSuOE	Archiwum Państwowe w Suwałkach—Oddział w Ełku (Suwałki State Archives—Branch in Ełk)
APSz	Archiwum Państwowe w Szczecinie (Szczecin State Archives)
APT	Archiv Památník Terezín (Archive of the Terezin Memorial)
APW	Archiwum Państwowe m.st. Warszawy (State Archive of the Capital City of Warsaw)
APZ	Archiwum Państwowe w Zamościu (Zamość State Archives)
ARC	Aktion Reinhard Camps (Web site)
ASBUDO	Arkhiv SBU Donetskoj oblasti (Archive of the Ukrainian State Security Service for the Donetsk Oblast')
ASG	Ankieta Sądów Grodzkich (Court Inquiries about Executions, Mass Graves, Camps, and Ghettos)
ASSR	Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
AUKGBRBO	Arkhiv Upravleniia KGBRB po Brestskoi oblasti (Archives of the Belorussian KGB Administration for the Brest Oblast')
AUKGBRBGO	Arkhiv Upravleniia KGBRB po Gomel'skoi oblasti (Archives of the Belorussian KGB Administration for the Gomel' Oblast')
AUKGBRBGrO	Arkhiv Upravleniia KGBRB po Grodnenskoj oblasti (Archives of the Belorussian KGB Administration for the Grodno Oblast')
AUKGBRBMO	Arkhiv Upravleniia KGBRB po Minskoi oblasti (Archives of the Belorussian KGB Administration for the Minsk Oblast')
AŻIH	Archiwum Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego (Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute), Warsaw
BA	Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives)
BA-B	Bundesarchiv Berlin (German Federal Archives in Berlin)
BA-BL	Bundesarchiv Berlin-Lichterfelde (German Federal Archives in Berlin-Lichterfelde)
BA-DH	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten (German Federal Archives External Branch Dahlwitz-Hoppegarten)
BA-K	Bundesarchiv Koblenz (German Federal Archives in Koblenz)
BA-L	Bundesarchiv Aussenstelle Ludwigsburg (German Federal Archives External Branch Ludwigsburg)
BA-MA	Bundesarchiv—Militärarchiv (German Federal Military Archives), Freiburg

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS 1851

BCh	Bataliony Chłopskie (Chłopskie Battalion)
Bd.	Band (Volume)
BDC	Berlin Document Center (now BA-B and at NARA)
BdS	Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei (Commander of the Security Police and SD)
BelGRES	Belorusskaia gosudarstvennaia raionnaia elektrostantsiia (Belorussian State Regional Electric Power Station)
BG	Bezirksgericht (District Court, GDR)
BGH	Bundesgerichtshof (Federal (formerly West) German Supreme Court of Appeals)
BLH	Beth Lohamei Hagettaot (Archive of the Ghetto Fighters' House, also GFH), Israel
BLHA-(P)	Brandenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv (State Main Archive of Brandenburg), Potsdam
BNA	British National Archives (see also NA)
BSSR	Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic
BSU	Bundesbeauftragter für die Unterlagen des Ministeriums für Staatssicherheit der ehemaligen DDR (Federal Commissioner for the Documents of the Ministry of State Security of the Former GDR)
BuF	Abteilung für Bevölkerungswesen und Fürsorge (Population and Welfare Department)
BWSL	Baden-Württembergisches Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (State Archives of Baden-Württemberg in Ludwigsburg)
<i>BŻIH</i>	<i>Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego</i> (Bulletin of the Jewish Historical Institute)
CAHJP	Central Archive for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem
CAHS	Center for Advanced Holocaust Studies, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC
CAKCPZPR	Centralne Archiwum Komitetu Centralnego Polskiej Zjednoczonej Partii Robotniczej (Central Archive of the Central Committee of the Polish Workers' Party)
CD	Compact Disc
CDJC	Centre de documentation juive contemporaine (Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation), Paris
CENTOS	Centralne Towarzystwo Opieki nad Sierotami i Dziećmi Opuszczonymi (Central Organization for Orphan Care)
ChGK	Chrezvychnaia Gosudarstvennaia Komissiia (Soviet Extraordinary State Commission)
CHC	Central Historical Commission of the Central Committee of Liberated Jews in the U.S. Zone, Munich
CHS, MJH	Center for Holocaust Studies, Museum of Jewish Heritage—A Living Memorial to the Holocaust, New York
CKŻP	Centralny Komitet Żydów w Polsce (Central Committee of Jews in Poland, see also ŻIH)
CNI	Central Name Index (ITS abbreviation)
CSSD	Chef der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (Chief of the Security Police and SD)
CZA	Central Zionist Archive, Jerusalem
CZRSWGS	Centrala Żydowskich Rad Starszych na Wschodnim Górnym Śląsku (Central Office of Jewish Councils in Eastern Upper Silesia)
DACgO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Chernighivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Chernighiv Oblast'), Ukraine
DACHo	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Cherkass'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Cherkassy Oblast'), Ukraine
DADO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Dnipropetrovs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Dnipropetrovs'k Oblast'), Ukraine

VOLUME II: PART B

1852 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DADnO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Donets'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Donets'k Oblast'), Ukraine
DAF	Deutsche Arbeitsfront (German Labor Front)
DAI-FO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ivano-Frankivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Ivano-Frankivs'k Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKherO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Khersons'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Kherson Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKhkvO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Khar'kivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Khar'kiv Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKhO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Khmel'nyts'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Khmel'nyts'ky Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKiO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kyivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Kyiv (Kiev) Oblast'), Ukraine
DAKO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Kirovohrads'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Kirovohrad Oblast'), Ukraine
DALO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv L'vivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the L'viv Oblast'), Ukraine
DAMO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Mikolaivs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Mykolaiv Oblast'), Ukraine
DAPO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Poltavs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Poltava Oblast'), Ukraine
DARMARK	Derzhavnyi arkhiv pry Radi Ministriv Avtonomnoi Respubliky Krym (State Archives of the Ministerial Council of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea), Ukraine
DARO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Rivnens'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Rivne Oblast'), Ukraine
DASBU	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service), Kyiv, Ukraine
DASBU-Lu	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy, Lutsk (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Lutsk, Ukraine)
DASBU-Kh	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy, Khar'kiv (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Khar'kiv, Ukraine)
DASO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Sums'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Sumy Oblast'), Ukraine
DATO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Ternopils'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Ternopil' Oblast'), Ukraine
DAVINO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Vinnyts'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Vinnytsia Oblast'), Ukraine
DAVO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Volyns'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Volyn' Oblast'), Ukraine
DAZO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zhytomyrs'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Zhytomyr Oblast'), Ukraine
DAZPO	Derzhavnyi arkhiv Zaporiz'koi oblasti (State Archives of the Zaporizhzhia Oblast'), Ukraine
DCRO	Durham County Record Office, United Kingdom
<i>DDR-JustNS-V</i>	<i>DDR-Justiz und NS-Verbrechen: Die deutschen Strafverfahren wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen</i>
DG	Durchgangsstrasse (Highway)
doc.	Document
Dok. Bd.	Dokumenten Band (Documents Volume)
DÖW	Dokumentationsarchiv des Österreichischen Widerstandes (Documentation Archives of the Austrian Resistance), Vienna
DP	Displaced Person(s)
DR	Delegatura Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na Kraj (Government Delegation for Poland)
DRK	Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (German Red Cross)

Dulag	Durchgangslager (Transit Camp)
<i>EEJA</i>	<i>East European Jewish Affairs</i>
EG	Einsatzgruppe (deployment group (of the Security Police) (murder squad))
Ek	Einsatzkommando (deployment squad (of the Security Police) subdivision of EG)
EKO	Evreiskoe kolonizatsionnoe obshchestvo (Jewish Colonization Association)
EM	Ereignismeldung (Events Report)
ERA	Eesti Riigiarhiiv (Estonian State Archives), Tallinn
e.V.	eingetragener Verein (Registered Association)
EWG	Ernährungs- und Wirtschaftsstelle Getto (Ghetto Economic and Food Office)
Fa.	Firma (Company)
<i>FGM</i>	<i>Faschismus, Getto, Massenmord</i>
FK	Feldkommandantur (Field Commandant's office)
FPO	Fareynikte Partizaner Organizatsye (United Partisan Organization)
fr.	frame of microfilm
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
FSB	Federal'naiia sluzhba bezopasnosti Rossiiskoi Federatsii (Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation)
FVA	Fortunoff Video Archive of Holocaust Testimonies, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut
GAARK	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv avtonomnoi respubliki Krym (State Archives of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea), Ukraine
GABO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Brestskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Brest Oblast'), Belarus
GABrO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Brianskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Briansk Oblast'), RSFSR
GAGO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Grodnenskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Grodno Oblast'), Belarus
GAGOMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Gomel'skoi oblasti (State Archives of the Gomel' Oblast'), Belarus
GAK-BR	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Kabardino-Balkarskoi respubliki (State Archives of the Kabardino-Balkaria Republic), RSFSR
GAKO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Kurskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Kursk Oblast'), RSFSR
GALO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Leningradskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Leningrad Oblast'), RSFSR
GAMINO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Minskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Minsk Oblast'), Belarus
GAMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Mogilevskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Mogilev Oblast'), Belarus
GANO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Novgorodskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Novgorod Oblast'), RSFSR
GAOOGO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv obshchestvennykh ob'edinenii Gomel'skoi oblasti (State Archives of Public Associations of the Gomel' Oblast'), Belarus
GAOOMO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv obshchestvennykh ob'edinenii Mogilevskoi oblasti (State Archives of Public Associations of the Mogilev Oblast'), Belarus
GAPO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Pskovskoi oblasti v Pskove (State Archives of the Pskov Oblast' in Pskov), Russia
GARF	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv rossiiskoi federatsii (State Archives of the Russian Federation), Moscow
GASBU	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service), Kiev

1854 LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GASBU-Dn	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy, Dnepropetrovsk (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Dnepropetrovsk)
GASBU-Do	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy, Donetsk (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Donets'k)
GASBU-L	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy, L'viv (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, L'vov)
GASBU-Lu	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezopasnosti Ukrainy, Lutsk (State Archives of the Ukrainian Security Service, Lutsk)
GASmO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Smolenskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Smolensk Oblast'), RSFSR
GATO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Tverskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Tver Oblast'), RSFSR
GAVO	Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Vitebskoi oblasti (State Archives of the Vitebsk Oblast'), Belarus
GDL	Gouverneur des Distrikts Lublin (Governor of the Lublin District)
GDR	German Democratic Republic (also DDR)
Gend.	Gendarmerie (rural branch of the German Order Police)
Gestapo	Geheime Staatspolizei (Secret State Police)
GFP	Geheime Feldpolizei (Secret Field Police of the Wehrmacht)
Gk	Generalkommissariat (General Commissariat)
GkWP	Generalkommissariat Wolhynien und Podolien (Volhynia and Podolia Region)
GKBZHwP	Główna Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce (Main Commission for the Investigation of Hitlerite Crimes in Poland; now IPN)
GKŚZpNP	Główna Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu (Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation (a division of IPN))
GL	Gwardia Ludowa (People's Guard, Polish communist armed underground organization)
GLA-K	Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe (General Regional Archive in Karlsruhe)
GmbH	Gesellschaft mit beschränkter Haftung (Limited Liability Company)
GPk	Grenzpolizeikommissariat (Border Police Office (of the Security Police))
GPU	Gosudarstvennoye Politicheskoe Upravlenie (State Political Directorate, part of the NKVD)
G Sta. Berlin	Staatsanwaltschaft bei dem Landgericht Berlin (State Prosecutor's Office at the Regional Court in Berlin)
GUS	Główny Urząd Statystyczny (Central Statistical Office), Poland
GV	Gettoverwaltung (German Ghetto Administration, Łódź)
GZ	Gestapo Zichenau (Archives of the Ciechanów-Płock Gestapo (held at IPN))
HADSBU	Haluzevyi derzhavnyi arkhiv Sluzhby Bezpeky Ukrainy (Divisional State Archives of the Security Service of Ukraine)
HASAG	Hugo Schneider AG (Hugo Schneider Corp.)
HGS	<i>Holocaust and Genocide Studies</i>
HHStA-W	Hessisches Hauptstaatsarchiv (Hessian Main State Archive), Wiesbaden
HI/MID	Hoover Institution (Register of the Poland Ministerstwo Informacji i Dokumentacji Records, 1939-1945)
HJ	Hitler-Jugend (Hitler Youth)
HKP	Heereskraftfahrzeugpark (Army Vehicle Repair Park)
HOBAG	Holzbau Aktiengesellschaft (Wood Construction Public Company)
HSSPF	Höherer SS- und Polizeiführer (Higher SS and Police Leader)
HStADü	Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf (Main State Archive Düsseldorf)

HTO	Haupttreuhandstelle Ost (Main Trustee Office East)
HVT	Holocaust Video Testimony
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IfZ	Institut für Zeitgeschichte (Institute for Contemporary History), Munich
IMT	International Military Tribunal
IPN	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej (Institute of National Remembrance), Warsaw (formerly GKBZHwP)
IPN-Bi	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Białymstoku (Institute of National Remembrance, Białystok branch)
IPN-Kat	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Katowicach (Institute of National Remembrance, Katowice branch)
IPN-Kos	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Koszalinie (Institute of National Remembrance, Koszalin branch)
IPN-Lu	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Lublinie (Institute of National Remembrance, Lublin branch)
IPN-Ł	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Łodzi (Institute of National Remembrance, Łódź branch)
IPN-R	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Radomiu (Institute of National Remembrance, Radom branch)
IPN-Rz	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Rzeszowie (Institute of National Remembrance, Rzeszów branch)
IPN-Szcz	Instytut Pamięci Narodowej w Szczecinie (Institute of National Remembrance, Szczecin branch)
ITS	International Tracing Service, Bad Arolsen, Germany
JCTh	Jewish Community of Thessaloniki
JFO	Jewish Fighting Organization
JFR	Jewish Foundation for the Righteous
Julag	Judenlager (Camp for Jews)
<i>JuNS-V</i>	<i>Justiz und NS-Verbrechen</i>
JUS	Jüdische Unterstützungsstelle (successor organization to JSS)
JSS (or ŻSS)	Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe (Jewish Social Self-Help)
JSS-CC	Jewish Social Self-Help–Coordinating Commission
Kav. Rgt.	Kavallerie-Regiment (Cavalry Regiment)
KAW	Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza (National Publishing Agency)
KdG	Kommandeur der Gendarmerie (Commanding Officer of the Gendarmerie)
KdGL	Kommandeur der Gendarmerie Lublin (Commanding Officer of the Gendarmerie Lublin)
KdO	Kommandeur der Ordnungspolizei (Commanding Officer of the Order Police)
Kdo.-Stab	Kommando-Stab (Headquarters)
KdS	Kommandeur der Sicherheitspolizei und SD (Commanding Officer of the Security Police and SD)
KGB	Komitet gosudarstvennoi bezopasnosti (Committee for State Security in the USSR; successor to NKVD)
KL or KZ	Konzentrationslager (concentration camp)
Korück	Kommandant des rückwärtigen Armeegebietes (Commandant of the Army Rear Area)
KPD	Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands (German Communist Party)
KPP	Komunistyczna Partia Polski (Communist Party of Poland)

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Kripo	Kriminalpolizei (Criminal Police)
KŚZpNP	Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu (Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People)
<i>KrZ</i>	<i>Krakauer Zeitung</i>
KTB	Kriegstagebuch (War Diary)
KWK	Kabelwerk Krakau (Cable Works Kraków)
LA-BW	Landesarchiv Baden-Württemberg (State Archive in Baden-Württemberg)
LAF	Lithuanian Activist Front
LBI	Leo Baeck Institute (part of the Center for Jewish History), New York
LCVA	Lietuvos centrinis valstybės archyvas (Lithuanian Central State Archives), Vilnius
LG	Landgericht (State Court)
LG-Arns	Landgericht Arnsberg (State Court in Arnsberg)
LG-Aur	Landgericht Aurich (State Court in Aurich)
LG-Be	Landgericht Berlin (State Court in Berlin)
LG-Biel	Landgericht Bielefeld (State Court in Bielefeld)
LG-Bo	Landgericht Bochum (State Court in Bochum)
LG-Bonn	Landgericht Bonn (State Court in Bonn)
LG-Brem	Landgericht Bremen (State Court in Bremen)
LG-Darm	Landgericht Darmstadt (State Court in Darmstadt)
LG-Dort	Landgericht Dortmund (State Court in Dortmund)
LG-Duis	Landgericht Duisberg (State Court in Duisberg)
LG-Düss	Landgericht Düsseldorf (State Court in Düsseldorf)
LG-Ess	Landgericht Essen (State Court in Essen)
LG-Frei	Landgericht Freiburg im Breisgau (State Court in Freiburg im Breisgau)
LG-Gie	Landgericht Giessen (State Court in Giessen)
LG-Hag	Landgericht Hagen (State Court in Hagen)
LG-Hamb	Landgericht Hamburg (State Court in Hamburg)
LG-Hann	Landgericht Hannover (State Court in Hannover)
LG-Kais	Landgericht Kaiserslautern (State Court in Kaiserslautern)
LG-Kass	Landgericht Kassel (State Court in Kassel)
LG-Kiel	Landgericht Kiel (State Court in Kiel)
LG-Kö	Landgericht Köln (State Court in Cologne)
LG-Mai	Landgericht Mainz (State Court in Mainz)
LG-Man	Landgericht Mannheim (State Court in Mannheim)
LG-Mem	Landgericht Memmingen (State Court in Memmingen)
LG-Mü I	Landgericht München I (State Court in Munich I)
LG-Münst	Landgericht Münster (State Court in Münster)
LG-Old	Landgericht Oldenbourg (State Court in Oldenbourg)
LG-Reg	Landgericht Regensburg (State Court in Regensburg)
LG-Sa	Landgericht Saarbrücken (State Court in Saarbrücken)
LG-Stad	Landgericht Stade (State Court in Stade)
LG-Stutt	Landgericht Stuttgart (State Court in Stuttgart)
LG-Trau	Landgericht Traunstein (State Court in Traunstein)
LG-Tüb	Landgericht Tübingen (State Court in Tübingen)
LG-Ulm	Landgericht Ulm (State Court in Ulm)

LG-Verd	Landgericht Verden (State Court in Verden)
LG-Wien	Landgericht Wien (State Court in Vienna)
LG-Wies	Landgericht Wiesbaden (State Court in Wiesbaden)
LG-Würz	Landgericht Würzburg (State Court in Würzburg)
LMAB	Lietuvos mokslų akademijos biblioteka (Lithuanian Academy of Sciences Library)
LS	Landeschützen (German Home Guard)
LVA	Latvijas Valsts arhivs (Latvian State Archives), Riga
LVOA	Lietuvos visuomeninių organizacijų archyvas (Archives of Lithuanian Public Organizations, now part of LYA)
LVVA	Latvijas Valsts Vestures arhivs (Latvian State Historical Archives), Riga
LYA	Lietuvos ypatingasis archyvas (Lithuanian Special Archives), Vilnius
MA	Moreshet Archives, Israel
MIGS	Montreal Institute for Genocide and Human Rights Studies
MKW	Muzeum Kujawskie we Włocławku (Kujawskie Museum in Włocławek)
MMŻ	Muzeum Martyrologiczne w Żabikowie (Martyrs' Museum in Żabikowo)
MOR	Muzeum Okręgowe w Rzeszowie (Regional Museum in Rzeszów)
MSS	manuscript
M Sosn	Akta Miasta Sosnowca (Files concerning the city of Sosnowiec)
MTS	Machine Tractor Station
MVD	Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del (Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs)
NA	National Archives, Kew, Great Britain (formerly PRO)
NAIRI	Nauchnyi arkhiv Instituta Rossiiskoi Istorii Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk (Scientific Archives of the Institute of Russian History in the Russian Academy of Sciences)
NA(P)	Narodni Archiv (Praha) (Czech National Archives, Prague)
NARA	United States National Archives and Records Administration, College Park, MD (formerly NARS, National Archives and Records Service, and NARUS, National Archives of the United States)
NARB	Natsional'nyi arkhiv Respubliki Belarus' (National Archives of the Republic of Belarus), Minsk
NCO	Noncommissioned Officer
n.d.	No date
N-Doc.	Nuremberg Document
NG-	Nuremberg Government (Nuremberg Prosecution Document prefix)
NI-	Nuremberg Industrialist (Nuremberg Prosecution Document prefix)
NID-	Nuremberg Industrialist-Dresdner Bank (Nuremberg Document prefix)
NIK-	Nuremberg Industrialist-Krupp (Nuremberg Document prefix)
NKVD	Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del (People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs, Soviet police predecessor of the KGB)
NMO	Niemieckie Materiały Okupacyjne (German materials concerning the occupation)
NO-	Nuremberg Organization (Nuremberg Document prefix)
NOKW-	Nuremberg OKW (Nuremberg Armed Forces High Command Document prefix)
n.p.	unpaginated
NS	Nationalsozialismus/Nationalsozialistische (National Socialism or National Socialist)
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei (National Socialist German Workers' Party, or Nazi Party)

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NSHStAH	Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv in Hannover (Main State Archive of Lower Saxony in Hanover)
NSKK	Nationalsozialistisches Kraftfahrkorps (National Socialist Motor Corps)
NSV	Nationalsozialistische Volkswohlfahrt (National Socialist People's Welfare)
NSY	New Scotland Yard, see WCU
NSZ	Narodowe Siły Zbrojne ((Polish) National Armed Forces, a right-wing antisemitic underground organization)
NTN	Najwyższy Trybunał Narodowy (Supreme National Tribunal)
NYCMA	New York City Municipal Archives
OK	Ortskommandantur (office of the local military commandant)
OKBZH-Bi	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Białymstoku (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Białystok)
OKBZH-Kr	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Krakowie (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Kraków)
OKBZH-Ł	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Łodzi (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Łódź)
OKBZH-R	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Radomiu (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Radom)
OKBZH-Rz	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Rzeszowie (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Rzeszów)
OKBZH-S	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Sanoku (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Sanok)
OKBZH-Si	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Siedlcach (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes Hitlerite Crimes in Siedlce)
OKBZpNPL	Okręgowa Komisja Badania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Lublinie (Regional Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People in Lublin)
OKH	Oberkommando des Heeres (Army High Command)
OKŚZpNPBi	Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Białymstoku (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People, in Białystok)
OKŚZpNPGd	Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Gdańsku (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People, in Gdańsk)
OKŚZpNPŁdz	Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Łodzi (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People, in Łódź)
OKŚZpNPPoz	Oddziałowa Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu w Poznaniu (District Department of the Main Commission for the Investigation of Crimes against the Polish People in Poznań)
OKW	Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (Armed Forces High Command)
Orpo	Ordnungspolizei (Order Police)
OSI	Office of Special Investigations, United States Department of Justice, Washington, DC
ÖStA	Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (Austrian State Archive, Vienna)
OT	Organisation Todt (Todt Organization)
OUN	Orhanizatsiia Ukrain'skykh Natsionalistiv (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists)
PAAA	Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes (Political Archive of the German Foreign Office), Berlin

PAAKag	Personal Archive of Albert Kaganovich
PAAKru	Personal Archive of Alexander Kruglov
PAAR	Personal Archive of A.E. Raychonok
PAAS	Personal Archive of Anne Speckhard
PADC	Personal Archive of David Chapin
PADV	Personal Archive of Diana Voskoboynik
PAEK	Personal Archive of Eduard Kopówka
PAGV	Personal Archive of Gennadii Vinnitsa
PAIH	Personal Archive of Imke Hansen
PAIMSh	Personal Archive of Ilya M. Shenderovich
PALC	Personal Archive of Laura Crago
PALS	Personal Archive of Leonid Smilovitsky
PAPP	Powiatowe Archiwum Państwowe w Piasecznie z siedzibą w Górze Kalwarii (Powiat State Archive in Piaseczno in Góra Kalwaria)
PAP-Tarn	Powiatowe Archiwum Państwowe w Tarnowie (Powiat State Archive in Tarnów)
PARI	Personal Archive of Rachel Iskof
PARK	Personal Archive of Robert Kuwałek
PAVD	Personal Archive of Vadim Doubson
PAWL	Personal Archive of Wendy Lower
PGT	poselok gorodskogo tipa (town-like settlement)
PISM	Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum
Pol. Ordn.	Polen Ordner (file containing material concerning Poland)
POW	Prisoner of War
PPS	Polska Partia Socjalistyczna (Polish Socialist Party)
PRO	Public Records Office in Kew, Great Britain (now British National Archives; in United States Army: Public Relations officer)
PS-	Paris-Storey (Nuremberg Document prefix)
PUST	Polish Underground Study Trust, London
PWN	Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe (State Academic Publishing House)
Pz. Div.	Panzer Division (German Armored Division)
RAB	Reichsautobahn (German National Freeway)
RAW	Reichsbahnausbesserungswerk (German National Railway Repair Works)
Rb	Regierungsbezirk (German administrative unit, literally Government District)
RFSS	Reichsführer-SS (Reich Leader of the SS (Heinrich Himmler))
RFSSChdP	Reichsführer-SS und Chef der Polizei (Reich Leader of the SS and Head of the Police (Heinrich Himmler))
RGAE	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ekonomiki (Russian State Archive of Economics)
RGAKFD	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv kinofotodokumentov (Central State Archives for Documentary Film and Photography)
RGASPI	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi arkhiv sotsial'no-politicheskoi istorii (Russian State Archives of Social and Political History (former Special [osobyi] Archive, see RGVA), Moscow
RGVA	Rossiiskii gosudarstvennyi voennyi arkhiv (Russian State Military Archives, (former Special [osobyi] Archive)), Moscow
Ring	Ringelblum Archives (original located at AŻIH)
RK	Reichskommissariat (Reich Commissariat)

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RKO	Reichskommissariat Ostland (Reich Commissariat Ostland)
RM	Reichsmark (unit of German currency)
RMO	Reichsministerium für die besetzten Ostgebieten (Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories)
RNNA	Russkaia Natsional'naia Narodnaia Armiia (Russian National People's Army, a force of pro-Nazi Russian collaborators)
RSD	Reichssicherheitsdienst (Reich Security Service—Hitler's personal bodyguards)
RSFSR	Rossiiskaia Sovetskaia Federativnaia Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic)
RSGŹDG	Rada Starszych Gminy Żydowskiej w Dąbrowie Górniczej (Jewish Council of Elders in Dąbrowa Górnicza)
RSHA	Reichssicherheitshauptamt (SS-Reich Security Main Office)
RTKIDNI	Rossiiskii tsentr khraneniia i izucheniia dokumentov noveishei istorii (Russian Center for the Preservation and Study of Documents of Contemporary History (Former Communist Party Archives)), Moscow
SA	Sturmabteilung (Storm Detachment, Storm Troopers)
ŠAA	Šiauliaų apskrities archyvas (Šiauliai Regional Archives)
SAB	Sąd Apelacyjny w Białymstoku (Court of Appeal in Białystok)
SAGd	Sąd Apelacyjny w Gdańsku (Court of Appeal in Gdańsk)
SAK	Sąd Apelacyjny w Kielcach (Court of Appeal in Kielce)
SAK	Schutzpolizei Abschnittskommando (Section command of the Municipal Police (Schupo))
SAL	Sąd Apelacyjny w Lublinie (Court of Appeal in Lublin)
SAOI	Sąd Apelacyjny w Olsztynie (Court of Appeal in Olsztyn)
SAP	Sąd Apelacyjny w Poznaniu (Court of Appeal in Poznań)
SAPMO-DDR	Stiftung Archiv der Parteien und Massenorganisationen der DDR (Foundation Archives of Parties and Mass Organizations of the GDR)
SAWr	Sąd Apelacyjny we Wrocławiu (Court of Appeal in Wrocław)
SAZG	Sąd Apelacyjny w Zielonej Górze (Court of Appeal in Zielona Góra)
SBU	Sluzhba Bespeky Ukrainy (State Security Service of Ukraine)
Schupo	Schutzpolizei (Municipal Police, section of the Orpo)
SD	Sicherheitsdienst (SS Security Service)
SDA-L	Statni oblastni archiv v Litoměřicích (State Regional Archive Litoměřice, Czech Republic)
SGO	Samodzielna Grupa Operacyjna (Independent Operational Group)
SHLA	Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landesarchiv (State Archive of Schleswig Holstein)
Sipo	Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police)
SIU	Australian Special Investigations Unit (War Crimes)
Sk	Sonderkommando (special detachment (of the Security Police), subdivision of EG)
SMERSH	Smert' Shpionam (Death to Spies—Red Army Counter-Intelligence Section)
SN	Stronnictwo Narodowe (National Party, Poland)
SNW	Sąd Najwyższy w Warszawie (Supreme Court in Warsaw)
SOB	Sąd Okręgowy w Białymstoku (Białystok District Court)
SOCz	Sąd Okręgowy w Częstochowie (Częstochowa District Court)
SOE	Sąd Okręgowy w Ełku (Ełk District Court)
SOGd	Sąd Okręgowy w Gdańsku (Gdańsk District Court)

SOJG	Sąd Okręgowy w Jeleniej Górze (Jelenia Góra District Court)
SOKr	Sąd Okręgowy w Krakowie (Kraków District Court)
SOL	Sąd Okręgowy w Lublinie (Lublin District Court)
SOŁ	Sąd Okręgowy w Łomży (Łomża District Court)
SOŁdz	Sąd Okręgowy w Łodzi (Łódź District Court)
SOMł	Sąd Okręgowy w Mławie (Mława District Court)
SOOl	Sąd Okręgowy w Olsztynie (Olsztyn District Court)
SOP	Sąd Okręgowy w Poznaniu (Poznań District Court)
Sopade	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands im Exil (German Social Democratic Party in Exile)
SOPi	Sąd Okręgowy w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim (Piotrków Trybunalski District Court)
SOPł	Sąd Okręgowy w Płocku (Płock District Court)
SORd	Sąd Okręgowy w Radomiu (Radom District Court)
SOSn	Sąd Okręgowy w Sosnowcu (Sosnowiec District Court)
SOSz	Sąd Okręgowy w Szczecinie (Szczecin District Court)
SOT	Sąd Okręgowy w Tarnowie (Tarnów District Court)
SOTW	Sąd Okręgowy w Toruniu, Wydział we Włocławku (Toruń District Court, Włocławek Branch)
SOW	Sąd Okręgowy w Warszawie (Warsaw District Court)
SOWr	Sąd Okręgowy we Wrocławiu (Wrocław District Court)
SOZ	Sąd Okręgowy w Zamościu (Zamość District Court)
SP	Sąd Powiatowy (Local Court)
SPD	Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
SPK	Sąd Powiatowy w Kole (Koło Local Court)
SPT	Sąd Powiatowy w Tarnowie (Tarnów Local Court)
SPW	Starostwo Powiatowe Warszawskie (Kreishauptmann Warschau-Land)
SS	Schutzstaffel (Protective Corps)
SSHO	SS Hängerordner (BDC collection, miscellaneous files)
SSKGd	Specjalny Sąd Karny w Gdańsku (Gdańsk Special Criminal Court)
SSKL	Specjalny Sąd Karny w Lublinie (Lublin Special Criminal Court)
SSO	SS-Offiziersakte (SS officer file)
SSPF	SS- und Polizeiführer (SS and Police Leader)
SSR	Soviet Socialist Republic
SS-WVHA	SS-Wirtschafts-Verwaltungshauptamt (SS Business Administration Main Office)
StA	Staatsarchiv
Sta.	Staatsanwaltschaft (State Prosecutor's Office)
StA-Det	Staatsarchiv Detmold (State Archive in Detmold)
Stalag	Stammlager (Main POW Camp)
StA-Lud	Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg (State Archive Ludwigsburg)
StA-Münc	Staatsarchiv München (State Archive Munich)
Sta. Mü	Staatsanwaltschaft München (State Prosecutor's Office, Munich) (with Roman numeral designating court)
StA-Mü(st)	Staatsarchiv Münster (State Archive Münster)
StA-N	Staatsarchiv Nürnberg (State Archive Nuremberg)
Stapo	Staatspolizei (State Police)

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StA-Wfb	Staatsarchiv Wolfenbüttel (State Archive Wolfenbüttel)
SWA	Simon Wiesenthal Archive, Vienna
SWB	Sąd Wojewódzki w Białymstoku (Białystok Regional Court)
SWCA	Simon Wiesenthal Center Archives, Los Angeles
SWGd	Sąd Wojewódzki w Gdańsku (Gdańsk Regional Court)
SWKsz	Sąd Wojewódzki w Koszalinie (Koszalin Regional Court)
SWOl	Sąd Wojewódzki w Olsztynie (Olsztyn Regional Court)
SWP	Sąd Wojewódzki w Poznaniu (Poznań Regional Court)
SWSz	Sąd Wojewódzki w Szczecinie (Szczecin Regional Court)
SWW	Sąd Wojewódzki w Warszawie (Warsaw Regional Court)
SWWr	Sąd Wojewódzki we Wrocławiu (Wrocław Regional Court)
sygn.	sygnatura (archival record group (Polish))
TAZ	Towarzystwo Akcyjne Zawiercie (Name of a large textile factory in Zawiercie, producing Luftwaffe uniforms)
<i>TMWC</i>	International Military Tribunal, <i>Trial of the Major War Criminals</i> , 42 vols. (Nuremberg, 1947–1949)
TOZ	Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia Ludności Żydowskiej w Polsce (Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population in Poland)
TsAFSB	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv FSB (Central Archives of the FSB)
TsAKGBRB	Tsentral'nyi arkhiv KGB Respubliki Belarus' (Central Archives of the KGB, Republic of Belarus'), Minsk
<i>TSD</i>	<i>Theresienstädter Studien und Dokumente</i>
TsDAHOU	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv hromads'kykh ob'iednan' Ukrainy (Central State Archives of Ukrainian Social Associations), Kiev
TsDAVO	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi arkhiv vyshchyykh orhaniv vldy ta Upravlinnia Ukrainy (Central State Archives of Higher Organs of Government and Administration of Ukraine), Kiev
TsDIAL	Tsentral'nyi derzhavnyi istorychnyi arkhiv Ukrainy (Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine), L'viv
TsDNISO	Tsentr dokumentatsii noveishei istorii Smolenskoï oblasti (Documentation Center for Modern History of the Smolensk Oblast')
TsGAMORF	Tsentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv ministerstva oborony rossiiskoi federatsii (Central State Archives of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation), Podol'sk
TsKhIDK	Tsentr khraneniia istoriko-dokumental'nykh kolleksii (Center for the Preservation of Historical Documentary Collections, see also RGVA), Moscow
UdSSR	Union der Sozialistischen Sowjetrepubliken (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, USSR)
UK	United Kingdom
UM-DOHA	University of Michigan-Dearborn, Oral History Archive
UNRRA	United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration
UNWCC	United Nations War Crimes Commission
UPA	Ukrainian Insurgent Army
US	United States
USCK	Urząd Stanu Cywilnego w Koninie (Department of Civil Documents in Konin)
USHMM	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington DC
USHMMPA	United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Photographic Archives, Washington, DC
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (aka Soviet Union or UdSSR)

UWZ	Umwandererzentralstelle (Central Transfer Office)
VHAP	Vojensky historicky archiv Praha (Military Historical Archives, Prague)
VHF	Visual History Archive of the Shoah Foundation
VKM	Vitebskii kraevedcheskii muzei (Vitebsk Museum of Local Lore)
VoMi	Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle (Office for Ethnic German Affairs)
WAPKOB	Wojewódzkie Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Oddział w Bochni (State Archives for the Kraków Province, Bochnia Branch)
WASt	Wehrmachtauskunftstelle (Military Information Office, now Deutsche Dienststelle (German Agency)), Berlin
WCU	Metropolitan Police War Crimes Unit, New Scotland Yard (these records are now held in the National Archives in Kew (NA))
WeWiKdo	Wehrwirtschaftskommando (military economic detachment)
WFDIF	Wytwórnia Filmów Dokumentalnych i Fabularnych (Documentary and Feature Film Company, Warsaw, Poland)
WiN	Wolność i Niezawisłość (Freedom and Independence, a Polish underground anti-communist organization)
WL	Wiener Library
WS	Worksheet (USHMMPA internal reference)
WSRB	Wojskowy Sąd Rejonowy w Białymstoku (Military Regional Court in Białystok)
WSRW	Wojskowy Sąd Rejonowy w Warszawie (Military Regional Court in Warsaw)
WVHA	See SS-WVHA
YAKPA	Committee for Jewish Assistance
YIU	Yahad-In Unum, Paris
YIVO	Yidisher visnshaftlekher institut (Yiddish Scientific Institute, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York)
YVA	Archive of the National Institute for the Memory of the Victims of Nazism and Heroes of the Resistance, Yad Vashem, Israel
ZAL	Zwangsarbeitslager (Forced Labor Camp)
ZALfj	Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden (Forced Labor Camp for Jews)
z.b.V.	zur besonderen Verwendung (for special purposes)
ZdL also ZStL	Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen (Central Office for State Justice Administrations), Ludwigsburg (now BA-L)
ZEORK	Zakłady Energetyczne Okręgu Radomsko-Kieleckiego (Radom Kielce Regional Electric Company)
ZGABO	Zonal'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv v gorode Baranovichakh (Zonal State Archives of the City of Baranovichi), Belarus
ZGAGO	Zonal'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv v gorode Orshe (Zonal State Archives of the city of Orsha), Belarus
ZGAMO	Zonal'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv v gorode Mozyre (Zonal State Archives of the city of Mozyr'), Belarus
ZHO	Zentralhandels-gesellschaft Ost (Central Trading Company East)
ŻIH	Żydowski Instytut Historyczny (Jewish Historical Institute), Warsaw
ŻKOP	Żydowski Komitet Opiekunyczny Powiatowy (Jewish Relief Committee for the powiat)
ŽmP	Židovské muzeum v Praze (Jewish Museum of Prague)
ZNiO	Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich (National Ossoliński Institute)
ŻOB	Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa (Jewish Fighting Organization)
ŻOS	Żydowskie Towarzystwo Opieki Społecznej (Jewish Welfare Association)

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ZSSta-D	Zentralstelle, Dortmund (Central Office for the Investigation of National-Socialist Crimes in Dortmund) (= ZSD)
ŻSS	Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna (Jewish Social Self-Help, aka JSS)
ZStL also ZdL	Zentrale Stelle der Landesjustizverwaltungen, Ludwigsburg (Central Office of the Federal Judicial Administrations), Ludwigsburg (now BA-L)
ŻTOS	Żydowskie Towarzystwo Opieki Społecznej (Jewish Social Welfare Association)
ZUV	Zentraler Untersuchungsvorgang (Central Investigation)
ŻZW	Żydowski Związek Wojskowy (Jewish Military Union)

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