MATATIAS CARP

THE BLACK BOOK

THE SUFFERINGS OF THE JEWS IN ROMANIA

1940-1944

Vol. III TRANSNISTRIA

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EXPLANATIONS

This volume comprises a series of facts and documents which made it possible to re-enact the tragedy suffered by both the deported and the local Jews in the region situated across the Dniester.

As the deportation to Transnistria was the outcome of an ample action of crimes and persecutions which had happened a long time before in the territories that were later affected by massive deportations (the Bukovina, Bessarabia and the Dorohoi County), it was only natural that this research should comprise all these actions.

The volume is formed of 7 chapters, each chapter having 2 divisions. One refers to the historical review, a mere recording of the facts and persecutions and the other contains a series of documents on which the greatest part of the statements from the first division are based on. The documents have been numbered.

To facilitate the research, at the end of each paragraph of the historical review, was specified (between brackets) the number of the documents they refer to.

Chapter V comprises a third division of legislative chronology that comprises all the legal or quasi-legal decrees or ministry decisions applicable only for the deported Jews.

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GENERAL HISTORICAL REVIEW

World War II represents the greatest degree of degradation in human civilization. Each war contains the damned germ of human savageness. It is only natural that such a long confrontation in time and space, this universal war, which had forced powers to confront each other like enraged enemies, awakened ancestral instincts which, once out of control, destroyed and annihilated without mercy.

World War I had already shown the horrifying examples of the vile depths to which 20-th century people were capable of sinking, especially the Teutons. It is enough to mention the relics of culture destroyed in Louvain or Reims, the persecutions suffered by the inhabitants of occupied territories: the deportations that took place in Belgium and Northern France, the murder of prisoners, the introduction of poisonous gases and many more.

It was to be expected that a new confrontation capitalizing on the latest scientific developments would, in its cruelty and barbarity, surpass anything ever recorded in the history of war. Every piece of writing by experts published during the apparently calm period of 1920 – 1939, predicted the cruel nature of the war to come with a sense of horror, or sometimes haughtiness. None of these publications, however, was endowed with an imagination capable of forecasting the horrifying reality experienced by mankind between 1939 and 1945.

The main victims of the barbarity which broke loose were European Jews living on territories under the occupation or influence of Germany.

In the percentage ratings the Jewish people are No.1 in the list of war victims (63% of the 9,500,000 European Jews were killed)¹. Taking into account the total number of victims, they lie in second position after the

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¹ Statistical Memento, vol. II, page 17 (World Jewish Congress Edition).

Soviet Union; concerning the endured suffering, however, theirs surpassed the suffering of any nation at any time.

It is superfluous to repeat here the frightening meaning of insignificant geographical names which from now on will constitute huge chapters in history, i.e. Drancy, Belsen, Buchenwald, Theresienstadt, Auschwitz, Maidanek, etc.; First among these is Transnistria.

There is no such province, county or district indicated on one single map or geography textbook of the Ukraine, Czarist Russia or the Soviet Union. Transnistria, as a geographical designation, had not existed before July 1941, and, of course, will never exist in the future. As the scene of an endless series of indescribable sufferings, and the burial ground of hundreds of thousands of Jews, Transnistria will remain only as one terrifying chapter in history.

For three years a part of the Ukraine, the rich and fertile soil north of the Black Sea as far as the Dniester and the Bug, was known by that name. The Romanian government of Ion Antonescu was entrusted with governing and exploiting it.

Centuries of Jewish life and suffering had been linked to this land. The mystical spirit of Bal Shem, whose armchair from the synagogue in Shargorod was devoutly protected by deported Jews even when they were threatened with death from every direction, lingered over the area. It was from here that Shalom Aleichem selected a great number of his protagonists, one of whom, Tevie, the milkman, was born and lived in the narrow street which still bears his name. The Biluists, the pioneers of the Jewish national renaissance, passed through this land. It was also here, in the large city of Odessa, that one of the strongest Jewish intellectual centers was established; Haim Nachman Bialik, Achad Haam, Mendala Mocher Sfurim, S. M. Dubnov, M. Usiskin and the outstanding groups of thinkers and writers centered on Hasiloach and Haolam came from here.

Decades of bitter Jewish suffering are also connected with this same region. At the end of the nineteenth century, the Czarist oligarchy used pogroms and anti-Semitic persecution as a pillar against democratic ideas and movements, which were on their way towards successful achievement. From 1881 onwards, the western, and particularly the south-western part of Russia was a continually stirred cauldron of barbaric anti-Semitic hatred. In Podolia (from which part the damned Transnistria was formed sixty years

later) the pogrom in Odessa was organized, and was followed a year later (April 10, 1882) by the great pogrom in Balta, during which thousands of Jewish households were vandalized and hundreds of Jews were beaten, tortured or murdered. In 1900 a new pogrom took place in Odessa and some years later (1905) in the same town, there was one of the bloodiest massacres of Jews.

And, finally, it was in this region that the Jews also had to suffer the Petliura pogroms in 1917 (Odessa, Balta, Krivoje-Ozero, etc.).

The dawning of the new age proved to be bright and hopeful after this period. For almost a quarter of a century, the Jews between the Bug and the Dniester lived as human beings among human beings.

The Jews on this side of the Dniester lived in a more depressing atmosphere, a superficial and relative tranquility, constantly interrupted by the bloody and violent manifestations of hatred through mobs encouraged by the highest powers of Romania. The criminal war instigated by Adolf Hitler and Ion Antonescu revived and infinitely multiplied the pains of the past. This territory was invaded, called Transnistria, and destined to be the graveyard of local and Romanian Jews. Most of their appalling plans were carried out. Today, the soil of Transnistria covers the entire Jewish population of Odessa, found there by Ion Antonescu's army in October 1941, as well as a substantial proportion of Jews from villages and shtetls in the province. The bones of two thirds of the Jews deported from Romania in 1941 and 1942 can be found at the same place, following the murder of half of the Jews before September 1, 1941 living in the provinces affected by deportation (Bessarabia, Bukovina and Dorohoi County).

It took until the spring of 1944 for this horrible outcome—about 350,000 people died through murder, massacres, execution campaigns, methods of barbaric persecution, torture, looting and misery, disease and hunger. The methods of murder varied extremely, and the selection included almost everything invented by the human mind from ancient times until Hitler's day.

Starting from June 1940, and lasting until March 1944, the Jews of Bessarabia, Bukovina and Dorohoi County, and later the Jews of Transnistria, perished as a result of being shot to death, poisoned, hanged, drowned, slaughtered, burned, and starved to death as well as from infectious diseases, the withholding of treatment, the total weakening of the body, and torture resulting in either death or suicide. It must be emphasized

that neither gas chambers nor crematoriums were used, and neither were there "scientific" experiments, i.e. vivisection, infection with viruses, the study of the resistance of the human body to extreme temperatures, etc. But it should be mentioned, however, that Romania is a recently civilized country, and lags behind when compared with the European center of German culture.

Although signs of German Nazi methods, i.e. the cynicism and fraudulence of planning, the secrecy of preparation, and the brutality of the execution can be noticed, all the initiatives aimed at the deportation and extermination of Jews were the work of Romanian fascism. It is also true that some of these unfortunate people were victims of German barbarism. It must be emphasized, that there were some differences in methods, and boundaries in time that Romanian authorities of higher and lower rank did not step over, or at most only sporadically so. However, the suffering of the approximately 450,000 people, of whom 350,000 died, was not the result of German demands or pressure. The massacres in July and August 1941 in Bessarabia and Bukovina, which had the most victims, were organized by the conquering armies. Among them was the XI-th German army of General von Schubert. However, his authority extended only to the border of Balti County. At the other parts of the front, from Ceremus to the Danube, it was only the soldiers and officers of the Romanian army who were active. The murderous inspections in Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia, the setting up of camps in Edineti, Secureni, Vertujeni and Marculesti, as well as the deportation of the autumn of 1941, were requested by the Big Units of the Romanian army, approved by the highest civilian authorities, and executed by the Romanian Police and Gendarmerie. The system of looting and terror preceding the deportation as well as the events in Transnistria were organized and also executed by the Romanian authorities (governorships, prefectures, police headquarters, town councils and Gendarme Offices). The continuously depressing and constantly threatening atmosphere was brought about through the initiative of the highest ranks of the Romanian leadership. This was further aggravated by unleashing of hatred that appeared with the outbreak of the war.

Only two stages of the Transnistria tragedy were dominated by the will of the Germans: the great campaigns of extermination in 1942 and 1943, and the deportations in the summer and autumn of 1942.

German military and political successes reached their pinnacle in 1942, but the great turning point, which marked the beginning of the collapse of the entire fascist system, also occurred in the same year. When the Teutonic reign extended from Brest to Voronej and from Narvik to Tobruk; when the German armies were triumphantly approaching the Caspian Sea, the Volga and the Nile; when the Hitlerian mentality deeply engraved itself on European thought spreading throughout the continent, and encouraging the barbaric and sick psychosis of racial superiority, the national-socialist leadership decided to realize one more point of its plan: the complete extermination of European Jews. This plan also applied to Jews in Romania.

Large-scale operations were begun in the autumn of 1942 in France, Belgium, Holland, Slovakia, and Austria and especially in Poland, Belorussia and the Ukraine. The closest extermination campaign to the borders of Romania, which annihilated the entire Jewish population of this region, took place in the province of Kamenetz Podolsk (Stanislaw, Horodenka, and Kolomea). This campaign extended as far as the border with Transnistria; in addition to a few thousand local Jews in the province of Bar-Jaltuska, many formerly deported Romanian Jews were killed. For the latter the execution campaigns along the river Bug (Galsin, Krasnopolsk, Nemirov, Mihailovka, and Tarasivka) were the most painful. Here, some of the victims were selected by the Germans from the camps next to the camp in Peciora and that of the Ladizhin quarry (3,000 a day), and from the ghettos set up in Tulchin, Bershad, etc. Theoretically, this territory was exclusively under Romanian authority. However, as a result of the anti-Semitic delirium, and, especially, the inferiority complex of the Romanian authorities, German demands for the mass extradition of Jews did not meet with any resistance. It cannot be categorically stated that this happened in the framework of a preplanned action, in which the Romanian authorities transported the Jews there, and SS troops and the Todt squads murdered them. However, events took place exactly according to this scenario, which underline the criminal character of obvious complicity. The highest ranks of the Romanian authorities (the Governorship of Bukovina) transported the Jews there, the lower Romanian bodies (prefectures, police headquarters, Gendarmerie Legions) handed them over, without any objection, at the request of the Germans, who in turn exterminated all of them in the

framework of campaigns—lasting until the spring of 1944—organized according to national-socialist patterns.

There was another part of Transnistria where German supremacy was able to prevail unhindered as a result of the same inferiority complex: this was Berezovca County in the province of Mostovoi Vasilinovo-Rastadt, where an important General Staff of an SS unit was operating. The Romanian authorities considered this place to be the most appropriate for evacuating the survivors of Odessa and the deportees from the Old Kingdom and Transylvania. It cannot be supposed on this occasion either that there existed an earlier Romanian-German agreement. However, events occurred within the same criminal framework. On January 7, 1942, the Governor of Transnistria ordered the internment of Jews from Odessa—approx. 20,000 people—to the ghetto in Slobotka. Later, in January and February, the Romanian Gendarmerie evacuated them to the province of Mostovoi. Starting in March, the SS troops continuously took them over and executed them in groups of a few hundred in the framework of actions lasting until autumn.

Similarly, the Romanian Leader of the State, Ion Antonescu, at the end of July 1942, ordered the deportation of a group of Jews consisting of a few hundred from the Old Kingdom and Transylvania to Transnistria; all of those who had asked for an entry visa from the Soviet Embassy in 1940. In early September the Ministry of the Interior sent them to the province of Mostovoi, where they were immediately requested, delivered to SS troops and executed by them.

Events took a totally different turn during the second German attempt in the autumn of 1942, which was aimed at the application of the national-socialist plan in Romania. The agenda of the Hitlerites included the extermination of all Jews who were still alive and under the authority of the Romanian government.

Nazi pressure, which had its effect on offices behind padded doors, and later manifested itself arrogantly and cynically in the foreign and German press of Bucharest, did not meet with any resistance at first. Moreover, it had Antonescu's approval from the very outset, and was looking for opportunities to co-operate with Romanian institutions in a position to carry out operations: the Great Chief of Staff and the Ministry of the Interior. However, after the first groups had been dispatched in September and October and when everything was ready for the mass

deportation from Transylvania and Banat, German plans collided with the characteristic Romanian bureaucracy, indecisiveness, torpor, petty interests and a certain amount of humaneness, and the campaign had to be postponed at first, and later completely abandoned. The failure of this attempt was one of the first defeats suffered by the Hitlerite policy. It cannot be presumed that the Romanian government had wished this defeat but it is true that it agreed with it, being thus among the defeated. It is odd that this moment in the autumn of the year 1942, the most dangerous in the history of Jews in Romania, marked the beginning of the miracle which saved the lives of 350,000 of them.

This miracle has been much talked about. However, only simplistic and superficial statements have been made alleging, that while in Europe Jews were totally or almost totally exterminated, in Romania a high number of them survived. This statement is true, but only as a premeditated assessment, which takes into account exclusively the Jews in the Old Kingdom, Transylvania and Banat. According to the above assessment, only 10% of the Jewish population was murdered. However, if an honest calculation were made, considering the numbers of Jews under the jurisdiction of the Romanian state between 1941-1944, the number of those killed would exceed 50%, which far from being miraculous, is outright terrible.

Historical facts must be disclosed. If a percentage rate cannot form the basis of such a study, absolute numbers must be taken into account. When Romania was liberated from fascist tyranny, there were approx. 300,000 Jews alive within Romanian borders, and approx. 68,000 beyond the national territory. This is the miracle.

Different factors played a role in this. The most important of these are the following:

- 1. Romania was not occupied militarily by Germany;
- 2. The Romanian economy could not function without the services of Jews;
- 3. The character and temperament of Romanian leaders was inconsistent; they hesitated and were easily influenced;
- 4. The Romanian public opinion adapted to fascist ideas only sporadically and temporarily, and to the methods of fascism even less so.

- 1. According to their status, the sovereign states which accepted, or were forced to accept the "new European order", can be placed in two different categories:
 - a) States under German military occupation; among them, France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Czechoslovakia, Austria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Greece, Poland, Belorussia, the Ukraine, and later Italy (from September 1943), and Hungary (from March 1944).
 - b) States under German political influence: Romania, Finland and Bulgaria (Denmark was somewhere between these two categories).

In the states listed in the first category, national-socialism was able to introduce measures directly, which were carried out by its own collaborating authorities, or by national bodies under the control of, or financed by the Gestapo. No agreement whatsoever was required for the execution of deportation and extermination campaigns, The program was carried out without delay, postponement or hesitation, and without mercy. Thanks to brave individual efforts, widely and benevolently supported by national resistance campaigns, there were some exceptions. In Italy and Hungary, the persecution of Jews took on more restrained and milder forms at first, and turned into mass executions only following actual German military occupation.

Romania and Bulgaria were almost vassals under German political influence. However, they retained a certain veneer of sovereignty, and were able to show resistance in economic and racial policy spheres. At times they were even granted concessions in matters of racial policy in return for economic refusals. Consequently, the persecution and extermination of Jews in Romania was restricted to Romanian initiatives, with the Germans intervening only occasionally. That these reached extreme proportions and led to mournful results is due, on the one hand, to two decades of the psychological preparation of a sick generation, supported in its wanderings by Romanian pseudo-democracy, and on the other hand, to the incitement to hatred by the dictatorial leadership of the Romanian state at the start of the "holy war". In Bulgaria, where these circumstances were not present, Hitlerite, anti-Semitic persecution caused serious suffering, but claimed few victims.

- 2. The Romanian national economy before 1940 was greatly indebted to Jewish initiative, competence and energy. There is a certain amount of truth in the then anti-Semitic statement that the proportion of Jews in leading economic positions, among specialists in technology and industrial workers, was high. However, within their sphere of activities, they did not extort but were creative. With the exception of the agricultural sector, in which they were not allowed to operate before the emancipation of 1919, in every sphere of economic life, in the financial field, in industry and trade, Jews were the pioneers, who sometimes suffered the risks of taking the initiative, while at times enjoying the fruits of their persistence. It was only natural that, given this situation, economic life could not have functioned without them. This fact was not yet sensed by the Romanian leadership during the legionary delirium. However, shortly before and during the war, it was, especially after the rapid evacuations from Bukovina. Without admitting the truth, and while legislation to remove Jews from economic life continued, the Antonescu government kept some of them on in their economic posts, and hesitated when it came to making a final decision on their total extermination.
- 3. The Romanian leaders in whose power it was to decide whether Romanian Jews should live or die, were the following: Ion Antonescu, the Leader of the State; Mihail Antonescu, Interim-President of the Council of Ministers, but in reality, the Premier, and General C. Z. Vasiliu, Deputy State-Secretary of the Police and Public Order.

All three committed serious crimes against their country and against Jews. At the same time, in addition to their crimes, they did not possess the qualities required by peoples' leaders in decisive historical moments. They did not believe in an ideal and lacked the consistence in holding onto one.

Ion Antonescu was just as much of a lunatic as Mussolini and Hitler. However, he possessed neither the leadership qualities of the former nor the iron will of the latter. He was an evil man and an enemy of people. He was especially against Jews, not because he held particular convictions, but because through anti-Semitism, he was able to vent his inherent hatred. He did not like the Germans, either. He allied himself to them, sacrificed the blood of the country, its values and honor, served them with sinful loyalty, only because it was with their assistance that he was capable of fulfilling his arrogant ambitions of grandeur and power.

He was a superficial man, endowed with only very limited intellectual potential. He was vain and impulsive. Consequently, he could be influenced both positively and negatively. He would often make contradictory decisions.

At his trial, Ion Antonescu said the following: "Thanks to the fact that there are Romanian Jews still alive is owed to Marshall Antonescu." In the very least, this statement is incomplete. It expresses historical truth only to the following extent: out of the Romanian and Soviet Jews in his charge, Ion Antonescu left 350,000 alive after murdering nearly more than 350,000.

Mihail Antonescu was a fortunate careerist, positioned at the peak of the pyramid by circumstance, but because he was uneducated and lacked the spiritual qualities, it was his fate to eventually get in front of the firing squad. He was not as loyal as Ion, but more shrewd. He would even have sold his soul to the Germans, and served them loyally for as long as he believed in their power and invincibility. When he realized that they were vulnerable, he slowly left them.

It might be true what he said during the war, and also in his confession following liberation, namely that he had never been an anti-Semite. In this case, his actions during the war, when he was one of those who provoked the barbaric and murderous hatred that led to the organization of massacres at the time, seem even more despicable and burden his conscience even more heavily. He was unable to redeem himself later, when (after his visit to the Vatican in the autumn of 1943, during which he realized the prospects for the future) he attempted to ease his conscience and diminish his responsibility. He withdrew some anti-Semitic measures, prevented others from being enacted, and even saved the lives of many Jews, especially those who escaped from Hungary.

General C. Z. Vasiliu (Picky), the vigilant Minister of the Police, was an average man with ordinary human shortcomings and weaknesses. An immoral, greedy womanizer, he formulated his feelings and attitudes towards Jews in an attempt to balance his loyalty to Ion Antonescu with his own interests. He was not as sinister as his predecessor, General Ion Popescu (Jack), whose actions were soon forgotten after his death. At first, he seemed to justify the hope attached to him by those persecuted, when he took office in January 1942. A few months later, in the autumn of 1942, he became an unmerciful executioner of Nazi plans aimed at the complete extermination of Romanian Jews.

4. The Romanian public opinion, which, during both the era of pseudo-democracy and the dictatorship, was confined to the views of the municipal petit bourgeoisie, to whose formation the masses of workers and peasants had not contributed to any extent, went through an interesting and particular transformation between September 6, 1940 and August 23, 1944. The public greeted Ion Antonescu with enthusiasm, tolerated usually indifferently but also with a certain amount of disgust the legionary delirium; it did not want the war, but neither did it much oppose it. The traditional but exclusively political aspect of anti-Semitism would never have become so aggressive and lamentable (even though a generation gone astray had been inciting it for twenty years, stimulated from outside and encouraged from inside), irrespective of which political group took over the leadership of the country.

The war took the public by surprise at a time when anti-Semitic tendencies had not yet turned into outright hatred. This transformation was to occur now. From June to November 1941, hostile manifestations increased. Nobody loathed the idea of massacres - the representatives of the petit bourgeoisie even played an active part in them. They organized economic and social boycotts, watched with distaste as the marching columns of Jewish evacuees with spades and pick-axes on their shoulders were dragged to forced labor; they insulted and physically abused those wearing yellow stars, and reacted indifferently or even enthusiastically to the deportation campaigns of the autumn of 1941. This outflow of hatred was artificial, and reached its pinnacle in October 1941, when Antonescu launched his entire propaganda machine in order to justify crimes already committed and provide encouragement for those yet to come. At the time, public opinion was prepared to give credit to any gossip; hesitation was entirely abandoned, and hatred took over in almost everyone.

Two months later, the Jews forced to shovel snow, were greeted with bread and hot meals. However, the decline of hatred was slower than its rise. In any case, in the autumn of 1942, it proved to be enough for the public not to remain totally indifferent to the campaign aimed at complete extermination. The manifestation of good-will on the part of the population resulted in a hesitant and delaying approach from those who took part in the ordinary, but nevertheless historic meeting of the Council of Ministers on October 13, 1942. The Allied Armies did the rest a month later at El Alamein, Algiers and Stalingrad.

However, while "the miracle" was happening on both sides of the Carpathian Mountains, in that country blessed by God, but cursed by human evil, in that enormous camp enclosed by the wide and deep waters of the Dniester and the Bug, the painful story of Jews deported from Romania was painfully being developed. Approx. 120,000 people were dragged there. The land of Transnistria was to become their den, its soil their food, and its earth their grave. From the first day to the last, the echoes of murderous slogans of Jews did not stop for a single moment.

"We brought you here to die. We would still like to ask you to prevent the spread of infectious diseases." said the physician sent to Moghilev by the governorship.

"Are there any living Jews left in Transnistria?" did the governor of the province ask his subordinates innocently from time to time.

"Only the total extermination of these evil-doers and fanatic communists can free mankind from the danger of communism", the Inspector of the Transnistrian Gendarmes reported to his superiors, while requesting further orders.

"Here will be your grave", used to yell the officers, sergeants and soldiers of all gendarme legions.

From high-ranking officials to the last camp guard, nobody missed a chance to prove in words or deeds that the great task at hand was the total extermination of Jews.

While Transnistria does not call to mind the apocalyptic flames of crematoriums, the methods which served the eventual realization of the objective were nevertheless frighteningly versatile. They serve as an example of methodic mass execution. Here, the undermining of the victims' moral stamina overshadowed the physical torture. In German camps victims quickly grew apathetic, so terribly so that not only did they give up all hope at the very beginning, but completely ceased to exist as moral beings. In Transnistria the hope was constantly alive in them, they were always aware of the gradual degradation of the human being, and accurately experienced the truly terrifying moral pains. The fear of all sorts of diseases that threatened them from all sides; the problem of providing food for themselves and their loved ones, the horror of being beaten or tortured, to which they were constantly exposed with or without pretext; the continuous anxiety over the threat of transportation to camps within the country or

beyond the Bug, paralyzed their senses, numbed their physical pain, but enormously increased their moral suffering.

The most important contributory causes of the physical and psychological annihilation of the Jews deported to Transnistria were, naturally, the above-mentioned (disease, hunger, torture, deportation or the nightmares of these). The fact that total extermination could not be achieved can be attributed to another "miracle", brought about by the enormous vitality and indefatigable energy of the Jews.

A small group of people—sometimes one single person—were capable of creating communal organizations from the mass of uprooted, exhausted suffering and persecuted people, through initiative, courage, strong will, energy, and authority as well as Jewish solidarity.

Leaders emerged, unelected, unappointed and unconfirmed in their roles. Similarly, Jewish institutions sprang up in a spontaneous and natural way according to necessity. The Office of Organizing Jewish Work can be considered one of these. Such institutions were widely disdained by Jews, who saw that such organizations could be used as tools by the enemy. These notorious offices played the role of necessary evil by eliminating unjust actions and hindering brutal acts of persecution. Because of the general hunger, public eateries, communal kitchens and food distribution centers had to be set up, and the wonderful industrial 'associations' (construction or small-scale industry workshops) had to be organized. Because of the epidemics, primarily the petechial typhus, dilapidated buildings had to be transformed into hospitals, and an excellent health service had to be created out of nothing, which, in spite of, or above the heads of, the inefficient or malicious authorities, started a gigantic battle against the disease, and was victorious over it.

Orphanages, kindergartens and primary schools were established, because the depressing sight of parent-less, dirty, ragged and exhausted children roaming the streets begging, or perishing along the roads, was unacceptable.

Slowly, with human sacrifices, and primitive and empirical methods, from dust, blood and soot, the miracle of Transnistrian social phenomenon came into existence: the formation of an organized community out of a confused and panic-ridden crowd. In less than six months, and in spite of disease, starvation and misery, the level of Transnistrian Jewish

organization became state-like, winning the admiration of the oppressors, and at times, altering their mentality, or even eliminated their authority. In Shargorod, for example, when the Jewish policeman was signaling the closure of the ghetto, the German soldiers had to continue their walking along side streets and in Smerinka, German officers could be seen in the waiting room of the Jewish head of the settlement, asking for permits to visit the ghetto.

Thanks to the energetic attitude of Jews, the Transnistrian "miracle" came about, which despite disease and human evil, saved the lives of approx. 60,000 Jews; at the time of liberation there were 15,000 local Jews among them.

The Red Army liberated Transnistria in the second half of March 1944. The Soviet troops, which had set out from Uman County on March 10, crossed the Bug on March 16, and reached the bank of the Dniester in a mere four days. The speed of the attack, which dispersed the fascist troops and forced them to flee chaotically, preempted the final danger. The tired bodies and broken bones of the survivors of the Transnistrian hell had been saved but their souls were lost forever.

LEADERS AND OFFICIALS WHO INSTIGATED, INITIATED, EXECUTED OR SUPERVISED THE TRANSNISTRIAN TRAGEDY¹

The Leader of Romania and Army	Marshal ION ANTONESCU
Commander	
Ad interim President of the Council of	Professor MIHAI ANTONESCU
Ministers	
Minister of the Interior	General DUMITRU POPESCU
State Sub-Secretaries of Police and	General ION (JACK) POPESCU
Public Order	General CONST. Z.VASILIU
Prefect of Bucharest Police	General N. PALANGEANU
Commissar of Bucharest Police	SAVA DUMITRESCU
Governors of Bukovina	Col. ALEXANDRU RIOSANU
	General CORNELIU
	CALOTESCU
	General CORNEL DRAGALINA
Director of Military Cabinet of the	Lieut. Col. STERE MARINESCU
Bukovina Governor	
General Secretary of Government	FLORESCU
Director of the Office for Jewish	ILIE BOCIOAGA
Issues in Bukovina	
Director of Office II in Bukovina	SOCACIU
Governorate	
Judicial counselor of Bukovina	Lawyer Dr. Puiu

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¹ The above list was drawn up according to the sequence of institutions not their importance or guilt. It comprises not only those who were involved in the deportation and persecution in Transnistria as such but also those who contributed by their own will or who were ordered by their position to be involved in the persecution and extermination of the Jews in the territories affected by massive deportations (Bukovina, Bessarabia and the Dorohoi County).

The list is far from being complete and it does not comprise only the guilty persons. But all those listed had an active involvement in the painful fate of the deported Jews or those who were found beyond the Dniester by Romania's dictatorial government.

Director for Romanianization,	EUGEN PAVLESCU
Settlement and Inventory in Bukovina	
Governor of Bessarabia	General CONST. VOICULESCU
Governor of Transnistria	Prof. GH. ALEXIANU
	General GH. POTOPEANU
General Secretary of Transnistria	EMIL CERCAVSCHI
Director of Industry in Transnistria	FOTEANU
Deputy Director of Industry in	Eng. DELEI
Transnistria	
Labor Directors in Transnistria	Arch. SDROBICI
	GH. BALCAS
Administrative director in Transnistria	ROTARU
Director in Transnistria	Col. RADULESCU
Germany's Minister in Bucharest	MANFRED VON KILLINGER
Leader of the Jewish Department of	Hauptsurmführer SS
the German legation in Bucharest	GUSTAV RICHTER
Government representative and	RADU D. LECCA
general commissar for Jewish Issues	
Directors at the General Commissariat	I. MUMUIANU
for Jewish Issues	VASILE ISACEANU
Deputy Chief of Headquarters	General N. TATARANU
Commander of the IV-th Army	General CIUPERCA
Chiefs of the 2-nd Headquarters	Lieut.Col. R. DINULESCU
department	Lieut.Col. GH. N. PETRESCU
Chief of Army Headquarters	General ILIE STEFLEA
Chief of 1-st Headquarters	Col. E. BORCESCU
department	
Chief of "X" Office for Jews	Lieut.Col. ILIE DUMITRESCU
General Inspector of Labor	General C. CEPLEANU
Detachment for Jews	
Commander of the BIG UNIT Odessa	General GH. MACICI
Commander of the XIII-th Division	General Const. TREISTOREANU
Delegates for the Dalnic (Odessa)	Col. DELEANU
massacre	Lieut.Col. MIHAIL NICULESCU
	Capt. IONESCU RADU
	Capt. BALACEANU EUGEN

C 1T (C.1 C 1 :	C 1.C TODECCII
General Inspector of the Gendarmerie	General C. TOBESCU
Inspector of the Bukovina	Col. I. MANECUTA
Gendarmerie	
Inspector of the Bessarabia	Col. T. MECULESCU
Gendarmerie	
Inspector of the Transnistria	Col. E. BROSTEANU
Gendarmerie	Col. MIHAIL P. ILIESCU
Highest Military Judge	General ION TOPOR
Leader of the Department of the	Col. A. HAGICHIREA
Highest Military Judge	
Military Judge of the 3-rd Army	Lieut. Col. JEAN POITEVIN
	Col. GH. BAROZZI
Head of Military Statistical Office	Col. PALADE
Iasi, delegate of Headquarters for	
deportations	
Delegate of Highest Quarters for	Major TARLEF
deportations	
Delegate of Inspectorate of Bessarabia	Lieut. Col. LAZAR RADU
Gendarmerie	
Leaders of deportee convoys	Capt. VICTOR RAMADAN
	Lieut. POPOIU
	Lieut. ROSCA AUGUSTIN
	Lieut. POPOVICI
Informant Officer in Atachi	Capt. POPESCU
Supervising Officers in Atachi	Lieut. GOROVEI
	Sub-Lieut. GH. MARINO

CHERNOVITZ COUNTY

Town Mayor: Dr. O. LUPU-	Director of Central Hospital:
STREJAC, DIMITRIE GALES	DR. NANDRIS
Chief of Security:	Director of Mental Institution:
ROMULUS COJOCARU	Dr. CONSTANTINESCU
Commander of Constables:	President of the Chamber of
TRAIAN IONESCU	Commerce and Industry:
	Dr. O. VORONCA

Deputy Commander of the Gendarme	University Professor:
Legion: Major CICANDEL	DIMITRIE MARMELIUC
Military Commander of the County:	Patronage Council: Capt.
General VASILE IONESCU	ANGHELESCU, Mrs. CANCEL
President of Court martial:	STOROJINET County
Col. CRISTESCU	Commander of the recruiting office:
	Col. ALEXANDRESCU
SUCEAVA County	Subordinate officers:
Prefect: Col. STROIESCU	Capt. RADULESCU,
Deputy Prefect: IOACHIMESCU	Capt. SEVER BURADESCU
Police Head: VALERIAN	Delegate of BNR:
APREUTESEI	IOAN MIHAILESCU
Mayor: ION JAUCA	
Deputy Mayor: ST. MOLDOVAN	KISHINEV GHETTO
Chief Physician: DR. BONA	Military Commanders of the Town:
Dispatcher –town council: FOIT	Col. TUDOSE,
Commander of Recruiting office:	Col. EUGEN DUMITRESCU
Col. ZAMFIRESCU	Ghetto Commanders:
Commander of Gendarme legion:	Major IOANITIU,
GH. BOTOROAGA	Capt. PARASCHIVESCU ION,
Deputy Commander: Capt. ILISEU	Lieut. UDREA
	Deputy Commander: Deputy Lieut.
	MIHAILESCU
RADAUTI County	MOGHILEV County
Prefect: Lieut. Col. IONESCU	Administrative Inspector:
	DIMITRIE STEFANESCU
Mayor: Lawyer VIRGIL POLEAC	Prefects:
	Col. CONSTANTIN DIMITRIU,
	Col. DR. IOAN C. BALEANU,
	Col. CONSTANTIN NASTURAS,
	Col. CONSTANTIN LOGHIN
Deputy mayor: CHIRILA	Deputy Prefects: ALEX. MOISEV,
	GH. CULNEV,
	IOSIF DINDELEGAN
Commander of the gendarme Legion:	Prefecture Cabinet Chief:
Major ALEXANDRESCU	BUTNARU

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Police Head: CIUDLA	Agronomist Engineer:
	C. MORARU
	Mayor: Capt. BOTTA
	Deputy mayor:
	Sub. Lieut. GRADINARU
	Del. Gendarme Inspector Lieut. Col.
	POHRIB
	Commanders of Gendarme Legion:
	Major DANULESCU,
	Major ROMEO ORASANU,
	Major GH. BOTOROAGA
	Gendarme Company: Lieut. MIHAI
	ILUTA, Lieut. MARIN
	CRISTACHE, Lieut. CAPITANU
	(Counselor of Court of Appeal)
	Lieut. VASILEWSCHI, Lieut.
	MARINCHESCU, Lance Sergeant
	BARBULESCU, Sergeant
	ITESAN, Corporal DAN
	Secret Service of Headquarters:
	Capt. BOTEZ, Lieut. MUNTEANU
CAMPULUNG County	DOROHOI County
Prefect: Col. STANCESCU	Prefect: Col. ION BARCAN
Police Chief: Lawyer: BOCA	Mayor: Eng. ION PASCU
Chief of Security: AGNASTOPOL	President of Chamber of
Com. of recruiting office: Col.	Commerce: Pharmacist
GHEORGHIU	GHEORGHE TIMUS
	Head of Police: PAMFIL
	Commissar: MERCUR
	CONSTANTIN
Camps VERTUJENI AND	
MARCULESTI	
Commanders: Col. ALEXANDRU	
CONSTANTINESCU, Col. AGAPIE	
VASILE	
Military judges of Moghilev:	
Dr. OCTAVIAN OANCEA,	
	l .

Iariszev — Dr. GH. OŞANU, Smerinka — Dr. A. GROZA, Copaigorod — IOAN VODA, Stanislawcik — GH. IOSSA, Balki — STEFAN TAUTU,	
Crasna — NICOLAE COMAN SHARGOROD REGION	GOLTA District
Military judges:	Prefect: Colonel ISOPESCU
IOSIF DINDELEGAN,	MODEST
DIMITRIE RUSSU	Subprefect: ARISTIDE PADURE
Chief Agronomist (Deputy military	Commander of the gendarme
judge): TAŞCHIEVICI	legion:
Commanders of Gendarme sector:	Major AMBRUS ROMULUS
Lieut. VASILE GRAMA,	Military judge of Dumanovca
Lieut. VASILE MIHAILESCU	region: MANESCU VASILE
Chief of Gendarme Station:	Military judge of Bogdanovca
Master sergeant CIORTUZ BARBU,	region: BOBEI GHEORGHE
Serg. Major FLORIAN	Chief of Bogdanovca station:
	Master sergeant MELINESCU
	NICOLAE
TULCIN County	BEREZOVCA County
Prefects: Col. CONSTANTIN LO-	Prefect: Colonel LEONIDA POP
GHIN, Col. NASTURAŞ	Commander of the gendarme
Subprefect: ION VODA	legion: Major POPESCU
Military judge: Ladijin:	Agronomist Suhaia-Balca: KISS
ALEXANDRESCU	Chiefs of gendarme station in
Commanders of the Gendarme	Mosto-voi: Master sergeant
legion: Major MIHAILOVICL	CARLICEL
Căpitan FETECAU	CARLIGEL
Supervisors in Cariera de Piatră: Sublieut. ENACHIȚA, Sublieut.	Secretary of Gendarme station in Mostovoi: Suboff, LUNGU
Pharmacist VASILESCU	Gendarmes in Mostovoi: Capt.
Thailiacist vhoillesco	PAPUC, CALIMAN
BALTA County	VAPNIARCA CAMP
Commander of Gendarme legion:	Commanders: Major I.
Lieut. Col. GAVAT STEFAN	MURGESCU, Captain SEVER

Military judge of Bershad:

CONSTANTIN ALEXANDRESCU

Chief of Bershad police: CONSTAN-

TIN MIHAILIUC

Commander of Gendarme

Separtment in Bershad: Lieut.

GRIGORESCU

GHEORGHE, Sublieut.

GHINERARU FLORIN

Chief of Gendarme Station in

Bershad:

Master sergeant: BULATU

DUMITRU,

Master sergeant NASTASE ION.

Subofficer:

COVILA COVETA SERGHIE

Chief of Gendarme Station:

Olgopol:

Master sergeant: DUMITRESCU

MIHAIL

Gendarmes in Olgopol: Master sergeant: SARBU MACARIE,

Master sergeant: SARBU

CONSTANTIN

BURADESCU, Captain CRISTODOR POPESCU

Subaltern officers: Lieut. NAUM CRISTU, Lieut. POPESCU

LUCIAN, Sublieut. CEACHIR

DUMITRU

CHAPTER I

The Massacres in Bessarabia, Bukovina and Dorohoi County

CHAPTER I THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF EVENTS

June 29, 1940 - November 15, 1941

June 1940

Approximately 800,000 Jews were living in Greater Romania before the war. According to the last official census on December 29, 1930, there were 756,930 people. More than one third of these (314,933) lived in Bessarabia, Bukovina and Dorohoi County.

Note: According to a survey carried out by the Central Statistical Office on September 1, 1941, after the first two months of the war, only 156,121 of this number had survived.

The racially based census taken on May 20, 1942 indicated that only 19,576 Jews were living in these counties. However, in the so-called "Transnistrian" camps and ghettos about 60,000 people were alive at this time. (Nr. 1)

June 29, 1940

In accordance with the execution of the agreement on the handover of Bessarabia and the northern Bukovina region, as well as a number of settlements in Dorohoi County, the withdrawal of Romanian troops began along the entire length of the border from the Ceremus to the Danube. It seems that the troops which withdrew across the bridges of the Prut from Galati to Herta, were composed and behaved decently. In any case, no extraordinary events were recorded concerning them. However, the troops which withdrew to Bukovina after crossing the Prut and the Siret, committed horrible crimes and terrifying massacres, which claimed the lives of a great number of Jewish villagers and townspeople.

The first murders were committed in Mihoreni (Dorohoi county) by a military unit under the command of a major named Goilav. For no apparent reason, the soldiers arrested and tortured **Sloime Weiner**, his son, **User Weiner**, his daughters, **Roza Weiner** and **Fani Zekler** (the latter was

holding a two-year-old child in her arms). They were taken to a forest called Tureatca, where a lame cobbler, **Moscovici**, his wife and two children, as well as **Isac Moscovici**'s wife and two daughters were also found. All of them were lined up at the edge of a hole and shot into it. **Isac Moscovici**, who had been arrested separately, was so severely beaten that he died on the way to the hospital in Dorohoi.

June 30, 1940

Part of the 16th infantry regiment, under the command of Major Valeriu Carp, withdrew from the north-western part of Bukovina towards the Falticeni garrison. Immediately after the unit had marched into the village of Ciudei (Strojinet County), a number of Jews were collected at the village center following an order by the Major. These were: **Moise Schachter, Dr. Conrad Kreis, the Hessman brothers, Herman Gross**, his wife, his daughter and grandchild. All of them were shot dead. Dr. Kreis was tortured with extraordinary cruelty, and his body was literally cut up into pieces.

June 30, 1940

A group of 18 soldiers, led by a lieutenant, broke into the house of **Suhar Lax**, who lived in Costina-Suceava. After torturing him, they tied him to a horse's tail and had him dragged across the village (nearly 3 km). His body, ridden with twenty bullets, was found in a nearby forest.

July 1, 1940

The withdrawing military units carried out a barbaric and murderous pogrom in the town of Dorohoi. The morning streets of the city showed signs of extraordinary activity, and the Jews of the town began to panic. The soldiers of the 8-th Rifle Regiment, who were not acquainted with the city, led by locals, were roaming the city center and the Jewish quarter, marking Christian houses with large "C" letters. A consequence of the activity of the soldiers, or because they were secretly encouraged to do so, many Christians put crosses and icons in their windows. The soldiers mocked, jeered and abused the small number of Jews who crossed their path.

The funeral of a Jewish soldier, who had died during a border incident near Herta, was taking place about noon. Many leading personalities of the local Jewish community insisted on bowing before the grave of their hero, and decided to pay their last respects to him. The Dorohoi garrison sent a guard of honor consisting of ten Jewish soldiers to the Jewish cemetery. There was also a cadet sergeant among them, but he was not the commander of the guard of honor, who was a Christian sergeant.

At about 2.00 p.m., when the coffin was being lowered into the grave, shots could be heard from the western part of the cemetery. This was the signal for the pogrom; it was rumored in the town that the Jews had opened fire at the army. The sergeant ordered the Jewish soldiers to leave the cemetery, while the other terrified Jews fled to the funeral parlor. At the gate of the cemetery the Jewish soldiers were met by a colonel, some officers and a platoon of soldiers. The colonel gave the order to disarm and execute the ten Jewish soldiers, who only a few minutes before had been members of a guard of honor of the Romanian army. They were placed in row facing the wall of the cemetery and shot from behind by their comrades in full view of the colonel.

Events continued in the funeral parlor. A lieutenant, with a pistol in his hand, kicked in the door, and under the pretext of searching for people with arms, chased the 40 terrified Jews out of the parlor, who then witnessed the horrible execution. They were lined up along Valea Campului Street (8 women, a two-year-old, a six-year-old, a seven-year-old child, and an eighty year old man among them), and murdered with a few rounds of machinegun fire. The bullets missed the old man, so they smashed his skull with a sharp blow. Some of the people survived by either running away across the field or by pretending to be dead.

Simultaneously with the massacre organized in the cemetery, the pogrom began in the town. In Regele Ferdinand, Bratianu and C. Stroici Streets the soldiers forced their way into Jewish houses, tortured, looted and murdered. Never before had Romanian soil witnessed such bestial scenes. **Avram Calmanovici** was shot dead, but only after his genitals had been cut off. The elderly **Eli and Feiga Reizel** were shot dead, but first the woman's ears were cut off for the sake of her earrings. The breasts of **Rifca Croitoru** were cut off. The elderly Herscu Iona's beard was pulled out hair by hair, and only then was he shot dead. (**Nr. 2**).

The pogrom was brought to a close by a huge rainstorm, which drove the soldiers off the streets.

The Jewish soldiers of 24-th Infantry Regiment were also close to being murdered, but this was averted by a courageous intervention (perhaps that of Captain Stino).

The massacre in the provinces was also stopped through the actions of General Sanatescu and Colonel Ilasievici. However, two other Jewish soldiers were shot dead near the town of Mihaileni. They were later buried by the local religious community. In Valea Campului, two more Jewish soldiers, who had come from a military unit to visit their children, were also killed.

July 1, 1940

The troops under the command of Valeriu Carp arrived in Zaharesti in Suceava county, where they rested. There was one Jew in the village. The major ordered the collection of a larger group from the surrounding areas. A number of Jews were brought in from Vorniceni, Ilisesti, Vicov and Banila, including the following: Leon Hamer, Leib Stekel, Ira Lupovici, Nuta Druckman, Moise Haller, Bartfeld, Herer, Edelstein, mother and daughter, Dr. Gingold from Vicov, as well as a few Jews evacuated from Radauti County, who were on their way to Suceava (36 souls in total). All of them were horribly tortured, some of them had ears, fingers or tongues cut off. Finally, they were lined up beside a hole, fired on, and thrown into the hole, irrespective of whether they were dead or still alive. The major ordered the two Jewish soldiers under his command to be included in the firing squads, one of them was from Burdujeni, the other from Suceava (Fredi Dermer). The major's daughter also took part in the massacre. The beast of a major ordered the carcass of a horse to be thrown on the mass grave of dead bodies as a final act of abuse.

In January 1941, the corpses were unburied and buried into the Jewish cemetery in Suceava.

Encouraged by the barbarity of the soldiers, the gangs of peasants and Gendarmes also looted and murdered. In Serbauiti (Suceava county), Sergeant Bujica, the Commander of the Gendarme post, together with a peasant called Hapinciuc, who worked in the Revenue Office, broke into the house of a Jew named **Smil Gheller**, where, in addition to the above, were his wife, **Sally Gheller**, and **Leib Ellenbogen**. They shot dead all three of them, and threw their bodies into the creek beside the village. These corpses were also buried in the Jewish cemetery in Suceava in January 1941.

July 3-5, 1940

Similar crimes were committed along the entire route of the army's withdrawal:

- In Comanesti-Suceava, **the Zisman siblings** were shot dead after being thrown out of a train. **Rabbi Leib Schachter and his two sons** were first tortured, and then murdered on the edge of the village. The rabbi's wife was shot dead while at prayer. Sloime Mendler was bayoneted in the neck;
- In Crainiceni (Radauti county), the **Aizic and Burah Wasserman brothers** were shot dead by a group of eight soldiers led by an infantry sergeant;
- Mendel Weinstein, Maratiev and Strul Feigenbaum were murdered in Adancata;
- Moise Rudich, landowner, was murdered in Gaureni-Suceava;
- Natan Somer was murdered in Liuzii-Humorului (Suceava county);
- M. Hibner, his wife and son, Iosub Hibner, and his four grandchildren were killed by soldiers and peasants in Igesti-Suceava.

A great number of murders were committed on trains, especially along the tracks of Moldova. The Jewish passengers, primarily soldiers, were shot dead, and their corpses left in the fields. A large number of Jews were thrown out of moving trains: some of them died painful deaths, others were left crippled.

February 1941

The agreement stipulating the handover of Bessarabia and Bukovina made it possible for people from returned territories to cross the border to the other side. The most important crossing points were in Galati-Reni and Dornesti (Bukovina). In this latter province, in Burdujeni, a Russian-Romanian joint committee had been in operation, which had ceased its activities in January, when the border was closed. The Christians who had not reached the other side by that time were sent across later, and a camp of sorts was set up for the 110 Jews who had not crossed the border (two rooms at the Burdujeni railway station). Here, they lived in horrifying poverty, a few poor Jews from Burdujeni and Suceava fed them out of pity. At times, during the night, groups of twenty or thirty Jews were taken away; border guards took them to the border and forced them, at gunpoint, to cross the border. The frontier zone was mined, and consequently, a great number of Jews fell victim to explosions. Others were killed by the bullets of Soviet

border guards alerted by the border violations. And, finally, there were those who were shot dead by Romanian border guards whilst trying to return.

In this way, by February, only fifty-eight Jews remained out of the original 110. They suffered there until May, when they were able to leave the hell of Burdujeni; they were transported to the camp in Targu Jiu. (Nr. 3).

June 30, 1941

One of the decrees of the General Staff, according to which Jews had taken part in violent crimes including espionage, sabotage and attacks against individual soldiers, was an incitement to pogroms, through its order to the commanders of large units, together with their troops, to be "unmerciful" (Nr.4).

July 2, 1941

Before the general offensive broke out on the entire front, the Romanian troops invade and occupy Noua Sulita. Under the pretext that the Jews would have attacked the army, 800 Jews were killed.

July 3, 1941

Professor Mihai Antonescu, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers assembles by a secret conference all the administrative inspectors and military judges at The Ministry of the Interior in order to be sent to Bessarabia and Bukovina.

The directives and instructions given on that occasion were published later on in a leaflet. The chapter "Ethnic and political purification" insists upon the severe and hard behavior of the authorities against the Jewish population in these provinces. These guidelines contain poisonous incitements to the pogrom as well as concrete directives that should be considered as the source of the deportation measures (**Nr. 31**).

July 3, 1941

The attack along the entire length of the Romanian border begins, from Bukovina to the Danube. Simultaneously, a campaign is launched, during which looting and slaughter among the Jews occur on a massive scale along the path of the fascist army. The acts of looting and murder, both individual and mass, are committed by Romanian and German soldiers, as well as civil authorities and local residents. The simultaneousness and

similarity of the crimes indicate that they were executed in accordance with previously prepared orders and plans.

The border village of Ciudei was one of the first settlements to be occupied. At this site, one year previously, the withdrawing batteries of the 16th Infantry Regiment, under the command of Valeriu Carp, had organized a barbaric massacre. There were only a few victims at that time. This time, however, the soldiers of the same regiment, with the same order and the same beast of a commander, exterminated the entire Jewish population with fire and sword. In only a few hours, 450 of the 500 Jewish villagers were shot dead.

July 4, 1941

Strorojinet was the first town to be occupied. Hardly had the soldiers marched in, than the slaughter began. Women, men, the elderly and children collected at random from houses, cellars, churches and streets, were either shot dead immediately, or only after being tortured. In two days, about 200 Jews were killed, among whom were the following:

Solomon Drimer, the former Vice-President of the Religious Community; his daughter-in-law, Jenni Drimer; the wife of Moritz Loebel, shot dead with her child in her arms (her husband hanged himself when he learnt of this); Mendel Schmeltzer, (shot dead together with his wife and son-in-law); Moses Iuhrman and his wife; David Greif; Simon Schefler; Smiel Fleischer and his son, Leon Fleischer; Mrs. Siegler and her daughter; Feinstein and his wife and daughter; Liebman and his wife; Baruch Altman. An elderly woman (Sonntag) was executed under the pretext that she had fired on the soldiers; a nasty farce was played out at her expense; a machine-gun belt was tied to her waist, and then a photograph was taken of her. Peisah Aufleger; Coblig, the cobbler; Russ, the tailor; Mrs. Moses; Berta Leder; Schulman; M. Surchis and his wife and sons; Buci Rosner and her father-in-law, Goldberg; his daughter, Blima, was only injured, but died two days later.

July 4, 1941

In the villages near Storojinet (Ropcea, Iordanesti, Patrauti, Panca and Broscauti), the occupying troops looted and murdered the Jewish population with similar barbarity.

In Ropcea, the entire family of **Osias Wolf Hass** is murdered. Soldiers occupying the village enjoy themselves thoroughly. They collect everybody from Hass's house, and drive them towards Siret. Old Hass is blind, and his son, Eugen, carries him on his back during the three-kilometer walk. When they reach the river, the valiant invaders force the victims to cross the water in single file on a narrow bridge. The blind man led the way, and the soldiers had great fun watching him stumble. The old man managed to get as far as the middle of the bridge, where he was shot dead, and his body fell into the water. Next in line was **Rifca Schneider**, with her baby in her arms. The baby was probably still alive when its mother fell off the bridge. Then followed all the others, **Eugen Hass**, his wife, his son and daughter. The little girl was only injured, and was taken to a nearby house. However, when she came two days later and remembered the tragedy she had experienced, she asked one of the soldiers to shoot her. Her request was granted.

Also in Ropcea, the **Meer** siblings and **Osias Rosen**—among them the brother of **Rabbi Dr. Mark** from Chernovitz as well as his wife.

In Iordanesti, the local residents, under the leadership of Telefon-Halache, organized a bloodbath. Among many others, the following were tortured and killed; **Michel Donenfeld, Haller and his two sons, Wolloch and Heinich.**

July 5, 1941

In Banila pe Siret, local residents, led by Mayor Mocaliuc and a certain Barbaza, killed 15 Jews, among them **M. Satran**, an eighty-year-old blind man, **Iacob Fleischer** and **Iacob Brecher** together with his daughter. Brecher's body was cut into pieces, and his blood was smeared on the axles of carriages.

Having seen so many atrocities, the priest of the Orthodox Church, Stefanovici, the parson of Banila, did not set foot in his church the following Sunday.

July 5, 1941

The invading army organized massacres in the villages inhabited by Jews throughout Storojinet county. Eighty people were shot dead in Stanesti, among them **Rabbi Friedlaender** and his two sons. In Jadova Noua dozens of Jews were tortured and killed, among them **Weiss Moise**, his child and siblings, **Weiss David and Weiss Urci.**

In Jadova Veche, **Rabbi Ghinsberg** survived after his beard was pulled out, his head was injured in several places, and he was repeatedly bayoneted. However, **Eli Schnitter** and his wife, **Bubi Engel**, were shot dead. Many girls were raped, and the beard of every old man was cut off. It will never be known how many Jews were killed on that day, and how many later. Very few witnesses survived. The only certainty is that from among the 543 Jewish inhabitants of the two Jadovas only 80 survived the massacre and the death march to the camps in Edineti and Transnistria.

In Costesti and Hunita fewer than forty of the 400 Jews survived, the rest were killed; in Budineti, 6 out of the 8 Jewish residents were killed, among them **Isidor Berghof**, the Secretary of the Religious Community in Storojineti (his eyes were torn out of their sockets before he was shot dead); it is not known for certain how many Jews were killed in Cires in addition to the **Jungmann** family, but their blood could be clearly seen in the dust of the road when the marching column of Jews from Banila passed there. In Vilavca, on the instigation of a peasant called Curichi, **Zeida Krigsman**, **Ioil Kluger**, **Aron Burman and his son**, **Bert Daubert**, **Zissu Lux**, his wife and one of his sons, **Haiche Dermer**, **Stembrecher** and his wife; in Milie, **Dr. Iacob Geller**, the leading Zionist, who was fleeing from Chernovitz, was shot dead together with his wife and one of his children, as well as the five member Mehrman family, which was bayoneted to pieces.

July 5, 1941

Following an order given by the Chief of Police in Herta, 100 Jews were collected from cellars and synagogues (to where they had fled), and executed. The corpses were buried in three mass graves.

On the same day, in the village of Horbova, in Herta County, all the 10 local Jews were killed.

July 5, 1941

When the Romanian army marched into the town of Vijnita, 21 Jews were executed.

The Romanian troops that occupied the town called Vascauti, took 19 hostages. Their names: **Dughi Wasserman**, **P. Haber**, **Leib Zeltzer and his son**, **Reicher and his son**, **Slotschewer**, **Machel and Ioil Singer**, **Strulovici**, **Gensler**, **Riezeher**, **Mechlovici**, **Engelberg**, **Reichman**, **Hans**

Erdreich, Moise Teller, Mendel Enzelberg and Fischel Papst. After a few hours all of them were shot dead.

July 5, 1941

In Rostachi-Vijnita, almost all the Jews were slaughtered. Ten out of 81 survived, including Dr. Stier, his wife and a child, who had fainted and were thought to be dead. The massacre was organized by local residents led by the Scimsinschi brothers, Mihai and Matei, and supported by Romanian soldiers.

July 5, 1941

The advance guards of the Romanian army marched into Chernovitz between 04.00 p.m. and 05.00 p.m. Some specially assigned units occupied strategically important positions and public buildings, while the rest flooded the Jewish quarter; the looting and killing began immediately.

July 6, 1941

The Romanian troops, which the previous day had occupied Edineti, start the massacre of the Jewish population. In two days, approx. 500 Jews were killed. Jewish women and girls were raped. Some of them committed suicide as a result.

July 6, 1941

In Noua Sulita, which had been occupied by Romanian troops before the attack was launched, the authorities raided the area and set up their headquarters; upon their orders 60 Jews were selected from the camp set up in the distillery and immediately executed.

July 6, 1941

In Chernovitz, individual soldiers and patrols continued to kill Jews at random throughout the night.

The entry of the bulk of Romanian troops into the town began at dawn. Some units flooded the lower part of the city, the Jewish quarter. The massacre there spread everywhere. In Romana, Calugareni, Cuciurul Mare, and other streets, soldiers went from house to house, killing all the Jews, young and old, without exception.

In less than twenty-four hours, more than 2,000 Jews were killed in the streets, yards, houses, cellars or attics, where the unfortunate were seeking refuge.

The corpses were transported in rubbish carts to the Jewish cemetery, and buried in four enormous common graves.

While the pogrom was in progress, Gendarme patrol units searched Jewish houses in the center of the town, especially in Iancu Zotta, Dimitrie Petrino, Miron Costin, and other streets. Approx. 3,000 Jews—men, women and children—were collected and shut into the cellar of the Gendarmerie Station. The Gendarmes, under the leadership of Major Cicondel, were engaged all night in abusing and torturing them. Late at night, the women were barbarically searched the search also involved their genitalia. All of them were subsequently released together with the children. Naturally, all their valuables were confiscated.

The men remained all night in the cellar and in the morning they were sent to forced labor, in groups.

4-5 days later, negotiations for liberation had started. First, commissar Teodorescu took 60–70 \$ for each freed Jew. Those who did not have money could buy their freedom with valuable objects like: a carpet, a watch, a cigarette case, a vacuum cleaner, etc.

In the meantime, Jews were prohibited from going out into the street. Milk sellers and greengrocers were also forbidden to enter Jewish houses.

July 7, 1941

In Edineti, the Jews killed the day before were gathered and buried in three mass graves. Then, the grave diggers, who were all Jewish, were also executed.

The Jews were prohibited from going to the market, or having any contact with the Christian population.

July 7, 1941

Following in the footsteps of German troops occupying Targu Parlita (Balti County), a few soldiers of the 5-th Romanian Infantry Regiment also crept into the town. Their first act was to seek and loot Jewish homes. In the house of **Ghidale Felder** (22 Principala Street), they found 10 Jews in the cellar; the soldiers demanded money and valuables from them. After the looting had ended, the soldiers shot all ten on the spot; four died instantly, two sometime later. It seems that the remaining four also died. After the

Romanian soldiers, one of whom was later identified by two officers, had left, the local residents set out to loot the houses of the other Jews.

Note: The Command Center of the 11-th German Army informed the Romanian High Staff of the massacre and looting. An inquiry was launched, which was conducted by the Balti Gendarmerie Legion on August 7: **it concluded that other Jews had also been killed**, but by German soldiers. The inquiry, naturally, was carried out in such a way that no one was found guilty, and no one was punished. (**Nr.** 5-11).

July 7, 1941

In the village of Vlad (Balti county), peasants armed with sticks and scythes attacked the houses into which part of the Jewish population of the town of Balti had fled after June 26. The Jews were dragged out of the houses, all of them beaten, some killed, and the houses burnt to the ground. (Nr. 14).

July 8, 1941

The old Jewish settlements of Briceni and Lipcani were destroyed by the passing hoards. It could not be established and will never be known how many Jews were killed there on that day.

July 8, 1941

One of the units of the 14th Romanian Infantry Regiment, consisting of 20 soldiers, and led by a corporal, which had fallen behind, came across a group of 50 Jews (42 adults and 6-8 children) between the villages of Taura Veche and Taura Noua, on its way to Falesti-Chiscareni (Balti county). After everything had been taken away from them (including clothes and shoes), they were forced into a swamp, where they had to lie face down; they were shot in this position. The children were beaten to death. Only two women survived, they were found by German soldiers, who took them to hospital.

Note: It is curious that the bestial massacre revolted even the German soldiers who were following Romanian units. The Command Center of the 11-th German Army informed the Romanian High Command of the massacre, pointing out that "the behavior of certain representatives of the Romanian army serves no other purpose than to destroy the credibility of

the Romanian army, and at the same time, that of the German army in the eyes of world opinion".

The inquiry ordered by the High Command was held on August 9, 1941, by the Balti Gendarme Legion. However, no conclusions were reached. (Nr. 12-16).

July 8, 1941

Romanian troops occupying Marculesti (Soroca county), collected the entire Jewish population—men, women and children—and took them to the edge of the village. In the early hours of the occupation, 18 Jews, including the rabbi, were declared hostages, and shot dead. Then, the massacre began, claiming approx. 1,000 Jewish lives. The corpses were buried in the antitank ditches at the edge of the village.

One day after the departure of Soviet troops, but still before the arrival of Romanian troops, locals, supported by the residents of nearby villages, destroyed and looted the houses of Jews.

Similar massacres were also committed by the Romanian army in Floresti, Gura Kamenca and Gura Cainari. (Nr. 17).

Note: Marculesti was an old Jewish agricultural settlement. Before the war, it was inhabited by 2,300 Jews and about 200 Romanians, the latter forming the staff of the village council, the revenue office, the gendarme station, etc.

July 8, 1941

Ion Antonescu launches directives and incitements to pogroms at the meeting of the Council of Ministers (Nr. 32).

July 9, 1941

In the villages of the Dniester district (Chernovitz County), Jews are killed by Romanian troops together with SS soldiers. In Zoniache are shot 130 Jews and in Rapujinet 32 Jews. A part of the corpses are thrown into the Dniester.

In the Cotmani town, 27 Jews, registered on a list handed over to the Romanian and German troops by the local authorities, were shot. The hooligan Dragan provoked the killing. Among those killed were the following: Rabbi Rubin, the Schwartzkopf brothers, the Schor brothers, Baruch Auerbach, etc.

July 11, 1941

In Lipcani-Hotin, the Military Police took 12 Jewish hostages, and subsequently executed them.

Also taken hostage and executed were 40 Jews in Lincauti-Hotin. They were buried outside the village of Musanet.

In Ceplauti-Hotin all the Jews (approx. 160 people) were killed.

July 11, 1941

In the town of Balti, occupied on July 9, the Jews who took refuge because of the bombardments, started to return to their homes. They are arrested by the German patrols and interned in the camp. On the same day, 10 Jews are taken hostages and executed in the small garden in front of "Soborul Vechi". (Nr. 18)¹.

July 12, 1941

In Climauti-Soroca, 300 Jewish men, women and children were killed. The corpses were buried at the edge of the village.

July 15, 1941

The Balti Gestapo requests from the Jewish community 20 communists to be executed. As the community refuses, the entire committee and some more 44 Jews, a total of 56 people were tortured, mocked at and photographed (Illustration I) and then taken to Slobozia – Balti where, after they dug their own graves, they were shot at. Only the president of the Board escaped following the intervention of some Romanian leading personalities. (**Nr. 18**).

July 16, 1941

By the order of the Gestapo, other 20 Jewish hostages are shot in Balti. (Nr. 18).

July 17, 1941

The German and Romanian troops marched into Kishinev. Along the two routes of their entry, through Sculeni from the north, and Hancesti from the south, they carried out a horrible bloodbath. The exact number of

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¹ See illustration II.

victims is not known, nor will it ever be established. However, on the basis of the number of survivors ghettoized a few days later, the number of Jews killed during the occupation of the city can be estimated at approx. 10,000.

July 25, 1941

A consignment of 25,000 Jews is transported across the Dniester to the Ukraine. Part of it arrives in Coslar, where the Jews have to wait in an open field in terrible crowded conditions. No one is allowed to leave. A Jew and his three children are shot dead after moving a little to one side. They were all shot dead.

August 1, 1941

Upon the orders of the Gestapo, 450 Jews are selected from the ghetto in Kishinev, primarily intellectuals and pretty women. They are taken to Visterniceni next to the city, where 411 are shot dead. The surviving 39 are taken back to the ghetto in order to report the story. (Nr. 19). Among those killed were: Eng. Isac Krasniasky, Eng. Sasa Schwartzman, Iuzia Millstein, Mrs. Hornstein, the Gochberg couple, whose 8 year-old child remained in the ghetto.

August 2, 1941

Those Bessarabian Jews who were taken across the Dniester were wandering along the roads of the Ukraine in miserable conditions before being transported to Moghilev. By the time they arrived, 4,000 of the original 25,000 were missing. Some may have hidden in Ukrainian villages, but a great number perished as a result of starvation and misery, or they had been shot dead.

August 4, 1941

The first consignment of the Jews driven out of Storojinet arrived in Atachi, where they were supposed to cross the Dniester in order to arrive in Mogilev. The convoy formed of 300 people was guarded by a corporal and two soldiers. The German authorities do not allow them to cross the Dniester; consequently, the consignment is lined up again to return to Chernovitz. After passing through a village called Volcinet, the column is stopped beside a signal box at 09.00 p.m. and the people are taken off the carts together with their possessions. The Jews are divided into groups of

ten, and the first group is shot into the Dniester. Following their execution, the corporal promises to allow the others to live if they hand over their money and jewelry to him. One hundred rings, and also golden necklaces, chains, earrings and 15,000 lei were collected and handed over to the corporal. Then, all the Jews were forced into the Dniester, and shot. A number of Jews, 60 according to some witnesses, 90 according to others, who were not hit by bullets, and could swim, survived. Among those who were drowned were: Stein, Rohl, Schächter, all from Jadova; Sifris, Haier, Deutscher and Katz from Banila pe Siret, Moise Rozen from Vilvacea with his wife and two daughters: Gusta and Ester, etc. (Nr. 20-26).

Note: An inquiry was launched into this massacre and its circumstances, with the aim of finding those guilty. However, the Supreme Military Judge, General Topor, decided to shelve the case. (**Nr. 21**).

August 6, 1941

The Jews who had been transported across the Dniester were taken to Scazinet. The old, the sick and the completely exhausted—approximately 1,000 people—were selected. They were told that they would be taken to a resting camp. All of them were shot dead, and their corpses buried in an anti-tank ditch.

August 6, 1941

Gendarmes from the 23-rd Gendarme Company executed 200 Jews, and threw their bodies into the Dniester. (**Nr. 27**).

Note: The Gendarme Supervisory Body laconically reported this case (Report No. 80, August 13). No mention was made of either the circumstances or the location of the mass massacre. At that time, the 23-rd Gendarme Company was operating in Lapusna County (Kishinev).

The Supreme Military Judge, General Topor, recorded the following decision to the above report: "into the files".

Upon the orders of the Romanian authorities, a road inspector selected 500 Jews from the ghetto in Kishinev in order to take them to the Ghidignici work site. He also took 25 women to cook for the men. After a week, 200 completely exhausted people, who were physically incapable of work, returned. The remaining 325 had disappeared forever. (**Nr. 19**).

Note: A report of Gendarme battalion Nr. 10 (Nr. 7 of August 27, 1941) stated that on August 25, the Jewish battalion was working at the

stone quarry in the Ghidighici railway station. On that day, an infantry squad was in the railway station waiting for the train to Kishinev and provoked a fight with the Jewish workers on the reason that one of them would have beaten a Romanian sergeant during the 1940 retreat. The report stated that after the fight "a few kikes were slightly injured".

The matter was not more seriously investigated because the Great Military Judge, general Topor had shelved it. The 300 Jews are known to have been killed. After that date nothing had been found out about any of them (Nr. 28).

August 9, 1941

According to the minutes signed by SS Untersturmfuhrer Frohlich and Ion Gh. Vetu, Captain of the Gendarme Legion in Chilia, it can be proven that the former conveyed an order to the latter in the name of General Antonescu, stipulating that the Gendarme Captain was to execute all the Jews (451) in the Tataresti camp (Chilia County), who were under his command.

The captain reported that the order had been carried out. (Nr. 29).

Note: There are other documents—in addition to the above-mentioned minutes—which bear witness to this massacre. One of these, for example, is a report compiled by a committee investigating certain aspects of the bloodbaths in Bessarabia during the time of Antonescu. (**Nr. 19**). This report also mentions the 451 murdered Jews, while other documents refer to 115 victims. It is an indisputable fact, however, that a trial was launched against the perpetrator of these murders, Captain Ion Gh. Vetu; not because he had murdered a few hundred innocent people, but because this time he had robbed them; he stole a couple of watches, rings and some money. (**Nr. 30**).

August 17, 1941

The German troops sent back over the Dniester, to Iampol, a convoy of Bessarabian Jews that had been passed to the Ukraine by the Romanian troops at the end of July. The convoy comprised 12,500 Jews who stopped in a clearing near the Cosauti forest.

According to the data comprised in some documents, it seems that a number of 13,500 Jews and not 12,500 had been sent over the Dniester. Anyway, from almost 25,000 Jews chased away by the Romanian troops, a maximum number of 16,500 Jews were returned. It seems that from the

remaining number of 8,000 Jews, some had succeeded in squeezing in through the Ukraine. The greatest majority was killed by starvation, misery, exhaustion or shooting. They roamed for almost one month being chased towards the East or the West, beaten, tortured and looted. Many girls and women were raped and many disabled were found dead at the road edges. Before passing the Dniester, on August 13, on the way between Scazinet and Iampol, on the bank of the river, the Germans shot 150 of them because they stopped to rest in a forest.

September 1, 1941

In accordance with a directive issued by the Romanian authorities, the Central Statistical Office conducted a census in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. The census showed a number of 126,434 Jews in these two provinces. According to data of the previous official census, 274,036 Jews had lived on this territory. (**Nr. 1**).

We can conclude that two months after the commencement of military actions, at the end of the first phase of the "holy war", following the occupation of the territories which had been handed over in 1940, approx. 150,000 Jews were missing¹. These were either killed or perished as a result of bestial persecution, starvation, thirst, their untreated diseases and wounds, and fatigue.

September 16, 1941

The deportation to Transnistria of the Jews collected in the camps of Northern Bukovina began. A month later, following the establishment of the new camps, the counting of those interned was carried out with extreme care. In certain camps (Secureni and Edineti), two counts were taken: one by military organizations, the other by village authorities. When the marching columns were started, nobody bothered to count the number of survivors.

A great number of Jews died in the camps of Secureni, Edineti, Vertujeni and Marculesti, especially in the latter two. They perished for many reasons, but all were a consequence of the horrifying conditions to which the victims had been subjected. By the end of the terrible walk, which for some lasted as long as two months, people's physical and psychological resistance was broken. There were some cases of suicide and premature

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¹ See vol. I, page 19, note 2.

birth at the very beginning. However, with the passing of time, the number of these grew daily. Soon the diseases caused by misery appeared: Enteric fever, petechial typhus, scabies, dysentery, etc. Although there were many physicians among those interned, the epidemics continued to spread, and the death rate rose rapidly, since medication and the necessary medical accessories (soap, petroleum, and water) were absent. Many of those who had not fallen victim to disease, died as a result of starvation and thirst. In certain places, food was totally absent, while in others there was plenty, but it was too expensive for the impoverished people. They reached the point when they gave a watch for a loaf of bread, a blanket for two loaves, and ten shirts for a bucket of water. At times camp commanders cut off the food supply lines by prohibiting peasants from entering the camp, or the Jews from leaving it.

The lack of water usually caused cruel suffering, and often death. In the camp in Edineti, there was only one well with water suitable for drinking, the water in the other well was contaminated. Most of the internees there drank rainwater, which they collected in two holes. A group of Jews left in the forest in Barnova for eight days in the middle of August had no supplies of any food whatsoever, because the peasants were prohibited from approaching them; they drank rainwater. At the beginning of September, 70-100 Jews died daily in Edineti. Some died of thirst: Pavel Grun (Stanesti), Haim Cohn (Jadova), Itic Birkenfeld (Seletin), Malca Menases, etc.

In the camps—especially in Vertujeni and Marculesti—Jews often died as a result of exhausting work, but primarily, beatings and torture. Some were killed, shot dead, purely at the whim of the commanders of the camps.

November 15, 1941

The first phase of the deportations had ended. The camps in Bessarabia as well as the ghetto in Kishinev had been emptied. Not a single Jew remained in the towns and villages of Bukovina, with the exception of Chernovitz, where 20,000 Jews were allowed to stay. At the gates to Transnistria (Moghilev, Iampol, Rabnita, Tiraspol, Iasca), the deportees were counted. It turns out from the summary report of the Transnistrian Gendarme Supervisory Body that 118,847 Jews were taken across the Dniester. Among them were the 35,000 Jews who had been deported from

the counties of Southern Bessarabia and Dorohoi. The official census of September 1 showed 126,434 Jews in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, including the 20,000 Jews who had not been deported from Chernovitz. If the appropriate calculations are made, it turns out that during the following two months after the census a further 22,000 Jews died in Bessarabia. (**Nr. 19**).

A number of them died, because the starvation, thirst, misery and the suffering in the camps continued.

Others died of exhaustion on their way to the Dniester. In one of the marching columns heading towards the village of Corbu from Edineti, 860 people died during one single night near Atachi. Although it was only October 15, it was freezing, and the first snow fell in the middle of the night. The people were almost naked, some wore rags or pieces of paper, their physical resistance had weakened considerably, and consequently the freezing conditions were easily able to finish them off. Mendel Katz and Lecker from Banila, Hajer, the pharmacist from Seletin, Z. Gabor, H. Druckman were among the victims.

However, most of the Jews were killed by accompanying Gendarmes and "premilitaries". The roads leading from the camps towards the Dniester—primarily those from Vertujeni to Cosauti, from Marculesti to Rezina, and from Kishinev to Orhei—were literally lined with corpses. One of the instructions concerning deportation referred to the persons lagging behind who had to be shot. (**Nr. 19**). In addition to this, those escorting the columns killed many Jews out of whims, sadism or at the request of peasants standing by the roadside, who bought the living people for 1,500-2,000 lei, and then had them shot by the soldiers so that they could take off their clothes.

Out of the group of Jews who were driven away from the Bukovina villages who suffered the plight of walking for 2 months and then the torments of Edineti, 100 exhausted people were shot near Atachi, among whom were: Rabbi Iehosua Frankel from Seletin with his family, Rabbi Frankel from Nepolocauti, Eti Birnbaum, Eti Wagner, Sura Schertzer, Erna Sin, Zlotschewer, Reinis, etc.

After November 15, 1941, not a single Jew was killed in Bessarabia: there were none left.

CHAPTER I – DOCUMENTS

THE JEWISH POPULATION IN BESSARABIA, BUKOVINA AND THE DOROHOI COUNTY NR. 1

Statistical figures of the years 1930, 1941 and 1942¹

PROVINCES	CENSUS	CENSUS	INVENTORY	CENSUS
COUNTIES	December	April 6,	September 1,	May 20,
TOWNS	29, 1930	1941	1941	1942
GRAND TOTAL	$314,933^2$	29,687	126,434	19,576
BESSARABIA	206,958		72,825	227
Urban environment	99,392		13,065	
Rural environment	107,566		59,560	
BUKOVINA	93,101		71,950	17,033
Urban environment	68,772			
Rural environment	24,329			
DOROHOI	14,874	11.546^3		2,316
Urban environment	12,811			
Rural environment	2,063			
BESSARABIA	206,958		72.625	227
BALTI COUNTY	31,916		2.923	-
CAHUL COUNTY	4.448		47	-

¹ The list above comprises in the first 2 columns, the official figures found by the Central Institute of Statistics after the 2 general censuses. For the census that took place on December 29, 1930, the data published in vol. II, part II, called "The stable population in 1930 according to religion", were used. The 3-rd column comprises the results after a partial census that took place on Sept. 1, 1941 by the Central Institute of Statistics in the occupied territories at the beginning of the war. In the chaos left by the first 2 war months in these regions, only a superficial counting could be made. The last column comprises the findings of the racial census of the Jewish inhabitants that was performed in May 1942 by the Jewish Central Office in Romania. It was a very serious and complete census. For fear of the strict sanctions foreseen by the organic law, the census was based on a unanimous participation and on very exact statements.

² The real figure is smaller by 115 due to the different administrative changes that occurred until 1941.

³ Without the Herta region.

PROVINCES	CENSUS	CENSUS	INVENTORY	CENSUS
COUNTIES	December	April 6,	September 1,	May 20,
TOWNS	29, 1930	1941	1941	1942
CETATEA ALBA COUNTY	6,938		55	-
CHILIA COUNTY	6,658		130	-
HOTIN COUNTY	36,132		21,468	126
Hotin town	5,786		559	126
Secureni and Edineti	9,565		20,909	-
The remaining county	20.781		-	-
ISMAIL COUNTY	4.231		1.259	1
LAPUSNA COUNTY	50.690		10.957	100
Kishinev	41.405		10.742	99
The remaining county	9.285		215	1
ORHEI COUNTY	19.566		360	-
SOROCA COUNTY	29.510		36.014	-
Town of Soroca	5.452		1.277	-
Marculesti	2,337		10,737	
Vartujeni	1,834		24,000	
The remaining county	19,887		_	
SOUTHERN BUKOVINA	32,844	18,140		179
CAMPULUNG COUNTY	7,63 7	6,572		76
RADAUTI COUNTY	9,512	6,494		72
SUCEAVA COUNTY	6,695	5,074		31
NORTHERN BUKOVINA	69,144		53.809	16.854
CHERNOVITZ COUNTY	51,681		49 .97	16,794
Town of Chernovitz	42.932		49,497	16,776
The remaining county	8,749		_	18
RADAUTI COUNTY	2.066		_	-
STOROJINET COUNTY	15,3 97		4.312	60
DOROHOI COUNTY	12,932	11,547		2,316
(WITHOUT Herta)				
Town of Dorohoi	5,820	5,389		2,315
The remaining county	7,112	6,158		1
HERTA REGION	1,940		-	-
Town of Herta	1,796		_	-
The remaining county	144		•	-

THE DOROHOI POGROM Nr. 2

THE PHYSICIAN OF THE TOWN Nr. 462 July 4, 1940

MINUTES

Today, July 3, 1940, at 10.00 a.m., we, the military prosecutor of the Court Martial of the "Garoafa" Headquarters, reserve captain Duca I. Mihail, assisted by Col. Physician C. Enachescu, physician of Dorohoi, sub-lieut. Darabana Mihai, registrar of the Court Martial and the Town Hall of Dorohoi, represented by Eng. Pascu, deputy mayor, identified the corpses found in the vicinity of the Israelite cemetery and in various points of the town; the corpses are in the funeral house and a part in front of it.

"There was a total of 50 corpses, out of which 11 women, 34 men and 5 children. Among the corpses there was sergeant T.R. Bercovici Emil of Regiment 29 and 6 Jewish soldiers of whom I could identify soldier Bronstein of the 6-th rifle mountain regiment and another soldier of the 16-th artillery regiment according to the sign of his belt.

Regarding the precise name and unit of the six Jewish soldiers mentioned above, no precise findings could be made although these corpses were examined in detail.

The soldiers' clothes were torn, dirty and full of blood. I took from the corpses a pair of knee high boots and 2 pairs of boots.

After having examined the corpses I could find out that they died by having been shot into their heads, chest, and abdomen except for an old man whose skull base was fractured by a strong blow.

The names of the above people who died are shown below:

- 1. Bercu Aclipei, St. Reg. Ferdinand, age 35;
- 2. Leibiş Blonder, St. Traian, age 60;
- 3. Idel Bercovici, St. I. C-Brătianu, age 50;
- 4. Frochi, Jewish home, age 60;
- 5. Leiba Zeingher, St. Tăutu, age 58;
- 6. Senlo Rotaru, St. Miron Costin, age 1-2;
- 7. Avram Calmanovici, St. Ștefan cel Mare age 50;
- 8. Unknown civilian, about 35 years old;

- 9. Unknown soldier, about 26 years old, platinum front teeth;
- 10. Unknown soldier, appr. 27 years old, 2 plated teeth, found a watch;
- 11. Iţcu Abramovici, St. Spital, about 5 years old;
- 12. Unknown soldier, appr. 24 years old, 3 bottom plated teeth;
- 13. Unknown soldier, appr. 25 years old, found a monogram on the trousers belt, 16 articles;
- 14. Zindel Fonea, Vf. Câmpului, appr. 41 years old;
- 15. Eli Rizel's wife, appr. 60 years old;
- 16. Eli Rizel, aged 75;
- 17. Şloim Ceauşu, Jewish home, aged 30;
- 18. Leia Zina, St. Muzelor, aged 55;
- 19. Unknown person, appr. 45 years old;
- 20. Idilovici Calman, Iași, aged 24;
- 21. Schmil Groparu, St. Dorobanţilor, appr. 54 years old;
- 22. Calman Croitoru, St. Regina Maria, appr. 36 years old;
- 23. Meier Moscovici, St. Regina Maria, appr. 41 years old;
- 24. Emil Bercovici, St. Gr. Ghica, 25 years old, Sg. T. R.;
- 25. Rifca Croitoru, St. C. Stroici, 60 years old;
- 26. Aron Elic Iosup, 43 years old appr.;
- 27. Marcu Volf Croitoru alias Gotesman, 59 years old appr.;
- 28. Mina Davidovici, 40 years old;
- 29. Steina Leibovici, St. Regina Maria, 50 years old;
- 30. Broinstein, St. Col. Vasiliu, 25 years old, Reg. 8;
- 31. Ghelber Hună, Iași, 26 years old;
- 32. Herşcu Ionas, 94 years old;
- 33. Aizic I. Aizic, 43 years old;
- 34. Rosa Kaufman, St. Mare, 35 years old, Săveni;
- 35. Unknown person, 36 years old appr.;
- 36. Iosup Gherbis, St. Tăutu nr. 33, 80 years old;
- 37. Iosup Gherber, Jewish home, 66 years old;
- 38. Gizela Cohn, St. Regina Maria, 45 years old appr.;
- 39. Moise Croici, Darabani village, 43 years old appr.;
- 40. Freida Rudik, St. Regina Maria, 7 years old;
- 41. Toni Rudik, St. Regina Maria, 6 years old;
- 42. Moise Rudik, St. Regina Maria, 2 years old;
- 43. Iacob Rudik, St. Regina Maria, 38 years old;
- 44. Ciauşu Malca, St. Regina Maria, 35 years old;

- 45. Marcu Gusan, St. Tăutu, 18 years old;
- 46. Elias Aronovici, St. Spital, 30 years old;
- 47. Herşcu Mendelovici, St. Miron Costin, 75 years old;
- 48. Chana Petrar, St. Reg. Ferdinand, 21 years old.
- 49. Sin Iţic Leib, St. Vântului, 50 years old;
- 50. Simon Cohn, son of Iţic Herş, Solomon, St. Regina Maria, 2 years old We, the military prosecutor, reserve captain Duca I. Mihail, based on the delegation given to us by prime-prosecutor, magistrate major I. Tintu, finding the cause of the death of these people, as specified above, disposed their burial and gave the burial authorization to deputy mayor Eng. Pascu.

In order to prevent the decomposition of the corpses and to speed up their burial, we have asked for and were sent from regiment 29 P.S. of the garrison company a detachment of 72 soldiers under the command of sublieut. Balan Savel.

The magistracy of the Dorohoi tribunal was represented by the deputy commissar Mercur Constantin from the Dorohoi police.

This minutes was drawn up in 4 copies, of which one was given to the Dorohoi town council through Eng. Pascu, deputy mayor, one to the Dorohoi garrison, one to the sanitary service of the town through colonel dr. C. Enachescu and one copy was kept by us.

Military Prosecutor, Reserve Col.
Reserve capt. Duca Mihail Dr. C. Enachescu

Deputy mayor Clerk,

Eng. Ioan Pascu Reserve sub-lieut. DARABANA

THE CRIMES AT THE ROMANIAN – SOVIET BORDER Nr. 3

FEDERATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES Nr. 129 February 26, 1941

Dear General Manager,

I take the liberty to inform you of the following:

A repatriation committee for those who wish to return to the USSR was established in the Burdujeni railway station.

137 persons (27 Christian Romanians and 110 Jews), some from the occupied territory, others from Southern Bukovina and others from the Old Kingdom, came to the said committee with legal documents in order to have their passports issued. Among those Jews there were war veterans from Romania's wars and even a war orphan. They decided to leave their country of birth for unknown places because they were dismissed and had no possibility to earn their living, depending on public mercy and also because the emigration of Jews was considered as the essential point in the government program intended to solve the Jewish issue.

The committee accepted to pass them over the border but the operation was carried out secretly and some people died during that action.

Out of the 137 persons, small groups of 10, 12, 15 or 25 were led to different border points like Vicov, Fratauti, Ungheni, Herta, etc. Little is known about their fate. It is known that among them there were women and children aged 6 and more and they had to walk long and hard marches (30 - 40 km) in the snow without food and resting possibilities.

At present 58 Jews out of whom there are 4 children, are being guarded in the Burdujeni railway station. They are threatened to have the same fate as that of the people who left before for the USSR.

Please stop as soon as possible the deportation of those Jews and to set them free if they are not guilty of any delinquency.

President, Dr. W. FILDERMAN Secretary General, MATATIAS CARP

TO THE GENERAL MANAGER OF THE GENERAL SECURITY SERVICE

POISONOUS INSINUATIONS AND CRIMINAL INSTIGATIONS OF THE GENERAL STAFF Nr. 4

Circular order of the General Staff of the IV-th Army Nr. 206798 of June 30, 1941

The General Staff communicates by ordinance Nr. 193-941 the following:

Enemy agents work behind the front trying sabotage acts, supplying indications or information to the enemy, being aggressive towards isolated soldiers.

The Jewish population is in league with these agents.

General Antonescu drew attention to the Commanders of the Big Unit to reinforce the guard of the back front and ordered that all who act against the army and the country's interests should be executed on the spot.

Please order all the commanders and subordinated bodies to be merciless against those guilty of sabotage, espionage, disorder or any acts against the army and the country.

KILLING THE JEWS OF PARLITA TG., BALTI COUNTY, BY GERMAN AND ROMANIAN TROOPS NR. 5

Entry Nr. 932 Sept. 16, 1941

SECRET

Nr. 881 August 26, 1941 GENDARME INSPECTORATE KISHINEV

to the HIGHEST MILITARY JUDGE MILITARY POSTAL OFFICE NR. 85

To your order Nr. 227/941.

I submit hereby the enclosed file with the documents drawn up by reserve sub-lieut. Stino Laurentiu of the Gendarme legion in Balti referring to the shooting and robbing of the Jews from the Parlita-Tg village by Romanian soldiers.

Please see the result in the enclosed report Nr. 1502-1941 of the legion.

Gendarme Inspector Kishinev

Col. **MECULESCU**

Nr. 6

Nr. 1500

Entry Nr. 881 August 20, 1941

August 14,1941 GENDARME LEGION BALTI OFFICE I POLICE AND HEADQUARTERS

to

GENDARME INSPECTORATE KISHINEV POLICE OFFICE

To your order Nr. 65 of July 18, 1941:

I have the honor of submitting to you a file with the documents drawn up by reserve captain Stino Laurentiu regarding the Jews killed in the village of Parlita-Tg.

On July 7, 1941, the German and Romanian troops passed through the Parlita-Tg. village on which occasion the Jews were shooting at the soldiers.

After the troops passed through the village, a part of the Romanian population from the neighboring villages burst into the houses of the Jews of Parlita and plundered them. It was not proved whether the Romanian soldiers plundered and killed the Jews.

During that time, the military judges were in charge with order maintaining in the region because the gendarme legion Balti had not been instated yet.

Commander of the Balti Gendarme Legion Major M. BOULESCU

Nr. 7

GENDARME LEGION BALTI

FILE

with the documents concluded in connection with the deeds committed by some soldiers in the village of Parlita-Tg, Balti County

GENDARME LEGION BALTI

Nr. 24

August 8, 1941
Reserve Capt. Stino Laurentiu
to
GENDARME LEGION BALTI

Entry Nr. 1500 August 8, 1941

To your order Nr. 65-941 of the Gendarme Inspectorate Kishinev and Nr. 227-941 of the service of the Highest Military Judge.

I have the honor of submitting to you a file composed of 9 pages comprising the researches I made on August 7 in the Parlita-Tg. village, describing the facts reported to the General Staff of the Romanian Army by the 11-th German Army.

Reserve Capt.
LAURENTIU STINO

Nr. 8

GENERAL STAFF
Department II
Nr. 227
July 17, 1941
Gendarme Inspectorate Kishinev
Research and reports about what
happened
General TOPOR

Entry Nr. 227
July 18, 1941
Nr. 1411/B. July 17, 1941
GENERAL STAFF
Department II
to the
DEPARTMENT OF THE BIG
MILITARY JUDGE

I am honored to send you the copy of the dispatch of the XI-the German Army asking you to order an investigation of the notified facts and to have the soldier immediately arrested in order to be interrogated regarding his accomplices.

Chief of Department II Lieut. col. R. DINULESCU Office Chief Lieut. Col. GH. N. PETRESCU

Nr. 9

Dispatch of the XI-the German Army to the Romanian General Staff XI-TH ARMY

Sector 1

Cantonment, July 2, 1941

to the Romanian General Staff Referring to: Abuses committed by Romanian soldiers and civilian persons in the occupied territories

We are sending you copies of a report referring to what has been found out on the scene and the minutes of the meeting of the German secret military police concerning the abuses committed by the Romanian soldiers and civilian persons in the newly occupied territories.

Major DAGNER, liaison officer of the 4-th Romanian Army found out about the personal data of the caught Romanian soldier, as follows:

ALEXANDRU TITU, weapon series 14951, Group 5 reconnaissance, 5-th infantry division.

Please, take the other necessary measures to identify the other guilty persons and punish them.

In order to avoid other similar cases, please provide police forces in the occupied territories that should be entitled to intervene against Romanian military persons as well. Considering it a matter of urgency, please dispose of the necessary measures as soon as possible.

> Army Headquarters Chief of General Staff RANCK, Major of General Staff

Nr. 10

Cantonment, July 7, 1941

On July 7, 1941, some Romanian soldiers appeared between 09.00 – 10.00 a.m. in the village of Parliti – Targ, Principala St. Nr. 8. They were seen by a woman whose name is VENEA BUGA and by other people

whose name has not been identified yet. These soldiers went from house to house and robbed several valuable objects threatening the people who owned them. Whenever they met civilians they also threatened and robbed them of their valuables. The gang of soldiers went to Principala St. Nr. 22, a house inhabited by 10 Jews. They claimed money and valuable objects from the Jews. Although they were given valuables, they pulled all the 10 Jews out of their homes and started to look for money and valuables. It is not known if they found anything. After that they summoned the Jews to go down to the cellar where they had to be killed. The Jews were killed on the stairs which led to the cellar. On hearing the sound of the shootings, the German military bakery nearby sent some soldiers to see what happened or the soldiers went there by themselves. A Romanian colonel named DUMITRESCU and a Romanian major called DAGNER, both liaison officers, were close to the scene of action and they went into the house. The Romanian soldiers ran away. One of them was kept by the Romanian officers and identified. The soldier recognized his deeds.

The soldiers from the German military bakery brought the wounded Jews who were still living. The dead ones remained in the cellar, 2 women and 2 men. The other 6 wounded persons remained in the house. 2 of them died in the mean time. A Jewish civilian physician and a Romanian military physician provided the necessary medical assistance.

The two liaison officers have witnessed the scene. When the truth was found out, and the officers of the German General Staff learned about the facts, measures were taken to prevent other abuses.

The guard of the general staff, the field gendarmerie and the secret police sent patrols to different streets of the village in order to stop the Romanian troops from bursting into houses. These measures were taken by Capt. Schabedissen and major Weisshaar. These two German officers together with others and also some German soldiers investigated the deceased persons, the wounded ones, the cellar and the house. The wounded were assisted by the German soldiers.

The civilians who were accomplices of the Romanian soldiers started to be identified. The house of the woman VENEA BUGA in Principala St. Nr. 8 was searched and a big quantity of flour bags, pillows, eiderdown mattresses, carpets, plates and other objects were found there. These objects can be considered looted goods. The woman declared that her husband is in the red army. She denied to have stolen the goods found in her house.

MINUTES August, 7, 1941

I, reserve captain, Stino Laurentiu, assistant of the Commander of the Gendarmerie Legion Balti, considering the order of the Military Judge Nr. 227 of 1941 and the order of the Gendarmerie Inspectorate Kishinev Nr. 65-941 report the following:

I went to the Parlita-Targ village where I investigated and drew up documents referring to the troops that passed through the village who plundered and shot some Jews.

Out of the persons specified in the complaint of the 11-th German army, I could only identify the woman FENIA BUGA because the soldier ALEXANDRU TITU, weapon series 14951, Group 5 reconnaissance, 5-th infantry division left the village on July 12, together with his unit.

Major DAGNER, liaison officer at the IV-the Romanian army and colonel DUMITRESCU, liaison officer identified the soldier as they were in the vicinity of the place where this soldier shot the Jews.

We could not identify and did not find any Jew in the village as a part of them ran away with the Soviet troops and the others were interned in the camp.

In order to find out the truth about those declared by the 11-th German army, as the main informants were missing, I interrogated some important persons from the Parliti Targ village.

I interrogated STEFAN DOROSCHIEVICI who declared the following: "The first troops that arrived on July 7, this year, in Parlita were German troops while the Romanian troops arrived on the next day. When they entered the village, they asked where the Jews were.

I answered that most of the Jews had run away and some of them were hiding in cellars. I heard that the German soldiers shot a few Jews because when the Germans entered the Parlita village, some Jews hiding in attics and gardens shot at them.

I did not see any German and Romanian troops plundering or robbing Jewish houses. But I saw several people from the neighboring villages that after the departure of the German-Romanian troops entered the houses of the Jews taking several objects, especially food.

This was my declaration which I sign below,

STEFAN DOROSCHIEVICI

Interrogating VASILE TEPOI from the Parlita Targ village, he declared the following: "When the German troops entered the Parlita Targ village, two German soldiers were shot by the Jews who were hiding. I guided the German army showing them the way to Kishinev. I joined them to Bumbeta. On the way we met a Jew and a German soldier shot him as an act of revenge because the Jews from Parlita had shot two German soldiers.

When other German troops arrived at Parlita after a couple of days, they asked about the Jews who shot at them during the first days. They followed them and found some Jews hiding in a cellar. They shot those Jews who had weapons and grenades upon them; the other Jews who were hiding were gathered and sent to an unknown place.

I did not see German troops to have plundered and robbed Jewish houses. They entered the houses forcing the doors in order to find the Jews.

When the Romanian troops entered the Parlita village, they proceeded in the same way. I did not see any Romanian soldiers plundering or shooting at Jews. After a couple of days, I heard that in the house of FELDER GHIDALE the Romanian soldiers would have shot approximately 10 Jews. Ever since that day, the Jew FELDER GHIDALE was not seen any longer in Parlita. Some people say that he was wounded and taken to a hospital in Iasi. I do not know the soldier Alexandru of the 5-th division.

This was my declaration which I sign below".

VASILE TEPOI

ANA ANDRASIU from the Parlita Targ village was interrogated and declared: "Everything Stefan Doroschievici declared is true. I must also add that the German soldiers shot 4 Romanian inhabitants, a flagman, a lineman, a shunter and an unknown civilian from the Niculeni village because they did not execute the orders given by the German army.

The German soldiers wanted to take my sow with her 6 piglets and I begged them not to take them away as I am a poor woman. When they heard what I said, they did not take the sow with her piglets any longer but took a

pig of 50 - 60 kg and they paid for it. They slaughtered the pig on the spot, put it into a truck and left.

I do not know who those soldiers were.

This was my declaration which I sign below."

ANA ANDRASIU

Interrogating POZDARCA TOMA, the chief of the Parlita-Targ gendarme post, he declared:

"I installed myself as chief of the gendarme post with 4 gendarmes in Parlita Tg. village on the 9-th July, that is after the German and Romanian troops passed and after the plundering and looting had taken place on 7-th and 8-th of July. I learned from the inhabitants that when the Romanian and German troops passed through the village, some Jews were shot because they had been aggressive and shot at the soldiers. Those Jews who were peaceful were not attacked.

I heard that a lot of Jews were shot in FELDER GHIDALE's house. Some Jews died on the spot while others were wounded and transported to Iasi.

I was also informed that after the German and Romanian troops had passed through the Parlita village, a part of the inhabitants and some people from the neighboring villages started to plunder and rob the objects and food from the Jewish deserted houses. We found a part of those objects in the houses of several inhabitants, we took them away and delivered them with an inventory to the local town council.

This was my declaration which I sign below.

Master sergeant POZDARCA

FENIA BUGA, who was mentioned in the complaint of the 11-th German army as having been present when the Romanian troops were robbing and shooting the Jews in the house Nr. 22, declared the following:

"I do not admit having accompanied the Romanian soldiers when they plundered the houses of the Jews in Parlita village and I do not know the soldier ALEXANDRU TITU from the reconnaissance group, 5-th division.

The German troops were the first who burst into Jewish houses and after a couple of days the Romanian troops searched the houses looking for the Jews who were said to have shot at the Romanian and German soldiers, this being the reason why they, in turn, shot some Jews, especially those

who were hiding and who were armed with weapons and grenades. When the Romanian soldiers were leaving the Parlita village, I heard some of those soldiers telling the local people to take from Jewish houses whatever they needed. I saw how some women were taking such objects. I also took a quilt, a bed cover, 2 dresses, a carpet, a mattress and some kitchen utensils. I took those objects from the house of FELDER GHIDALE who lived in Principala St. Nr. 22. In one room was the owner of the house and in another room there were about 6 or 8 Jews. Gidale's wife said to me "take them as a keepsake".

When I came home with those objects, shootings were heard from Ghidale's house. A Romanian soldier was resting in my house for about 2 hours. I heard later that 4 Jews were shot in Ghidale's house, 6 were wounded but they died afterwards. Among them were the members of Felder's family.

I do not know whether Romanian or German soldiers shot those Jews. After having heard those shots, three German soldiers came to my house. They asked for my identification papers. They also inquired about my husband. I told them that my husband had been fighting in the Soviet army since June 23, 1941. I went to Felder Ghidale's house and then to the German Headquarters where I was interrogated about the things I took and about the Jews who were shot. I answered that I had taken those things like other people who did the same. I told them that I did not know who had shot at the Jews, maybe the Romanian soldiers but I was not sure. I was set free from the German Headquarters but I was told to return those objects. I did so; I went to Felder's house and brought back all those things.

After the departure of the German and Romanian troops from the Parlita village, people from the neighboring villages came and took from the Jewish houses several objects and food which they carried by their carts. This is my declaration which I sign below.

FENIA BUGA

The minutes was concluded and together with the report of the undersigned and I will hand it in to the Gendarme Legion Balti.

Deputy Commander, Balti Gendarmerie Reserve Capt. LAURENTIU STINO

ROBBING AND KILLING 42 JEWISH ADULTS AND 6 – 8 CHILDREN IN THE TAURA NOUA VILLAGE, BALTI COUNTY

Nr. 12

GENDARME LEGION BALTI

FILE

with the documents concluded in connection with the Jews who were killed in the Taura Veche and Taura Noua Villages, Balti County

> July 24, 1941, Nr. 132 GENDARME INSPECTORATE KISHINEV to the GENDARME LEGION BALTI

We have been informed by the German secret service that in the **Taura Veche and Taura Noua Villages, 40 Jews were killed and buried under miserable conditions;** 2 Soviet Jewish women escaped and delivered information about the scene.

As this action was due to a subversive movement, you will have to establish the circumstances which caused that provocative action.

Gendarme Inspectorate Kishinev Col. T. MECULESCU

Head of Police Office Major V. STOENESCU

Nr. 13

GENERAL STAFF DEPARTMENT II SECRET, URGENT

Entry Nr. 228

July 19, 1941

GENERAL STAFF to

GENERAL TOPOR

Commander of the Gendarme Legion Balti Please investigate the case and report the result urgently. Gen. **TOPOR** I am honored to send you a copy of the letter of the XI-th Army concerning the killing of some Jews in Taura Veche and Taura Noua (Balti) by some Romanian soldiers who would have robbed these Jews before.

Please order the investigation and finding of the guilty persons in order to be sanctioned.

Please report the result urgently and communicate it to the XI-th army.

Deputy Chief of the General Staff General TATARANU

Chief of the II-nd Department Lieut.Col. DINULESCU

Nr. 14

Dispatch of the XI-th German Army

July 14, 1941

to THE ROMANIAN GENERAL STAFF

Referring to: Jews killed in Taura Noua.

We are sending you, enclosed with, a report of eye witnesses and a report of the German secret police referring to the high number of Jews killed in Taura Noua.

The behavior of some representatives of Romanian troops (shown in the report) decreases the prestige of both the Romanian and the German army in front of the world public opinion.

Please take most severe measures so that other incidents should not happen again.

for Commander of the XI-th Army Chief of General Staff ordered by Major of General Staff, RANCK

July 10, 1941

Content: Declaration of eye witnesses concerning the killing of 40 Jews near Taura Noua

REPORT:

The last wounded survivors, Dina Frankel, aged 34, married and Leica Lambert, aged 32, married, both originating from Balti declared the following about what happened in Taura Noua:

On June 24, 1941, the Jews had to leave the Balti County and a part of them took refuge in Vlad where they arrived on June 26, 1941 and remained until July 7, 1941. On the evening of that day, young peasants aged 16–18, armed with clubs and scythes, drove the Jews away from their houses, beat and killed the Jews and set their houses ablaze. About 40 Jews originating from Balti, tried to return to Balti off roads because they did not know if the way up to there was free of enemies. On their way they met German soldiers who examined their personal documents and let them go further.

Between Taura Veche and Taura Noua they met abt. 20 Romanian soldiers with no commander. The highest available degree was that of corporal. Being stopped by them, the Jews were ordered to hand over money, valuables, horses and carts loaded with clothes and blankets. Then they were ordered by the soldiers to line up and to enter a marshy field in an orderly way. Thirty minutes later they were ordered to lie down in the marsh and they were shot at. This deed was committed on July 7, 1941 between 06. p.m. and 07.00 p.m.

The soldiers continued their way without taking care of the wounded or dead. The two women mentioned above, had still the strength to crawl out of the marsh and they met a Romanian officer on the road who told a peasant to take the women to the hospital in Chiscareni. The peasant took the women to the Army Headquarters where they were interrogated.

The peasant was ordered to keep taking care of the two women.

The dead had to be collected during that day by the inhabitants of the Taura Noua village.

In order to further prevent such events, the inhabitants of the villages Taura Noua and Taura Veche choose each time an old man from the village as an interim mayor who will have administrative power until the arrival of a Romanian military or civilian authority.

ILLEGIBLE SIGNATURE

for conformity, Lieut. Col. PENESCU

REPORT

While I was on a business trip from Ciolacul Vechi to Chiscareni, I found before the village Teura Veche, on a field situated in a valley, Jewish men, women and children who had been shot dead. There were approx. 42 adults and about 6-8 children. Different corpses had bullet wounds and the children had broken heads.

As the male corpses were barefoot I think that their boots had been stolen. As I learned from the peasants that had been there on July 8, 1941, the Romanian soldiers had collected the Jews, stole all their valuables and then shot them dead.

It is very important to have the corpses buried in order to prevent the outbreak of a disease.

ILLEGIBLE SIGNATURE

for conformity, Lieut, Col. PENESCU

Nr. 15

MINUTES

Taura Noua, August 9, 1941.

I, the undersigned major Mihai Boulescu, commander of the Gendarme Legion Balti, was ordered by the Order Nr. 259/July 20, 1941, of the Higher Military Judge to investigate the case of the Jews killed by the Romanian soldiers on July 8, 1941 between the villages Taura Veche and Taura Noua.

I acted in the following way:

I called the delegate of the Taura Veche village who declared:

1. The informant Lupan Grigore, aged 51, Romanain citizen, delegate of the Taura Veche village, declared:

On July 7 and 8, 1941, Romanian and German troops passed through our village. Some refugee Jews also passed through our village on their way to Falesti. I do not know if the Romanian soldiers had killed the refugee Jews.

GRIGORE LUPAN

2. The informant Leon Danilov, aged 62, Romanian citizen, delegate of the Taura Noua village, declared:

On July 7 and 8, 1941, Romanian troops passed through our village on their way to Chiscareni. I also know that some refugee Jews passed through our village on their way to Falesti.

I do not know if the Romanian soldiers had killed the refugee Jews.

LEON DANILOV

I continued my investigations in the villages Taura Veche and Taura Noua but nobody could inform me about the Jews who were killed.

Commander of the Gendarme Legion Balti Major BOULESCU MIHAIL

Nr. 16

SECRET

Nr. 880
August 20, 1941
Nr. 258
August 14, 1941
GENDARME LEGION BALTI
Police and General Staff to
GENDARME INSPECTORATE
KISHINEV
Police Office

According to the enclosed order Nr. 258/941 of the Higher Military Judge and the Gendarme Inspectorate in Kishinev Nr. 132/941, I am handing in a file comprising 7 pages referring to the killing of a number of Jews in the Taura Noua village, namely:

- On the days of 7 and 8 July 1941, military units of the 14-th Romanian division passed through the villages Taura Veche and Taura Noua. During that time, a group of refugee Jews was walking through those villages heading for Falesti. Nothing was known about their origin.
- It was not proved if the Jews had been killed by Romanian soldiers.

- During that time, order was maintained by the military judge department of the 14-th Division because the units of the Balti gendarmerie had not been instated yet.

Commander of the Gendarme Legion Balti Major M. BOULESCU

THE MASSACRE IN MARCULESTI AND OTHER VILLAGES OF THE SOROCA COUNTY Nr. 17

Extract from the accusation document drawn up by Vasile I. Stoican, chief public prosecutor of the People's Tribunal, against big war criminals, Ion Antonescu and his ministers.

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On July 8, 1941, all the Jews were rounded up in Marculesti, Soroca County. Men, women and children were taken to the edge of the village, shot dead and buried in the ditches that were there. 1000 people were killed there. During the next days, the same happened to the Jews in Gloresti, Gura Kamenca and Gura Cainari.

In the village Climauti, Soroca County, a number of 300 Jews (children, women and men) were rounded up and shot dead on July 12, 1941. They were buried in a mass grave at the edge of the village.

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THE MASSACRE IN THE TOWN OF BALTI Nr. 18

Extract from a story told by the survivor Bernard Walter, the last president of the Jewish Community in Balti

The town of Balti was destroyed by the German and Romanian aviation by daily bombings. About 3 quarters of houses were transformed into ruins.

After a lot of Jews had died because of this bombardment, the Jewish population took refuge in the neighboring villages, each taking his valuables in bags. Romanian and German troops arrived there, plundered houses, tortured and mocked women and girls and killed the people.

The town of Balti was occupied by the German troops of the XI-th German army, commanded by General von Schobert who installed his general staff there.

As the front was clearing away, the Jews who had survived the massacres in the villages, started to return to the town. However, as they arrived at the town of Balti, they were interned into two camps according to the order of the German military police led by Feldkommandant Col. Koller and his assistant Capt. Prast. One of the camps was set up in the yard of the Moldova bank and the other in the yard of preventive arresting unit.

On the evening of July 11, 1941, 10 Jews were taken from the camp under the assumed accusation that they had shot at a German truck. These Jews were shot dead in the yard of the kindergarten in front of Soborul Vechi ¹.

Meanwhile, Capt. Prast ordered the formation of a ghetto committee composed of 12 important (distinguished) Jews under the leadership of Bernard Walter, a former deputy mayor and president of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. The committee was in charge with the food and medical assistance of the Jews accommodated in the two camps.

On July 15, at 05.00 p.m., all the members of the committee were brought to the headquarters of the German police where Capt. Prast asked for a list with 20 Jewish communists in order to be executed. The beast added that if there is no list, a number of Jews will be shot and the first to be killed will be the members of the committee.

Being aware of the danger, the committee did not give in and the president informed Capt. Prast that they refuse to contribute to such an infamous act. After being searched and robbed of all their belongings, they were taken one by one, escorted by German gendarmes to the camp in the yard of the Moldova bank. They were led under escort to the fence in the bottom of the yard under the terrified eyes of their family members and of

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¹ see illustration II.

the other Jews who were watching grief-stricken and desperate how their loved ones were taken to the grave. ¹

The members of the committee were held at the fence of the camp for about half an hour, tortured, mocked at and photographed by the German soldiers who were guarding them. Later on, 44 Jews were brought from a group of 150 people kept as hostages in the basement of the building and all of them were loaded into 2 trucks. The convoy was followed by the remaining Jews who were devastated, desperate and were tearing their hair, moaning and praying and throwing themselves to the ground before those they were never to see again.

At abt. 08,00 p.m., the trucks loaded with Jews arrived at Slobozia – Balti at the Flamanda point. The Chamber of Agriculture of the county had an experimental plot there on the field of which there was a stone quarry.

Arranged by groups of 15, the Jews had to dig their own graves, and shot dead. It was a terrible massacre, some died on the spot but the others had to be shot for several times.

Only the president of the committee, Bernard Walter escaped from the massacre. As he very popular among the Romanians of the town, he was saved by the energetic and attentive head of the Romanian police station, Dumitru Agapie, who succeeded in convincing captain Prast to let him free, took him out of the readymade grave, 2 -3 minutes before he was shot dead.

During the night of 15–16 July, the Gestapo soldiers shot 20 more Jews from among the hostages, being accused of the same guilt – that the German army was shot at. After having shot those Jews, the German troops and the Gestapo left the town of Balti. The fate of the surviving Jews was in the hands of another brute, major Ion Gradu from the Rifle Range. Under his supervision, the Jews were dragged to a camp situated in the Rautel forest, 12 km from the town. They were imprisoned in some decrepit huts, surrounded by barbed wire, under military guard. They suffered from terrible hunger and misery which killed a part of them.

Later on, the Jews from the Rautel camp were moved to the Marculesti camp and from there to Transnistria.

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¹ see illustration I.

MASSACRES IN KISHINEV Nr. 19

INVESTIGATION REPORT NR. 2 OF THE COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED ACCORDING TO THE ORDER OF MARSHAL ION ANTONESCU, LEADER OF THE STATE IN ORDER TO INVESTIGATE THE DISTURBANCES IN THE KISHINEV GHETTO (December 1941).

On the occasion of the investigations done by the committee, several unusual facts were found which I considered necessary to be presented separately, namely:

I. JURIDICAL SITUATION OF THE EVACUATED JEWS AND THEIR REAL ESTATE PROPERTIES

a) The number of interned and evacuated Jews

According to a brief statistics presented to the committee by lieut. col. Palade, the delegate of the General Staff for setting up of camps and evacuation of Jews, it resulted that 23,000 Jews were interned in Vertujeni, 11,000 Jews were interned in Marculesti, 25,000 Jews in Edineti and Secureni and 11,252 Jews in the Kishinev ghetto. To all these must be added the Jews from Orhei, Cahul, Ismail, Chilia Noua and Bolgrad where their number did not surpass 1000 interned people in every village.

There were approx. 70,000 – 80,000 Jews.

According to the Gendarme Inspectorate in Kishinev who was in charge with the evacuation of the Jews, from Bessarabia were evacuated through different evacuation points 55,867 Jews and from Bukovina 45,538 Jews, totaling 101,405 Jews.

As for the Jews from Bessarabia, it results that between the number of those interned of about 75–80,000 Jews and the number of the evacuated ones of 55,867 Jews, there is a difference of abt. 25,000 Jews who died of natural death, ran away or were shot according to the methods described below:

b) Systems of identifying the interned and evacuated Jews

No special verbal or written ordinance was given for identifying the Jews in the camp or in the Kishinev ghetto. The only numerical criterion was that of determining both the capacity of the camps and the formation of evacuee convoys. It was only in the Kishinev ghetto that it had been attempted to draw up a nominal statistics referring to the Jews interned there, which was however not finished.

A first consequence of this situation was the impossibility to identify the Jews who escaped from the camps, implying that it was impossible to find out the authors and those who facilitated the performance of such infringements.

In the instructions given on Sept. 7, 1941, occasioned by the evacuation done by the higher military judge, general Topor, it is precisely recommended that the Jews should be passed over the Dniester without any formalities. As a consequence, the Jews were evacuated by strictly numerical batches, a situation in which they followed the routes and were passed over the Dniester.

At the check points, orders were given by the delegate of the General Staff, major Tarlef, that all documents should be taken from the Jews (statement of reserve lieut. Popoiu and lieut.-col. Palade). Col. Brosteanu, Inspector of the Gendarmes in Transnistria also declared that the Jews were received there without any identification paper.

c. The consequences that result from this situation

1. Establishing the owner's right over different real estate properties in Bessarabia

According to the Law – Decree Nr. 2,507 of Sept. 03, 1941, referring to some legislative measures for Bessarabia and North Bukovina, the Romanian state becomes the owner of the properties situated on the territory of Bessarabia which belonged to the Jews or Jewish juridical persons as of June 28, 1940 or which were acquired by Jews or Jewish juridical persons after that date.

The procedure will not be carried out because of the lack of identity of the actually evacuated Jews. On the other hand, the forced evacuation of the Jews over the Dniester cannot constitute the situation provided by the law, i.e. finding abandoned properties because the owners did not leave their goods at their goodwill, they were forcedly evacuated.

Under these circumstances, the law giver had to intervene quickly and solve the problem.

2. Possible Consequences

For any future hypothesis in which case, in the higher interest of the country there might be discussions referring to the settling of the Jews who lived in Bessarabia and Bukovina at the time when these territories were reattached (re - annexed), it would be possible to willingly exaggerate their number above the real one and persons could be substituted because of the lack of any statistical and identification documents.

We must also add that the same serious difficulties will be faced by the state in any other legislative or administrative document before approaching the above mentioned issues.

II. SHOOTING OF THE JEWS

A. During their internment

1. From the Kishinev Ghetto

On August 1, 1941, a German lieutenant came to the President of the community in the Kishinev ghetto, asking him to send, at short notice, 250 men and 200 women to forced labor.

The Jews were rounded up and the German officer accompanied by 3 soldiers selected the Jews by choosing mostly intellectuals and beautiful women. On the evening of the same day, only 39 old Jews came back declaring that the other 411 Jews were shot near Visterniceni and that they had been especially sent to announce that event.

On the next day, the German lieutenant who committed that massacre came to the ghetto.

The president of the Community, accompanied by 20 Jews, was sent to the common grave where the corpses had been buried to check and cover the grave as the burial was superficially made. This fact was also confirmed by col. Tudose, the military commander of Kishinev.

It must be added that the Christian Ion Carmen from Ploiesti who was in the ghetto together with his Jewish wife, Fenia Carmen, was also killed in the massacre.

On August 7–8, 1941, a road inspector came to the ghetto and demanded 500 men for forced labor at the Ghidighici site. He was delivered those people and also 25 women for cooking. After approx. one week, 200 Jews came back who had become totally unfit for work while the remaining 325 people did not return at all.

2. In the Tataresti camp, Cetatea Alba County

On August 9, 1941, the German sub-lieut. Frohlich of the General Staff of the German unit in Kishinev informs the commander of the Tataresti camp, reserve Capt. Vetu Gh. Ioan, that according to the order of

Marshal I. Antonescu, all the 451 Jews who were interned in the above mentioned camp should be executed on the spot.

Capt. Vetu communicates this order to the Commander of the Legion who in turn commands the execution of the Jews.

A minutes was concluded between the German officer and the gendarme captain, a copy of which is attached to the documents.¹

We must add that after that execution, Capt. Vetu stole from the dead the following valuables: three watches, a golden ring, four golden wedding rings, a metal necklace and the sum of 20,000 lei.

The regional Gendarme Inspectorate intervened with the General Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie so that the officer should be sent to the Reform Council.

It has to be decided:

- a) whether the original protocol should be kept at the Gendarmerie Inspectorate or stored somewhere else.
- b) whether it is appropriate to sue to the Court Martial the officer who is guilty of having robbed the corpses.

B. EVACUATION

Concerning the way in which the evacuation authorities were to behave towards the Jews who did not obey orders, the instructions of Sept. 7, 1941 of general Topor comprise the following directive: "How to behave towards those who do not obey orders" (Alexeanu).

The statement of Lieut. Rosca Augustin of the Roman gendarme legion who was appointed to evacuate the Jews from Secureni and Edineti is probative about the meaning of the above mentioned directive.

This is a brief presentation of the officer's statement:

The commander of the Hotin Legion, major Dragulescu informed the delegate of the General Staff that the Jews who would not keep pace with the convoys due to inabilities or sickness were to be executed on the spot. Therefore, he ordered that two days before the departure of each convoy, holes with a capacity of 100 persons should be made every 10 km in order to bury those who were left behind the columns and were shot dead. Those holes had to be made by sub-officers together with gendarmes and pre-militaries.

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¹ See illustration Nr. IV.

Following the given orders, Lieutenant Rosca ordered that **500 Jews** from among those evacuated on the route Secureni – Cosauti should be shot dead.

The same system was also used for the convoys on the route Edineti-Cosauti where the evacuation was carried out by Lieut. Popovici of the same unit and under the order of lieut. Rosca Augustin.

President of the board Gl. Magistrate Gl. G. NICULESCU ST. STROE

President of the Court of Appeal, General Prosecutor,
L. PREUTESCU TRAIAN NICULESCU
General Inspector, National Bank, Lieut.-Col. Magistrate,

L. PAUNESCU MADARJAC

MASSACRE AND DROWNING IN ATACHI Nr. 20

COMMANDER OF THE 3-RD Nr. 121011
ARMY, Echelon II 1941, August 11
Praetorian Service to

Military Postal Office Nr. 30 DEPARTMENT OF THE GRAND PRAETOR (MILITARY JUDGE)

I would like to report that the 2-nd echelon of the 3-rd Army will walk to the 1-st echelon to the Ukraine on August 22, this year.

I am submitting a file with 30 pages referring to the investigations made by me in connection with the shooting of 210 Jews of a convoy of 300 Jews in the Storojinet County, on August 4-5 of this year.

According to the carried out investigations, the convoy of Jews was headed by corporal Sofian Ignat and the gendarmes Negura Vasile and Agafitei Grigore, all belonging to the Storojinet Gendarme legion.

Praetor of the 3-rd Army of the 2-nd echelon Lieut. Col. **JEAN POITEVIN**

Nr. 21

COMMANDER OF THE 3-RD ARMY Praetorian Service Military Postal Office Nr. 30 Nr. 121239 1941, September 17 to DEPARTMENT OF THE GRAND PRAETOR

Sept. 22, 1941

Concerning the shooting of the 200 Jews at the Dniester, investigated by General Topor and attached to the file

Following the report Nr. 120645 of August 1941, I am sending you, attached:

- report of the Gendarme legion Soroca Nr. 228 of August 20, 1941, accompanied by the report of the gendarme department Otaci Nr. 114 of August 12, 1941 and the statements of Sara Katz and Greif Berta:
- report of the Gendarme legion Soroca Nr. 230 of August 20, 1941 together with the report of the gendarme sector Atachi Nr. 5 of August 15, 1941 and the statements of Ciornei Semon, a butcher in Atachi. Please add those reports to the file submitted by this Paetorate with the report Nr. 120845 of August 20 1941.

Praetor of the 3-rd army Lieut.Col. JEAN POITEVIN

Nr. 22

CONFIDENTIAL April 4, 1941 Nr. 228 August 20, 1941

Lieut. Col. Poitevin who made investigations, will continue to follow up the case
G. Praetor
Col. HAGICHIREA

GENDARME LEGION SOROCA to the PRETORIAN SERVICE OF THE BIG UNIT I am forwarding you two statements given by two Jewish women in Otaci who complain about having been robbed by the corporal who escorted them from Storojinet.

Praetorian department Commander of the Gendarme Legion

Entry nr. 121239 Soroca

Sept. 5, 1941 Major C. CETATEANU

Nr. 23

Chief of Gendarme Department Otaci, Master sergeant – illegible

STATEMENT

The undersigned, Sara Katz, daughter of Moise, aged 26, born in the town of Edineti, Hotin County, living in the Milie village, Storojinet County, of Jewish origin, declares:

I was pulled out of my home together with my husband and taken to Storojinet; from Storojinet I was sent to Chernovitz and from there we walked towards Otaci, this being the first transport of Jews from Storojinet. From Storojinet to Otaci we were escorted by a corporal and two gendarmes.

We arrived at Otaci at 02.00 p.m. on August 4, 1941. The corporal came to us an hour later and told us that we cannot remain in Otaci or in Moghilev. So we had to return to Chernovitz and say that our destination was not Otaci but Chernovitz.

We were told that the horses were tired and the carters ask for 6,000 lei for 18 carts. We collected the sum of 6,000 lei, the corporal came at 08.15 p.m. and told us to be ready to leave. We went on the carts and at abt. 09.30 p.m. we left for Volcinet instead of Chernovitz. The whole convoy was stopped at Volcinet, we were ordered to get off the carts and take our baggage with us.

We were ordered to enter the river, being mocked at and told to go to bed in the cantonment. As we guessed their intention to kill us, we asked for permission to say a prayer. Groups of to Jews were being formed and the first group was thrown into the Dniester and shot at. The corporal who brought us from Storojinet called my husband and told him to collect the jewels and the money so that we could rescue our lives.

About 100 rings, watches, ear rings, chains etc. and 15,000 lei were collected and given to the corporal. Next to him there was a soldier. After he got the money, the corporal wanted to shoot at my husband but I intervened begging him to let him live. I promised to give him a diamond ring, a pair of golden ear rings, a silver cigarette case, a shaver and one thousand lei. After he took all those things, he noticed that my denture was made of gold and he pulled it out of my mouth. The corporal shot 6 bullets into my husband killing him and then he threw him into the Dniester.

He also threw me into the water and shot at me. As I knew how to swim, I managed to escape and hid myself into a corn field.

I heard behind me some shootings and the other Jews were screaming.

I know that out of the 300 Jews of the convoy, only 60 wounded persons remained.

SARA KATZ

Assistants:

E. TUGA SVODINSKI

Nr. 24

In front of us, Head of Gendarme Department Otaci Master Sergeant illegible

STATEMENT

I, the undersigned Greif Berta, daughter of Tallich, aged 20, unmarried, born in the Patrauti de Jos village, Storojinet County, that being my last address, declare the following:

All the Jews were taken to Storojinet; from Storojinet we were sent to Chernovitz – a convoy of 300 Jews. From there we walked towards Otaci, where we arrived on August 4, 1941, at about 02.00 o'clock.

The corporal told us that we cannot remain in Otaci or in Moghilev. So we had to return to Chernovitz.

We were told that the horses were tired and the carters ask for 6,000 lei to take us back.

After having collected the sum of 6,000 lei, at about 09.00 - 10.00 we left by cart and we were told that we will be taken to Chernovitz.

At the edge of the Volcinet village, we noticed that several gendarmes arrived; they talked to us in a civilized way.

At the railway canton we were expected by some border guards who stopped us and told us to get off and put down our baggage.

We were ordered to enter the river; groups of 10 people were formed and forced to enter the Dniester.

The corporal ordered us to collect all the money and jewelry if we wanted to be alive.

We started to collect the money and jewelry; the gendarmes and border guards on the one hand and Mr. Katz on the other. I overheard that they decided to divide the jewels equally between the soldiers.

After having collected the money and the jewelry, shots were fired, forming groups of 10 people each who forced us to enter the Dniester under the gun fire. From the total of 300 Jews, only 60 -70 Jews were left, a part alive and another part wounded.

I do not know what happened to our baggage but I saw how the civilians were carrying things to Volcinet.

GREIF BERTA

Assistants: E. TUGA SVODINSKI

Nr. 25

Strictly confidential
The original form to col. Poitevin
illegible

Nr. 5 August 15, 1941

GENDARME SECTOR ATACHI to the SOROCA GENDARME LEGION

I am submitting to you the statement of Ciornei Simion (from Atachi) given in front of me and of the notary of the Atachi village. This case refers to the Jews and investigations made by Lieut. Col. Army Praetor.

Commander of J Department Atachi Captain - illegible signature

Nr. 26

SOROCA COUNTY

March 14, 1941 given in front of us Captain – signature illegible First notary – signature illegible

TOWN HALL ATACHI

STATEMENT

I, the undersigned, Ciornei Simion, aged 22, Romanian butcher, married, with one child, living in Atachi, Soroca, declare the following:

On August 4 -5, 1941, I saw several Jews who were walking from Otaci to Volcinet escorted by gendarmes.

I saw that the Jews were stopped near Otaci and their baggage was checked by the gendarmes, soldiers and a civilian person from the information service. They took all the Jews' belongings – the civilian found a box full of gold which he took and went away with it.

I told the civilian to take the box to the town council but he told me to go away. The box had 30 cm. The soldiers saw the box and were scared because it was full of gold. Other things were also taken away like: silver spoons, forks and cups.

On the next day I saw dead people in the Dniester River.

August 14, 1941

CIORNEI SIMION

ANOTHER MASSACRE ON THE DNIESTER Nr. 27

Entry Nr. 395, August 13, 1941 Nr. 80 of August 13, 1941 GENDARME INSPECTORATE KISHINEV

Telephone report:

We are reporting that on August 12, 1941, at 12,00 hours, the Court Martial condemned to death the 4 terrorists caught by the Gendarme Legion Orhei in the town of Orhei on July 21, 1941, namely: Romantienco Anatolie alias Alexandru, engineer by profession, Safcu Vasile alias Colea, a clerk, Mendel Froim Iacob, alias Marin, a teacher and Zadov Grigore, alias Iasu, a barber. They were all reported to you under Nr. 39 on August 3, 1941.

The Jews from the Tatarasi-Chilia camp, who were sent to field work, refused to work and became aggressive. Therefore they were shot dead.

On August 6, of this year, at 06.00 P.M., the gendarmes of the 23-rd police company shot 200 Jews and threw them into the Dniester.

Being informed that during the night of August 11 of this year, unknown people attacked with gun shots and red rockets the Dumbraveni post at 01.00 a.m., we sent gendarmes to back up guarding and follow up the law breakers.

Col. MECULESCU

THE MASSACRE IN THE GHIDIGHICI STATION Nr. 28

INFORMATIVE NOTE Nr. 7

The 7-th company of Lieut. Foarfeca carried out on August 27, 1941 the following:

- it transferred 1,300 prisoners to the Vaslui camp.

The Company of Lieut. Udrea: nothing important to declare.

On August 25, an incident happened in the Ghidighici railway station between an infantry detachment that was going to Kishinev and the Jews who were working at the quarry.

The fighting started under the following circumstances:

The detachment was comprised of the people who withdrew from Bessarabia in the year 1941. A sergeant of this detachment was severely beaten by the Jews when they were withdrawing. This sergeant seemed to have recognized the Jew and that was why the fighting started.

As there were not enough gendarmes, they called the officers to be able to face the fighting. After the fighting, some Jews were slightly wounded.

Commander of Battalion 10 Gendarmes Major **ALEX POPESCU**

THE MASSACRE IN TATARESTI (Cetatea Alba County) Nr. 29

PROTOCOL 1

Today, on August 9, 1941, I, the sub-lieut. Heinrich Frohlich, Untersturmfuhrer of the General Staff of the Kishinev Unit, having the headquarters in Cetatea Alba, went to the Tataresti village. There was a camp for 451 Jews under the command of Gendarme Captain Vetu Gh. Ioan of the Gendarme Legion Chilia Noua to whom I communicated the order of General Antonescu (to be immediately executed).

I, the undersigned, Capt. Vetu Ioan, informed the commander of the Legion who asked me to execute this order, having to report.

Untersturmfuhrer FROHLICH Captain IOAN GH. VETU

¹ See the photocopy, illustration IV.

Nr. 30

Nr. 289 of December 17, 1941 GENDARME INSPECTORATE KISHINEV

to

SECRET

DIVISION GENERAL NICOLESCU

President of the Investigation Board

I am forwarding a copy of the protocol dated August 9, 1941, concluded between the sub-lieutenant Heinrich Froehlich, Untersturmfuhrer of the Big Commandment of the Kishinev Unit and reserve captain Vetu Ioan, referring to the execution of a number of Jews in the Tatarasti village, Cetatea Alba County.

The investigations carried out by major Mihalache, commander of the Chilia Noua Legion proved that Capt. Vetu Ioan looted valuable objects from the Jews, namely:

- a men's golden watch with 3 lids, "Pavel Bure" brand
- a pocket watch, "Ima" brand
- a pocket watch, "Beata" brand
- a golden ring with a red stone
- four golden wedding rings
- a chain made of plain yellow metal; apart of those objects, he is also suspect of having stolen 20,000 lei.

Based on those investigations, we informed the General Gendarmerie Inspectorate and proposed that article 1 of the Officer Position Law should be applied, a measure which was approved by the General Gendarmerie Inspectorate.

The General Gendarmerie Inspectorate also ordered that the relevant file should be sent to the Court Martial.

Considering the content of this protocol and the circumstances in which the Jews were executed, please appreciate and decide whether the public debate of this trial before the Court Martial does not affect higher state interests and we are expecting your orders. Until then, the file with the relevant documents, the corpora delicti and the original protocol will be kept by this Inspectorate.

Gendarme Inspectorate Kishinev Col. T. MECULESCU

CHAPTER II

CAMPS AND GHETTOS IN BESSARABIA AND BUKOVINA

SETTING UP OF CAMPS, EVACUATION OF JEWS FROM NORTHERN BUKOVINA, BESSARABIA AND ACROSS THE DNIESTER

CHAPTER II CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF EVENTS

June 21, 1941- November 10, 1941

The Minister of the Interior, in the name of General Antonescu, orders the internment of Jews from the area between the Siret and the Prut. All healthy Jewish men between the age of 16 and 60 are to be interned to the camp of Targu-Jiu, women and children to the towns of residence¹.

The evacuation took place with much strictness, in some places with savageness on the territory of Southern Bukovina and Dorohoi County. Besides the given order, there were also evacuated the following categories of Jews:

- a) Jews from urban villages (Saveni, Mihaileni, Siret even from Dorohoi);
- b) Populations west of the Siret town;
- c) Women, old people and children (Darabani, Siret) to camps in Oltenia instead of being sent to the residence towns;

The evacuation conditions were barbaric. Jews had to leave their wealth behind within a few hours (in Darabani within only 2 hours), they were allowed to bring as much as they could carry on their back during a ten-kilometer walk. In cattle freight carriages crowded to suffocation, they were wandering about for 6 days in the end-of-June heat without being able to get food, get out to relieve nature or look after the sick people.

After the evacuation of Jews, the authorities and local inhabitants completely robbed the ownerless houses, they took everything: goods, furniture, and household equipment. They carried away the wealth of one or more generations until the last chair or pillow, in certain places even the doors and windows, and the tin from the roofs. Not even cemeteries were safe from the angry looting or demolition.

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¹ see vol.II, illustration IX.

In territories which were later affected by deportations (Southern Bukovina and Dorohoi County) Jews were evacuated from the following places:

From the county town of Dorohoi almost every Jewish man between the ages of 18 and 60, as well as the leaders of the community were interned to camps of Targu-Jiu and Craiova.

From **Darabani** (Dorohoi County) - the entire Jewish community, old people, women, children, even the disabled (about 2,000 people) were interned to camps of Oltenia (men to Targu-Jiu, women to Calafat).

From **Siret** (Radauti County) - the entire Jewish community including old people, women, children and the disabled (about 1,800 people) were evacuated and interned to camps in Oltenia (men to Craiova and women to Calafat).

From **Saveni, Mihaileni, Radauti** (Dorohoi County) the entire Jewish community (about 4,000 people) were evacuated; some men to the camp of Targu-Jiu, the other men, women and children to Dorohoi.

June 30, 1941

The Ministry of Interior orders to acquire Jewish hostages from each town in Moldova and Bukovina. They are to be shot dead in case of rebellion or terrorist acts. He also orders the internment of Jewish men into Jewish districts, mostly to schools or bigger buildings; guards are ordered next to them to punish them if they attempt to cause disturbances.

Jews are forbidden to walk in the streets between 08, 00 p.m. and 07,00 a.m.

The order is severely applied in the provinces that would be later on subject to deportation (Dorohoi, Suceava, Radauti, Campulung, and Gura Humorului).

In certain places (Dorohoi, Radauti) military authorities order Jews to wear a yellow star.

July 2, 1941

The Romanian troops occupy the small town Noua Sulita. After a part of the Jews were shot dead, the survivors of the entire region are interned into a camp at the Selistea spirit factory.

July 3, 1941

Mihai Antonescu, Deputy President of the Council of Ministers, holds a secret meeting with the administrative clerks and praetors who are to be sent to Bessarabia and Bukovina. In the directives and rules issued this time, great emphasis is put on the strict and implacable attitude the authorities must display against Jews in these territories. Later, all these were published in a leaflet, especially in the chapter called "Ethnic and Political Cleansing". The directives urge for wild pogroms, and also contain concrete actions to be taken; (Nr. 31).

July 3, 1941

The attacks commence in the entire Romanian section of the front, from Ceremus to the Danube. At the same time start the robbery of Jewish wealth, and the ghastly massacring of Jews wherever the Romanian army moves forward. Those who survive the massacres are collected in local, temporary camps.

July 4, 1941

Immediately after the Romanian troops entered Storojinet, the Jews were rounded up and interned in a camp situated in the garden of the Central Hotel. All night they were forced to lie down, their faces on the ground.

July 5, 1941

The Jews from Herta are interned to camps, cellars and synagogues.

July 5, 1941

The Jews from Banila pe Siret, who had been evicted from the village a day before, were brought back, interned to a camp in the German House. They were kept on the field a day and a night without any food, without being allowed to help the sick and disabled. They had been beaten and tortured by hooligans armed with clubs, axes, iron bars, etc. Meanwhile their houses had been plundered and emptied. The peasants from the neighborhood came with their carts to carry the Jewish wealth.

A physician, Dr. Salzberg was called from the camp to assist a woman who had given birth to a child. After finishing his job, the patient's father mistreated him and an officer shot at him with 2 gun shots, without hitting him. The physician tried to kill himself but he was stopped in time.

July 5, 1941

The old people, women and children are set free from the camp which was set up at the alcohol factory near Noua Sulita. The men are kept as hostages.

July 5, 1941

The camp in Storojinet was divided into two parts: women and children were locked into the building of the elementary school, men into the orphanage which was two km away from the town; food is not provided, there is no medical assistance. Some sick people from the camp were interned into the hospital but 2 days later they were driven away and came back to the camp.

July 6, 1941

The surviving Jews from Banila pe Siret are dragged to Storojinet. On the way, the convoy joins the remaining Jews from Budinet.

July 6, 1941

The Jewish hostages from Noua Sulita are brought to the village and interned again to a ghetto.

July 7, 1941

In Vascauti, a camp of 1,500 Jews is established, divided into 3 categories: unwanted, suspects and communists.

July 8, 1941

At the meeting of the Council of Ministers, Ion Antonescu urges to hatred and announces his intention of deporting all the Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina. (Nr. 32).

July 8, 1941

Taking control of the Gendarme Inspectorate in Kishinev, col. Meculescu orders, among other things, that all Jews, irrespective of sex or age, who might still be on the rural territory of Bessarabia, to be identified and arrested. (Nr. 33).

July 10, 1941

The Jewish marching column of Banila arrives at Storojinet. Their number is swollen up by Jews from the villages they passed through (Jadova, Berhomet, Panca, Cires). In Storojinet a camp is created in the synagogue, where 2,500 people are crowded. The guards torture their victims all the time, especially Lieutenant-Colonel Alexandrescu, Commander of the Recruiting Centre, who beats Jews with his own hands, and rouses the citizens for looting and murder. He also forces people to work hard, although they have nothing else to eat but grass because he forbids them to leave the camp to get some food.

July 11, 1941

The Jews from Balti, who were still living, were picked up by German patrols and interned to a camp in the yard of the Moldova bank (Nr. 18)¹.

July 15, 1941

Col. Alexandru Riosanu is appointed governor of Bukovina.

July 17, 1941

The Romanian authorities installed in Balti instead of the Gestapo, order the internment of the Jews to a camp in the Rautei forest. (Nr. 18).

July 18, 1941

The Highest Military Judge of the army goes for a supervising tour in Balti County. In this county, where 31,965 Jews had been indicated by the latest national census, and where their number must have been increased by natural population growth and the migrations of 1940, at the time of the control, there are not more than 3,481 Jews in three camps. Supposedly, there are 5,000 more of them in the county. $(Nr. 34 - 35)^2$.

July 20, 1941

The Jews from Storojinet, who had been locked into the school and the orphanage, are collected into a ghetto consisting of two streets. The houses there had been completely robbed. Strict measures are introduced in

² See the photocopy of the report, illustration IX.

¹ See pictures from the camp, illustration III

the ghetto. Jews are obliged to wear a yellow star and there is a curfew at 07, 00 p.m. They can provide themselves with food only after 10.00 hours. From the ghetto, men were picked up at random and sent to labor. They were obliged to change the rubles into lei at the rate of 1 leu = 1 ruble.

July 20, 1941

A number of approx. 4,000 Jews were sent to the Edineti camp.

July 20, 1941

The surviving Jews from Noua Sulita were evacuated and dragged in convoys towards East.

July 22, 1941

The Highest Praetor (military judge) orders that in the name of the Ministry of the Interior the Jews from the camps of the Balti County should be rounded up to forced labor. (Nr. 36).

July 23, 1941

The Jews from the villages of the Storojinet County who were interned in the camp of the Storojinet synagogue are sent to Vascauti.

July 24, 1941

Jews taken from villages of Northern Bessarabia (Briceni, Chelminet, Bahin, Trinca, Carjauti, Ianeuti etc.)—approximately 25,000 people—were collected in Coslar, and then are driven across the Dniester.

July 24, 1941

Jews who survived the massacres in Kishinev—approx. 11,000 people—are driven out of their homes, to a square which is surrounded by soldiers holding machine guns ready to shoot. Jews are mocked and pestered all day. In the evening they are allowed to occupy the houses on the southern side of the square. The ghetto is locked, guarded so as no one can leave it.

July 25, 1941

A convoy of 814 Jews from the Balti town and county arrives at Giurgiu as a forced labor battalion. The living conditions are awful. This is the only group of Jews from the front area brought to the country.

July 26, 1941

The camp of Jews from Vascauti is evacuated and driven towards the east.

July 27, 1941

The ghetto in Kishinev is limited to a few streets; they are in a district ruined by the bombardment so no house remained intact. Most of them do not have doors or windows. The latest national census in Kishinev indicated 50,603 Jews. Their number must have been increased by natural population growth and the migrations of 1940, at least as much as it was decreased by the escapes in the first days of the war. Yet, by this time there are only 10,311 left.

In each room there are 25-30-40 people crowded together. They are not allowed to leave the ghetto even to get some food. They are the targets of abuse of soldiers and guards. It is especially the officers who insult them, for whom visiting the ghetto is the funniest thing. All the belongings of the Jews, the baggage they took with them were plundered in an outrageous way.

At a house search made at Captain Paraschivescu Ion, the commander of the 23-rd Police Company, who functioned only 15 days, a real bazaar was found. In the bazaar there were apart from furniture and carpets, tens of complete glass or china sets, some thousands of different cups or glasses, of all models, sizes and colors.

However, some officers had good intentions and acted humanly. For example, some soldiers looted a box filled with valuable jewels. A higher officer learned about this theft, made investigations and found the box and returned it intact to the owner. However, on the next day, other beasts stole it again, this time for good.

July 29, 1941

The Bessarabian Jews who had been transferred over the Dniester at Coslar, after having been denied food for a couple of days, were fed with feed peas and sent in groups of 4–500 each to the villages or kolkhozy of the Ukraine.

July 30, 1941

The Governor of Bukovina orders a series of restrictions concerning the Jews in Chernovitz. Among other things, he restricts the circulation of the Jews in the streets only between 06.00 a.m. and 08.00 p.m., limiting the supplying time only between 9, 30 a.m. and 11, 00 a.m., obliging all the Jews to wear the yellow star. (Nr. 37).

August 1, 1941

The Jews who survived the massacre in Hotin are driven towards east. The escorting soldiers and pre-militaries torture them on the way; in Romancauti they order a resting time so as to rape girls and women.

August 1, 1941

A number of 50 distinguished Jews from Chernovitz are taken hostages as security for any disturbances that might be done by Jews.

At the same time, an ordinance of the Government of Bukovina announces that anyone who would commit any act of violence against Romanian or German militaries will be executed on the spot. If the act of violence is done by a Jew, all the Jewish hostages interned in the camp will be immediately executed. (Nr. 38).

August 1, 1941

The postal offices all over the country refuse to accept postal orders or parcels whose recipients are Jews from Bessarabia or Bukovina.

At the same time, both the national bank and private banks refuse to accept sums of money to be transferred to Jews.

August 2, 1941

Bessarabian Jews, who had been driven across the Dniester or scattered about in the villages and kolkhozy of the Ukraine, were collected again in Moghilev; from there they are sent to Scazinet.

Approx. 4,000 are missing from the 25,000 people taken across the Dniester; they were killed by hunger, misery and the bullets of soldiers.

August 4, 1941

The convoy of Jews driven away from Vascauti joined in Lipcani those from Storojinet heading towards Briceni. They are not accepted to enter the village and spend the night on the field.

August 5, 1941

The Bessarabian Jews driven away by the Romanian troops and passed to the east of the Dniester at the end of July, are now driven away by the German troops and resent to the west of the river. The first convoy of 3,000 people passes from Moghilev to Atachi.

August 6, 1941

Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina are collected in Atachi, on the bank of the Dniester. First Jews from Noua Sulita and Storojinet County arrive there. In the river, at the right bank of which they are taking a rest, more and more corpses of Jews are drifted by on the water. The Germans do not allow them to enter the Ukraine; therefore the Jews are forced back to Secureni. (Nr. 34-43).

August 7, 1941

The Germans try to pass a new convoy of 4,500 Jews through Atachi but the Romanian troops do not allow them. The Jews are driven back to Moghilev and the Romanian military authorities request that troops should be sent more to the south, to Iampol in order to circumvent the German plan of passing the Jews through another point (Nr. 44).

August 8, 1941

The conflict between the local German and Romanian military authorities in the Moghilev – Atachi area is solved in favor of the Germans. The Highest Praetor of the Army orders that the convoys of Jews driven away by the German troops should be allowed to pass to the west of the Dniester, collected and interned in camps. (Nr. 45).

August 9, 1941

A group of 2,000 Bessarabian Jews who took refuge when the Soviet troops left, collected from the roads of the Ukraine, arrives at the left bank of the Dniester at Rascov, at Vadu Rascu bridge head. They were in a terrible state of misery. The Romanian military authorities send an officer and 20 soldiers with the order of "pushing" the convoy back, towards the interior of the Ukraine. (Nr. 46).

August 11, 1941

Convoys of Jews from the Bukovina and Bessarabia who had roamed through Northern Bessarabia up to the Dniester arrive at last at the camp established in Secureni.

There are more than 20,000 people, exhausted after 5 weeks of running to and fro, robbed of all their belongings, naked and barefoot, most of them sick, a lot of widows and orphans because their spouses or parents had been killed on the way.

A part of them is waiting to be sent to another camp that has to be set up in Edineti because they cannot be all accommodated in Secureni (Nr. 47–51).

August 14, 1941

The German military police asks for 27 Jews, some with their entire families from the Secureni camp. The General Staff refuses the request (Nr. 52–54).

August 17, 1941

Although the Highest practor ordered on August 8 the passing of the convoy of Jews driven away by the Germans from the Ukraine on the Bessarabian territory, the Romanian authorities continue to resist. The Jews are chased in zigzag, to Moghilev, Scazinet, and Iampol suffering all kinds of mistreatments. Eventually, a convoy of 13,500 people is permitted to pass. After reaching the Cosauti forest, they are interned in the Vertujeni camp (Nr. 55–61).

August 18, 1941

The remaining Jews from Lipcani, about 4,000, are brought to a forest near Vertujeni.

August 18, 1941

The General Staff orders the Highest Praetor to draw up a list to comprise all the villages and small towns which were inhabited only by Jews (Jewish settlements) indicating for each of them:

- if they are evacuated or inhabited (and by whom are they inhabited);
- if the buildings are habitable specifying their capacity of accommodation;

- which Jewish agricultural properties belong to the relevant village, area, garden or arable land;
- which industrial enterprises are found in the relevant village (Nr. 62–64).

August 19, 1941

It is announced that the area between the Dniester and Bug (Transnistria) falls under Romanian administration, except for Odessa. At this time the Soviet troops are still in Odessa and will keep it for the next two months.

Teacher Gh. Alexianu is appointed Governor of Transnistria.

August 19, 1941

The first news of the terrible misery of Bessarabian and Bukovina Jews living in camps of Secureni and Edineti is heard in Bucharest. The Federation of Jewish Communities would like to aid them, but all their attempts fail. Their request handed in to the Ministry of Interior is refused saying that only the Presidium of the State Council can decide in this issue. When their request is handed in there, they are given no reply. The General Staff replies very indecisively to their second request, without providing for a solution. (Nr. 65–67).

August 20, 1941

Groups of Bessarabian Jews still roam through the northern part of the province. In the Barnova forest there are some thousands living under the free sky, hungry because the peasants are not allowed to come close to them with food. They quench their thirst with rainwater collected in 2 holes. They are tortured all the time by soldiers and the officers who are guarding them.

August 21, 1941

The Jews brought from across the Dniester into the Vertujeni camp are joined by other Jews from smaller camps: Alexandru cel Bun, Rediu (1,660), Rublenita (about 5,500). (Nr. 58).

August 24, 1941

The Highest Army Praetor requests that the Gendarme Inspectorates in Kishinev and Chernovitz should draw up a statistical evidence of the camps and interned Jews. (Nr. 70).

August 27, 1941

The military headquarters of Iasi asks from the Jewish Community an important sum of money for helping the Jews from the Vertujeni camp. The Federation of Jewish Communities sends 300,000 lei and the Jewish Community in Iasi sends 200, 000 lei (Nr. 68).

Note: There was no evidence if the money were used for the intended purpose.

The accusation document against Col. Agapie Vasile, the commander of the Vertujeni camp indicates that a sum of 300,000 lei was brought by a delegate of the camp on September 9 and handed over to the commander. But nothing proves that the money had been used to aid the interned Jewish population. On the contrary, the delegate himself who brought the money from Iasi, declared that as soon as he handed over the money, 50,000 lei were given as a loan to an officer of the camp. (Nr. 69).

A new memo of the Federation of Jewish Communities addressed to the Council presidency remained unanswered.

August 28, 1941

The last groups of Jews who wander about northern Bessarabia (Barnova forest) are gathered and interned to the Secureni camp.

August 30, 1941

Colonel Al. Riosanu, governor of Bukovina died due to an unsuccessful (medical) operation in Chernovitz. He had been in office for only six weeks. During this time he carried out Antonescu's orders obediently but at the same time thoughtfully. The massacres in Bukovina had been organized before his appointment. General Corneliu Calotescu was appointed to be his successor.

August 31, 1941

The setting up of Jewish camps in Bessarabia has been completed. There are 8,941 Jews in the three camps in Balti County, and 22,969 in Vertujeni, Soroca County. Although no official reports mention it, there might be approx. 10,000 Jews more in the same county, in Marculesti. (Nr. 71).

September 1, 1941

In Hotin County, which administratively belongs to Bukovina, there are 12,248 Jews in the camp of Edineti, and 10,201 in the camp of Secureni. (Nr. 72).

September 1, 1941

In the Vertujeni camp where most of the interned people consist of the convoys that had been driven to the right and left sides of the Dniester, some Jews left from Lipcani are also brought to join the other Jews; the others had been interned to Secureni.

September 2, 1941

General Ion Topor, Highest Praetor of the army, orders the Gendarmerie Inspectorate of Transnistria to start preparations for the deportation of Jews in the camps, beyond the Dniester. The deportation starts on September 6, and the Jews will be taken in groups of 1,000 through the crossing-places of Criuleni-Karantin and Rezina-Rabnita. (Nr. 73).

September 3, 1941

The Gendarme Inspectorate in Transnistria replies to the deportation order in an intricate way, out of which it was understood that the deportation was to take place on September 15 (Nr. 74).

September 4, 1941

The General Staff asks the Highest Praetor of the Army to present an exact situation of the Jewish camps and the ghettos in Bessarabia and Bukovina. (Nr. 75–76).

September 5, 1941

The 2nd Territorial Headquarters orders the Federation of Jewish Communities to collect and hand over to the military authorities 5,000 complete civilian clothing (suits, overcoats, shoes or boots, hats, shirts, underwear, socks); these will be given to Jews in camps and ghettos of Bessarabia.

Note: Although the order was entirely fulfilled, even over-fulfilled, due to a special law announced later, the naked and barefoot Jews of Bessarabia and Transnistria did not get any of them.

September 11, 1941

The circumstances in the three big Bessarabian Jewish camps (Secureni, Edineti, and Vertujeni) are appalling.

In Edineti, more than 12,000 people are located in five streets, 2,500 people in 26 peasant houses. Most of the interned Jews were from around Storojinet, which they left with a sack on the back, and what they had brought was either used up by themselves during the several weeks of the transportation, or was taken away. They were not able to pay 10 lei for a loaf of bread; all the bread got stale in the warehouse of the camp, but nothing was given to the starving people. Most of the Jews were barefoot. Many of them were almost naked. Some wrapped themselves into newspaper or brown paper. Although all were exhausted by the long journey, hunger and misery, they were forced to work. The guards, gendarmes and pre-militaries were mocking them while they were working.

In the labor battalions they are mocked and tortured by the guards, gendarmes and pre-militaries. Most of all suffered a group of Jews headed by Rabbi **Iosua Fraenkel** from Seletin who were sent to repair the Hotin – Chernovitz road.

In Secureni there are 10,200 people, most of them coming from the neighborhood of Hotin. They suffered less than those from Edineti and as the way was shorter, they were not robbed of all their belongings. Some can still buy some food but most of them have no clothes. They are used to clean the streets, repair the roads (in Briceni and Lipcani), to carry out field works.

The most terrible camp is located in Vertujeni. Here, Colonel Agapie and Captains Buradescu and Radulescu are the lords. More than 20,000 people are crowded in a place which would not be enough for one tenth of them. There is no roof on most of the houses, because the tin was removed by the order of Colonel Agapie to make holders for lard and soap. The Jews were fatigued by the two months of wandering on both sides of the Dniester. They have nothing to be sold because everything was taken away from them on the way or in the camp. Despite their poverty, they have to pay 2 lei for each person who leaves the camp to get some food for them. They can hardly obtain water because they have to queue for hours at the few wells of the camp. They have to do hard and useless jobs, for instance pave the camp with stones brought from the Dniester, while starving, tortured, and beaten. Captains Buradescu and Radulescu, monsters of the camp, rape Jewish girls and women. Several dozens of people die every day due to misery, starvation, thirst and pains suffered. (Nr. 77–78).

September 11, 1941

The Gendarme Inspector of Bessarabia reports to the Highest Army Praetor the measures taken in order to deport the Jews from Vertujeni over the Dniester. These measures comprise mainly the following:

The deportation will start on September 12, at 08.00 a.m. along two routes: one towards the north, through Cremenea – Gura Camenca-Soroca-Cosauti and the second towards the east, through Temeleuti – Vascauti – Tepende – Crezmirca – Mateuti, Rezina.

1,600 Jews will be deported every 2 days, 800 per each route.

The marching speed will be of 30km per day in 3 stages along both routes. Each convoy will be equipped with 50 carts to carry baggage and the disabled. The gendarme legions will be responsible for burying the dead and quartering at the edge of villages in barns and sheds. If escorts should rob the Jewish population, they will be punished by shooting. (Nr. 79–80).

Note: The directions were carried out only in a hostile way. The convoys were formed at random; families were separated (husband from wife, parents from children) and forced to march along two different routes. Those convoys were never to meet again. Maybe this separation of destinies represented the most dramatic moments of the deportation, even more painful than robbery or beating, more tragic than death.

The marching speed was complied with, i.e.: 30 km per day for people exhausted after 2 months of wandering in misery and hunger. There were sick, disabled, old people and women with children in their arms. Instead of 50 carts, only 4 or 5 carts were distributed to the convoys; they were paid by the poor Jews. Having no carts, powerless, beaten and pushed by the soldiers and pre-militaries from the escort, they lost even the last remainders of strength. This explains why along both routes but mostly on that towards Cosauti corpses were everywhere.

That instruction according to which those who rob any Jew will be shot dead was not communicated to the escorting soldiers or even if it was, no measure had been taken against the perpetrators. The unleashed beasts, without any supervision or fear of being punished, robbed even the last remainders of what those unfortunate deportees managed to keep. On the way to Cosauti, well dressed Jews, killed by shooting, were being sold to the peasants for a price of 1,500 - 2,000 lei, for their clothes.

On the way, the people were not even allowed to drink water. Sometime, it was possible to get a cup of water against a watch, a ring or any other valuable object. (Nr. 19, 81).

September 12, 1941

500 Men are taken from the Edineti camp and sent to forced labor.

September 20, 1941

Typhoid breaks out in the camp of Edineti. The commander of the camp threatens to shoot all Jews if the epidemic spreads on.

September 21, 1941

The deportation from the Vertujeni camp, started on September 16, continues according to the schedule. The sad convoys are marching daily along the 2 routes. While waiting to be deported, the Jews are forced to carry out exhausting labor like paving the roads with cemetery stones or with stones taken from the Dniester. On this day of Rosh Hashanah, mostly rabbis are forced to work.

September 28, 1941

The camps of the Balti County (Limbeni, Rautel and Rascani) are dissolved. The Jews, who had been there, are massed together in Marculesti in order to de deported.

October 2, 1941

The Secureni camp is divided into two parts for the purpose of deporting the Jews to Transnistria. Convoys are being formed for the two marching directions.

Like in Vertujeni, members of the same family were separated and sent to two different directions.

Before the departure of the first convoy, the people are forced to lie down and robbed of their last belongings.

October 4, 1941

The Kishinev ghetto is being evacuated. The first convoy formed of about 1,600 people leaves towards the Dniester along the Orhei–Rezina road.

October 5, 1941

The second convoy of the Secureni camp leaves for Atachi.

October 8, 1941

All the Jews from the Vertujeni camp have been deported. The camp commanders, who excelled in tormenting Jews, i.e.: Col. Agapie Vasile and Capt. Buradescu Sever are sent to lead the interim camp of Marculesti, a distribution center for the convoys to Transnistria.

October 10, 1941

The first convoys which left from Vertujeni for Rezina crossed the Dniester to Rabnita and were drifted to Birzula where they were sheltered in stables and then driven away up to Grozdovca. The ghetto set up there is led by a corporal. He is counting the persons of the convoys by hitting them with iron bars.

October 10, 1941

The Edineti camp is dissolved by the same system of two convoys along different routes, in order to deport the Jews who were interned there.

October 11, 1941

The convoys of deportees from Secureni cross the Dniester through Atachi. The first convoy leaves Edineti; this convoy consisted mainly of Bukovina Jews, from the Storojinet region. A part of them passes first through the hell of Marculesti, the other through Atachi. (Nr. 160).

October 13, 1941

The second convoy leaves the Edineti camp. This camp was mainly composed of Bukovina Jews from the regions Banila, Seletin, Putila, Berhomet, Jadova, etc. The convoy had at its disposal a few carts, paid also by the Jews. As the roads were bumpy, the commander of the convoy ordered that everyone should get off the carts, even the old and disabled to spare the animals.

October 14, 1941

The vice-president of the Council of ministers orders that the deportations from the Chernovitz and Kishinev camps should be stopped. After having done a selection, intellectuals, traders, craftsmen and those who had an urban or rural property were exempt from being deported.

This order was not observed in Kishinev where only 100 christened Jews were allowed to stay.

October 20, 1941

From the beginning of the month, the camp of Marculesti acts as a collecting camp for those Jewish deportee groups which are to be taken across the Dniester at the crossing place of Rezina. In fact the camp in Marculesti was created for the purpose of looting and torturing.

Both looting and torture were directed by Colonel Vasile Agapie, commander of the camp, whose helpers were Captains Buradescu and Radulescu as well as Ion Mihailescu, an inspector of the National Bank, who was sent there to exchange the rubles into lei. All of them walked in the camp equipped with sticks and pistols, and tortured everybody who they met, men, women, old people, the sick etc. Many people were beaten up by them so much that they died a few days later. Their subordinates and the gendarmes acted in the same way, beating their victims with anger similar to that of their commanders.

The Jews were deprived of all they rescued from the previous hell with the pretext of duty payment and foreign exchange. Everything was stolen around their hands: pieces of clothes, underwear, money (lei and foreign cash) jewelry (rings were pulled off the fingers by wringing them, earrings were torn out of the ears along with pieces of flesh), pillows and covers, cutlery, and even baby strollers. Documents and identity cards of the deportees were confiscated and torn.

Due to starvation, misery and beating, an enormous number of people died in the camp, where corpses were lying everywhere: in cellars, ditches, yards etc.

Every day a marching column of 2-3,000 people were set off from the camp to cross the Dniester at Rezina. (Nr. 82).

October 31, 1941

The deportation of Jews from the ghetto of Kishinev continued during the whole month. In rain, then in the early coming wintry weather, a marching column of 700 -1,000 people was started almost every day on the highway of Orhei. The deportees were mocked and beaten by the gendarmes all the way. Sometimes the marching columns were stopped so that the gendarmes or the peasants could rob the Jews. The peasants got into the

habit of hiding in the corn-fields to wait for the prisoner-transports to attack and rob them. Those who lagged behind out of exhaustion were shot dead. (Nr. 19).

The last convoys left in the following way: 1,004 Jews on October 29, 882 Jews on October 30, 257 Jews on October 31. (Nr. 83 – 84).

There was constant terror, panic and hopelessness in the ghetto. Several people went mad, others committed suicide. The rest tried to insist on staying alive at any cost. Hundreds of telegrams written in a coded language of a childish naiveté were sent daily to Bucharest (Nr. 85).

An intrepid leader, the lawyer Sapiro had the courage to put on an officer's uniform and to fly a military airplane up to Bucharest. He tried every way, knocked at all doors trying by all means to save the unfortunate Jewish community in Kishinev. He soon realized that it was useless. He could have stayed and saved his life He returned and lined himself up among the first convoys. Nobody has ever heard anything about him.

The Federation of Jewish Communities sent to Kishinev a Christian lawyer named Musat. His efforts were also futile. His telegraphic report sent on October 30, 1941, expresses laconically the sad situation, an impressive end of the tragedy:

"Lost trial, all clients condemned; appeal to be made in Bucharest, lawyer Musat" (Nr. 85).

November 8, 1941

The deportation of Jews from the camps of Vertujeni, Secureni and Edineti had ended. All survivors were taken across the Dniester, most of them were scattered near Atachi, in Moghilev County.

The deportations from the camp in Marculesti continue. After they cross the Dniester near Rabnita, the deportees are driven towards the Bug, to Balta and Tulcin counties.

November 10, 1941

The deportation from Marculesti of Jews collected from the camps of Bessarabia has come to an end. Only a few trains still come from Bukovina. It is requested that trains should not be directed to Marculesti any longer. (Nr. 108).

CHAPTER II – DOCUMENTS

The Initiative of Persecution Measures against the Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina Nr. 31

Extract from Mihai Antonescu's speech at the conference which took place on July 3, 1941 at the Ministry of the Interior, published in a leaflet under the following title: **Directives and instructions given to administrative inspectors and praetors sent to Bessarabia and Bukovina** (page 60).

10. ETHNIC AND POLITICAL CLEANSING

We are in the most favorable and ample historic moment for a total ethnic unleashing, for national revising and cleansing our nation from all those elements which are alien to its soul and have grown like mistletoe just to darken its future.

We have to be implacable if we want not to miss this unique moment.

Nobody should be deceived by the appearance of a humanitarian philosophy. The tragic experience of the past has taught us that beneath this philosophy there is a most acute interest of a race that wants to rule over everything, based on abstract principles behind which there was a profiteering religion to the prejudice of a needy nation.

.....

The action of ethnic cleansing will take place by removing or isolating all the Jews and other foreigners (whose behavior is doubtable), in labor camps where they will not be able to exert their evil influence.

In order to accomplish the action of ethnic cleansing, the province governments should approve and take forced migration measures for the Jewish and other foreign elements to be driven over the border as they have no place in Bessarabia and Bukovina right at the moment when the national rights are being restored for good in these territories.

......

Nr. 32

Extract from the speech of Ion Antonescu, held in front of the Council of Ministers on July 8, 1941

.....

I take the risk of not being understood by some traditionalists that might be among you; I am on the side of forced migration for all the Jewish elements from Bessarabia and Bukovina that have to be thrown over the border.

I am also on the side of forced migration of the Ukrainian elements that have no place here, at this moment.

It doesn't matter if we are being considered as barbarians in history. The Roman Empire did a series of barbaric actions and it was still the greatest political establishment.

"In our history it has never been a more favorable moment".

"If necessary, use machine guns and shoot".

.....

ARRESTING ALL JEWS FROM BESSARABIAN VILLAGES Nr. 33

GENDARME INSPECTORATE KISHINEV

CIRCULAR ORDER NR. 1¹ of July 8, 1941

Based on the order of the General Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie and Ministry of the Interior, I took command of the Gendarme Inspectorate Kishinev. All officers, sub-officers and the troop should know that the land re-conquered with the sacrifice of our brothers' blood must be administered

¹ Extract

and kept with dignity, honesty and kindness towards all righteous people and with harshness and merciless towards criminals.

For the purpose of guidance, now at the beginning, I order the following:

CONCERNING THE DUTY (ACTIVITY)

All the Jews of any sex and age will be identified on the rural territory informing the inspectorate through the relevant legions to give orders to be followed.

Gendarme Inspectorate Kishinev Col. **MECULESCU**

CAMPS OF THE BALTI COUNTY Nr. 34¹

HIGHEST PRAETOR DEPARTMENT Nr. 223 of July 17, 1941 HIGHEST PRAETOR DEPARTMENT to GENERAL HEADQUARTERS Department II

July 17, 1941
The community should support them. They should be taken to forced labor
General TATARANU

July 18, 1941 Order of the Kishinev and Chernovitz inspectorate. After the investigations carried out in the Balti County, on July 16 and 17 of this year, I found that the 8-th division of the area sent to Falesti – Balti 1,546 Jews, to Balti 1,235 Jews, to Limbenii Noi about 700 Jews to the camp.

According to information, the 8-th division might send 5,000 Jews to Balti

¹ See the photocopy of the report, illustration IV.

General UOAN TOPOR

There is no one to guard them
There is no one to feed them
Please order what we should do with
them.

Highest Praetor, General IOAN TOPOR

Nr. 35

1904 18/7 17,25

Through Hugues
Seen 18/7 17, 30 signature illegible

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TELEGRAM MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR

Bucharest

I would like to report that in the Falesti village, Balti County, there are 1,546 Jews, in the Limbenii Noi village of the same county there are 700 Jews and in the Balti town there are 1,300 Jews, men, women and children gathered from the county and sent to the front area by the Big Unit.

They have no food and no guarding troops.

Their stay in Bessarabia is inopportune.

Please order their transportation to the interior to perform forced labor. Please communicate orders to be followed.

Nr. 229, July 18, 1941.

Highest Praetor, General IOAN TOPOR

Nr. 36

TELEGRAM NR. 305 of July22, 1941 GENDARME INSPECTORATE KISHINEV

According to the order of the Minister of the Interior, Sub-Secretary of State, the Jews from Balti, Falesti and Limbenii Noi will be sent to perform forced labor for their living until their internment.

General IOAN TOPOR

RESTRICTIONS AND THE OBLIGATION TO WEAR THE YELLOW STAR FOR THE JEWS OF CZERNOVITS Nr. 37

ORDINANCE Nr. 1344 of July 30, 1941

I, the undersigned, Alexandru Riosanu, representative of General Ion Antonescu for the administration of Bukovina, in the interest of public order and security,

ORDER:

- Art. 1. It is strictly forbidden to walk in groups of more than 3 persons and only between 06.00 08.00 p.m.
- Art. 2. Jews are allowed to shop in markets only between 9.30 11.00 a.m. Bread can be bought starting with 6 o'clock.
 - Art. 3. Jewish firms are strictly forbidden in shops.
- Art. 4. It is strictly forbidden to set up any kind of flags on Jewish shops and houses, including national, German or Italian flags.
- Art. 5. Jewish free lancers will hang at the entrance of the buildings where they will carry out their professions, plates with their surname and first name, profession, the indication "Jew" and the consulting hours.
- Art. 6. Jews of any age and sex are obliged to wear on the left side of their breast a visible yellow star formed of 2 equilateral triangles with their bases of 6 cm, overlapped in such a way as to form the Star of David. The yellow star will be made of fabric.

Art. 7. Any infringement of this ordinance will be punished by internment into a camp besides other more severe punishments that might be applied according to the ordinary and special penal laws.

ALEXANDRU RIOSANU

ARRESTING OF JEWISH HOSTAGES IN CZERNOVITS Nr. 38

ORDINANCE 1

- Art.1. Anyone who will commit any act of violence against Romanian officers, soldiers, state clerks of any rank as well as against German officers, soldiers and clerks or missions, will be executed on the spot.
- Art. 2. Should any act of violence be committed against the above mentioned persons by a Jew, all the Jewish hostages interned in the camp will be executed on the spot.
- Art. 3. The same punishment will be applied to accomplices of any kind.
- Art. 4. The authorities who will not execute exactly these directives will be sanctioned in the same way.

We inform the entire population that a number of 50 Jewish distinguished persons from Chernovitz were taken hostages and interned. These hostages will guarantee with their own life and wealth the good behavior of the Jewish population. If the Jews commit the slightest act of violence against the German or allied armies or against a public Romanian clerk or the allied missions, all the hostages will be immediately executed and their wealth will be confiscated.

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¹ it was not displayed, only published in the newspapers of August 1, 1941

FLIGHT OF JEWS FROM THE EAST TO THE WEST OF THE DNIESTER NR. 39

Telephone message

Nr. 71 of August 5, 1941 PRAETORIAN DEPARTMENT "FLAMURA 2" TO

THE DEPARTMENT OF THE HIGHEST PRAETOR

The gendarme legion Soroca reports that it ordered the return of the 20,000 Jews on the evening of August 4, together with the report to the Praetorian Department.

Please order the Chernovitz Inspectorate to command the Hotin Legion to stop the Jews in an interim camp until new orders.

Lieut.Col. POITEVIN

Nr. 40

Telephone message

Entry Nr. 487 August 5, 1941

Nr. 814 of August 5, 1941 GENDARME INSPECTORATE CHERNOVITS TO HIGHEST PRAETOR DEPARTMENT

I would like to report that a part of the convoys arrived at Atachi, Soroca County and another part was stopped by the commander of the Soroca legion before arriving at Atachi.

There are no feeding possibilities, not even for the Gendarmes who are guarding the convoys.

You are kindly requested to clarify this equivocal situation and to give orders accordingly.

I, the undersigned, am leaving for Hotin where there is an acute conflict between the commander of the legion and the county prefect.

As I am sick, I cannot arrive at Atachi.

Please account for the attitude of the gendarmes of the police company and the Soroca legion who do not allow the advance of the convoys.

Col. MANECUTA

Nr. 41

Telephone message

Nr. 72/August 6, 1941

to

HIGHEST PRAETOR DEPARTMENT

The Soroca gendarme legion reports that on August 5, the Germans drove across the Dniester 3,000 Jews from the 12,000 exact

who had been passed to Moghilev.

The remaining Jews are to be re-sent as well.

Please order their stopping in a camp a little backwards.

Lieut. Col. POITEVIN

Nr. 42

Telephone message August 05/1941 It has been ordered to col. Manecuta to stop everybody

to

HIGHEST PRAETOR DEPARTMENT

Following the report Nr. 956 of August 1941:

The gendarme legion Soroca reported by cable that during the night of 4–5 August, this year, on the road Lipnic – Atachi, there are about 20,000 Jews brought from Hotin and Storojinet.

In Moghilev it is not possible to pass, as the Germans refuse.

Please order the inspectorate in Chernovitz to stop evacuating the Jews.

Lieut. Col. POITEVIN

Nr. 528 August 8, 1941

Nr. 838, August 8, 1941

GENDARME INSPECTORATE CHERNOVITZ to HIGHEST PRAETOR DEPARTMENT

The Hotin legion reports that Jews are concentrated between Secureni, Hotin County and Atachi, Soroca County. Those Jews had been evacuated from the following counties: Hotin – 3,340 Jews, Radauti – 4,113 Jews, Storojinet – 13,852, Vijnita camp – 1,820, Chernovitz – 15,324, totaling 27,849 Jews.

From the Hotin County, a number of 20,000 Jews had already been passed across the Dniester. The German troops do not allow either Jews or Ukrainians (who came from the Ukraine to Bessarabia during the Soviet occupation) to be evacuated beyond the Dniester.

As of August 7, the German troops did not accept all those people who came from Bessarabia and northern Bukovina, irrespective of their nationality, ordering their return from the Ukraine to Bessarabia.

570 Jews who had willingly fled from Bessarabia and 50 unwanted Ukrainians were returned through Atachi – Hotin.

On the other hand, they stopped 2 prisoners originating from the Ukraine, freed from the camp by the Germans and 8 persons coming from Russia to Bessarabia after June 28, 1940. The gendarmes who wanted to pass them across were threatened by guns.

Typhus epidemic broke out among the Jews concentrated in Secureni-Hotin and Atachi (Soroca). They have no food. Some complain not having eaten for 5-6 days. There are cases of suicide and premature births. The Soroca legion tries to push those Jews to the Hotin County.

Please intervene and solve those issues as soon as possible.

Telephone message Nr. 518 Nr. 74/August 8, 1941
FLAMURA PRAETORIAN
DEPARTMENT
TO
HIGHEST PRAETOR

To the order Nr. 518/1941. I gave orders to the Soroca Legion for execution. I would like to report that there are approximately 25,000 Jews in the northern part of the county (Lipnic – Atachi) coming from the counties of the Chernovitz Inspectorate where there are no more Jews.

The Soroca legion has no possibility of feeding and organizing camps for those people. They need isolated buildings. There is no possibility of having them interned or guarded, for lack of personnel.

It is impossible to procure food through communities because the communities had been dissolved.

Please order the Inspectorate in Chernovitz to gather all the Jews from the Lipnic-Atachi area and to organize camps in the Hotin County and to feed them through the contribution of all the Prefectures of the Counties from where the Jews had come.

I must also add that the German police tried to pass over the bridge approx. 4,500 Jews in Atachi on August 7, 1941. The column was returned and will probably be headed towards Iampol to be passed to Soroca. Please give orders so that the Soroca legion should not accept them because German troops will arrive at Iampol and this may lead to conflicts.

Lieut. Col. J. POITEVIN

Nr. 45

Nr. 528/August 8, 1941 HIGHEST PRAETOR DEPARTMENT

to

GENDARME INSPECTORATE CHERNOVITZ

Telephone message

To Nr. 738 of August 8, 1941.

Until new orders to be given soon:

Take measures so that all evacuated Jews should remain in the camps you will organize based on mutual agreement with the Prefectures.

- the camps will have medical assistance provided by Jewish physicians
- feeding will be ensured from foreign financial sources, money collected from the people in the camps or in case that would not be possible, the unit will provide aids.
- nobody will be allowed to walk, people will stay in the set up camps This transitory period will last a few days until further orders.
- those Jews who will be passed beyond the Dniester by the German troops will be also interned in the camps
- those people who come from Bessarabia and Bukovina and will be returned by the German troops to Bessarabia, the people who crossed the Dniester with the Soviet troops will be interned into separate camps, not the same Jewish ones because they have communist ideas being harmful to the security of the country.
- as the German troops do not allow evacuation of the Jews across the Dniester, the situation remains as it is until further notice.

for the Highest Praetor Col. A. HAGICHIREA Received by Sergeant BREABAU

THE FATE OF THE BESSARABIAN JEWS WHO JOINED THE SOVIET TROOPS WHILE THEY WERE RETREATING

Nr. 46

COMMANDER OF THE 3-RD ARMY, II-nd ECHELON Praetorian Service Military Postal Office Nr. 30 Col. A. HAGICHIREA Entrance Nr. 587 August 13, 1941

Nr. 1108 1941, August 10 to the HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE Military Postal office 85 I would like to report that on August 9, of this year, a group of approx. 2,000 Jews who took refuge together with the Soviet army, arrived at Rascov, to the bridge head Vadu Rascu, towards the Ukraine. These Jews were gathered by the Romanian army and directed towards the Praetorian services to their homes. The convoy being in total misery, was stopped on the left bank of the Dniester.

I sent an officer with 20 gendarmes to push them back towards the interior of the Ukraine.

I ordered the praetorian services to push the Jews forward, not backwards.

On August 10, of this year, 14 Ukrainians arrived at Balti. They had been picked up from the Ukraine by the Praetorian service of the 13-th Division (Major Moreanu) and sent to Balti to be investigated as suspects. I ordered the Gendarme Legion in Balti to withdraw them to the Ukraine. I ordered the Praetorian services to stop such actions. The Ukrainian suspects are being investigated on the spot.

Please intervene with the General Headquarters to order that the troops should not gather Jews any longer but so send them forward (to the East) otherwise we'll fill the bank of the Dniester towards the Ukraine with all the Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina.

Praetor of the 3-rd Army, II-nd echelon Lieut.-Col. **JEAN POITEVIN**

SETTING UP OF THE SECURENI AND EDINETI CAMPS Nr. 47

3-RD ARMY, 2-ND ECHELON

Praetorian Service

Military Postal Office Nr. 30

9.8.1941

Nr. 546

August, 09, 1941

Nr. 1080/August 9, 1941

to the

HIGHEST PRAETORIAN SERVICE

I would like to report that in the Edineti village, Hotin district, there are approx. 10,000 Jews. They live in miserable conditions, in deserted houses.

They have no soap, no possibility to wash and delouse themselves. There are numerous sick people among them.

The supplying possibilities are reduced.

The Jews are not isolated and not guarded being a source of infection and a permanent danger for the passing population and army.

As from Balti it is not possible to talk either with Chernovitz or with Hotin, please order the Inspectorate in Chernovitz to send the commander of the Hotin legion to the scene in order to organize and guard the camp, also organizing the way of their feeding.

Not having any means of transportation it is impossible to establish the real situation that has to be settled by the commander of the legion and to report it.

Praetor of the 3-rd Army, 2-nd echelon, **JEAN POITEVIN**

Nr. 48

Telephone message

Nr. 569
August 11, 1941
Nr. 858/August 11, 1941
GENDARME INSPECTORATE
CHERNOVITZ
to

HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE

Following our telephone report Nr. 862/August 11, 1941, please find an urgent solution to the issue of the Jews from the Secureni camp that are prone to the outbreak of an epidemic because of starvation and poor hygienic conditions.

Telephone message

Nr. 555 August 10, 1941 Nr. 858/August 11, 1941 GENDARME INSPECTORATE CHERNOVITZ

> to HIGHEST PRAETOR

I would like to report that I have taken measures to intern the Jews into the following camps:

Secureni: approximately 17,000 Jews
Barnova: approx. 3,000 Jews
Berbeni: approx. 2,000 Jews

All those camps were situated in the Hotin County.

The others are in the area of Soroca Gendarme Legion in Atachi and about 10,000 over the Dniester.

Although efforts have been made by the administrative and communal authorities to ensure the necessary requirements, it was not possible to meet the needs of so many people crammed together.

First of all, there is no bread and many Jews have no money being prone to die of starvation.

Measures were taken for the peasants from the surrounding villages to sell food to the Jews for money or by exchange with other goods.

Capt. Oprescu from the Hotin legion is at the place of the scene to take measures.

Telephone message

Nr. 568 August 11, 1941 Nr. 858/August 11, 1941

August 11,1941
The 12,000 Jews sent back by the Germans beyond the Dniester.
Col. A. HAGICHIREA

GENDARME INSPECTORATE CHERNOVITZ to HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE

To the order Nr. 528/941, we'd like to report that a camp was set up in the Secureni-Hotin village. Here were interned a number of Jews, as follows:

Hotin town	3,800 Jews
Noua Sulita	2,800 Jews
Hotin County	6,625 Jews
Storojinet town	1,100 Jews
Storojinet County	3,180 Jews
Herta-Dorohoi	1,200 Jews
Radauti town	520 Jews
Radauti County	580 Jews
Chernovitz County	977 Jews
	20,852 Jews

Medical assistance was provided for; however it was impossible to feed the Jews because they are too crammed. Therefore, we propose that a second camp should be erected in Edineti, Hotin County.

In Moghilev there are 12,000 Jews left. They are to be returned to Romanian by the Germans.

The inspectorate cannot assume responsibility for their coming.

SECRET MESSAGE

Nr. 619/August 15, 1941 HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE to GENERAL HEADQUARTERS Department II

Further to order Nr. 3803/B. of August 15, 1941.

I would like to report that because the number of Jews is too high, abt. 20,000, they have been divided into 2 camps: one half to the Secureni camp and the other half to the Edineti camp.

The Gendarme Inspectorate in Chernovitz was ordered to take measures for feeding and guarding the Jews.

for Highest Praetor Col. A. HAGICHIREA

GERMANS REQUEST A NUMBER OF JEWS FROM CAMPS Nr. 52

Telephone Message
Nr. 610
August 14, 1941
Intervention to General
Nr. 895 of August 14. 1941
Headquarters
GENDARME INSPECTORATE
Department II
Col. HAGICHIREA
HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE

The German Headquarters of the Security Police and S.D. Einsatzkomando 10 B demand a number of 27 Jews from the Secureni camp, without specifying the reasons.

Some of those Jews are there with their entire families. Please order.

Telephone Message 16/8 Intervention to General

Headquarters

Department II
Col. HAGICHIREA

Nr. 909

August 16, 1941

GENDARME INSPECTORATE

CHERNOVITZ to

HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE

Further to report Nr. 895 of August 14, 1941.

Please order because the German Headquarters repeated the request.

Col. MANECUTA

SETTING UP THE VERTUJENI CAMP CONFINEMENT OF THE JEWS WHO WERE PASSED BEYOND THE DNIESTER Nr. 55

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
Department II
Office 2
SECRET

HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE

Those Jews who had been driven beyond the Dniester, to the western part, at Cosauti (across Iampol), of about 13,000 persons will be interned into the camp in Vertujeni (20 km south east of Soroca).

Lieut. Col. Palade, chief of the Military Statistical Office in Iasi has been in charge with the execution of this operation.

Therefore please order that the Flamura praetorian service should contribute to guarding, transportation etc. of those interned.

The Soroca prefecture should also contribute to provide for means of transportation and food, etc.

The gendarme inspectorate in Kishinev through the Soroca legion should assist Lieut. Col. Palade to perform its mission. Therefore, the Soroca legion should contact Lieut. Col. Palade as soon as possible.

Head of 2-nd department

Head of Office Nr. 2

Lieut, Col. R. DINULESCU

Lieut. Col., signature illegible

Nr. 56

Very urgent to FLAMURA PRAETORIAN SERVICE, 2-ND ECHELON

Please take immediate measures to transport and guard the 13,000 Jews passed by the Germans to the west of the Dniester–Cosauti (across Iampol). They should be interned to Vertujeni camp (20 km from Soroca).

Very urgent matter.

It is regrettable that the Commander of the legion does not understand the mission.

Please report the taken measures urgently.

Col. HAGICHIREA

Nr. 641/August 17/1941

Nr. 57

GENDARME INSPECTORATE IASI to HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE

Balti 689, 56, 19/8, 12, 45 hours

Further to the telegraphic order 641, all the 13,000 Jews had been interned to Vertujeni. All the Jews of the Soroca Legion are in the Vertujeni camp.

Praetor Flamura 2.

Lieut, Col. Jean Poitevin Nr. 120907

3-rd Army, 2-nd echelon to HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE

Further to the telegraphic report Nr. 120883, of 17.08.1941,

All the 13,500 Jews who have been brought back by the Germans from beyond the Dniester to Cosauti Soroca, were interned to the Vertujeni – Soroca camp.

Approx. 22,000 Jews were interned in the Vertujeni camp.

Praetor of 3-rd Army, Lieut-Col. JEAN POITEVIN

Nr. 59

SECRET

TO GENERAL HEADQUARTERS, 2-ND DEPARTMENT

Further to your order Nr. 3856, of 17.08.1941, I would like to report that all the 13,000 Jews were interned to the Vertujeni camp.

Until August 21, of this year, the Jews from the camps Alexandru cel Bun and Rublenita will be taken to Vertujeni.

for High Praetor, Col. HAGICHIREA

Nr. 60

19.08.1941 GENDARME INSPECTORATE KISHINEV to HIGHEST PRAETOR

I would like to report that in the night of 17.08.1941, 12,500 Jews were passed from the Ukraine to Bessarabia at Cosauti, Soroca County.

Please order by telegram the Soroca legion to drive them immediately beyond the Dniester to the Ukraine.

Col. MECULESCU

Nr. 61

3-rd Army

VERTUJENI CAMP

Situation of the Jews who were interned into the Vertujeni camp on August 23:

We certify that 23,009 Jews were interned in the camp.

Commander of the prisoners' camp Nr. 5 Col. CONSTANTINESCU ALEX.

Secureni camp: 10,356 Edinita camp: 11,762

SITUATION OF THE JEWISH RURAL ASSETS IN BESSARABIA Nr. 62

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS to HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE II-nd DEPARTMENT

Please order that the gendarme legions from our border to the USSR should report the following:

- all the shtetls and villages which had been inhabited or still are inhabited by Jews, showing
- whether they were evacuated or are still inhabited and by whom
- whether the houses can be inhabited and what is their accommodating capacity
- what Jewish agricultural properties belong to the relevant village or shtetls, area of gardens or arable land
- what industrial plants can be found in that place.

- please forward the result to the General Headquarters as soon as possible.

for Head of 2-nd Department Lieut, Col. GH.N. PETRESCU for Head of 2-nd Office Captain GH. EVULESCU

Nr. 63

GENDARME INSPECTORATE KISHINEV to HIGHEST PRAETOR

Further to your order Nr. 667/941, concerning the shtetls and villages that have or still are inhabited by Jews and if they have been evacuated,

I am sending you a situation of the Jewish shtetls and settlements with their relevant houses, gardens, fields and industrial plants that remained from the Jews who took refuge in the USSR from the territory of this Inspectorate.¹

Gendarme Inspector Bessarabia Kishinev Col. T. MECULESCU

Head of Police office Capt. I. VALCULESCU

Nr. 64

August 28, 1941

GENDARME INSPECTORATE CHERNOVITZ

to

HIGHEST PRAETOR

To your telephone message Nr. 667 of August 19, 1941 by which a situation of the shtetls and villages inhabited by Jews and situated along the frontier with the USSR was ordered,

¹ To this report, a long and unclear situation was enclosed with showing that in the villages inhabited by Jews in the Hotin County remained, among others, the following assets from the Jews who had been driven away from their homes.

Houses with accommodation capacity for 26,000 people; 143 hectares of gardens; 3874 hect. of arable land; 7 mills, 2 peasant mills, 1 sugar factory, 4 oil factories, 1 lumber factory, 1 soap factory, 1 beer factory, 1 alcohol factory

I would like to submit a situation drawn up by the gendarme legion Hotin according to your above mentioned order.
Col. I. MANECUTA, Lieut, A. PENTELEIANU

ATTEMPTS OF THE FEDERATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES TO ASSIST THE JEWS FROM CAMPS Nr. 65

Bucharest, August 19, 1941

Federation of Jewish Communities

Dear Minister,

We take the liberty to draw your attention concerning the following issues:

In Secureni (Bessarabia), 25 - 30,000 Jews were gathered. These Jews were from the following places: Storojinet, Seletin, Putila, Plosca, Vascauti, Vijnita, Lujeni, Lipcani, etc. They are homeless, have no food, clothes or medical assistance. Nobody is allowed to send aids there. The miserable conditions are not only a threat to their lives but also a pest hole for the outbreak of infectious and epidemic diseases.

Please try to find solutions to these perils ordering that the evacuees should be sent at last, also authorizing the sending of aids.

President, General Secretary,
Dr. W. FILDERMAN MATATIAS CARP

To his Excellency, MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

.

¹ A table comprising the following properties which were left by the Jews evicted from Jewish shtetls and settlements are attaches to this report.

Soroca County, Telenesti shtetls, 692 houses, 1934 ha., agricultural field, 11 mills, 73 ha. grazing ground, 5 oil factories, 24 ha, house ground, 5 lime pits, 595 ha. vineyard, 1 wool carding factory

Orhei County, Vertujeni shtetls, 325 houses, 600 ha vineyard, 353 ha agricultural field, 2 mills

Otaci shtetl: 163 houses, 125 ha agricultural field, 1 oil factory

Vadu Rascu shtetls, 36 ha agricultural field, 1 mill, 12 ha agricultural field, 1 oil factory.

August 21, 1941

FEDERATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES

Nr. 1362

Dear Vice-president,

We have the honor of turning to you and asking you to allow us to send funds to the leaders of Jewish Communities in some localities of Bessarabia and Bukovina, whose members have no financial means at all.

These funds will not be distributed but used by the leaders of communities as collective aid in the form of food supplies for canteens and infirmaries. These funds have to be urgently sent because the Jews there are in a state of exhaustion, there being danger of diseases and epidemics. Faithfully yours,

President, Dr. W. FILDERMAN General Secretary, MATATIAS CARP

To his Excellency, the vice-president and ad interim president of the Council of Ministers

Nr. 67

Nr. 37871 of Sept. 7, 1941
GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
Department I
To
Federation of Jewish Communities
Dr. Burghelea St. Nr. 3, Bucharest

We would like to inform you that we did not forbid the sending of financial aid to the Jews interned in Secureni, on the contrary, these aids were requested for the Jewish Communities in Moldova.

The general headquarters asked that you should collect funds to be sent to the camp through the General Headquarters, department 2, prisoners' office.

Head of Army Control Office Major POPESCU EUGEN

Nr. 68

Federation of Jewish Communities, August 28, 1941

DEAR PRESIDENT,

We would like to ask you to dispose sending of delegates with food supplies, clothes, medicines and money to the Jewish camps in Secureni, Edineti, Atachi and in the other localities in Bessarabia and Bukovina where Jews are interned.

In order to send these aids, the Military Headquarters in Iasi requested from the Jewish Community in Iasi the necessary funds.

The Federation of Jewish Communities of the Old Kingdom has sent by telephone to the Jewish Community in Iasi the sum of 300,000 Lei. The latter added the sum of 200,000 Lei, thus creating a first fund of 500,000 Lei in order to assist the evacuees.

The Military Headquarters asked for the sums to be deposited so that the assistance could be done directly through the military authorities.

But, as these military authorities are very busy with their own tasks, it is possible that the money will be distributed in cash to the evacuees. However, this form of assistance is not efficient because it is necessary to set up canteens where the evacuees can have meals and not money.

It is also necessary to set up infirmaries for taking care of the people's health, preventing the outbreak of an epidemic which could be a general danger.

We hope that you will consider our request as justified and that its favorable and immediate solving is to the benefit of everybody.

Faithfully yours,

President, General Secretary,
Dr. W. FILDERMAN MATATIAS CARP

To his Excellency, the president of the Council of Ministers

Extract from the Accusation of the People's Tribunal against the Commanders of the Vertujeni and Marculesti Camps

.....

Col. Agache sent Mr. Nicolau Petre, magistrate, at that time a soldier, to the Jewish Community in Iasi in order to get financial aid.

Mr. Nicolau Gh. Petre, magistrate, admitted in his testimony that he was in Iasi on September 9, 1941 and that he brought from the Jewish Community the sum of 300,000 lei for the Jews interned in Vartujeni.

Col. Agapie admits that he received this sum and that he had used it for the food supplies of interned people. However, there is no evidence to prove what he declared.

Moreover, from the testimony of Nicolau Gr. Petre resulted that Col. Agapie ordered to be given to lieut.col. Iufu Cristu the amount of 50,000 lei, as a loan from the sum of 300,000 lei. It was not known what he had done with the remaining sum.

If Col. Agapie had been well intentioned towards the interned people, he would have given the money to the Jewish Committee of the camp, the only authority entitled to cash the money received from the communities of the country and to use it for the benefit of the deported Jews.

.....

STATISTICS DRAWN UP FOR DEPORTING JEWS FROM CAMPS Nr. 70

Telephone message

Nr. 721/August 24, 1941

GENDARME INSPECTORATE KISHINEV AND CHERNOVITZ

In order to draw up a statistical situation of the Jews interned in camps, please report the number of camps in your inspectorate as well as the

number of Jews in each camp, by the following categories: men, women and children.

HIGHEST PRAETOR General IOAN TOPOR

Nr. 71

SECRET Nr. 1104

GENDARME INSPECTORATE BESSARABIA AND KISHINEV to HIGHEST PRAETOR

Further to your telephone request, I am submitting

you a list of the Jews belonging to this inspectorate, interned in camps, by categories.

Gendarme inspector Bessarabia, Head of Police Office, Col. MECULESCU Major TOMESCU

GENDARME INSPECTORATE KISHINEV - BESSARABIA Number of Jews interned in camps, by categories

Item	Name of legion	Camp	Number of Jews by categories			
			Men	Women	Children	Total
1	Gendarme legion Balti	Limbenii Noi	877	908	849	2634
2	Cahul	Rascani	795	1164	1113	3072
3	Chilia N.	Rautel	706	1469	1060	3235
4	Lăpusna	_	ı	ı	ı	ı
5	Cet. A.	_	ı	ı	ı	ı
6	Ismail	_	ı	1	ı	ı
7	Orhei	_	ı	ı	ı	ı
8	Soroca	Vertujeni	8182	8540	6247	22969
9	Tighina	_	-	ı	ı	-
	Total 10560 12081 9269 31910					

Gendarme inspector Bessarabia, Col. MECULESCU Head of Police Office, Major TOMESCU

SECRET Nr. 925

GENDARME INSPECTORATE CHERNOVITZ

TO

Highest Praetor File: Gen. TOPOR

I would like to report the situation of Jewish camps in Edinita and Secureni:

EDINITA CAMP

1. Total number of Jews:

According to the counting made by the gendarme unit, there are 12,248 Jews but according to the counting of the Hygiene and Prevention Department, the total number of Jews amounts to 11,224, i.e. 1024 less than the number indicated by the gendarmes.

The Prefect of the Hotin County ordered that a nominal table should be drawn up to establish their precise number.

2. Accommodation

All the Jews were accommodated in a district formed of 5 streets in the houses that were evacuated by the local Jews. Accommodation was carried out in good conditions.

3. Food

Up to now bread was distributed for free to the needy Jews from the funds of the Prefecture.

The prefect has approved to distribute 1,500 loaves of bread per day, free of charge and 1,500 loaves of bread at a price of 10 lei/kg. This means 300-400 g per day, this ratio being calculated for children as well.

In the shop where bread is sold for the interned people, there are some hundreds of loaves of bread which started to turn moldy because nobody buys them; people wait to get the bread for free. The Jews are complaining that they have no money at all because they had been robbed and whatever was left they had to sell in order to survive.

Indeed, a part of them are in a poor state but there are some among them who still have got money. The proof is that they offered the head of the department the sum of 100,000 lei in order to send to Chernovitz 10 families.

The county prefect proposed that all the money owned by the Jews should be collected by a board elected from among them. The collected money should be used for their upkeep.

The representative of the Jews turned this proposal down, declaring that they have no money. They asked for permission that two of them should go to Chernovitz, under escort, in order to collect money, food and clothing.

The prefect reported this issue to the Government.

A number of 600 Jews were forced to work at road building; they are paid 35 lei per day.

4. Medical Assistance

Before the Jews occupied the houses which were distributed to them, the hygiene and prevention Department located in Edinita, had all the Jews disinfected. All the Jews were bathed and deloused. Medical assistance is provided by the 15 Jewish physicians who work in the camp. They were given a house which is used as a dispensary. There is no medication available.

The following epidemics broke out until now:

- 2 cases of scarlet fever
- 4 cases of rubella
- 2 cases of erysipelas
- 7 cases of dysentery
- 1 suspect case of typhoid fever

During the first days since their arrival at the camp, about 4 - 5 Jews died daily; gradually the death rate decreased.

There was a shortage of the guarding personnel at the beginning. Premilitaries were brought to assist the guarding personnel. However, instead of guarding the people, they robbed and abused the Jews. This issue was solved by adding 3 platoons of gendarmes.

The Jews declared that they did not organize their own guarding system for fear not to be beaten by soldiers and pre-militaries.

The Jews organized themselves by villages. All the Jews of a village chose a chief. They also elected a camp chief. The purpose of those chiefs is to contact authorities and solve different matters in connection with the interned Jews.

SECURENI CAMP

- 1. **Number of Jews** according to the counting made by the gendarmes, there are 10,021 Jews. The communal authorities counted 8,302 Jews, i.e. a difference of 1,899 persons.
- 2. **Accommodation** was provided in a separate district, in good conditions.
- 3. **Food**. The financial situation of the Jews in this camp is somewhat better than that of the Jews in Edinita. These Jews came from Hotin, walked a shorter distance and they were not robbed as much as those who had to walk longer distances. They started to collect money for the poor by their own initiative.

They received from the prefecture, free of charge, the following foodstuff: 1,400 kg. of sugar, 450 kg. edible oil, 81 kg of salt and 200 kg of bread.

Bread is sold by 13 lei per kg.

They were rounded up for forced labor, namely:

In Briceni: 150 persons for road building

In Zelena – 25 persons for threshing

In Secureni for street cleaning – 30 persons

For street repairing - 20 people

In Lipcani, for street works -450 people

There are plenty of vegetables, milk and butter which can be bought from the market.

4. **Medical assistance** – is provided by 6 Jewish physicians, appointed by sectors. There is a bathroom which can be used all the time. A medical dispensary was set up.

Petroleum and lime are needed.

5. **Guarding system** – There are 3 platoons of police officers.

In the camp, the police system is ensured by the Jews. They were divided by groups, each group having a commander.

In this camp, a number of 1,698 Jews coming from Lipcani were also interned. They had been evacuated by the Russians and sent back to Bessarabia by the German troops. They were in a terrible state. They had not eaten for 4 days, their clothes were torn and full of parasites.

If the Jews had to stay longer in those camps, it would be necessary to have the stoves repaired, to ensure heating, they would need warm clothes and bed linen. Most of them have no other belongings than their clothes. This will be to the advantage of the Christian population who would also suffer in case of epidemics.

Gendarme Inspector Chernovitz

Col. I. MANECUTA

Head of Police Office

Lieut. A. PENTELEIANU

PREPARATIONS FOR DEPORTATION Nr. 73

CODED TELEGRAM to GENDARME LEGION TIGHINA

for Col. Emil Brosteanu

We have established the following passing points: from Criuleni to Karantin and from Rezina to Rabnita.

See to it that the deportations can start on September 6, in the morning. Carts should be prepared at the passing points for baggage, women and sick people.

Each group will comprise 1,000 people.

Nr. 808/Sept.2, 1941

General IOAN TOPOR

TELEGRAM to General Topor, Highest Praetor

Nr. 666

Sent on 03.09 at 17.00 hours.

Further to the decision of Marshal Antonescu referring to the governor of Transnistria, the itinerary, stops and accommodation will be forwarded.

This telegram was also communicated to gen. Voiculescu by the governor of Transnistria.

General TOPOR

Col. BROSTEANU

Nr. 75

GENERAL HEADQUARTERS
2-nd department
SECRET AND VERY URGENT

Sept. 4, 1941 GENERAL HEADQUARTERS To

HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE

You are kindly requested to order the gendarme legions to draw up an exact situation of all the Jewish camps and ghettos in Bessarabia and Bukovina.

Lieut.-Col. GH. N. PETRESCU

Nr. 76

HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE

LIST OF JEWISH CAMPS IN BESSARABIA AND BUKOVINA

Item	Name of legion	Camp	Number of	Remarks
			Jews	
1	Gendarme legion Hotin	Secureni	10,356	60 Police
		Edinita	11,762	company
2	Gendarme legion Balti	Lumbenii Noi	2,634	Gendarme Legion
	-	Rascani	3,072	Balti
		Rautel	3,253	
3	Gendarme legion Soroca	Vertujeni	22,969	
	Total		54,028	
	Ghetto Kishinev	Kishinev	10,400	Comp. 10 Police

THE SITUATION OF THE JEWS INTERNED IN THE SECURENI, EDINETI AND VERTUJENI CAMPS PRIOR TO DEPORTATION

Nr. 77

Nr. 7438 September 11/1941 GENDARME INSPECTORATE CHERNOVITZ TO BUKOVINA PROVINCE ADMINISTRATION

I would like to report the following:

On the territory of the Hotin County there are 2 Jewish camps, Secureni and Edineti.

In Secureni there are 10,201 Jews and in Edinita 12,248 Jews.

I was informed by phone that the State does not provide money for the Jews interned in camps. The Prefecture of the county should use the Jews for forced labor, provide them with food or they should buy food with their own money.

I went to the scene and would like to report the following:

- there are many aged people, children and women in the camps;
- accommodation is acceptable now, but some repairing works would be required for the winter;
- although the camps have supervising and guarding personnel, it is quite easy to escape therefore, wood and wire would be necessary;
- the Jews claim they have no more money to buy food; during bad weather and in winter the situation will be worse;
- they have no materials for heating, now they are using fences or pieces of the roof for heating;
- most of them have no clothes, nothing to cover their bodies with. They had been sent to the Ukraine and then sent back by the Germans. They lost everything or were robbed of their belongings in the Ukraine:
- they have nothing to prepare food with; they usually cook in the house where they are accommodated.
- there is no medication;
- regarding the order Nr. 4007 of the 3-rd Army Headquarters, these camps belong to the army. It is still difficult to understand why in Secureni and Briceni workers of the 7-th battalion, were brought from Buzau, Prahova and Ialomita counties while in the Secureni and Edineti camps the Jews are not used for such labor.

Please intervene with the General Headquarters to clear this situation and to take final decisions in connection with these camps, their way of functioning and administration, etc.

> Gendarme Inspector, Col. I. MANECUTA

Nr. 78

Extract from	the accusation	drawn u	ıp by th	e People's '	Tribunal	against
	the comman	ders of t	he Vert	tujeni camp)	

.....

Reserve colonel Agapie Vasile was appointed leader of the Vertujeni camp on September 1941.

Col. Alexandru Constantinescu, his predecessor, describes the situation in this camp.

"It was impossible to house all the 22 - 23,000 Jews brought from Bukovina and Bessarabia by the gendarme legions in the small town of Vertujeni. They formed an incredible mass of human beings, living in horrifying misery, women, children, men, sick people, agonizing people, women who were breast feeding. All of them were starving and the mortality rate was higher and higher.

Col. Constantinescu continued his testimony, showing how much those people must have suffered until they arrived at the camp. Some of them died on the spot, fainted, all were full of parasites and wounds. The scene could not be described in words. Therefore, he intervened with the Great Staff to be dismissed because "he did not want to be involved in what was asked from him".

Reserve colonel, Dr. Epurescu Alexandru, said:

"Those people were brought from another camp that had been set up in a forest; they were in a deplorable state, their clothes were torn and they were starving. Mortality was growing."

Capt. Stanescu Gheorghe:

"The state of the people who arrived at Vertujeni was deplorable, starving, full of wounds, they could hardly walk."

The witness Gr. Nicolau, a magistrate, said that the interned people lived in attics, henhouses, cellars, sheds, all cram –full. They were void of medical assistance, about 50–60 people died daily, there was only little water, people were standing in line for hours to get a cup of water."

In his memo, col. Agapie wrote that the people were exhausted, naked, hungry and sick.

That was the state of the Vartujeni camp on the bank of the Dniester, where tens of thousands of deportees were waiting for a helping hand to save them and this help was denied by Col. Agapie Vasile and Capt. Buradescu who did what they could to make their fate harder, a fate they did not deserve at all.

.....

Instead of taking care of the people's hygiene, col. Agapie used the Jewish labor force for soap manufacturing. This soap was used for his personal needs while the inmates and even the soldiers were dirty and full of lice.

He shows all the abuses committed by Col. Agapie and his subordinates, namely:

- 1. he took the roof sheets from the village houses and used them for manufacturing lard cans which col. Agapie and Capt. Buradescu and the other officers used to send them home;
- 2. he took illegal fees from the peasants to let them sell their products to the Jews;
- 3. he took illegal fees from the Jews who went out of the camp for shopping;
- 4. he sold a quantity of salt from the storage of the village and took the money for himself;
- 5. he cashed 400,000 lei for carrying Jews in carts towards the passing point Cosauti Transnistria;
- 6. Col. Agapie, and his assistant, Capt. Radulescu, sent to their families all kinds of valuables jewelry, golden coins and fur coats. To facilitate checking procedures at the Prut control point, he indicated as recipient's address the General Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie. After checking was finished, the address of the General Inspectorate was wiped out and replaced by their home addresses.

The way in which col. Agapie used to loot all those objects was shown by sergeant major Oprea Ion, head of the Gendarme Post in Vertujeni in the testimony made at the investigation mentioned above,: "the Jews who worked for col. Agapie told me that they brought him 12 golden watches, 30-40 precious rings, 180-200 golden rubles of 5 and 10 rubles as well as 12 golden pieces, 5 golden chains of 150 mm, 3-4 Persian carpets, 5-6 woolen carpets, 2 Astrakhan fur coats, 2 sealskin fur coats and also different coats and overcoats. He paid the Jews ridiculous prices for all those objects and if the Jews were rich he did not pay them anything.

Lieut. Cristea T. Gheorghe declared: Capt. Buradescu was tyrannical; he used to beat and curse the inmates. When he entered the camp, all inmates used to run and hide from him like birds hiding at the sight of a hawk. It was only fear and terror around him.

Col. Agapie charged the witness with investigating Capt. Buradescu and finding out everything about his looting acts. Buradescu confiscated watches and jewelry under the pretext that the Jews would sell them to the sub-officers.

Suddenly they decided to force the Jews to pave the paths of the Vertujeni camp with stones from the Dniester.

Weak, starving people, women, girls and children had to please the whims of the two.

Imagine a column of thousands of people carrying with their hands stones heavy of 10-15 kg, hit with the rifle butts to hurry and have a higher performance, naked, because they had been robbed in every possible way, hungry because we were not allowed to buy some food from the so called bazaar because we had to pay a fee of 2 lei for each man who wanted to get out and buy something. Beating was usual when we were dragged to forced labor.

Sergeant Gendarme Oprea Ion, head of the Vertujeni post, showed in his testimony given at the Court martial that the house owner of Capt. Radulescu from Vertujeni reported that the latter used to bring home young Jewish women and forced them to have sex with them; all the night they cried and moaned. This happened almost every night. At the beginning Capt. Buradescu took also part in those sexual assaults; he often brought Jewish women home.

.....

DEPORTATION OF THE JEWS OUT OF THE VERTUJENI CAMP Nr. 79

SECRET

Sept. 2, 1941 GENDARME INSPECTORATE BESSARABIA to HIGHEST PRAETOR SERVICE Military Postal Office Nr. 85

I would like to submit to you a copy of the instructions and the drawing which I gave to the officers in charge of evacuating the Jews from the Vertujeni camp.

On September 10, 1941, the following officers were present at the residence of this inspectorate: reserve col. Cristea T. Gheorghe, delegate of the Vertujeni camp, reserve lieut. Popoiu Constantin from the gendarme legion Orhei and reserve captain Ramadan Victor to whom I handed over the instructions with the relevant drawings (plans). They were also ordered not to start evacuating the Jews unless the bridges are checked as they might have been affected by flooding. I delegated Lieut. Col. Lazar Radu to contact Lieut. Col. Palade in Balti; after that Lieut. Col. Lazar will travel to the Vertujeni – Rezina- Cosauti area where he is to co-ordinate the evacuation.

GENDARME INSPECTOR BESSARABIA, KISHINEV Col. T. MECULESCU Head of Police Office Capt. I. Valculescu

Nr. 80

INSTRUCTIONS

referring to the evacuation of the Jews from the Vertujeni – Soroca camp

According to the order given by the Highest Praetor (general), please carry out the following operations:

- evacuation of the 22,150 Jews from the Vertujeni Soroca camp will start on September 12, 1941, at 8 o'clock sharp; they will be passed across the Dniester to the Ukraine.
- marching itineraries are indicated for their evacuation, namely:
- a) an itinerary that will be used by the Cosauti passing point, starts from Vertujeni along the road which passes westwards of the Cremenea village, then along the highway Gura Camenca- Soroca, Soroca Cosauti
- b) the 2-nd itinerary will be served by the passing point Rezina following the route Vertujeni Temeleuti Vascauti Tepurde Cusmirca Mateuti Rezina.

The Jews from the camp will be arranged in groups of maximum 1,600 Jews, children included, forming a convoy. These convoys of 1,600 Jews each, will have to march along the above mentioned itineraries under direct supervision and responsibility of camp officers and gendarmes – all belonging to the camp watchmen.

The marching speed will be of 30 km per day, the entire itinerary will be carried out in three stages, namely:

- "a" for the Cosauti itinerary, the first marching stage will be from Vertujeni to the Rediu village on the Gura Camenca-Soroca high road; the second stage will be from the Rediu village to Soroca and the third one from Soroca to Cosauti;
- "b" itinerary Rezina: the first marching stage will be from Vertujeni to the Voinova village, the second stage will be from Cuhuresti to Mateuti and the third one from Mateuti to Rezina.

The camp officers will head these convoys in the following way: for the first itinerary up to Soroca, the second itinerary up to Mateuti. From there, the convoy will be led by the legion officers.

Capt. Ramadan Victor will be responsible for leading the convoys from Soroca and Mateuti while Lieut. Popoiu will be in charge of the itinerary Mateuti – Rezina. These officers will have to be present at Soroca and Mateuti on Sept. 14, at 20, 00 hours, to organize the departure to the passing points on the next day.

Passing will take place without any formality.

On Sept. 15, a number of 800 people will have to march across the bridge and the other 800 people will be marched across on Sept. 16, so as to avoid blocking the bridges. This system will take place in the following way:

Two convoys of 1600 people will start every 2 days along the same itineraries, stopping at the same places. They will be handed over to legion officers in the same points. The legion officers will be accompanied by the platoon gendarmes from the residence of the relevant legion. The latter will be employed as watchmen from the reception point up to crossing the Dniester. The above mentioned legion officers will be present at the Mateuti – Soroca – Cosauti and Rezina points, having to calculate that these convoys from Vertujeni will leave every two days, exactly the time needed to pass again; after that they will immediately return to Mateuti, Soroca to take over other convoys.

The legion commanders along with the administrative authorities will equip each convoy with 50 carts each, to carry a part of the luggage and the disabled people. All the legion commanders should order the itinerary posts to contribute to cleaning the ground, bury the dead with the help of locals and to establish the housing facilities at the village outskirts, sheds, store rooms, etc. trying to stop the possible outbreak of epidemics.

The convoy leaders are not allowed to rob the Jews and will be shot dead in case they do not obey the order.

PRESCRIPTIONS

The norms known and established by laws, decrees and ordinances will be applied for those who will not obey the rules.

The drawings with the itineraries and stopping points are enclosed with.

Gendarme Inspector Bessarabia Kishinev Col. MECULESCU

Nr. 81

Extract from the accusation act against the commanders of the Vertujeni camp, drawn up by the public prosecutor of the People's Tribunal.

.....

According to the order received by Col. Agapie from general Topor, on Sept. 13, 1941, about 40 - 50 carts had to be provided for each convoy of 1,600 people, for the old, the sick and children.

The testimonies of the heard witnesses showed that the number of carts assigned to a convoy of 1,600 people was of no more than 6-8 carts.

Lieut. Cristea Gheorghe showed that never were there more than 6 0r 8 carts for a convoy of 1,600 people and that those carts were not paid.

Witness Capt. Stoleru Alexandru declared that he had accompanied a part of those convoys and he suggested Col. Agapie to take measures for easing the transportation conditions of the deportees. In his declaration he showed that the Jews were driven out of camps without food supplies and only a few carts for the old people, the sick and the children. As there were

not enough watchmen, the civilians could easily rob the Jews. Capt. Stoleru did not receive any answer to his proposals.

Thus, the convoys of the unfortunate deportees, robbed of their belongings, exhausted with starvation and sickness were moving slowly towards the "death land", herded by the gendarmes' yelling and beatings until they found their ultimate rest either in the Cosauti forest or in the "Death Land" beyond the Dniester.

The road between Vertujeni and Cosauti forest was spread by people who could walk no further, not even to the passing point. (Capt. Stoleru, page 148).

Col. Agapie was ordered by General Topor to take measures for guarding the convoys and shooting those who were trying to rob the Jews.

However, Col. Agapie did not obey that order either and he did not take any measure against the robbers.

If he had transmitted that order to his subordinates, the committed robberies against the deportees would have surely stopped.

The number of the dead en route to Cosauti would have also been much smaller if Col. Agapie had hired 40–50 carts for a convoy and not only 4-5 carts as he had done.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MARCULESTI CAMP. THE SAVAGE REGIME. LOOTING AND DEPORTATION Nr. 82

Extract from the accusation act drawn up by the Public Prosecutor of the People's Tribunal against the leaders of the Marculesti camp

Here is a description of the Marculesti camp made by the criminal

Here is a description of the Marculesti camp made by the criminal Ioan Mihaescu: thousands of mice running in streets and houses, unusual numbers of flies were really bothering us. Therefore it was impossible to sleep. Many of the employees' things were gnawed by rats. It started to rain and it was difficult to move from one place to the other. The mud was unbearable. All the people were dirty and there were no cleaning

possibilities. The weather cooled down and there was no wood. The Jews exchange a watch for a loaf of bread.

.....

The accused Ioan Mihaescu, higher official at the Romanian National Bank was sent to the Marculesti transit camp to collect the Jews' jewelry and precious metals and to exchange lei against Kassenschein. The valuables were paid at the official exchange rate.

The witness Stefan Dragomirescu, jeweler, who was sent as an expert to assess valuable objects, declared: "when I arrived at Marculesti, I found there thousands of deportees who lived in horrifying, indescribable conditions. **Deportees' corpses were lying everywhere, in cellars, ditches and yards.**

I met there Ioan Mihaescu who was holding a club in his hand beating the deportees at random, without any reason at all. His savageness was beyond the limits of the most wicked individual. He confiscated even their identity cards saying "you **are anyway meant to die**". He pulled out of their hands even the lightest ragbags.

My assessments were not accepted by Mihaescu who used to pay much lower prices for the jewelry, often ridiculous prices in rubles. Two days later, my activity came to an end because Mihaescu decided to confiscate all jewelries without paying anything not even a symbolical price as he had done before. He confiscated goods of personal use out of his own initiative, like bed covers, pieces of cloth, bars of soap, rolls of thread, tea, coffee and sugar. Those goods had not been inventoried.

The delegates of the Romanian National Bank also robbed objects left by the deportees due to the lack of transport means, like: pillows, bed covers, and household items. Mihaescu behaved in a brutal way, insulting and beating the deportees.

The troop and the officers of the camp witnessed how all those objects were confiscated.

.....

The witness Maly Binstock declared that after Mihaescu took everything she owned, he finally twisted her finger to take her wedding ring out. The mark of that twist can still be seen. She declares that next to her was a woman from Bessarabia who was shot on the spot because she refused to hand over her valuables.

Mihaescu also took the overcoat of her son. He also took his precious tie pin which he used to wear on his own tie later on.

The witness Braumberg Karl said that Mihaescu nourished diabolic hatred and lust for torturing. He used to hit the inmates with a long stick (one meter and a half) so that they gave up their baggage just to save their lives. Mihaescu pulled out the earrings of Braumberg's wife and daughter.

During those 5 days, as long the witness was there, the inmates were compelled into forced labor, cursed, beaten and robbed.

The witness Klinghoffer Aron declared that he was beaten and threatened with death by Mihaescu. He robbed him of everything, even the cutlery. A lot of people were hit by Mihaescu and threatened by death after they had been robbed of all their belongings. The valuable ear rings of his sister in law were pulled out and his brother was savagely beaten because he did not hand him over a watch. After that savage beating his brother died.

Kerner Ruhal, an orphan from Transnistria, declared that her father was savagely beaten by Mihaescu only because he was a shochet. Because of having been beaten he died soon afterwards.

Out of the report drawn up by the accused Mihaescu for the Romanian National Bank it results that it was his initiative to confiscate clothing articles, food, etc.

He admitted in his report that his mission was only to collect jewelry, precious metals and to change lei.

His cruelty went so far that he confiscated not only personal objects but also **tens of baby strollers.**

.....

Money was taken for the carts but only 3–4 carts were given to 2,000 people. The carts travelled on a short distance and then all the women and children had to get off and the carts were returned. Mihaescu took their documents and used to yell: "jidanii (kikes) and dogs do not need any documents. You are going to shake hands with Stalin"

The witness Ioachim Bergman shows that money was deposited at the camp headquarters to put a number of carts for luggage transportation at the deportees' disposal. However they had to walk and leave most of their luggage behind.

When the witness Camilia Tuttnaur was confronted with col. Agapie, she showed that she gave her deceased husband a chain made of gold and platinum, a golden watch and a carpet to be allowed to travel by cart; Col. Agapie took all those objects but did not keep his promise; eventually they had to walk and leave a part of the luggage behind.

DEPORTATION OF THE JEWS FROM THE KISHINEV GHETTO Nr. 83

SECRET Nr. 57, October. 29, 1941 POLICE COMPANY 23 TO Gloria I. PRAETORIAN SERVICE Tighina

I would like to report that on October 29, 1941, the 23 Police Company evicted from the Kishinev ghetto 1,004 Jews and 123 carts.

They will be transferred along the established itinerary by machinegun battalion 20, according to the secret order Nr. 24206 of October. 26, 1941 of the III-rd Army Corps.

Commander of the 23-rd Police Company Captain, signature illegible

Nr. 84

SECRET
November 8, 1941
23 POLICE COMPAMY
TO
I. PRAETORIAN SERVICE
Tighina

I would like to report that this company evicted from the Kishinev ghetto a number of 257 Jews with 80 carts.

They will be transferred by the machine-gun battalion 20 along the Kishinev-Orhei itinerary, according to the secret order Nr. 24.206 of October. 26, 1941 of the 3-rd Army Corps.

Commander of the 23 police company
I. PRAETORIAN SERVICE

DESPERATE, NAIVE AND VAIN ATTEMPTS OF ESCAPING Nr. 85

TELEGRAM¹

4494, October. 22, 1941

Hilchevici, Brezoianu 29, Bucharest

Kishinev 3945-25-22-15 censored.

Please communicate urgently if all the 14 sick people interned in the hospital will receive medication.

Please send address of Dr. Feigel Pincevschi. State worsened. Please answer.

Milea Sonia

4495, October. 22, 1941

TELEGRAM

Kishinev 3944-15-22-15

Hilchevici, Brezoianu 29, Bucharest

Received telegram. Father severely ill. Save medication urgently. Reply immediately.

Mother

TELEGRAM

Hilchevici, Brezoianu 29, Bucharest

Kishinev 3903-19-22-14- urgent - censored

Father is in a dying condition. Send medicines urgently. Reply immediately.

Mother

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¹ See illustration VI.

TELEGRAM

2751, October.30, 1941

Censored

Lawyer Carp, Dr. Burghelea St. Nr. 3, Bucharest

Kishinev 57-15-19-30-10-10

Lost the trial. All clients were condemned. Appeal should be made - Bucharest

Lawyer Musat

CHAPTER III

Deportations from Bukovina, Dorohoi County and the Chernovitz Ghetto

CHAPTER III

THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF EVENTS

October 8, 1941 - November 15, 1941

October 8, 1941

It was irrevocably decided that Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina were to be deported; this had already been proposed in the first days of the war, as a means of "ethnic and political cleansing". Certain military authorities had requested this as an action to be taken for the safety of the area directly behind the front line. (Nr. 86-87).

It was also definitely decided that Jewish deportees should be deprived of all their valuables. (Nr. 88 -89).

This issue is not of great significance in Bessarabia anymore, because more than half of the Jewish community was exterminated in the first two months of the war, and almost every survivor deported in September. There, only the remaining, approx. 10,000 Jews, who had been locked into the ghetto of Kishinev, were affected by these new measures. By this time, all Jews in Northern-Bukovina had been either massacred or deported, except for the approx. 2,000 in Storojinet, and the 45- 50,000 who had survived the massacres in Chernovitz.

In Southern-Bukovina, a great number of Jews were murdered in the summer of 1940 and in July, 1941. Some of the Jews were evacuated from here in the first few days of the war, but were later brought back. However, no one was taken across the frontier. This new measure of deportation was a terrible and savage blow to a community of people who had no guilt at all. According to the figures of the last official national census, the local Jewish community amounted to 23,844 people.

Suceava County

Suceava town	3,570
Solca town	191
Burdujeni shtetl	1,244
Itcani shtetl	437
Rural villages	1,253

Campulung County		
Campulung town	1,488	
Gura Humorului town	1,951	
Vama town	392	
Vatra Dornei town	1,763	
Rural villages	2,043	
Radauti County		
Radauti town	5,647	
Siret town	2,137	
Rural villages	1,728	

October 9, 1941

In Southern-Bukovina the deportation of Jews to Transnistria starts simultaneously in every village.

At dawn it is made known to the public by spoken order, by drumming and by posting of notices that all Jews must leave the place in the shortest time possible (in Suceava within 8 hours, and in Itcani within 4), and everyone is allowed to bring with them as much as they can carry. Money and valuables had to be changed at the National Bank and the entire wealth had to be left behind.

The money was changed at a rate of 40 lei = 1 ruble and the valuables had been evaluated at ridiculous prices; actually they had not even been paid in some places.

The stores and businesses were either sealed or left at the disposal of whoever wanted to loot them.

On the same day the first convoys left being embarked into freight cars which had been previously prepared in all railway stations. (Nr. 91-92).

October 9, 1941

The Government of Bukovina orders the military authorities to set up a guarding cordon around the Chernovitz County in order to stop the Jews from leaving the town. (Nr. 93).

October 9, 1941

The first news about the tragic fate that is in store for the Jews of Bukovina arrives at Bucharest. The President of the Federation of Jewish Communities, Dr. W. Filderman, turns to Marshal Antonescu begging him

to stop the exodus – actually the death of the Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina, if possible and if they were not guilty of anything. (Nr. 94).

October 10, 1941

Measures are ordered to be taken for the organization of the ghetto in Chernovitz, and for the deportation of all Jews from the area of Northern-Bukovina.

Firstly, on October 11, the entire Jewish community of Chernovitz is concentrated in a ghetto. From the ghetto they are gradually transported to the first indicated stations (two trains of fifty cars depart daily).

From this day forth, all Jewish property becomes the property of the state.

The task of collecting all the Jews, guarding the ghetto, loading them onto the train and guarding it, is the responsibility of the Military Headquarters of Bukovina, and the Gendarme Inspectorate of Chernovitz. Their number has been increased by 2 infantry battalions directed there from Chernovitz. (Nr. 95–99).

October 10, 1941

Deportation of Jews from Southern Bukovina goes on. A second convoy leaves Suceava and Gura Humorului. From Vatra Dornei and the neighboring villages 2,650 Jews are rounded up and deported within 5 hours. The cash and valuables are deposited at the Romanian National Bank and nothing is received in exchange.

The first convoy of Jews from Suceava arrives at Atachi. After brutal customs searching, looting and barbaric behavior, the Jews are passed across the Dniester on a kind of primitive and dangerous ferry-boat. (Nr. 92).

October 11, 1941

The Jews of Chernovitz are ghettoized with special strictness.

It is impossible to imagine a picture more heartbreaking than that of Chernovitz on that day. During an eight hour period, approx. 50,000 people of varying ages, of different social and intellectual layers, who had lived scattered in the town, are now moving silently in one direction, leaving their homes, carrying on their backs and in their hands or pulling in barrows all that remains of the property of an entire generation (or in many cases several generations). Some had to give up carrying their

belongings because they had to carry in their arms children, old people or the disabled.

The ghetto was so small that people could live there only among the worst conditions. The luckiest settled down in houses, 30-40 per room. Those who arrived later found shelter for themselves in attics, cellars or stables. The last to arrive could not get more than the gutters in the yards and streets.

Movement was not restricted within the ghetto, but once a Jew entered it, he needed special permission from the Governor of Bukovina to walk out. It was very difficult to get such permissions, for example, to take out corpses and bury them in the Jewish cemetery which was not in the vicinity of the ghetto. (Nr. 100).

October 11, 1941

Towards the evening, a third convoy of Jews deported from Suceava passes through the Chernovitz station. The train remains there for a couple of hours during which time the dead people - the first victims - are unloaded. Those who continue their way to the horrible unknown, have the occasion to see the first aspects of the Chernovitz ghetto, pale images of the tragedy yet to come.

October 11, 1941

The President of the Jewish Communities turned to Marshal Antonescu with his second request, asking him not to allow this mortal tragedy to happen, whose participants are made to start a long journey naked, without food and without the chance of acquiring it, in rain, cold and snow. (Nr. 101).

Note: The above memo referred to the first convoy of 1,500 Jews that departed from Kishinev. Their fate was terrible as they had to face both the wrath of the sky and the wickedness of the people. On a terrible frost, the people were chased on foot. Only the old and the sick were loaded into carts. A part of them died of starvation others froze to death on the way and most of them, exhausted and lagging behind the convoy, were shot dead. The way from Kishinev to Orhei was spread with corpses.

October 12, 1941

One train carrying Jews from Southern Bukovina is stopped in the field, 50 kilometers from Radauti. The Gendarmes order those in charge of the freight-cars chosen from among Jews to tell everybody that they must hand over all the gold and other valuables, as well as the keys to their abandoned homes. It is announced that they will be thoroughly searched in Marculesti, and those who are hiding anything, will be shot dead. An entire suitcase of gold and jewelry is collected.

October 12, 1941

In the Chernovitz ghetto a number of counters from the national Bank were set up. All the Jews who have money, valuables or objects of value are obliged to exchange them. The objects were evaluated at ridiculous prices; lei were exchanged at the rate of 1 ruble per 40 lei.

Note: The wealth in cash of the Jewish population of Chernovitz underwent the following changes:

- a) July 1940. The Soviet administration obliges the entire population to change the lei into rubles at the exchange rate of 40 lei/ruble.
- b) July 1941. The Romanian administration obliges the entire population to change the cash into rubles at the rate of 1 ruble = 1 leu.
- c) October 1941. The National Bank of Romania obliges the Jewish population to change the cash into rubles at the rate of 40 lei = 1 ruble.

Later on, in Transnistria, rubles were changed into German Marks (Reichskassenschein). This was a kind of currency with no covering, generally mistrusted by the locals and refused. The exchange rate was of 60 rubles/1 Mark.

Thus, let's say that a Jew, who on July 1, 1940 had saved 1,000,000 lei, received in exchange only 25,000 rubles for which in July 1941 he was paid 25,000 lei. In October 1941 the latter was re-changed into 600 rubles which later on were converted into 10 Marks, the value of a loaf of bread at that time.

October 13, 1941

The Jews from the Storojinet ghetto are deported to Transnistria. Their train is directed to Marculesti. The people are exhausted after 3 months of internment into the camp and then in the ghetto where they had to work hard, were searched, arrested, beaten and mistreated. They did not receive

any food or money. Before leaving, the Romanian National Bank changed the Romanian currency into rubles.

October 13, 1941

The last convoys of Jews from Southern Bukovina (Radauti, Campulung) leave for Transnistria.

In the 3 counties of the south remained only 179 Jews out of the 26,000 that were a week before.

The reason why in the Campulung County remained 76 Jews, in Radauti 72 and in Suceava 31, was that their services were indispensable. It was the Government that approved the remaining of the Jews in those counties. Most of the Jews were needed for the lumber factories, especially the "Rabat" wood processing factory of the "Rudich" factory in Radauti. Others were kept because serious disturbances would have happened in the social organization. Thus, for example were kept the following persons: Dr. Schurzer, the only gynecologist in Radauti and Dr. Teitelbaum who was brought back from Atachi as he was the only dentist of the town.

Those who remained lived a tormented life for 3 years being torn by the fury of anti-Semitic enmity and the solitude of Jewish grief.

However, a part of them were deported later on but returned.

October 13, 1941

In the Chernovitz ghetto people begin to commit suicide.

October 13, 1941

Deportation of Jews from the Chernovitz ghetto begins. In the morning, a few streets comprising the inhabitants that have to form the first convoy, are barred by military cordons and the Jews are picked up with brutality and taken to the railway station where they are immediately loaded into freight cars; more than 100 people were crammed in a freight car. (Nr. 100).

October 14, 1941

Following an audience given to the President of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania, Dr. W.Filderman, Prof. Mihai Antonescu, the ad-interim president of the Council of Ministers, decides to stop the deportations from Bessarabia and Bukovina of intellectuals, tradesmen, craftsmen, clerks and those who have had an urban or rural property.

After obtaining this promise, Dr. W. Filderman addresses a new memo requesting a delay of deportation for the other categories of Jews (Nr. 102).

October 19, 1941

Marshal Antonescu, the Leader of the State, replies in a letter to Dr. W. Filderman, President of the Federation of Jewish Communities for the two petitions he submitted on the issue of deportation campaigns from Bessarabia and Bukovina. (Nr. 103).

The letter is obviously of political character. The deportation is presented as an action of justice for all that the citizens had committed there in 1940, during the withdrawal of the Romanian army, and under Soviet rule. He attempts to justify the measures with the would be atrocities committed by Soviet-Jewish commissars at the front.

Some typing errors which had been corrected by handwriting prove a significant difference made by Antonescu between the Jews of these two provinces and those of the Old Kingdom

The letter, dated October 19, and received on October 20, also appeared in the newspapers on October 27, 1941, serving as an excuse for a ghastly and provocative press campaign. War-time anti-Semitic hatred reached its psychological peak at this time. The publication of the letter and the press campaign took place after the terrible explosion in Odessa, when a great number of Romanian high-ranking officers were killed due to carelessness.

Not a single line was written about the explosion. Still, it became known through the public and rumors started to be whispered. The Marshal's letter and the anti-Semitic campaign were used to deceive the public as an adequate diversion.

At the same time with the answer sent to Dr. W. Filderman, Marshal Antonescu approved the decision taken by Mihai Antonescu to stop deportations from Chernovitz and to start a selection process by which a maximum number of 20,000 Jews were allowed to stay in the town (Nr. 100).

A shameless traffic took place in front of the selection boards. Most permits were bought with much money. Almost all transactions were made in dollars, pounds sterling or Napoleons.

A selection was also ordered for the Jews from Kishinev but the selection boards were very strict and only 100 people were selected to stay, i.e. only a few christened Jews and craftsmen.

October 22, 1941

The Jews around Chernovitz and the villages around Radauti, totaling about 8,000 were gathered in Chernovitz and deported to Transnistria. The convoy is headed towards Marculesti.

October 27, 1941

The marching column of Jews collected from the surroundings of Chernovitz arrives in the forest of Cosauti, where they discover hundreds of Jewish corpses lying on the ground everywhere. The Gendarmes are robbing their victims with increasingly more barbaric means. On the road from Marculesti towards the Dniester, several Jews are taken out of the marching columns, and sold to peasants. The price is between 1,500-2,000 lei depending on the quality of the victim's clothing. After the Gendarme received the money, he shot the Jew, and gave the corpse to the peasant so that he could pull the clothes off it. After marching for two days, the columns crossed the Dniester near Iampol on a narrow bridge while being beaten with clubs and rifle butts. Those who lost their balance, fell into the water and were left to drown.

October 29, 1941

The council of the Ilfov Bar, warned by the Association of Christian Lawyers opens disciplinary action against the lawyer Dr. W. Filderman, president of the Federation of Jewish Communities because of his attempts to defend the Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina. and to stop their deportation to Transnistria (Nr. 104–105)¹

October 31, 1941

The higher military authorities are informed about the shameless robberies committed by militaries (officers, soldiers), whose victims were the deported Jews who were transported through Atachi.

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¹ By the decision of March 6, 1942, the discipline council of the Ilfov Bar, the lawyer Dr. W. Filderman was excluded from the Lawyers' Corps.

The most severe accusations are made by Lieut. Col. Rosca Augustin. The Big Army Praetor considers the accusations as reasonable and appoints a major to investigate.

The investigation order was sent just by.....Lieut. Rosca Augustin and 10 days later it was reported that the objects that had been left from the deported Jews were taken over and inventoried by a board presided by the same Lieut. Rosca Augustin (Nr. 106 - 108).

November 5, 1941

The authorities in Dorohoi make announcements that the Jewish population will be deported to Transnistria. On the same day, an ordinance of the Government of Bukovina is posted in public places and markets providing severe punishments for all those who will rob the houses deserted by the Jews.

In the evening, the county community presidents who were evacuated to Dorohoi, are called to the Prefecture where they are told nothing about deportation, on the contrary they are announced that the evacuated Jews are free to go to their places of origin to bring to Dorohoi the wealth they left there.

November 6, 1941

The presidents of the Dorohoi community are called to the police where they are informed that the deportation of the Jews from Dorohoi will start on the next day. The first train will comprise the Jews from Darabani and Radauti.

November 6, 1941

The town council of Dorohoi announces the relevant communities (from the county villages and shtetls) that all the Jews must change lei into soviet rubles at the rate of 1 ruble/40 lei and to deposit their gold and jewelry to the National Bank.

November 7, 1941

The first convoy of deportees from Dorohoi comprising the Jews from Darabani and Radauti is embarked into freight cars and sent to Transnistria. At the railway station, the clerks of the National Bank do body searches, committing abuses and confiscating valuable objects from the Jews.

November 8, 1941

The Jews deported from Suceava, Radauti and Campulung (Southern Bukovina) who crossed the Dniester in Moghilev, head towards different places of the county: Shargorod, Copaigorod, Djurin, Murafa, etc.

On the way, most of the Jews had been robbed.

A report of Col. Brosteanu, commander of the Gendarme Inspectorate of Transnistria, written in the year 1942, shows that some deportees went to Moghilev by truck. They had to pay a lot of money for the provision of those trucks. The prefect and subprefect of the Moghilev County received for a truck transport 125,000 lei and 50,000 lei for light truck transport. This way they managed to collect 6,000,000 lei. (Nr. 109).

November 10, 1941

The first marching columns of deportees from Dorohoi arrive in Atachi; approx. 3,000 people. Before being driven across the Dniester, they are held back for 24 hours in the cold and rain, and guarded by frontier guards. Other soldiers search them, depriving these people of their last valuables.

November 10, 1941

In Moghilev, transports by cars or other vehicles are stopped. The new convoys of deportees that crossed the Dniester are driven to the camp installed in the building destroyed by floods and war of the military school. The deportees are held for a few days in misery and then chased by gendarmes to walk to the county villages. On the way, the soldiers rob whatever was left and the exhausted Jews who lagged behind, were shot.

November 15, 1941

The deportation of Jews from Chernovitz ended. By this time approximately 30,000 Jews had been deported from the town, and the 15,600 who remained had received permission to do so from the selection committee, as had the 4,000 who were given temporary exemption permits by the Town Mayor. (Nr. 100).

November 17, 1941

As the deportations are stopped, the robbing operations patronized by the national Bank are also stopped. The several authorities that have contributed to the robbing operation, ask for their share from the gold, coins and jewelry collected in the boxes of the National Bank. The Bukovina Government is given the stolen cutlery to be used by the military mess halls. The National Bank is given the gold and the National Mint the other coins.

It was decided that the Romanian Loan House should sell by public auction the jewelry and valuable objects. The devices of the watches that had been dismantled to get the golden parts were ceded to the watch maker school established by the Labor Ministry. (Nr. 110 - 116).

December 16, 1941

Ion Antonescu is not satisfied with the activity of the President of the Federation of Jewish Communities, since due to this, he had to cancel the deportation of 20,000 Jews from Chernovitz. He decides to disband all Jewish community organizations and replace them by a Jewish Central Office, based on the German model created in the countries they occupied.

December, 1941

The last marching columns of Jews from Bukovina and Dorohoi County cross the Dniester near Atachi. The first period of the deportation of Romanian Jews has ended.

CHAPTER III – DOCUMENTS

DEPORTATION DECISION AND ORDER Nr. 86

Nr. 6651
October 4, 1941
General Headquarters
Department 2
to
CHERNOVITZ MARKET COMMANDANT'S OFFICE

According to the order of Marshal Antonescu, all the Jews of Bukovina will be sent to East of the Dniester within 10days.

Report execution until tomorrow at 20,00 hours.

Head of 2-nd Department, Lieut. Col. R. DINULESCU

Nr. 87

Extract from the communication made by Ion Antonescu at the meeting of the Council of Ministers on October 6, 1941:

"As far as the Jews are concerned, I am determined to	definitely drive
them away from these areas. The measure is in progress.	In Bessarabia
there are still 10,000 Jews who will be passed across the Dni	ester and if the
circumstances will enable it, they will be passed beyond the U	Jrals."

ORDERS AND DIRECTIVES FOR CONFISCATING JEWELRY AND PRECIOUS METALS Nr. 88

HUGHES SECRET

NOTE GOVERNOR OF BUKOVINA GOVERNOR OF BESSARABIA

Marshal Antonescu orders that in agreement with the National Bank, the jewels and precious metals owned by the Jews who will be driven away from Bessarabia and Bukovina will be changed according to the following norms:

- those values will be paid at the official exchange rate in Kassenscheine, possibly in rubles, but definitely not in lei;
- the exchange will be controlled by trustworthy elements and any abuse will be avoided;
- all the necessary measures will be taken in order to avoid selling under the counter and hiding by burying or destruction;
- the exchange operations will be carried out before the Jews leave the camps and at the passing points in the Ukraine;
- on that occasion, lei should be changed against Kassenscheine

Nr. 8597/October, 5, 1941

Head of Military Cabinet, Col. R. DAVIDESCU

Nr. 89

MINISTRY OF FINANCE GENERAL DEPARTMENT OF FUND MOVEMENT ACCOUNTING SERVICE

NATIONAL BANK OF ROMANIA SECRETARIATE Nr. 42238/1941 Nr. 268730 – October. 11, 1941 File 251

Referring to your letter Nr. 5,013 of October 8, of this year, referring to buying jewelry and precious metals owned by the Jews who will be evicted from Bessarabia and Bukovina;

We would like to inform you that the Ministry of Finance has agreed that payment be made in rubles at the exchange rate of 1 ruble = 40 lei.

The objects will be bought by your branches situated in the relevant localities, the gold being paid according to its weight and fineness, at the official exchange rate of the Romanian National Bank.

The precious stones and other valuables will be paid according to an assessment made by an expert and only on a quota of 20% of those estimates which would be equivalent to the proportion between the gold at the official exchange rate and the gold at free rate.

Please order your branches to withdraw the ruble depositing bills before the Jews of this category are leaving.

Please take all measures to avoid abuses by the authorities sent for that purpose.

on behalf of the general manager, illegible signature

MEASURES FOR DEPORTATION IN THE SUCEAVA COUNTY (Itcani and Burdujeni villages) Nr. 90

- 1. The town and villages are to be surrounded by watchmen and soldiers in the evening to prevent anyone from entering or leaving.
- 2. On October 9, 1941, at 07,00 a.m., the following persons will be summoned at the Prefecture: the town's prefect, mayor, the village mayors, the commander of the gendarme legions, the garrison commander and the police head as well as the representatives of the Jewish community of the relevant town and villages to be informed of the evacuation of the town and villages according to the order of the Army Supreme Commander.

- 3. The police and administrative authorities will inform the Jewish population by drumming out and reading the evacuation orders in the streets of the town and villages.
- 4. The departure will be on October 9, 1941 at 15,00 hours from Suceava and the 2 villages as the people will be embarked on the train in the Suceava Burdujeni station at 17,00 hours at the latest (the train will leave at 20,15 hours).
- 5. The departure on October 10, 1941 will take place at 13,00 hours; people will be embarked in the Suceava- Burdujeni station at 15,00 hours and the train will leave at 16,16 hours.
- 6. A committee will be appointed for taking over the goods left by the evacuees. The committee will be composed of 3 4 members from among the clerks of the Prefecture of the Suceava county and the Town Council of the Suceava town.
- 7. Another committee will be appointed for receiving the jewelry from the evacuees. This committee will be composed of the county prefect, the director of the national bank and the town's mayor.

ROMANIA

TOWN COUNCIL OF SUCEAVA

This is a true copy of the original document which is in the file of this town council, registered under Nr. 1061 of 1946.

Mayor, signature illegible Secretary, signature illegible

Nr. 91

DIRECTIVES

The supreme army commander decided to evacuate the entire Jewish population from the town of Suceava, Burdujeni and Itcani villages.

The Jewish population was invited to prepare for leaving.

Today, on October 9, 1941, the train will leave from Itcani, Burdujeni and Suceava. This train will carry the people who live in the following streets: Ciprian Porumbescu St. continuing with Petru Rares St. next to the

Sf. Dumitru church, the Jewish house and Regina Maria St. (the Reif grocery store) further to the Cetatii St. up to its end and then starting with the first street after the hotel "La Americanul" up to the Industrial Gymnasium for Girls and then in the Bosancilor street to its end.

The people mentioned above should be assembled on the military platform of the Burdujeni Station on October 9, 1941 at 16,00 hours.

Each Jewish inhabitant may take warm coats, clothes and shoes, food for as many days as possible, as much as they can carry.

They are not allowed to take any foreign currency (all the foreign currency will be immediately changed at the official exchange rate at the Romanian National Bank in the town of Suceava),; neither are they allowed to take jewelry or precious stones.

People who have foreign currency or precious metals will hand them over with a note to the committee which works at the town council.

Those people who have weapons will hand them over to the Gendarme Legion.

Each family head will draw up an inventory list comprising the goods he will leave in Suceava.

When leaving, the people will take the key to the house. The key and the inventory list will be put into an envelope on which they have to write their name and address.

The envelope will be handed over upon request, to the committee, in the Burdujeni station. The other Jewish inhabitants of the town of Suceava will leave on the next day, i.e. on October 10, 1941 at 13, 00 hours in the same order as mentioned above. They have to be ready in time.

Those people who will not be present at the said hour or those who will resist or instigate, commit acts of violence, not obeying the orders or summons of the authorities or those who will try to run away, destroy the handed over valuables or will refuse to hand in their foreign currency, golden coins, jewelry and precious metals will be punished by being shot on the spot.

Those people who will help or cover up the Jews who will commit any of the above mentioned infringements will be punished in the same way.

All those who will hide, house any Jews or their goods or will rob the goods left by the Jews will be also punished by shooting.

ROMANIA, TOWN COUNCIL OF THE SUCEAVA TOWN

This is a true copy of the original document which is in the file of this town council, registered under Nr. 1061 of 1946.

Mayor, signature, illegible Secretary, signature illegible

THE DEPORTATION IN THE SUCEAVA COUNTY Nr. 92

Extract from the story of Mr. Meier Teich, president of the Jewish Community in Suceava

In August and September 1941, the terror and harassment were terrible. We felt that worse facts were in store for us. There were daily searches, during the night, of course.

Some weeks before the deportation, the prefect was changed and replaced by Col. STROIESCU. Although strict, he was fair and tried to alleviate the situation of the inmates. But the terror acts continued to be committed by Col. ZAMFIRESCU, the commander of the recruiting center in Suceava. Whenever he talked to a Jew, he was savage, almost mad. Even the prefect, col. STROIESCU often told me that col. ZAMFIRESCU should be arrested or interned into an asylum. He promised to intervene with the higher authorities in Bucharest to have him moved from Suceava.

On October 6, 1941, prefect STROIESCU left for Bucharest on a 2 week vacation. I think he did not want to assist at the deportations that had started shortly after his departure.

On October 8, 1941, at about 13,00 hours, I was at a meeting which took place at the prefecture in connection with the Suceava camp. The meeting was postponed for the next evening. On the next day, on October 9, 1941, at about 05,30 a.m., I was awakened by a bailiff of the Prefecture who told me to immediately come to the prefect's office. On my way, I met a couple of Jews who were crying. They told me that they heard that all the Jews in Suceava are due to be deported on the same day. I did not believe

that and I asked them not to panic. As I came to the sub-prefect's office I found there Ioachimescu and major BOTOROAGA and the mayors of Burdujeni, Itcani and Suceava county. The sub-prefect opened an envelope, claiming that he had just received it. He showed me the evacuation order in which the General Headquarters ordered the deportation of all the Jews from Suceava, in two stages, namely those from Burdujeni, Itcani and half of the Suceava town within two hours and the other half of the Suceava town, on the next day. The order referred to punishment by death for those who would not obey orders.

The order was not signed by anyone and it was about dividing the town into two parts, specifying precisely the streets. I understood immediately that it had been drawn up, i.e. filled in before, just in Suceava. In this connection, it is interesting to point out that later on, when the prefecture or even the law courts of Suceava used to sell the objects left by Jews, they specified that those objects had been "abandoned", as if the Jews had left on their own initiative.

When later on, prefect STROIESCU organized a kind of bazaar to sell the goods left by the Jews, those were referred to as "abandoned objects". It was him who together with the lawyer POPINCIUC and the clerk PAIS sold our goods.

Many abuses were also committed. They had been reported by the police head APREUTESII to the governor CALOTESCU. An investigation board had arrived, consisting of general attorney, ANDRUHOVICI and the counselor of the court of appeal, ILIESE. But the government did not take any measures. Prefect STROIESCU along with the others whom I mentioned before, continued to sell our property, to do whatever they pleased, sharing many houses and other things with their friends.

According to the order, we were allowed to carry only hand luggage and food for no more than eight days. When I asked major BOTOROAGA why such measures were taken as they meant sure death for us, major BOTOROAGA told me: it is "a high state secret". They asked me to inform the Jewish community clerks (officials) and to announce the population. I turned down that request, telling them that I do not consider myself President of the Jewish Community and that each clerk will have to take care of his own family first. The evacuation order was communicated by drum beating. The first transport left in a few hours on the same day; the second transport left on the second day.

Probably, because of a shortage of carriages (cars), a number of 1,200 people were left in the town of Suceava. A third transport was organized for them, on Saturday, October 11.

According to the published order, the valuables, jewelry, gold, silver etc. were deposited in big amounts at the town council in the presence of a delegate of the Romanian National Bank and the mayor ION JAUCA. The latter, praised the evacuation measure, the Germans and Antonescu, thanking God that Suceava got rid of the Jews. Has was then awarded the "Pajura Neagra" (black eagle) order by Hitler.

It had been decided that the severely ill and aged people, generally the disabled would remain in Suceava. The head of the police reassured me that all those people would be taken care of. He told me that if the prefect had been in Suceava not all the Jews would have been deported but only the unproductive ones and that the sub - prefect IOACHIMESCU and col. ZAMFIRESCU were to blame for being overzealous.

It is interesting that despite the threat of capital punishment specified in the deportation order, even the sub prefect IOACHIMESCU, major BOTOROAGA, the head of the police, APREUTESII and other clerks received many valuable objects from the Jews hoping that nobody would ever return.

When I asked that the town council should keep the archives of the Jewish Community, especially the civil state registers (for births, marriages and deaths), Foit, the communal clerk, told me: "You do not need any documents or civil state registers. You won't ever come back. And there will be no need of such documents for a long period of time."

I left by the third transport. We were crammed into dirty cattle cars. When our train was ready to leave, Col. ZAMFIRECU came and ordered that the train should wait.

The police head, APREUTESII and major BOTOROAGA told us that Col. ZAMFIRESCU ordered the deportation of the disabled Jews. And indeed, aged and sick people, wrapped in bed sheets, without any luggage arrived in carts. Moreover, Dr. BONA, the chief physician of the hospital evicted from the hospital all the Jewish sick people even those in a severe state, for example the carter ISAC MAYER who had been operated on, a few days before. He had a leg amputated and was agonizing. He died an hour after our departure; the corpse was unloaded in the Chernovitz station. Dr. BONA drove away from hospital even his colleague, Dr. BERNARD

WAGNER, aged over 70, who was severely ill. As he could not bear the pains, he committed suicide just after he arrived at Moghilev.

Moreover, Dr. BONA and col. ZAMFIRESCU ordered that a few people who were sick with abdominal typhus, like for example ISAC TENENHAUS should also be loaded on our train. He eventually died immediately after his arrival at Moghilev. I said to col. ZAMFIRESCU that the people sick with abdominal typhus do not endanger only us but everybody on the way. Col. ZAMFIRESCU laughed out and said that it did not matter and that no Jew will remain in Suceava.

At last, some lunatics were also brought but as they could not identify all of them, they took along two Christian lunatics too. Col. ZAMFIRESCU had also wanted to take the Jews out of prison and send them along. However, the director of the prison objected and said he had to ask for the telephone approval from the Ministry of Justice. ZAMFIRESCU also brought to the railway station the christened wives of some Christian men but eventually the Government was against that measure. Zamfirescu yelled that no "Jidan" (kike) would be left behind; whatever he may be sick, lunatic, with infectious diseases, nothing will stop him. He committed all those atrocities of his own will. He shouted, threatened, terrorized everybody. There were terrible scenes, the madmen howled, the sick people cried; their families did not know what to do with them.

Next to Isac Meyer who was dead, sat his daughter with a candle in her hand. During the way to Transnistria, the cars that had been sealed, were shot at by the soldiers.

That was how we arrived next to Atachi on the evening of October 12, at the Volcinet station. There we learned that the people of the first transport had been almost completely robbed by the soldiers and gendarmes and shot at. The same happened to the second transport. It was to expect that the same would happen to us. In about half an hour we had to arrive at Atachi, by night and in the rain. We were supposed to lose all our luggage and to have victims. I managed to convince the station chief and a border guard officer by bribing them, to let us stay in the Volcinet station until the next morning.

In Atachi I found a real inferno: several thousands of people from different places, from Bessarabia and Bukovina, completely disorganized, without food or shelter. Those people who arrived found shelter in dilapidated houses, without doors and windows, exposed to the wind and

rainy weather. A loaf of bread cost up to 2,000 lei. On October 13, a convoy from Edineti arrived. They were in a horrifying state: beaten and barefoot. I gave them what I could and I envisaged what was in store for us. Some people went mad in Atachi (the widow of the lawyer, Dr. Stein, etc.).

A lot of sick and old people died (Schaje Langer, Golde Beiner, Schneidel Kraft, Dr. Feingold's widow, etc.).

Corpses were lying on the streets, in houses and cellars. Together with Dr. Abraham Reicher, a very energetic man, we decided to organize ourselves.

Capt. Popescu of the 3-rd board guard regiment issued a special permit for Dr. Reicher to enable him to leave for Moghilev by himself in order to obtain a better treatment. And indeed, Dr. Reicher came back having obtained the promise of the Moghilev authorities that our group will not be interned in that camp. We were allowed to leave for a nearby locality. We then changed lei at a rate of 40 lei for one ruble. Actually they confiscated 4/5 of the value as in Moghilev it was possible to get a ruble for 5-8 lei.

We risked, and took the lei to Mogilev to save a part of our wealth. After having our money changed, we had to be searched. Our luggage was searched by two officers, in turns. They were accompanied by soldiers and gendarmes, namely reserve sub-lieutenant MARINO whom I knew very well as he had been a counselor at the Chernovitz Court of Appeal and by prosecutor GOROVEIU, the son of Artur Goroveiu from Falticeni. Our group was searched by sub-lieut. Marino who looted the money and valuables. He gave the gendarmes only pocket money. He even took from me, although he knew me so well, 12,000 lei which he put into his pocket and then he took from my wife's pocket loan bonds and other effects of approx. 25,000 lei and "The Star of Romania" insurance policies.

I was not given any written confirmation, no money in exchange for the lei. It was sheer organized robbery. Other people told me that worse things happened to them. Jewelry and valuables were robbed from them and put into their own pockets. Goroveiu did the same when it was his turn to do the searches.

After having been searched, the escorted and well guarded group was taken to the Dniester and passed across by ferries. A lot of us were robbed by the escorting soldiers who threatened that they would throw us into the Dniester.

A gendarme, sub-officer, said jokingly that he wanted to see whether these Jews were able to pass the Red Sea safely. I learned that this "joke" was often used, as many Jews were thrown into the Dniester and drowned.

In Moghilev, our group found shelter in a separate building. We got an organized convoy to leave for Shargorod, about 56 km north. We succeeded in hiring some big German trucks. They had been hired by the prefecture. We managed to save all our luggage; we also had 40 carts.

The first two transports from Suceava had many victims on the way. We managed to leave the disabled and dying people in an asylum which had been set up in Moghilev with our funding.

PREPARATIONS FOR DEPORTATION FROM CHERNOVITZ Nr. 93

ROMANIA - BUKOVINA

AUTHORIZED REPRESENTATIVE OF GENERAL ANTONESCU TO ADMINISTER BUKOVINA

Nr. 36, Chernovitz, October 9, 1941

MILITARY HEADQUARTERS OF BUKOVINA

I would like to ask you to set up a guarding cordon around the Chernovitz County until further orders. The purpose of this cordon is to stop the Jews from getting out of the town.

The Christian population will be allowed to enter and leave the county but will be severely checked at access points.

This measure will be in force as of October 9, 1941 at 19,00 hours.

for the Governor of Bukovina, signature illegible

THE FIRST APPEAL ADDRESSED TO ION ANTONESCU BY Dr. W. FILDERMAN, THE PRESIDENT OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES Nr. 94

Federation of Jewish Communities Nr. 1347

Marshal, Sir,

I was told that some Jews from Bukovina will be sent to Bessarabia and that those from Bessarabia have to be sent to the Ukraine - that would mean their death, considering the given circumstances.

Please, stop this exodus if it is possible and if they are not guilty of anything.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. W. Filderman,

President

P.S. The yellow star has not been abolished yet in the Bukovina.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, MARSHAL ION ANTONESCU, STATE LEADER AND PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

ORDERS FOR SETTING UP THE CHERNOVITZ GHETTO, CONFISCATING JEWISH PROPERTY AND DEPORTATION ACROSS THE DNIESTER Nr. 95

GOVERNMENT OF BUKOVINA PROVINCE Very urgent Chernovitz, October 10, 1941

MILITARY HEADQUARTERS OF BUKOVINA

I have the honor to inform you that it has been decided to evacuate the Jewish population from Bukovina. Therefore, the Jewish population from the Chernovitz County will be first rounded up in a ghetto established by the town council and then gradually transported by railway.

The Headquarters and Gendarme Inspectorate in Chernovitz will be responsible for collecting the Jews, guarding the ghetto, loading and transportation up to the border points.

- the gendarme battalion L.B. 1 will be in charge with guarding the ghetto and escorting the convoys (transports);
- the Inf. Battalion 430 and Inf. Bat...... were brought to Chernovitz to supervise the town exits and the inside order and security; all the troops of the Chernovitz garrison will contribute to the ghetto guarding operation.
- the necessary railway cars will be waiting in the Chernovitz railway station, namely two 50 car- trains daily.

The Jews will be assembled in the ghetto on October 11, 1941, according to the enclosed with schedule. (Appendix Nr. 1). On that day, all the necessary measures will be taken to prevent any disturbances or acts against the state, all Jewish assets becoming from now on State property.

- Ghetto plan (Appendix nr. 2).
- Railway transport schedule (Appendix nr. 3).
- Ghetto functioning rules (appendix Nr. 4).

You must take all measures to see that these rules are applied accordingly.

The Chernovitz Gendarme Inspectorate received the copy of this order and all the required instructions for a close co-operation, mostly for carrying out all the railway transports up to the first destination points.

> Governor of Bukovina, General C. CALOTESCU

Nr. 96

ANNOUNCEMENT¹

The supreme commander of the Army decided that the entire Jewish population of Chernovitz should be gathered in a single ghetto. To this purpose the evacuation from the city shall take place.

Accordingly, the Jewish population is ordered on October 11, 1941 until 18,00 hours to move into the district which is bounded by the following streets: Daciei Square (exclusively), Eminescu Street, Petre Liciu Street, Sf. Treimii Street, I.C. Bratianu Street, Prutului Street up to the train tracks and then along the train tracks up to the crossing with Caliceanca Street and from there in a straight line to Pocutiei St., Anton Silvestru St. until it crosses Elena Doamna Street, Stefan Tomsa Street including the Jewish Cemetery, Cimitirului Street up to Romana Street, then Romana Street up to Putnei Street and from there in a straight line to the railway tracks and along the tracks to Petru Rares Street and then Petru Rares Street up to the street which lies between Wickenhauser Street and Mazareanu Street, then Razboeni Street, Worobchevici Street, Marasesti St., Gen. Averescu Street, Sf. Nicolae Street, Gen Mircescu Street, Turcesca Street, a line which runs behind the Lyceum and behind the Conservatorium from Gen. Prezan Street through the Division Quarter which cuts Dr. Reiss Street, then the Reg. Ferdinand Street beginning below Market Square Headquarters, Hurmuzache Street and Daciei Square.

Every Jewish resident can take with him:

- warm clothing and other types of clothing,
- as much food as possible, that is, as much as each person can carry, as much as is necessary for his establishment in the ghetto and for the evacuation; no one will be allowed to return to his dwelling.

Every Jewish head of family, before leaving will prepare an inventory list of all the objects that remain in his former dwelling.

When leaving, he will take the key of the house with him.

The inventory list and the key will be placed in an envelope upon which the name and address will be written.

The envelope will be handed in upon entering the ghetto, on request.

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¹ See illustration V.

The sick will be evacuated to the Jewish hospital in the ghetto.

If any Jew is found outside the ghetto after 18,00 hours, he will be shot.

Moreover, anyone who tries to resist, uses force or causes unrest, anyone who destroys or tries to destroy his possessions, who tries to escape from the county, or who instigates others to do the above listed actions, will be shot.

The Jews who already live in the ghetto are obliged to take in the new arrivals.

Governor of Bukovina, General C. CALOTESCU

Nr. 97

SCHEDULE FOR GATHERING THE CHERNOVITZ JEWS INTO A GHETTO

October 11, 1941

07,00 a.m. – Assembly at the military Headquarters of the members of the Jewish community from Chernovitz and suburban areas (they will be announced between 05,00 and 07,00 a.m. with the help of the Regional Inspectorate of the Chernovitz police).

At 07,00 a.m., the attached announcement, ordinance Nr. 38 and the Ghetto rules will be read to them.

It will be announced that all service labor permits, irrespective of authority or enterprise, are no longer in force. Accordingly, all the Jews have to be put into the ghetto.

8,00 - 9,30 a.m. – The community members will announce all the Jews from Chernovitz. At the same time, the authorities of the Regional Police Inspectorate will announce the Jewish population by reading the announcement at crossings (crossroads).

9, 30 a.m. – 06,00 p.m. – Time given for moving to the Ghetto 06,00 p.m. – Closing the ghetto.

Nobody is allowed to enter the ghetto unless they have a special approval given by me. (Excepting the Christians who live in the relevant district and who will prove it by their identity cards).

Governor of Bukovina, General C. CALOTESCU

Nr. 98

RULES CONCERNING THE CHERNOVITZ GHETTO

1. All Jews who live in the ghetto should totally put themselves at the disposal of the military authorities.

Wearing of the Star of David in the ghetto is obligatory. Not obeying the rules or instigation to disorder will be punished by death.

- 2) No Jew is allowed to leave the ghetto unless authorized by a special written permit from the Military Headquarters of Bukovina. All those who leave the ghetto must be entered in a special register with the date, hour, reason, authorization number and hour of return. Jews can only leave through gate Nr. 1 (Romana St.) where a gendarme officer will be permanently present.
- 3) Jews are only permitted to leave the ghetto if summoned by judicial officials because of an arrest warrant or for production plants in the interest of public good and only after obtaining an authorization from the Government.

All authorizations issued prior to October 12, 1941 are no longer valid.

- 4) No one can enter the ghetto without a written authorization from the governor. These authorizations as well as those issued for leaving the ghetto will be registered.
- 5) Any kind of transactions between Jews and Christians or between Jews, like trade, exchange, sales in currency, gold, silver, precious metals, precious stones or other valuables are forbidden in the ghetto. All those who break this rule will be shot.
- 6) The entire ghetto will be supervised and monitored by the commander of the gendarmerie. He is responsible for order in the ghetto and

for preventing the above listed infringements. At the same time, he is responsible for the actions of his subordinates.

- 7) The ghetto will be divided into several sectors by the commander, each under the control of a gendarmerie unit. Every unit commander has the same responsibilities as the commander of the ghetto.
- 8) The Jewish community is responsible for providing accommodation and material aid to all their fellow Jews. It is also responsible for providing medical assistance to the Jewish population, by sectors. For this purpose, physicians appointed by the Jewish community will be allowed to bring into the ghetto all the necessary medical instruments and medicines.

The internment of the sick and their evacuation as well as possible burials will also be carried out with the help of the Jewish community.

- 9) The following market places will operate in the ghetto:
- a) Sf. Treime Street at the corner of Petre Liciu St.
- b) Dr. Roth Street at the corner of Dr. Reiss Street
- c) Asachi market
- d) Patria brick yard

Also the following bakeries:

- a) in Romana Street at the corner of Barbu Lautaru St.
- b) in I. C. Bratianu street.

These bakeries will be run under supervision of the Town Council while all the bakers will be Jewish.

The market places will function under the authority of the Town Council and the Ghetto Commander who will take measures to

- see to it that farmers who come to sell their products are not given letters, securities or objects of value
- and that among those who come to sell foodstuff, there are no dangerous elements or those who want to accumulate goods.

The market places will only function from 8:00 a.m. to 12:00 o'clock.

Governor of Bukovina, General C. CALOTESCU

Nr. 99

GOVERNMENT OF THE BUKOVINA PROVINCE Ordinance Nr. 38¹/ October 11, 1941

We, General Corneliu Calotescu, governor of Bukovina, in view of the necessity of maintaining order and protecting the security of the state,

ORDER

- 1) The following people will be punished by death:
- a) Anyone who commits acts of violence or disorder as well as all those who do not immediately obey the orders and summons of the military authorities.
 - b) All people who incite others to commit the above mentioned acts.
- c) All people who commit robbery or take any goods from houses left by their owners.
- d) All people who hide strangers in their houses or aid the flight of those who are not allowed to leave the town.
- 2) Until new ordinances are issued, it is forbidden to buy, sell, or exchange precious metals, jewelry and precious stones. Anyone who acts contrary to this regulation will be punished with 10 to 20 years of forced labor.

The same punishment will be given to anyone who receives for safe keeping jewelry, precious metals, precious stones or any other valuable objects from strangers.

- 3) Anyone who has knowledge of the above mentioned infringements and does not report them immediately to the military authorities, will be considered guilty of complicity and punished by 5 to 8 years of forced labor.
- 4) This Ordinance will go into effect immediately after its publication, that is on October 11, 1941 at 07,00 a.m.
- 5) All military and civil officials are charged with the enforcement of this ordinance.

Issued in Czernowitz on October 11, 1941

Governor of Bukovina, General C. CALOTESCU

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¹ See illustration V.

CHERNOVITZ 1941 PERSECUTIONS, GHETTO AND DEPORTATION Nr. 100

The Testimony of Dr. Traian Popovici, Former Mayor of the Chernovitz County

FOREWORD

At the crossroads of history, a people does not always leave its fate in the hands of those called. It often happens that those who are at the top will be taken by surprise and unprepared.

The measures taken by the government involve in their quick development the responsibility of an entire nation; they don't leave time either for the managing factors, (authors of those measures), or for the executing agents to ponder over the consequences that might result by their enforcement. Both of them are involved in the whirlpool of events, being guided only by brutal instincts that kill any human virtue.

The background of the deeds that will encourage you to lead a people and write its history refers to deep culture, thorough knowledge of the soul of the community which he has to represent (at whose top he was brought by circumstances often without his will) and ultimately the respect you have to show to the traditions of this community.

It is unarguable that the deportation of the Jews to Transnistria was and will remain an impudent act of the leader of state, Marshal Antonescu, an inhuman brutal and savage action which shattered deeply our nation. It was a measure which unleashed man's ugliest instincts: hatred and greed.

The deportation and the entire plight of the Jewish people, stifling the feelings of humanity, pity, fairness, brutalizing the entire apparatus of militaries and officials who were ordered to execute the deportation, lowered our prestige in front of the civilized peoples, stigmatizing us in history with the brand of barbarity.

Apart from the difficulties we'll have to encounter on an international level, we'll have to face on an inner level numerous difficulties in order to mend the committed inequities.

This is how an entire people is blamed for the reckless deeds of its dictatorial regime.

Shackled in chains of terror, threatened by camp deportation and martial courts, banished by its sporadic revolts, our nation watched with shamed soul and pain-strangled heart, the orgy of hatred, looting and enrichment.

The brutes were climbing the ladder of their surreal rise; the innocent people were shamefully bowing their heads into the ashes. To be cruel was a virtue, to be a Samaritan was degrading. To rebel, trying to open the minds of those who were darkened by madness, meant to expose yourself to public disdain and persecution of the strong ones.

And yet, deep down, the Romanian people has been innocent, not guilty of what had been committed on its behalf.

Nowhere in the history of the Romanian people have ever happened so many exceptions from its proverbial humaneness, traditional kindness, magnanimous soul and its warm heart.

Even the martyred people have to admit that during their long coexistence with us, they have lived in mutual understanding, even brotherhood with us until the appearance of the moral eclipse of the years 1940 - 1944.

In spite of the deportation of the Jews and the clear consequences in history, the still open wounds, the pain and grief left behind like bitter yeast in the cup of suffering, the shame that reddened our faces, we should have at least the courage to decipher the chronological order of events which constituted "the document of governing", (the evacuation of the Jews). Let us contribute by ourselves to the documentation of those pages of contemporary history we are responsible for, to prove that it is not possible to blame an entire nation for the insane measures of an improvised leader of state and that there were individuals who resisted outspokenly the lunacy unleashed by Antonescu's official regime.

I consider my contribution to the documentation of this action imperatively necessary because I am convinced that the leadership of the present regime that is obliged to bring the guilty parties to justice, doesn't know the details which led to the implementation of the decision of the "liberating" Marshal, a decision to deport into slavery and death a part of the country's population which was guilty of nothing other but to be born Jewish by the lottery of life.

As during those times of racial persecution which led to the deportation of the Jewish people, I was Mayor of the Chernovitz county and because by the cast of the die I was not called to be a plain spectator but to stop (as far as possible) – the wheel of the Jewish tragedy, I consider it my duty now to present in the following pages my official confession regarding the deportations to Chernovitz and Bukovina.

This confession made by me in front of my entire nation is not aimed at accusing those who are accused by their own deeds, or to point out the reason why I had been ostracized for three years having then to suffer humiliations. This is the confession of a conscience which did its best to stop the fury, to tame the savage ones, to encourage the frightened, to caress the desperate and to encourage the deported ones.

Even if it is painful for many of us, this confession will comfort more people: all those anonymous people who have seen, thought, felt and believed like me. Not all the people have been blessed by fate with the courage to fight but they still had their share in encouraging me, showing that they approve of me and my struggle.

As far as I am concerned, if I stood up against the current, being my own master, defying the big ones, being in other words "a man", it was not my merit. It is the merit of all those generations of priests I was born of, who taught me what love of people meant; it is the merit of all my teachers of the Suceava lyceum who brought me up in the light of the beautiful virtues of classicism and shaped my soul at the warmth of humanity which continually improves the human being making it different from a brute.

The future will judge me whether I did right or wrong by my confession.

BEING MAYOR

The new era.

By the act of June 28, 1940, I moved to Bucharest where I carried out my professional and public occupations. Here I witnessed all the historical events, how a dictatorship was pulled down being then replaced by another.

King Carol II had to face the consequences of his ill-fated policy, abusing the national will, inaugurating a new personal dictatorship by copying the systems that had been in fashion at that time in Central Europe, eventually leading to the amputation of our borders and the spiritual collapse of our nation.

I have the courage to confess that during that time I believed like many others in this country, that General Antonescu who was already famous for being a man with an iron will, energetic and well intentioned, would have been able to lead a shipwrecked country to a saving harbor.

I myself did not know him at all, not even by sight. However, when the flattering newspapers and local rumors presented him in his green shirt on legionary tribunes, when the new racial laws of property confiscation, eviction of Jews from economic departments and persecution (all based on the insane impulses of those with whom he wanted to govern), I realized that he was doomed to fail in the process of moral regeneration he wanted to initiate.

It was because of him that the dignity of a whole nation suffered by the lack of culture, rudeness and savageness.

There were two moments which impressed me in a painful way. One was that he approved of the High Court of Cassation, the highest forum of justice, to follow in a solemn pilgrimage the funeral cars with the relics of those (legionnaires) who had been condemned for murder and the second one referred to his lack of reaction when Neculae Iorga was murdered, and almost secretly buried, without paying any homage (of the Nation) to him, not to his political personality but to the genius he had been. These two moments suddenly made me see the new improvised Marshal in an apocalyptic (gloomy) light, and the attitude of this Leader made me predict the disaster that was to come.

I have to admit that his single noteworthy deed was the repression of the rebellion which was not finished and eventually forgiven and pardoned. (However it was his self-saving instinct of legitimate defense that made him take that measure of stopping the rebellion). Without wanting to diminish his merit, I still have to complain of the repression on behalf of the peasant-soldiers who saved the country from perishing, being driven by the healthy instincts of their collectivity.

Having made those worrying observations in connection with the direction into which Antonescu was leading the country, I decided to withdraw myself in an austere isolation in the capital city that was passing to the new regime.

I woke up from that isolation on June 22, when the Marshal ordered the crossing of the Prut river and started on a crusade.

A few days after the war broke out, I was called by phone by the Ministry of the Interior, being informed by the General Secretariat that I had been proposed to be appointed Mayor of the Chernovitz County. As I wondered how I had been chosen , I was told that the Minister of the Interior considered me eligible out of a list of proposed candidates, based on the references gathered by him.

However, as they wanted to appreciate (honor) the former commissar of refugees from Bukovina and Bessarabia, whose commissariat had been dissolved, the decision was changed three days later and Dr. Octavian Lupu, head of the health department, was appointed Mayor of Chernovitz while I was to be appointed first deputy mayor. As I tried to refuse that position, I was warned that my refusal could be considered as sabotage on my part. The Minister ordered me to leave and take over my job. Being advised by my friends and for the prestige of Bukovina, I accepted to become deputy mayor.

That is how I came to be part of the General Staff of officials, being transported to Chernovitz by a special train on the evening of July 8.

THE GOVERNMENT

On my way to Chernovitz I met dozens of general directors, counselors, secretaries, lawyers and I realized the absurdity of creating a Government whose proconsuls had their important personalities outlined in ministry offices. They were named "counselors of state" and had the rank and functions of ministers while their orderlies held positions of cabinet directors and secretaries.

I was wondering who would become Governor of Bukovina; in that range he was sure to have the position of prime minister or vice-king.

Two of them were already with us: general Voiculescu, the future Governor of Bessarabia and Gheorghe Alexeanu, future Governor of Transnistria. In Chernovitz, col. Riosanu, the Marshal's trustworthy person and friend, was waiting for us.

It was not possible to have 3 swords in one sheath. Which sword would be chosen to lighten up the darkness of the "sleeping conscience" in Bukovina (the Land of Beeches)?

This problem had to be solved in Chernovitz. What feelings and how did the three governors look at one another was unknown to me. I did not belong to their entourage.

Based on my mayor's order who also had the responsibility of a state counselor for public health, I started to carry out my tasks which he appointed to me according to his own will.

I think I had two governors for a period of 3 days, who took their role seriously: General Voiculescu and Alexeanu. The former Riosianu was prouder and more self confident. The riddle was solved – further to a decisive telephone conversation between Riosianu and the Marshal who was at his Headquarters in Tiraspol, Riosanu who was empowered by the Marshal as Governor of Bukovina.

Alexeanu left discreetly with his staff but General Voiculescu did it less discreetly, taking as a souvenir from Chernovitz two trucks of Persian carpets. After the governor's problem was clarified, things turned gradually to normal.

However, a new conflict arose between the Center and the Government referring to the legality of the latter. As the Center was against making Chernovitz a breeding place of ministers, state sub secretaries or counselors, it recalled a part of his high officials, cutting the wings of the self-sufficient, getting rid of the bulk of officials who were looking for advantages (by long tirades). As the Center did not want to give up its rights and authority it did not recognize the Government's independence. The Government, in its turn, did not want to accept orders from the Center. This conflict was also solved, at least officially by the Marshal's intervention in favor of the Government. The Marshal found the formula of implementing and experiencing a new administrative reform, which eventually did not occur. He decided to take the leadership of the province, delegating his power through the person of the Governor.

The administrative activity of the Bukovina (first the northern part and then all its southern districts, Hotin and Dorohoi) was reflected through this environment of governing outlooks.

Due to reasons that were unknown to me, governor Riosianu dismisses Dr. Lupu from his function at the end of July and he will remain only public health director. Instead of him, Gendarme Colonel Braescu will be appointed as mayor.

Mr. Lupu Octavian (who was in another town, in Timisoara, I think) was dismissed by the governor's own decision; Col. Braescu was also appointed by the governor's own decision, not considering the opinion of the

Ministry of the Interior, causing a greater conflict between the Ministry and the Governor.

Actually, I myself was leading the Town Council as a deputy-mayor while Mr. Lupu Octavian was free to travel through the country and col. Braescu was busy with his appointment.

On August 1, I was called to the Government where the Governor appointed me as a matter of urgency as mayor. (col. Braescu functioned only 2 days as mayor).

In order escape the conflict with the ministry and to keep his authority, Riosianu requested by telegraph the confirmation of my assignment to the Marshal, to his Headquarter. A couple of days later my confirmation arrived. Riosianu justified that I was chosen due to the supreme state will. Thus, the conflict around the Chernovitz mayor was definitely closed.

As of August 1, has started my struggle in my position of mayor, a position I have never requested and in which I was thrown by circumstances.

This heroic moment as it is known in history has placed me in the middle of the County's public life, in the laboratory that was experimenting the racial ideology, determining my facts (deeds) and controlling my conscience.

PRELUDE TO DEPORTATION

If the creation of the Government in the light of reintegrating the national patrimony was an aberration and a transitory state, much more bizarre (weird) was the creation of the military Cabinet around this Government.

This Government was created only for the two provinces and it could be considered as a beginning of administrative decentralization which a new reform would have envisaged. Anyway it did not fit in the system reserved for the greatest majority of the kingdom.

I could never understand what was the reason of a military cabinet next to a pure civilian government in its entire administration. Especially when the province had a military headquarters under the leadership of the highest military authority, the Commanding General of the Division. As this commander was missing as he was heading his unit on the front, an interim ad hoc Headquarters of Northern Bukovina was created under the leadership of a General Staff in whose subordination were the sedentary

parts of the units which returned to the garrison. The regional Gendarme Inspectorate was also at the disposal of the administrative power. It is my belief that this military cabinet justified the presence of major Stelian Marinescu, a former head of cabinet of the former Minister of the Interior, general Petrovicescu.

In a word, the military cabinet was set up soon, taking over the entire leadership of the government. His assignments comprised only hard line measures like: ordinances, ukases, dispositions of a restrictive character but mostly issues connected with the regimen applied to Jews.

All the measures taken against the Jews were conceived and prepared by the military cabinet. If the initiatives and the plans sprang from the authoritarian mind of the Governor or were the inspirations of the cabinet director is not known to me. The realization of these plans, their execution "on the ground," the élan and excess of zeal with which they were carried out, originated without doubt from the latter.

The town council had no contact with this military cabinet. The mayor was neither asked nor consulted in any matter, neither Jewish nor of any other nature.

The mayor was surprised by all the restrictive measures, exactly like those interested.

The leadership of the Town Council had connections with the military cabinet, namely to be informed of the measure taken by the Government "by orders", to comply with the given orders and to take in the repeated warnings of being tolerant, lenient and that it sabotaged willingly or not the work of cleansing the county of undesirable elements. In time this attitude became more and more aggressive and offending culminating with "confidential" accusations according to which this leadership would be "Judaized".

But I let the facts speak for themselves.

Under Riosianu's government a lot of measures against the Jews had been taken- one was the obligation to wear the "star of David", a measure imported from Bacau, from a bigot (fanatical) prefect who also forbade the Jews to do business, to travel to the provinces and obliged them to hand over their currency. If they did not comply, they were deported to camps.

If those racial measures which transformed the Jews into pariah of the society were devised by the governor or whether they had been imposed on him, was unknown to me. Anyway, those measures made it possible for all

scoundrels to mock at them and to abuse them. They unleashed the right of the strongest to hit the weakest.

At that time I still could not utter a single word as the mayor at that time was Dr. Octavian Lupu-Strejac, a much better Romanian than me. Only after I had been appointed "General Mayor" as I was ironically called by the Military Cabinet, was I able to express by opinion.

A few days after I had been appointed mayor, I had the opportunity to talk to governor Riosianu about the Jewish matter. The former governor asked me to set up a ghetto in a certain district of the town. I told him my opinion that I was against that medieval measure related to the cultural level of the Jewish population of Chernovitz , I proved to him that I could not approve technically of such a degrading measure by which a part of the town would be confined with barbed wire and wooden boards. The town of Chernovitz had the aspect of a western city and I refused to take such a shameful measure and spoil the aesthetics of the town.

Riosianu replied to me in the following way: "I have to admit the you are entirely right but what choice do I have being pushed by the Presidency and daily assaulted by phone calls and asked if the ghetto is ready." As he had wide European views, he agreed with me. In order to calm down the zeal of the Romanianizing agents and the hurry of the Presidency that was sick of the Jewish stench, we resorted to the pretext of having to study the ghetto. A board presided by me or another senior official was going to leave for Germany in order to study on the spot, in Lublin, Krakow and Franfurt/Main the way in which ghettos were organized.

Apart from the fact that I did not feel like visiting the German ghettos and that the disease of the Governor worsened, the matter of setting up the Chernovitz ghetto remained in its studying stage. Actually, excepting the span of time between October 11 – November 15, when the ghetto was a means in the deportation procedure, no ghetto was set up during the time I was mayor of Chernovitz.

Under the leadership of Riosianu the matter f the ghetto as a means of punishment remained only theoretically. Things changed totally after his death which occurred suddenly after a failed operation on August 30, 1941. I think that if he had lived, the Jews would have had a much more humane treatment due to his kindness.

Ever since the sickness of Riosianu, as the general secretary of the Government was busy only with purely administrative activity, general

Corneliu Calotescu was sent to Chernovitz as a substitute of the representative of the Leader. A former general secretary of the War Ministry, collaborator of the Marshal, coming from the same native town, Pitesti, as that of the Marshal and the Vice-president of the Council of Ministers.

General Calotescu seemed to offer all guarantees that the activity in Bukovina will be perfectly carried out.

I had not been informed of his presence in Chernovitz because his appointment had been planned behind the scenes of the Cabinet, intentionally as I have never been liked there. I was called to meet him on the second or third day when all the officials and the other authorities had to be introduced to him. As I was busy with the visit of some higher foreign authorities to the Town Council and Mitropoly, I missed that formality.

When I finally met him, my impression was that the General was well intentioned and that we could work together amiably. Before leaving he told me: "Mr. Popovici, I hope that our cooperation will be based upon mutual understanding and honesty and that there will be no reason of avoiding each other because of our deeds."

Since I have a good command of the German language, I was always asked by the general to be present to act as interpreter at the conferences and discussions held with various dignitaries of the Reich who happened to be passing through Chernovitz. On the occasion of these meetings started my relationship with General Calotescu. However, our relation did not develop without any misunderstandings. The first conflict between us arose on the occasion of an interview given by me to a colleague of mine, the director of the Bukovina newspaper. The interview was about "the needs and realities of the County", in which I was pointing out the difficulties I was facing, criticizing myself for the abnormities created by granting apartments and solving the thousands of applications that were suffocating the other activity. I have to admit that it was a strange things for a mayor, no matter how sincere he might be, should criticize himself. However this criticism had a certain reason, referring to the fact that the town of Chernovitz was invaded by a wave of suspects who came to profit in the town that was to be Romanianized. The first who came wanted only central dwellings furnished with luxurious furniture. I must add that the refugees had not returned yet.

That interview although it did not concern the activity of the government, irritated not only the governor but also the military cabinet that

was spying on me. I gave my personal explanations to the General, drawing his attention to the difficulties created by these new comers with their reckless requests and their provocative attitude in teaching us lessons of Romanianization.

It is painful for me to dedicate a separate chapter to these improvised colonizers who created in Bukovina a very difficult environment for its government.

But back to the subject.

After the death of Governor Riosianu and the assuming of the office by his successor, General Calotescu, the "Jewish issue" became the priority of the military cabinet.

Restrictive measures against the Jews followed with the rhythm of a waterfall: ban against practicing a profession - Jewish physicians were permitted to treat only fellow Jews, eliminating Jewish children and older youth from state educational institutions and closing of the private schools, closing of synagogues and prayer houses, forbidding of religious services, even on the High Holidays, ban on handing out of currency to Jews at public institutions (banks and post offices) whether sent to them by family members or related to commercial transactions; delivery of devices such as radios or machinery punishable by death, forced labor even for intellectuals who would be picked up from the street, from public places, restaurants, and army barracks without any right to be paid, drafting of specialists for public or private enterprises with minimal pay of which 30% was deducted for the "Romanianization Fund," denial of the right to have ration cards, doubling of the price of bread, ban on entering the food markets, curfew allowing the Jews to be outside only during the 3 hours from 10 a.m to 1 p.m, and other indignities which I can no longer remember.

The internment in camps is no longer a repressive measure for the smallest violation, it becomes a draconian system. Camps and the martial court are in full activity. The Jewish people were outraged, and so were the well meaning Romanians seeing the cascade of persecutions. Following the principle "exempla trahunt" the leaders of other public offices began to compete with the government.

The series of repressive measures grew sadistically until a measure was passed that not only dishonored the nation, but humanity itself, the driving of the Jews out of hospitals and sanitariums. The peak of the bestialities was reached with the eviction of the Jews including those who

were dangerous to society from the mental institutions and leaving them in a condition of filthy misery and terrible poverty. Lowering these poor people to the level of animals deserved the pen of a Dante. A psychosis took possession of the minds of many responsible people, robbed them of understanding and made them guilty of placing a stain of shame on the history of our people.

It is strange how the Jews reacted to all these persecutions, bullying and humiliations. No sign of revolt, no resistance, no attempt at sabotage, not even a whisper. By accepting their millenarian history, in a mysterious self-sacrifice to tragedy, they bore their fate like shadows driven by furies. It will always be a mystery to understand in which human resources does suffering finds its refuge.

Only a single oasis was to be found in Chernovitz, where the Jewish residents could complain about their suffering, where their right to a petition was respected, where the cry of hunger, the reclamation of the right to bread and life, found a listener, where pensions were paid regularly, where work possibilities were to be found, where the Jew found anonymous support, where he wasn't treated brutally, and his suffering was understood, This was the County Town Council. As in old temples where the gate stood open to everybody, where they could find hope and courage to go on living, the mayor offered all petitioners help against the brutalization by their contemporaries.

In the newspaper "Bukovina," the official organ of the government, which was controlled by the propaganda director, appeared mean ironical attacks on me. The Jewish population was scornfully called, "the people of Traian".

My actions were not driven merely by an ethical concept, but were dictated by my conscience so that I didn't lose myself in this fire storm of passion and that I, in this way could create a moral support which would someday, reflect forgiveness for the few, but certainly would reflect the innocence of the majority of my people.

I certainly don't claim for myself alone, the honor of being a decent human being. I also claim it for the staff of the town council which shared my feelings, under my leadership they carried out no unworthy actions and constantly proved that they were humane.

The fact remained that under my leadership no Jew was evacuated by the Financial Department for non-payment of rent and officials, contrary to the orders of the government, paid out pensions. The fact that things changed after I left was not my concern.

It is obvious that the nature of my actions did not help consolidate my position with the governor who distanced himself from me, but who couldn't muster up the courage to precipitate a crisis. More than once when I noticed his cool attitude toward me after discussions in which I tried to dampen the zeal of the Military Cabinet, I offered to resign but the General avoided making a decision and once solemnly declared to me, "please leave me alone with your resignation. I acknowledge your work. I even fear that one day you will desert me and I will have no one to replace you with." In truth, whenever I decided to step down, I was held back by the wretched ones, for whom I was the only hope. I was held back by the Bucovinians for whom I was their only representative in public affairs.

In this tense atmosphere between the government and the town council, the dangerous clouds thickened over the Jews of Chernovitz. I was told nothing and had no idea of what was being prepared. But from behind the curtain of the Military Cabinet, more and more alarming whispered rumors leaked to the outside world. It was interesting that the Jews were better informed and full of fear, asking me for help. The desperate ones thought I could find them a safe harbor. They still believed in a miraculous rescue. I believe that they instinctively foresaw the danger.

On a September day, I believe it was the 29-th, I was called to a government meeting concerning the ghetto again. Here in the governor's cabinet were present, among others, the representative of the General Security Department in the person of a Mr. Stanescu, a counselor of the Court of Appeal, in the uniform of a lieutenant, the later deputy director of the General Security.

The governor demanded from me concrete suggestions over how the Town Council intended to solve the ghetto matter. I described in a long speech, the special situation of the Jews of Bukovina, mentioned their culture, their contribution to the development of our town under the Austrian regime, their activity in the areas of commerce, industry, medicine, the arts and law and touched on other areas of their intellectual activities. I especially emphasized their contributions under the Romanian Government, their desire to fit in, I analyzed the currents in their political lives, and I pointed out that they typically cooperated with the parties of the

government. To sum it up, I dealt with their value in total, both their good and their bad characteristics.

In conclusion, I was against the ghetto. Since, however, I feared a greater evil – and I knew that I stood in the minority with my opinions – I made several concessions. The governor demanded from me, a project, which I as the mayor of the county could accept. I was informed that the Germans through their legation council demanded the speedy setting-up of a ghetto, all the more so, since I had been informed in an earlier conference of the system they had planned, I improved all the suggestions made by the government and worked out a project on that same evening which I handed to the governor. He had to take that document along with others to Bucharest for the approval of the Marshal. I was convinced that my project would be accepted, especially since I had heard from the legal counselor of the government, the Minister Pflaumer, that the Marshal was inclined to make the foreseen ghetto system a little more lenient. I believed also, that with the solution of the Ghetto problem which was occupying the majority of the government's attention, the chapter of anti-Jewish measures would come to an end. The idea of mass deportations never occurred to me. Ten quiet days preceded the breaking of the storm.

THE DEPORTATION

The officials called it "evacuation" of the Jews. I call it deportation. Let us make things clear. Evacuation, coming from the word "vacuum" means either mass or partial rounding up of the population of a part of a country or locality, endangered by military operations, force major events like fire, floods, epidemics and others of the same kind. Evacuation means to shelter the population against the fury of the enemy, to protect it from destruction and to keep the vitality of that population. It is dictated by selfish interests of the community, by moral and ethical interests. In some cases it can be dictated by political interests.

An evacuation is not driven by hate, but in contrast by love of mankind. The evacuation of the Jews from Bukovina and other parts of the country did not follow the above mentioned motives, but just the opposite. It was nurtured by hate. They were taken from the national territory into a hostile area, the only motive of this supposedly humanitarian effort being just to get rid of them, but the conditions of carrying out this deportation led to a single goal, that of exterminating the Jews.

And in these cases it took on the typical character of a deportation. Deportation signifies the tearing out of a part of a population against their will out of the middle of a collective, it means their definitive isolation, throwing them overboard like useless ballast, i.e. punishment. For that reason, I call this evacuation a deportation.

On October 9, 1941, it became known in Chernovitz that the Jews from the northern part of Bukovina, who were concentrated in the camps of Storojinet, Wijnita, Vascauti and Lujeni were driven out in the direction of the Dniester. The next day, on October 10, arrived the news of similar operations in the southern part of Bukovina, in Campulung, Gura Humorului, Radauti and Suceava.

No details were known. One said merely that they were taken from their homes and gathered in masses in collection areas in order to be loaded onto trains which waited with steam pressure up. The operation was ordered by the "Center" and the County Prefects were entrusted with carrying it out. The wave of sorrow that came up to the county capital, paralyzed all the well intended people. Any intervention coming from the top distinguished people was disregarded. There were cases in which the population intervened and they were hardly pardoned only by the decision of the Government. Valuable people with great merits for the county were arrested. Entire masses of people were rounded up and only rarely were some of them spared through the special intervention of the prefect. Any endeavors of the local top representatives were not taken into consideration.

On that day of October 10, I was called to Governor Calotescu who told me to take measures so the bakers would bake more bread, in order that the Jewish population which had to be brought into the ghetto could each be given four loaves of bread for the planned loading into trains.

Here in the governor's cabinet, I learned that the mass deportation of the Jews from Chernovitz had already been decided upon. At the same time, I found out details about their gathering into the ghetto. I learned of the decree that all of their possessions that were left behind would become the property of the state, that all objects of value that they took with them into exile would be seized, also they were obliged to change all the money they took with them into the ghetto and then they would be loaded into trains of 50 cars and under military escort taken to the border points of Atachi and Marculesti on the Dniester and from there distributed throughout the counties of Transnistria.

I was stunned.. I could only tell the Governor: "So it has come to this, governor?" To which he answered, "what should I do?" It has been ordered by the Marshal and here you see the delegates of the General Staff". Present were: General Topor, the grand praetor of the army and lieutenant colonel Petrescu from the General Staff. We were four people in addition to Major Marinescu who stepped in now and then with reports and documents to be signed. The entire scene that played before us remained in my memory because it was dramatic and I couldn't control my anger. I became aggressive, a behavior which was not usual for a mayor dealing with a governor who was the direct representative of the Marshal. I pointed out to him the responsibility which he personally had and how he would be depicted by history, then I made him aware of the difficulties we would face at the peace conference when Romania would stand before the court of civilized nations. I spared no argument to point out the enormity of the step which he was about to take. I spoke of humanity, the traditional Romanian kindness, barbarity, cruelty, crimes, and shame. I called upon the virtue of our ancestors, stigmatized racial sadism. I also reminded him of Spain's shame which can't wipe from its history the persecution of the Jews in 1492 under Torquemada. I said to him literally, "Governor, the French Revolution which brought mankind rights and freedom took merely 11,800 victims, while you are on the threshold of sending 50,000 people to their deaths when it is almost winter." Pointing with my hand to General Topor and Colonel Petrescu, I said to him, "these gentlemen will install themselves in a few days with Dragomir Niculescu and wash their hands clean of the "heroic" deed which they carried out in Bukovina, but you will remain as governor of a province, for which you will be solely and completely responsible. You don't have the right to endanger the life of even a single person. How do you want to step into history, alongside Robespierre?

I, at least do not want history to defile my name. Think of what you are doing. You still have time. Talk to the Marshal and ask him, that he should put off these measures at least until spring. I spoke as if I were in ecstasy and trembled with excitement. Everyone stood up. The governor listened motionless to my words while sitting at his desk while the two others leaned against the oven. After a moment of deep silence the governor said: "Mr. Popovici, this what I also said to the gentlemen, I have the same fear, but they were sent on purpose, to oversee the carrying out of the order. Let me think about it." At this moment, Lieutenant Colonel Petrescu turned

to me: "Tell me Mr.Mayor, who will write the history, the Jidani (kikes)? I came to dig the weeds out of your garden and you are against me?" I answered sharply: "Colonel, I will weed my own garden, but as far as history is concerned, not only the Jews will write it because the world doesn't belong only to them. The historians of all countries will write it. Also, we will write it and even faster than you believe. I am afraid that you yourself will read the history to which you want to contribute." At that time, I didn't imagine that I would be compelled to step out of anonymity and contribute myself to that tragic history.

In this charged atmosphere, General Vasile Ionescu entered the cabinet. With a dark complexion, sad and broken in spirit, he turned to the governor after he had greeted everyone. "Don't do it, Governor. What we are planning to do is a disgrace. It is a sin, a great sin. I wish I had not come to Bukovina, to be witness to such an atrocity". The governor hesitated and took time to change his mind.

As we left the governor's office, General Ionescu and I walked together. Going down the stairs, he said to me, "I definitely refused, I demanded written orders, but they refused to issue them. If you can imagine, they have no written instructions. They say that operations of this sort are ordered by word of mouth so that no proof is left behind. Traian, let's try to convince Calotescu not to make this stupidity, because it's a shame. Anyway, I think that we shattered his conscience. Let me talk to him after lunch".

With fear in my heart that he wouldn't be successful and with the hope that perhaps he would change his mind, I went to the Town Council.

Here my office was full of the representatives of the Jews of Chernovitz who fearfully waited for a word of salvation. The town was in a fever. Two battalions of gendarmes had arrived from Bucharest and the bad news had spread with lightening speed. I could tell them nothing to reassure them and silently, watched their dismay. Instinctively, they knew everything. The manner of their leave taking from me was impressive. They thanked me for everything that I had done for them, they swore they would remember me as the only person who had understanding for their suffering and that their memory of Chernovitz would be bound up with me. They left my office bathed in tears, like after a funeral service.

In the offices of Town Council, deathly silence reigned among the assembled staff, who could read from my face, the tragedy that was

approaching. Everyone was shaken. No one approved of the deportation. I honor them and am grateful for their solidarity with me.

I have to admit that on that day I was not able to concentrate on my work. I was exhausted, physically and spiritually broken down. In order not to be a witness and a participant in the tragedy, I decided to resign, which I told my closest friends. Everyone advised me against doing it, since this step would only encourage those in whose way I stood and would prove the inflammatory statements of the Romanianizers that I was a "Jew lover" and moreover, it would be cowardly of me to desert the unfortunate ones in their hour of expiation and that actually, I had to protect the rest of the population against taunting and other moral degradings. Until today, I still don't know if I made the right decision, but I listened to their advice and remained in office.

THE ROAD OF SUFFERING

On the morning of October 11 - it was a cold, damp and sad day like the tormented souls of the unfortunate ones - I looked out of my bedroom's window. It was snowing and I couldn't believe my eyes: on the streets, in front of my window, masses of people were hurriedly walking. The elderly helped by children, women carrying nursing babies, the sick who could barely drag their ravaged bodies along, everyone with their possessions in little trucks, wheelbarrows or on their backs, with hurriedly tied up suitcases, bed linen, rags, clothing ,on a silent pilgrimage toward the town's valley of suffering, into the ghetto.

It was clear to me that the wheel of their misfortune had begun to turn. I dressed and hurried to the Town Hall. On the way, crying of women, the whining of children, murmuring of old people, tears and more tears, some flowing in streams or dried up on painful faces, others which lost themselves secretly in gray beards.

"The Jews were taken out of their den" and savagely chased and caught up in the enclosure.

In the Town Hall there was a great activity. The vice mayor Popp, a man of heart and distinguished soul, was in full activity. He prepared lists of officials who by order of the government had to be placed at the disposal of the Directorate of Romanization so that the "abandoned" possessions of the Jews could be inventoried and that their houses be sealed. Then Romanization departments were to be formed and with the assistance of the police were to be dispersed in the town districts.

I realized then that this action had long ago been foreseen. I hurried to the military Headquarters where General Ionescu informed me of what had occurred until then. He let me examine the decrees that had been issued. At 10 p.m he was called to the governor's office, he received the program for assembling the Jews into the ghetto, the document to be read to the Jews, the rules for the functioning of the ghetto and the governor's ordinance Nr. 38. He told me how it had gone up to this point and stressed how punctually and dignifiedly the Jews had carried out the obligations placed upon then.

I quickly leafed through the instructions and read in the rules for running the ghetto: The bakeries and the markets would work under the control of the Town Hall. I hurried back to the Municipal Palace in order to take measures to ensure that the provision with bread, foodstuff, and especially milk for the children would proceed continuously. This was the interim role that providence, thanks to the military cabinet, had provided for me.

Only if you were familiar with the topography of the town, could you realize how small a space the order allotted for the Jewish population. They had to be within the borders of the ghetto by 6:00 p.m or face punishment by death. In this quarter which could shelter with extreme crowding, 10,000 people at most, 50,000 people, not including the Christians who lived there, had to be accommodated. At that time and still today, I have to compare the ghetto with a cattle pen.

The possibilities for housing were minimal. Even though groups of 30 people were crowded into each of the available rooms, most had to find shelter from rain and snow in corridors, attics, basements, sheds and similar spaces. I would rather not speak about the possibilities for hygiene. There was a lack of clean drinking water. The available wells were not adequate. At that time, the city already suffered from a lack of water. Of the three pumping stations, two had been destroyed. Sharp sweat smell, odor of urine and feces, and of mold and dampness filled the quarter differentiating it from the rest of the town. It was exactly like the concentrated smell inside a sheep pen on a wide green meadow. It was a miracle that contagious diseases, which could have endangered the entire city, didn't break out. In a surprisingly short time the ghetto was almost hermetically sealed off with barbed wire. At the main entrances, wooden towers were erected and military sentries were posted. I don't know if that was the purpose, but the effect was that these unfortunate people were looted officially and unofficially.

The National Bank set up teller windows for the compulsory exchange of lei for rubles and for the turning in of jewelry and other objects of value. It was strange that the National Bank, a respectable institution, the first bank of the country could engage in plundering the wealth of a part of the population which had contributed to the country's financial prestige. It was an official looting, hard, cold, and brutal but apparently legal.

Let us examine for a while the unofficial consequence of the entire system of deportation and look at the respected personalities who during the entire operation covered themselves with shame while reaping a profit.

Although paragraphs 3 and 4 of the rules governing the ghetto categorically forbid anyone from entering the ghetto without authorization by the governor, no one paid attention to the rule and by the second day after the ghetto was populated, women of all social strata made pilgrimages there, intellectual brokers who were known to the Chernovitz public. Persons of "influence" from all professions and strata of society, all hyenas who sniffed out the moral corpses of the unfortunate ones. With the pretext that they had influence with the governor or the military commander or the mayor, they began the plundering of the unhappy ones on a high scale of all they still possessed, their gold coins, jewelry, precious stones, carpets, furs, fabrics, valuable food (tea, coffee, chocolate, cacao) supposedly to be used in bribing others or for paying those who could say a word of salvation or get one exempted from deportation. The trade in influence was in full blossom. Another category of hyenas was the "good Samaritan" who willingly offered to be guardian of all these goods in order to protect them from theft and plundering and to give the goods back to them after their return or to their family and friends who had remained in the country. Individuals who I had never seen in Chernovitz streamed in from every corner of the country in order to turn the tragedy to their advantage.

If the deportation itself with all its procedures was a monstrosity, then this plundering of the desperate Jews topped everything. It was the most shameful descent of human ethics. It is unbelievable to what depths of moral morass can greed lower people.

And this was only due to the system of selection planned by the government and not that of elimination foreseen by me for the mentioned ghetto project of September 29.

The savageness of that measure could not spare the shame it brought upon us,

THE SELECTION OF WHITE SLAVES

On the second day, on October, 12, in the morning, I was invited to a conference of all the top officials held at the Government . There were 18 people present: The general directors of the various departments, the first president of the Court of Appeal, the attorney general of the Court, the Military Commander, the Head of the Public Security, the County Prefect, the delegates of the General Staff, the director of the Military Cabinet and the Mayor.

Here we were informed by the General Governor about the concentration of the Jews in the ghetto and the decision to have them deported. The governor demanded to hear our views and suggestions. Immediately, the first president of the Court of Appeal and the attorney general withdrew from the discussion with the justification that they were not empowered by the responsible ministry to take part in conferences of this sort and that Justice must exempt itself from participating in administrative and government measures.

It is worth mentioning a fact that honors our Justice. In all matters dealing with Jews, Justice was never involved, either directly or indirectly. It stood aside from the passions that became enflamed in this situation and Jews received the same treatment in judicial procedures that any other party would have, without difference. Our Justice had never persecuted the Jews, just the opposite; it showed great leniency towards the racial laws.

We were not interested in who of those present approved of the deportation and who didn't. It is noteworthy that no one had the courage to protest against actions which were to have consequences in the history of the people. I call on the testimony of those who were present, who are still living, to prove that when my turn came to speak, I was the only one who discussed the Jewish problem in light of the current situation. I said that we, a small people should not let ourselves get entangled in racial hatred. I pointed out the merits of the Jews, their worthwhile contribution to the economic development the country, to cultural and labor fields and I protested in my own name, in my capacity as mayor against this act.

I demanded mercy for those who had been baptized by the church, pointing out that we should not bury the missionary spirit, the cornerstone of Christianity.

I demanded protection for the highly educated Jews and those who practiced the beautiful arts. I demanded consideration for those who served

the people, retirees, officers, wounded veterans. I demanded that the masters of all industrial branches should be kept. I also demanded, in service of humanity, an exception for physicians. I demanded for the purpose of rebuilding, to spare the engineers and architects. I asked that in the name of intelligence and civilization, judges and lawyers be spared.

It is of no interest who was against me and what were the used arguments. The result was that the governor accepted some of my suggestions and before all those present assigned to me the task of drawing up a list with all those Jews who in the sense of my arguments had earned the thanks of the nation. I was restricted to 100–200 people at most.

As I left the meeting, I was tacitly scorned by the officials as a Jew lover. Feeling humiliated because of my behavior which the gentlemen didn't consider as an expression of Romanian patriotism, I left the Governor's building satisfied that at least I had rescued a small number from perishing.

While drawing up the list, I asked well-meaning Romanians who were objective, for advice. It is true that the list I handed over was accepted in total without any objections or deletions.

Meanwhile the days of October 12, 13, and 14 had passed with preparations for loading the Jews on trains.

My friends know that I wasn't standing around with my arms folded. This is not the right place to describe the means through which I tried indirectly to influence the will of the Marshal whom I didn't meet yet and who lived so far from Chernovitz; but my efforts were successful. On Wednesday, October 15, the Marshal agreed in a telephone conversation with the Governor to a slight change of the mass deportation, in that he agreed to exempt up to 20,000 people, who fell into the categories which I outlined in the conference on Sunday.

So, approximately 20,000 people were allowed to remain in Chernovitz. The fact that this measure didn't please the "street" and the new improvised "Romanizing agents," had little significance. The result gave me new strength because the highest official in the state had confirmed my efforts. Everyone has to admit that this was the beginning of a great moral victory.

On the afternoon of October 15, while I waited with General Ionescu and General Consul Schellhorn in the Governor's waiting room, the door to his office opened and Major Marinescu said to us, "It's good that you are here, the Governor is asking for you." We entered the office and General

Calotescu said to us, "Gentlemen, I just had a conversation with the Marshal who has authorized that 20,000 Jews should remain in Chernovitz. I can't make the selection since I don't know the people and the degree of their necessity. I authorize you, General, and you General Consul and you Mr. Mayor to make this selection. You know the people, one of you as a local and mayor, the other as former prefect who lived for many years in Chernovitz and the Consul considering the importance of the economy of the province to the Reich. Start immediately to draw up the list of those who will remain. Contact Mr. Pavlescu of the Romanization Department to prevent the stagnation of industry. I give you four days during which I will suspend the deportations." Meanwhile approximately three trains had left on the evening of October 13. "You have the right to make decisions. I reserve for myself only the right to set the percentage and will personally sign the authorizations no matter how many they are."

I immediately excluded Consul Shellhorn, pointing out to the governor that he, as a representative of a foreign country, could not mix in affairs that concerned only Romania. So now there only remained the two of us, General Ionescu and me.

Now began a new chapter: The selection. When we left the Governor, both pleased of the new turn of events, we had no idea of what a difficult and responsible task had been set before us. General Ionescu and I worked together harmoniously. I confess here that there was not a single disagreement in our common work. In addition, he had to accomplish the bulk of the work as I was busy with the town council which consumed much of my time.

First, we agreed immediately in view of the lack of official census data concerning the intellectual and manual professions that the Jews themselves, who had the presidents or leaders of the various corporations living among them, would have to make the decision. To this purpose, I called these people to the Town Council and told them that they would have to make the selection as soon as possible. I considered it right to invite the leading personalities of the Jewish Community in order that the selection would be made in the spirit of justice and objectivity and that the responsibility would be divided among them.

For the office work, the working up of the lists, the verification of their totals, the forms, obtaining the signatures, etc. the military headquarters provided 48 people, officers and non-commissioned officers. The work took on the character of a military operation. I provided the large

meeting hall and the adjacent rooms in the Town Council for the carrying out of the work in order to exercise better control and to avoid running back and forth to the military headquarters. The only civilians involved in this work were the mayor, the deputy mayor, the general secretary, the cabinet chief and a typist from the president's offices of the town hall. The purpose of the last named personnel was to accept petitions from Jews directed to the mayor for help and support.

I have never regretted and still less so today having had this inspiration although it made my work a hundred times harder. I confess that not all my ideas were successful, but the one we are talking about now, despite its many difficulties – I do not regret, since I was able to hinder the wheel of fate that was about to crush a martyred people.

But now I want to talk about another idea which at that time could have cost me my life, which involved many forms and letters, some of which went to the military cabinet and some directly to the president. I am referring to my visit to the ghetto, the only official visit to the ghetto during its entire time of existence.

On the evening of October 15, after I had discussed our work plan for the next day with General Ionescu I went to the Jewish hospital which was located at the edge of the ghetto and on the main travel route to the railroad station. I have been informed that a typhus epidemic had broken out and that the Town Council had to institute preventive measures. At the same time, I wanted to bring the Marshal's message that he was prepared to spare a part of the Jews, to the leader of the community. It was a gesture meant to sooth the masses who were tormented by the fear of a trip into the unknown and at the same time, a political act calculated to prove that the Marshal was not so hard-hearted and that he had to, only because of other considerations, resort to the measure of deportation; in fact, he pitied the Jews and wanted to protect them as far as it could be allowed by the political situation.

The dramatic scene that I witnessed as I brought this message of hope I consider the most solemn and exciting in my life and I don't believe I will ever experience a greater one.

Old rabbis, intellectuals of all ages, leaders of all levels of social life, merchants, workers – in a word, everybody – broke down in tears, they thanked their God and thanked heaven for the mercy, the Marshal for the clemency, they surrounded me to kiss my hands, my feet, the hem of my garment. Not always is it a shame for a man to cry. At that moment, I was

so overcome by the spontaneous outburst of thankfulness, so moved that I started crying and as "city father" cried with them. As witness to the experience of that moment, I call upon all those who survived the torment of persecution and stood in hope for a better world, next to me. Why, however, my people distanced themselves from this gesture - in any case they at least could find an excuse in the future - that, they can work out with their own conscience, all those who attacked me, smeared my name and hounded me. I was, however, the mayor of the entire city and not just a part of it. One of the mayor's responsibilities was to make sure the markets and bakeries could provide food and bread. I was, still, the bearer of the concern for the wellbeing of the entire population and not their persecutor. The gesture was simple and understandable, only the hate made it significant for me and posterity.

On October 16, after I contacted the delegates of the Jewish community, to whom I communicated the Marshal's decision and the urgency of the work with which they were entrusted, we recognized that we weren't in a position to carry out the work in such a short time. The Jews needed two days to draw up the lists. They handed over to us 179 lists, to which several more were added later.

An entire day together with the Governor was needed to confirm the percentages on the lists and we had to account for every extra entry on every list. General Calotescu can confirm what effort it took to convince him that certain categories of Jews had to be left in the city to avoid bringing chaos into the town's life.

One example: In Chernovitz all the tinsmiths were Jewish, except for one - his name was Basaraba - in a city that had over 11,000 buildings. We foresaw that we would have to send skilled workers to other Bukovina cities. There were other examples as well.

We got an extension of time and worked day and night to accomplish an exhausting task, which everyone agreed was absolutely necessary. A team of 48 military clerks divided by alphabet and category, supported by a group of officers, worked without rest to complete in a month, a job that would normally take several months.

All our work consisted only in preparations; the Governor had the final word. We presented a report of our completed work to the Governor. I believe that the details of our painstaking work are not of interest. What is of interest is merely that that we both, General Ionescu and I, after we were

put in the position to delay the start of the deportation, then sought every opportunity to hold it up, in that we saw that with the start of winter, progress would be slowed down considerably.

I must make one fact clear. All the work of this commission took place in daylight before the eyes of all the clerks that were to carry out the deportation in view of the public, which could monitor our work, in view of all interested parties (public offices, public and private institutions, factories, industries and private merchants) under the control of the police and security organizations, who were entrusted with the verification and especially under the control and in view of the General Staff. We didn't work behind closed doors causing suspicious speculation. The doors to the committee and especially to the mayor's office always stood open.

Finally, my activity had the purpose to stop the deportation so that no one was sent away. The Governor could consider himself responsible for the work, but I say he is not. How often, I fought with him to save the people who were proposed for deportation. How many family members who came to me to plea after the lists were already closed (parents, brothers, father-in-laws, cousins, etc.) went away unsatisfied? I resisted sometimes, that is true, because I had to create a new authorization on my own, but finally, I inscribed the name of their loved one on the authorization beginning with the standard formula: "Authorized for non-deportation, who lives in common household, he will be assisted, supported, and so on "and I courageously signed my name to the document and stamped it with the seal of town council. This single operation which later was responsible for my being charged with "misuse of power" saved not tens, but hundreds of souls who were indissolubly bound to the holiest in human society: the family.

The greatest satisfaction I had in those days was as once Lieutenant Colonel Petrescu explained, "I have to admit that you, Mr. Popovici are right. We don't need an evacuation; we have to keep so many, that one feels sorry for the ones that went." When he left Chernovitz and took leave from me, he said, "I must depart. I hope that I have not lost your respect."

At that moment, Mr. Petrescu, you won my respect, which I still have today. "Errare humanum est" and to recognize an error earns forgiveness. Perseverare diabolicum! Now I would like to look into the conscience of those who until yesterday used to curse me, to see if there is any remorse for the cheap Romanianism they made use of then and which had defiled the traditional Romanian values of humanity and kindness.

I had finished the work of selection, revisions and verification when the Marshal gave the order that the Jews who hadn't been deported up to that point should be allowed to remain under the responsibility of Town Council and they stepped into the history of the deportation as the beneficiaries of the "Popovici Authorization" so as to differentiate them from those who benefited from the "Calotescu Authorization."

Happy to be freed from the daily nightmare which tore up our souls and made the heart, the organ sensitive to suffering, pound, we shut down the project, "sealed" it, signed it and presented it to the Governor. We heaved a sigh of relief, put the rooms in town council back to order and closed the chapter of the "selection."

The ones who were deported, followed their plight, the nightmare of their sufferings while those who remained, overwhelmed with thankfulness, silently swallowed their new persecutions.

The death service

The population that was to be deported was gathered in groups of 2000 people and driven through filth and mud to the loading ramps at the main railroad station. There, 40 to 50 people were jammed into freight car. The freight cars stood under military guard, the train under the command of an officer. The train traveled to the Dniester River to the concentration points Atachi and Marculesti where they were transported over the river as if by Charon passing them into the realm of the inferno. Heart breaking scenes were played out at the ramps as the unfortunate ones were loaded into the cars. The separation of the members of a family, when the parents were taken away and the children remained, or the reverse, or the separation of brothers and sisters or married couples was accompanied by screams of pain and moved even hearts of stone. It was a separation forever. The one went to suffering and death, the other remained in slavery and pain. The exodus of the Jews from Chernovitz is a tragic chapter in human history and forever will be the heaviest blow that humanity ever suffered, the most severe downgrading of the notion of civilization and culture.

The Jews suffered in two phases of the deportation, in the cold, rain and snow of the winter of 1941 and in the burning heat and thirst during the summer of 1942. How much their tragic fate, their deportation to Transnistria or to the Ukraine on the far side of the Bug, a hell of hunger, sickness and death resembled the Babylonian bondage more than 2000 years ago!

The dead were thrown out of the trains at the stations and left for the locals to dispose of.

On the Dniester, they were robbed of any possessions that they still had, their personal documents were taken from them and destroyed so that no trace of them would remain. They were brought over the Dniester in ferries and they began to march in wind, rain, storms and mud, barefoot and starving. The description of their tragic suffering could fill volumes of Dantesque tragedy and apocalyptic savageness. In one transport, of 60 infants, only one survived. When they fell, exhausted they were left agonizing, by the edge of the road. Their corpses were the prey of vultures and dogs.

Those who arrived at their destinations could expect a life of great misery. There was no hygiene, no housing, and no wood. Without food and clothing, they were subject to the merciless weather and whims of their guards and tormentors. There was a complete lack of organization in the sense of any humanitarian sheltering. They were abandoned to nothingness, hunger, frost, the winter, the absence of hygiene, typhus and other epidemics which were a consequence of the inhuman housing conditions. Girls and women were raped; they prostituted themselves for a piece of bread. The Jews were abandoned to the hate of the Ukrainian population. Their extermination was the goal of the "evacuation." The mortality ranging from 50% to 70% actually reached 85% in the Bershad village (Balta County). There, like cattle they lived in the open until December 20. The "humane" purpose of their evacuation was to wipe them out.

Sending of food, clothing or medicines was punishable by the Court Martial. Those who fled the camp could expect punishment by death. All measures taken had one final goal, their complete extermination.

The transfer of the Jews to German organizations across the Bug River with the supposed purpose of providing workers ended with their being tortured and mutilated and thrown living into their graves. Could this be anything but part of the plan to turn them into dust? The death train of the martyrs to Transnistria could expect all this in the 20th century, the century of madness. How often did I tell the Governor and other carriers of the torch of hate, that it would be more humane, to simply put the Jews against the wall and shoot them than to torment them without sympathy, coldly and brutally without a tremor of conscience, without fear of God.

This is one of the faces of the "holy war", of "releasing from bondage" and of the "crusade".

On behalf of humanity, civilization and a forgiving religion in its essence, in the name of a pagan Christ, a "creator of a new nation" and "giver of a better fate", history desecrates us.

We the priests of this savage religion, wrote this page of apocalyptical shame (disgrace) in the psalm book of the Romanian people with the blood of those who were martyred, the souls of those expiated in a superhuman way, with the horror of those drowned in the death water.

Some Statistics

The Jewish population in Bukovina, until World War I represented about 10% of the total population, amounting to 90,000 inhabitants. This percentage remained constant until the year 1940 when the Jewish population was of more than 120,000 per province, at which time the town of Chernovitz had the greatest percentage of Jews, with a Jewish "minority" of almost 70,000 people compared to the town's total population of 140,000 residents. I can't explain by what means and under what circumstances did the number of Jews in Chernovitz decrease to 50,000, until July 1941 while the Jewish population in South Bukovina remained unchanged.

One fact remains, that when we returned to North Bukovina in 1941, the number of Jews was of 65-70,000, of whom more than 50,000 lived in Chernovitz.

Since October 1941 until July 1942 it has been attempted to delete this figure.

The census that was carried out by the Ministry of Agriculture or Economy In August 1941 under the leadership of the general director Manuila, resulted in approx. 49,000 Jews.

After the deportation and the exodus of those who had to be deported, a number of 16,569 persons were exempted from deportation and a number of 5,619 authorization per capita or family member were issued. To these are added the number of those left in Chernovitz with the so called "Popovici authorization", raising the total number of Jews who remained in Chernovitz after the census of December 16, 1941, amounting to 19,689 people and after the card issued by the town council in May 1942, the number of Jews was of 19,521 people.

Exactly 28,391 Jews were evacuated from Chernovitz. The number of those deported from camps in the north of the province or from the towns in the south of the province I can't exactly say. I believe it was of approximately 50–60,000 people.

For Chernovitz, if we add the number of deportees to the number of those who remained, the resulted figure comes out exactly of 49,000 people according to the census made by Manuila on August 1941.

In brief, the numerical situation of the Jews who remained in Chernovitz after the census of December 1941, was of 19,689 people. I personally believe that this number was bigger, a bit more than 20,000 as it is known that many Jews did not participate in the census for reasons easy to explain. I also do not add those who could escape by all means from the town and government.

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Dr. TRAIAN POPOVICI

THE SECOND APPEAL OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN ROMANIA, DR. W. FILDERMAN, TO ION ANTONESCU Nr. 101

October 11, 1941

Marshal, Sir,

Today I received a desperate appeal from the leadership of the Kishinev Ghetto.

On the morning of October 8, of this year, a group of 1,500 people were forced on an 8-day march in cold and snowy weather, taking with them only as much as they could carry with their own hands; they are all likely to perish, being all naked, without food and without any possibility of getting supplies on a journey of at least 8 days in cold and snow. Only the sick, old and children could leave by carts - meaning that not even the sick were spared and neither were the women who also had to go on foot.

It is about death, death, death of the innocent without any other guilt, than that of being Jews.

I beg of you, Marshal, Sir, not to let such a terrible tragedy happen.

Yours faithfully,

President.

DR. W. FILDERMAN

TO HIS EXCELLENCY MARSHAL ANTONESCU, STATE LEADER

CANCELING THE DEPORTATIONS FROM CHERNOVITZ

THE SELECTION AND EXEMPTION FROM DEPORTATION OF SOME CATEGORIES OF JEWS Nr. 102

The Hearing of the President of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania, Dr. W.Filderman to Mihai Antonescu, Ad-Interim president of the Council of Ministers

October 14, 1941

Prime-Minister, Sir

I am extremely grateful to you for the promise of stopping the evacuation from Bukovina and Bessarabia of the intellectuals, tradesmen, craftsmen and those who had an urban or rural property.

I take the liberty to ask you again to approve of letting other categories of Jews be excepted too.

Today I have been informed by telephone that many people committed suicide in Bukovina and Bessarabia.

Other people see themselves forced to sell their property for almost nothing as they are not allowed to take anything with them.

I beg of you to do an act of mercy (which is not against state) and do as the Germans did by resending to Bessarabia the first convoys that had left two months ago. Arrange to it that they be returned to their homes, considering that among the deportees there were also Jews from the Old Kingdom who happened to be there. They wanted to be sent back but it was not possible any longer. Among them are also veterans who had participated in the Romanian wars, who had been decorated, or are either war invalids or orphans.

Anyway, from the numerous trains that had left for Moghilev, not many arrived and those people might die on the way of cold and hunger.

Please be assured, Mr. Prime Minister of my profound respect, President,

Dr. W. Filderman

To his Excellency, Prof. Mihai Antonescu, Ad-Interim President of the Council of Ministers

ION ANTONESCU'S ANSWER TO THE APPEALS THAT HAD BEEN ADDRESSED TO HIM¹ Nr. 103

THE LEADER OF THE ROMANIAN STATE

Mr. FILDERMAN,

I received two successive letters from you in which you wrote about the "tremendous tragedy" begging me in impressive words, reminding me of "conscience" and "humanity", stressing that you must turn to me and only to me for the Romanian Jews who are transferred to ghettos on the Bug.

Adding some dramatic elements in your letter, you point out that this measure "means death, death, death of the innocent without any other guilt, than that of being Jews".

Mr. Filderman, nobody can be more sensitive than me to the sufferings of the humble and defenseless. I understand your pain but you should understand or should have understood my suffering which is the suffering of an entire nation.

Have you ever thought of what happened in our souls last year when Bessarabia was evacuated and what happens today, when we daily and hourly pay with magnanimity and blood, a lot of blood for the hatred with which your coreligionists from Bessarabia treated us when we withdrew from Bessarabia, how they received us when we came back, how they behaved from the Dniester to Odessa and on the areas of the Azov Sea?

But according to tradition, you want to accuse not to be accused, you seem to forget the reasons which caused the situations you are complaining about. Let me ask you and through you all your coreligionists who showed so much joy when they saw the sufferings and blows received by us (the more sufferings we had, the greater joy they showed).; what did you do last year when you heard how the Jews in Bessarabia and Bukovina had behaved towards the Romanian troops that were withdrawing and who had defended the security and prosperity of those Jews.

Let me remind you of the following:

Even before the Soviet troops had appeared, the Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina (you are defending), spat at our officers, pulled out their

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¹ V. see the photocopy, illustration VII.

straps, tore their uniforms and whenever they could, treacherously killed the soldiers with bats.

These bastards welcomed the Soviet troops with flowers and excessive joy. We have photos to prove it.

During the Bolshevik occupation, the ones you are pitying, betrayed the good Romanians, denounced them to the communists and brought mourning and sorrow to many Romanian families.

From the basements of Kishinev, horribly mutilated corpses of our martyrs are taken out. This is how a 20 year-long friendship was rewarded by those thankless beasts.

These facts are known and you are sure to know them too.

Have you ever wondered why the Jews set fire to their houses before withdrawing? Can you explain why we found in front of us Jewish children of 14 - 15 years who had their pockets full of grenades?

Have you ever asked how many of us were treacherously killed by your coreligionists, how many of them were buried when they were still living. If you need evidence in this respect, you'll have it.

These are acts of hatred related to madness committed by your Jews against our tolerant, hospitable people who is today dignified and self confident of its rights.

In answer to the benevolence with which they¹ were received and treated by us, your Jews who became Soviet commissars, push the Soviet troops to the Odessa region by unequalled terror, admitted by the Russian prisoners, into a futile massacre, only to cause new losses to us.

In the area of the Azov Sea, our troops that were temporarily withdrawing left some wounded officers and soldiers. When they continued their marching they found their wounded soldiers horribly mutilated. Those people could have been saved and they died in terrible pain.

Their eyes had been pulled out, their tongue, nose and ears were cut off.

Can you imagine, Mr. Filderman, the scene?

Are you horrified? Are you impressed?

Do you ask yourself why so much hatred from some Russian Jews with whom we had nothing in common?

But their hatred is the hatred of everybody, it is your hatred.

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¹ In the text published in newspapers, it was written "you were received". In the original text, Antonescu corrected it by "they were received".

If you really have a soul do not get impressed by what is not worth it, get impressed by what really matters.

Cry together with the mothers who lost their children who had been tormented not with those who did evil to themselves and to you.

Marshal Antonescu October 19, 1941

P.S. A wounded soldier from Piatra Neamt was buried alive on the order and under the eyes of a Jewish Soviet Commissar, despite the poor man's plea that he had 4 children.¹)

THE PERSECUTIONS AGAINST THE PRESIDENT OF THE FEDERATION OF JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN ROMANIA, DR. W.FILDERMAN Nr. 104

LAWYER CORPS OF THE ILFOV COUNCIL OF ILFOV BAR

COUNTY

General Registry entered on October 27, 1941

Nr. 9054

COUNCIL OF THE ILFOV BAR

Appointed by the judge and considering the guilt, Mr. Gorski, legal adviser, was delegated for urgent research of the case.

signature illegible

File Nr. 570, October 28, 1941

Please discuss in the council of the

Board

signature illegible

entered on November 5, 1941

Nr. 5672

Nov. 6, 1941

Mr. Filderman, lawyer, will be cited in order to be investigated on

Thursday, November 6, of this year, at 9 o"clock.

The registrar Cotaru will take measures to accomplish the calling procedure and will inform me when the investigation is being performed.

signed GORSKI

¹ The text published in the newspapers did not contain this post scriptum, added by handwriting to the original text.

MR. DEAN,

The undersigned, members of the Ilfov bar, were informed by the press of the reply given by Marshal Antonescu to the lawyer W. Filderman who repeatedly intervened in favor of the Jews (kikes) of Bukovina, Bessarabia and Russia in his position of President of all the Jewish Federations in this country.

By his interventions, Mr. Filderman proved that he was on the side of the criminal acts of our everlasting enemies being thus unworthy to be part of the Corps of Lawyers.

We consider this act as an offence brought to our nation and we therefore ask you to exclude him from the Bar at once.

Please take the same measures against his coreligionists who due to the fact that they did not disavow his actions, proved that they were on the side of this ill fated act.

Faithfully yours, M. Turcu

Ion Pascanu, Nicolae Dumitrescu, Victor Tatarasanu, Al. V. Ionescu, Lucian Stanculescu, R. Ionescu, O. Constantinescu, Const. Radu, N. Iliescu, G. Florescu, Radu Pascu, Apostoleanu, Costache Ion, D.M. Popescu, Adrian Constantinescu, Emil Atanasescu, Gh. Florian. Other 42 illegible signatures follow.

To his excellency, the Dean of the Ilfov Bar

Nr. 105

THE UNION OF ROMANIAN CHRISTIAN LAWYERS

We are honored to inform you that:

The committee of The Union of Romanian Christian Lawyers, assembled at the meeting of October 27, 1941, under the presidency of the lawyer Eamnoil Slatineanu decided:

to intervene with the Council of Discipline of the Ilfov Bar in order to sue and sanction Mr. Filderman, who was found guilty towards the corporation he is a member of, as having an anti-patriotic activity which does not comply with the principles that lay at the basis of the professional lawyer organization.

In exposing the reasons that accompanied the ante-draft of the lawyers' law, certain guiding norms were established referring to recruiting and exerting the profession autonomy and accomplishing professional solidarity, adding that the lawyers corps has a freedom of action subordinated only to supreme national interests and disciplined by the general and permanent state interests.

It is not possible to make a difference between the political activity of a citizen which belongs to the past because the political parties have been dissolved and the professional activity can be carried out only within the limits determined by our organic law and the imperative requirements of our conservation and prosperity.

Mr. Filderman, by a blamable obliteration, infringed his elementary duties imposed by the circumstances our nation goes through, being the champion of deep and unrighteous resentments, which have always been borne by his coreligionists against us, as it results from a brief letter addressed by the state leader to him – we think that he singled himself out of his colleagues. As his behavior and attitude were not consistent with the quality of Romanian citizen, he blamed some people who sacrifice their life for the triumph of a creed he never adhered to and contributed only formally to take material advantages that he cannot be proud of.

He defiled by Judaic justification the primordial inborn feelings of mankind, the covenant with the fatherland, being guilty of severe deeds of antinational and anti-patriotic actions for which reason we demand that he be punished.

You, Mr. Dean, together with the council of discipline, an emanation of our corporation, being the shield of the intangible character of the Romanian bar, you cannot ignore the quite severe deed committed by Mr. Filderman, leaving unpunished the extra-professional activity of a member of the Bar who has pronounced his verdict by himself, by accepting to be the interested defender of all atrocities and crimes committed by his coreligionists, to the prejudice of those who treated with generosity these

intruders; He should be evicted for ever from the Romanian lawyers' corporation.

Please receive the expression of our distinguished feelings, President, E. SLATINEANU Secretary, SOARE MIREA

LOOTINGS IN ATACHI Nr. 106

Otaci – Moghilev Cosauti – Iampol Rezina – Ribnita

INFORMATIVE NOTE Nr. 116¹

Lieutenant Rosca from the police company in Otaci, Soroca county came here from Roman. His wife is a teacher and she is often commuting and carrying suitcases from Otaci to Roman or to other places.

The Jews were deported to Transnistria through Otaci. Now there is nobody left. They all passed across and others are expected to arrive.

At the beginning, Lieut. Rosca took all the gold from the Jews without any list or any other proof. He simply took it for himself and the police sergeant majors from the Police Company. Lieut. Rosca forbade the gendarmes from the local post and department to approach the camp. According to the information given by local gendarmes, large quantities of gold were looted from the Jews as well as dollars and other valuables.

After having crossed the Dniester at Moghilev, the Jews were robbed of their luggage which was stored in a big warehouse – the Jews were left without any belongings and without money.

While they stayed in Otaci, they paid 500 lei for a loaf of bread and 100 lei for an egg.

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¹ see photocopy, illustration VIII.

The sergeant majors from the police department sent money home; this can be seen at the post office in Otaci and Lipnic. They also deposited money at the savings bank.

The revenue agent from Otaci deposited on one day the sum of 60,000 lei at a savings bank on his and his wife's name; he did the same in Lipnic

They all have valuables and gold. Milk was sold to the Jews by 600 lei per kilo.

On October 24, this year, a family of Jews returned from Otaci by cart with their luggage to the place they came from but no one knows for what reason. All that is known is that Lieut. Rosca and Captain Popescu let them go.

Lieut. Rosca would have said that he could quit the army after the war is over because he has enough money to live on.

Those mentioned above pulled rings from the fingers of the Jews and put them into their own pockets.

In Vatra Dornei there are 4 brothers called Abramovici . A radio transmitter was found in the cellar of their house while it was transmitting to Moscow. They were arrested and set free later on; now they are doing business. In Vatra Dornei there are still lots of Jews.

On the edge of the informative note, general Ion Topor, grand praetor of the Army, added the following apostil:

November 2, 1941

I think that the denouncement might be true. Therefore:

- major Teodorescu should be sent with a team of agents to all 3 passing points to learn if the denouncement is true;
- if the National Romanian Bank sent delegates to these passing points, searches should be made to confiscate all the money and valuables found upon the Jews;
- what happened to the luggage of the Jews that were left at the passing points?
- it has to be checked if the gendarmes committed any abuses and if it is not necessary to search again the luggage of all in order to take the money and valuables they might have taken with them.
- this information should be also communicated across the Dniester to the Moghilev, Iampol and Rabnita points.

General **Ion Topor**

Nr. 107

Nr. 46969 November 2, 1941 GENERAL GENDARMERIE INSPECTORATE Gendarmerie Department to MAJOR TEODORESCU SACHERARIE

Nov. 4, 1941

Please come immediately to the Otaci region, Cosauti, Rezina – Bessarabia accompanied by a team of agents to supervise the way in which the Jews are evacuated through these points.

The General Gendarmerie Inspectorate has been informed that the authorities responsible for carrying out these operations (military and civilian) have committed a series of abuses and that some of these persons have large sums of money and valuables picked up from the Jews that were not deposited (delivered). You'll have to do researches and investigations in order to find them out.

You will have to establish if the authorities of the National Bank are present and what are the circumstances in which the money and valuables are being changed.

These investigations should be also done across the Dniester in Moghilev, Iampol and Rabnita.

Report all your findings through the local gendarmerie unit: by telegraph, telephone or in coded writing.

General Gendarmerie Inspector, General IOAN TOPOR

Nr. 108

Nr. 1020 of November 10, 1941 GENDARME INSPECTORATE KISHINEV to GENERAL GENDARMERIE INSPECTORATE

I intervened at the General Staff and directions were given to direct all transports only to Atachi.

General IOAN TOPOR

We are reporting the following:

- 1. The police company Nr. 60 has no case of typhus. The luggage left there will be inventoried by a local board presided by lieut. Rosca, the Company Commander.
- 2. 1,200 Jews arrived at Marculesti by the last train that is going to be transported across the Dniester.

I informed by telegraph the Chernovitz Inspectorate not to send any Jews through Marculesti. The 10 freight cars with the luggage selected by the 4-th territorial headquarters have left. Only small and worthless things were left.

I disposed that the detachment should be put in quarantine for 15 days as of November 14, 1941 with measures of absolute isolation and disinfection.

The quarantine takes place in the cantonment.

Should no case occur within 15 days, the detachment will be sent to another place where it will be decided.

I also put in quarantine Platoon Nr. 3 Iampol and Platoon 5 Rabnita of police company Nr. 23 and 15 gendarmes of the police platoon of the gendarme legion Orhei from Rezina where cases of typhus also appeared.

Col. MECULESCU

FIRST LOOTINGS IN MOGHILEV Nr. 109

REPORT

IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROCEDURE USED BY THE PREFECTURE OF THE MOGHILEV COUNTY FOR TRANSPORTING THE JEWS EVACUATED FROM BUKOVINA AND BESSARABIA THROUGH OTACI-MOGHILEV AND THE CREATION AND SPENDING OF 6,000,000 LEI BY THE MOGHILEV PREFECTURE, RESULTED FROM THE TAXES IMPOSED ON THE JEWS FOR THEIR TRANSPORT TO THE RELEVANT REGION

The deputy prefect Gh. Culnev from the Moghilev prefecture noticed that the convoys of Jews that arrived at Moghilev and were to be transferred to the Bug region, succeeded in taking with them big amounts of Lei being ready to pay any sum in order to obtain fast and confortable means of transport.

The former prefect of the Moghilev county started to negotiate with the first Jews who arrived at Moghilev, officially organizing these transports.

The German headquarters supplied big trucks free of charge and the trucks of the Moghilev area will be put in operation for the same purpose.

The prefecture established the price for each truck at the sum of 125,000 lei and 50,000 lei for a light truck.

The sums of money will be delivered by the Jews at the prefecture, either by written applications or only by verbal requests. The deputy prefect Culnev used to collect the money in the drawer of his desk. When the sum was larger he delivered it to the pay office of the town council specifying that it was a transporting fund for Jews being at the disposal of the Prefecture.

That procedure was not an exclusive one because the money was also cashed by the deputy prefect Culnev and the Praetor Fuciu being delivered directly by the Jews to the town council.

It could not be found out how much each of them took because no application was registered either at the Prefecture or the Town Council. They were only given a handwritten proof that they had delivered the money and they have the right to travel by truck.

The German and Romanian drivers had instructions to accept in the truck only those Jews who had the proof that they had paid the money. Later on, the Jews managed to lower the prices to 50 - 40,000 lei for a car.

By this system, the prefecture created a fund of over 6,000,000 lei, out of which the cashier of the town council issued any sum on the order of prefect Baleanu or on the orders of the deputy prefects Culnev and Moisev.

That fund of 6,000,000 was spent for refundable expenses as advance money given to clerks, wages to factory workers or for the equipment of the Vindiceni sugar factory and the alcohol factory in Bronita and also as nonrefundable expenses made on the prefect's order like: festivities, free theater tickets, payment for musicians, free baths for the garrison troops, donations for different repairs of restaurants and pubs.

Please decide upon what measures should be taken as the above mentioned administrative clerks are guilty of the following crimes:

- 1. Moral ones: they created funds which constitute a profound offence to the national feelings by not obeying the orders of cleansing the country of hostile Jewish elements and dangerous for the state security.
- 2. Penal: power abuse, art. 245-248, penal code; bribery, art. 250-251 penal code; unlawful looting, art. 238-241, penal code; infringing the public accountancy law.

Gendarme Inspector Transnistria Col. E.BROSTEANU

SHARING THE PREY Nr. 110

Romanian National Bank Bucharest, November 17, 1941

Dear Minister,

As we finished the operation of taking over from the Jews of Bessarabia and Bukovina all their valuable objects, please appoint a delegate in whose

presence the boxes with the said valuable objects could be opened in order to draw up inventories.

We consider that in addition to this delegate and our delegates, 2–3 reputed jewelers would also be necessary to assess the relevant objects.

Yours faithfully,

ROMANIAN NATIONAL BANK

Demetrescu, Niculescu

To his Excellency, Finance Minister

Nr. 111

Chernovitz, Nov. 22, 1941 Nr. 100/88

ROMANIA
GOVERNMENT OF BUKOVINA
Administrative Directorate
General Secretariat Service

To

Romanian National Bank, Bucharest

Please be so kind as to order that from the objects confiscated from the Jews of Bukovina, those that are not made of precious metals should be returned to the Government.

> Governor of Bukovina, for General Calotescu Signature illegible

Nr. 112

Romanian National Bank Bucharest, Nov. 24, 1941

Dear Minister,

We are sending you a copy of the letter Nr. 100/88 of Nov. 22, this year, of the Governorate of Bukovina in which we are asked to deliver those

objects that are not made of precious metals, taken from the Jews evacuated from Bukovina and Bessarabia.

We would like to inform you that among those objects, there were small quantities of cutlery that would be necessary for the military units in Chernovitz for the mess rooms.

Please communicate your decision.

Yours faithfully, Appendix: 1 letter

Romanian National Bank, Demetrescu, Niculescu

Nr. 113

FINANCE MINISTRY
General Department of Funding Circulation
ROMANIAN NATIONAL BANK
Secretariat

By our letter Nr. 268730, of October 11, 1941, we confirmed the way in which the jewelry and precious metals would be bought from the Jews evacuated from Bessarabia and Bukovina.

As the purchasing operation has come to an end, you are kindly requested to see to it that an inventory should be handed in to facilitate the selling of those objects.

Please be informed that according to the decision of Mircea Vulcanescu, state sub-secretary, the gold and silver, either processed in coins or unprocessed, should be delivered to you at the official price.

As for the objects made of gold and silver, they will be sold by auctions through the Loan and Pawn Shop which will be given a special authorization for that purpose.

C.

D. PANDELE (for the Minister)

General Manager,

Nr. 114

FINANCE MINISTRY
General Department of Fund Circulation
ROMANIAN NATIONAL BANK
Currency inspectorate

We are honored to inform you that through the Ministry resolution of the report of this general direction Nr. 96858 of Feb. 25, 1943, it has been approved that the mechanisms of the watches taken over from the Jews and which were dismantled in order to have the gold melted, as they could not be sold by auctions, be ceded free of charge to the Watchmakers' School set up by the Ministry of Labor.

Minister, Signature illegible General Director, Signature illegible

Nr. 115

FINANCE MINISTRY
General Department of Funding Circulation- accounting department
ROMANIAN NATIONAL BANK
Currency inspectorate

May 20, 1942

Further to our letter Nr. 155040 of May 5, of this year, and according to the resolution given by the Finance Minister, referring to the report Nr. /942, please arrange that the jewelry and precious objects taken over by the state from Bessarabia and Bukovina should be delivered with an inventory list to the Pawn and Keeping Shop of Romania S.A.

CONST. PANDELE (for Minister) E. VATAU – general manager

Nr. 116

FINANCE MINISTRY
General Department of Funding Circulation- Treasury
ROMANIAN NATIONAL BANK
Currency inspectorate

June 15, 1943, File 216

We would like to inform you that by the ministry resolution given for the reports of this General Direction, registered under Nr. 11836 and 11837, of June 12, 1943, it has been approved that:

- a) the objects made of precious metals taken over from the Jews evacuated from Bessarabia, Bukovina and Odessa which could not be turned to account by public auction because they were broken, should be delivered to the National Mint to be melted and then sold to the state account, military units together with the alloy resulted from the metallic coins withdrawn from circulation.
- b) the Russian coins made of copper and nickel, taken over from the Jews evacuated from Bukovina, Bessarabia and Odessa should be also delivered to the National Mint to be sold to the state account, military units together with the alloys resulted from the pre-war Romanian coins made of copper and nickel as well as those coins made of copper and nickel which are going to be withdrawn.

Minister, illegible signature

General Manager, illegible signature

CHAPTER IV

ODESSA AND THE LOCAL JEWISH POPULATION

Murders in Odessa and in the Counties of Berezovca and Golta

CHAPTER IV – ODESSA AND THE LOCAL JEWISH POPULATION. The Massacres in Odessa, Berezovca and Golta Counties

THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF EVENTS

October 16, 1941 – December 1942

October 16, 1941

Romanian and German troops occupy Odessa, from where the Red Army had withdrawn a few days before. Although the occupiers do not meet with any resistance, they murder a great number of citizens, mostly Jews. (Nr. 117).

October 22, 1941

A time bomb explodes in the building of the Romanian Headquarters. It throws in the air a part of the building where the Romanian Headquarters was accommodated on the first day of the occupation. The explosion kills 16 officers, 35 soldiers, 9 sub-officers, civilian employees and Commander Gl. Glogojeanu himself. Three hours later, Gl. C. Trestioreanu, Commander of the 13th Infantry Regiment, who automatically stepped into the place of the Commander of Town, reports the following to the 4th Army: "I have taken measures for the **Jews and communists** to be hanged in the public places of Odessa". (Nr. 118).

October 23, 1941

The so-called revenge actions have started. By morning there are gallows standing everywhere, with victims hanging on them. People are shot dead randomly in every part of the city. At noon, the executions stop; so far approx. 5,000 people have been killed, most of them are Jews. (Nr. 119).

October 23, 1941

Ion Antonescu orders the execution of 200 communists for each murdered Romanian or German officer, and 100 for ordinary soldiers. He also orders that all communists of Odessa and a member of each Jewish family to be taken as hostages and in case of a similar act, to be executed. (Nr. 120).

October 23, 1941

After lunch time, the police and the gendarmes pick up from the houses and streets more than 20,000 people, mostly Jews who are then crammed in the Odessa jail.

October 24, 1941

Some of the people collected by the police and the army were taken to the edge of Odessa, next to the town gate in Dalnic by the 2nd Squadron of the 10th Machine Gun Battalion. The road, three kilometers long was lined with the corpses of women, children and the disabled. They were shot dead because they could not keep up with the marching columns. The first

40–50 people to arrive at the execution Site were tied up, made to lie face down in an anti-tank ditch. Then a few soldiers, led by Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolae Deleanu, shot them dead.

This was followed by mass executions. The victims were taken into four warehouses, on the walls of which holes were cut for machine guns. Lieutenant-Colonels Deleanu and Coca D. Niculescu order fire to be opened on the unfortunate people.

At dusk, at approx. 17.00 hrs, they set the warehouses ablaze. While the victims burn in the flames, the soldiers continue to shoot them with machine guns, and the officers throw hand-grenades at them. (Nr. 121).

October 25, 1941

At 17,35 hrs, exactly 48 hours after the explosion, they blow up one of the warehouses, which still included the wounded. (Nr. 122).

October, 1941

A number of Jews who survived the massacres in Odessa, as well as those who are collected in the southern counties of Transnistria (Oceacov, Berezovca, Golta), are locked up in camps called ghettos. They are treated terribly. In the ghettos people die every day of starvation, disease and misery. (Nr. 123).

November 2, 1941

The Jews from Odessa are set free (Nr. 124).

November 11, 1941

Gh. Alexianu, Governor of Transnistria, issues Directive No. 23, which would set up the statute of the Jewish population of Transnistria.

Jews are allowed to live only in certain places, assigned to them by the Gendarme Inspectorate. They are registered separately, farms are organized for them, and they are used for agricultural labor, roads and bridge repair work, lumber-jacking and carrying stones or other materials. The workers are given daily food coupons; day-laborers 1 RKKS Mark, and skilled workers 2 RKK Marks. The latter will have to work according to their skill.

Those who leave the place assigned to them are declared spies, and military laws valid during war-time are used against them.

November 20, 1941

Colonel E. Brosteanu, Commander of the Gendarme Inspectorate of Transnistria, is worried that Transnistria is, "filling up with communists and Jews", who might commit hostile acts later. He, therefore, asks for commands from the Gendarme Central Inspectorate, saying: "only the extermination of criminals and fanatic communists will free mankind from the threat of communism". (Nr. 125).

November 1941

Under directive No.23, most of the Jews are removed from their dwelling places. In the northern part of the territory, in Moghilev will remain 3,733; in Shargorod approx. 2,000; in Rabnita 1,467; in Tulcin 118 (the other 3,005 are sent to the camp in Peciora); in Spikov, 27 (the other 848 are locked up in Rogozna).

In the southern part of Transnistria almost all local Jews are interned in camps in the Golta county; in Bogdanovca there are 48,000 Jews; in Dumanovca, 18,000; in Acmicetca, 4,000. In these camps, deportees are deprived of everything they own (gold and jewelry were the most sought after). They were subjected to the most terrible forms of extermination; by starvation and misery. (Nr. 126–127).

During this time there was an unidentified number of Jews in the Balta town (a few thousand, perhaps), and in Odessa approximately 30,000.

December 17, 1941

A group of Jews from the Crivoje Ozero placement area, took refuge in Dubasari where they were taken over by the German SS service who executed them. (Nr. 128).

December 21, 1941

With the help of Lieutenant-Colonel Modest Isopescu, Prefect of Golta county, the extermination of Jews in the camp of Bogdanovca is started. The first victims are chosen from among the sick and crippled. (about 5,000). They are locked up in stables, which are filled with straw, then petrol is poured on before they are set ablaze. While the stables are burning with the people locked inside them, they take the other interned people, (approx. 43,000) to the nearby forest in groups of 3-400, where they are killed with exploding bullets. The massacre continues on December 21, 22 and 23; it is stopped at Christmas time and restarted on December 28, and finished on December 29.

The corpses are put together in piles of 4 - 5 meters long and 2 meters high so that they can be cremated. This terrible act is carried out by a group of 200 Jews for 2 months. Having finished with this work, 150 of them are shot dead. (Nr. 129).

December 1941

Out of desperation, some Jews tried to save the life of their children by having them baptized or by having their daughters married to Christians. There were a few cases in the Pisceanca and Zatnicova villages of the Rabnita county. The authorities were informed at once to take appropriate measures. (Nr. 130).

December 1941

In the counties of northern Transnistria, more cases of typhus appear among the local Jews. Only in the Tulcin county there were 200 sick people.

January 1, 1942

In Odessa there still live about 40,000 Jews among whom some are free but under continuous supervision. Every day Jews are arrested and sued to Court martial, being accused of trying to hide their ethnic origin (**Nr. 131**).

January 4, 1942

At dusk, two drunken German soldiers, unidentified, burst into the house of Roza Dochner from Odessa, Staro Kotofranskaia St. Knowing that she was Jewish they tried to kill her with the bayonet. The woman succeeded to run to her neighbor, Zocorina Matrona. The brutes followed her and killed her with the bayonet. (Nr. 132).

January 10, 1942

The Governor of Transnistria issued directive No.7, according to which all Jews in Transnistria are to deliver their gold, jewelry and valuables, and must present themselves for internment in the ghetto of Slobotka. Those who will not obey the order will be sued by the Court martial

January 11, 1942

The first effects of the ordinance nr. 7 appear. The unfortunate Jews are marched toward the Slobotka.

In Trohorovscaia St. (Vorosina) Nr. 29, the Jewess Liuba Medt put all her belongings into a room and set fire to it all. She acknowledged her act and was executed on the spot.

In Puskin St. Nr. 68, the old men Haisler Leizer and Haisler Sosia hanged themselves not to be interned in the ghetto. (nr. 133).

January 12, 1942

The deportation of Jews started from the ghetto in Odessa to the Berezovca-Vasilievo region. On the first day 856 Jews were deported, mostly old people, women and children. (Nr. 134).

January 13, 1942

From Slobotka, 986 Jews are evacuated to Berezovca Vasilievo. (Nr. 135).

January 14, 1942

From Slobotka, 1,201 Jews are evacuated to Berezovca Vasilievo. (Nr. 136).

January 15, 1942

From Slobotka, 1,090 Jews are evacuated to Berezovca Vasilievo, most of them between the ages of 50 and 80.

January 16, 1942

From Slobotka, 1,746 Jews are evacuated to Berezovca Vasilievo, most of them old people, women and children.

By then more than 6,000 Jews had been deported from Odessa. The pains suffered en route were terrible. (Nr. 137).

January 17–19 – 3,407 Jews were deported, namely:1,104, 1,293, 1,010

January 19, 1942

- In the Cazmirovca village, Berezovca county, two Christian inhabitants took from the Jews who were marching to the camps, 4 children in order to adopt them. The children were picked up and interned in the camp.
- The assistant of the police head in Oceacov, named Dolgui, took the child of a Jew in order to adopt him. It was ordered that the child should be interned in the camp (Nr. 130).

January 20, 1942

From the Odessa ghetto, 926 Jews were deported.

January 21, 1942

Due to defective train transportation, the deportation of Jews is stopped. (Nr. 138). The Gendarme Inspectorate reports that they cannot accommodate the evacuees; they are brought to the stables of the kolkhoz. The temperature is -20 Celsius, due to this, starvation and old age, many collapse and freeze along the roads. The dead bodies are buried in anti-tank ditches.

January 22, 1942

The deportation of Jews from ghettos in Odessa continues, 1,807 Jews, mostly old people, women and children are sent to Berezovca.

In Iusnaia St. Nr. 5 - 15, the old Jew Odenberg Adolf committed suicide by hanging himself. (Nr. 139)

January 23

1,396 Jews left from the Odessa ghetto.

Romanian authorities follow the Christians who try to save Jews. Ernest Plecichin and Elena Gabel are sued to Court martial because they hid the Jew Marcu Strulovici for 11 days.

January 24

2,000 Jews were evacuated from Slobotka to Berezovka.

January 25, 1942

Due to defects in train operation, the transportation of Jews is interrupted.

Odessa police sector Nr. 9 arrested the old Jew Arsene Brauber. He strangled himself with a belt (Nr. 140).

January 30, 1942

Trains were not running for 5 days so that no Jew was evacuated. Evacuations are going to start on the next day. Within the area of the 2-nd police sector, Jewish corpses were found. The praetor of Odessa declared them as "deceased of natural death" although investigations are in progress.

January 31, 1942

The deportation from the Odessa ghetto continues. 1,200 Jews are taken away (Nr. 141).

February 1, 1942

2,256 Jews are evacuated from the Slobotka ghetto. (Nr. 141).

February 5, 1942

Corporal Ana Savu of the 6-th art. regiment abused a Jewish woman. (Nr. 141).

February 12, 1942

For 11 days the authorities did not report any transport of Jews from Odessa. During this time, raids took place and tens of Jews who tried to hide from deportations, were found out.

A new transport of 448 Jews is evacuated from the ghetto, another of 53 and a third one of 210 . (Nr. 142).

February 1942

The extermination of Jews from Golta county has ended, the 22,000 Jews in the camps of Dumanovca and Acmicetca are massacred. (Nr. 143).

March 9, 1942

The Jews transported from Odessa to the region of Berezovca-Mostovoi-Vasilievo, after having been looted and tortured, are handed over to the Germans. When they arrive there, their extermination is started.

The first reported massacre was committed by the German policemen from the Mostovoi and Zadovca villages. They picked up 772 Jews from the Chirin–Berezovca camp and killed them all by shooting after having robbed them of their belongings. (Nr. 144).

March 13, 1942

A group of 17 German soldiers from the SS formations of the Cartcaia villages, picked up from the Jewish camp Hulievca-Berezovca, 650 Jews whom they shot dead at the edge of the village, after having robbed them of all their money and other personal objects even clothing. The corpses were burned afterwards. (Nr. 144).

March 16, 1942

A gang of 16 Germans from the SS police of the village Nova-Candeli picked up 120 Jews from the camp of the Catovsca – Berezovsca village. They robbed them of their belongings and then shot them dead at the edge of the village. (Nr. 145).

Frightened by the massacre, 300 Jews ran away from the Lisinovc-Berezovca camp. The Romanian authorities ordered the gendarmes to bring them back to the camp.

March 18, 1942

German Civilian policemen from the Bernandovca–Berezovca village, headed by a German officer, shot dead 483 Jews brought there from the Odessa ghetto. (Nr. 146).

June 1942

SS troops from the German settlement Lichtenfeld shot dead 1,200 Jews from the Suha-Verba kolkhoz. The victims were first taken to the

Mostovoi castle of the Huliacovka sector but having no work, they were prone to starvation. Therefore they were transferred to Suha-Verba. (Nr. 147).

December, 1942

The suffering of Jews who once lived in Odessa and in the southern counties of Transnistria has ended. Their complete extermination has been accomplished. The statistical figures of the Romanian Central Jewish Office show (after a delegation of the Aid Committee examined the whole territory from Odessa to Moghilev) that in the southern part of Transnistria there are only 60 Jews living in Odessa and 425 in Berezovca county. From the total of 485 people, a part were local Jews and the other part was formed of the Jews deported from Romania who had survived.

CHAPTER IV – DOCUMENTS

MASSACRES COMMITTED BY FASCIST TROOPS WHEN ENTERING ODESSA Nr. 117

NOTE OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMISSAR FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE USSR, VENCESLAV M. MOLOTOV

sent on January 6, 1942, to all embassies and legations of the countries with which the USSR has diplomatic relationships

ABOUT BARBAROUS ACTS, PLUNDERING AND MONSTROUS ATROCITIES COMMITTED BY THE GERMAN AUTHORITIES ON THE SOVIET TERRITORY OCCUPIED BY THEM (Extract)

.....

Mass killings were committed by the German occupiers in other towns of Ukraina as well, these bloody massacres being mostly aimed at Jewish unarmed workers, who had no possibility to defend themselves.

According to incomplete data, in the town of Lemberg (Lwow), not less than 6,000 were shot dead, in Odessa more than 8,000, in Camenetz – Podolsk were shot and hanged almost 8,500 people, in Dniepropetrovsk were killed with machine guns more than 10,500, in Mariupol more than 3,000 locals and a lot of old people, women and children were killed prior to having been robbed and undressed.¹

¹ The official statements mentioned above seem to refer to the massacres performed when the troops entered Odessa as there were only 8,000 victims while the massacres ordered by Ion Antonescu as "acts of revenge" for the Odessa explosion, refer to more than 25,000 people killed. But it is possible that this report of the Commissariat of Foreign Affairs USSR could refer to the massacres which took place on October 24 and 25 1941.

THE EXPLOSION IN ODESSA. REPRISALS Nr. 118

The telegram of General C. Trestioreanu, secondary commander of the 13-th Division to the IV-th Army of October 22 1941, at 08.40 p.m.:

"General Glogojanu was not found until, 08.40 p.m., October 23. He might be under the debris. The number of the dead and wounded could not be established yet. The rescue operations go on. The central part and the right wing of the headquarters exploded. The troops from Odessa are on the alert. No other explosion and no other events were signaled until now.

I will stay with the remaining saved headquarters until tomorrow morning when I'll go to Marienthal to restore the headquarters and the connections with the left material. Until then, I keep connections with the civilian post office in Odessa.

I took measures to have the Jews and communists hanged in the public markets of Odessa.

Secondary Commander, General Trestioreanu

THE MASSACRE THAT TOOK PLACE ON THE MORNING OF OCTOBER 23 Nr. 119

Extract from the accusation act drawn up against the war criminals Ion Antonescu and his ministers:

"On the morning of October 23, 1941, the first hanged people appear on the streets. People are shot at random; about 5,000 people were killed on that morning. At noon, the executions are stopped but the gendarmerie and police start to round up thousands of people whom they put into prison in Odessa.

ION ANTONESCU'S REPRISAL ORDER Nr. 120

The president of the Council of Ministers Nr. 562 of October 23, 1941, 12,30. The Military Cabinet of the State Leader to VRANCEA I-a¹.

Following the events that took place at the Odessa Military headquarters on October 22, 1941, Marshal Antonescu ordered:

- 1. The military headquarters and authorities in Odessa will be installed at the outskirts of the town, in buildings that had been cleared and demined by special teams; the surrounding area will be checked in detail.
- 2. Marshal Antonescu orders to be informed of whoever is guilty of not carrying out his orders or of their incomplete execution (Headquarters Nr. 3016 of October 16, 1941 and ord. Nr. 2092 of October 16, 1941 of the Vrancea headquarters).
- 3. As it is almost certain that the Odessa explosion was organized by local communists and in order to prevent such actions, the marshal orders that severe reprisals should be carried out, as follows:
 - a. For each Romanian or German officer who died in the blast, 200 communists will be killed; for each dead soldier, 100 communists will be killed; the executions will take place today.
 - b. All the communists in Odessa will be taken hostages, and one member of each Jewish family.

The ordered reprisals will be communicated to their families warning them that on a second similar act, they will be all executed.

c. The measures will be made public and displayed in Odessa and surroundings even today.

Col. DAVIDESCU, chief of Military Cabinet

¹ VRANCEA was the secret name for the Odessa Military headquarters.

THE MASSACRE OF BARIERA (RAILWAY GATE) DALNIK Nr. 121

Extract from the interrogation of the public prosecutor A. Bunaciu in the process of the first lot of war criminals (The People's Tribunal. File Nr. 1)

.....

The massacre started.

All the witnesses declared that as early as the morning of October 23, numerous corpses and hanged people were seen on the streets and crossroads of Odessa. The hanging and shooting operations took long so they thought of a much faster system of extermination.

On the morning of October 23, 1941, "all the communists and Jews" as they say, were rounded up in Odessa (in reality they were all peaceful inhabitants of the town). They were all taken to prison and from there they were forced in long columns into some sheds at the outskirts of Odessa. There started the big massacre. There were massacred in a horrifying way, as the witnesses declared, about 25,000 - 30,000 peaceful inhabitants of Odessa. Those from the first rows were placed in anti-tank ditches made in the neighborhood of Odessa by the defenders of the town and shot into their heads, 40 - 50 people at a time.

The perpetrators considered that the system was too slow and too expensive, for each person a bullet was too much. So then the commander of the 10-th divisionary battalion found a faster and cheaper solution; to cram the people into sheds, perforate the walls and shoot at the people inside. We can imagine what terrible scenes took place there. Young people, children, women, old and sick people – all were crowded inside.

.....

Nr. 122

Extract from the testimony of the witness Neacsu Alexe, assistant at the Phylology Faculty, reserve sub-lieutenant at the 23-rd infantry regiment, at the trial of the war criminals Ion Antonescu and his ministers:

They started to shoot at those inside the 4 warehouses. I think the shooting order was given by Col. Deleanu or col. Niculescu-Coca.

On the next day, one of the warehouses was blast into the air symbolically and also to serve as an example.

As the shooting was not fast enough, they resorted to another method – they poured gas and petrol over the warehouses and set them ablaze. As the fire broke out, some people tried to escape either by jumping out of the window or through the roof. But they were immediately shot dead by the soldiers. The horrible massacre lasted until the night when the scenes were even more horrible. Some women threw their children out of the windows. I remember a scene with a 4–5 years old child who was walking through the corpses with his hands up and the Romanian soldiers did not want to shoot him.

.....

THE CAMPS OF THE GOLTA COUNTY Nr. 123

Extract from the interrogation of the public prosecutor A. Bunaciu against the war criminal Isopescu Modest, former prefect of the Golta county:

.....

Isopescu Modest orders in the month of October that the Bogdanovca, Dumanovca and Acmiecetca camps should be set up in the Golta county.

In the year 1941, winter came earlier than usual in the whole plains of the Ukraine. The cold October and November wind was killing the poorly dressed population that had to live in the camps and ghettos assigned to them by Isopescu Modest. These were placed in stables without doors, windows, with no beds, no clothing or food. Thousands of peaceful Jews were taken there by Isopescu Modest who intended to exterminate them.

.....

Nr. 124

GENDARME LEGION BEREZOVCA POLICE OFFICE

REPORT for the month of December 1941

II.The mood of the civilian population

The Jews

As on November 3, of this year, the Jews who were imprisoned in the Odessa ghetto were set free, the following events took place:

- 1. The Jews could not be easily controlled anymore and they tried to leave the town and settle down in other counties, mostly in villages.
- 2. The Jews interned in the Bogdanovca camp who came from the Odessa County, ran away from the camp towards Odessa because they learned about what happened to the Jews from Odessa.
- 3. As in the Bogdanovca camp there were cases of typhus, those who leave the camp constitute a permanent danger for the people they are passing by.

Commander of the Berezovca Gendarme Legion Major POPESCU

Head of the Police Office Lieutenant M. CARJEU

THE MENTALITY OF TRANSNISTRIA'S MILITARY COMMANDERS

Nr. 125

November 20, 1941 GENDARME INSPECTORATE OF TRANSNISTRIA to

GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE

I have the honor to report the following:

After Odessa was occupied by our troops, we were informed that numerous former communists and terrorists who had taken refuge with the Soviet troops in Odessa, started to penetrate different places.

Thus, for example was Colev Teodor – during the Soviet regime he was a warehouse keeper in Razdelnaia. When the Russians retreated, he collected all the valuable objects along with a kike and then set fire to houses and warehouses. When he passed through villages he used to order in the name of Soviets that the cultures on the field should be set ablaze.

As such individuals will creep into the territory of Transnistria I propose that those Ocriminals and fanatic communists should be all killed in order to liberate mankind of the communist danger.

Gendarme Inspector Transnistria, Col. E. BROSTEANU

THE NUMBER AND DISTRIBUTION OF LOCAL JEWS IN TRANSNISTRIA Nr. 126

GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA GENDARME LEGION RABNITA Security Office and Information

REPORT				
on December 1941				

.....

3) THE JEWISH ISSUE

The following number of Jews were not yet evacuated to the Bug: In Rabnita – 1467, in Kruti: 57 and in Kodima: 150, totaling 1,674 Jews put into settlements – ghettos being supervised according to the ordinance Nr. 23/1941 of the Transnistria Government. This population has resorted to all kinds of tricks so as not to be sent into camps. Thus, some of them had their daughters married to Christian boys and gave into adoption their children to Christian families, baptizing them into the Christian – orthodox religion. They try by all means to work as housekeepers or clerk assistants in order not to be interned and controlled, resorting to acts of corruption to save themselves.

Conclusion

Taking into account the above mentioned procedures and the high number of Jews who were not sent to the intended place on the Bug, these Jews are a permanent threat as they belong to the communist regime. They are capable of spreading false rumors and of creating panic; therefore they have to be closely supervised.

Proposals

It is necessary to evacuate the Jews immediately to the concentration zone, considering the above mentioned danger.

Commander of the Rabnita Gendarme Legion Major, illegible signature

Head of Security and Information Office Captain, illegible signature

Nr. 127

GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA GENDARME LEGION TULCIN

INFORMATIVE REPORT December 1941

4) The Jewish Issue

This issue has been partly solved by evacuating the Jews from Tulcin and Spicov to the Peciora – Rogozna which are situated at the north of the county, on the Bug river. There they will be guarded by the local police. By this measure, it had been possible to stop the typhus epidemic.

We attach a list which presents the situation of the Jews at the end of December 1941.

.....

GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA GENDARME LEGION TULCIN

SITUATION					
of the Jews in the Tulcin County at the end of December 1941					
Item	Name of	County	Nr. of placed Jews	Town of origin	
	the village				
1	Tulcin	Tulcin	118	Tulcin	
2	Spicov	Tulcin	27	Spicov	
3	Bratlav	Tulcin	737 from the Bratlav District,		
			8 from Vinita village,		
			1 from Secureni-Cernauti		
4	Ladijin	Tulcin	450	Trostinet	
5	Gordievca	Tulcin	230	Lipnic, Hotin county	
6	Peciora	Tulcin	3005	Tulcin	
7	Rogozna	Tulcin	855	3 from Vinita	
				4 from Iampol,	
				Jugastru village	
				848 from Spicov	
	Total		5431 Jews		

Commander of the gendarme legion Tulcin, illegible signature

EXECUTIONS IN DUBASARI COUNTY Nr. 128

GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA TO GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE GENDARMERIE DEPARTMENT

To your order Nr. 48592/1941

I have the honor to report to you that the Jews presented in the informative note Nr. 10 of December 17, 1941 and who took refuge in Dubasari in Crivoje – Ozero were taken over by the SS German Service that executed them.

GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA Col. BROSTEANU

Head of Police Office Lieut. BRETOIU IACOB

THE MASSACRE IN THE GOLTA COUNTY THE BOGDANOVKA CAMP Nr. 129

Extract from the accusation document drawn up by the public prosecutor A. Bunaciu, against the first lot of war criminals (People's Tribunal. File Nr. 1).

After having finished the looting, the accused Isopescu Modest committed the second and most terrible crime, the butchering of all the 48,000 people interned in the Bogdanovca camp.

The execution order is handed over to the accused Aristide Padure, the sub-prefect of the Golta county, who was as fierce as Isopescu being totally trusted by him.

The execution order is sent by Aristide Padure to the practor Manescu Vasile from Dumanovca. All the interned Jews were killed on December 21, 1941. They had been crammed in a number of stables.

The first who were killed were the sick and disabled. Petrol was poured over the stables which were set ablaze. In a few minutes the 4000-5000 burned like torches under the supervision of the police sent by Isopescu Modest.

The remaining Jews were also killed in a similar way, after having been robbed of all their valuable things before. The massacre continued in the same rhythm on December 22 and 23. 1941.

On December 24 it was stopped until December 28, 1941.

In order to make the 43,000 corpses disappear, Isopescu Modest ordered that the corpses should be burnt down. This operation was performed by 200 interned Jews. Finally they were killed too.

ATTEMPTS OF LOCAL JEWS TO SAVE THEIR CHILDREN' LIVES BY BAPTIZING THEM OR BY MIXED MARRIAGES Nr. 130

March 29, 1942 GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA to GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE

Referring to order Nr. 50.903, of January 5, 1942, in connection with the conversion to Christianity of the Jews from Transnistria.

I would like to report to you the following cases:

1. In the Rabnita county, in the Pisceanca and Zatnicova villages, some Jews who were not evacuated yet, gave their children to Christian families to have them adopted or had their daughters married to

Christians, converting them to Christianity in order to save them from being deported.

The religious ceremony was carried out by Russian priests.

Reported to you and the governorship by the informative note Nr. 52 of December 20, 1941.

- 2. On January 19, 1942, in the Cazmirovca village, Berezovca county, two Christian inhabitants took 4 children from the Jews who were marching towards the camps, in order to raise and adopt them. However, the children were rounded up and interned into the camp.
- 3. The police head assistant from Oceacov, a certain Dolgl, also took a Jewish child in order to raise and adopt him. However, it had been ordered that the child should be interned in the camp.

No other cases were communicated up to now.

Gendarme Inspectorate Transnistria Col. E. BROSTEANU

THE PLIGHT OF ODESSA JEWS UNTIL THEIR DEPORTATION Nr. 131

ODESSA MILITARY HEADQUARTERS
Praetorian Service

INFORMATIVE REPORT January 3, 1942

Investigations and Persecutions

Berta Feld, a Jewish merchant from Bessarabia, aged 30, was arrested because she tried to hide her ethnic origin. She was sued to the Court Martial.

Besnov Eugenia, aged 37, jobless, having her home address in Pervi Stepnaia St. Nr. 1, was also arrested for having forged her identity card in order to hide her real ethnic origin. She was also sued to Court Martial.

Three Jewish women, namely: Raia Katz, aged 36, jobless, Vera Katz, aged 17, a student and Pohaci Maria, aged 27, all of them living in Moscovscaia St. 40, were arrested for having expressed in public their hatred against the Romanian army and for having owned munitions and military effects, infringing the ordinance Nr. 11 of October 16, 1942. Their documents were submitted to the Court Martial.

The Jew Rosenberg Ilie, aged 30, living in Moscovscaia St. 83, was arrested for having changed his name to Bisi, in order to mislead the German and Romanian authorities and to escape the obligation of presenting himself to the Central Prison. He is being investigated.

Vulin Grigore, aged 40, living in Zeitova St. Nr. 10 was also arrested for avoiding the obligation to be imprisoned at the Central Prison. He is also being investigated.

A Jewish woman launched the rumor that Nicolaew was occupied by the Russians and that they would also come to Odessa. She was arrested and will be sued to the Court Martial.

> Praetor, Lt. Col. **M. NICULESCU**

Nr. 132

3-RD ARMY – PRAETORIAN SERVICE to

GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE
Gendarmerie Service

INFORMATIVE REPORT January 16, 1942

On January 4, 1942, at about 8.00 pm, two drunken German soldiers, unidentified until now, broke into the house of Dochner Rona in

Kotofranskaia St. They asked her if she was Jewish and as she answered in the affirmative, one of them stabbed her in the back with his bayonet. The Jewess managed to escape and she hid herself at her neighbor, the Russian Zocorina Matrona but the soldiers followed her there and eventually stabbed her to death.

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Praetor of the 3-rd Army, Col. BAROZI GH.

DEPORTATION OF THE JEWS FROM ODESSA THE FIRST EFFECTS OF THE DEPORTATION ORDINANCE Nr. 133

PRAETORIAN SERVICE ODESSA

INFORMATIVE REPORT January 11, 1942

THE MOOD OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

The Russians seem pleased with the measures taken by the Romanian authorities referring to the fact that the Jews were interned in the ghetto.

INVESTIGATIONS AND PERSECUTIONS

In Trohorovscaia St. (Vorosina) Nr. 29, the Jewess **Liuba Medtt** put all her belongings into a room and set fire to them all. She acknowledged her act and was executed on the spot.

The investigations made point to the fact that she had wished to set the whole house ablaze but her plans were avoided by the alertness of the superintendent.

SUNDRIES

In Puskin St. Nr. 68, the old men Haisler Leizer and Haisler Sosia hanged themselves not to be interned in the ghetto.

Praetor, Lt.Col. M. NICULESCU

FIRST CONVOYS OF DEPORTEES FROM ODESSA Nr. 134

PRAETORIAN SERVICE ODESSA

INFORMATIVE REPORT January 12, 1942

THE MOOD OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

The general mood of the population is calm. Jews are deported and put into camps in the usual way.

On January 12, 1942, 865 Jews, mostly old men, women and children were deported from Odessa, by train, to the Berezovca region.

Jews are rounded up from the town and interned into the provisional ghetto set up in the Slobotka district in order to the further evacuated to Berezovca.

There is a runor launched by ill-willed people that after the Jews will be deported, it would be the Russian's turn so that only the Ukrainians will be left in the town.

No subversive acts took place.

Praetor, Lt. Col. M. NICULESCU

Nr. 135

PRAETORIAN SERVICE ODESSA

INFORMATIVE REPORT January 13, 1942

THE MOOD OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

The general mood of the population is calm. Jews are deported and put into camps in the usual way.

On January 13, 1942, 986 Jews, mostly old men, women and children were deported from Odessa, by train, to the Berezovca region.

Jews are rounded up from the town and interned into the provisional ghetto set up in the Slobotka district in order to the further evacuated to Berezovca.

Praetor, Lt.Col. M. NICULESCU

Nr. 136

PRAETORIAN SERVICE ODESSA

INFORMATIVE REPORT January 14, 1942¹

THE MOOD OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

On January 14, 1942, 1201 Jews, mostly old men, women and children were deported from Odessa, by train, to the Berezovca region.

Jews are rounded up from the town and interned into the provisional ghetto set up in the Slobotka district in order to the further evacuated to Berezovca.

¹ The following informative reports of the Odessa Praetorian Service, communicate daily, until January 21, the departure of convoys of Jewish deportees.

INVESTIGATIONS

Farin Isac Marcovici in Teraspecaia St. Nr. 29, was arrested by the 6-th police station being accused of trying to mislead the police authorities. He is being investigated.

Praetor, Lt.Col. M. NICULESCU

SUFFERINGS OF THE JEWS DURING THEIR DEPORTATION Nr. 137

INFORMATIVE REPORT Nr. 76 of January 17, 1942

I would like to inform you that as of January 12, of this year, evacuation of the Jews from Odessa has started.

According to the ordinance given by the Transnistria government, the Jews who are to be deported will be gathered into ghettos. Beforehand, each Jew will have his/her valuables assessed by a special committee. They will be obliged to change their money into German RKKS Marks.

Convoys of 1,500 - 2,000 people will be formed and loaded into German trains, being transported to the Mostovoi-Vasilievo region of the Berezovca County.

From the Berezovca railway station they will be escorted to the placement area.

Up to now, 6,000 were evacuated, their transportation being continued daily.

They hardly find any accommodation with the Ukrainians so that many of them have to sleep in the kolkhoz slables for one day.

As the temperature is below 20 0 C and many of them are starving and in a frail state, they cannot go on walking, fall down and freeze.

The escorts of the Berezovka legion have to be often changed because of the great frost.

The corpses left on the roads are buried in the anti-tank ditches of that area.

We'll keep the inspectorate informed.

Gendarme Inspector Transnistria
Col. **BROSTEANU**

CANCELLING DEPORTATIONS FROM ODESSA¹ THE MOOD OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION Nr. 138

The general mood of the population is calm.

During the day of January 21, 1942, the train did not work so that no transportation of the Jews took place.

Praetor, Lt.Col. **M. NICULESCU**

SUICIDES Nr. 139

PRAETORIAN SERVICE ODESSA

INFORMATIVE REPORT January 22, 1942

THE MOOD OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

During the day of January 22, 1942, a number of 1,807 Jews, mostly old people, women and children were evacuated from the ghetto and transported to Berezovca.

¹ Deportations were delayed only because of the frost – the trains did not work.

Sundries

The Jew Adolf Odenberg, aged 72, who lived in Iusnaia St. Nr. 5/15 committed suicide by hanging himself.

Praetor, Lt. Col. M. NICULESCU

Nr. 140

PRAETORIAN SERVICE ODESSA

INFORMATIVE REPORT January 25, 1942

THE MOOD OF THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

During the day of January 25, 1942, the train did not work so that no transportation of the Jews took place.

Within the area of the 9-th police sector, the Jew Brauber Arsene, aged 60, was arrested. After 15 minutes when he had to be investigated, he was found strangled with a belt.

This happened at the 9-th police sector which is investigating the case. They continued to make raids and to evacuate Jews to ghettos.

Praetor, Lt. Col. M. NICULESCU

RAPES Nr. 141

3-rd ARMY Praetorian Service

> INFORMATIVE REPORT Nr. 123.839 of February 5, 1942

The mood of the civilian population

The praetorian service Odessa reports the following:

During the day of January 31, 1942, a number of 1,200 Jews, mostly old people, women and children were evacuated from the Odessa ghetto and transported to Berezovca.

On February 1, 1942, 2,256 Jews were deported.

Investigations

The Jew Matich Fima Davidovici who lined in Razumova St. Nr. 3 who procured false documents on the name of Halchin Grigore Peadorovici was arrested.

Investigations are being made by the 4-th police sector.

The praetorian service of the 2-nd Army corps reports the following:

The Jew Carosotovschi was sued to the Court martial being accused of infringing ord. Nr. 7 by trying to escape from internment into the ghetto.

The Delia praetorian service investigated the rape committed by the corporal Ana Savu of the 6-th art. regiment against a Jewess from the ghetto.

Praetor of the 3-rd army Lt.Col. JEAN POITEVIN

RAIDS Nr. 142

3-rd ARMY Praetorian Service

INFORMATIVE REPORT February 16, 1942

The mood of the civilian population

During the day of February 12 ,1942, a number of 448 Jews, mostly old people, women and children were evacuated from the Odessa ghetto and transported to Berezovca.

Investigations

On February 12, 1942, a number of 28 Jews who were found roaming in the street, were arrested.

On February 12 and 13, 1942, 39 Jews were caught in different districts, being then interned into the Slobotka ghetto.

A number of 7 Jews are being investigated at the 4-th police sector. **Sundries**

The Odessa Praetorian service reports:

By placing an informer into prison, Gendarme battalion 1 communicated that the Jews make propaganda among the detainees, inciting them to be disobedient against the Romanian and German authorities.

Praetor of the 3-rd Army Col. **BAROZZI GH.**

OTHER MASSACRES IN THE GOLTA COUNTY. THE DUMANOVCA AND ACMECETCA CAMPS Nr. 143

Extract from the accusation act drawn up by the Chief Public Prosecutor, A. Bunaciu against the first lot of war criminals (People's Tribunal File Nr. 1)

In January and February 1942, **18,000 Jews imprisoned at the Dumanovca camp were executed.** The killing procedure was different, in series, probably to increase the plight of the survivors even more, after each series of executions.

In Dumanovca, groups of 300–400 Jews were exterminated every 3 to 4 days.

Acmecetca was actually a farm, completely isolated from the surrounding villages.

Isopescu Modest ordered that the 4,000 interned people should not receive any food so that after a few weeks, the weakest of them died.

The accused was a beast with a man's appearance. He increased the pains of those unfortunate Jews, by giving them raw potatoes and unboiled corn flour. He took pleasure in seeing how they were tormented and dying by starvation. He usually inspected that camp in a drunken state. He used to take pictures which he then sent to Bucharest newspapers (See the testimonies of the witnesses: Iosup Wachler, Haim Kogan, Virgil Nenes, Kotcu Mihail, Edith Landau, Freiberg Roji, Semo Marcovici, Sami Herman, etc.).

EXTERMINATION OF THE JEWS DEPORTED FROM ODESSA. MASSACRES IN MOSTOVOI-VASILIEVO-BEREZOVCA Nr. 144

GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA INFORMATIVE REPORT Nr. 185 of March 24, 1942

On March 9, 1942, the German police of the Mostovoi and Zavadovca villages picked up from the camp of Chirin Berezovca a number of 772 Jews whom they took to the edge of the village and shot dead.

The belongings of the Jews were taken by the German police.

On March 13, 1942, 17 Germans of the SS from the Cartaica village, Berezovca county, picked up from Hulievca Berezovca a number of 650 Jews whom they took to the edge of the village and shot dead. Before being executed, the Jews were undressed and their valuables, money and clothing were taken by the German police to the Cartaica village.

The corpses of those shot were burnt down. Safe information

Gendarme Inspector Transnistria Col. E. BROSTEANU

Nr. 145

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA

INFORMATIVE REPORT Nr. 187 of March 24, 1942

On March 16, 1942, 16 Germans from the SS German police of Nova-Candeli, Berezovca county picked up from the camp of Catousea a number of 120 Jews whom they **took to the edge of the village and shot dead.**

The belongings of the Jews were taken by the German police.

As a consequence of the panic created in the Berezovca county because of the shootings, a number of 300 Jews disappeared from the camp of the Lisinovca village.

The gendarme legion was ordered to follow them and bring them back to the camp.

Safe information.

Gendarme inspectorate Transnistria Col. E. BROSTEANU

Nr. 146

GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA

INFORMATIVE REPORT Nr. 181 of March 18, 1942

The gendarme legion Berezovca reports that the German civilian police of the Bernandovca village executed by shooting 483 Jews who had been brought from Odessa.

A German officer took part in the execution.

Safe information.

Gendarme inspectorate Transnistria Col. E. BROSTEANU

Nr. 147

GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA

INFORMATIVE REPORT Nr. 189 of June 16, 1942

On May 27–30 of this year, about 1,200 Jews were transferred to the Huliacovka Gendarme Sector to be placed in the Mostovoi castle according to the order Nr. 3560/1942, Berezovca Prefecture.

As there was no work for them in the castle, being prone to starvation, they were placed in the Suha-Verba kolkhoz to carry out field work.

All these Jews were picked up by the SS police from the German Lichtenfeld colony and shot dead.

Safe information.

Gendarme inspectorate TransnistriaCol. ILIESCU

CHAPTER V

DEPORTATIONS IN THE SUMMER AND AUTUMN 1942

The Chronological Order of Events June 7, 1942 October 13, 1942

June 7, 1942

Due to initiatives so far unknown, an order of General Corneliu Calotescu, Governor of Bukovina, and under the direct control of Major Stere Marinescu, Head of Cabinet, a new group of Jews was deported from among those who were still in Chernovitz. It seems that this plan was aimed at the deportation of those 4,000 Jews who, during the deportation of November, 1941 had been selected to stay in the town by Dr. Traian Popovici, ex-town mayor who had fallen out of favor by then.

Some of the lists of names were drawn up in April at the Governor's office and two days before the deportation, the county branch of the Romanian Central Jewish Office was asked to urgently provide the list of the Jews who remained in the town based on the Popovici authorizations.

The Jewish leadership (both in Bucharest and in Chernovitz) received this information in time, but all of their attempts to prevent this disaster were in vain. Leading Romanian authorities, intoxicated by their illusory military successes, remained deaf throughout the summer of 1942. The clerks were only paying attention and holding out their palms to take advantages from the misfortune of the Jews. Stere Marinescu, for example, received 500,000 lei as monthly allowance from the Jews before the deportation. This, however, did not prevent him from accomplishing the deportation with cruelty and barbarity.

Under his order, patrols of policemen and soldiers joined by representatives of the Town Council, in the middle of the night, went to the Jewish homes selected according to the prepared lists, and collected approx. 1,000 people, men, women and children, and did not allow them to bring more with them than what they could carry on their backs. Concentrated on the "Maccabi" sports ground, next to one of the railway stations of the town, were subjected all day to torments and mockeries.

Among the people collected, there were a number of Polish citizens who held Chilean passports. Also 66 patients from the lunatic asylum were forced to leave, along with the hospital staff, although the latter had residence permits signed by the Governor himself. After changing Romanian money and getting 1 RKKS mark for 60 lei, after delivering all valuables without even receiving a receipt, after a savage body search (for women they went so far as to control them gynecologically), after having been robbed of their foreign currency, they were driven to the station, crammed in cattle cars with sealed doors. They travelled to Serebria, near Moghilev. From there, started their terrible nightmare.

Directly after the deportation, the homes of Jews remained empty. Signs prepared in advance were stuck onto the doors which said that the goods inside had became the property of Town Council. Later they were divided among those Romanians who laid claim to them; they were given to those hyenas from all social and intellectual strata that flooded the town in the hope of getting rich. The furniture remained in their hands for a year, when under fake sales contracts, it became their property forever.

June 14, 1942

The second transportation of 1,000 Jews from Chernovitz was sent to Transnistria in the same barbaric manner as the first, with looting and torture. Those living at the old people's home (with people over the age of 80), as well as hospital patients wearing only hospital gowns, were taken out of their beds and also included in this transportation. The physician on duty protested against the taking of patients and was immediately arrested.

June 14, 1942

Under the order of the Governor of Bukovina, 450 Jews are deported from Dorohoi. Most are men, breadwinners, who had been in labor service in November 1941, when the first deportation separated them from their wives and children. When they returned from labor service, they found their flats sealed, their families taken away and their property confiscated. They did not even receive permission to remain in the town. If some of them still managed to sneak into the city, patrols surrounded the streets, collected them and took them directly to the railway station.

Almost nobody had time to take something with them, not even any food. However they were severely searched in the railway station, so that

nobody could take any valuable object. Everything that was found upon them was confiscated. Then the cars were sealed and the deportees went to unite their destinies with their wives and children.

June 25, 1942

The leaders of the Jewish Community in Chernovitz were summoned in the evening to the Governorate where they were told that a new lot of Jews was going to be deported and they were asked to organize the deportation by themselves. Jewish leaders refuse to do this infamous action.

June 26, 1942

The leader of the Chernovitz County Office is invited to the Governorate where he is informed by major Marinescu himself that the deportation of a new lot of Jews was canceled. But just as he communicated that piece of information, the orders and lists of deportees were sent from the Governorate to the police station.

June 28, 1942

A new Black Sunday for the Jews of Chernovitz. Another Jewish group of about 2,000 is deported. The people are collected at night and at dawn under the same barbaric circumstances as on the two previous Sundays (June 7 and 14). They were taken to the Maccabi sports grounds where they were the targets of mockery all day. The operations were once again directed by Major Stere Marinescu. His helpers were Police Commander Traian Ionescu and Manea Bocioaga, who was the cocoordinating officer of Jewish issues in the Governorate. Before that time, the latter person had been the financial executive of the Governorate. On this occasion, people who had been given permission to stay by the governor were officially deprived of it.

However, it had been decided to make a kind of selection according to which, nursing women, foreign citizen, people recruited for forced labor, etc. had to be exempted. To facilitate the selection, the Jewish Community in Chernovitz prepared the lists of the selected people with the relevant proofs. Those lists were handed in to Bocioaga. When the board assembled in order to decide upon that issue, Bocioaga disappeared. He was hardly found and when he was asked for the documents that had been entrusted to him, he threw them all into the middle of a pile of documents so that

nothing could be done and therefore some tens of people had to be deported. However, the board presided by Col. Cristescu, a benevolent but not energetic person, did a sort of formal selection after which a part of the people were set free.

In the evening, before the train departed, Major Marinescu checked the freight-cars. Since he realized that there was still room in them, at about 07.00 p.m. he gave an order to collect Jews from a few streets of the Rosa district. The freight-cars were still not completely full, therefore Marinescu gave another order in the middle of the night, according to which, all Jews living in Pitei Street were to be collected. There were people among them who had been given permission to stay only a few hours previously, by the selection board. (Nr. 148).

July 3, 1942

As early as the beginning of the year, the Army Supreme General Staff that was a kind of technical co-operator of the General Inspectorate of Labor camps and battalions, concerning labor organizing issues, threatened (through all its announcements) that any violation of labor orders will be punished by deportation to Transnistria. Ion Antonescu definitely solved the conflict between the army and civilian authorities in favor of the former. That conflict broke out because each party wanted to have exclusive authority over Jewish Forced Labor – a rich source of numerous benefits.

Through order Nr. 5295 of April 21, 1942, issued by the State Leader Cabinet, the Supreme General Staff became responsible for organizing, supervision and control of forced labor performed by Jews. Antonescu's order had the character of a law but it was not until July 7, that it did become a law (Law Nr. 503 published in the Official Gazette Nr. 155/1942).

Meanwhile, the 1-st department of the General Staff drew up the general rules Nr. 55500 on June 27. In the chapter called "Sanctions" it is stipulated that for any small infringement (violation) of the forced labor regime (for example if the Jews had sexual intercourse (intimate relations) with a Romanian woman) the offenders were to be deported to Transnistria together with their families.

Eventually, on July 3, the Supreme General Staff announces immediate implementation of those punishments.

July 11, 1942

The Supreme General Staff orders the measures to be taken in connection with organizing the deportation of Jews to Transnistria, as a punishment for violating the forced labor regime (Nr. 149).

July 11, 1942

The Supreme General Staff orders the measures to be taken for organizing the deportation of Jews to Transnistria as a punishment for violating the forced labor regime. (Nr. 149).

July 24, 1942

The Presidency of the Council of Ministers orders the Ministry of the Interior (Order Nr. 9283/July 24, 1942) to deport to Transnistria all Jews who are suspected of being communist fighters or sympathizers. (Nr. 230).

July 31, 1942

The Ministry of the Interior orders (order Nr. 2592) the evacuation and deportation to Vapniarca of all the Jews suspected of being communists (Nr. 230).

August 1, 1942

In order to continue the massive deportations to Transnistria under the mask of lawfulness, the Supreme General Staff recalled to duty Constantin Cepleanu, a reserve General, naming him General Inspector of Jewish Labor Detachments. This man was well known for his wickedness and lack of scruples. While he was commanding the 6-th Mihai Viteazu Regiment, some of his subordinates committed suicide as they could not stand the regime of persecutions and humiliation run by him.

General Cepleanu started his activity on a detachment of Jews from Chernovitz who were working on a road near Tg. Neamt. In order to check on the Jewish laborers, he changed his uniform with civilian clothes. He tucked his pants to his knees, put his sleeves up and holding a hunting gun, mingled with the workers who did not notice him. Only during the break did he show his identity. He called the roll and wrote down the names of 25 young men who did not answer immediately because they went to the nearby forest during the break. The 25 Jewish workers from Tg. Neamt were the first deportees based on the order of the Supreme General Staff.

Not all his actions are well known. Only those in the area surrounding the capital city could be checked.

On August 21, he was in the Baneasa village where he punished by death the entire detachment. On September 2, he punished 14 Jews who were working at the Rahova wood warehouse of the Bucharest Town Council. Four days later, he punished an entire detachment that was working at a sand quarry in Pantelimon, sending them to Transnistria. The same fate was shared after 2 days by the Jewish workers of the agricultural field in Straulesti. After other inspections and punishments (on September 9 in the Eastern Railway Station, on September 11 at the Cotroceni rifle range), the general's activity came to an end on October 2, by a masquerade set up by him in the center of Bucharest.

Accompanied by a few soldiers, he blocked the exits of the Lafayette department store, checking each salesman and all the buyers. Those written down on that day were not deported any longer to Transnistria but because of reasons other than his will.

August 8, 1942

Since German troops arrived in the country, the German embassy attempted for the first time to actively influence the Romanian government and the general public in order to exterminate the Romanian Jewish population. Everything so far had taken place exclusively on Romanian initiatives, and was carried out exclusively by Romanian authorities. It is natural that the pursuits and crimes they ordered or allowed to happen, were mostly the passive consequences of the influential Nazi mentality. However, Romania was not forced to do anything by the Germans, except for dissolving of traditional Jewish communities and substituting them with the Central Jewish Office. There were no ratified obligations to prescribe the persecution and execution of Jews. The occurrences were the consequences of the fact that Romania had joined the Berlin-Rome Axis.

The relatively favorable situation at the front—the German-Hungarian forces were standing in front of Voronej, the German-Romanian troops were approaching Stalingrad as well as Krasnodar and Maikop—induced the Gestapo to start its actions planned a long time ago, whose aim was the complete extermination of Romanian Jews. These actions had already been started earlier in territories occupied by the Germans.

In the official journal of the German Embassy of Bucharest, the **Bukarester Tageblatt**, an article appears with the title "Rumanien wird judenrein" (Romania will be cleared of Jews), which gives a full account of the plan to deport the entire Romanian Jewish population. The action will be started in the autumn, and must be accomplished by the following autumn. (Nr. 150.)

A similar article—which seems to have been written by the same person—appears in the same day in the **Donauzeitung**, the official newspaper of the Gestapo in the Balkans, published in Belgrade. (Nr. 151). Two days later, the **Volkisher Beobachter** publishes the same news, too. It is of significance that the Romanian press remains silent on the issue.

Some days later (August 13) Radu Lecca, Commissioner of Jewish Issues, is called to Berlin to participate in the conference of the SD (Sicherheitsdienst) with Gustaw Richter, Head of the Jewish Department of the Romanian Gestapo.

The content and decisions of the meeting are unknown but can be deducted, since a month later (on September 26-28) German Railways held another meeting in Berlin.

In the absence of the delegation of Romanian Railways (although invited, they excused themselves by requesting the postponement of the meeting) a decision was made to collect the entire Romanian Jewish population in Adjud region, from where every second day a transportation of 2,000 people was to be started to the death-camp of Belzec in Poland. (Nr. 153).

August 15, 1942

For some weeks, the Jewish population feels even more threatened than usual. The news of further groups of Jewish deportees from Chernovitz, cause not only pain, but also fear. The latest announcements of the military and civilian authorities (General Staff and the Ministry of the Interior), with their stereotyped and hurtful refrains ("they will be deported to Transnistria along with their families"), and news published in the German press—to test public reaction, which arrogantly spread the rumor about the deportation of the entire Romanian-Jewish population, caused general panic.

The recently leaked news is indeed horrifying. It was learnt simultaneously in Bucharest (from Radu Lecca, government's representative of Jewish affairs) and Timisoara (from trustworthy local resources) that the

decision had been made for the deportation of Jews from the major towns of Transylvania and Banat, i.e. from towns close to the Romanian-Hungarian border: Timisoara, Arad, Beius, Turda, Sighisoara, Brasov.

The leaders of the threatened communities (Dr. S. Ligheti and Dr. I. Tenner from Timisoara, Alladar Lakatos from Arad, A. Fellter from Sibiu, etc.) gather in Bucharest to start their fight. They are not supported by the Romanian Central Jewish Office, but receive assistance from the underground leadership of the Jews. They hand in requests backed up by documents to all leading forums.

The first benevolent action was taken by doctor Stroescu, family physician of Ion Antonescu and Director of the newly established "Palace of Invalids", for which Jewish money is begged by all means. He starts an action with great enthusiasm in the interest of Jews, although the condition of this is an amount of 100 million lei collected by Jews from Transylvania and Banat for the "Palace of Invalids".

At the same time they gained the support of His Holiness Balan, the Metropolitan of Transylvania. The old High Priest traveled from Paltinis to Bucharest just for this reason. His Samaritan action of intervention with Ion Antonescu was fully supported by Her Majesty Elena, the Queen Mother. It is said that this dramatic issue was decided in the royal palace over lunch, to which Balan His Holiness, the Metropolitan, Ion Antonescu and the Queen were invited, and where Her Majesty supported with dignity and extreme firmness the cause of those persecuted.

They also received the active support of His Excellency Monsignor Andrea Cassulo, Papal Nuncio, and His Excellency René de Weck, Switzerland's minister, who did not hesitate to extend his support, resolutely and unambiguously.

Which of those actions was the crucial one, will be always a secret, hidden in a cursed grave. Neither is it known to what the extent was Antonescu persuaded to modify his murderous decision. However, the fact is that the leaders of the Jewish communities were informed, (even if not concretely and finally) that the idea of deporting the Jews from Transylvania and Banat was abandoned.

August 18, 1942

The Police prefecture of Bucharest orders that the Jews established in Bucharest after Sept. 1, 1940, should leave the town within 30 days warning

that those who will not comply with the order would be deported to Transnistria together with their families.

August 26, 1942

The Presidium of the Council of Ministers announces by a communiqué published in the press and in the Official Gazette that a Jewish industrialist from Bucharest was deported to Transnistria together with his family because his factory building was ruined and he tried to bribe the representative of the sanitary department. (Nr. 154).

By another communiqué, published this time only in the Official Gazette, the Presidium of the Council of Ministers announces different punishments given to tradesmen who were found guilty of profiteering or sabotage. For example, the Christian tradesman N. Teodoru was guilty of having sold spoiled meat with worms; he was punished by being imprisoned into a camp for 6 months.

The Jewish tradesman N. Haimovici was found guilty of having sold meat packages to clients' and was punished by being deported to Transnistria. (Nr. 155).

August 27, 1942

The Supreme General Staff adds new instructions regarding deportation of Jews to Transnistria. (Nr. 156).

September 3, 1942

Based upon an order of the Ministry of the Interior, the Police Prefecture of the capital city arrested in Bucharest 395 Jews because a part of them were suspected of communism while the other more numerous part was formed of those who in December 1940 wrote petitions of leaving for Bessarabia; these petitions were found in the archives of the USSR embassy to Bucharest. The people arrested, among whom there are entire families, were interned in two Jewish schools.

September 8, 1942

The Jews, who were arrested on Sept. 3, are deported to Transnistria. Their number increased to 578 because other Jews arrested in the provinces were also added.

At the same time, 407 Jews - communists or suspected of being communists who were interned in the Tg. Jiu camp are boarded on freight cars towards Transnistria.

By the same train, 554 Jews suspected of communism, from Bucharest, Timisoara, Arad, Galati, Roman, Botosani and Iasi are deported to Transnistria as well as 85 Jews condemned for communist activities who at that date were imprisoned.

September 11, 1942

The representative of the Government announced that those Jews who will not comply with the directives referring to travelling authorities or those who will hand in applications in other places than his cabinet, will be deported to Transnistria.

September 12, 1942

The train with deportees which left the country on September 8, arrived at Tiraspol. During the journey, the deportees were not allowed to get off for food, water or even to relieve themselves.

In Tiraspol, the convoy is divided into two parts: the communists are sent to Vapniarca while those who asked to be repatriated to the USSR are headed towards Berezovca.

September 12, 1942

The Supreme General Staff sends to all territorial headquarters "Explanations and completions to the general instructions Nr. 55.500 of June 27, 1942".

The main punishments – deportation of Jews and their families to Transnistria are specified again.

September 13, 1942

On the occasion of the Jewish New Year, Cordel Hull, the American Secretary of State, turned to Jews living in every part of the world with a moving speech, in which he placed emphasis on the solidarity of the American and Jewish nations.

Romanian public opinion was strongly influenced by the speech, which caused strange reactions.

The Romanian press, for instance, commented on the speech with a certain sense of decency. Even the blackmailing gutter newspaper, *Porunca Vremii*, abandoned its aggressive and vulgar tone temporarily. The Editorin-Chief of the paper, I. P. Prudeni, writes this under the title "The Meaning of a Speech" in the issue of September 15, 1942:

"Our aggravated hatred is mixed with the reserved admiration we feel in seeing the stubborn will to believe, calculated resignation and the special strength of bearing suffering and persecution. The basic virtue of the Jews lies in the unusual strength with which they manage to recover after each disaster. This is what the issue looks like after removing the vulgar insults from among the hostility which never solves anything."

One ex-minister of Antonescu's named Vasile Mares, strongly refuses to be a member of the government again. He gives the following reason to his friends: "Haven't you read Cordel Hull's speech? Why should I get into trouble with the Jews right now?"

The Minister of the Interior, General Dumitru Popescu, calls to Dr. W. Filderman for an audience, who he had not met for more than a year since he was dismissed from the leadership of the community. The General literally told him this: "Although you are not the legal leader of the Jews, I must turn to you with my request. You must remember my announcements which were repeated many times, that I do not agree with what is being done against the Jews. But my power is restricted to as far as the Prut. Therefore, it is not in my power to do anything now. The deportation campaigns are in General Vasiliu's hands, who—it seems—has made an agreement with the Germans. Please, tell the Jews not to hand in requests to me in which they ask me to exempt them from deportation or to give them time since I cannot help them in any way.

The audience lasted a long time, and was repeated the following day on the minister's request. He showed a keen interest in the details of Jewish issues and expressed his indignation at what was happening to the Jews. He did not forget to disassociate himself from the persecution of Jews, which were initiated and carried out by the government, of which he was a member. He again asked Dr. Filderman to pass the aforementioned request to the Jews.

However, on exactly the same day, the authoritative Minister of the Interior had said these things (September 22, 1941, on the day of Yom

Kippur), while he was getting rid of the responsibility of past and present, the authorities led by him did the following:

- 1. The Police Prefecture of the Capital sent 148 Jews to Transnistria (with their families), who were accused of having avoided labor service.
- 2. Policemen and police officers, on behalf of the National Centre of Romanianization, removed the old people from the Elisabeth old people's home, which became the property of the above-mentioned organization.
- 3. The Gendarmes of Mostovoi (Berezovca County) helped the SS rob and kill almost 600 Jews, who had been brought there from the Old Kingdom and Transylvania two weeks before under the order of the Ministry of the Interior.

However, it is also true, that General Dumitru Popescu was a little more far-sighted than the Ministry of Propaganda, and people similar to him also started to compete to win certificates proving their good behavior.

September 16, 1942

The Supreme General Staff ordered that a number of 148 Jews should be picked up and closed in a Jewish school in Bucharest, together with their families in order to be sent to Transnistria based on the reports of General C. Cepleanu, general inspector of Jewish labor detachments.

September 16, 1942

Ion Antonescu communicated that Jews are forbidden to employ Christian servants and craftsmen and those who will infringe this order will be deported to Transnistria.

September 22, 1942

The Jews who were picked up during the nights of 15-th and 16-th September in Bucharest, ordered by the Supreme General Staff, were deported to Transnistria. At the same time, some hundreds of Jews were deported from different parts of the country, accused of violating the forced labor regimen.

October 2, 1942

A new lot of Jews from Bucharest are interned into a Jewish school, ordered by the Supreme General Staff, having to be deported to Transnistria.

They are workers from the labor detachments inspected by General Cepleanu. This time their families were not picked up too.

October 2, 1942

The Jewish gazette, the official newspaper of the Central Jewish Office in Romania publishes an order of the Bucharest recruiting center along with long lists of Jews who were to present themselves within 3 days to that center to prove that they have accomplished their duties of forced labor.

Those who will not comply with the order, will be sent to Transnistria and sued to the Court Martial.

October 10, 1942

The decision of deporting the Jews from Transylvania and Banat that had been abandoned some weeks before, is suddenly changed.

The state leadership transmitted to the Ministry of the Interior an order to immediately deport all the Jews from Transylvania and Banat. The order divided the Jewish population into 7 categories, in the preferred order of departure. The craftsmen belonged to the last category.

The order arrived in the evening and it had to be transmitted to the relevant police stations on the next morning.

The police minister, General Picki Vasiliu announced Dr. Stefan Antal, one of the most distinguished representatives of the Jewish community, to whom he showed some benevolence in solving community problems (issues). His attempts to delay or at least change the decision that would bring death to almost 40,000 people were in vain, considering the resistance of the minister. Exhausted, at about 11 pm, Dr. Antal left the house of the minister, disappointed but determined to try the impossible and to hope against hope until the last moment. He returned, half an hour later with Dr. W. Filderman.

Talks were resumed lasting until 2.00 am (after midnight), going through arguments up to dramatic heights. The minister was at the end of his resistance power. He finally accepted to have a last minute talk with Antonescu. He called his cabinet director, colonel A. Madarjac, to whom he dictated a report in which the deportation had to be delayed until spring, considering the rainy weather and the winter that was approaching. The four persons left at dawn, the minister summoned Dr. Filderman and Dr. Antal at

noon on the same day. The deportation order was not transmitted any longer on that morning.

After long and exhausting hours of waiting, the minister arrived at the Presidium of the Council of Ministers at 3.00 pm. He announced that he found Antonescu in a good mood and the report was approved.

Did it ever occur to the wicked state leader or to his obedient minister that they just saved the souls of 40,000 innocent human beings by a mere touch of the pen?

However, the two Jewish leaders did realize the importance of that thrilling moment in which they managed to convince the fascist Romanian leaders to delay the deportations, marking the end of a history chapter of Jewish suffering.

Dr. Antal said that during his long co-operation with Dr. Filderman, it was for the first time that he saw tears coming from his eyes.

October 13, 1942

The Jews who were arrested on October 2 in Bucharest according to the order of the Supreme General Staff and forced to stay in a Jewish school in order to be deported to Transnistria, were set free.

October 13, 1942

The Council of Ministers decides that an interministerial board should be established in order to coordinate and organize the situation of the Jews. According to a decision taken at a previous meeting of the Council, this board seems to be the authority responsible for organizing and accomplishing the deportations. (Nr. 158).

November 4, 1942

An official communiqué issued by the Ministry of the Interior or the Supreme General Staff, announced that 6 Jews from Bacau were deported to Transnistria because they used false papers to evade persecutions. The communiqué threatened that the same punishment will be applied to those who would use such papers in the future. (Nr. 159).

However, no official threats were put into practice any longer. The 6 Jews from Bacau were the last ones who were deported from Romania, excepting the deportation of Dr. W. Filderman and his wife, ordered by Antonescu a few months later.

Just when the communiqué was issued, the English offensive broke out at El Alamein. Some days later, the Americans disembarked in North Africa and on November 15, 1942, the great Soviet battle of Stalingrad commenced.

The events which were taking place so many kilometers away, open up new issues among the leaders of Romania. The myth of the invincible Nazi power was shattered. And if Germany can be defeated, heavy responsibilities would burden Romania and its leaders. Therefore, at the first meeting of the Inter-ministerial committee dealing with Jewish issues, the request of the Supreme General Staff for deporting 12,000 Jews who would have violated the villainous forced labor rules of June 27, 1942, was definitely rejected.

The second Inter-ministerial committee that had dealt with the deportation of Jews all over Romania, started to handle the repatriation of Jewish deportees.

CHAPTER V – DOCUMENTS

DEPORTATIONS FROM CHERNOVITZ ON JUNE 7, 14 AND 28 1942 Nr. 148

Extract from the interrogation of the chief prosecutor $\it A$	f A. Bunaciu in the
trial of the first lot of war criminals, judged by the Pe	ople's Tribunal
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Distinguished President, Distinguished Judges

In the summer of the year 1942, Marinescu became chief of the "2-nd Office for Jews" having the criminal task of deporting the Jews.

What was Marinescu's method? During the night he used to assemble higher or lower governorate clerks. At about 12 o'clock at midnight, he ordered them: "Now it is the exact time to burst into people's houses, round them up and bring them to the Maccabi field. From there they were taken to Transnistria in sealed trains. There are numerous witnesses who can testify Marinescu's methods of deportation. There were terrible scenes. When the inhabitants heard the knocks on the door, everyone knew what would happen. Those who had permits to be exempted from deportation, issued even by Calotescu and Marinescu thought they were protected. However when Marinescu or his people appeared and they were shown the documents by which they were exempted from deportation, Marinescu used to answer: "I need no document, we need money".

Only money was important to him. This explains why Polish citizens were deported, as well as sick, old people or war invalids.

During that summer, in June 1942, the Jews were so frightened when they heard knocks at the door that they committed suicide because they learned of the fate of those who had been sent to Transnistria by Calotescu.

The dramatic scenes that happened in the Nasch family had already been presented to you. Marinescu sent 4 persons to pick up 4 women, a child and an old woman. As they heard the knocks at the door, the four women poisoned themselves. Forcing the door, the guardsman and the soldiers found the four corpses lying on the floor, an old woman and a 6-month- old baby. The soldiers were impressed by what they saw and started to cry. One of them came to report to Marinescu, telling him: Mr. Mayor we were at a family where 4 persons committed suicide and only a child and an old woman survived. We cannot take them".

It is there that Marinescu revealed his real character, of a beast not a human being. He came to the scene, was not impressed in the least by seeing the corpses or the old woman's pain, on the contrary, he yelled at the soldier: "Why are you crying? The soldier answered simply: "Sir, I also have 2 children and an old mother at home." What did Marinescu do when he heard this reaction of Romanian fine character? The soldier was imprisoned for 10 days and the old woman together with the baby were rounded up and deported.

MILITARY PREPARATIONS FOR MASSIVE DEPORTATIONS PLANNED FOR AUTUMN 1942 Nr. 149

Extract from the Order of the Supreme General Staff Nr. 60.411 of July 11, 1942 to all Territorial Headquarters

The following norms will be complied with:

The recruiting centers will report to the Supreme General Staff through territorial headquarters and hand in the lists of the Jews to be deported. At the same time, the police authorities or gendarmes will be announced to guard the Jews until they will be sent to Transnistria.

Those Jews who will violate the general instructions Nr. 55500/4, caught by the police or gendarmes, will be arrested.

The families of those who are going to be deported will remain in their dwellings and guarded by the local Jewish Central Office. Should any person run away, then the Central Jewish office will be responsible for them by local hostages. This measure will be applied to the mother, father, spouse and unmarried children who live under the same roof with the person found

guilty. This measure will not be applied to those family members who carried out the forced labor conscientiously.

Actually, this measure will be differently applied, from case to case.

When the Supreme General Staff decided in connection with those who were to be deported to Transnistria, the Jews were obliged to assign a procurator in order to administer and liquidate their assets under the supervision of the local Jewish Central Office. They had to fill in a proxy in 3 copies according to standard forms authenticated by the police authorities of their dwelling or residence. One copy will be kept by the principal, 1 will remain at the police station that authenticated the signature and 1 copy will be submitted to the National Romanization Center. These forms will be found at the Territorial Circles serving as a model. The three copies will be typed or hand written by the principal.

The principal must liquidate his assets within 6 months since he received the proxy. If the goods are not liquidated after that date, the assets will be administered by the National Romanization Center. The Jews will be transported to Transnistria by train up to the station that is closest to the place of destination. The Jews will provide the food during transportation.

THE PLAN TO DEPORT ALL JEWS FROM ROMANIA Nr. 150

Translation of an article published by the "Bukarester Tageblatt", official newspaper of the German Legation, Nr. 4700 of August 8, 1942:

ROMANIA CLEANSED OF JEWS

If we take into account what Marshal Antonescu succeeded in such a short period of time, as far as the Jewish question is concerned, we could conclude that Romania has come a long way, the said Jewish question being decisive for Romania's future and its position within New Europe.

Romania is also the first of the South-Eastern countries regarding the measures taken for solving the Jewish question, the applied measures being exemplary in many respects.

When Marshal Antonescu came to power and started to enact laws and decrees against the Jews in order to stop their enormous influence in political, economic and cultural life, the results were not very satisfactory. But, at the end of the year 1941, the Romanian Government took a decisive measure by establishing the Central Jewish Office in Bucharest, whose activity spread all over Romania. From the very beginning, the mission of this office was to ensure an oversight on the diversity of anti-Jewish laws, to have a statistical evidence over all Jews, to guide them toward activities useful for the Romanian state and its people and finally to do everything for making Romania a country free of Jews.

After the Jewish orthodox community had been dissolved (the Jewish Zionist community had already been dissolved), all the Romanian Jews, without any exception, have been included in the Jewish Central Office. This is the only authority that gives instructions that are to be obeyed by the Jews and their leaders. The Central Jewish Office is supervised by counselor Lecca and it receives all orders through him and his counselors.

I have already mentioned before the noteworthy activity of those people who achieved remarkable results in a relatively short time. Now, as a chapter has ended, we should analyze in more detail the activity of the Jewish Central Office.

Any unbiased person would be astonished to find out that the total number of Jews in Romania, excepting Bukovina, Bessarabia and Transnistria, amounted to only 272,409 full Jews. We had higher figures in mind and the general belief was that Romania is one of the Jew-richest south-eastern countries. The surprising result of the Jewish census in Romania is an evidence of the hard work carried out by the organs of the Romanian Government. They worked quietly, without much fuss to solve the Jewish question before the census. The number of the Jews in Romania before the summer of the year 1940 was much bigger. Only in Northern Transylvania that was ceded to Hungary lived during that time almost 200,000 full Jews.

After the German and Romanian troops conquered Transnistria, approx 185,000 Jews were transferred there. First of all, Bessarabia was cleaned of Jews after being re-annexed and then followed Bukovina. In Bukovina remained some members of the Jewish Community, not lacking in importance. The number of the Jews in Bukovina has been assessed to a total of 16,000. If we count the Jews that belong to Hungary now, those who

were sent to Transnistria and the number of the Jews at present, plus the Jews that remained in Bukovina, we come to a rounded up figure of 700,000 Jews. This would correspond to the number of Jews established on the basis of the last Romanian census of the year 1930, as a probable figure.

The decrease of that high number of Jews in such a short time since the year 1940 is peculiar. It explains the relatively small number found out by the new census (statistical evidence). Although the number of 272,409 Jews does not include those coming from mixed marriages and baptized, it was possible to find out that there are only 5,000-6,000 people resulted from mixed marriages. This shows the healthy spirit of the Romanians who in most cases refused to marry Jews. Those Jews resulted from mixed marriages are to be found mostly in Bucharest and do not play any role as a community.

Anyway, we have to point out that the Nurenberg laws were applied when the Romanian Jews were counted with the only exception of the baptized Jews resulted from mixed marriages.

It is of decisive importance for the attitude of the Romanians towards the Jewish question that the latter has been considered a racial problem in Romania as well and that the Jews have to be handled based on racial issues because only in this way will it be possible to master the Jewish problem.

The complete cleansing of the Jews is one of the new tasks of the Jewish Central Office. The first steps have already been made in this respect. After the Jews taken over from the Bolsheviks in the reconquered territories of Bukovina, northern Moldova and Bessarabia were deported to Transnistria, with small exceptions, the Jews from the other parts of Romania were concentrated in towns. They were brought from villages so that the villages are almost free of Jews. This way, the Romanian peasants got rid of a terrible plague as it is well known that the Jews had an ominous influence in the Romanian villages; they are to blame to a great extent for the miserable conditions they live in. By concentrating the Jews in towns, it is more easily to supervise them and to get rid of them.

The eviction of the Jews will take place at a large scale now. In the months of September and October, a first contingent of Jews amounting to 25,000, due to difficult transporting conditions, will be deported to the east, that is to Transnistria. Other contingents will follow in the spring of the year 1943 while the other Jews from Romania, including those of Transnistria will have to leave Romania in the autumn of 1943. During the next year, Romania will be completely free of Jews. Thus it will be the first south-

eastern state that solves the Jewish question based on racial issues – the best solution ever.

For the time being, i.e. as long as the Jews are still in Romania, the government is preparing a new solution to the Jewish question, namely a Jewish statute which is being conceived by minister Dragos. This statute will appear soon and will be implemented.

The Central Jewish office has divided all the Jews in Romania into two categories, namely: Jews who are still useful economically and Jews who are subjected to forced labor under the leadership of the General Staff. The Jews who are economically useful amount to 17,000. Their replacement by Romanians is in progress of implementation – successful results have been already obtained.

The comprehensive activity of the Central Jewish office and the fast implementation of its measures make the difference of Romania as compared to the other south-eastern countries. The work of those responsible for the Central Jewish office will be useful to the Romanian state in all respects.

The prospect that Romania will become from a Jewish Eldorado, a country completely closed to Jews, actually the first south eastern country to achieve this statute, will make sure that the Romanian people will conquer its well deserved place in Europe due to its contribution to liberate Europe from all Jewish influences.

Nr. 151

An Article appeared on August 8, in Belgrade, in "Donauzeitung", the Official Newspaper of the Gestapo Responsible for the Balkans

DEPORTATION OF JEWS FROM ROMANIA
Dissolution of all Jewish Organizations – solving the
Jewish question in a decisive stage – the Activity of the
Jewish Central Office

Telegraphic Correspondence from our RepresentativeBucharest, August 7

The solution to the Jewish question has come to a decisive moment since the Central Jewish Office has been set up.

The Central Jewish Office accomplished important preparatory activities regarding the Jewish question. Apart from an official census of the Jewish population, other important activities have also been carried out, creating all the necessary prerequisites for the **forthcoming evacuation of all Jews from Romania**.

The first deed performed by the Central Jewish Office started with the dissolution of the Union of Jewish Organizations headed by the Jew Filderman; this union was a melting pot of Jews, most of them having liberal orientations. After this union has been dissolved, then followed the Union of Orthodox Jews, then the Union of Zionists from Transylvania and Banat and finally the Union of Zionists from the Old Kingdom of Romania. Thus, the Central Jewish office has become the only organization that can handle the Jewish question. Together with the Undersecretary of State for Romanization, the Central Jewish office proceeds to solve the Jewish question in all respects.

In the year 1940, Romania had at least 800,000 Jews who lived mostly in eastern towns, in Bucharest and in some towns of Transylvania. Further to the Vienna decision, approx. 200,000 Jews who lived in northern counties and in the town of Oradea, no longer belonged to Romania but to Hungary.

A part of the Jews of Romania had run away during the battles for reconquering Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. We have to add that in October 1941, about 185,000 Jews who lived in the eastern regions of Romania were deported to Transnistria and other eastern areas.

According to the recent census of the Jewish population, the total number of Jews in Romania, excepting Bessarabia and Bukovina, amounts to 272,409 Jews.

As far as Bessarabia is concerned, it is completely free of Jews, excepting the Kishinev ghettos whose Jews will be deported to the east as early as this summer.

In the Bukovina, namely in Chernovitz, there still are approx. 16,000 Jews but most of them have to live in a special area of the town.

According to the latest census, Bucharest has the highest number of Jews, totaling 97,868 inhabitants. The solution of the Jewish question refers also to the town of Bucharest since

37 % of the Romanian Jews still practice the money lending business.

After Bucharest, follows the town of Iasi that has a number of 34,000 Jews, Bacau with 13,000, Galati which has also 13,000 Jews, Piatra has 5,000 and Timisoara 11,000 Jews. Based on these data, it results that apart

from the approx. 98,000 Jews of Bucharest there are still approx. 71,000 Jews in the towns of Moldova while the remaining Jews of approx. 90,000 are spread in the other towns of the country. Last year they had been displaced from rural areas to county capitals so that the state authorities could have a better evidence of them.

The economic position of the Jews obtained by them especially after World War I, in the liberal capitalist jungle, was not so easy to demolish; despite important expropriations, the Jews managed to protect themselves from being entirely ruined.

During Filderman's leadership it was very difficult to make the Jews subscribe to the reintegration fund. In 4 months hardly was it possible to collect 450 million lei.

It has already been written in the "Donauzeitung" newspaper about the way in which Filderman used to protect his relatives and business friends.

6 months ago, after the Central Jewish Office has been established, it was possible to raise 1,600,000,000 lei in a short period of time for the reintegration loan, the total sum amounting to 2 billion lei.

Based on the latest census of the Jewish population carried out by the Jewish Central Office, all men aged 18–50, were put into forced labor detachments, according to the law.

An important number of Jews, namely 17,000 men are still considered useful economically and were kept in factories, being exempted from forced labor until December 31, 1942.

Approximately 17,000 Jews offered to grant 1.2 billion lei for the supply of tools necessary to build barracks for their coreligionists who had been rounded up for forced labor. The relevant government authorities did not express their opinion whether to accept this offer.

For the Jews who will still remain in Romania, the Sub secretary of State for Romanization will draw up a special statute to stipulate strict rules referring to their situation. According to this statute, the Jews will have to wear the yellow star; this measure had been announced before but it was put into practice only in the re-conquered regions.

It has been heard from the circles of the Central Jewish Office that starting with this autumn; about 25,000 - 30,000 Jews will be deported until October at the latest to an area situated in the east. The deportations will continue until spring when adequate conditions will be provided for new transports to the same eastern area.

The Romanian public opinion is likely to welcome the new plans intended for solving the Jewish question. For the time being, no details have been given by the Romanian press.

The Romanians are waiting with much interest for the new statute according to which the Jews will be compelled to wear the yellow star being excluded from the public life of the towns so densely populated by them.

The Jewish question will be best solved in those areas where the Jews are going to be deported in autumn.

Nr. 152

Verbal Note of the German Legation in Bucharest to the Romanian Ministry of the Interior

August 13, 1942

The German legation would like to inform the Royal Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs that Mr. Radu Lecca, (Ministry director) was invited by the head of the security police and S.D. to Berlin to a conference of several days that will start on 19-th of August.

Mr. Radu Lecca accepted the invitation and will be accompanied by SS Hauptsturmführer Richter.

The German legation wishes that the competent authorities should be informed.

Nr. 153

MINUTES

of the conference held in Berlin on September 26 and 28, 1942, referring to the evacuation of the Jews from the General Governorate and transportation of the Jews from Romania to the General Governorate.

Themes of the agenda:

1. Evacuation of six hundred thousand Jews from the General Governorate

2. Transportation of two hundred eighty thousand Jews from Romania to the General Governorate.

EVACUATION OF POLISH JEWS

Under point 1) – urgent transportation proposed by the Head of the Security Police and by the S.D. namely:

- 2 daily trains from Warsaw to Treblinka
- 1 daily train from Krakau to Belzec and
- 1 daily train from Lemberg to Belzec

by the 200 "G" freight cars provided by the German Railway Direction in Krakow.

After the reconstruction of the railway Lublin-Chelm, the other trains will also leave, probably on November 1, 1942, namely:

- 1 daily train from Radom to Sobibor
- 1 daily train from Lublin north to Belzec and
- 1 daily train from Lublinmitte to Sobibor

After the potato transportation will be less frequent, the special railway department will provide for the German Railway Direction in Krakow the necessary freight cars so as to finish the proposed transportation this year.

DEPORTATION OF THE JEWS FROM ROMANIA

Under point 2): The Romanian Railways communicate by telegraph on the day of the conference that they could not participate because of business matters and asked for a delay.

The conference that took place without the delegates of the Romanian Railways had the following outcome:

The special trains will leave from Adjud on the track Ploiesti – Chernovitz, – border station to the General Governorate is Sniatyn and the destination station is Belzec.

Every two days there will be a special train of 50 freight cars and a traveler's car (for the attendants) for the transportation of 2000 persons. To avoid empty trains, German sealed freight cars will be used.

The general representative of the German railways in Bucharest is asked to arrange with the Romanian railways to provide the necessary freight cars.

The special trains will be delivered to the Romanian Railways in due time, in accordance with the German Railways Krakow, so as to leave from Sniatyn to Lemberg at 1.03.

KLEM

INDIVIDUAL DEPORTATIONS ORDERED BY ION ANTONESCU Nr. 154

PRESIDIUM OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS Nr. 10623 C.C.

COMMUNIQUÉ

Marshal Antonescu ordered that the Bernard Fuchs factory in Splaiul Unirii 289 should be investigated. The outcome was the following:

The factory was closed by the Sanitary Service of the Capital on July 21, of this year after a previous notice of 6 months the reason being that the building was deteriorate (run-down), there were no showers, locker rooms, dining rooms, water pipes in the workshops, no consulting rooms, etc.

The factory had already received a 6 months warning in the year 1938 but it did not comply with it. It had been closed once but it evaded that measure and without breaking the seals it continued to operate, other doors being cut into the walls.

As the factory was closed, Bernard Fuchs refused to pay the workers and only by the intervention of the Ministry of Labor did he finally pay them.

He was punished for his attitude, that is for his violation of the country's laws being deported to Transnistria together with his family. His factory was taken over by the army that will manage it in the future.

As there are several Jewish factory owners who have the same despising attitude toward the country's laws, they were warned to be investigated and punished severely.

(From the Newspaper"Timpul" Nr. 1934 of August 27, 1942)

August 25, 1942

PRESIDIUM OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
Nr. 10625 C.C.

COMMUNIQUÉ

(extract)

Marshal Antonescu ordered that the information appeared in the "Curentul" newspaper under Nr. 5189 of July 28, in connection with sabotage and profiteering acts, should be checked by the control authorities of the Council of Ministers.

It has been found out that the newspaper information was true.

Marshal Antonescu ordered that the following offenders should be interned in the camp for a period of 6 months:

- The butchery owner, N. Theodoru in Calea Grivitei Nr. 122, was found guilty of having sold spoiled meat with worms;
- The following persons were deported to Transnistria:
- The Jew Iosif Segal in Gh.Dem. Teodorescu St. Nr. 36 because he sold smuggled beef and
- The Jewish tradesman N. Haimovici in Labirint St. 197 who was found guilty of having sold meat packages under the counter.

(Official Gazette Nr. 198 of August 25, 1942)

NEW INSTRUCTIONS OF THE SUPREME GENERAL STAFF REGARDING THE DEPORTATION OF JEWS TO TRANSNISTRIA Nr. 156

Nr. 75874 of August 27, 1942 SUPREME GENERAL STAFF DEPARTMENT I

SUPREME GENERAL STAFF DEPARTMENT I Office 10

to the Territorial Circle Bucharest

We are honored to inform you of the following:

Jews who are sent to Transnistria are allowed to take with them the following items:

1. The equivalent sum in German Marks (special emission for the eastern occupied territories) resulted from the exchange of lei or other foreign currency as well as from buying back jewelry or different certificates (shares, bonds) etc.

This operation will take place in county towns where competent authorities will be present before the departure of the Jews.

- 2. As for clothing items, bed sheets etc., each family member is allowed to take as much as he can carry in his hand baggage.
- 3. Jews must pay their state, county or village taxes before leaving.

Not being able to pay the entire sum does not mean that their departure will be postponed or that they will not leave at all.

Head of Department I, Head of Office 10, Col. ZAMFIRESCU Capt. CARACAS

CANCELLING OF DEPORTATION MEASURES Nr. 157

PRESIDIUM OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

COMMUNIQUÉ

(extract)

A council of ministers was held on Tuesday, October 13, headed by Prof. Mihai Antonescu, vice-president of the council. All government members participated, as follows:

Al. Ottulescu, governor of the National Bank, General C. Voiculescu, governor of Bessarabia, General C. Calotescu, governor of Bukovina and Prof. Alexianu, governor of Transnistria.

1.2.3.....

10. The council dealt with the expatriation of some elements from the Old Kingdom.

General Vasiliu, under-secretary of State at the Ministry of the Interior stressed that those Jews who had applied for being expatriated were also sent to Transnistria. As far as the Gypsies are concerned, their deportations were ended and the disabled, those sent to the front, their families and the craftsmen were not deported.

(From the Newspaper "Timpul" Nr. 1954 of October 16, 1942)

SETTING UP THE INTER-MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE Nr. 158

PRESIDIUM OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTRIES

COMMUNIQUÉ

A council of ministries took place on Tuesday, October 27 of this year, presided by Prof. Mihai Antonescu, vice-president of the council. All members of Government participated in this council.

- 1.2.3.....
- 10. The council dealt with unifying and co-coordinating documents regarding the regime of the Jews.

The vice-president of the council initiated a ministry conference that would take place at the Presidium of the council in order to control, follow and execute the works.

THE LAST DEPORTATIONS Nr. 159

COMMUNIQUÉ

In the town of Bacau, a number of Jews in complicity with some fraudulent clerks tried to provide false documents to show that they participated in the war of 1916–1918 in the front line.

These Jews were immediately deported to Transnistria while the clerks after executing the punishment sentenced by the tribunal of justice, will be interned in a labor camp.

We take this opportunity to inform the population that within 2 months from publishing this communiqué, all the Jews and foreigners who used false documents should declare them to the Ministry of the Interior.

Those who will use such documents after the expiry of those 2 months will be sent to Transnistria if they are Jews, or will be evacuated if they are foreigners.

(The newspaper "Timpul" Nr. 1975 of November 6, 1942)

CHAPTER VI LIFE AND DEATH IN TRANSNISTRIA

THE CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF EVENTS October 1, 1941 - March 20, 1944

October 1, 1941

The first Romanian Jewish deportees to step onto Transnistrian soil were the most unfortunate. They were Bessarabian Jews, collected in August, survivors of the massacres. They were driven here and there on both sides of the Dniester first by the Romanian, then by the German troops. Tormented, robbed and starving they passed Moghilev and rested in Scazinet. One third of them had perished before they arrived at the ghastly camp in Vertujeni. The first marching columns departed from there on September 16, to cross the river Dniester after two more weeks of suffering at two places: those driven towards Iampol crossed near Cosauti, others taken to Rabnita did the same near Rezina. The new marching columns, which were later driven towards the river Bug, were assembled at these two gates of Transnistria. The first marching column, after resting in Birzula, arrived in Grozdovca and stayed there. Throughout the entire journey they had to withstand the beating and jeering of sub-officer Tarca, on whose orders several deportees were executed. Later, after they had rested, they found themselves in the hands of a corporal who considered himself the leader of the camp of Grozdovca. He counted them, while taking them over, hitting each one on the back with an iron bar.

The marching columns moved on different routes but all suffered the same unfortunate fate. 1)

October 13, 1941

In Atachi, before Moghilev, more and more Jews arrived who had to be deported. They are from Bukovina, either from the Edineti and Secureni camps that had been evacuated some days before, or from Suceava, Gura Humorului, etc.

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¹ see illustration X.

After having passed the official customs of the National Bank, having lost any trace of identity and social status, being subjected to the mockery of the officers who threw them into the water to see if the miracle of the Red Sea is repeated, the first deportees arrived at Moghilev. (Nr. 160).

The town was devastated by the war, ruined by the catastrophic flooding of the Dniester that took place in the month of August. The public buildings and private dwellings had no doors, window or were even without roofs. It was with much difficulty that some of them could find a human shelter even if they could have save some of their property. Most of them were driven away by the gendarmes to some destroyed barracks which will soon become the Moghilev camp and later on during the typhus epidemics, a real place to die.

From Atachi, before passing across, some top ranking people send desperate appeals for help to Romania (Nr. 161).¹

Their desperate cries sound lugubrious in the desert. The higher Romanian leadership is merciless while the Jewish one is paralyzed.

November 1, 1941

Throughout the month of October marching column followed through the three crossing-points (Rabnita, Iampol and Moghilev). No one was allowed to stay at the first two. The deportees who were driven there, were forced to move on towards the Bug, where they were locked into the ghettos of Bersad, Obodovca, Tibulovca, Olgopol, Ustea, etc. They had to walk almost naked on the road sodden with the sticky mud of early winter. They suffered first from the greed and barbarity of their gurads. A great number were either murdered or died of cold, starvation or complete exhaustion. The corpses were not even buried, just left on the meadows where dogs and ravens finished what humans had started. Occasionally, risking execution, a mother dug out a handful of soil to bury a child who had died in her arms. When they arrived at their destination, the deportees could only find shelter in stables without doors and windows (frequently next to cattle) or in pigsties, barns, etc. One could see the terrible picture of completely exhausted people leaning against the walls of stables; they did not talk, moan, eat or curse, they simply waited until death forced them to fall onto the floor or on another dead body. It was at this time, in the autumn of 1941

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¹ see illustration VI.

that the expression "Totenwande" (death walls) came into being throughout Transnistria. This was the beginning of the ghettos at the banks of Bug.

The authorities in Moghilev did not want to allow Jews to stay there, either. Here, however, due to a number of circumstances, a few of those who had crossed the Dniester from Atachi had the opportunity to partly decide their own future. For others, however, this choice later turned out to be fatal.

Transnistria was entered here by Jews from Southern Bukovina, and a number of Jews from Chernovitz and Dorohoi also crossed the Dniester at this point. Some Jews were collected from their places of work, but others were rich people who were able to take their savings across the Dniester, in spite of organized robberies. As a result, they had enough money to buy a little goodwill. The first Jews deported from Suceava and Campulung bought transport vehicles and drove away, spreading themselves throughout the county. The first deportees continued their journey on German trucks. They paid 50,000 -125,000 lei to the prefect, his deputy or the praetor, and became inhabitants of the ghettos in Shargorod, Copaigorod, Djurin, Murafa, Smerinka, etc. (Nr. 109).Only a few of these lucky ones were able to continue by trucks.

The poor people, who did not have enough money to pay the tremendous amount required for transportation, and those, who had money but could not find room on the trucks, started their journey on foot on the sodden roads in rain and snow. Their suffering was appalling, and for some also fatal. A number of Jews, the first to arrive from Suceava, were forced onwards on foot towards Lucinet, Copaigorod and Bar, to the north-western part of Transnistria on a road which was more like a swamp of sticky mud from one end to the other. At the point where this road crossed the main Moghilev Ozarinet road, 28 people were unable to pull their feet out of the mud. They sank even further in their attempts to free themselves. No one was allowed to help them. **Dr. Abraham Sapirer**, a lawyer from Suceava, objected to what was being done to the Jews, and tried to intervene but the Gendarmes shot him dead. The marching columns passed by and could do no more than just watch them as they waited to die. All of them died. Among them were the Herman and Mali Doifig couple, Coca Heinig, born Dalfen, M. Heinig, the old woman Kerzner, etc.

There were similar cases on other roads to Transnistria. Several hundred Jews drowned in swamps.

Apart of the Jews were more courageous. Small groups of people gathered around a more daring person. Thus was the group of Dr. Stern composed of Jews from Radauti that was supplying workers to the authorities and to take care of the old age home that was set up hurriedly to shelter those who were disabled.

Another group was formed of the Jews from Itcani and Burdujeni, former workers and clerks of a sugar factory and who had taken over the task of rebuilding the destroyed sugar factory from Vindiceni.

A more important group gathered around Eng. S. Jägendorf, at the request of the authorities that the Jews should put into operation the electrical plant of the town. This group which was formed of 500 people received the task of rebuilding first the industrial complex of the fittings factory which under the name of "Foundry" became soon an important factor of Transnistria's economy but also an interesting social experience. The entire group received authorizations to stay in Moghilev.

Those Jews who remained in Moghilev without authorizations were persecuted and threatened all the time. They were collected by the authorities through military patrols and Ukrainian militia who sent them to forced labor without payment or food.

November 16, 1941

A massive marching column of Jews from Dorohoi passes through Shargorod toward a place situated on the Bug River. The Jews are in such a state of misery that the Ukrainian peasants who came to the bazaar, give them all their food they brought for selling, kneel down in front of the Prefecture and crying they ask the praetor Dindelegan to approve that these Jews should remain in the little town.

With much difficulty and sacrifices, did the leaders of the local ghetto obtain this provisional approval until spring.

November 16, 1941

One of the convoys departed from Marculesti after having left many dead people who had perished of hunger, exhaustion or were shot by the gendarmes in the localities of Crijopol, Vapniarca, Tibulovca. They arrived at Obodovca where a collection camp was set up. From there, they were to be distributed to different places of the region and county. During the entire

way, they were not given any food, being robbed of their belongings they had nothing left to procure something to eat so that they had to eat herbs.

In Obodovca, the deportees were accommodated in stables. There, headed by the praetor, the commander of the gendarme department and his orderly, they had been robbed of their last belongings. Only those who had gold, dollars or jewelry were permitted to enter the market. All the others remained in the misery of the stables where other people died of starvation.

A group of 780 deportees from Obodovca was sent to Luhova, to the bank of the Bug River. The mayor greeted the convoy with the following words: "Here will be your grave". The deportees were put into a windowless cattle stable. The mayor ordered that the doors should be closed only every two days and the deportees were allowed to go out and drink furtively some water from a creek.

November 18, 1941

The chaos and depression of the desperate, disoriented and unbalanced Jews made it hardly possible for the Jews to organize themselves.

A Jewish committee was set up in order to co-ordinate labor and to assist the deportees.

The deputy prefect specified that no Jew is allowed to approach him directly, only through the committee. (Nr. 162).

November 18, 1941

In Tibulovca, about 2,000 deportees were crammed into a building in which normally there would be room for maximum 200 people. Although there is a well very close to them, the Jews are not allowed to use it and they have to drink from a puddle and therefore many of them fell sick.

November 20, 1941

A new group was formed in Moghilev, composed of 176 breadwinners (646 persons) around the lawyer Danilov. The group received permissions to stay in town, paying the sub-prefect the sum of 500,000. After a few days, a second Danilov group (166 family heads) obtain permissions to stay in town under the same circumstances like the first. (Nr. 163).

November 25, 1941

A part of the deported Jews who arrived in Bershad are evacuated to Voitovca, Bandizovca, Manicovca and other villages on the bank of the Bug where they suffer in kolkhoz stables. In order to stay in Bershad, the praetor Constantin Alexandrescu demanded 10,000 lei for each family member. (Nr. 164).

Other deportees from Obodovca are driven away to Molocneea, under miserable circumstances, leading to the death of many people.

November 30, 1941

The last marching columns from Chernovitz and Dorohoi crossed the Dniester. The authorities acknowledged the deportation of 118,000 people (Nr. 165), half of whom crossed through Moghilev. Approx. 15,000 (a quarter of them) were able to stay in the town, but only one third of these received legal permission to do so, and had to pay a large sum for this right. Under orders from the Prefecture, existing permits were subject to validation, and no further permits were to be issued.

At the same time, the Prefecture also ordered that whoever stays in the town without permits, will be shot dead.

The gendarme legion (Lieut. Iliuta) carries out the order with much strictness. People are caught in the street, assembled in the cinema hall and from there sent further in convoys. This way of convoy formation divides and scatters families; often parents were evacuated while their children remained alone, at the will of fate.

December 1, 1941

Wherever Jewish deportees were accommodated, epidemics of dysentery, typhoid fever and petechial typhus broke out. In Bershad there was an epidemic of typhus before the arrival of the first deportees. In Shargorod, the first cases of typhus appeared on October 16, a month after the first deportees arrived. (Nr. 166). At that time petechial typhus had not yet hit Moghilev, but an increasing number of people were displaying symptoms of typhoid fever.

December 5, 1941

In the completely deteriorated building of the former Ukrainian hospital, the Jewish Committee in Moghilev succeeded in setting up a

hospital for contagious diseases with 30 beds where a part of the patients who have typhoid fever were isolated.

December 5, 1941

The physician Dr. M. Fuehrer from Suceava is called to the Praetor of Shargorod, Dindelegan. Under the pretext that he was not punctual, he orders that he should be punished by hitting; he was hit for 25 times with a cudgel.

December 10, 1941

Ion Antonescu orders that the luggage of the deportees that were left in Atachi, should be handed over to the Jewish Committee in Moghilev. (Nr. 167).

December 10, 1941

Five months after hundreds of thousands of people had been hunted out of their homes, and two months after the actual start of the deportation campaign, after tens of thousands of people had died of starvation and disease, and following the spread of fatal epidemics, which could not be controlled due to lack of medicine, soap, petrol, clothing, fuel, food, etc., the Presidium of the Council of Ministers decided to permit the Union of Jewish Communities to send money and medicine to Jews deported to Transnistria. (Nr. 168).

This permission was the final manifestation of a connection between the Antonescu Government and the traditional Jewish organization. Six days later, it was dissolved and replaced by a Jewish organization whose structure was based on German police patterns. The leadership of this new fearful and servile organization took over the task of assisting Jews who had been deported to Transnistria.

Dr. N. Ghingold, spokesperson and general secretary of the Romanian Central Jewish Office, expressed his personal view that action aimed at aiding deportees should be stopped, because it is contrary to government policy, and since all deportees are considered enemies of Romania, the Jews have to consider it in the same way. Actually, those who insisted on carrying out acts of humanitarian aid would take serious personal responsibilities and risks. He claimed that his authority spread as far as the river Prut, and not beyond it.

The Aid Committee, which had been established alongside the Union of Jewish Communities in January 1941, immediately after the legionnaires' revolt, could not accept this point of view. They dismissed the fears of the leader of the Central Jewish Office, and decided to undertake both the task and responsibility. Making use of the fact that one of the most enthusiastic initiators of deportee-aid, Dr. M. Zimmer, a lawyer, was appreciated by Mihai Antonescu, the committee attempted to find out the latter's opinion concerning the issue. Through the proposal of the Prime Minister, supported by the written acceptance of the real leaders of the Jews, Dr. Zimmer agreed to join the Central Jewish Office, and direct—along with A. Schwefelberg, lawyer, and Fred Saraga—actions aimed at assisting deportees. The other tasks of assistance were the responsibility of the relevant department of the Central Jewish Office.

Dr. Gingold had to accept this solution but he reserved his right to control and counter sign the correspondence of the Aiding Committee. This was one of the big inconveniencies which hindered the activity of the committee, leading to delays in sending the aids or even to stopping them.

December 10, 1941

Through the order of the Governorate, rubles will be changed into Marks at the rate of 1 RKKS mark = 20 Rubles¹, all over Transnistria. The peasants do not trust this new type of money and they sell food only in exchange for objects.

December 15, 1941

The Gendarme Legion Moghilev informs the Jewish deportees that they have to fill in statements about what valuables and baggage they had upon them when they were deported from their native towns to Transnistria.

December 20, 1941

An "Office for Co-coordinating Jewish Manpower" was set up in Moghilev being intended to supply workers to authorities and enterprises.

A census of the deportees in Moghilev is carried out, specifying the number of able – bodied men aged 16 - 60.

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¹ see illustration XV

December 20, 1941

A new evacuation of the Jewish deportees who do not own special permits to stay in Moghilev takes place. More than 500 people were assembled in a former barracks. Only a small number of people succeed to stay in town by paying huge sums of money. The others were driven farther, on foot

December 22, 1941

A part of the deportees' luggage arrives at Moghilev. According to an order given by Antonescu the luggage had to be returned through the Jewish Committee but in reality only some objects like blankets and pillows were returned, being used by the Committee to equip the hospital.

December 22, 1941

The first cases of petechial typhus are registered in Moghilev. (Nr. 169).

December 31, 1941

The sufferings of the Jews in Moghilev are known by the authorities who do all their best to make them even worse.

The Gendarme Legion in Moghilev is reporting with pleasure that there are fewer cases when money and food are brought from Romania following the measures taken at the border points where the people who dealt with such traffic were caught. (Nr. 170). They also announce the treacherous way used by them to catch those persons who tried to make the connection with the country. The Gendarme Legion recruited Jewish agents whom they mingled into the mass of deportees in order to get information and make denouncements. (Nr. 171).

January 5, 1942

In Obodovca the petechial typhus epidemic is devastating and cannot be controlled. The camp is declared contaminated, surrounded with barbed wire and guarded by sentinels. The interned people are not allowed to leave the camp, even to get food. As a result, a large number die, because of the epidemic itself and of starvation.

January 5, 1942

The praetors of Shargorod and Copaigorod demand that the leaders of the Jewish colonies should pay 5,000 lei per capita as a fee to let them stay. From the bargaining that followed, it resulted that the money was designed for personal usage. The praetor Dindelegan was finally satisfied with the sum of 1,500,000 lei.

January 5, 1942

In Bershad, the Jewish deportees were persecuted by the commander of the gendarme unit. Whoever tried to get out of the ghetto was considered a spy. The deportees were forbidden to sell their clothing articles. Those who were caught in the act were punished by having their objects seized or burnt down.

Later on, that commander was replaced by Lieut. Gheorghe Petrescu, a kind hearted man and thanks to him, the conditions in the camp improved.

January 8, 1942

Dr. Lazar Greif died in Bershad of petechial typhus. His wife, Beatrice, committed suicide together with her only child.

January 13, 1942

Mrs. Therese Robinson dies of petechial typhus in Shargorod. Her brother, Dr. Robinson, former president of the tribunal, and his sister Dr. Marbach, commit suicide near the dead body of their sister.

January 15, 1942

A Romanian master sergeant was arrested in Moghilev because he brought money from Romania to the deportees. The sums of money found upon him at the moment when he was arrested were confiscated; even the money already given to the recipients were also confiscated.

A similar case happened in Bershad.

January 20, 1942

In Tibulovca 180 people survived from the 2,000 interned in November 1941 (100 men, 76 women and 4 children); all of them have frostbites on their limbs. They were allowed to move into the village, but they had to give money or their remaining items of clothing.

A similar situation happened in Budi where initially there were approx. 1,200 Jews, more than 600 being from Storojinet. They lived all the time in stables and most of them died. Among the dead people was also rabbi Sulim Ginsberg from Storojinet with his entire family composed of 10 persons.

January 20, 1942

Alongside the Jewish Committee in Moghilev, a judicial office for judging and punishing those who are absent from forced labor was opened.

January 22, 1942

The leader of the Labor office alongside the Jewish Committee in Moghilev was arrested and beaten at the Gendarme legion because the requested number of workers was not met.

January 25, 1942

The Gendarme Legion in Moghilev orders the Jewish Committee to round up 1,200 Jews for cleaning the snow of streets. If they failed to come, the Legion threatens to shoot dead the leader of the Labor office and all the members of the Jewish Committee and all the deportees would be sent to the Bug.

January 25, 1942

Most deported Jews are in the Moghilev, Tulcin and Balta Counties. There are some isolated groups in other counties like Jugastru or Dubasar, driven away and persecuted by authorities, especially by the gendarmes. (Nr. 172).

January 26, 1942

In Moghilev, all Jewish men, irrespective of age or physical condition are compelled into forced labor. Most of them are naked. On a terrible frost they are sent to work, at a distance of 10 km where they have to stay during the night as well. Most of them were brought back frozen.

January 31, 1942

The petechial typhus epidemic has broken out in every area in the northern part of Transnistria where deported Jews live. There are only a few places where this epidemic is unknown, because in these regions (Djurin, Murafa, Smerinka), accommodation conditions are slightly more humane. The dangerous centers of contagion are in densely populated areas, i.e. Bershad, Shargorod and Moghilev.

February 5, 1942

The Transnistria Governorate informs the Jewish Central Office of the conditions of sending aids to Jewish deportees. (Nr. 173).

February 6, 1942

One hundred and sixty-five corpses were taken to the cemetery in Shargorod but could not be buried because the ground was frozen. A fire was lit in the -40 Celsius temperature. It burned for 24 hours. This was the only way the mass-grave could be dug.

In Bershad corpses were lying about everywhere for 3 - 4 weeks because they could not be buried because of the frost and a lack of workers. There were cases when 200 corpses were collected one day.

February 8, 1942

In the Tropova village the authorities do not allow the burial of 16 Jewish corpses that are left in the field prey to stray dogs.

The same happened in the near-by village of Ozarinet.

February 10, 1942

A victim of his profession dies in Shargorod, namely Dr. Aron Herman from Suceava. On the same day and in the same room dies his father-in-law, Kerner. The physician's wife kills herself.

February 11, 1942

The General Gendarmerie Inspectorate proposes the evacuation of the Jews from the Moghilev County to the territory of the Balta County, east of the railway Smerinka-Odessa. He asks for the approval of the Transnistria Governorate. (Nr. 174).

February 16, 1942

The prefect of the Moghilev County orders that preparations should be made in order to evacuate the 4,000 Jews who will be colonized in Scazinet.

The Jewish Committee is required to send a commission of technicians and specialists to study on the spot accommodation possibilities and to draw up a rough estimate of the necessary inventory.

February 17, 1942

Throughout Transnistria, but mostly in small villages, Jews are at the mercy of every beast in any power position. For example, in Obodovca, Stefanescu, an engineer at the Agricultural Centre, is the monster who persecutes the deportees. Even though in his job he has no connection with Jews, he takes the wildest measures against them. He beats and tortures them, and uses barbed wire to prevent them from buying food, and at the same time, for exorbitant sums of money he issues permits entitling the holders to stay in Obodovca.

March 3, 1942

After having worked day and night to protect the population against petechial typhus, Dr. Abraham Reicher, head of the Shargorod colony, died himself by the disease he had tried so hard to control. The physician who had tried to cure him, Dr. Hart from Vama, also fell ill and died some days later. His wife committed suicide.

March 7, 1942

The Ministry of National Economy authorizes the Jewish Central Office to send medicines for the deported Jews in Transnistria (the custom taxes have to be paid). (Nr. 175).

March 12, 1942

A number of 44 Jews from Moghilev are sent to the camps of Balki and Smerinka as punishment for having been absent from forced labor.

March 18, 1942

A nucleus of administrative organization and social assistance was set up in Moghilev. Until then the following institutions had been set up: an old age home, a hospital for contagious diseases, a hospital for non-contagious diseases, a popular canteen, an orphanage and a registrar's office (Nr. 176).

March 20, 1942

Six Jews who were walking from Shargorod to Moghilev to meet some relatives from Romania, were caught by gendarmes and shot dead in the Shargorod cemetery, as ordered by Dindelegan, the praetor of Shargorod district. (Nr. 177).

March 22, 1942

A first transport of medicines sent by the Autonomous Assistance Commission arrives at Moghilev.

March 26, 1942

The Jewish Committee in Moghilev turns to the Commander of the Gendarme Legion in connection with the possibility to set up in Scazinet a colony of some thousands of Jews. The conclusions show that only after major repairs that would involve huge funding would it be possible to accommodate there a maximum number of 2,500 deportees. (Nr 178).

March 31, 1942

The petechial typhus epidemic reaches its peak in all contaminated villages. In Moghilev and Shargorod there is hardly any Jewish family without having a sick person while so - called hospitals can hardly cope with quarantine actions. Doctors, one after the other, become victims of their profession. In Moghilev, 25 physicians became ill in the months of February, the chief physician included (Nr. 169); of the 27 physicians in Shargorod, 23 became ill, i. e. 85%, and from them, 12 died, i.e. 52% of the doctors. (Nr. 179). The undertakers are unable to finish their work. There are always 60-80 corpses awaiting burial in the cemetery in Moghilev. Only big mass graves are dug up.

The highest numbers of fatalities from the epidemic are in areas along the bank of the Bug. The general misery, in which the deportees lived, did not help prevent the epidemic. It took its natural course until it faded away by itself. In Bershad and its surrounding villages, approx. 20,000 people died of typhus. In Ustea alone, some 5 kms from the Bug, 1,600 died from among the 2,500 deportees.

March, 1942

The Autonomous Assistance Commission that functioned within the Federation of Jewish Communities until the dissolution of Jewish institutions was kept under the new Jewish Central Office as well, having the task of organizing and providing assistance to the Jewish deportees in Transnistria

After having obtained the autonomy approved by the leading authorities, the commission started its activity at once under the leadership of Dr. M. Zimmer, the lawyer A. Schwefelberg, Fred Saraga and Dr. E. Costiner.

From the very beginning, they removed the horrible system of taxes and then procured their first funding through money collection. At the beginning, the results were not very rewarding as the Jewish population was impoverished after having been compelled to deliver stocks of clothing items during 6 months while, on the other hand, they had to deposit sums of money to the Reintegration Fund. Nevertheless, as early as February a first transport of medicines was sent and at the beginning of March the first sums of money arrived.

April 2, 1942

Next to Shargorod, a gendarme found the deported Jew Alerhand on the road, whom he shot dead. (Nr. 177).

April 4, 1942

In the building of the old age home in Moghilev, an orphanage was set up. Here were interned all the orphans whose parents had died during the winter of 1941 - 1942 and who had become beggars and homeless. At the beginning, the orphanage had a capacity of 120 beds.

April 4, 1942

In Rabnita, 48 Jewish deportees were shot dead by the order of the commander of the gendarme legion because they went out of the ghetto.

April 4, 1942

The issue of evacuating 4,000 Jews from Moghilev to Scazinet is reconsidered.

April 7, 1942

The typhus epidemics breaks out again in Moghilev because no inoculations with anti-typhus and paratyphus serum could be made.

April 8, 1942

The Jewish committee in Obodovca takes measures to collect and bury in mass graves the corpses of those who died during the winter remained under the snow.

April 8, 1942

In Shargorod, a deportee called Fuchs (coming from Balaceana) was shot dead by a gendarme because he had stolen a few kilos of flour.

April 25, 1942

The President of the Jewish Committee in Moghilev and some top ranking Jews are summoned to the prefecture where they are announced that only 3,000 Jews could remain in the town, the others having to be evacuated to Smerinka.

April 29, 1942

The prefecture in Moghilev reconsiders the decision taken 4 days before to evacuate the majority of Jews from the town.

April 30, 1942

The typhus epidemic has largely decreased in all centers of contagion. In Shargorod, the number of sick people decreased but the percentage of dead people increased from 12% to 36%.

In Moghilev it is the right time for efficiently fighting against the typhus epidemic. As spring has come, the fuel issue was no problem anymore.

The sanitary department of the county was headed since April 17 by Major Dr. C. Chirila, an energetic and determined person. Through his good will and dedication, he succeeded in increasing the number of hospital beds by three times so that very soon all these new cases could be isolated. The disinfestations actions were carried out in a dynamic rhythm. There were no more shortages of fuel and petroleum. If all those circumstances that

depended on the good will of the authorities had been fulfilled 4 months before, about 2 thirds of the lost lives could have been saved.

May 19, 1942

The Governorate of Transnistria orders the evacuation of 4,000 Jews from the town of Moghilev. (Nr. 180).

May 22, 1942

The Gendarme Inspectorate in Transnistria orders that the 4,000 Jews from Moghilev should be evacuated within 48 hours to a camp that would be set up in the barracks situated on the hill next to the town of Scazinet. (Nr. 180).

May 25, 1942

The general administrative inspector, Dimitrie Stefanescu, charged by the Governorate with special missions in the Moghilev County, organizes in detail the evacuation of the Jews to Scazinet. In a memo of the Jewish Committee (Nr. 183), his draconic regulations (Nr. 182) are considered as impossible to be carried out. The prefect col. Nasturas disbanded the Jewish Committee although he slightly relieved the first regulations. (Nr. 184).

May 29, 1942

A first group of 1,000 people are gathered on the Moghilev-Shargorod road, near the old cemetery being forced to march on foot to the Scazinet camp. Carrying their bags on their backs, beaten by gendarmes, they were forced toward a destination which meant death for many of them.

May 30, 1942

A second convoy of Jews from Moghilev is sent to Scazinet. The Jews from rural colonies are also sent there. (Vindiceni, Iaruga, Ozarinti, Crasna, etc.).

May 30, 1942

The presidency of the Council of Ministries orders that the Jewish Central Office should send money and medication to the Jews deported to Transnistria. (Nr. 185).

May 30, 1942

One hundred and fifty deportees are evacuated from Obodovca as a punishment for not having participated in the census.

May, 1942

The leaders of authorities in Transnistria, mostly in Moghilev, take full advantage of their authority (power) to satisfy their sexual desires, even sadistic vices. Numerous Jewish girls or women were raped in the midst of twitches of disgust and outcries of pain.

The gendarmes of Moghilev used to bring to the legion a part of the young and beautiful girls and women. Under the pretext of a medical consultation, they subjected them all to the moral torture (trauma) of walking naked in front of all these beasts.

June 2, 1942

The last two convoys of Jews from Moghilev are sent to Scazinet. 3,000 deportees were evacuated.

June 3, 1942

Finding out that the Jews from the towns and villages of Transnistria are not subjected to all the ordered hardships, the Governorate of Transnistria orders that they should be interned in ghettos and sent to forced labor in factories and on the field. (Nr. 186).

June 5, 1942

The petechial typhus epidemic, which had become less of a threat with the passing of spring, ceased almost completely. The survivors prepared to protect themselves against ensuing dangers, and closed the chapter of this tragic winter.

In Moghilev 4,401 people were counted with typhus, 1,254 of these died, putting the death rate at 28%. However, these data are not accurate since not every patient was recorded. It is suggested, there were approx.7, 000 patients in the town, approx. half of whom died.

Both the number of patients and deaths were much higher in the other places, where the death rate was more than 50%. In Bershad it was 85% as a consequence of housing conditions. (Nr. 164). We will never know the exact figures, because (at least in the first winter) no one dealt with the

registration and burial of the dead. When people died, their corpses were collected from the houses or roadsides, and thrown into ditches. Others were left to decompose in meadows. It is supposed that in the winter of 1941-1942, the epidemic killed half of the Jews who, having survived massacres, camps and transportation, crossed the Dniester in October and November of 1941. This supposition was justified by the report of General C.Z. Vasiliu, Deputy Secretary of State drawn up in November 1943. It claims that 110,033 Jews were evacuated, and only 50,741 were alive in September 1943. The 59,392 people were missing because they were victims of the epidemic. (Nr. 248).

June 10, 1942

The camp in Scazinet was created from the ruined barracks of what had once been a military school. It was composed of two parts built on either side of the main road. The buildings on the right—after primitive renovation—were turned into living quarters. The structures on the left had no windows and doors, neither did they have floor coverings; some buildings did not even have roofs; they were in fact stables, and people suffered in these for months in the most terrible chaos.

The buildings on the right housed deportees who had managed to save some of their money, or because of their good connections were able to receive aid in Moghilev. On the left side, however, hunger reigned. A number of those interned had no choice but to eat grass from the meadows and leaves from trees. There was also a lack of water, and thirst was usually more lethal than hunger. The deportees started to dig near the camp in an attempt to find water. They did not find any, but they did stumble across an anti tank ditch full of corpses; they found rags, sacks and documents, and the remains of those Bessarabian Jews who had been killed by the Germans in August 1941.

From the very beginning, the camp was surrounded with barbed wire. The deportees risked their lives penetrating sometimes through the barbed wire in order to run to the town along a 10 km distance. They knew that they would be caught and in the best case would be returned to the camp. They risked everything just to bring some food for their starving families. The militia guards lured attentively and many deportees had been shot dead. (Nr. 187).

June 10, 1942

In order to wipe out the last traces of petechial typhus and to prevent the danger of a new epidemic, the Jewish committees started energetic delousing and disinfection actions. In Moghilev, special teams took the following measures as of April 25:

Only in 6 weeks in 528 contaminated houses they did the following operations: 8,973 disinfections by steaming, 3,695 by boiling the laundry and 4,258 by disinfection with petroleum.

Similar measures were taken in Shargorod as well. (Nr. 166).

June 12, 1942

On behalf of the 3-rd Army, the 1-st guarding division, demands that the Prefecture of the Moghilev county should execute one Jew per each colony who had been caught out of the ghetto for several times. According to the same order, the Jewish heads of colonies should be shot dead if any Jew in their subordination does not comply with the ordered guidelines. (Nr. 188).

Based on the said order, all heads of colonies had to sign statements of acknowledging that they have been informed that they would be shot dead if any Jew would leave the ghetto.

June 14, 1942

A convoy of deportees, recently driven away from Chernovitz was found in Serebria, near Moghilev. The general administrative inspector, Dimitrie Stefanescu ordered that they should be strictly guarded as many of them have relatives and friends in the town.

They did not manage to get out and did not see anybody. On the same evening they were loaded onto freight cars and sent to the Bug River in the Ladijin region.

June 14, 1942

The Jewish Committee in Moghilev, headed by Eng. S. Jägendorf was dismissed by the authorities who appointed another leadership whose members have to sign a statement by which they would be killed if anyone evaded from the Scazinet camp.

June 16, 1942

The Prefecture of Moghilev County sent its guidelines concerning the setting up of ghettos to the Police Stations, Gendarme Legions and Mayor's Offices under its authority.

In the order enclosed with the guidelines, the Prefect Nasturas (colonel), (alias the poet Poiana Volbura) emphasized that the execution of this decree "is an issue of Romanian honor and dignity". (Nr. 189).

June 17, 1942

The Prefecture of the Moghilev County entrusts the guard of the Scazinet camp to a group of 12 communal guardsmen.

June 18, 1942

The guideline of ordinance Nr. 23 of November 11, 1941 of the Transnistria Governorate by which Jews' labor had to be paid by 1 Mark RKKS per day for usual workers and 2 RKKS Marks for skilled workers was not put into practice. After an inspection made by Ion Antonescu on June 11 at a labor detachment, the said guideline is reconsidered by an order issued by him. The town council of Moghilev demands that the Jewish Committee should draw up lists of payment. (Nr. 191).

June 20, 1942

A new convoy of 450 deportees from Dorohoi arrives at Serebria, near Moghilev. They are mostly men who had worked in a labor detachment in the Braila County while their wives and children had been deported to Moghilev in November, last year. Although their families are in Moghilev, nobody is allowed to stay. They are strictly guarded as ordered by D. Stefanescu, administrative inspector. The only favor given to these unfortunate men was that their families were allowed to join them. Thus the number of Jews of the convoy was increased to 950 people who were forced to march towards the Bug River.

June 28, 1942

The gendarme legion Moghilev orders the evacuation of other 500 Jews to Scazinet.

June 28, 1942

The praetor of the Iariszev district orders the evacuation of all the Jews from the Vindiceni village to a forest. The Jewish Committee in Moghilev hardly succeeds in cancelling the order.

June 30, 1942

A part of the Jews deported to Shargorod was evacuated to the villages of the district, as follows: Rudansch, Pasenche, Pincovka, Capusterna, Nasincovka, Ivascauti, Derebcin, Conotcauti, Lozova and Politanchi.

In this area, the partisan movement and terror of the occupying authorities are stronger than in other localities.

July 1, 1942

The third convoy of Jews deported from Chernovitz arrived a night before at Volcinet, spent the night on a hill, crossed the Dniester being abused by the gendarmes and arrived at the so called custom-house that was situated on the eastern bank of the river. The customs process meant another series of sufferings that lasted days on end. The customs consisted in a strict searching usually carried out by soldiers. They took the small objects for themselves. The valuables were taken by the officers.

After the customs operation, the unfortunate Jews had to spend their night again on a hill side. In the morning they saw the ghastly image of their future plight. On the road from Moghilev, convoys of broken, weak and ragged people were moving slowly in a marching rhythm under the eyes and blows of the gendarmes. They were the parents, siblings or children of the new comers who had been permitted to join for a few moments their loved ones. But hardly did they find each other that they were ordered to part. Sub-lieut. Enachita from the gendarme legion Tulcin had come there with the special mission, of dealing with the victims. He was one of the wildest beasts that ever ruled in Transnistria, wicked and merciless, with a black face and soul, greedy, a drunkard sadistic womanizer. For several months he tortured those he took over from the bank of the Dniester bringing them to the Bug River to follow their tragic fate.

July 1, 1942

The Moghilev ghetto was set up being confined to only a few streets. The 16,000 people were crowded together, and 20-30 persons shared each room. Since many of the buildings had been destroyed by flooding, hundreds of families had to sleep in the open air, next to walls unprotected by roofs.

Since their arrival in Transnistria, all Jews were forced to wear the Star of David on the left side of their chests as a distinguishing sign. In places, where directives were carried out with particular strictness, they also had to wear the signs on their backs. This primarily affected those Jews who worked in open areas. In other places, such as Shargorod and Smerinka, houses were also marked with the Star of David. The sign had to be worn inside the ghetto, as well until the time of liberation.

July 3, 1942

The convoy of Jews from Dorohoi that started from Serebria arrives at Oleanita, Tulcin County. As soon as they arrived, they were sent to the Ladijin Quarry, on the bank of the Bug River. After a tormenting disinfection procedure, they were not allowed to leave and procure food for several days. Eventually, a delegate is allowed to leave and bring some food which he obtained by bartering clothing articles because the RKKS Marks are not accepted (trusted) by the peasants.

July 3, 1942

According to a confidential report of the Moghilev prefecture, the Transnistria Governorate orders evacuation of other 3,000 Jews from the town. (Nr. 192).

July 5, 1942

It has been ordered to evacuate to the forest the Jews from Copaigorod. The evacuation campaign had started being soon canceled after the intervention of the Jewish committee in Moghilev.

July 5, 1942

A first transport of food for the deported Jews in Moghilev arrives from Bucharest from the Autonomous Aiding Commission.

July 5, 1942

According to a circular order sent to all praetorships, legions and town councils, col. Nasturas orders the replacement of all Jews working in factories by Ukrainians even if they have to be brought from other places. (Nr. 193).

July 6, 1942

The last lot of deportees from Chernovitz arrives at the Ladijin quarry after a journey that took as long as 5 days on a distance that could have lasted only 5 hours.

The so called quarry consisted of broken plants, some rusted wagons on partly dismantled rails, some destroyed barracks, without any doors and windows and a huge massif on top of a hill. Suddenly, the Jews are heading towards the barracks to rest their exhausted bodies. But this is not allowed. Sub-lt. Vasilescu, a pharmacist does not allow them to rest. They have to go through quarantine and disinfection first. He hits people at random, holding a sort of speech which generally sounded like this: "You are no longer physicians, lawyers or engineers here. You are nothing more than kikes, merely numbers that have to blindly obey orders. Hunger and then death are waiting for you".

July 6, 1942

The Government official representative in charge with the Jewish issue, orders the way in which the aids should be distributed in Transnistria, namely: Tiraspol: 0, 50 %; Berezovca: 2%; Dubasari: 0, 70 %; Odessa: 1%; Moghilev: 60%; Tulcin: 5, 50%; Rabnita: 2%; Balta: 18, 50%; Oceacov: 0.30 %; Jugastru: 8%; Golta: 1, 50%.

July 10, 1942

According to Ion Antonescu's order to pay for Jewish labor (as per Ordinance Nr. 23), the prefecture of the Moghilev County that had not paid anything for 8 months, decides to supply 8 wagons of cereals that represent only a small part of the owed sums of money.

July 15, 1942

Around the ghetto in Oleanita which is housed in a stable, a dividing line was drawn by the plough. Whoever passes that line will be punished by death.

July 16, 1942

From Obodovca, 300 persons are sent to Birzula and Balta to hard and exhausting labor. They are not given any food, being beaten by the gendarmes on the way.

July 18, 1942

The gendarme legion in Moghilev informs the Jewish Committee that 2,400 deported Jews and 600 natives (Ukrainians) are to be deported from Peciora. The evacuation was canceled after interventions.

July 30, 1942

The number of children being interned into the orphanage in Moghilev was constantly increasing. When deportees were taken to Scazinet, many parents handed their children over to the orphanage so as to save them from certain death. On this day the number of children reached 450.

The health of children in the orphanage gradually worsened. They were infested with lice, barely dressed, and their feet were wrapped in rags. Their itching bodies were covered in skin diseases, which spread with each attack of itching, and they suffered from severe diarrhea. As a result of the harsh winter, most of them fell victim to severe frostbite, and the insides of their mouths became inflamed (gingivitis, stomatitis).

August 1, 1942

Since their arrival in Transnistria, Jews aged 16 - 60 (mostly men but often also women) had to carry out various tasks under the directives of the authorities. On numerous occasions, children at the age of 12 and old people over 70 were forced to work. In the beginning, workers were collected at random. Gendarmes and militia men caught people in the streets or pulled them out of houses and ordered them to labor units. Later, Jewish offices were set up everywhere for the purpose of organizing work; these brought some order, especially in deciding exactly who was fit for certain jobs.

The results achieved by Jews were remarkable. These persecuted, starving ragged and exhausted people accomplished great building works, restored the town of Moghilev from the urban aspect, put the electric plant in Shargorod into operation, rebuilt the communal bath, built the stone paved road Murafa – Iarosinka, set up tailor's workshops, shoe – making shops, tinsmith' etc. and many more.

They were not paid for their work and only seldom did they get some food.

Since December 15, only the Jews of Moghilev worked for 102,085 day - hours of unskilled labor and 28,325 days of skilled labor for which they should have received according to ordinance Nr. 23, and higher order, 160,903 RKKS. However during this period of time, only 21,483 RKKS were paid. In other parts, they were not paid at all. (Nr. 194).

August 19, 1942

Under the request of the Todt-organization, Colonel Loghin, the Prefect of Tulcin County, handed over 3,000 Jews to the Germans. These were taken from those deported from Chernovitz in June. The Germans forced them to cross the Bug; 400 of the remaining Jews were left in the quarry, 140 in Ladijin, 78 in Oleanita and approx. 1,000 in Cetvertinovca. Almost no one returned from among those handed over. The old people and a number of the women, children and the disabled were shot dead in the first days. The others were executed gradually, depending on their ability to continue working.

August 20, 1942

As the orphanage Nr. 1 of Moghilev was too crowded, a second orphanage is set up in the building of the former camp hospital for 200 children.

August 22, 1942

By the initiative of sub-lieutenant Enachita and in exchange of large amounts of money, some Jews from Cariera de Piatra (the Quarry) are allowed to leave for Ladijin. However, after a distance of some kilometers under the clubs of the soldiers and the whip of Enachita, they are ordered to return. The carts with their luggage were capsized in the middle of the road, to be robbed by the carters and peasants from the surrounding area.

August 26, 1942

The Jews from the Quarry are scattered. Almost half of them are sent to Cetvertinovca; the others to Ladijin where they were not allowed to enter the village being accommodated in the stables of the kolkhoz. Only 60 lunatics remained in the Quarry being shot dead on the same day.

August 28, 1942

The Jews, who had been sent to Ladijin 2 days before, are brought back to the Quarry.

September 2, 1942

The Moghilev Gendarme Legion asks the Prefecture and the Jewish Committee to close the ghetto. (Nr. 195).

September 7, 1942

According to the order given by the Transnistria Governorate, all the bills of 500 Lei of the old emission should be deposited to the Moghilev Prefecture to the changed. More than one million Lei was collected from the deportees but nothing was given in exchange.

September 12, 1942

A train arrives in Tiraspol with Jews deported from Romania. From among them 407, accused of communist activity had been interned in the camp in Targu Jiu, 85 had been convicted for the same reason, 554 had been rounded up because they had been suspected of being communist sympathizers, and 587 had been taken because in 1940 during the legionary terror they had asked for permission to emigrate into the Soviet Union. Those in the first three categories were taken to the Vapniarca camp. Those in the last category were taken to Mostvoi-Berezovca, where the headquarters of the Gestapo were located.

September 13, 1942

The Jews, who had been sent to Cetverinovca 3 weeks before, are brought back to the Quarry.

September 15, 1942

In order to meet the needs of about 15,000 people who were disoriented, demoralized, pauperized and persecuted, the Jewish leaders of Moghilev paid special attention to the administrative organization. Besides the Jewish Committee, the following administrative authorities were set up: (Nr. 196).

- 1. Labor Supervising Office
- 2. Evidence Office

- 3. Registrar's office
- 4. Post office
- 5. Tax (revenue) office

September 15, 1942

550 Jews were rounded up from Ladijin, on the bank of the Bug (300 deportees and 250 locals) and taken across the river to the Krasnopolsk camp.

September 16, 1942

The train that departed from Tiraspol transporting communist Jews arrived after 4 days of an exhausting journey to Vapniarca. The deportees were put into a special camp formed of destroyed barracks, without doors, windows, floors. They are strictly supervised by guardsmen.

When they arrived at the camp, the commander Murgescu (colonel) met them with the following threat: "you will come out of this camp either on all fours or in crutches". (Nr. 197).

September 22, 1942

The convoy of the Jews who had been deported because they had asked for permission to emigrate into the Soviet Union in 1940 arrive in Mostovoi. They are accommodated in a deserted castle being robbed by the guardsmen. Most of all, their clothes had been taken away.

On the next day, a German SS officer comes to the castle together with a number of soldiers and a column of trucks. The 587 Jews who had been deported from Romania are loaded into the trucks and brought to the SS Rastadt center, 8 km from Mostovoi. There they meet another convoy of local Jews brought from Suhai Balka, totaling a number of 1000. They were all shot on the evening of Yom Kippur. 16 deportees escaped through a miracle.

September 24, 1942

A train loaded with 196 Jews deported from Romania arrived at Sarbca, a village near Odessa. This is the first convoy of Jews punished by the Supreme General Staff for having broken the forced labor regulations by coming late or missing a workday.

They were locked up for 3 days in stables being afterwards sent to work at the Vigoda farm.

September 29, 1942

The Gendarme Inspectorate in Transnistria sends the order approved by the governor to evacuate 3,000 Jews from Moghilev to Peciora in the Tulcin County.

September 29, 1942

The people of Bershad are sent to work at the cloth factory in Balta. The women were also sent there.

Jews are not allowed into the bazaar to buy food. Local Jews (Ukrainians) will be sent to another camp.

September 30, 1942

In Obodovca and Bershad persecutions are increased. Tens of Jews are sent to the Martial Court because they went out of the ghetto. They are condemned to punishments of more than one year in prison.

October 2, 1942

700 Jews are recruited from the town and county of Moghilev (100 from Shargorod), being sent to the Crijopol forest to cut wood. Many of them fall ill, being sheltered in miserable conditions, undernourished and thinly dressed. Others suffered from frostbite.

October 3, 1942

The praetor of the Shargorod district, Dindelegan, orders that 1,500 men aged up to 60 and women aged up to 50 should be sent to slave labor to pick up the tobacco crop. Only 1,100 people could be gathered. Furious, the praetor Dindelegan hit like a lunatic whoever he met.

October 5, 1942

Major Orasanu, Commander of the Gendarme Legion in Moghilev, traveled to Shargorod to personally inform the leaders of the ghetto of the decree he had issued to transfer 3,300 Jews from the district to Peciora, 1,000 from Shargorod, 1,000 from Djurin and 1,000 from Murafa. After long negotiations, the Major agreed to withdraw his decree, after he received what he had been bargaining for: a one and a half carat cut diamond ring.

October 12, 1942

In Moghilev the transportation of the 3,000 Jews to the camp of Peciora begins. General Iliescu, Inspector of the Gendarmerie of Transnistria, proposes that the poorest people should be sent, because—in his opinion—they will perish anyway, and the camp in Peciora was created exclusively for this reason.

The Jewish Committee, along with the Gendarme Legion, arranges for the deportation to be executed gradually, and only one group of 500 people is to be taken away at a time.

The camp was known throughout Transnistria as a "death camp", (these words were even written on a board above the entrance to the camp). The inhabitants of the ghetto did everything to avoid deportation. They hid in cellars and holes under the ground; they escaped to meadows in the rain in order to hide in cornfields and ditches. Gendarmes searched for them with police dogs.

Eighty evacuees were packed into each freight-car. The doors and windows were kept closed for the whole journey, and the weaker ones die from suffocation.

People were removed from the freight-cars in Israilovca, 14 km from Peciora. From there, they were taken to the camp on foot; gendarmes beat and tortured them throughout the journey.

October 14, 1942

In the Gaisin camp across the Bug, where a lot of Jews had been brought from Transnistria, executions by shooting take place. A group of SS soldiers select 230 Jews (old people, women and children) and shoot them dead. Those mothers, who refused to give their children to the perpetrators, were shot on the spot even if they were not part of the lot intended for execution.

October 16, 1942

Master sergeant Hans Rucker, the head of a camp across the Bug presents himself to the commander of the Peciora camp asking for all the young girls aged 14–20, to be sent as nurses to German hospitals in the Vinita area. Thus, a number of 150 girls were selected and handed over to the beasts. They were loaded onto cars and brought to a forest between Bar and Vinita. The girls were undressed, beaten and abused by the sadist

killers. Afterwards they were shot dead. A single girl, named Frida Koffler escaped thanks to a German soldier who had been a prisoner in Dachau before.

October 26, 1942

Evacuations of Jews from Moghilev to Peciora have continued. The commander of the Gendarme legion reports that another convoy of 200 people had already left. (Nr. 199).

October 30, 1942

The typhus epidemic breaks out again in certain places. However, the people are prepared to fight the disease which does not spread any more.

November 1, 1942

At the gendarme post in Mostovoi, 90 Jews, refugees from Poland were collected. The news is learned by the SS German center in Rastadt. They send a group of soldiers to take over the Jews. After having distributed and shared their belongings among the Romanian and German gendarmes, the Jews were brought to Rastadt and killed.

November 6, 1942

The German troops start to exterminate on a large scale the Jewish population (deported from Transnistria) across the Bug.

In Garisin, a second execution campaign takes place where 1,000 Jews were killed

In Brailov, near Smerinka, there was a general massacre. Only 250 people had escaped and took refuge in Smerinka.

In Bar, the total extermination of the Jews took place on October 20. Only 40 physicians and experts were saved by the Romanian authorities from Balki. They are requested by the German authorities, passed over to the German camp and shot dead.

November 8, 1942

During the last 4 weeks, five convoys were sent from Moghilev to Peciora, comprising approx. 1,500 people, totally deprived of means. As he could not fulfill the requested number, major Orasanu, the commander of the gendarme legion, starts to evacuate a group of houses inhabited by

needy people; he also orders that the sick people should be brought on stretchers from the hospital.

In the camp building, 250 people were gathered, dressed in rags or almost naked. They had to be loaded on the next day onto the train that was leaving for Peciora. During the night, it snowed heavily. Most of those people could not have resisted up to the destination. Eventually the Jewish Committee succeeded in cancelling the deportation and in setting the people free.

The misery in the Peciora camp was frightening. (Nr. 200).

November 10, 1942

The deportees from Vigoda belonging to the group of Jews who had been sent by the order of The Supreme General Staff finished their work at the farm. They had worked hard for 6 weeks, sheltered in stables, escorted by gendarmes. The food received was scarce and bad, they were beaten and jeered by the manager called Gogleata. The following persons died there of hunger and exhaustion: **Heinrich Grünberg, Mayer Heidenberg, Arnold Cohn and Isac Grünberg.**

In Alexandrovca, Jewish manpower is needed for burying the vine of governor Alexianu. The convoy formed of carts and people started at 03, 00 a.m., walking all day long, they finally arrive at Alexandrovca at 02, 00 o'clock after midnight.

November 13, 1942

After having dissolved the Scazinet camp and after having evacuated the Jews from Moghilev to Peciora the number of orphaned and homeless children has grown to a great extent. Many parents had abandoned their children not to be killed in Peciora.

The Jewish Committee decides to set up a third orphanage in the building of a former school whose inhabitants had been evacuated.

In other places, better living conditions for the children on orphanages could have been created. For example, in Shargorod where there are 262 orphans of both parents, an orphanage was set up in June, accommodating 152 children aged between 1–15. When they came to the orphanage they had been in a complete state of exhaustion, weak, dirty with skin parasites, naked and barefoot. Only 8 days later they started to improve and after 6 months they reached their normal weight.

November 18, 1942

The Governorate of Transnistria reports to Ion Antonescu that the 1,179 Jews interned in the Vapniarca camp have summer clothes; Antonescu approves that the Jewish Central Office should send them clothes from Romania. (Nr. 202).

November 20, 1942

In Peciora, 500 Jews were evacuated and transported across the Bug where they are taken over by the Germans after they had wanted to take all the Jews from the camp.

November 22, 1942

In Shargorod, some carts of beetroot were missing. The praetor of the region accuses the Jews of having stolen the beetroots. He bursts into the offices of the ghetto and threatens to evacuate all the Jews, especially the president, Dr. M. Teich with his family and finally he starts to search through Jewish houses. He found only a few kilos. All the Jews who were so unfortunate as to have had beetroots in their dwellings were brought to the offices and were fiercely beaten, most of them even by the praetor Dindelegan. Among those beaten was also the little girl Kerbis who had come to see what happened to her father who had been pulled out of his bed. The little girl resisted the hitting without any tears or cries.

November 28, 1942

The Transnistria Governorate approves the sending of clothes through the Jewish Central Office to those interned in Peciora. (Nr. 203)

November 28, 1942

The 3 orphanages of Moghilev accommodate 800 children who live in ghastly conditions. The rooms are dirty, cold, unaired. The children vegetate day and night in beds. Their bodies are undernourished, sick and exhausted. In one of the orphanages, mortality reached the terrible percentage of 18% in 15 days. (Nr. 201).

November 30, 1942

Six hundred local Jews are driven from Iampol to the Quarry Ladijin.

December 5, 1942

The survivors of the massacre from Brailov, who were hiding in Smerinka, were caught by the Germans with the help of the Romanian officer Ionescu and shot dead based on the order of SS officer Graf.

December 24, 1942

In Krasnopolsk, three children who managed to escape when the first killing operation took place, were shot dead on Christmas Eve, as the German officer promised them long before. Their grave was dug by their uncle himself.

December 26, 1942

The deportees from Alexandrovca buried Alexianu's vine. They worked hard for 6 weeks, receiving bad food that was never enough but they did not live in the stables any longer. They were sheltered in deserted barracks which they repaired. About 30 - 40 people were crammed in a room.

Under the pretext that they will go home, they were given a lot of money and were then loaded on the train. It was the beginning of their tragedy.

December 27, 1942

In the Vapniarca camp appears the first case of spastic paraparesis because the internees were fed with spoiled fodder peas.

The internees from Vapniarca suffer a lot because of lack of water because the camp commander ordered that the water pipes should be closed, being only rarely opened. (Nr. 204).

December 27, 1942

Fourteen people died in Crijopol because they were thinly dressed, frozen and exhausted. At the same time, typhus, jaundice and dysentery broke out. The labor detachment was sent back to Moghilev but 15 people could not be transported because they were swollen with hunger. On the way to Moghilev, 18 more people died.

January 1, 1943

A delegation composed of 4 members of the Assistance Commission of the Jewish Romanian Central Office, headed by Fred Saraga and led by a

delegate of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, went to the Transnistria camps to bring aids and to organize the assistance activity.

This is the first contact permitted by the official authorities, between the Jews who were left in Romania and the deportees.

A year before, a similar approval had been given by the Ministry of the Interior (letter Nr. 034190 of January 22, 1942) but it was canceled because Transnistria's Governor Alexianu was against it.

January 4, 1942

While Gh. Alexianu, Transnistria's governor was visiting the Vapniarca camp, he addressed his former colleagues of the bar association, as follows: "The country you did not love is going to send you medicines". Alexianu's country was the Autonomous Commission of Assistance that was sending medicines.

January 9, 1943

At a meeting with the representatives of the Jewish committees of the Moghilev County, a secretary of the Council Presidency that was accompanying the commission sent by the Jewish Central Office, I. Mumuianu, declared among others:

"In cemeteries it is written: abandon all hope you who enter here! This is your destiny. Abandon all hope ever to cross the Dniester again. Do not ever think that your salvation is coming from the east."

January 10, 1943

A physician (major) who was sent by Transnistria's Governorate addressed the Jewish physicians in Moghilev: "We have sent you to die here but, on the other hand, we do not want to have epidemics here"

January 14, 1943

After a 19 days' journey in cattle cars, without any food or water, on a terrible frost that reached minus 40 degrees Celsius, the deportees who departed from Alexandrovca, arrived at Bogdanovca. They were put into a pigsty, being denied even straw for bedding. "The straw is for pigs, not for kikes", said the farm's administrator.

On the way from Alexandrovca, 11 people died of starvation and cold. The first 4 corpses were left in the trains stations. The others were transported up to Bogdanovca.

January 15, 1943

In the Krasnopolsk camp, across the Bug, the Germans prepare a second "execution". They order the killing of 100 Jews but 10 young people manage to escape. The Germans take revenge and shoot dead 200 instead 100 people.

January 15, 1943

A raid takes place in Bershad to catch s group of Jews who ran away from Cariera de Piatra (Quarry). They were all found, arrested and sent to the Court-martial. Other 36 Jews, blamed for evading forced labor, were also arrested and sent to Balta. While they were imprisoned, the families of the detainees were not allowed to bring them food.

January 18, 1943

In Bratslav, Lieut. S.S. Robert Stolzmann from Berlin enters the camp along with his guard and orders that all the people should turn their faces to the wall. He chooses 15 people from among those who were ragged and naked, takes them to the field and kills them.

January 18, 1943

All the Jews in the villages of the Bar region are rounded up and sent to a special camp, in Bolchis. 1,200 people are forced to enter a stable, are denied any food and are not allowed to come out. About 500 people died of starvation and diseases, some tens of people were shot dead while they tried to come of the stable. After the snow melted, dozens of corpses were found there.

January 24, 1943

Fred Saraga, the leader of the Commission which had visited the ghettos of Transnistria, reported the plight and sufferings of the Jewish people in front of prominent Jewish leaders in Bucharest, assembled at the Choral Temple.

January 27, 1943

72 deportees were shot dead in Iampol because they were found outside the ghetto.

January 28, 1943

In the camp of Vapniarca the number of sick and paralyzed Jews because they were fed with pea fodder, reached 611. (Nr. 205).

January 29, 1943

The representative of the Government for controlling the regime of Jews, asks the Jewish Central Office to increase collection of money in order to quickly and substantially help the Jewish deportees from Transnistria as the investigations made on the spot showed that the aids that had been sent before, were totally insufficient considering the multiple and various needs of the deported Jewish population. (Nr. 206).

February 5, 1943

In Bogdanovca, the deportees punished by the Supreme General Staff stayed for 3 weeks in a pigsty. They received no food. The only food they got was provided by the local Jews, survivors of the massacre of 1941 who exchanged their clothing items for it.

In the pigsty died 7 of them, among whom: Lazar Beltzer, Nicu Goldenberg, Solomon Liviner, Iosef Cohn, etc.

Now they are brought to Golta. They are starving and shivering of cold in the shelter that is just a deserted stable with cement of the floor but compared to the hell of Bogdanovca, it is much better.

February 6, 1943

The Vapniarca camp has a new commander: Capt. Sever Buradescu. After the internees had suffered the hatred of col. Murgescu, the greed and wickedness of his successor, Capt. Cristodor Popescu, their situation gets even worse with the coming of this new commander. (Nr. 207).

February 11, 1943

The commander of the Bershad region, Lt. Gheorghe Petrescu was replaced by a brute, Lt. Gheorghe Grigorescu because the former had a too humane behavior toward the Jews.

February 12, 1942

The III-rd Army Corps orders a series of measures for worsening the regime of the Jews in Moghilev until "the answer from the Transnistria Governorate arrives, as it had been intervened to evacuate them to the Bug". (Nr. 208).

February 14, 1942

As a young couple in Bratslav got married, some people assembled and drank plum brandy. The camp commander punished them fiercely by making them pass a door where an SS patrol was hitting each with a hayfork into their bellies. Some of the internees did not want to go through these tortures and preferred to be shot dead by the commander.

February 14, 1942

A group of almost 300 Jews, who had run away from the camps situated on the Bug bank and found refuge in Obodovca, were arrested, held some days without any food and resent to the Bug.

March 1, 1943

Thanks to the greed of Capt. Ambrus, the commander of the Balta gendarme legion, a part of the Jews who had been deported according to an order of the Supreme General Staff and closed into a barns, were freed and allowed to move into the town because each family paid 60,000 lei.

Those who could not pay the requested sum were sent to work in the county kolkhozes.

March 10, 1943

The Jewish Sanitary Department in Moghilev carries out a vaccination campaign with anti-typhus – paratyphus serum so that the number of diseases decreases to a large extent.

March 15, 1943

From the Peciora camp, 220 persons are sent to work at the Rahni farm.

March 29, 1943

In the German camp of Bratslav, 6 persons are missing. The commander announces that 60 people will be shot dead unless the 6

fugitives are found. The 6 fugitives are still found, brought in front of the camp, undressed and killed by machine guns.

March, 1943

The leaders of the Shargorod ghetto get in touch with the Soviet partisans' leaders in the area through their commander, Alexandru Gordschmidt and pilot Lew Alexandrovici Sain from Vinita from among the group of those across the Bug who were hidden in the Transnistria colonies. Food, medicines, clothes, money and information were given and the connection with the Soviet commander from Ivascauti was made.

March, 1943

In October 1943, Wilhelm Fischer, the Romanian representative of the World Jewish Congress, manages to contact foreign—mostly Swiss—leading Jewish circles (Dr. A. Silberstein from Geneva, representative of the World Jewish Congress, and Saly Mayer from Saint Gallen, European representative of the American Joint Distribution Committee). They provide him with a financial base, which at the moment, cannot be brought in the country. Wilhelm Fischer receives loans from a few generous men on condition that they will not be repaid until the war has ended. In this way he manages to collect 28 million lei (at that time approx. 70,000 dollars); half of this was sent to Transnistria with special representatives as aid for the Jews there.

April, 1943

Approx. 100 Jews, men and women are sent from the Tulcin ghetto to the farms of the county. Some of them arrived at the Germans never to come back.

May 1, 1943

Capt. Buradescu, commander of the Vapniarca camp, instigated a revolt of the Christian internees brought from the Jilava prison and the Ukrainians, leading to a general fighting. Although the Jews wanted only to defend themselves, many of them were punished. (Nr. 209).

May 4, 1943

Sub lieutenant Ghineraru Florin is appointed commander of the Bershad region. As soon as he is instated, he orders that a 3 meters deep ditch should be dug around the ghetto. He has the ghetto surrounded with wire, threatening those who will leave it by death. He also forbids the internees to leave the ghetto for procuring food.

May 7, 1943

As of May 1, of this year, 555 workers were sent to Trihati, across the Bug near Nicolaev. In order to complete the number of 1,000 persons, other people were also sent, namely: 175 from Shargorod, 150 from Djurin and 120 from Murafa. Among those sent to hard labor, there were severely sick people, disabled or unfit for work. Col. Loghin ordered that especially all the Jews who worked in offices of the praetorates, all intellectuals to be sent with the first lot. They travelled for one week in sealed cattle cars. They were taken over by German soldiers and counted by being hit with a whip on their backs. They were accommodated in stables, without light and wet walls. Whoever tried to get out of the stables was punished by shooting.

They worked 14–15 hours per day for building the bridge (1,365 m length) over the Bug. For their work they are given food which consisted only of a millet soup and 200 g of bread per day.

May 10, 1943

Six hundred people (men, women, young girls) are transferred across the Bug from the camp in Peciora.

May 18, 1943

From Bershad 20 women found guilty for leaving the ghetto, were sent to the Court-Martial in Tiraspol. They are condemned between 6 months to one year imprisonment.

May 20, 1943

In Tiraspol, the trial of the Moghilev Committee is judged for bribery. At the trial, inspector Tugui declared textually: "I was sent to Moghilev to find out the arrangement between authorities and the kikes." Eventually the accused were acquitted.

May 26, 1943

The Leader of the State orders the deportation to Transnistria of Dr. W. Filderman, ex-President of the Union of Jewish Communities, because

he handed in a report to the President of the Central Jewish Office, in which he expressed his opinion that the Jewish population would be unable to pay the most recent 4 billion lei special contribution levied on them.

May 30, 1943

The Transnistria Governor is informed that the members of the Jewish Committee in Moghilev against whom a bribery trial was set up, were acquitted by the Court-Martial, he orders that all the Jews of Transnistria should be sent to the Bug while the Moghilev committee should be sent to Vapniarca. In the Vapniarca camp were interned: Presser, Kessler, Knobler and the lawyer Danilov.

May 30, 1943

In Mostovoi there are mass-executions throughout the entire month of May (120 Jews were executed). The victims are selected under the pretext that they have been chosen for work. They are executed in various places near Mostovoi, mostly in Vasilinovo. Before being executed they are tortured terribly. Several are viciously murdered. The mayor of the ghetto, who had come from Chernovitz, was cut into pieces, because he had not provided young girls to perform sexual acts. An engineer from Chernovitz, who protected his wife when policemen wanted to rape her, was also cut into pieces, but first he was forced to watch the mutilation of his wife before his eyes.

June 1, 1943

Dr. W. Filderman and his wife arrive at Moghilev, deported by a special order of Ion Antonescu.

June 5, 1943

In Trihati, the Jewish workers suffer all kinds of persecutions. Apart from the shortage of food, miserable accommodation, there was the persecution of their guardsmen and chiefs. The German engineer Neumayer ordered that all Jews should hand over their money and valuables.

Any breaking of rules was punished by death. The young man Froim Goldenberg from Burdujeni was shot dead by the camp sentinel just because he went out of the so called dormitory. Other three young people were shot dead because they received letters from their relatives in Transnistria.

The same German engineer called Neumayer invented a kind of tortured by which the Jews were arranged in two rows and forced to hit each other with several hard object.

These scenes often took place in the evening when the people returned from work.

June 8, 1943

Jews are gathered from the entire Moghilev County and sent to forced labor to extract peat in Tulcin. Here, the accommodating conditions are most miserable and the work is exhausting. The Jews have to toil from morning till night, having their feet in the swamp up to their knees, being chased by the supervisors who exploit their work as much as possible. The Jews toil like slaves and they get a portion of porridge for a whole day of work.

June 18, 1943

In Peciora two Jews who were buying some cherries at the fence of the camp were shot dead by the guardsmen.

June 20, 1943

As the working conditions in Tulcin were unbearable, some workers run away. Most of the fugitives are shot dead on the way. There is daily news about other corpses lying on the roads.

June 20, 1943

In Moghilev all men but also women are rounded up to build the bridge over the Dniester. Night teams are used for this work and the Jews are abused all the time. During the first days, the Jews are chased by the Germans to the river with their clothes on.

June 25, 1943

According to an order given by the Government, the Jews from Ustea are evacuated to a kolkhoz in Luhova on the Bug.

June 25, 1943

A lot of 1,560 Jews are sent to Nicolaev from Obodovka.

They walk up to Balta on a distance of 80 km and from there they are loaded into cars. They are not given any food.

June 30, 1943

The situation of the children from the Moghilev orphanages improved greatly. They receive more substantial food. Now 632 children are interned in 3 orphanages. Since the month of May, no child has died any longer. In January, the children's mortality percentage was of 9.42 %. (Nr. 210).

June 30, 1943

Since the deported Jews arrived at Transnistria, especially in the Moghilev County, they were forced into forced labor which was exhausting and exceeded their powers and skill. The people would have preferred to work if they had not been persecuted, humiliated and exploited by their guardsmen.

Ordinance Nr. 23 of the Transnistria Governorate, although a police ukase, was still the basic law of the deported Jews which provided that their labor was to be paid. Although the provided payment was extremely low, one or two RKKS Marks per day, even if this sum had been paid, many pains and life losses would have been avoided. But the wickedness of the leaders, especially of the prefects, mostly the prefect of the Moghilev County, Col. Loghin, prevented this payment.

Since December 18, 1941, the Jews of the Moghilev town and from the main colonies of the county (Shargorod, Murafa, and Djurin) executed labor amounting to:

Moghilev		R. K. K. S.	238,500
Şargorod (until 30.IV. 1943)		22	76,490
Murafa	(until 15.11.1943)	22	38,012
Djurin	(until 15.11.1943)		34,863 387,865

To the account of the sums that were due for this labor, the following sums were paid:

Moghilev (food and money)		R.K.K.S. 35,808	
Shargorod (food) ,	8,800		
Murafa	(food)		5,500'
Djurin	(food)		6,250 56.358
14 % of the due sum was paid			

A remaining sum of 331,507 R.K-K.S. had to be paid.

The sum was calculated at the official rate of 60 lei per mark, reaching the sum of: **19,890,420 Lei**

That sum represents the then value of 220 wagons of cereals out of which it would have been possible to feed the 40,000 Jews deported to Moghilev with 250 g of bread per day for 7 months. (Nr. 211).

June 1943

The assistance of the Jews in Transnistria is carried out with difficulty. The shortages are increased because although more than half of the deportees have passed away, almost two years have passed since their departure and the few reserves are no longer available.

However, while the needs of the deportees increase and their appeals are more desperate, the assistance power of those who stayed at home is decreased.

The Romanization action carried out by the Antonescu regime is being carried out in all fields: labor, immovables and economic units. The Ministry of labor announces that 77% of the Jewish employees were replaced. The National Romanization Center had almost completely finished the action of evacuating Jewish tenants and owners. A lot of the Jews who might earn their living are in labor detachments while the others had to pay enormous taxes to be exempted. Moreover, the unfortunate Jews have to face another problem— the exceptional contribution of 4 billion lei, the equivalent of 8,000,000 dollars requested by Antonescu.

Obviously, the activity of the Assistance Commission was less successful. Money collections were not enough while the Jewish Central Office refused to give any support, on the contrary whenever possible, they stole money from the Committee.

But suddenly there was again hope. While Dr. W. Filderman was deported in Transnistria, a Swiss journalist, Hans Welti, came to Mr. Wilhelm Fischer, representative of the World Jewish Congress, with a letter from Mr. Saly Mayer, president of the Jewish Communities in Switzerland and representative for Europe of the American Joint Distribution Committee. The letter contained in coded language indications and promises for a massive assistance action from abroad. Welti came from Switzerland to Romania for several times bringing reports about the situation in Romania and bringing from there letters and verbal messages that facilitate the receiving of funds. (nr. 212).

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¹ see illustration XIV.

July 5, 1943

About 30 Jews are sent back to Moghilev as they had labor accidents and were unfit for work. Among them there was also a 59 years old sick Jews. The German commander made him return and orders that he should be thrown into a cellar and be shut down. After a while, the killer uncovered the cellar and shot the man.

Other 18 Jews returned from Shargorod being rejected by a German commission for being unfit for work.

The commander of the gendarme legion in Moghilev, major Botoroaga, being not satisfied with this system of returning, orders that all the Jews should be sent to Trihati.

It was only by bribing the major with a diamond worth half a million lei, that the Jews were sent to forced labor in Tulcin instead of being returned to Trihati.

July 8, 1943

The president of the Jewish Committee in Moghilev obtains the authority to check the ghettos in the county. In Halcinti and Grabivti the misery is indescribable. The Jews who were living in some huts, found a dead horse (sprayed with carboline) whose meat they ate.

In Conotcauti, 70 Jews were sheltered in a stable where they had to stay all the time as they had no clothes on. Everywhere there is in the same state of misery. The Jews have enormous needs and the parcels coming from Romania do not improve their situation too much. (Nr. 213).

July 11, 1943

The regime imposed to all Jews who worked at the Tulcin peat extraction, is so terrible, that some people risk their lives and escape. A group of 13 fugitives, among whom were Abraham Becker, Schmelzer and Sperber from Shargorod was caught by a gendarme in the Jurovka village, Tulcin County. The gendarme took them to the forest and shot them, thinking that they had money upon them. A single wounded person escaped and ran to Moghilev where he hid himself. (Nr. 214).

July 15, 1943

From Obodovka, a lot of workers are sent on foot, without any food, to an aerodrome near Balta.

July 27, 1943

The soldiers of the Todt organization try to kill Dr. W. Filderman in Moghilev.

July 27, 1943

Ever since the new prefect of Moghilev was instated, the situation of the Jews worsened. Whoever had the courage to get out of the ghetto in order to procure some food was harshly punished by being hit or imprisoned. Others are sued to the Court-Martial where severe punishments are given.

Severe orders were given in the entire county – any Jew who is found outside the ghetto will be shot on the spot.

For example, in Moghilev, four Jews who ran away from Nestervarca are caught on the way, brought to town and shot dead on the Dniester bank. Two of them die on the spot while the others, who were only wounded, manage to escape.

Other two Jewish workers at the Dniester bridge are shot by the Germans because letters were found upon them. These letters were addressed to their relatives in Romania, asking for help. (Nr. 215–216).

August 2, 1943

At the request of the Germans across the Bug, the prefect of the Tulcin County orders that 200 Jews should be handed over of. At that time, such an order was equivalent to killing. A year ago, when it was hard for the human mind to anticipate the atrocities committed in German camps, such orders were not at all frightening. On the contrary, some Jews even volunteered to go there in the hope of finding better food or at least more humane treatment. However, soon enough their hopes were deceived and later on they realized their terrible fate. It was only by eloping that some of the many thousands of Jews could be saved.

In the summer of the year 1943, both the Jews and the authorities knew what such orders meant. Therefore, the order of the Tulcin prefect, the poet Poiana Volbura, was dissimulated as an order of working at the peat extraction near Tulcin. About 100 persons were rounded up from the Peciora camp, 60 from Bratslaw, 15 from Chernasovca and the rest up to 200 from the Nesterwarka kolkhoz (Tulcin peat). Here they learned the truth. After so many sufferings, the thought of near death did not cause in

their minds the natural reactions of a usual person. Most of them accepted their fate. They kept calm focusing on saving their children. They were 52, of all ages. A brave intellectual had the initiative of saving the children by paying large sums of money. Anyway, money was not important for people who were near death. It was important to save the children and indeed they were saved. While the German trucks were loading the agonizing bodies of the parents toward the Bug, their children were heading to the opposite direction, toward a new life. They were all barefoot, full of lice and scabies, starving and exhausted after a long period of malnutrition, with their ribs protruding among the huge wounds on their skin. This is how they arrived at the Tulcin ghetto. At the end of their way, almost all were orphans.

August 18, 1943

More and more Jews are killed. The Jew **Jean Gottdenker** was shot dead in the Sosnovca forest near Shargorod, as ordered by major **Botoroaga**. His corpse was burnt down. Jewish corpses are floating on the Dniester Almost all victims were from the Nestervarca labor camp.

August 25, 1943

In Sumovka, the gendarmes shot dead two Jews who were begging. They threw their bodies into the Bug River.

September 9, 1943

In Trihati, the Jews missing due to running away and killings are replaced by Jews from other places. Thus, 200 men and 20 women were brought from the Golta County. Other 70 Jews from the Vapniarca camp were also brought to Trihati. Although they had been selected by a commission and decided to be set free and repatriated and despite the fact that the Ministry of the Interior had decided that they could settle down in any locality, the Governor ordered them into Tridubi and from there they were sent to Trihati.

The living conditions are miserable. The people are exhausted; their clothes have turned into rags. Most of the Jews are wrapped in newspapers. The parcels coming from Romania do not arrive being confiscated by the Germans. A package of clothes arrived from the Jewish Central Office. It was seized by the Germans who sold them at the market.

More and more Jews are being killed. As 100 g of oil were missing from a bottle, investigations were made and the Jew Abramovici was found eating some onions with oil; he was shot on the spot.

September 12, 1943

The peat from Tulcin produces victims from everywhere. The commander of the Bershad district, sub-lieut. Ghineraru orders Jews aged 14–50 into forced labor.

October 10, 1943

The head of the gendarme post in Capusterna shot in Iarosinca two brothers whom he found begging. On the same day, the head of gendarmes shot the Crainic couple and their child whom he found in the forest, picking branches. They were buried in Grumovka.

October 14, 1943

The Vapniarca camp is dissolved. The inmates who had come from Transnistria's ghettos are sent back, those who came from prisons are sent to the Rabnita prison and the remaining ones to Grosolovo, on the Dniester bank.

October 14, 1943

The liaison established between the Jewish clandestine leadership of Romania and the Jewish authorities from abroad through the Swiss journalist Hans Welti continued without any difficulty. An exchange of information took place and it was facilitated to offer the Assistance Committee foreign funds that were necessary for a possible repatriation. The traffic of messages is very risky. For example Saly Mayer's message that was sent on the first day of Succoth in 1943, was written on the cover of a razor blade. (nr. 217)¹

October 20, 1943

The Jews suffering in the camp of Slivina, on the Bug banks, were handed over to the Germans, who executed the majority of them. The few, who managed to avoid death, arrived in Grosolovo in a terrible condition.

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¹ see photocopy of illustration XIV.

October 28, 1943

The commander of the labor camp in Nicolaev, the German officer Hans Schmidt orders 10 Jews to be hanged by other Jews because they were exhausted and had no power to work.

After the third person was hanged, the rope was torn so that the other Jews were shot dead. The German officer shot two of them with his own hands.

November 15, 1943

As the officer Hans Schmidt hears that some workers went begging, he orders that 20 Jews should be executed.

November 15, 1943

In Bershad, the young man Iuju Hefling is caught outside the ghetto and killed.

November 16, 1943

A committee led by col. Radulescu, secretary of the presidency, visits the colonies of the Moghilev County, preparing the visit of a committee from the International Red Cross.

November 18, 1943

In Balta, 83 deported and local Jews are executed being accused of belonging to a group of partisans.

November 19, 1943

The assistance committee continued its activity although it had to face difficulties and problems. However its actions were not enough considering the enormous needs of the Jewish population. Nevertheless, these aids brought hope and comfort, they even saved human lives.

During the two years since the first deportations and in only 20 months of activity, the following aids were sent:

Collective aid - money	79,462,000 lei
Individual aids (from relatives and	81,669,800 lei
friends of the deportees)	
Food	24,000,000 lei

Medicines	14,458,000 lei	
Second hand objects (collective	199,663,400 lei	
packages)		
Second hand objects (individual packages	71,286,100 lei	
from relatives and friends)		
Household articles and books	11,267,473 lei	

TOTAL 481,807,045 lei

The above mentioned sum does not include massive aids sent under the form of salt (150 tons), coal (300 tons), window glass (about 11,000 sq.m), timber (180 m³), caustic soda (5000 kg), wire and nails (10,000 kg), shovels and picks (10,000 pieces), tools for ironmongery, shoe repairing and dress making (352 boxes). (Nr. 218).

Neither does the above sum comprise the 25,000,000 lei (about 14,000,000 between October 1942 and March 1943 and 10,680,000 between March – November 1943, individually sent from abroad, by the American Joint Distribution Committee through the Romania representatives of the World Jewish Congress: W. Fischer, Dr. C. Iancu and Lawyer M. Benvenisti.

In addition to the official assistance activity carried out by the Assistance Committee, a series of secret assistance actions took place, on individual or community initiatives, bringing some comfort and relief to the Transnistria deportees.

The Zionist Leadership from Eretz Israel managed to send substantial aids which formed the Hatzala Veezra fund, made available to the deportees by an ad-hoc committee composed of Jacques Rosenzweig, L. Leiwandman and I. Herzig who were headed by the president of the Zionist Organization in Romania, lawyer M. Benvenisti.

A discrete but intense activity was carried out by a private committee, composed of Berthold Sobel, Salo Schmidt, Summer Wolf and lawyer Kiva Ornstein. The cashier of this committee was the Christian Traian Procopovici, an engineer. The sums collected by these people amounted to 200,000 dollars (the equivalent in dollars at that time) and they were used for helping the deportees and those who were left in misery in Chernovitz.

At the beginning, any attempt of the Jews from Romania to send individual aids to the deported relatives or friends was forbidden by the authorities. However, it became possible to create a network of organized and supervised couriers, through whom important aids were periodically sent, the total value of which remained unknown.

December 8, 1943

In Capusterna, the head of the gendarme post kills 2 children who had run across the Bug and found shelter in that locality

December 10, 1943

On one day, Germans murder the remaining 438 survivors from the camp in Tarasivca, beyond the Bug, and throw their corpses into a hole. Almost all of them had been deported from Chernovitz and Dorohoi in June 1942.

The 350 Jews, still alive in Ovadovca, Talalevca and Crasnopolca, meet the same fate. They are the last to be executed from the 3,000 Jews deported to sites near Ladijin. They had been given as a present to the Todt unit in August 1942 by Colonel Loghin, the Prefect of Tulcin County, and were taken eastwards from the middle of the Bug.

December 16, 1943

A Committee of the International Red Cross headed by Mr. Charles Kolb, accompanied by delegates of the Council Presidency and Government visited several Jewish colonies in Transnistria. They were taken only to the places selected by the authorities. A day before, the houses and offices were decorated with sheets and linen while the graphs and statistics were removed from offices. The Committee was not allowed to take any photos. However, the leaders of the colonies took care to inform the delegates about the truth.

December 17, 1943

In the Moghilev town and county, the gendarmes make raids and catch hundreds of Jews who are loaded on freight cars and sent to Smerinka forced labor battalions.

January 1, 1944

Ion Antonescu cynically claims in his New Year speech addressed to the army that **nobody had been deported** and the Romanian army **had been gentle and tolerant**. (Nr. 219).

January 7, 1944

The Red Army is at a distance of 20 km from Bratslav. The camp commander orders the Jews not to go to forced labor any more.

January 10, 1944

The German troops retreat from Bratslav. A number of 120 Jews remained in the camp. They went to the forest to join the partisans.

January 20, 1944

The Germans roam through Debrecin, robbing and torturing the people. Eleven people were killed, of whom 9 deportees and 2 locals.

January 20, 1944

From Nicolaev, a part of workers were transferred to Dumbrava-Verde. On frosty and snowy weather the people were crammed in two freight cars, about 60 in one car. They are sick and starving.

January 25, 1944

Following a provocative denouncement, a number of deported and local Jews from Bershad were arrested being accused of having had connections with partisan organizations. In the town there was a German police station (Ortskommandatur) because the region was in the immediate vicinity of the Uman front. The German patrols and the gendarmes of sublieut. Florin Ghineraru arrested those Jews. They could not resist the tortures and finally confessed, revealing all those who had connections with that organization. The number of the arrested people amounted to 148, among whom were the lawyer Mihail Schrentzel, deputy mayor of the ghetto, Dr. Fleischman, Mühkman from Sadagura together with his wife, etc.

After 8 days of torments, all were executed and buried in 2 mass graves, in a valley next to the town.

January 30, 1944

Some Zionist leaders from Romania (Wilhelm Fischer, lawyer Benvenisti, lawyer Dr. Entzer, etc.) were arrested and imprisoned at the Bucharest Police Prefecture. The commissar Sava Dumitrescu orders them to be tortured. Wilhelm Fischer, the Romania representative of the World Jewish Congress, aged 58 at that time, was imprisoned in a narrow and dark cell where he had to stand for 24 hours with his hands straight and tight to the body, as there was no room to move his hands. Only a month later started the investigations. The arrested people, headed by the lawyer Benvenisti, were accused of facilitating the entrance of 300 Polish Jews.

Wilhelm Fischer was accused of a more severe and dangerous action. On the first day of his investigation, he was shown a file in which he was stunned to see photocopies of his entire foreign correspondence brought or sent through the Swiss journalist Hans Welti. The documents contained notes and underlined passages by SS Hauptsturmführer Gustav Richter, the leader of the Jewish department of the Gestapo in Romania. Welti who succeeded in being trusted by the Jewish leaders of Romania and abroad was in reality a German agent. Being authorized by his superiors, the spy brought real and important services to the Jewish assistance activity only to have the opportunity of gathering information. Before reaching destination, any letter or report brought or sent through him, had to pass through the Gestapo photographic services.

As early as December 1943, Welti interrupted any connection with the Jewish leaders and in the following month, it was Richter who started his activity. He handed over the file to the General Security office and after having arrested those involved, he and Radu Lecca inquired daily at the Prefecture about the progress of investigations, insisting on starting the trial.

The investigations were prolonged with 6 more weeks. The situation of the arrested was alleviated by paying large sums of money, being finally ordered by Mihai Antonescu into being closed. Mihai Antonescu adopted a more benevolent behavior toward the Jews after his visit to the Vatican in autumn 1943 but especially after the Soviet offensive from Uman.

The only trial that took place as a consequence of that issue was that of Hans Welti. He was arrested by the Swiss authorities and during a dramatic confrontation with Wilhelm Fischer he had to admit that he was employed by the Gestapo and was spying and committed acts of treason. He was sued by the Criminal Court of the Aarau canton and condemned to 1 year and 9 months imprisonment.

February 5, 1944

The Pope sends 1,353,000 lei in aid to Transnistrian Jews to the Central Jewish Office through the Romanian Foreign Ministry.

February 7, 1944

A new group of 80 Jews, most of them locals from Bershad, was arrested being accused of having supported the Soviet partisans. They were also tortured by the German police and the sub-lt. Florin Ghineraru.

After three weeks of suffering, 6 days before the Soviet troops entered Bershad, they were also executed and their corpses were buried in a third grave in the valley in the proximity of the town.

Later on, the corpses were unearthed and buried in the Jewish cemetery of Bershad¹, behind the monument erected by the deportees. Rabbi Berl Iasser from Bricevo was brave enough to write the following text even during the Romanian persecution:

TO THE ETERNAL MEMORY OF ETERNAL DISASTER OF THE ETERNAL PEOPLE!

IN THE VALLEY OF SUFFERING AND WAILING OF THE MOURNING OF TENS OF THOUSANDS PEOPLE FROM ISRAEL.

FAR FROM THEIR DEAR ONES,
PARENTS AND CHILDREN, VENERABLE PEOPLE,
UNITED LIKE BROTHERS BY DEATH IN MASS GRAVES,
THEY DID NOT PART ANY LONGER,
THEY DIED OF HUNGER AND COLD,
DRAGGED INTO DEPORTATION
AND VOID OF FREEDOM,
MARTYRS ON EARTH,
VICTIMS OF TYRANNY,
CROWDED DURING LIFE AND AFTER DEATH
IN THE YEAR OF TERROR 1941-1942,
AMONGST THOUSANDS OF HOLY PEOPLE,
ETERNAL MEMORY TO THOSE INSCRIBED ON THIS STONE!

March 18, 1944

The former Jewish inmates of the Vapniarca camp, that had been disbanded 6 months ago, continued their plight all over the territory of Transnistria.

Those who had the privilege to be selected by a committee in March 1943 received permits of repatriation. However, two months later, they were sent into the ghettos of Tribudi, Savrani and Olgopol. There they suffered all summer in the stables of kolkhozes where some of them died. About 70

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¹ see illustration XII.

of them endured their calvary up to the Teutonic hell of Trihati. After interventions, bargaining and whims, almost all were repatriated in December 1943 and January 1944.

Those who were brought to Vapniarca directly from the Tg. Jiu camp as well as the 116 people who were not set free, had been transferred in October to the Grosolovo camp from where they were repatriated but reinterned to the Tg. Jiu camp.

Those who were brought to Vapniarca from the prisons where they were punished for their beliefs and ideals were transferred to the Rabnita prison.

Until now they endured with stoicism and hope the prison regimen. The turmoil of great upsettings on the battlefield is felt behind prison bars bringing hope and new power of resistance. Their big day draws near.

There has been a state of restlessness in the prison for two days. The commander, Major Teodor Delciu has left. There are no clerks in the chancery and even some guardsmen are missing. Other guardsmen from the Balta prison were brought instead.

At noon, all inmates were ordered to pack their things. All the people packed their baggage and waited in the cells. Long and hard hours of waiting have passed. It was long after midnight and most of the internees fell asleep. Suddenly violent noises are heard. Guardsmen Valuta and Uta from the Balta prison, German officers and soldiers appear.

Still sleepy, the people open their eyes and immediately understand what is going on. Not even a cry was heard, just a few moans soon covered by the sound of automatic guns. Some short shots, first at the basement then on the first floor and at last on the ground floor and a few final checking shots. Nobody is alive. The Rabnita prison was plunged again in its horrifying quietness. Fifty two Jewish fighters expiated their guilt of having believed in a better world.

On the next morning the prison was in flames. The beasts hoped to wipe out the traces of their crime and they set the prison ablaze.

Through stifling smoke, burnt meat and over heaps of hot coals, the first soldiers of the Red Army arrived a little later. All they found were four tired souls who had saved their anguished lives through bullets and fire, like in a miracle.

March 20, 1944

In the final weeks of fascist rule, Jewish deportees were not tortured in the way they had been throughout the previous three years. They were no longer beaten by officers and soldiers, and neither were they attacked by praetors, pharmacists or forestry engineers. They were not forced to work, nor were they deported. The "kikes" (Jidanii) had become "Jewish gentlemen".

In spite of all this, Jews were full of well-founded fear and worry. They were afraid of the massacres and killings which could follow after the retreat of German troops.

The lightning Soviet attack, however, proved an obstacle to the last crimes. The Red Army left on March 10 from Uman, arriving after 5 days at the Bug River which they crossed on the same night and continued their march up to the Dniester where they arrived on March 20.

The scattered and disorganized wrecks of the Hitlerian army ran through the Jewish ghettos. Dirty, ragged and barefoot starving soldiers stopped sometimes in front of the Jews (who had escaped the fascist terror), begging for a piece of bread. Nobody pitied them. Sometimes they were given charity with disgust and abomination.

CHAPTER VI – DOCUMENTS

ATACHI Nr. 160

Thoughts and Images described by the former President of the Jewish Community in Suceava and Leader of the Shargorod Ghetto, Dr. Meier Teich

On the morning of October 13, 1941, our train stopped at the steep slope of an idle track, outside of the Atachi station. It was hard to walk through the muddy soil which had been stamped by previous convoys of Jews and soaked by continuous raining.

We had to quickly get off the train, walking down the steep slope. The soldiers who were escorting us made us realize what we really meant now. In their eyes we were nothing but dirty dogs that could be chased away or hit with clubs or army butts; we could be mocked at and despised.

Our belongings have to be thrown into the ditch of the road, one above the other. The rain mingled with snow makes the people and things wet and makes us all shiver in the gathered herd guarded by armed beasts. The aged and the sick are left in the rain. The area around us was littered with corpses. Nobody thinks that they should be buried. Two of our people are agonizing. We will also abandon them soon and maybe they would still be aware of that. May God, who has left us, let them soon die.

But what makes me suffer even more than the care for my family is the humiliation and the horrifying degrading that make us kneel down. Without any guilt or justified reason, a maximum capitis deminutio.

In everybody's eyes one can read the question "why?" addressed to the fate and the fear of what is in store for us.

The pity for our dear ones whom you could have protected and who are now helpless in the face of the powers unleashed by man and nature, gives me such fearful pain that I feel the need to cry out, hit, and fight God.

Wherefrom do we have so much energy to keep calm, to try to improve something in this desperate situation, to procure food, to arrange with carters for transporting the people and their belongings, to start organizing ourselves. It was really a miracle that we did not lose our heads.

Some hours later that seemed like years to us, we were ordered to walk farther, to the Atachi village, at 500 m distance, we were told. The carters were the first hyenas who required enormous sums to take us to the village. My first success was that I obtained a reduction of the fee to 2,000 lei per cart, only 20 times the usual price. All the locals had now the opportunity of enrichment at our expense. Captain Popescu advises us "kindly" to hasten the formalities at the National Bank and the Customs Office. He said that we would not find any accommodation in Atachi but in Moghilev there are good opportunities. He was well aware of the dangers that were waiting for us in the convoy but he wanted to get rid of us sooner. We started to walk on slippery fields, in sticky mud; the disabled old people were seated on the baggage in carts. We had to be grateful for being permitted to take carts with us because the previous convoys did not have this possibility and the disabled were left helpless preys to all animals, be it humans, dogs, or ravens. Anyway, we had special advantages because those who arrived before us were shot dead and robbed of everything.

We soon arrived at Atachi or better said the place where a human settlement had once been. We were allotted the down part of the shtetls in the Jewish quarter near the Dniester. All the buildings had been burnt down or ruined after the artillery bombardment. The traces of the last pogrom were still visible. The streets, yards, basements and waste lands were full of corpses. On the walls one could read the following inscriptions written with blood in Yiddish: "You who come after us say Kaddish for (A name followed). We passed away Al Kiddush Hashem".

There were also other similar inscriptions like: "Here was butchered (name follows) with his entire family." Nobody knows who wrote these words, the victims themselves or had there been any survivors?

We found there among the ruins, thousands of starving people. Almost nowhere was any place. Capt. Popescu offered us the "Big Synagogue". We found only some walls without a roof where the crowded people were looking at us in horror because they knew what the arrival of a new transport meant. They feared they would be driven away and transported across the Dniester where they would go through all those sufferings worse than death.

Maybe some of them were hostile when they saw us. The human being becomes a fierce animal when he fights for life, for some bread or for a place to rest. And indeed, when we arrived, some of the people who were resting there were driven to the Dniester.

The people looked for other places in the hope of finding something better just as a man who is drowning clings to a straw or a dying man to a ray of hope.

We found a dry place to put our belongings. Almost everyone was looking for dry places but only few were able to find one. Most people had to stay in the open. Those severely ill and the old, single persons were placed in a house without any doors and windows. Only the floor and the roof were not broken.

In the evening, as I was trying to find my aunt, Golda Beiner, aged 87 who had hardly recognized me, I saw Saie Langer who was well over 92. He was one of the most important traders of Bukovina who still was proud of having participated in the I-st Zionist Congress at Basel. Almost blind, he had often visited me in Suceava. His wife whispered to him that I was there, asking me to draw near. I kneel next to him and he takes my hand and holds it tight for several moments. First, he cannot talk, he burst into tears. At last he finds the strength to talk to me:

"Sir! How was it possible to chase me out of Suceava! I was born there 90 years ago. I lived and worked there. I took over my father's shop. I had run that shop honestly for 60 years. I had been an imperial counselor, a leader of the Jewish community. I have never had any conflicts with anyone. I was loved and respected by all.

You have to promise me that you will immediately address memos to all competent authorities and ask them to send us back because we are two old people. Our graves are already prepared for us in Suceava. It is only necessary to add the date of death on the grave stone. They should let us die there or if this is not possible, at least in Falticeni, the birth place of my wife.

All I want is to be buried in my homeland".

His eyes were filled with tears and he could not go on. I tried to comfort him, promised him everything, only to calm him down. An hour later, he passed away. I buried him on the bank of the Dniester. There is no sign of it today.

In the cemetery of Suceava only Charlotte Langer was buried. She was the only old woman who survived the sufferings of Transnistria and had the strength to return and die in her homeland.

You, who in those times were comfortable in your homes, sleeping in your own beds, will ever be able to understand our plight, our misery and pain? Will you ever guess the tragedy of having to die far from your home? Yizkor! Remember those who died at the edge of roads!

Darkness, humidity, filth, wailing and the people are still living. Parents lost their children; the children lost their parents. Chaos! People are shouting, howling, whispering. Starvation, torments, desperation, death. Neither comfort nor consolation can help. There is no food and most people are starving. Almost nobody can sleep, however the night passes fast and we watch fearfully that dawn has come. Soon, some peasants came with milk and bread. But they ask enormous prices and many of us cannot afford to buy the food.

Suddenly, we heard soundless moaning that while approaching was transformed into howls.

"These are the Jews from Edineti. They are naked and starving being chased like a pack of dogs." Here they are. I shall never forget that scene. These are not human beings. Starving, dressed in rags, they are crawling, moaning, shivering and howling. In their eyes one can see the hunted animal's fear of death. This herd which is chased and beaten by the soldiers' weapons and whips is hardly moving with slowly, unconscious gestures. The beasts do not allow anybody to stop, running forward to the Dniester, to the ferry, to hell. We managed to surround them and in a short moment of bewilderment we give them some food, some clothes, we even stole a few of them and hid them among our people. But the soldiers tear our cordon and their column is restored. For the first time I heard the order that would sound in my ears so often: "Those who cannot keep pace and lag behind will be shot".

We have a clear image of our future. I am looking at my convalescent son who after a severe disease needs to rest and to have good nourishment. My eyes meet the fearful eyes of my wife who is thinking only of her child. I can hardly think of my old mother and of all my dear ones – I am feeling savage pain, a shivering spasm and darkness before my eyes. I am listening

to the whispers of my wife who urges us to swallow together the poison prepared before we left Suceava. Our son, at the age of 18, wants to live and holds us back. He finds all sorts of reasons to persuade us not to commit suicide. I do not know which reason was more convincing - maybe that of taking revenge.

To encourage us and make us resist, he himself takes the lead. He is soon befriended with Dr. Abraham Reicher who is only 33 but energetic and full of vitality. Along with my brother in law, Samuel Neuberger who was also young and full of life, they create a first cell of spiritual resistance and the beginning of our organization.

Dr. Reicher was the will, Samuel Neuberger the urge and Alexandru Gideon Teich, my good Gidi, was the thought and wise advice that protected and saved us from the hardest moments. Atachi hardened them in the same way in which it defeated others. However, their fate was stronger and none of them survived, not even to enjoy the victory. Their bodies are buried in the old cemetery of Shargorod. Samuel Neuberger died on February 26, 1942 and Dr. Abraham Reicher only a few days later, on March 3. They both caught petechial typhus. My son died on August 15, 1943 and two days later I buried him in one coffin with his mother, Ana Teich, my holy wife who could not and did not want to survive her only child.

Yizkor! Think of the noble martyrs chosen from among the hundreds of thousands of victims who remained in Ukraine's ground.

Atachi! Who can describe you and who can understand the stories about you? It is a weakness or perhaps a virtue of the human soul not to understand pain unless it goes through its body. Therefore, Atachi will remain a mystery understood only by us who felt like in a cage, walking on its sinuous streets. How on earth can one understand this mystery of seeing strong men falling to the earth or healthy people becoming suddenly insane? I can still see Roza Stein, the widow of the lawyer Dr. Samuel Stein, who thought she was in her town and that she lost her way. She asked the people in the street to show her the way home: "Please be so kind and take me home. You know, I live in the building where there is Weiner's book store".

I can also see that unfortunate man who suddenly started to yell and to threaten that he would return home unless he is given some food. I can also see those many people who like in a collective madness asked me: "Why did you bring us here?"

Then I can see the long and endless convoys of Jews who arrived there after us. I see those from Radauti, Gura Humorului, Vatra-Dornei, shivering frightened, the same as we did a day before. I can also see those who went beyond Moghilev and then came back. At the gates of hell they described the hell as it really is and we cannot tell which is more frightening. We learn that until we get there we have to pass through all the customs of the earth and over the water a new Caron dressed as a soldier or officer, more greedy and wilder than that on the bank of the Styx river is not satisfied with the coin of the legend, he wants more, everything until his bottomless bag is full. And there the poor herds are received with whips and weapons up to that house of horror with no roof, no doors and no windows that yesterday was a barracks, today it is a camp and tomorrow it will be a grave.

It was Dr. Reicher's energy that saved us. He passed beyond the Dniester before us. He begged, objected, threatened and paid. Most of all he paid. He bought all that was necessary so that we could pass safely the Dniester on the next day and when we reached Moghilev we regained our hope. As soon as we arrived at Moghilev we heard a first order: "The Dr. Teich group does not go to the camp. They will be accommodated in the cinema hall." When we saw that we were in a place with a roof over our heads, where we could stretch out our tired bodies next to our untouched baggage, we forgot about the Atachi prologue. We forgot all about the ridicule, we forgot the beasts and the dead. For a moment we even forgot that a few hours before when we were on the other bank, all our documents were taken away and that we are now in a foreign country, at the beginning of a new life, without names in an endless misery.

Dr. Meier Teich

Nr. 161

A Final Signal of Despair Addressed from Atachi before passing the Dniester by the President of the Jewish Community in Radauti, I. Pressner to the president of the Federation of Jewish Communities, Dr. W. Filderman.¹

Mr. President,

I, the undersigned, Isidor Pressner, a former president of the Jewish Community in Radauti, along with several Jews from Radauti, take the liberty to address to you together with many Jews from other places of Bukovina, begging you to save us from the desperate situation we are in.

You have certainly been informed that on October 14, we were all evacuated and brought here to be taken across the Dniester and sent somewhere to the Ukraine, without any destination. From here we'll be sent without any means of transportation to an unknown direction. Most Jews, who pass across the Dniester, remain without any shelter, in the open, in the rain, mud and cold. A small part is still here in Atachi. Here, hundreds of people have already died and many have gone mad, others committed suicide. It is not possible to describe in this letter our sorrow and our situation.

One thing is sure. None of us will survive unless we are immediately saved. According to our opinion, about 25,000 people are on their way to the Ukraine, a part being in Moghilev and another part still in Atachi.

According to our information, we will also be transported across the Dniester in maximum 2 days.

Please do your best to save us soon, at least see to it that we are sent to a camp for the winter if it is not possible to find a more favorable solution.

YOU CAN IMAGINE OUR DESPAIR AND WE BEG YOU ONCE AGAIN TO SAVE US FROM THE CLAWS OF DEATH IN THE VERY LAST MINUTE.

OUR SAVING CAN COME ONLY BY TELEGRAPH.

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¹ see illustration Nr. VI.

We would like to inform you that no more transports with deportees have arrived and we think there must be a new directive which stops the deportation of the Bukovina Jews. As we are still here, we ask to be also included into this possible directive.

> Yours faithfully, I. PRESSNER

Atachi, October 22, 1941

To Dr. W. Filderman, president of the Federation of Jewish Communities

THE FIRST JEWISH COMMITTEE IN MOGHILEV Nr. 162

MINUTES

Today, November 18, 1941

We, Gheorghe Culnev, deputy prefect of the Moghilev County, being verbally entrusted by the Prefect of the Moghilev County to set up a committee for co-coordinating the issue of the force labor of Jewish deportees who are living here, in the town and county of Moghilev,

considering the list of members who will enter this committee, seen and approved by the prefect of the Moghilev County, on November 17, 1941, attached to this minutes, assisted by the mayor of Moghilev, Alexandru Ivanov and the general secretary of the town of Moghilev, Nicolae Scutelnicu, we have instated the committee in charge with the coordination of the forced labor issue concerning the Jews established in the town and county of Moghilev, comprising the following members:

Laufer Feiwel, Kastner Hermann, Schaefier Salo, Pressner Eisig, Wahrsinger Leon, Eng. Jaegendorf Siegfried, Dr. Hilsenrad Simon, Dr. Kessler Jonas, Dr. Teich Meier, Klipper Moritz, Fleischer Abraham, Katz Moses, Eng. Wolfsohn Emanuil,

and the following physicians: Dr. Druckman Josef, Dr. Stein Elias.

The committee elected on the first meeting from among the instated members, will choose a president, two vice-presidents, a cashier-accountant and a secretary.

The sub-prefect gave the committee the necessary directives (instructions), stressing the fact that if the given instructions are not complied with, the committee will be sanctioned. No Jew will be allowed to present himself to any institution in the town or county because all complaints will be solved only through the instated committee.

Any decision of the committee will be communicated to the subprefect by drawing up a report.

The committee will intervene with the prefecture of the Moghilev County, handing in a list of the members and their families in order to obtain permits to stay and be represented.

This minutes had been drawn up in 3 copies, one will be issued for the chosen committee, the second to the Prefecture of the Moghilev County and the third one will be kept at the Moghilev Town Council.

Sub prefect of the Moghilev Police, Gh. Culney.

Mayor of the Moghilev Town, Ivanov General Secretary, N. Scutelnicu

RESIDENCE PERMITS FOR STAYING IN MOGHILEV Nr. 163

Report (extract) ¹				

The same arbitrary and irregular procedure was applied in connection with the sum of 500,000 lei received by the sub-prefect Moisev from Moghilev.

This is what happened:

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¹ The report seems to have been addressed to the Governor of Transnistria.

The deportee named Danilov and his coreligionist Iancu Malcasi came to the office of sub-prefect Moisev with a residence petition for 176 family heads (646 persons) and a donation of 500,000 lei to the county. The sub prefect called them on the following day.

On the next day he informed them that their petition had been approved.

Danilov and Malcasi handed over to Moisev the sum of 500,000 lei in bills of 500 and 1,000 lei, receiving 4 standard typed forms. According to those standard forms, they had the residence permits typed in the town office. Those permits were handed over to the sub prefect Moisev who, in turn gave them to Danilov.

The petition requesting those permits specifying the donation of 500,000 lei was not found at the Prefecture. However, the list of the Jews requesting those permits was found.

As Danilov saw that his petition was approved, he came with a second petition (according to the old Jewish system), for 166 Jews who also wanted permits to stay in Moghilev. The sub prefect Moisev could not refuse this new petition, approved it and issued the relevant permits.

When the sub prefect Moisev was asked if he received the sum of 500,000 lei, he denied.

The Jews Danilov and Malcasi claim both verbally and in writing that they gave him that sum.

When General Administrative Inspector, Dumitru Stefanescu and I confronted them, Moisev claimed he did not get the money while Danilov and Malcasi categorically declared to have handed over the money.

As there were no other persons present when the money was given to sub prefect Moisev, it is not possible to prove whether the money was taken by him.

However, considering that there are enough precedent cases in which Jews gave money for obtaining such residence permits on the one hand and the fear of the Jews to disclose any bribery case (excepting the case in which they had to admit giving the money following an accusation from the Information Bureau of the Moghilev Gendarme Legion), on the other hand, I think it is impossible that those Jews could have made untrue statements. All these facts prove that the money was handed over and that sub prefect Moisev had taken it.

The Moghilev Gendarme Legion informed the Moghilev Prefecture by the written report Nr. 127 of Nov. 30, 1941 of the committed infringement.

Please decide on the measures to be taken considering that the above mentioned administrative officers were guilty of the following infringements:

- 1. Moral: they engaged in money traffic and created funds which offend the national feeling by evading the orders of cleansing the country of elements hostile and dangerous the safety of the state.
- 2. Penal: Power abuse, art. 245-248, penal code Bribery art. 250-251 C.P. Unlawful taking, art. 238-241 C.P.

Breaking the instructions of the Law of Public Accountancy.

Gendarme Inspector Transnistria Col. E. BROSTEANU

PERSECUTIONS AND MISERY IN BERSHAD Nr. 164

Extract from the accusation document drawn up by The chief public prosecutor, A. Bunaciu, in the trial of the first lot of war criminals, judged by the People's Tribunal

EXTERMINATION BY STARVATION AND MISERY

ALEXANDRU CONSTANTIN, praetor of Bershad, who functioned between October 1941 – August 1942, did all he could to maintain a regime of hunger and misery which led to the extermination of thousands of Jews in the Bershad camp.

The defendant Alexandrescu Constantin was found guilty of the tragedy that happened to thousands of Jews who had died because of typhus and starvation in the stables of the Bershad kolkhozes.

Although in his position of practor he was responsible for providing accommodation and food and for creating adequate sanitary conditions for the

deportees, the defendant asked a fee of approx. 10,000 lei for each family member to be allowed to move from the stables to the Bershad ghettos.

Those who did not have Romanian money, had to pay in jewelry or clothes. The persons who had neither money nor valuables were compelled to stay in those kolkhozes where they died because of cold, typhus and shortage of food. The mortality percentage of those who lived in the stables under the said conditions was as follows: out of 20 people only 3 survived (see the testimonies of witnesses Lieut. Petrescu Petre, Ghorghe Zaharia, Mathias Bernard, Malaester Hamsel, Zenaida Polobroscaia and Zand Efroim).

Mihailiuc Constantin, from Bukovina, Storojinet County, was notorious for his abuses and tortures. He had been recommended by praetor Alexandrescu who was a relative of his. He was instated as head of the civilian police in Bershad. He used to carry a club in his hand hitting at random anyone he met in the ghetto. He was sure of the protection of his cousin, praetor Alexandrescu Constantin. By his terrorist behavior, he succeeded in acquiring money and valuables (see the testimonies of the following witnesses: Lieut. Petrescu Gheorghe, Zenaida Polobroscaia and Zand Efroim).

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THE NUMBER OF THE JEWS PASSED ACCROS THE DNIESTER Nr. 165

GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA

INFORMATIVE BULLETIN For Transnistria From December 15, 1941 – January 15, 1942 1. THE POPULATION'S STATE OF MIND

In the Rabnita, Iampol, Moghilev and Tulcin counties, the price of food has increased very much because of the Jews who had been brought there.

As there are no kolkhozes in all villages, it is not possible to get all the necessary food because the Jews offer high prices and there is little food left.

THE JEWISH ISSUE

A part of the Jewish population not yet evacuated from Transnistria baptizes their children in the Christian orthodox religion and have their daughters married to Christians. The religious service was performed by Russian priests.

The local population expresses its joy when seeing convoys of Jews driven to the Bug. This exodus is seen as a heavenly punishment for everything they had done.

On the other hand, the local population is worried because it is afraid that a lot of foods will be consumed by the Jews at the cost of the locals.

Until now, a number of 118,847 Jews have been passed across the Dniester via the following crossing points:

- Iampol 35,276; Moghilev 55,913; Tiraspol 872; Rabnita 24,570; Iaska, 2.216.

Apart from Odessa where the evacuation of the Jews is in progress, there still are Jews who had not been gathered yet, in the following places:

- Berezovca, 23; Ovidiopol, 15; Rabnita, 1674.

The Jews from Odessa have spread the rumor that the German armies are rejected from the Moscow direction and the time for their revenge is not far.

It has been found that the Jews try to run away from the villages where they had been brought to, especially from Bogdanovca. They are heading toward Romania although they will be considered spies and punished accordingly (according to ordinance Nr. 23).

The gendarme units were ordered to follow up and catch the Jews who disappeared from the placement areas and to apply the instructions of ordinance Nr. 23.

The deacon priest Petre Eftimiu alongside the mobile team of contagious patients Nr. 47 in Moghilev was arrested for being a liaison agent between the Jews from Romania and those from the ghettos. He will be judged by the Court Martial in Bucharest.

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VARIA

A group of German soldiers from Moghilev started to transport Jews to Romania in exchange for the sum of 50,000 - 60,000 lei per person.

The Jew Margulius from Moghilev is in charge with this business, being an information agent of the SS organization. The Jews are transported by German cars under the pretext of being carried to forced labor. A part of those Jews arrived at Bucharest.

Battalion 11 of Gendarmes was ordered to investigate this case.

Gendarme Inspector Transnistria Col. E. BROSTEANU

THE GREAT EPIDEMIC OF PETECHIAL TYPHUS Nr. 166

Extract from a monograph about the Shargorod Ghetto drawn up by the Ghetto Leadership on January 15, 1944 at the request of the Romanian Social Institute

One of the most important causes of mortality in general and morbidity in particular, was the general deplorable sanitary and hygienic state of the ghetto Jews. The most elementary principles of hygiene and prophylaxis were missing.

In order to describe more accurately the above mentioned facts, we shall examine each principle separately, showing their evolution during the period of 2 years and 3 months.

Public sanitation was missing almost entirely. The topography of the urban village Shargorod is configured in such a way that complete public sanitation is anyway impossible. Almost all the houses had been build in an old style at least 80 years ago, without any barren ground around them, without any architectonic order outside and inside the houses. As most houses were made of clay, we had to face big difficulties only to obtain a minimum of sanitation. There were neither public nor private lavatories.

The local population used to spread the faeces around their houses and in barren areas.

There was no cleaning system and no garbage dumps. Therefore, the streets were dirty all the time.

There was no airing system in the rooms, abt. 99% of the windows were closed, and airing was done through a single opening. Heating was by common stoves, one for 2–3 rooms.

The main factor that in addition to the above mentioned factors, led to the big epidemic of petechial typhus of the first winter, was the infection with parasites of the entire local population.

Another important problem was that of the drinking water.

There were only 4 well in Shargorod that did not meet the necessities of the deportees. The water did not comply with the most elementary hygienic criteria. They were not placed in proper places, uncovered, without any protection area; the people used to bring their own buckets making the water of the well dirty. There was an aqueduct only in several houses but it had been destroyed during the war. There were no means of body hygiene. The communal bath was destroyed and it involved a lot of work for rebuilding it. The deportees had no possibility to wash themselves in their dwellings because of the misery.

When we came to Shargorod, our first priority was the issue of finding shelter.

There were in all 337 houses, each having an average of 2–3 rooms, without furniture or auxiliary rooms, representing a total number of 842 rooms. These rooms had a maximum capacity of 2–3 persons.

When we arrived at Shargorod, we found about 1,800 local Jews. The number of deportees amounted to 7,000. Therefore, this problem was very difficult to solve because a high number of people lived in the same room. This led to the spread of the petechial typhus. These common rooms were inhabited mostly by the Jews from Dorohoi who arrived last, and found no other accommodation.

Nourishment was another problem. The demand was much higher than the supply because such a mass of deportees. This also led to price imbalance. There was no means of earning money, therefore the only possibility of getting some food was by bartering for clothes.

All those specified reasons: epidemic, shortage of dwellings, malnutrition, the psychic shock due to deportation, endemic petechial typhus led to the big petechial typhus epidemic in the second half of November. At that time it was not possible to examine the patients from the

serological point of view. Therefore and because the first cases were atypical, the epidemic was diagnosed not until the half of November. There was a hospital for infectious diseases with a capacity of 25 beds.

In November 1941, the cases of petechial typhus were not so clearly specified so that the real epidemics can be considered to have started at the beginning of December when 15 cases were registered, out of which one was lethal.

When the epidemic broke out, we were completely disorganized, without the most elementary prophylaxis organizations and without any medicines.

In January 1942, the number of isolated cases rose to 99 with 13 dead that is a percentage of 13.13 %. This was only a small part of the big mass of sick people who stayed at home as there were no places in the hospital. During this month, the first preventive measures are taken. The drying closets are repaired, the communal bath is put in operation where a large steaming cabinet was installed.

During this month, the physicians also catch typhus. In the month of February the epidemic spread in an explosive way; almost no house was without sick people. Only 111 cases were isolated, out of which 14 deaths i.e. a percentage of 12 %.

During this month, the greatest majority of the physicians gets sick, i.e. 20 out of 24; 12 dead physicians represented 52%. There are still no medicines.

During the middle of February, a second hospital for isolating infectious diseases was set up, arranged and supported by the colony, having a capacity of 100 beds.

During the month of March, the epidemic reaches its acme, with 460 isolated cases with a mortality of 12 %. The epidemic continues in the month of April being decreased. However the maximum mortality percentage was of 36%.

All the cases are isolated. Severe preventive measures are taken by steaming, hair cutting, bathing, petroleum treatment.

During the following months the epidemic decreases quickly being completely closed in June 1942.

During these epidemics, a number of 2,414 persons were taken ill, out of which 1,449 died, representing more than 60%.

After a period of 3 months, the cases of petechial typhus reappear in October 1942 but this time we were organized and prepared.

As of May 1942, the ghetto was divided into sectors, each having a physician and a sanitarian. Daily visits are being paid. During the summer, a radical delousing campaign takes place. Each suspect is immediately isolated in hospital.

Thus, in the month of October when the first cases of petechial typhus appeared, there were no suspect unisolated cases. Therefore, the epidemic is kept at a low level. In October there were 4 cases with one dead person, in November 9 cases and 1 dead person, in December 7, and 1 dead, in January 1943, 5 cases and 1 dead person and in February there was the last cured case.

In total there were 25 cases with 4 dead people, representing 16 %.

This is the way the epidemic of petechial typhus was ended; this was one of the main causes of mortality in this ghetto.

Another epidemic, maybe not so severe in point of mortality but not less important considering the problems to be solved, was that of typhus fever and paratyphus.

As mentioned above these infectious diseases were also endemic in this region finding a favorable milieu in the great mass of the deportees who were undernourished and feeble after the epidemic of petechial typhus.

The first problem to be solved from the very beginning was the drinking water. In April 1942 we had the wells of the town repaired and disinfected.

The electrical plant and the aqueduct were repaired by the efforts and expenditure of the colony.

A soap factory was set up. A water well was arranged under perfect hygienic conditions. The population was advised to drink only boiled or spring water. A number of 2,207 persons were vaccinated against T.Ab.

A pharmacy with the necessary medicines was set up.

As this small town had a special topography, it was impossible for the local population to have private toilets built. Therefore, six public toilets with 48 cubicles were built on the barren areas. The toilets had been used only until winter when they were demolished by the needy population using the wood for heating. The pits that remained were disinfected and covered. An emptying service was also set up since that moment.

All the ruins of the town which became real centers of contagion were demolished and sanitized. A big synagogue where a large number of poor people had been accommodated, was demolished because it was a permanent center of contagion; the population was relocated to other districts of the town.

Despite all those measures, the typhus epidemic appeared in June and July with atypical cases reaching their climax in August with 37 cases. During the next 3 months, the epidemic decreased and disappeared completely in November 1942.

However, in December and January 1943 isolated cases of typhoid fever appeared; 92 cases of typhoid fever with 3 deaths, i.e. 3.5% and 5 cases of paratyphoid fever and 1 dead person: 2%. During the winter months, there were some 12 isolated cases of typhoid and paratyphoid fever. In the spring of the year 1943, the prophylaxis and hygiene actions were intensified. 295 persons were vaccinated against T. Ab. and 1,003 persons were revaccinated.

The epidemic was finished in November 1943 and ever since no infectious and contagious diseases appeared again.

Contrary to expectations, the dysentery did not reach the level of the two epidemics described above. Isolated cases appeared in June – July 1942 and in August there were 11 cases.

In the summer of 1942, there were 39 cases and 8 dead people, i.e. 20%.

The epidemic was due to the lack of sanitation reaching its climax during the period of fruit picking.

Apart from the epidemic diseases described above, other diseases with epidemic character also appeared: catarrhal jaundice, malnutrition illnesses and menstrual disorders.

.....

Malnutrition illnesses. Due to the reasons mentioned above, the population in general but especially the poor layer had a high degree of vitamin deficiencies. Therefore, typical diseases of starvation like swelling of extremities and general swelling of the body appeared, namely:

- a) reversible swellings; abt. 1,200 cases which disappeared when the Jewish hospital, orphanage, kitchen and popular canteen were set up
- b) irreversible generalized edema with sero-purulent stool which led to death. About 50 persons belonged to the latter category, all being mortal.

The malnutrition along with the shortage of clothes and firewood led to a high number of gangrenes of phalanges. These gangrenes were cured but they caused a high percentage of invalidity. Other malnutrition diseases were cases of gingivitis and stomatitis.

Menstrual disorders, especially amenorrhea appeared with a high number of women (60%), even since the first moment of deportation, lasting between 3 months and 2 years.

Mental diseases: only 3 cases of periodical psychoses were registered (one deceased and the other two were cured).

ORDER CONCERNING RETURNING THE LUGGAGE LEFT IN ATACHI Nr. 167

MOGHILEV PREFECTURE

Tiraspol 339-47-81-10/31

According to the order given by Marshal Antonescu on December 10, 1941, the luggage of the Jews deported to Transnistria and left in Otaci should be taken and handed over to the **Jewish Committee in Moghilev.** You'll have to report if this order was put executed.

For Governor: Cercavschi, General Secretary Nr. 004281 of January 8, 1942

APPROVAL TO ASSIST THE JEWS FROM TRANSNISTRIA Nr. 168

Romania
Presidency of the Council of
Ministers
Civilian Military Cabinet for
Administering Bessarabia,
Bukovina and Transnistria
Nr. 259C, B.B.T.

Bucharest, December 10, 1941
Confidential
Jewish Central Office of
Romania
Registered under Nr, 55-21
December 1941

To Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania

We are honored to inform you that Marshal Antonescu approved for the Federation of Jewish Communities to officially send money aid and medicines to the Jews deported to Transnistria.

General Secretary

OVIDIU VLADESCU

Head of Military Department Major **STELIAN IAMANDI**

PETECHIAL TYPHUS IN MOGHILEV Nr. 169

Jewish Committee Sanitary Service

REPORT

Referring to the Epidemic of Petechial Typhus in the Town of Moghilev Winter 1941/1942

1. HISTORY, CAUSES AND ORIGIN

Following the deportation of the Jews from Bessarabia, Bukovina and the Dorohoi County, a number of about 65,000 Jews arrived in the town of Moghilev in October and November 1941. The greatest part of them passed only through the town, being sent farther to the villages and shtetls of the county; a number of abt. 15,000 Jews remained in Moghilev.

The town of Moghilev had a terrible aspect, most houses were ruined or deserted, without any doors or windows, the streets and lanes were full of mud and sludge left by the Dniester flooding. The Jews arrived during a cold and rainy season and they found shelter in those deserted houses. Not all of them could be accommodated in those houses. However, about 5–19 families were crammed in those rooms where normally only one family would have lived. In a very short time, any trace of hygiene disappeared. The people slept directly on the floor, dressed in their clothes, covered by the clothes they were wearing during the day. There were no washing

facilities and the misery was increasing because there were no toilets, no sewage system and no sanitation service.

Although the deported Jews came from areas where there was no petechial typhus epidemic, in a very short time a big epidemic broke out among the deportees because of the total lack of hygiene.

The cold of November and December, the lack of fuel, soap and petroleum, the non-hygienic living conditions facilitated the appearance of lice. Nevertheless, it was not until December 1941 that petechial typhus broke out.

About the middle of December, the virus of petechial typhus was brought by external factors, namely:

- a) The liberated prisoners who came home to Moghilev from Briansk, Cernigov and Berjiansk, fall ill immediately after returning and create the first center of contagion.
- b) A Jew called Gottlieb, who was looking for his family, came to Moghilev from the Bug region where there had been a petechial typhus epidemic. Two or three days later, he fell ill with typhus. Such cases were very frequent at that time and thus in the middle of January, several centers of contagion broke out.
- c) In the villages situated in the vicinity of Moghilev, where there were epidemics of petechial typhus and every year broke out such epidemics, the evacuated Jews caught the disease at the beginning of December. Such cases were registered in the Tropova, Ozarinta, Sadova and Lucinet villages.
- d) The Jews evacuated from the neighboring villages and all those who had no means of existence were accommodated in a former barracks. It was called the "camp", a place of refuge for the needy, beggars and all those homeless people. It was here that the first case of petechial typhus broke out. He transmitted the disease to the others, creating a massive center of contagion. It was here that the Jewish physicians who took care of the sick caught the disease; one of them died actually the first but unfortunately, not the last victim of his profession.

That case was immediately communicated to the Jewish Committee that in turn informed the relevant authorities, asking them to take measures and help prevent the epidemic. Unfortunately, the authorities of that time and especially the sanitary service were not helpful at all.

2. THE FIRST PREVENTIVE MEASURES

At the meeting of January 11, 1942, the Jewish physicians and committee take the first measures of isolating and preventing the petechial typhus which had spread and become a massive epidemic because of the miserable living conditions of the Jewish population,

a) Isolating the sick people in the hospital for contagious diseases

In the months of November and December 1941, there was an epidemic of typhoid fever of middle proportion. The epidemic had been in the town before the deportees arrived and it increased because the Jews from the Edineti camp had passed through the town.

In order to isolate the sick people, the Jewish Committee set up a pavilion of 30 beds from the ruins of a former hospital. That action was carried out with much difficulty as they had no financial support from the communal authority.

At the beginning of January 1942, the typhoid fever started to disappear so that the pavilion was used for the patients with petechial typhus. In the same hospital, a second pavilion was set up also for petechial typhus.

But a part of the sick people who were suspects of typhus fever were actually authentic cases of petechial typhus. And that was the beginning of the disaster – thousands of people fell ill. Before applying efficient preventive measures, the only existing pavilion for isolating the sick people, was infected. There was no delousing apparatus and the sanitary personnel become ill, the first physician of the hospital falls ill, then the second one and the third. It gets colder and colder, the stoves do not work, and small iron stoves are installed. There is no fuel.

New sick people arrive from everywhere; the hospital has no bed sheets, no medicines. The sick people are brought half frozen and left on the halls without asking for approval.

The only healthy physician insists not to be sent other patients as they are destined to sure death. Under those circumstances the epidemic becomes even greater in January and February. Hundreds of new sick people arrive in the town.

b) Delousing of the centers of contagion

A sanitary service was set up by the Jewish Committee in order to coordinate all issues in connection with preventing the epidemic. The sanitary service was formed of Jewish physicians and sanitarians that were immune (as they had already had petechial typhus).

The sanitary teams try hard to carry out the delousing activity by means of the steaming cabinets made available by the mobile team Nr. 47, with the efficient help of Dr. Osinkovska, medical inspector of this town, the only authority who understood, guided and helped prevent the epidemic. However, the difficulties are great and cannot be coped with. There is no firewood, no petroleum, and no washing basins. More and more physicians fall ill.

At the beginning of March, the number of deloused cases is much too small in comparison with the great number of the petechial typhus centers of contagion.

c) Delousing and Bathing of the Jewish Population

The same sanitary service undertook to delouse all the dwellings of the most infected houses. Special teams were sent to those houses but as the number of delousing cabinets was not enough, not all intended houses could be disinfected.

The sanitary service obtained permission from the town council that the Jewish population should be bathed in the communal bath, the only available bath in town. However, the communal authority refused to put the bath at the disposal of the Jews for free; they asked for 12,000 lei (for a couple of days) that were paid by the committee although they had little money.

In conclusion, although the sanitary service did its best to stop the epidemic, it could not succeed in carrying out its purpose, considering the dreadful living conditions of the Jewish population, the low temperature and the lack of adequate means of prevention.

3. EVOLUTION OF THE EPIDEMIC

It can be easily understood that the epidemic reached its climax in the month of March when the number of sick people was huge. The 2 pavilions of the isolating hospital and the third pavilion which was set up meanwhile, were crowded with sick people. Suddenly the situation seemed out of control, as more than half of the physicians caught the disease and everybody was convinced that the epidemic would never be stopped.

Unfortunately, we do not have enough data about the range of the epidemic. According to the census that had been performed by the sanitary

service teams, until April 25, this year, a number of 3,777 cases of petechial typhus with a mortality of 1,133 was registered. These data were only informative.

It was not until April 25, this year that the data were accurate – the number of sick people rose to 4,491 with a mortality of 1,254 cases. The mortality would amount to 28%. However, we assume that the number of sick people was higher, if we rely on the mortality coefficient.

If we consider that the coefficient of mortality in hospital was of 17.5% and admitting that the cases in town led to a mortality percentage not higher than 20-21 %, then we have to assume that there had been 7,000 cases of petechial typhus in town.

4. STOPPING THE EPIDEMIC BY TAKING NEW COMBATING MEASURES

At the meeting held on April 3, 1942, the new commander of the Gendarme legion, mayor Romeo C. Orasanu, being backed up by Capt. Dr. Stuparu who was the latest chief physician in town and the head of the mobile team Nr. 47, requested that the sanitary service alongside the Jewish Committee and together with all physicians to do their best in order to stop that epidemic which spread to an enormous degree. At that time it was a favorable moment for stopping the epidemic. Many physicians and sanitarians had become immune meanwhile as they had the disease. The much desired spring arrived with all its advantages; the most severe problem of the fuel and heating hospital pavilions was easier to solve.

The radical and decisive change occurred on April 17, this year when Major Dr. C. Chirila was appointed head of the mobile team Nr. 47 and as chief physician of the county. Since the first day when he was instated, the major physician dedicated himself to the activity of combating the epidemic, supervising and checking if all the ordered measures were observed. He ordered the increase of bed numbers to 100, so that the total number of beds rose to 164. At the same time, a large and intensive delousing campaign took place, also by the order and contribution of the new physician.

Since April 25 until today, in 528 contaminated houses a number of 8,973 delousing actions took place by boiling the laundry and clothing items; 4,258 delousing by disinfection with petroleum; 1,868 people had their hair cut.

The delousing campaign was carried out in the last 3 months in a very systematic way and the hospital was actually free of lice.

5. CLEANING OF HOUSES AND STREETS

Apart from the above mentioned measures, the sanitary service assisted by the new mayor of the town and 100 immune agents, mostly intellectuals, having at their disposal approx. 300 Jewish workers started a cleaning campaign of all houses, especially the contaminated centers and streets, picking up all the garbage and dejections (with tools that had been manufactured at the foundry). The town was divided into 12 sectors, all the houses, the surrounding areas and barren zones were completely cleaned.

By that measure and other similar ones like building of toilets, covering and disinfecting of wells, new epidemics of typhoid fever and dysentery were prevented.

As I pointed out above, this report presented the sanitary life of Moghilev during the 7 months since evacuation of the Jewish population.

We would like to specify that the sanitary service and the Committee did their duty and if the epidemic had spread to such a high scale, this was only due to independent reasons, especially because the competent authorities did not help in the first months since the epidemic broke out.

Moghilev, June 10, 1942

Chief Physician of the Contagious Hospital

Chief Co-coordinating Physician, Dr. M. Wolf Secretary, Dr. J. KESSLER

Dr. N. FinklerPresident,
Eng. **S. JAEGENDORF**

STOPPING THE ASSISTANCE OF THE JEWS FROM TRANSNISTRIA Nr. 170

GENDARME INSPECTORATE GENDARME LEGION Moghilev TRANSNISTRIA

REPORT OF December 1941

1. ORGANIZATION OF SERVICES

In the town of Moghilev, the Legion had recruited information agents from among the Jewish deportees from Bukovina and Northern Moldova, succeeding in gathering information about the clandestine traffic of Jews from Transnistria to Romania.

THE JEWISH PROBLEM

The number of local Jews in the town of Moghilev amounts to 3,733. The town council made an inventory of all the houses and furniture in order to evacuate them to the inner part of the county. However, this evacuation did not take place because the evacuation area was not settled yet by the Inspectorate.

The Jews evacuated from Bukovina and Northern Moldova were accommodated in almost all villages of the Moghilev County.

In the town of Moghilev, a number of Jewish experts received residence permits because they were necessary for rebuilding the town, cleaning the debris and restarting the plants and factories destroyed by the war and flood.

The Jewish deportees suffer because of food and firewood shortage.

The percentage of mortality among the deportees is growing daily because of famine and cold.

REPORTED INFORMATION

By the informative note Nr. 47 of December 10, 1941, it was reported that a group of German soldiers deal with underground transportation of Jews from Transnistria to Romania.

By the informative note Nr. 49 of December 11, 1941, it was reported that the Jew Margulius being in connection with some German soldiers, cheats several Jews from whom he took large sums of money promising to carry them to Romania.

By the informative note Nr. 51 of December 12, 1941, it was reported that some Jews who left for Romania in a clandestine way, sent telegrams to several Jews from Transnistria announcing them that they arrived at Bucharest.

By the informative note Nr. 61, it was reported that the Jew Haim Kraft submitted a complaint against the Jew Margulius Jak who took from him the sum of 100,000 lei promising to transport him to Romania by a special permit.

We were informed that the Jews from Moghilev spread all kinds of rumors about the war – they said that the English bombarded the town of Bucharest and the oilfield area and therefore, their fate will be improved.

We have been informed that the deportees of Moghilev claim that they belong to the secret police being information agents of the Romanian authorities, misleading the Ukrainians and asking them for different foodstuff. We ordered the platoons to identify them and draw up documents.

For the Jew Margulius there was evidence that he used the said system. Documents were drawn up and handed over to the Court Martial. He was provisionally sent to the Crasnoe district situated in the northern part of the county.

We are informed that the deportees of Lucinet spread different rumors according to which the Ukrainian population would have the same fate as the Jews, i.e. they would be sent across the Bug and Transnistria would be colonized by Romanians. We took measures to check and see whether those rumors were true.

Commander of Gendarme Legion

Moghilev

Major, signature illegible

Chief of Security office

Lt. MARIN CRISTACHE

JEWISH AGENTS PLANTED BY THE POLICE AMIDST JEWISH DEPORTEES Nr. 171

GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA Special Bureau

REPORT of January 8, 1942

According to the information of this bureau in connection with the evacuation of the Jews to the Moghilev region, not only local authorities committed abuses but also many private persons. The latter cheated the deportees by asking large sums of money promising them to take them away or to bring them food, letters, etc.

To identify those abuses and the persons who are involved, it is absolutely necessary to plant in the region an agent that will keep us informed of what is going on in the area.

Considering that the Jews do not complain to the authorities even if they are deceived, I propose that the agent should be of Jewish origin – this being the only way in which the Jewish population could trust him.

The special bureau recruited the Jew Lazar Menahim, originating from Bucharest, well-known among many Jews from Chernovitz and Bukovina. He should be planted in Moghilev with the mission of informing us of all the abuses committed in the area in connection with the evacuated Jews. This agent will be paid an allowance that has to be settled by you.

Head of Special Bureau, Major TEODORESCU

PERSECUTION OF JEWS IN THE GIUGASTRU COUNTY Nr. 172

GENDARME LEGION IAMPOL

General Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie Gendarme Inspectorate Transnistria

INFORMATIVE NOTE of January 25, 1942

In the Giugastru County, in addition to local kikes, convoys of kikes from Bessarabia and the Chernovitz region had arrived.

This is a dangerous situation for the state security because out of the official camps there are also groups of kikes, between 3 to 27. They were also deported from Bukovina but we do not include them into the Jewish local population of this county. These kikes endanger the state security being free to move through villages. As it is well known that they are communists, I propose that they should be interned into the official camps. Commander of the Iampol Gendarme Legion and Military Praetor,

Major, signature illegible

Head of Security and Information Bureau, Signature illegible

CONDITIONS OF SENDING AIDS Nr. 173

Army Headquarters
DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL GOVERNOR OF TRANSNISTRIA
CENTRAL OFFICE OF JEWS FROM ROMANIA
February 5, 1942, 04687

JEWISH CENTRAL OFFICE OF ROMANIA Bucharest – Dr. Burghelea St. Nr. 3 To your letter Nr. 387 of January 20, 1942, we would like to inform you that the sums of money that are to be sent to the deportees in Transnistria, will be transferred to the account of the Governorate, to the Bucharest National Bank, account 1930. The payments will be made in accordance with the indications given by your central office through the local Jewish Committees, the exchange rate being of 1 RKKS per 60 lei.

The medicines will be sent to the Prefecture of the Moghilev County and will be distributed according to the instructions of the Pharmacists' Directorate in Transnistria, also through the Jewish Committees.

The tools will be sent to this Governorate that will also distribute them through the Jewish committees. The windows will be sent to Moghilev.

For sending clothing items and household articles it is necessary to have Government authorizations for export.

Governor, Director,

signature illegible signature illegible

PROPOSALS FOR FURTHER EVACUATION OF THE JEWS FROM THE MOGHILEV COUNTY Nr. 174

GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE II.II. 1942 GENDARMERIE

Gendarmerie Service to the TRANSNISTRIA GOVERNORATE

Further to our letter Nr. 48.922/941, referring to the evacuation of the Jews from the Moghilev County to the east of the railway Smerinka-Odessa to the Balta County:

We are honored to ask you to apply those measures as soon as possible.

General Inspector of Gendarmerie Head of Gendarmerie Service, General, signature illegible Col. C. TOBESCU

CONDITIONS FOR SENDING MEDICINES Nr. 175

ROMANIA MINISTRY OF NATIONAL ECONOMY Jewish Central Office of Romania Nr. 2959 March 9, 1942

EXPORT REGULATING DIRECTION Nr. 47231 – March 1942

> To JEWISH CENTRAL OFFICE OF ROMANIA

We are honored to inform you that your application Nr. 1489/942 has been approved and I ordered the customs office Bucharest Obor to export to Transnistria the quantity of medicines according to the enclosed list that was approved by us (addressed to the civilian Governorate in Transnistria).

This approval was given without currency payment; customs duties were paid.

Director, Head of service, signature illegible signature illegible

THE SHARGOROD MASSACRE Nr. 177

Extract from a memo Written by Dr. M. Teich, Leader of the Shargorod Ghetto

The Shargorod practor, DINDELEGAN, had a kind of schizophrenia. There was a period of time when he was pitiful trying to be fair and be helpful. However, recently he has been of unspeakable brutality and ferocity.

On March 20, the gendarme lt. ILIUTA found on the way between Shargorod and Djurin 6 Jews: Ceaus Strul, Ceaus Smil from Dorohoi and

Rauchman Marcus, Goldenberg Simon, Goldenberg Roza and Wainis Mina from Radauti. He wanted to shoot them on the spot. At that moment he saw a truck coming from Moghilev .On that truck was Dindelegan, the praetor with several persons. He asked the practor to take those Jews on the truck and to hand them over to the post chief in Shargorod to be shot according to the ordinance 23. The praetor took the 6 Jews on the car, takes them to Shargorod and handed them over to the post chief, Ilie Ciortuz., with the order of shooting them. I learned from Mrs. Schleier what happened and I hurried to the Praetor's office. I wept and asked the praetor not to shoot those 6 innocent people. I explained to him that they cannot be shot without any trial. The praetor replied that according to ordinance 23, no trial is necessary and anyway it is too late because the 6 Jews were delivered to Ciortuz. I went immediately to Coirtuz' office explaining to him that such an order cannot be observed and that he would be responsible for the killings. Ciortuz answered that it is too late. I ran immediately together with the physician Goldschlager to the Jewish Cemetery where they were to be shot dead. While I was on my way I heard the shots coming from the so called Polish cemetery that was very near. It seems that Florian did not want to go so far up to the Jewish cemetery. He executed them all. A lot of Ukrainians came there and were weeping with us. I went back to the gendarmerie asking if they had drawn up any documents. Ciortuz told me that we should hurry to bury them immediately. I declared that I needed a justifying document for the civil office. I heard that the practor Dindelegan was in the meantime to the cemetery to be sure that the 6 Jews had been shot dead. I said to Ciortuz that some days ago a lot of formalities were drawn up when a horse had to be buried but when 6 people were killed there was no investigation and no trial; not even a minutes was drawn up, not even a list with the names of those killed. They did the killings in a terrible hurry, to stop any intervention.

On April 2, a Jew called Allerhand was found by a gendarme (nicknamed Tiganul), next to Shargorod and he was shot on the spot. This was a consequence of the ordinance 23 which was interpreted by Iliuta, Dindelegan, Ciortuz and Florian on March 20.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND WELFARE ORGANIZATION IN MOGHILEV Nr. 176

Report of the President of the Jewish Committee to the President Of the Jewish Central Office in Romania

Eng. S. JAEGENDORF

MR. PRESIDENT,

In order to get a clear image about all organizational, social and welfare achievements, I take the liberty to submit to you a report comprising all the events, technical and statistical data, ever since the first convoys had arrived until today.

In order to better understand the entire complex of problems, it has to be pointed out that the Jewish population had no leadership; as nobody was prepared for the sudden change in their lives, the situation became chaotic and hard to control and organize.

The first transports arrived at Moghilev from Campulung and Suceava at the end of October 1941. After a short stay in Moghilev, the Jews from Suceava and Campulung were transported to different villages of the county, thanks to the effort of some more energetic and competent people. New convoys of Jews arrived daily and they had to be sent to different localities of the county. On the other hand, it was impossible for the endless columns of old people, women and children to walk long distances on rainy autumn days. A camp was set up to comprise most of the people who were brought directly from the Dniester bank. From that camp, the people were sent to the different localities of the county.

During those difficult moments for the deported population from Campulung, Suceava, Radauti, Dorohoi and Chernovitz, the idea of setting up a leading committee for organizing and guiding those people could not be postponed any longer. Under extremely primitive technical and administrative circumstances, the organization of all necessary matters was started. The transportation of Jews to the destination places in the order of their registration was organized. A part of the needy people could be

transported as well as the women, old people and children due to a supplementary fee that was requested from the well to do people.

During those difficult moments, the authorities called me, proposing to me to rebuild the electrical plant and to form a group of experts for that purpose. In that general state of depression and despair, the offer of a productive activity even if performed by only a small group of people, was considered a real wonder. This first team of workers represented the cell around which all the other working groups were set up later. A few days after the first group of experts for the electric plant was set up, we were looking for a repairing workshop for different broken machines and plants. We found in town a ruined factory for fittings manufacturing and a foundry. As I reported this to the Prefect of the County, he agreed to make me responsible for rebuilding this factory as well. As I received this mission, I visited that building for several times and I started the preliminary works for the formation of a more compact group of experts who became the organizational pattern for all the groups that were formed later on. A group of 120 skilled workers of all trades (crafts) was formed in order to rebuild the foundry; working permits were issued for a total number of 500 people.

After the foundry colony was set up, the people being accommodated together with their families in buildings, the factory rebuilding activity was started. The factory together with the machines and equipment represented an important industrial complex.

At the same time, the colony administration was established. A working and living organization was created without money funding, only by donations and loans. Only 12 days after the colony was set up, the public soup kitchen was opened for the colony members. This kitchen supplied 37,000 food portions and in addition, other 15,400 free portions for the needy Jews outside the colony. Other services were also set up like: medical service with physicians and sanitary agents, a pharmacy, an infirmary, an isolation chamber, the building administration and a council of discipline.

Each person who asked for food had to work either in the factory or in the colony. After a short period of time, we set up in our buildings our own kitchen where we could bake bread without depending on bread profiteers. Meanwhile, the colony had 850 persons (workers with their families). The electrical plant merged with the Foundry. Later on, we received orders to repair automobiles and we set up a garage and a repairing workshop. The workers of that workshop were also part of the Foundry group.

Meanwhile, other groups were formed like "the group for rebuilding the Moghilev town" with a number of 1,400 people.

One day I was visited by Dr. Jonas Kessler who suggested that we should establish a Jewish Committee in order to carry out the above mentioned missions and to represent the Jewish interests in front of the authorities.

The county prefect approved of our request for establishing a central committee for the Moghilev county and town. It had been extremely difficult to organize that committee. There was no office, no sheets of paper, absolutely nothing to facilitate such an activity. On the other hand, our improvised counters located in an empty store house were crowded by desperate people who asked for moral and material assistance. Gradually we started to set up several offices; we found an adequate place where we could start our activity.

And now I would like to describe below the chronological order of my achievements.

THE OLD AGE HOME – was the first institution established by the first groups of Jews who arrived from Suceava. It had 250 beds, an own medical service, auxiliary sanitary personnel, etc. This home had a very important social purpose but it needed a lot of monthly expenses to fulfill its real targets. Fuel, food and medicines were missing. In a word, all the necessary available means are so scarce that we cannot reduce the high mortality rate.

THE JEWISH HOSPITAL - We took over from the local Jewish Community their hospital but we have to meet the same difficulties as those described above. Other hospitals have also been set up as follows: "Lager" and "Dr. Lehrer". These hospitals were created ad-hoc requiring a lot of expenses.

THE PUBLIC KITCHEN – One of the most urgent needs was the setting up of a public soup kitchen that offered to 5,000 needy people hot soup and bread. Although the soup had a reduced nutritional value, it was preventing the people from starvation. As early as 11 a.m., thousands of hungry people with ardent eyes are standing in line waiting for the soup which represents their only daily meal.

In order to underline the importance of this kitchen, I add below the following figures representing the nutritional value of the consumed foods during the kitchen existence.

6,094 kg. of bread amounting to	121,880 lei
7,880 kg of millet amounting to	315,200 lei
247 kg of oil amounting to	17,290 lei
273 kg of onion	6,825 lei
1,307 pickles	24,450 lei
170 kg cabbage	3,910 lei
9,900 firewood	69,300 lei
TOTAL LEI	591,530

In addition to this kitchen, another orthodox kitchen under rabbinical supervision was also set up. This kitchen received food amounting to 88,740 lei for the daily meals of 1,000 people.

We have to point out that due to the lack of massive funding, we'll have to close those public soup kitchens, and leaving the unfortunate Jews prey to despair.

ORPHANAGE - As a great number of children remained orphans, we decided to set up an orphanage. As we did not have an adequate building, we set up a makeshift place where 50 children were accommodated. However, the orphanage kitchen could offer daily meals to 200 orphans.

One of the most difficult problems was that of organizing the forced labor activity. As each authority or military unit did not have a centralized place to ask for the number of required workers, they compelled into forced labor any person passing on the street. This system had a lot of disadvantages for both parts and it was of utmost importance to set up a central guiding and co-coordinating office. The county prefect realized the necessity of such an office and he appointed me with the task of organizing the forced labor. Thus we set up the Office for Co-coordinating and guiding the Jewish labor. The purpose of this office was to provide the required number of workers whenever needed.

The recruiting system had a lot of shortcomings at the beginning. In order to better organize the working activity, we thought that a census ordered by the local authorities would make it possible to check and have the evidence required to organize labor in shifts. On the one hand, our purpose was to improve the working conditions and on the other hand, to actually check and see to it that not always the same deportees were taken to forced labor.

We finally decided to carry out a general census in order to have a better control of the real number of Jews in town.

The town of Moghilev was divided into 11 districts. The census was to be carried out by 22 intellectuals who counted the real number of Jews by going from house to house. Based on this real and effective census, the office for co-coordinating Jewish labor was completely reorganized. The general lists of Jews were used to have an evidence of the names and addresses of all men aged between 18 to 60 in order to be used for forced labor by the rotation system. A single compact group of workers was organized to be at the disposal of the authorities, having also the necessary stand-by people for unforeseen cases. Out of this compact group which was formed of people of different crafts, a special group of skilled workers was formed to be used wherever necessary, avoiding this way the recruitment of the skilled workers who were working in the foundry.

By the above mentioned system and the technical and organizational changes, we shall obtain a fair and honest division of labor, time and nourishment that will be made available by the authorities, based on a working card that will be delivered only to those who are really working, according to ordinance 23 of December 18, 1941.

There are, of course many difficult situations – the greatest majority of the people are starving, with no proper clothing, having sick family members at home. The ordinance nr. 23 which provided retribution of 2 RKKS per day for skilled workers and 1 RKKS for unskilled ones, has never been applied. The committee can offer the forced laborers at least a piece of bread of 1 kg per day (for each worker and his family). Until now, 8,450 kg of bread have been supplied to these workers, amounting to 169,000 lei.

Considering the above mentioned data, we would like to draw some conclusions.

I have the honor of informing you of the money needed for keeping up all our institutions in the town of Moghilev, for offering our people a hot soup and a piece of bread, to protect our orphans and to save thousands and thousands of human lives with food and medicines.

To keep up our public kitchens for a number of 6,000 needy Jews, 100,000 lei per day are needed. This sum also covers the orthodox kitchen.

To keep up all the mentioned hospitals, 50,000 lei per day are needed (the fuel price is not included here).

For paying the means of transport to bring the patients to and from the hospitals, to carry the dead to the cemeteries and to bring food and fuel,

10,000 lei per day are needed. These sums of money are necessary only to meet the needs of the deportees living in Moghilev.

All these institutions could function until now through the efforts of some of us who gave their last funds, sacrificing themselves and waiting calmly for their money to be returned. Therefore we have sent you a telegram in which we explained to you that we owe more than 20,000 RKKS.

Mr. President, our situation today is very bad, we are exhausted and at the end of our financial power. There are moments when we cannot afford to buy the milk needed for the sick people interned in the hospital of contagious diseases. Hungry and desperate people come daily to our counters hoping to find assistance. We cannot meet their demands and we have to refuse these unfortunate people sending them back to their homes as desperate as they had come.

As our food supplies have come to an end and we do not have the money to replace them, and to buy fuel, we were forced to close the public kitchens.

As we did not get the funding we needed, we'll be forced to close all the other institutions described above. Our poor people need clothes and bed linen. Our craftsmen need tools and equipment.

Mr. President, this is our emergency appeal. The fate of the 15,000 Jews of the Moghilev town and of the 30,000 Jews from the county villages depends on the aid we are expecting from you. The mortality figure amounts to 4,000 dead people and that from the provinces is even higher.

Among us there are children, young people and people in the prime of their life. Please send us the necessary aid to be able to save and upkeep these young people. Without your aid, these people who did not have the opportunity of living until now will be starving and prone to diseases. It is your assistance, your aid in the form of money and medicines that will help us work and resist. Please don't disappoint us. Please read this report in all its details and study the attached tables in order to get an idea of the huge problems and the important mission we have to accomplish.

Moghilev, March 18, 1942

Eng. S. JAEGENDORF

PREPARATIONS FOR SETTING UP THE SCAZINET CAMP Nr. 178

Report of the President of the Jewish Committee in Moghilev to the Commander of the Gendarme legion

Eng. S. JAEGENDORF March, 26, 1942 COMMANDER, Sir,

I have the honor of reporting to you the following:

According to your order, I went to Scazinet on March 24, 1942 and visited the barracks in view of setting up an agricultural settlement there and to remove thousands of deportees from the Moghilev town.

On March 24, 1942, I sent there a team of technicians, architects and specialists in agriculture to get some clear details about what has to be done.

The committee of technicians visited all the buildings situated on the left and right side of the main street, and then they drew up the attached drawings.

The buildings have the following useful areas, according to the drawn up plans:

On the right side of the street:

Nr. I. -60 rooms with a total area of 718.64 m²;

Nr. III. -26 rooms with a total area of 405.60 m^2 ;

Nr. IV. - 28 rooms with a total area of 290.60 m²;

Nr. V. - this area is adequate only for an infirmary, having 6 rooms with a total area of 67.26 m^2 ;

Nr. VI. - 26 rooms with a total area of 350.90 m²;

Nr. II and VII are open, common latrines;

Nr. VIII is the building of a bakery equipped with 4 ovens heated by petroleum.

On the left side of the street:

Nr. 1. - 23 rooms with a total area of 1,518 m²;

Nr. 2. - 235 rooms with a total area of 1,670 m²;

Thus there are 188 rooms with a total area of 4962.74 m².

Considering 2 m² for one person, it is possible to accommodate a total number of 2,437 persons.

The building Nr. 3 which is situated on the left side of the main street is completely ruined so that its tiles and a part of the floor boards can be used for the other buildings.

In addition to all the materials that are available in the said building, we would need the following materials:

23 doors, 106 windows or 65 m² of wooden boards to be used instead. The wooden boards will be set in the window frames, leaving only one fixed opening to enable light penetration; 200 m² glass for windows; 350 m² of 390 mm boards for floors; 150 kg nails of 40 - 50 mm; 771 m² boards of 18 - 24 mm to close the windows; 1,460 m² boards for bunks..

For a number of 2,500 people, it is of utmost importance to set up a hospital and a sanitary ambulance. Therefore, 60 iron beds will be needed for the infirmary that might be located in the building nr. V, situated on the right side of the street.

We shall choose the families that will be transferred to this colony in such a way that from a number of 2,500 people, about 1,200 - 1,400 should be capable of working the field. These people should be able to work an area of 100 - 200 ha, according to the kind of sowing.

Only seasonal spring sowing and planting would be appropriate, like: potatoes, corn, sugar beet, peas, beans, sun flower, soy beans and a vegetable garden. Then would follow spring wheat, barley and oat for feeding the animals of the settlement, and also millet and lentil.

In order to set up a systematic agricultural organization, and calculating 100 ha as a unit of measure, the following agricultural inventory would be needed:

26 horses and harnesses, 20 oxen with yokes, 15 milk cows, 100 sheep in their period of lactation, 10 ploughs, as follows: size 5-6 for horses, 8-9 for oxen, 3 sets of lancets, 3 sets of 2 pieces of iron brakes, 4 ploughs for weeding, 4 ploughs for earth drawing, 1 rotational device, 1 extirpator, 1 sow (Brill), 1 horse rake, 2 light carts for 1 horse, 3 barrels placed on wheels to carry drinking water to the field, 1 threshing set, various tools for the ironmonger's carpenter's, leatherwear workshops.

If two tractors were available with the necessary fuel, then the number of the above mentioned animals would be cut by 50%.

Considering that the people would come from their dwellings without any household utensils and that there will be a public kitchen, all usual kitchen sets would be necessary, as follows: boilers, spoons, bowls; to carry the food from the kitchen to the working place, mobile boilers would be necessary.

One of the main issues is the nourishment of workers and their families. As the field work is a seasonal activity, it can be performed only if it starts at 05, 00 a.m and it ends at 07.00 p.m., i.e. 14 hours. A worker, who expends such physical effort, needs enough food to have the strength to resist.

Therefore, necessary stocks of foodstuff would be required, in the form of loans being then returned after the harvest. It would be also necessary to have the required fuel for the kitchen and for lighting purposes.

Speaking about practical aspects, I take the liberty to make the following proposals to you:

- a number of 50 skilled workers should be sent immediately after the building materials would arrive. At the same time, the agricultural equipment should be also provided in a short period of time as it is quite late to star agricultural works.

Apart from the above mentioned aspects, means of transport for materials, skilled workers and for transporting all the workers with their families and luggage to the destination would be necessary. The food stocks should be transported to the settlement at the same time with the transportation of the people.

I assure you, Commander, Sir, of my profound respect.

Moghilev, March 26, 1942

Eng. S. JAEGENDORF

PHYSICIANS, VICTIMS OF THEIR PROFESSION Nr. 179

JEWISH COLONY OF SHARGOROD STATISTICAL OFFICE

MORTALITY OF THE JEWISH PHYSICIANS WHO TREATED PEOPLE SICK OF PETECHIAL TYPHUS

27 Evacuated physicians:

Dr. Schapira, Leibovici, Itzig, Tanner, Hoch, Merdler, Friedel, Weisner, Salomovici, Druckmann, Hechler- Druckmann, Margulies, Mischel, Weitmann, Fuhrer, Reicher, Siegel, Koch, Kramer, Schachter, Schieber, Hermann, Wucher, Harth, Kerth. Holden-graber, Schnarch.

Physicians who fell ill with petechial typhus: 85 %

23

Dr. Hoch, Dr. Merdler, Dr. Friedel, Dr. Weisner, Dr. Salomovici, Dr. Druckmann, Dr. Hechler-Druckmann, Dr. Margulies, Dr. Mischel, Dr. Weitmann, Dr. Fuhrer, Dr. Reicher Dr. Siegel, Dr. Koch, Dr. Kramer, Dr. Schachter, Dr. Schieber, Dr. Hermann, Dr.Wucher, Dr. Harth, Dr. Kerth, Dr. Holden-graber, Dr. Schnarch

In memoriam! Dead Physicians: 52 %

12

Dr. REICHER ABRAHAM, Dr. SIEGEL FISCHEL, Dr. KOCH ALBRECHT, Dr. KRAMER SIEGFRIED, Dr. SCHACHTER SIMCHE, Dr. SCHIEBER ISIDOR, Dr. HERMANN ARON, Dr. WUCHER IOSEF, Dr. HARTH BRUNO, Dr. KERTH IOSEF, Dr. HOLDENGRABER HERMAN, Dr. SCHNARCH SIEGFR.

SCAZINET GOVERNORATE'S ORDER Nr. 180

Nr. 166 of May, 19, 1942

Confidential Administrative Service An evacuation plan will be organized TRANSNISTRIA'S GOVERNORATE to the PREFECTURE OF THE MOGHILEV COUNTY

Based on the investigations carried out by the general administrative inspector, counselor D. Stefanescu, delegated by us for researching and checking on the spot of the information received in connection with the exchange of letters, money, food, etc. between the Jews in Moghilev, by civilian and military middlemen from the institutions of that locality; it was found that such activities have been practiced on a large scale.

Considering that the epidemic of petechial typhus has spread in the town and county of Moghilev among the Jewish deportees because of unhygienic and poor living conditions,

please see to it that 4,000 Jews should be evacuated right away from Moghilev to the barracks decided by us before; it is not possible to evacuate them to the villages because they could spread petechial typhus.

Governor. ALEXIANU

Director, signature illegible

HIGHER ORDERS TO THE JEWISH CENTRAL OFFICE FOR THE SENDING OF AIDS Nr. 181

Nr. 11/May 22, 1942 Gendarme Inspectorate Transnistria to Administrative Inspector Stefanescu

According to the order of the Governorate Nr. 166 of May 19, 1942, please take immediate measures to evacuate 4,000 Jews deported from Chernovitz.

- They will be evacuated to the barracks decided by the Governorate;
- A committee consisting of D. Stefanescu, general administrative inspector, the prefect of Moghilev County and the Commander of the Gendarme Legion will decide on the evacuated persons;
- Nominal lists will be drawn up for the total number of 4,000 Jews, arranged by family heads;
- In the camp that will be erected, the Jews themselves will have to repair the barracks. Ordinance Nr. 23 will be applied;
- Evacuation from Moghilev will take place in 48 hours after receiving this order;
- The above mentioned committee will establish the norms for feeding and supplying requirements;

Gendarme Inspector Transnistria, Col. ILIESCU

Nr. 182

INSTRUCTIONS GIVEN BY THE GENERAL ADMINISTRATIVE INSPECTOR, DIMITRIE STEFANESCU

referring to the evacuation of 4,000 Jews to the Scazinet barracks

1. Until Tuesday, 26, at 12 o'clock, all the lists of Jews from Chernovitz will be submitted to the Gendarme legion;

- 2. On the same day, at 12 o'clock, the prefecture will post the lists of Jews to be evacuated;
- 3. The lists provided by the Committee will comprise the following persons: 10 physicians, 10 rabbis, 10 sanitary agents, 10 delivery nurses, 5 dentists 50 different craftsmen;
- 4. On Thursday, May 28, at 07,00 a.m., the first convoy composed of 1,000 people will be gathered on the Shargorod main road (after the cemetery) where the nominal muster will take place;
- 5. The rooms of the evacuees will be handed over to the remaining inhabitants; in case no Jews will remain there, inventories will be made and the rooms will be sealed by the Committee that will provide guards and present the situation to the gendarme legion.
 - 6. The committee will supply food to the evacuees for 3 days.
- 7. The committee will receive an area for cultivation that will be decided by the agricultural department. The required seeds are in the Volocinet railway station and the committee has to pay for them 600,000 lei.
- 8. Until Tuesday, May 26, at 05.00 p.m., the committee will deliver to the Gendarme legion the following articles: 1,000 bed sheets, 1,000 pillow cases, 1,000 pillows and 1,000 bed covers.
- 9. Special delegates of the ghetto evacuees are allowed to travel to Moghilev for shopping. The Central Committee will be allowed to travel once a week to the ghetto for shopping. A telephone set will be installed in the ghetto being directly connected to the gendarme legion that will be responsible for the activity performed by the ghetto Jews.
- 10. The committee will provide the following tools: 200 spades, 200 hoes, 200 pickaxes, 200 stretchers, and 200 buckets.

Moghilev, May 25, 1942

REPORT OF THE JEWISH COMMITTEE Nr. 183

PRESIDENT OF THE JEWISH COMMITTEE to THE COMMANDER OF THE GENDARME LEGION

In connection with the orders given by you, on behalf of the Committee composed by general administrative inspector Stefanescu, col. prefect Nasturas and you, referring to the evacuation of 4,000 Jews coming from Chernovitz to the Scazinet barracks, I would like to respectfully report to you the following:

- 1. The requested lists will be drawn up as soon as we have writing paper.
- 2. The first convoy of 1,000 persons cannot be prepared in such a short time, i.e. 24 hours because most of them are still recovering after the epidemic of petechial typhus, they are exhausted, families are composed of old people and children, being not able to carry their bags. The carts should be brought to their dwellings.
- 3. We cannot provide food for 3 days as the committee has neither food nor money. As the committee has money, it cannot pay for the seeds.
- 4. The committee cannot deliver 1,000 bed sheets, 1,000 pillow cases, 1,000 pillows and 1,000 bed covers as the evacuated population did not bring enough bed linen, complying with the given orders, to take only as much as they could carry personally. It is also known that the Jews left a part of their baggage in Atachi. Only a very small part of pillows without bed sheets had been returned
- 5. The committee can buy from the tools stock of the foundry only 200 spades and hoes. Pickaxes, stretchers and buckets cannot be manufactured because of the shortage of raw materials

I must also add that the 4,000 persons cannot be evacuated without being first vaccinated and deloused, because there is a risk of infecting all evacuees with typhoid fever.

As I mentioned before, the committee is short of money, food stocks, soap and other materials required for delousing.

I respectfully ask you to change the evacuating conditions so that they should be more feasible and acceptable.

As I reported to you in my letter of March 26, 1942, the barracks of Scazinet have room for only 2,500 persons (precisely 2,437, if we consider 2 sq.m. for each person).

Please receive my deepest respect,

Moghilev, May 25, 1942

Eng. S. JAEGENDORF

FINAL ORDERS OF PREFECT NASTURAS Nr. 184

PREFECTURE OF MOGHILEV COUNTY Nr. 117 of May 26, 1942 Confidential and personal

Dear Inspector,

I have the honor of submitting to you the report Nr. 224 of May 25, 1942 of the gendarme legion Moghilev.

Referring to the Jews' requests, the prefecture replied in the following way:

- the prefecture provided the paper necessary for drawing up the lists.
- the evacuation shall start on May 29, 1942 and not within 24 hours
- what would those Jews have eaten if they had stayed in Moghilev during those 3 days decided for their transportation to Scazinet
- we should not collect bed linen, pillows, bed spreads, etc. if they really do not own them
- they should be given 2 paid horses to carry the food

Prefect, Nasturas

HIGHER ORDERS TO THE JEWISH CENTRAL OFFICE FOR SENDING AIDS Nr. 185

Romania
Council of Ministers
Government representative for the Jewish regime in Romania

JEWISH CENTRAL OFFICE IN ROMANIA

As the Civilian and Military Cabinet of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers informed us that the Jews in Transnistria have neither money nor medicines, please take measures to send them the above mentioned items.

RADU LECCA

Government representative of Jewish Affairs in Romania

ORDER OF PUTTING INTO GHETTOS OF ALL THE JEWS FROM TRANSNISTRIA Nr. 186

Transnistria Governorate To the PREFECTURE OF Moghilev COUNTY

As in most villages and towns, the Jews are a permanent hot-bed of physical and moral infection, however, restrictions still do not apply to them. We order you to arrange the necessary measures to intern and ghettoize all the Jews in the county. You must then order them to do industrial and agricultural work.

You are obliged to report the location and type of work you have assigned to them, and should report the measures taken by you to comply with this order.

Governor, Signature illegible

SCAZINET CAMP Nr. 187

Extract from a report written by M. Katz, former president of the Jewish committee in Moghilev. He himself had been evacuated to Scazinet.

In the Scazinet camp where I myself had been interned, the inmates were accommodated by social categories: the pavilions of the poor were separated and surrounded by barbed wire being on the other part of the road, far from the pavilions of the well to do Jews. Both pavilion rows were situated in the middle of a field, 12 km from Moghilev. The buildings were ruined; having no roofs, doors or windows, not even floors. It was forbidden to pass across the road from a row of pavilions to another. Any infraction was punished by shooting.

While I was watching the burial of a first Jew who was shot dead, I could also see the valley where a year before, 20,000 Bessarabian Jews had been exterminated by the Germans. Sculls, skeletons, parts of documents, suitcases could be seen at the surface of the ground.

The so called food was supplied by the Moghilev committee on certain days of the week. The pea soup was carried in barrels with carts drawn by the Jews themselves. In fact, this food was only another means of extermination. The internees used to complete their daily menu by grass and leaves. Potato peels were considered a delicacy of the camp.

The latrines of the camp were common for both men and women, even in the pavilions of the well to do Jews.

The windows of the pavilions were covered by bricks and only small openings were left for light and air. Eight Jews died there because they had been shot dead for trying to cross the barbed wire while other hundreds of Jews died of starvation.

A terrible problem was the shortage of drinking water. There was a single well which provided water to the entire camp. The water was dirty and full of mud. Many inmates died of diarrhea, scabies, famine and misery. As the market had been dissolved by major Orasanu, there were no food supplies at all.

When Alexianu decided to disband the camp in autumn 1942, the remaining Jews were driven on foot to the Bug, in the Vorosilovca, Tivriv and Crasna villages. In Vorosilovca, more than half of the Jews died of hunger and diseases.

SHOOTING AND EXECUTION ORDERS Nr. 188

Nr. 1314 1942, June 12, GUARDING DIVISION

to

Moghilev Prefecture

Measures will be taken to execute orders Col. Nasturas

We have the honor to inform you that the 3-rd Army ordered the following measures to be taken to prevent the Jews from leaving colonies and camps:

- a) Jewish ghetto chiefs should be executed if the Jews in their subordination do not comply with the ordered directives.
- b) One Jew per colony should be shot dead if caught leaving his dwelling for several times.

Chief of headquarters, Col. BALDOVIN

Office Chief, Major GHEORGHIADE

ORDER FOR ORGANIZING THE GHETTOS IN THE MOGHILEV COUNTY Nr. 189

Moghilev Prefecture To Pretorates, Legions and Town Councils

I have the honor of submitting to you the attached instructions for organizing the ghettos situated on the territory of the Moghilev County.

We consider this a matter of Romanian honor and dignity.

Prefect, Col. Nasturas

SPECIAL ORDER FOR THE SCAZINET GHETTO Nr. 190

PREFECTURE OF THE MOGHILEV COUNTY

Nr. 156 of June 17, 1942 Confidential, personal

> Moghilev Prefecture To Gendarme legion Moghilev

To your report Nr. 221 of June 15, 1942, referring to the difficulties encountered with guarding the Scazinet ghetto;

We have the honor of informing you that I have submitted the general directives for organizing the ghettos.

You shall organize 12 communal guards paid by the budget of the Moghilev district. The guard will be trained and controlled by you. You'll have to provide details on the spot.

Prefect, Col. NASTURAS

ORDER TO PAY THE JEWS THE DUE SUMS OF MONEY FOR THEIR LABOR Nr. 191

Moghilev town council
June 18, 1942
To the
Jewish committee for labor co-ordination Moghilev

Please be informed that according to the order given by the Head of State sent by the prefect of Moghilev County, the labor carried out by Jewish workers under your leadership will be paid by (1 RMK for unskilled workers and 2 RKKS for skilled workers) per day.

The money will be paid by this Town Council after the relevant authority had paid the money owned in the form of food supplies.

Therefore, submit to us until the 30-th of the month a list set up per relevant authorities and working days to enable calculating the due sums.

In the future, payment will be made on the 1-st day of each month, based on the lists drawn up by you and certified by the relevant authority. The list that will be sent on July 1 for the past works and after July 5 for the future works will not be taken into consideration.

As a justification, you will use the nominal register drawn up per days for the performed works, on the table certified by the relevant authority.

Town Council of Moghilev Capt. BOTTA NICOLAE

ORDER FOR NEW EVACUATIONS FROM MOGHILEV Nr. 192

Confidential Transnistria Governorate To Moghilev Prefecture

To be executed, Prefect

Nasturas

To your confidential report Nr. 117, we are honored to inform you that the arrangement made by you will be approved.

A new lot of 3,000 Jews will be evacuated from Moghilev.

Governor, Illegible signature

ORDER FOR REPLACING THE JEWS FROM FACTORIES Nr. 193

July 5, 1942, No.192 the Office of the County
Prefecture of Moghilev County
Confidential
To Police Stations, Gendarme Legions
and Town Councils of the county.

The issue of Jews in Moghilev County should be solved as I have ordered. I will not tolerate any diversion from the given instructions.

You are obliged to replace Jews working in companies with Ukrainian experts and workers, even if these need to be brought from other towns and villages.

We must not allow the Jews to work permanently in our factories.

Even if we had needed Jewish experts at the start of production, there is no longer a justification to keep them on, when we can replace them.

We shall live together with the Ukrainians here, not with the Jews.

All the useless establishments opened by Jews will be immediately closed.

It is part of Romanian national dignity to expel Jews from all places where they are considered indispensable.

Colonel Nasturas, Prefect

JEWISH LABOR IN MOGHILEV

(Sept. 15, 1942) **Nr. 194**

Extract from a report written by Eng. S. Jaegendorf, former president of the Jewish committee, (dismissed by the authorities) to the Jewish Central Office of Romania

1. LABOR ORGANIZATION

As we showed above, the only juridical instrument which settles the legal and actual situation of the evacuated Jews is ordinance Nr. 23. The

basic principle of this ordinance specified in its head note and referring to the necessity of organizing the community life through its own strength and work, was also the basic principle for the formation of the first committee of the Moghilev Jews. Although this ordinance was given by Prof. Alexianu, governor of Transnistria ever since November 11, 1941, it was published only in December.

When the first Jewish committee was established on November 18, 1941, in Moghilev, it was clear that it had 2 functions: labor co-ordination and assistance of the Jews who were not fit for work. From the first moment of our stay in the town of Moghilev, it was clear that we would achieve stability and living possibilities for us and our families only by hard work, productive and useful to the State, county, communes and all the other public institutions. It was only for this purpose that the Jewish evacuees were retained here and only if they could fulfill their organic function would their presence in the town be justified.¹

As I already said, in this town remained different groups of skilled workers, individual industrialists and traders. The responsibility referring to labor behavior and execution was common, meaning that any damage or failure to carry out work in due time could endanger the interests of the entire Jewish community that remained here. According to my report submitted to the commander of the gendarme legion dated January 17, 1942 and approved on January 20, 1942, I requested that the working groups should be dissolved and all men aged 18–55 should be compelled into labor, based on census and recruitment.

We are proud to declare that the Jews who were brought to Moghilev carried out the labor demands of the authorities in an accurate way. On terrible cold weather, being almost undernourished, 90 % of the Jewish evacuees who were fit for work, fulfilled their duty, contributing by their work to the economic and urban rehabilitation of this town.

To substantiate my statements, I enclose herewith the situation of the performed labor until August 1, 1942, namely labor for service usage in the office for labor co-ordination and labor permanently performed in the foundry, nail factory, soap factory etc. and the labor of free lance

¹ In order not to misinterpret the language used here by a Jewish leader, it has to be emphasized that the above report is addressed to an organization that was considered suspicious and which before reaching its destination, had to be checked by the censorship of the Prefecture and Gendarme Legion.

professionals. It results that during the period of time between December 15, 1941 until August 1, 1942, the Jews who had been evacuated to the town, namely those who were organized at the disposal of the office for labor coordination, performed the following working days: skilled workers: 28,325 working days, unskilled workers: 102,085 working days, amounting on an average to abt. 700 workers daily only for labor for service apart from the skilled workers from factories and free lance professionals who had double results.

Although the Jews did their duty almost perfectly, in a percentage of 90%, irrespective of their illnesses, undernourished and naked, the ordinance Nr. 23, article 6 was not complied with entirely, only 10% of the accomplished work was paid.

Art. 6 of ordinance 23 provided that as pay for work accomplished, every worker receives a ration card. For unskilled workers, the card is worth one RKKS and for skilled workers the card will purchase two RKKSs worth of food. However, this ordinance was not complied with. The failure to fulfill the said ordinance was due to the fact that the Town Council of the town of Moghilev was not supplied with the necessary food provisions required to pay for the performed work.

It is of utmost importance that the higher authorities should quickly intervene so that ordinance 23, art. 6 should be applied.

Eng. JAEGENDORF

ORDER FOR CLOSING THE MOGHILEV GHETTO WITH BARBED WIRE Nr. 195

Nr. 936 of Sept. 2, 1942

GENDARME LEGION MOGHILEV
To
PREFECTURE OF THE MOGHILEV COUNTY

To your confidential order Nr. 269/942,

I have the honor to order the Town Council of Moghilev to make available to the Jewish committee of Moghilev the necessary barbed wire for enclosing the ghetto, as it was ordered above.

Commander of the Gendarme Legion. Major ORASANU

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION IN MOGHILEV Nr. 196

Extract from a report of September 15, 1942 of Eng. Jaegendorf, former president of the Jewish committee, (dismissed by the authorities) to the Jewish Central Office of Romania.

As I have already said, the local committees and especially the Moghilev committee have set up a series of administrative institutions, indispensable for these purposes.

Our labor co-coordinating office keeps evidence of all evacuated Jews, fit for work. It issues recruitment orders both for service labor and for permanent labor in factories or public institutions, it exempts those who are disabled on the basis of medical examinations and it checks all labor requirements from all authorities, allotting the workers.

An auxiliary office is the one dealing with the evidence of the Jewish population. This office has also a registrar which issues birth, death and marriage certificates.

Anyway, due to the lack of writing paper, we could not draw up the lists of evacuated Jews. Therefore, a complete organization of the evidence offices is necessary by making available all the technical means for collecting the necessary data for labor allocation according to competences and specialties of all evacuated Jews.

A mail service was also necessary which being controlled by the state, distributes and collects the mail.

By sending the money through the National Bank of Romania, it is necessary to create a financial service to help the official delegates identify the beneficiaries.

However, the community cannot be maintained only by the funding received from the Jewish Central Office and in order to carry out the article mentioned in ordinance Nr. 23 referring to using our own means for our maintenance, we decided to set up a taxation department for the well to do persons, of course based on free will.

By compelling each colony member to contribute, according to his own means, to the medical assistance expenses and also to the expenditures for the administrative organization is a requirement without which the community and its institutions cannot be maintained.

Eng. S. IAEGENDORF

THE VAPNIARCA CAMP Preparations and Beginnings Nr. 197

Extract from the accusation document drawn up by the public prosecutors A. Bunaciu and Dumitru Saracu in the trial of the first lot of war criminals, judged by the People's Tribunal.

While the camps from Romania, especially that of Tg. Jiu were intended for isolating and then for exterminating by hunger, exhausting work and death penalties of antifascist patriots, the camps that were set up by the same regime in several places in the conquered territories of the Soviet Union, had the purpose of rapidly exterminating the local population.

The Vapniarca camp had in August 1942 a number of 101–126 inmates; on September 16, 1942, its number rose to 150 persons; on the next day, on September 17, 1942, the number of inmates rose to 1,135 persons. This rise was due to the fact that approx. 1,000 internees and politically condemned people who were sent by the Tg.Jiu camp, Lugoj prison or some of them were just rounded up while they were free. When the new comers arrived, Murgescu showed them the cemetery near the camp telling them that they should get familiar with the place, that they came to the death camp from where they would come out like animals, walking on all their fours or in crutches (testimonies of witnesses I. Mendelovici, E. Vinea, N. Sonenstein, D. Firederich, I. Goldenberg, A. Solomonovici, etc.).

PECIORA EVACUATION ORDER Nr. 198

GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA To GENDARME LEGION MOGHILEV

Please be informed that the governor approved the evacuation of 3,000 Jews from Moghilev to Peciora.

You shall contact the County prefect and take immediate measures to carry out this evacuation.

Col. ILIESCU

EVACUATION OF JEWS AND HOW THEY ESCAPED Nr. 199

Nr. 1376 of October 26, 1942

GENDARME LEGION MOGHILEV To GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA

I have the honor to report to you that today, on October 25, 1942, I sent to the Peciora camp a number of 200 Jews.

On this occasion I found out that a number of abt. 50–60 Jews of those sent by the first lot ran away back to Moghilev.

Our evacuation campaign is useless because by some unknown means they escape and go back to Moghilev.

> Commander of the Moghilev Gendarme Legion, Major ORASANU

THE CAMP MISERY Nr. 200

Extract from a report written by Mr. M. Katz, former president of the Jewish Committee in Moghilev

In September 1942, the deportees of the Moghilev Ghetto underwent a new and hard blow. Thousands of Jews were sent to the Peciora death camp. Recruitment was done by gendarme teams by horrible and savage means.

This camp was situated on the banks of the Bug and it was surrounded by three rows of barbed wire being guarded by armed militaries. Many times, German trucks coming from the other bank of the Bug were loaded with detainees from the camp and transported them to extermination places.

The living conditions in this camp were among the most miserable.

Those confined in the camp, deprived of the possibility to supply food, fed themselves with human corpses. The number of the dead in this camp reached 80%, the rest of 20% succeeded to escape.

THE PLIGHT OF THE MOGHILEV ORPHANS Nr. 201

Extracts from a report drawn up by Dr. Faendrich Emanuel, referent counselor, sent by the Jewish Committee to check the 3 orphanages in Moghilev

JEWISH COMMITTEE MOGHILEV General Control Service

Moghilev, November 28

Dear President,

We are honored to submit to you the following report, drawn up by Dr. Faendrich Emanuel, referent counselor, after he had visited the three orphanages of Moghilev; please examine it carefully, considering the big responsibility of the Committee for the 800 orphans interned there.

REPORT Nr. 3

ORPHANAGE Nr. 1

This orphanage is located in the Pokrowscaia building cornered by Bolnicinaia St. This is a large but damaged building. The orphanage accommodates 420 children aged 3–16 as well as nurses and a part of the administrative and service personnel.

The orphanage receives from the Committee daily donations in cash, food, bread and fuel. Therefore, the orphanage can make supplies for one day only. On November 21, the orphanage received 100 RKKS, on Nov. 22 and 23 – nothing at all, on Nov. 24–100 RKKS and on November 25–50 RKKS.

Apart from that, the orphanage received 90 kg of bread and 75 kg of peas and on another day – 64 kg of pearl cereals.

Every 2–3 days, 240 kg of firewood are distributed and 1.50 kg of soap.

The children are housed in big, unheated rooms with stuffy air, even stinky sometimes.

Because of the cold, the children lie in bed all day, without having clean bed linen. They do not have adequate clothes to be able to get off their beds.

While until October of this year, the children were cleaned, completely deloused and bathed every week, since the beginning of the cold weather, the rooms were not heated because firewood was in short supply and the children cannot even go to the toilet. They have to relieve themselves in buckets, in their bedrooms and therefore the stench is unbearable. In one room I found 109 children. As the fuel is in short supply, the water cannot be heated, so that the children cannot be bathed and the laundry cannot be washed properly. There is dampness on the walls and the floors are dirty.

As for the children's nourishment I found the following situation:

Their food has little nutritional value consisting of bread and black unsweetened coffee for breakfast, a loose mash of corn flour or a pea soup for lunch and bread and jam or black unsweetened coffee for supper. The children get 120–150 g of bread per day, divided into 3 servings of 40–50 g of bread per child and meal.

The children's food is scarce both in quality and quantity, being void of vitamins and nutritional substances. The children are terribly undernourished.

As the children cannot get out of their beds during the day, the instated classes do not function. Until the end of October, this year, there was a kindergarten and a primary school with 4 classes, namely a common class of the first, second, third and fourth grades and a fifth grade that were attended by abt. 200 children:120 boys and 80 girls.

As for their health and mortality rate, the situation is as follows:

- A lot of children suffer from furunculosis, skin diseases and scabies. Inner diseases are rare. The cause of these diseases is the lack of cleanliness, malnutrition and the lack of vitamins in addition to the miserable living conditions.
- As for the mortality rate, it keeps increasing. In the month of August, 6 mortal cases were registered, in September 5 cases, in October 12 and only between 1 to 25-th November of this year, 18 cases.

It can be said that the children in this orphanage do not really live, they vegetate.

ORPHANAGE Nr. 2

This orphanage takes care of 247 children aged 2–15 who are accommodated according to their age in 4 rooms (halls). Many children have furunculosis, skin diseases and scabies. The sick children are not isolated and they stay in the same room with the healthy kids. The same problems referring to poor hygiene can be seen here. The bed linen is dirty, the bath has not been in operation for 2–3 weeks, the delousing procedures are not properly applied. The mortality rate is very high, from October 4 to November 27, 20 mortal cases were registered.

The children's food is scarce both in quality and quantity, being void of vitamins and nutritional substances.

ORPHANAGE Nr. 3

This orphanage was initially a children's hospital but later on it was transformed into an orphanage including both healthy and sick children. Moreover, it also houses aged people.

The administrative personnel comprise 36 persons. At the date of this inspection, there were 129 interned children, 9 sick adults and 25 aged persons. The general hygiene is horrifying. The building (school Nr. 2) is damaged and dirty. The food is like that of orphanage Nr. 2. The food is

brought in black tin jars. The orphanage has only 20 tins and spoons so that the food distribution takes 2 hours.

The food received by the sick children is cold, without any nutritional value and this happens in a hospital that is meant for children who should be cured.

The children are kept in big, unheated rooms with stuffy air even stinky sometimes.

Because of the cold, the children lie in bed all day, without clean bed linen. They do not have adequate clothes to be able to get off their beds.

About 90 % of the children suffer from internal and skin diseases. The children who have scabies are not isolated from the healthy children although it is a catching disease. The old age home is very close to the children's rooms being a nest of infection.

The food of the sick children is insufficient, the children being weak, undernourished and disabled in a very frightening percentage.

The mortality rate is huge.

From a number of 140 children, between October 12 to November 27, twenty-six mortal cases were registered.

The children's general state of health is much endangered. Unless this orphanage is reorganized and equipped in due time, there is the risk for all the children to perish.

Moghilev, November 27, 1942

Referent Counselor, FAENDRICH

ASSISTANCE FOR THE JEWS INTERNED IN VAPNIARCA

Nr. 202

Romania PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS Bucharest, Nov. 18, 1942

Jewish Central Office

We are honored to inform you that after the report of the Transnistria Governorate referring to the state of the 1,179 Jews of the Vapniarca camp

dressed in summer clothes, the Marshal ordered that they should be allowed to receive clothes from Romania by the Governorate.

Government Representative of Jewish Affairs in Romania

RADU LECCA

ASSISTANCE FOR PECIORA NR. 203

ARMY HEADQUARTERS
DEPARTMENT OF THE CIVILIAN GOVERNORATE OF
TRANSNISTRIA
Nr. 84714 of November 28, 1942

To
Jewish Central Office of Romania
Through
PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
CBBT
Bucharest

We are honored to inform you that it has been approved to send clothing items for the Jews interned in the Peciora camps.

For Governor, Signature illegible

THE MISERY OF THE VAPNIARCA CAMP Nr. 204

Extract from the indictment of D. Saracu, public prosecutor, stated before the People's Tribunal in the trial of the first lot of war criminals

Let us try to describe the Vapniarca camp: the buildings were dirty, with neither windows nor doors; there was absolutely no hygiene. Water, the most important element, was missing. The internees complain that they are starving. They asked the commander to be allowed to go to work, to earn their living, even if they are to die.

Murgescu replied: "You were sent to the camp to die. I have no intention to make here a health resort for you".

Mr. President, honored Court, just imagine: it was hot, it was in summer. More than 1,500 people want water. They want to build a water pipe but they are not allowed to. They want to build beds (from wooden boards) for their sick people but again they are not allowed to. Neither are they allowed to build a stove, to cook some food.

The thirst is more terrible than hunger. The children and the sick ask for water.

He devised a diabolical plan – to torture them he set up a water tap near his headquarters. He turned on the tap to make the people believe that water was flowing from the tap; he let some drops of water drip and then turned it off immediately.

The people started to stand in line for water, the sick and the children were crawling an all their four. The heat was terrible, and all they wanted was a little bit of water. But there was nothing coming from the pipe. The people were stunned. Their suffering was even greater. The moaning was heard from a long distance. Even col. Murgescu says: "you need a handkerchief to cover your nose not to smell the stench of live corpses. The stench of misery is unbearable".

Then, Murgescu calls the internees again and preaches them: "You were brought to die here. I shall shoot all those who do not obey the orders." And this really happened.

He used to torture and beat the inmates in a horrifying and barbaric way, until they were no longer human being, just swollen creatures, something unimaginable.

THE TRAGEDY IN THE VAPNIARCA Nr. 205

Extract from the indictment drawn up by the public prosecutors A. Bunaciu and D. Saracu in the trial of the first lot of war criminals, judged by the People's Tribunal

The inmates who were accommodated in three damaged and dirty pavilions (without windows, doors and beds) had enough reasons to believe in the prophecies of Murgescu.

In addition, their basic nourishment consisted in fodder peas which gradually poisoned them leading to paralysis and eventually to death.

The scientific name of the fodder pea is "Latyrus Sativus", a species which is cultivated in the Soviet Union only as fodder for cattle. If humans eat this kind of fodder, they can fall ill of latyrism, a disease which is well known by the physicians and the local population of Soviet Union, consisting in spastic paralysis, diarrhea, flatulence and pain in the right part of the intestines and a general bad state of health.

After December 27, 1942, the first case of spastic paralysis was registered (an inmate who was interned in the camp on Sept. 16, 1942). During the next days and weeks, this type of paralysis spread about, reaching 611 cases.

Although the accused I. Murgescu was informed by medical reports about the harmful effects of the fodder pea, he definitely refused to change their nourishment, moreover, he did not allow that medicines or clothing be brought into the camp.

AIDS FOR TRANSNISTRIA Nr. 206

Romania
PRESIDENCY OF THE
COUNCIL OF MINISTERS
Government Representative of
Jewish Affairs in Romania

JEWISH CENTRAL OFFICE IN ROMANIA

Our representative found out that the aids sent by the Jewish Central Office to Transnistria in the form of money and other items did not meet the necessities of the deported Jewish population.

Your delegation established exactly the aids (objects, money etc.) to be sent quickly to the Transnistria deportees.

Therefore, please make sure to increase the collection of money and different aids to assist your coreligionists as substantially as possible, knowing that the entire responsibility relies only on you, with all the relevant consequences in case of any infringement of your duties.

RADU LECCA.

Government Representative of Jewish Affairs in Romania

THE COMMANDERS OF THE VAPNIARCA CAMP Nr. 207

Extract from the indictment drawn up by the public prosecutors A. Bunaciu and D. Saracu in the trial of the first lot of war criminals, judged by the People's Tribunal

Wicked, corrupt and scurrilous – this is how the accused **I. Murgescu** was described by the witnesses interrogated until now. He was not satisfied

with the fact that the inmates were starving and killed by poisonous food, he tortured them more by denying them the water or even snow; he himself used to punish the detainees for imaginary faults.

As the absolute master of the camp, the accused used to inspect the camp in a drunken state. He checked the canteen not to alleviate the life of the internees but for personal interests, to rob the little aid received by the inmates.

His favorite punishments were the incarcerations and beating the people on naked backs. While apparently benevolent toward women, all he wanted was to abuse them sexually and whenever they resisted he became furious unleashing his beastly impulse.

Cristodor Popescu – while he was commander of the Vapniarca camp, he also forbade the inmates from consuming other food supplies outside that of the canteen. The people were constantly fed with fodder peas and the cases of spastic paralysis were increasing. He did this on purpose, knowing very well the harmful effect of that fodder. (See the testimonies of Landau L. Mozes).

He tried by all means to destroy the inmates both physically and morally by:

- reducing the bread and firewood ratios (see the testimonies of Landau, L. Mozes, Naum Cristu).
- forbidding the installation of stoves that were absolutely necessary to heat the rooms and the infirmary of the camp on a severe frost during the winter of 1942 1943 (see the testimonies of Flemingher Isidor, Alfons Nachtigal, Rado Alexandru, Naum Cristu).
- organizing a network of spies to provoke terror acts and to dissolve the committee just to prevent any attempt of alleviating the life of the detainees (see the testimony of Segal Nathan).
- numerous abuses and beatings of those who were sick and helpless (witness Landau L. Mozes)
- forbidding the inmates to leave the camp not even for physiological needs (witness Nachtigal)
- taking advantage of the detainees whom he forced to manufacture for himself and his family members several clothes and shoes for free (see testimonies of Segal Nathan and Cristu).
- taking advantage of his position he sexually abused several detained women (see the testimony of Naum Cristu).

Buradescu Sever belongs to the same category of perpetrators and robbers.

While he was commander of the Vapniarca camp (8 months) he persecuted the detainees savagely. At that date there were 2,000 detainees, mostly political, the others were Ukrainians and Moldavians.

As if the sufferings endured by the inmates during the leadership of Murgescu had not been enough, during the time of Buradescu the plight of the detainees worsened.

First of all he reduced the food ratios from 200 g of bread per day to 100 g even 50 g per person. On the other hand, he used to order that the inmates should receive spoiled food being definitely against any improvement of the detainees' nourishment. (See the testimony of lieut.col. Popovici Cristache).

Another method of extermination used by the accused was to hide the packages received by the detainees in a store room. It was only after several months that the packages were found completely spoiled.

He also resorted to other means of extermination: he did not allow the detainees to wash either themselves or their laundry. He destroyed a metal stove to deny them the heat and prevent them from cooking any food.

Another diabolical method of extermination was that of incarcerating the detainees into 3 m deep holes for 1 or two days.

NEW RESTRICTIVE ORDERS IN MOGHILEV Nr. 208

ARMY CORPS III
GENERAL STAFF
Information office Nr.2

To the Moghilev Garrison

We are honored to inform you of the following measures regarding the Jews in Moghilev until the answer from the Transnistria Governorate arrives (interventions were made to evacuate the Jews towards the Bug).

- all the Jews should be interned into ghettos.

- those who walk freely in the Moghilev garrison should possess permits signed by the garrison and the Gendarme legion in Moghilev.
- the number of permits allowing the Jews to circulate freely in the town should be restricted to a minimum.
- all the chiefs of ghettos, communities, Jewish committees in the County will not be allowed to come to Moghilev to receive money or other aids from Romania; these aids should be sent directly to the relevant localities.
- lists of the Jews sent to forced labor should be drawn up and kept by the working group leaders who, in turn, must have authorizations or duty orders signed by the garrison and gendarme legions in Moghilev. The authorizations should comprise the number of people who are sent to forced labor, what for they are sent and their working program.
- any foreign person is forbidden to enter the ghetto except for official authorities and only with a well defined reason.

We also ask you to draw up a synthesis of Jewish life by day and night, describing the activity of the deported Jews (underground and visible), specifying the number and supporting organizations and the dangers concerning the official State organization, tendencies and aspirations.

This should be a completely documented description of the Moghilev ghettos.

Head of General Staff
Col. E. BUZINCU
Head of Office nr. 2
Major C. PUNGA

UNSUCCSSEFUL ATTEMPTS OF MASSACRE IN VAPNIARCA Nr. 209

Extract from the indictment drawn up by the public prosecutor D. Saracu in the trial of the first lot of war criminals

Capt. Buradescu who was a fierce anit-Semite, wanted to exterminate the detainees of the Vapniarca camp by all means. A group of 44 thieves and criminals were brought to Vapniarca from Jilava. Capt. Buradescu thought of a devious plan, to instigate those criminals against the Jewish political detainees. Together with his blind tool, sublieut. Ceachir, they prepared this plan of exterminating the Jews. Those infamous persons, armed with hatchets, iron bars, wooden boards started to beat up the political detainees. Three inmates collapsed after this rebellion.

But what was the real purpose of this rebellion? They wanted to organize a set up against the detainees - a rebellion in order to enable the army to intervene and kill them. Once the rebellion started, Capt. Buradescu along with subl. Ceachir and master sergeant Moise Marin entered the guarding corps of the camp and ordered them to shoot.

However, the soldiers who were no artists but country people, peasants and workers, refused to shoot; they disobeyed the order of their commander and said: "we do not shoot". Instead of shooting at the detainees, they shot up in the air. Buradescu, who was wild with fury, told them: "I'll shoot you all. Why didn't you shoot at them?" One of the soldiers replied: "Captain, Sir, we don't have any reason to shoot at these people. If you really want us to do it, give us a written order, please."

INFANT MORTALITY IN MOGHILEV ORPHANAGES Nr. 210

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i nis iist was arawn	iin according to th	e orphanages registers
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	Interned children	Deceased	Percentage
April 1942	94	1	1.06
May 1942	130	4	3.07
June	214	7	3.27
July	318	10	3.14
August	370	6	1 62
September	676	5	0.74
October	687	21	3.06
November	82S	62	7.48
December	788	57	7.23
January 1943	708	66	9.42
February	701	54	7.70

March	597	47	7.87
April	563	5	0.90
May	623	1	0.16
June	632	_	_
July	651	_	
August	637		
September	629		
October	661		
November	662		
December	644		
January 1944	593	_	

LABOR IN THE MOGHILEV COUNTY Nr. 211

Situation extracted from the B.O.M.E. registers of Moghilev, Murafa, Shargorod and Djurin

Central Accounting Office Moghilev

SUMS OWED TO THE MOGHILEV GHETTO for the labor carried out between December 18, 1941 and July 30, 1943

Item	AUTHORITY	Value in RKKS of the	Received	Owed rest
		work performed	in food and	on June, 30,
		between December 18,	cash in	1943
		1941 – June 30, 1943	RKKS	
1	Gendarme Legion	32,505		32,505
2	Moghilev Town council	127,986	34,959	93,027
3	Moghilev prefecture	30,998		30,998
4	Moghilev pretorate	8,116	623,50	7,492,50
5	Jarișev pretorate	2,427		2,427
6	Moghilev garrison	23,661		23,661
7	P.T.T. office	3,200	20	3,180
8	C. F. R. T.	2,061	_	2,061

0	Mobile teem 47	2 116		2 116
	Mobile team 47	3,116	_	3,116
10	Residence of archpriest, Moghilev	26		26
11	Delousing station	526		526
	Transnistria Moghilev	36	_	36
	Bank			
13	Moghilev Road	1,347	206	1,141
	Department			
14	Bakery of Moghilev	8	_	8
	Garrison			
15	School sub-inspectorate	15		15
	Moghilev			
16	Propaganda service	20		20
	Moghilev			
17	Gendarme sector	488	_	488
	Moghilev			
	Cavalry troop	432		432
19	Batallion 13 guard,	384	_	384
	Moghilev			
20	Batalion 3 Border	36	_	36
	Guards Moghilev			
	Vodka Factory Moghilev	128		128
	Butter factory Moghilev	32		32
23	County hospital	136	_	136
	Moghilev			
24	Airport of Moghilev	128	_	128
	pretorate			
25	Sanitary service of	8	_	8
	Moghilev County			
	Lieutenant Vasilevski	218	_	218
	Company 3 Moghilev	12		12
28	Gendarme battalion	56		56
	Moghilev			
29	Hospital of Moghilev	162		162
	town council			
30	Military Hospital	232	_	232
	Moghilev			
		238,500	35,808,50	202,691,50
_	office of Jarrich Lohon	A monorcad brotha I	T 1 C C	1 D

Office of Jewish Labor

Approved by the Head of Gendarme Post

SHARGOROD WORKING DAYS CARRIED OUT BY THE JEWISH COLONIES OF SHARGOROD UNTIL APRIL 30, 1943 (PAYABLE IN FOOD AT THE VALUE OF 1–2 RKKS PER PERSON/DAY)

I. Jewish Colony of Shargorod:

- Working days until Feb. 15, 1943
- Building the Murafa-Iaroshinca highway between June Sept. 1942: 46.872 RKKS
- Tobacco harvesting between Sept. Oct. 1942: 7,294 RKKS
- Various works performed (roads, agricultural works):

14,933 69,099 RKKS:

Food tickets given as accounts:

a) 42 tons of barley: 6,300 RKKS

b) 5 tons of peas: 2,500 8,800 RKKS

60,299 RKKS

- Working days carried out between Feb. 15. 1943 until April 30, 1943
- Various works performed on the demand of public authorities between Feb. 16 Febr. 28/1943 (clerks, roads, agricultural works): 2,106 RKKS
- " between March 1 to March 31: 3,471 RKKS
- - " between April 1 to April 30: 1,814 7,391 RKKS
- Debt due to the colony in food tickets: 67,690 RKKS

II. Jewish Colony of Murafa

- Working days until Feb. 15, 1943
- Building the Murafa-Iaroshinca highway between June Sept. 1942: 24,793 RKKS
- Tobacco harvesting between Sept. Oct. 1942: 6,599 RKKS
- Various works performed (roads, agricultural works)

for public authorities until Febr. 15, 1943: 6,620 RKKS 38,012 RKKS Food tickets given as accounts:

- a) 20 tons of barley: 3,000 RKKS
- b) 5 tons of peas: 2,500 RKKS

5,500 RKKS

Debt due to the colony in food tickets: 32, 512 RKKS

III. Jewish Colony of Djurin

- Working days until Feb. 15, 1943
- Building the Murafa-Iaroshinca highway¹ between June Sept. 1942: 24, 563 RKKS
- Various works performed (roads, agricultural works, railways) for public authorities until Febr. 15, 1943: 10,300 RKKS 34,863 RKKS Food tickets given as accounts:

a) 25 tons of barley:

3,750 RKKS

b) 5 tons of peas:

2,500 RKKS

6,250 RKKS

Debt due to the colony in food tickets: 28,613 RKKS

ASSISTANCE FROM ABROAD Nr. 212

Letter received from the president of the Jewish Community in Switzerland and Saly Mayer, representative for Europe of American Joint Distribution Committee addressed to Wilhelm Fischer and Dr. W. Filderman² sent through the journalist Hans Welti, (later discovered to be a Gestapo secret agent)

1. Juni 1943

LIEBER FISCHER & FILDERMAN!

Ich benütze die gute Gelegenheit um Euch meine besten Grüsse zu senden. Es freute mich sehr, dass die Tante Stephan Esra-Alafim zufolge

Shargorod – 46,872 RKKS

Murafa - 24,793 RKKS

Diurin - 24.563 RKKS - 96.228 RKKS

In Romania this highway would have cost 60 million; the sum of 96,228 RKKS represents 6 million lei, even at an exchange rate of 60 lei per RKKS.

² see photocopy, illustration XIV.

Before being delivered, the letter was photocopied and examined by Gustav Richter, leader of the Jewish department of the Gestapo in Romania who mentioned on the photocopy the following text:

"Brief von Saly Mayer, St. Gallen (gewesener President der Israel Gemeindebundrat der Schweitz u. Direktor der Joint in der Schweitz fuer Europa) an Dr.W.Filderman und Fischer, Bukarest.

¹ The Murafa – Iaroshinca highway was built by:

Eurer Bestätigung gut. angekommen ist. Bei Stephan selbst befinden sich also bereit die Schelauschim Alafim. Ich weiss auch heute keinen bessern Weg um zu helfen als eben der Aufenthalt bei Stephan. Wenn es Euch möglich wäre auf die gleiche Weise nochmals zu helfen, so wäre ich e'nverstanden und erwarte hierüber Euren Bericht.

Mein Scheliach habe ich ausführlich in mein vollstes Vertrauen gezogen und bitte Euch das Gleiche auch zu tun.

In Uebrigen erwarte durch das Rote Kreuz Bericht welche Medikammente beschafft werden sollen und hat man mir in Genf versprochen hierüber mit dem offiz⁻el!en Delegierten ebenfals bei Euch Information einzuholen.

Diese Tmura bezieht sich ausschliesslich auf Transnistrien, denn bei Euch selbst nehme ich an, dass Ihr Euch selbst helfen könnt.

Mein Scheiiach hat mir ganz einfach zu berichten, dass Tmura Scheini, Schl'schi, Revii ect., sich bai guter Gesundheit befindet.

Wenn es möglich ist mir einen Vertrauensmann in der Schweiz aufzugeben, so bin ich nicht abgeneigt denselben anzuhören, wenn er sich über Tmura Scheini ect. bei mir vorstellt.

Ebenso höre ich stets gerne Eure weitern Vorschläge an und bin ich guten Mutes, dass wir uns restlos verstehen und Euch weiter helfen können.

In diesem Sinne grüsse ich Euch vielmals und herzlich we immer

Euer treuer SALY MAYER

MISERY IN THE COLONIES OF MOGHILEV COUNTY Nr. 213

Extract from a report of the former president of the Jewish Committee in Moghilev, M. Katz

One of the most important accomplishments of our committee was the visit to the county colonies.

In Conotcauti, Shargorod region, 70 Jews were sheltered in a dark and long stable placed in the middle of a field where they had to stay all the time as they had no clothes on. The people who lived there begged and had a terrible appearance. The head of this camp was Mendel Aronovici, a former banker of Darabani, Dorohoi County, who lived in an indescribable state of misery.

In the Grabivti and Halcinti colonies the people found a dead horse (sprayed with carboline) whose meat they ate. I managed to convince those unfortunates not to eat that meat any longer and I gave them food, clothes and money for a kitchen. I took them out of the camp and placed them in the neighboring village and paid their rent for 3 months in advance.

.....

Those from Grabivtzi lived in an underground hut and I took them out of there against their will, placing into the village. They did not want to part from the 700 graves of the members of their families who were buried next to their hut. They also ate from the meat of that dead horse. I gave them money and sent them food and clothes.

The same misery was in other colonies too. In Vinoj, Nemerci, Pasinca, Lucinet, Ozarinet, Vindiceni, the people were exhausted, feeble, some of them worked on farms, others on tobacco cultures while others were working in stone quarries, factories but most of them were begging.

The parcels coming from the Jewish Central Office in Romania were insufficient and did not improve their situation too much.

In a report addressed to the Jewish Central Office in Bucharest, Iosif Sand, the head of the Promesanita camp wrote the following: "In two years we received only 500 Marks for the 70 pensioners of our camp. In the boxes sent to our camp I found several pairs of women's briefs, some high hats, two pajamas, a tail coat and some pairs of gloves"

MURDERS IN THE TULCIN COUNTY Nr. 214

Extract from a report of Dr. M. Teich, the former president of the Jewish Committee of the Shargorod Ghetto

The first list of workers to be sent to forced labor duty to Trihati was compiled on short notice by the Moghilev committee, according to Col. Loghin's order. This list was based on the data of the censuses done for the entire county. Therefore, on the same list were entered able-bodied people along with disabled or severely ill. We had great difficulties in exempting those who were not fit for work.

Col. Loghin ordered that all the Jews who worked in the pretorate's offices should be sent together with the first lot of workers. From 175 workers who had been sent with the first lot to Trihati. 18 came back after a few days with authorizations issued by the gendarme posts from there stating that they had been rejected by a German committee. The post chief communicated this fact to the legion of gendarmes in Moghilev, saying that they had paid for their exemption because there was no written evidence from the Germans. As other 50 persons returned from other localities as well, major Botoroaga realized what happened and ordered them to return to Trihati. He was angry because those who came back from Trihati were in good health and well dressed. The families of those who came back were afraid that if they returned to Trihati they would be shot by the Germans being accused of sabotage. Therefore they intervened and asked major Botoroaga to send them to Tulcin instead and he agreed to send them together with the first lot of workers. A few days later, a part of them returned because the labor was unbearable. Some of them came back to Shargorod where they hid for a few days. They thought they could escape and started to walk freely. Three of them were caught by the gendarmes in Shargorod and sent to the Court Marshal in Tiraspol where they were sentenced to prison for 3 months. Only 12 of them did not come back, four of whom (Abraham, Schmelzer, Becker and Sperber) were from Shargorod.

The relatives of them intervened with me and Dr. Filderman who was in Moghilev at that time, with major Botoroaga to investigate about their whereabouts because there were some rumors that they had been killed near Tulcin. Major Botoroaga called all the gendarme posts in the Moghilev County. He told us that no gendarme post knows anything about them. Later on, we learned that a group of 13 persons, among whom were the 4 from Shargorod, were caught by a gendarme from a village near Tulcin who took them to a forest and shot them dead and robbed them of their valuables. Only one of them escaped and hid in Moghilev. His name is Ritter. He said that all the others were robbed and shot dead. The name of that gendarme from that village, Iurcova post, Tulcin County could be easily found and he could be accused of homicide.

THE MOGHILEV GHETTO COL. LOGHIN' S SATRAPY Nr. 215

Extract from a report of the former president of the Jewish Committee in Moghilev, M. Katz

During that time, the Moghilev Ghetto was headed by prefect Loghin, the famous Prefect of Tulcin who was a fearful anti-Semite. He was known to have handed over to the Germans, across the Bug, a number of 4,000 Jews.

Since the first day of his investiture, he took drastic measures as follows: he compelled the Jews to wear the yellow star; he closed the ghetto hermetically, forbidding the contact of the Jews with the public servants. The Jews who lived around the church were evacuated. He ordered the Jews into forced labor to external detachments in Tulcin, Trihati and Odessa.

The sub-prefect, Dindelegan was also very drastic and ordered the killing of many Jews in Shargorod.

Nr. 216

Extract from a report of Dr. M. Teich, the former president of the Jewish Committee of the Shargorod Ghetto

I would like to specify what I noticed in the year 1943. The heads of military and civilian authorities who were ferocious and brutal at the

beginning, treating the Jewish deportees as if they were nothing, not even animals, changed their behavior in the last year when they felt that the front, the military catastrophe and eventually the Day of Judgment were drawing near. This explains their behavior towards us in 1943, mostly in the second half and at the beginning of the year 1944. The only exception was the prefect, Col. Loghin who denied the Jews even access to the Prefecture, applied physical punishments, terrorized the population and most of all sent the Jews of Moghilev to the labor camps in Trihati, Tulcin, Oceacov, Odessa, Varvarovca, etc.

In the year 1942, the German and Romanian authorities from other counties also demanded Jewish workers for different activities but col. Nasturas who was prefect at that time, refused motivating that he needed the Jews of the Moghilev County for different works inside the county territory. Actually, in the year 1942 there was no victim.

It was not until Col. Loghin became prefect of the Moghilev County that he ordered the Jews from Moghilev to be sent to forced labor duty to the above mentioned camps. There had been a lot of victims, especially because of the Germans where the treatment was even worse. Col. Loghin bears the responsibility for all those victims.

The same prefect, Loghin is to blame because the workers in the Moghilev County were not paid even with that minimal price of 1-2 RKKS marks as foreseen by Ordinance Nr. 23.

In history there are no cases of slavery without provisioning (food). I think this is a unique example of people used to work as slaves for different public works without being given any food.

The pretor Rusu told me that Col. Loghin informed him that the Council of Ministers ordered to immediately pay the slave workers all the due food tickets but, on the other hand he threatened him to put him into camp if he gave the kikes any grains based on those food tickets. Thus, a treacherous game was played with us. They showed to the public and especially to the Red Cross delegates that the Jewish deportees received minimal nourishment and payment while in reality they did not accomplish even those elementary obligations.

LINKS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES Nr. 217

Message of the President of Jewish Communities in Switzerland, Saly Mayer to Wilhelm Filderman through the Swiss journalist, Hans Welty written on the cover of a razor blade¹

> 14. Oktober 1943 Sukkos I **Lieber Willi, ich** verlasse mich auf Deine Mithilfe. Deine Stephansache geht in Ordnung. Von benleeds habe guten bericht

benoannes habe contact.

Saly Mayer

ASSISTANCE FROM ROMANIA Nr. 218

November 19, 1943

NOTE

Referring to the aids in cash, used clothes, medicines, food, tools, materials, etc. sent to Transnistria

1. Money sent to Transnistria

Money aid from collective collections amounting to 79, 462,000 lei was sent and distributed among all Jewish committees in Transnistria. These aids were sent as subventions for social welfare units (canteens, old age homes, orphanages, etc.).

The relatives of the deportees sent money through us, for 60 times, amounting to 81,669,800 lei.

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¹ See photocopy in illustration XIV.

2. Food supplies sent to Transnistria

As of April, this year, the Civilian Government of Transnistria decided to deliver food supplies to the Jewish committees, at official prices. The food delivered and meant for the social welfare units was paid by us. To the account of these food supplies, 24 million lei were deposited; 6 million lei have still to be paid, representing the price of the food delivered meanwhile and not paid yet.

3. Delivering medicines

Medicines were sent 13 times in three complete wagons and 10 times as parcels by mail. The purchase price of those medicines was of 14,458,272 lei. It is remarkable that the real value of the received medicines is much higher than that of the purchase price because they were purchased by us at very low prices due to the kindness of a company in Bucharest.

4. Sending of used goods

653 boxes of used goods from collective donations made in Bucharest and the province were sent to Transnistria. Their value is of 199,663,400 lei.

5. Household and stationery articles

Two freight cars and 13 parcels by mail were sent, comprising 304 boxes of household and stationery article. Their value was of 11,267,473 lei, calculated at the purchase price. These products were sent to orphanages, hospitals and old age homes and also for being sold on the local market.

6. Salt

10 Freight cars of 15 tons each, of salt were sent. We have to specify that salt was totally absent from the Transnistrian market so that the sending of salt was very useful.

7. Coal

15 freight cars of 20 tons each of coal were sent to those places where firewood is missing.

8. Window panes

4 freight cars of abt. 2,700 m² of window panes per each car were sent to old age homes, orphanages, hospitals and to the local markets.

9. Timber

6 freight cars with timber of abt. 30 m³ per each car were sent for making beds, repairing houses and building barracks.

10. Caustic Soda

5,000 kg of caustic soda were sent for the manufacture of soap.

11. Wire and Nails

1,000 kg of wire and 9,000 kg of nails were sent.

12. Spades and Pickaxes

5,000 spades, 5,000 pickaxes and 5,000 handles were sent.

13. Tools

A first transport of 327 boxes with different tools, stoves for heating and lighting, accessories for ironmongers, shoe repairing and tailor workshops were sent.

Another transport of 21 boxes of tools was sent to Jewish workshops in Balta and a third one composed of 4 boxes was sent to the Tulcin nail factory.

We must add that the aids mentioned under points 11, 12, and 13 were sent to make the deportees more productive and carry out several crafts, not to depend only on the aids sent by us.

Assistance committee, Secretary H. HERSCOVICI

ANTONESCU'S CYNICISM Nr. 219

An extract from the New Year's speech of Ion Antonescu, given to the army in 1944

Dear Soldiers.

You should hold your heads high and you should not fear the Day of Judgment, or any threats. When it comes to God's judgment, he will punish us all right and in due time.

Your struggle is just.

You have showed kindness and humanity in the occupied territories and wherever you have been.

No one was robbed or abused in the areas through which you marched.

Human beings are human beings to us, regardless of their nationality, and regardless of the harm they have done to us.

We have helped and protected everyone we have come across, and we have regarded them as human beings.

We have not deported any person, and you have not stabbed anybody. No innocent people were confined in our prisons. We have shown respect for all beliefs and political convictions. We have not uprooted any people or families from their homes for our political or national interest.

MARSHAL ANTONESCU

LEGISLATIVE CHRONOLOGY September 4, 1941 – December 1, 1942

LAW DECREES AND DECISIONS OF MINISTRY OR PROVINCE GOVERNORATES, APPLICABLE ONLY TO THE JEWS OF THE AREAS WHERE MASS DEPORTATIONS TOOK PLACE

All expropriation laws are applicable in the occupied	
territories. All immovable properties from Bukovina	
and Bessarabia that belonged to Jews, physical or legal	
entities on June 28, 1940 or that were obtained after	
that date, will be taken over by Romania.	
The Romanian nationality is maintained for all	
inhabitants of occupied territories who on June 28,	
1940 had the Romanian nationality, for the children	
born after that date, whose was of Romanian	
citizenship or in case of natural children, whose mother	
was of Romanian citizenship and for the children born	
of unknown parents. (art. 1).	
•	
The following categories lose their Romanian	
nationality:	
- those who asked to return to the ceded territories	
after June 28, 1940;	
- those who received another nationality, not that of	
the Soviet Union;	
- inhabitants of those areas excepting the Romanians	
by blood who left them before they were re-	
occupied by the Romanian troops (art. 2).	
The Romanian nationality will be withdrawn from	
those who during the evacuation of Bessarabia and	
Northern Bukovina or after that date behaved in a	
hostile manner against the Romanian population,	
harming Romanian interests or expressed publicly	
hostility towards the Romanian population and country	

	(4 + 2)	
	(Art. 3).	
1941	The situation of the inhabitants of the occupied	
	territories, who comply with the conditions of the law	
	of February 1924 and the present law, will be	
	determined by the administrative organs that will draw	
	up lists (Art.6); those who are not on the lists have the	
	right of appeal within 30 days since they were posted.	
	Note:	
	The law had maintained the citizenship of all	
	inhabitants, including the Jewish population but the	
	latter had been deported to a large extent being not able	
	to take advantage of the law directives.	
November 1	Unpaid fiscal debts of Bessarabia and Northern	
Law decree Nr.	Bukovina as well as the income taxes, undeclared	
3004	before the date of June 28, 1940 (Art. 1) are canceled.	
Official Gazette	The income achieved between June 28, 1940 until	
Nr. 260	September 4, 1941 (Art. 2) is tax exempt. The	
	agricultural income is tax exempt between September	
	4, 1941 until November 1, 1941 and the properties	
	inhabited or used by their owners until March 31, 1942.	
	Other incomes are also tax exempt for a variable period	
	of time, as follows: incomes from commerce, industry,	
	professions, trades, salaries, etc. (Art. 3).	
	Jews do not profit by these advantages.	
	Jews are considered:	
	- those shown in the expropriation decrees referring	
	to urban and rural properties	
	- non-profit associations if ½ of their members are	
	Jewish as well as those associations of prevailing	
	Jewish interest and also those whose leaders are	
	mostly Jewish	
	Note:	
	This legislative malevolence could have no effect	
	whatsoever upon Bessarabia. When that law decree	
	was issued, the Bessarabian Jews who had survived the	
	massacres had been wiped out of taxable properties and	
	incomes long before. The Jews were already marching	
	mediaes iong octore. The sews were already matching	

	in long convoys to Transnistria or to the Dniester.
	The Jews (survivors of massacres) from Northern
	Bukovina had the same situation
	That law could be only applied to the approx. 20,000
	Jews, about 6,000 family heads, who remained in
	Chernovitz.
1941	SUPREME ARMY COMMANDER
November 11	Department of Transnistria's Civilian Governor
Transnistria	•
Governorate	ORDINANCE Nr. 23
Ordinance Nr. 23	
	We, MARSHAL ION ANTONESCU OF ROMANIA,
	SUPREME ARMY COMMANDER, through Prof. Gh.
	Alexianu, Civilian Governor:
	Considering that there is a numerous Jewish population
	on the territory of Transnistria that had been evacuated
	from various fighting areas to support the back of the
	front;
	Considering it necessary to organize a collective way
	of living for these evacuees;
	Considering that these evacuees have to find a way of
	earning their living by their own means and by work;
	By virtue of full powers granted by Decree Nr. 1 of
	August 19, 1941 given at Tighina,
	riagust 19, 1911 given at 11ginna,
	ORDER the following:
	Art. 1) All Jews who came from the fighting areas of
	the front to Transnistria as well as the Jews from
	Transnistria who were displaced for the same reasons
	to various areas or those who will still be displaced, are
	subjected to the living rules established by this
	ordinance.
	Art. 2) The Transnistria Gendarmerie Inspectorate will
	decide upon the places where the Jews will be
	accommodated. The Jews will be accommodated in
	accordance with the number of family members in the

houses deserted by the Russian or Jewish refugees. Each Jewish family will be allotted a dwelling place, which they should keep in a proper and good state. If those dwellings are insufficient, the Jews will be accommodated by the local population, having to pay a rent to be fixed.

Art. 3) All the Jews of a village will be entered in a special register, comprising:

Family Name and First Name, nationality, religion, age, profession, the place of origin. Each Jew will receive an identity card including those data.

Art. 4) No Jew is allowed to leave his place of residence, only if approved by the County Prefect.

Art. 5) All Jews of one community form a colony which is administered by a colony chief appointed from among the Jews by the district praetor.

The colony chief is assisted by the group chiefs. Each colony chief will appoint a group leader for a group of 20 Jews. This leader will be responsible for the attendance of all members, informing the authorities of any infraction of their members. The colony chief and the group leader are personally

The colony chief and the group leader are personally responsible for the presence of all Jews in the colony having to make sure that all directives given by the Administration and Gendarmerie are carried out.

Art. 6) The colony chief must present lists of all professionals, craftsmen and other able-bodied members of the colony, capable of performing labor, namely:

- Craftsmen are required to perform any labor according to their skills. Professionals are subordinated to the leadership of the community and will be employed based on need.
- Unskilled workers are under the tutelage of the town council and will perform any labor required for the colony as well as forced labor.
- They will be used in agriculture, road or bridge

	repairs, serve as lumberjacks, to carry heavy stones		
	and other materials		
	In exchange for the performed labor, the workers		
	will receive food tickets representing the value of a		
	labor day; the labor day will be paid by 1 Mark per		
	day for unskilled workers and 2 Marks per day for		
	skilled workers.		
	The Gendarmerie will inspect and check the Jewish		
	colonies regularly, reporting to their superiors all their		
	observations.		
	Art. 7) Jews can be displaced from one commune to		
	the other for performing forced labor only with the		
	prior approval of the County Prefect.		
1941	Art.8) Any Jew found in another locality than the		
	settled one, without having the approval of the		
	authorities, will be considered a spy being		
	immediately sanctioned according to the military		
	laws in force during the war period.		
	Art. 9) Expert Jews will be used for all industrial		
	works, rehabilitating the industry destroyed by the war,		
	putting into operation of factories or any other		
	necessary activities.		
	Art. 10) The County prefects and the gendarmerie		
	inspector are in charge with the ordered attendance of		
	the population.		
	Issued today, in our cabinet, on November 11, 1941.		
	Governor GH. ALEXIANU		
November 12,	Within the framework of revising the situation of the		
Law decree Nr.	lawyers of Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia, the		
3118, Official	Jewish lawyers will also be revised according to the		
Gazette Nr. 269	juridical statute of August 9, 1940 (Art. 2).		
	Until the date of revising that will be within 3 months		
	since the publication of this law-decree, the Jewish		
	lawyers are suspended, irrespective of the category		
	they belong to. (Art.4).		
	Note. This directive could be applied only to a few		
	Jewish lawyers from Chernovitz because all the others		

	from Chernovitz, Northern Bukovina and all from
	Bessarabia were already deported when this law was
	issued.
November 17,	Credits are given with the exception of Jews (according
Law decree Nr.	to art. 2 of the Law decree Nr. 2370 of August 22
3208, Official	1941) to those who want to take over or set up factories
Gazette Nr. 273	in Bessarabia or Northern Bukovina.
December 22,	The houses of expropriated Jews in Bessarabia,
Law Nr. 1103,	burdened with mortgages in favor of the Urban Credit
law decree Nr.	Company in Bucharest and Iasi will be subjected to
3489, Official	payment for these outstanding debts
Gazette Nr. 303	
1942	The Romanian National Bank is authorized to sell
January 12 Law	rubles to the Jews who will be evacuated at an
Nr. 21, law	exchange rate that will be approved by the Finance
decree Nr. 51,	Ministry
Official Gazette	Note. This law departs from the directives of the Law
Nr. 9	Decree Nr. 629 of July 9, 1941 which forbids the
	possession of rubles on the territory of Romania,
	meaning that it allows the selling of rubles to the Jews
	who will be evacuated, deported actually. The report of
	the Finance Ministry specifies that the rubles will be
	given "in exchange for lei or other valuables".
	It has to be pointed out that for the deporting
	operations no law text, ministry decision or journal of
	the Council of Ministers were published. Only verbal
	orders were given.
March 30	Any underground correspondence on the territory of
Law Nr. 252,	Transnistria and between Transnistria and Romania is
law decree Nr.	forbidden. All correspondence and parcel
944, Official	intermediates, instigators, accomplices and concealers
Gazette Nr. 76	will be punished by imprisonment from 3 to 5 years
September 22,	Any Jew, aged over 15 who was deported to
Law Nr. 698, law	Transnistria and comes back to Romania by illegal
decree Nr. 2786,	ways, will be punished by death. Those who will
Official Gazette	facilitate these crimes will be punished by slave labor

Nr. 221

for 5 - 25 years.

Note:

By a law consisting of a few rows accompanied by a short report signed by the following ministers: General Pantazi and Marinescu, running away from Transnistria was considered not only one of the most abominable crimes but even the most abominable one because it is the first Romanian law and possibly the only one in the world which punishes by death children aged 15. It has to be emphasized that the law speaks about the "Jews sent to Transnistria" although no law, decision, journal or order appeared in the official gazette ever mentioned such deportations.

While this law was published, massive deportations to Transnistria took place in September 1942, without being anything published about that in the official gazette. However, when a milkman who sold 1 kilo of falsified milk and was sent to the camp, this fact had to be authorized by the Council of Ministers and published in the Official Gazette so that the entire country could be informed about that.

December 7

GOVERNORATE OF TRANSNISTRIA Decision Nr. 2927

We, Ion Antonescu, Marshal of Romania and Supreme Army Commander, through Prof. Gh. Alexianu, civilian governor of Transnistria.

Seeing the report that I submitted to Marshal Ion Antonescu referring to the forced labor duty for the Jews of Transnistria, under nr. 820/1942,

Seeing the approval given by Marshal Ion Antonescu by letter Nr. 2087/1942,

Considering the urgent need of personnel to cope with all branches of economy and industry in Transnistria. Considering the need turn to account all the products of Transnistria to enable the continuation of the war; Considering ordinance nr. 23 referring to the slave labor of the Jews of Transnistria.

	FOR THESE REASONS,
	by virtue of the full powers given by the Decree Nr. 1
	of August 19, 1941 referring to Transnistria
	administration;
	WE DECIDE:
	Art. 1. All Jews who are on the territory of Transnistria
	and also those who will be taken from the camps,
	according to the approval of Marshal ion Antonescu
	Nr. 2087/1942, will be settled in towns or villages
	according to needs or possibilities, being forced to live
	in ghettos and perform the forced labor duty for which
	they will be paid as seen in ordinance Nr. 23.
1942	Art. 2. The gendarmerie Inspectorate will draw up a
	statistical evidence of all the Jews who are in
	Transnistria, specifying their professions and skills.
l	Art. 3. All skilled professionals will be assigned to the
	relevant departments to be used according to specific
	requirements.
	Art. 4. Jews are not allowed to be used in the factories
	and workshops of Odessa.
	Art.5. All Jewish physicians will be employed by the
	Health Department to combat epidemics and to take
	care of the population.
	All engineers, architects and technicians will have to
	work in factories or for repairing and putting into
	operation damaged factories.
	All accountants, lawyers and any other free lance
	professionals will be used for accounting works in
	farms and factories.
	Art. 6. Apart from the county prefectures, excepting the
	Odessa and Tiraspol counties, groups of Jews will be
	set up who were not used for special purposes, as per
	art. 5.
	These groups will be headed by a Jew.
	The groups of Jews will have branches in each district
	which will have the following departments:
	a) department for collecting the skins, intestines,

- hair and other products from the slaughter house
- b) department for egg collection and packing, and for collecting all kinds of packages
- dept. for collecting non-ferrous metals, scrap iron, waste paper, rags, residues, bones, fluff and feathers
- d) dept. for collecting and storing Karakul skins
- e) tailoring dept.
- f) shoemaking dept.
- g) general stores dept. (not being allowed to be store head)
- Art. 7) Each Jew aged 12 60 is compelled into performing forced labor in one of those activities.
- Art. 8) Workshops will be set up in each county, while the tools and general machines will be procured by the Governorate and the Jewish Central Office in Bucharest.
- Art. 9) The county prefects will supervise closely the activity of these workshops and the way these Jews were assigned to the jibs. If the number of Jews is too high, such departments will be set up in each district. They will be under the direct subordination of the praetors.
- Art. 10) The heads of each department and each group of Jews are personally responsible for the daily attendance of the Jews to the working place and for their presence in the assigned locality based on the restrictions provided under ordinance Nr. 23. Jews are forbidden to travel, even temporarily, to another locality unless approved by the Prefect.
- Art. 11) If the activity of the Jews organized in such a way will be more efficient than normally, a reward in the form of 5% participation from the value of the achieved labor over plus will be granted, based on the proposals of the County Prefects.

The departments of the Jews who will distinguish

themselves by labor, discipline and absolute order, will be entered on the list of Jews who will receive aids and medicines, clothes and money from Romania.

Art.12. The punishments for the infractions foreseen in Ordinance 23, are still in force.

Art.13. The State Administrative Direction, the Labor Direction, the Gendarmerie Inspectorate and the Prison Inspectorate are in charge with implementing this decision.

December 7, 1942

Governor,

Prof. GH. ALEXIANU

CHAPTER VII REPATRIATION

The Chronological Order of Events November – 1942, March 1944

November 22, 1942

The governmental representative responsible for handling Jewish issues, Radu Lecca, held a discussion with the leaders of the Central Jewish Office. Dr. W. Filderman, former President of the Union of Jewish Communities (he had been removed from the Jewish leadership by Antonescu a year before), also participated. Radu Lecca communicated the government's proposal: the emigration of 75,000 Jews who had survived in Transnistria if several tens of billions of lei were paid in return; the sum was expected to be obtained from foreign Jews. Dr. Filderman asked for the negotiations to be postponed until all the Jews had been allowed home.

January 2, 1943

The government's proposal, that all the Jews would be released on the condition that their freedom was paid for in cash, and that they were to emigrate immediately, was not followed by concrete steps, but at least it opened the issue of their repatriation. At that time, the case of the approx. 5,000 orphans, who lived in miserable conditions in Transnistria, was the most alarming. The Jewish underground leadership sent a petition to the government, in which they asked for the repatriation of the orphans. They also approached the issue of Jews born in the Old Kingdom who were deported for forced labor infractions or evacuated from the Dorohoi county, or those who had been driven away two years before because they had wanted to emigrate to the Soviet Union. (Nr. 220).

January 9, 1943

The Romanian government conditioned any possible repatriation on the immediate emigration of those who returned from Transnistria, this even included the orphans. For this purpose, the Gestapo's approval was needed to allow the Jews to pass on dry land through Bulgaria or by sea through Constanta. The secretly working Jewish leadership contacted Dr. A. Tester, a friend of Killinger. Killinger, together with Radu Lecca, undertook the task of paving the way for the repatriation. Naturally, their good intentions had to be well paid (Nr. 221).

They turned to big foreign Jewish organizations in an effort to cover the expenses. (Nr. 222).

January 19, 1943

In accordance with Directive No.55. 347, issued by the Ministry of the Interior, an instruction was given to set up a committee with the task of selecting Jews who had been "unjustly" deported to Transnistria, and interned in the camp of Vapniarca. These were to be given permission to return home.

January 25, 1943

Constantin Bursan, a lawyer, and former minister, was sent to Constantinople by the Jewish underground leadership to inform foreign Jewish organizations. (Nr. 223).

February 21, 1943

In a special meeting of the Jewish Central Office in Romania, Dr. Ghingold announced that the Jews originated from the Old Kingdom or Transylvania who happened to be in Bessarabia or Bukovina at the date when the territories were ceded, would be brought back; those who were sent for forced labor duty for which the Supreme General Staff still has a word to say; the political internees will be selected. He hoped that a part of the orphans would also come back.

Dr. Fiderman confirms this information adding that the Jews from Dorohoi will be also sent back and that he also intervened for the deportees from Southern Bukovina.

March 1, 1943

The Jewish Agency for Palestine, through its representatives in Constantinople, assessed the issue of Romanian Jews, raised by Constantin Bursan. The Jewish Agency for Palestine promised political and financial aid to the repatriation and emigration action organized by the Jewish underground leadership.(Nr. 224).

March 6, 1943

The members of the committee which will be sent to Vapniarca to select the internees according to the the order Nr. 21 955 of the Ministry of the Interior will be appointed. This selection will apply only to those Jews who had been free before being sent to Vapniarca and not those who were transferred from the Tg. Jiu camp.

March 6, 1943

The special Inter-ministerial Committee for Jewish Affairs decides to revise the Jews who had been deported because they had asked for a visa to emigrate to the Soviet Union or those punished by deportation because of forced labor evasion. (Nr. 225).

March 17, 1943

The selection committee finished its activities in Vapniarca, after establishing that 427 of the 554 internees had been "unjustly" interned. The committee proposed allowing them out of the camp, but keeping them in the ghettos of Transnistria. (Nr. 226 - 227).

March 24, 1943

Negotiations continue with Dr. A. Tester to buy the benevolence of the Gestapo in order to repatriate the orphans from Transnistria and to organize their emigration. (Nr. 228).

March 30, 1943

A new committee re-examines the works of the selection committee of the Vapniarca inmates and divides the 554 selected internees into three categories, proposing that:

218 internees should be brought back to Romania; 209 be liberated but should stay in Transnistria; 116 should remain in the camp; 11 should also remain in the camp not because they are guilty but because the camp administration did not make available their files to the committees. (Nr. 229).

April 7, 1943

During a meeting with Dr. W. Filderman, Prime Minister Mihai Antonescu declares that the Government will support the orphans' emigration from Transnistria.

April 17, 1943

Although the Police Sub-secretary of State proposed by his report that the first category of 218 internees from Vapniarca should be brought back to Romania (Nr. 230), the Minister of the Interior orders that all the 427 Jews from Vapniarca whose deportation and internment were found unjustified by the selection committee, be left free to settle in Transnistria, in those Counties where Jews are settled. (Nr. 231).

However, Transnistria's Governor, Gheorghe Alexianu did not accept this solution either and he forced the 427 Jews to settle in Olgopol and Savrani (Balta County) and Tridubi (Golta County). (Nr. 232) where they were sent under escort; at the beginning, their life was even worse there than in Vapniarca.

April 22, 1943

Ion Antonescu ordered that not a single Jew should be allowed back to Romania. General C. Z.Vasiliu, Deputy State Secretary of Police, informed the special inter-ministerial committee which dealt with formulating regulations concerning Jewish affairs, of this decision. (Nr. 233).

May 19, 1943

The prime-minister informs Mr. Chapuissat, vice-president of the International Red Cross that the Romanian government is not against the emigration of the orphans from Transnistria.

June 22, 1943

Dr. Filderman sent a memo to the Government from Moghilev where he had been deported, insisting, among others, on the necessity to repatriate all Jews from Transnistria.

July 8, 1943

Ion Antonescu approves, on principle, the return of some categories of deported Jews as follows: invalids, widows, orphans and war veterans, former active militaries, state pensioners, baptized persons, old people aged over 70 whose families are in Romania, exceptional cases of valuable people. (Nr. 234).

The criteria are thus individual. Nothing is mentioned about the threatened category of 5,000 orphans, nor those who had been sent to

Transnistria because of false zeal or abuses of administrative and military authorities, those deported for so-called leave of absence from forced labor, those selected by the Vapniarca committee whose deportation was found unjustified, those who were brought from Dorohoi county and deported only by an arbitrary administrative division, etc.

August 11, 1943

The Police Sub-Secretary of State refuses to free from Transnistria some Jews who were deported from Arad not because their deportation was justified but as a sanction for the police authorities in Arad who had worked superficially. (Nr. 239).

August 24, 1943

The Police Sub-Secretary of State specifies the categories of Jews who could eventually be brought home. (Nr. 240).

August 1943

When W. Filderman, the real leader of Romanian Jewry, returned from Transnistria, he sent a petition to the government, and supported it with documents. He emphasized the necessity of allowing the repatriation of all Jews, especially the orphans, and those born in Dorohoi County.

September 7, 1943

The Jewish Central Office of Romania drew up **for the first time** a petition for the repatriation of some categories of Jews. (Nr. 241). It was addressed to the General Commissar for Jewish Issues, being sent by him to the Prime Minister (Nr. 242) who:

- approves the return of widows, invalids, decorated persons, clerks and state pensioners;
- asks for reports referring to the Jews deported in autumn 1942;
- decides that the orphans should be gathered in an orphanage in Odessa prior to emigration. (Nr. 243).

Note: These approvals given by the prime-minister had no positive consequences.

September 16, 1943

The Ministry of the Interior owns all the data referring to the situation of the Jews in Transnistria. The Supreme General Staff and the General Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie had sent nominal or numerical lists of the Jews who are still alive. (Nr. 244), so that immediate decisions for repatriation could be made.

Note. The attached list to the report of the Supreme General Staff is incomplete because it comprises only 275 possible delinquents, i.e. those who had formed the first lot of deportees who did not perform their forced labor duty. The list comprises neither the names of those who formed the next lots, nor the members of the families of so called delinquents. However, although it is emphasized that the list was drawn up in August 1943, the names of those who died or were killed in the winter of 1942 – 1943 are included. (Nr. 245).

October 2, 1943

The Jews who were deported because they did not perform their forced labor duty should be brought back to Romania. (Nr. 246).

October 12, 1943

Doctor W. Filderman sent the government another petition comprising the entire issue of repatriation. (Nr. 247).

November 10, 1943¹)

The Sub-Secretary of State of the Ministry of the Interior compiled a report, in which he proposed giving permission to a number of deported Jews to return home so that they could be used as workers where the war required it. (Nr. 248).

November 12, 1943

The council of order decides:

- to examine the individual situation of each deportee in order to be brought back to the localities (residences of counties) they left from;
- bringing back the orphans of both parents who will be allotted to the towns of the country where there are Jewish communities.

¹ This date is unsure but was probably mentioned in the letter of Arch. Clejan as well. (Nr. 254).

- bringing back to Dorohoi the Jews born in the Dorohoi county
- bringing back home the Jews who had been interned in Vapniarca, selected by the special committee in the month of March.
- bringing back to their homes the Jews who had asked in 1940 to be repatriated to the Soviet Union and are still alive.
- bringing back home the Jews who had been deported because they changed their religion. (Nr. 249).

November 22, 1943

At the meeting of the Jewish Central Office in Romania, President Dr. N. Gingold informed the audience that directives had been given to repatriate all the deportees. That information was not true. It seemed to have been communicated by the order of Radu Lecca to serve as a justification and motivation to increase more the fees for labor exemption.

November 30, 1943

On a meeting with Dr. W. Filderman, the Police sub-secretary of state, General C. Z. Vasiliu declared that no final decision had been taken referring to the repatriation of the deportees. He would propose the repatriation of only 220 people selected from the Vapniarca camp and abt. 6,000 persons who were born in the Dorohoi County. (nr. 250).

December 8, 1943

Permission was given to 6,430 Jews from Dorohoi County to return home from Transnistria, and to another 218, who were interned in the camp of Vapniarca. At this time, permission to return home was also given to the 16 Jewish survivors from of the group of 568 who had been deported in autumn 1942 for applying for repatriation to the Soviet Union.

December 20, 1943

The first group of 1,500 Jews deported from Dorohoi County left Transnistria at Moghilev-Atachi. The Aid Committee provided some people with clothing. Everybody was given a train ticket and enough food for a few days. However, they had to suffer until the very last minute. In some places they were harassed by Praetors and Gendarmes, who declared that the Jews were unable to conclusively prove that they had been born in Dorohoi County. (Only after acquiring a golden watch, did Colonel Gavat,

commander of the Gendarme Legion in Balta, give permission to leave to a group of 25 people from Dorohoi).

In Moghilev women and girls suffered a lot. They were sexually harassed and abused by Major Botoroaga, Dr. Ionescu and even by gendarmes.

Together with the Jews from Moghilev, 70 deportees were also brought through Tiraspol – Tighina and also 16 Jews who were still alive belonging to the group of those who asked to be sent to the Soviet Union and 9 deportees from Arad, communist sympathizers (both groups came from Berezovka) and 45 Jews from Dorohoi. (Nr. 251).

January 8, 1944

The situation of the deportees who had been interned in Vapniarca and who had been given liberation permits 9 months ago is examined again. From the 427 deportees belonging to this category, a first lot of 218 Jews was repatriated together with the Jews from Dorohoi.

A group of 17 Jews from Chernovitz is denied repatriation because they were from Northern Bukovina. (Nr. 252).

January 11, 1944

The repatriation of the remaining 192 deportees selected from the Vapniarca camp continues but the decision of General C. Z. Vasiliu not to allow the Jews from Chernovitz to be repatriated is still kept. (Nr. 253).

January 27, 1944

Ion Antonescu prevented the repatriation of Jews with the excuse that there were one million Romanians in Transnistria, Bessarabia and Bukovina who wanted to enter the country. If the Jews were accepted - he declared - it would cause massive discontent.

January 1944

On the occasion of the repatriation of the Jews from Dorohoi, there were agitators who tried to provoke discontent. Among them were the prefect of the Dorohoi County, Col. Barcan and Prof. Gheorghe Cuza from Iasi, the son of A.C. Cuza.

February 6, 1944

In a letter addressed to architect Clejan (Nr. 254), a personal friend, Ion Antonescu repeated that he would decide general repatriation of the Jews in a manner which reminded him of his letter written on October 19, 1941 addressed to W. Filderman where he tried to justify the deportations and now, when he was ready to collapse, he expressed his regret to have yielded to the requests and excepted from deportation a part of the Jews. (nr. 255).¹)

February 7, 1944

The police sub-secretary of state, general C.Z. Vasiliu confirmed that no general repatriation would take place. He negotiated in connection with repatriation of orphans and accepts only the repatriation of orphans of both parents and aged not more than 15. He denies repatriation to a number of 17 people of Chernovitz, who were selected in Vapniarca but he is a bit more benevolent towards some individual petitions of repatriation. (Nr. 256 – 259).

February 15, 1944

Repatriation of orphans was ordered. The minister kept his decision – to repatriate only the orphans of both parents up to the age of 15. He claimed that even Dr. Gingold, president of the Jewish Community asked for this solution. Thus the number of 4,500 children who will arrive in Romania will be decreased to less than half. (Nr. 257).

March 6, 1944

Orphans, (1,846 of them) were repatriated, 1,400 crossed the Dniester at Moghilev-Atachi, and 446 at Tiraspol-Tighina. Both groups meet in Iasi, where they are distributed to the Jewish Communities of Moldova and Muntenia.

March 14, 1944

Soviet troops arrived at the Bug. The radio stations of the Allied Nations broadcast constant threats to those who had committed crimes against humanity. Ion Antonescu finally made up his mind, and decided to

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¹ See photocopy, illustration XVI.

give an order allowing for the repatriation of all Jews deported to Transnistria.

Jewish committees immediately left for Moghilev and Tiraspol to organize the homecoming. But it was too late.

The committee which had set off for Moghilev only managed to reach Atachi¹), because the Soviet troops reached the Dniester on March 20, and reoccupied the entire northern region of Transnistria.

The committee which was on its way to Tiraspol got as far as Balta, where, in the southern part of the province, 2,518 deportees were found, 563 of whom were taken back to the country. Most of them were allowed to return home, but the 563 who had been interned in Vapniarca and taken out of the camp of Grusolovo were directed to the camp of Targu Jiu, and escorted by armed troops.

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¹ see photocopy of illustration Nr. XVI.

CHAPTER VII – DOCUMENTS

THE MISERY OF TRANSNISTRIA AND THE NECESSITY OF REPATRIATION Nr. 220

Note sent by Dr. W. Filderman to Ion and Mihai Antonescu

January 2, 1943

In Transnistria, Jews die in large numbers. The number of orphans – children aged between 2 and 16 - increased from one thousand to five thousand.

Only in one orphanage, out of 140 children, 26 died in a month. They are lying naked in beds, without any bed sheets, in cold rooms with no windows so that they cannot get out of their beds to relieve themselves and the air is pestilent.

All of them have eczema, furunculosis, scabies and other diseases. They are undernourished and look like ghosts¹⁾.

How could they be well fed if a loaf of bread costs 3 Marks, i.e. 180 lei; 1 kg. of meat costs 7 Marks, i.e. 420 lei; how could the rooms be heated if 16 kg of firewood cost 8 Marks, i.e. 480 lei.

Wherefrom could the people in Transnistria take tens of millions of lei per month if they do not have working places. And even those who do work are underpaid, receiving 2 Marks per day for a skilled worker and 1 Mark per day for an unskilled one. The money they get is not even enough for a loaf of bread. In fact, not even these wages are being paid.

For example: the Jewish workers in Moghilev had to receive from the local town council in July 1942 a rest of 134,000 Marks out of 166,000 Marks. The money due to them has not been paid until today.

There is only one solution: to bring the children under 18 back to Chernovitz where life does not cost even a quarter of what it costs in Transnistria and where they can be looked after by public charity in view of their emigration.

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¹ See photos, illustration IX and XIII.

These children cannot be accused of anything and their emigration is impossible in their physical state. Otherwise, at the end of winter they will surely die.

Those Jews who were deported to Transnistria from the Old Kingdom because they did not do their forced labor duties properly, should be brought home but their repatriation is being delayed. The Jews of Dorohoi have the same fate, they were deported to Transnistria although the town of Dorohoi belonged to the Old Kingdom – they should be also repatriated. The same happened to those who asked to leave for the Soviet Union because their families or properties were there; some of them were born in the Old Kingdom but were married to Bucovinian or Bessarabian Jews being forced to follow their spouses.

Some of them had recently been sent to the Bug. Among them are orphans, invalids and war heroes (distinguished in wars).

Unless a radical decision is made to bring all those Jews to Chernovitz, continuing instead with sterile formalities, most of them will die meanwhile.

For the others it is necessary:

- a) to be paid salaries to meet primary needs: food, clothes, dwellings and heating. Otherwise, their right to work would be useless.
- b) to be paid their outstanding money to be able to nourish themselves and emigrate.

Dr. W. FILDERMAN

CONNECTION TO THE GESTAPO Nr. 221

Notes referring to meetings held between Dr. W. Filderman and Dr. A. Tester, influential member of the Gestapo and Radu Lecca, Government representative for Jewish issues.

January 6, 1943

I am told that the Prime Minister stopped the project submitted to him. Tonight I visited Dr. Tester in connection with the emigration issue. C. Bursan, Col. Lupascu and Unterman were present.

Dr. Tester complains that the Jews are restless and defeatist. I explained to him that they have no radio sets, they can neither travel nor send any news; they can only receive news from the Romanians; as Romania is the only country where there were no sabotage acts, the complaint seems completely unfounded.

They asked me to intervene because they still have reports. I replied that I am not entitled to intervene but if the Central Office asked me to, in writing, I would draw up a letter to be sent from house to house through some hundreds of young people, to leave copies and collect signatures from those who were presented the letter.

Referring to the issue of emigration, he complains that he was not paid the 2 million. I answered that he is right, on principle, but that nothing has been done for 3 months.

I raise the question of the 5,000 orphans. He promised to intervene. He told me to write to Bursan and he will give the letter to col. Lupascu to translate it and submit it to Baron Killinger to be approved because such situations would dishonor National – Socialism.

Dr. W. Filderman

January 9, 1943

Today, at 07.00 p.m. I was at Dr. Tester's where I met Radu Lecca and Const. Bursan.

The orphans of Transnistria. Dr. Radu Lecca tells me that my note of January $2^{1)}$ with the photos of orphans was shown to Ion and Mihai Antonescu.

My description is accurate.

It has been already spoken to the Governor of Transnistria so that the orphans should be sent to a health resort or to any other place where they could be cared for under hygienical conditions. They can be brought to the country only by series; they cannot be given food cards, because otherwise food would be insufficient for the local population.

He dealt arranged with the Bulgarian Government and obtained transitory visas hoping to obtain from the Turkish Government transitory visas and a waiting camp.

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¹ See document Nr. 220.

I replied that this solution is useless because considering that life in Transnistria is expensive because of the exchange rate, it is practically impossible to gather the necessary funds for the required extra-feeding; the only possibility would be to reduce the exchange rate of Lei to Marks.

Mr. Radu Lecca and Dr. Tester replied that they would find the means but this should be kept secret (no Jew should learn about that arrangement).

I proposed that we should collect food from the Jews but they disagreed.

I said that somebody should leave for Switzerland and ask for material aids from the Jewish Committees and for their support from the American and English governments for issuing emigration visas to any county in the world.

Bursan says that he has to leave for Istambul between 15–20 inst. and if possible to delay the journey, he will first go to Switzerland.

If not possible, they suggested that I look for a Romanian who is leaving and willing to take my letters or else to find a Jew (not a well known person), for whom they will obtain a transitory visa but under absolute secrecy.

Dr. W. FILDERMAN

CONNECTION TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES Nr. 222

Mr. Filderman's letter to D. Jacques Samanovitz, distinguished Jewish personality

Bucarest, le 451 Janvier 1943

Cher Monsieur.

Je porte a votre connaissance qu'il y a actuellement cinq mille orphelins entre 2–18 ans en Transnistrie.

J'ai fait des interventions auprès de notre gouvernement qui a bien voulu, d'un côté prendre les mesures nécessaires, pour améliorer leur sort et d'un autre côté autoriser leur émigration. Par les soins du gouvernement,

on a déjà obtenu le transit à travers la Bulgarie et on est en train d'obtenir l'autorisation de transit par la Turquie.

Je comprends toutes les difficultés devant lesquelles se trouvent les Etats-Unis et l'Angleterre. Je comprends aussi toutes les difficultés que comporte l'autorisation de l'immigration.

Mais je veux croire que devant des orphelins mineurs, tout le monde se découvre, et tout le monde fait l'impossible pour remplacer tout ce qu'ils ont perdu: pays, parents, fortune et santé.

Je n'insiste pas pour leur admission en Palestine — malgré que, personnellement, je considère qu'ils ne se trouveraient nulle part mieux qu'en Palestine — parceque je tiens compte des nécessitées et des difficultés de la guerre. Mais l'Angleterre et les Etats-Unis sont maitres ou amis des pays, sur les cinq continents sur six.

Je pense qu'on peut facilement trouver un endroit sur le globe_ qui puisse offrir asyle a ces cinq mille malheureux.

Je vais envoyer dans ce bût à Istamboul Mr. Constantin Bursan, un bon amis personnel et un grand amis des juifs.

Il partira le 20 courant. Mais je vous prie, je vous souplie, d'intervenir vous même sans tarder, pour la réalisation de ce projet.

Mais cela ne souffirait pas. Il faut aussi de l'argent. Sur les 280.000 juifs qui restent dans le pays, pèse une charge surhumaine. Ils la supporte avec une dignité et' une puissance de sacrif ce devant lesquelles il faut se découvrir. Mais ils ne peuvent pas tout faire.

Il faut suralimenter ces malheureux, il leur faut des médicaments, il leur faut des vêtements, il leur faut payer le voyage, etc.

Je vous prie, je vous supplie, faites le nécéssaire sans tarder.

Je ne vous ind que pas des chiffres, vous pouriez évaluer — vous même — les besoins.

Je reviendrai pêut-être avec des détails, mais ce qui est urgent c'est l'autorisation d'immigration dans un pays queîconque.

Il est à vous également d'intervenir pour le trajet par chemin de fer d'Istambul en Palestine — au cas où on adopte ce pays — puisque ils partirons à Istamboul en chemin de fer.

En attendent votre décision que vous pouvez me faire connaître par télégramme, je vous prie d'agréer l'assurance de ma haute considération et l'expression de gratitude et de reconnaissance de la part, de ces malheureux.

Dr. W. FILDERMAN

CONNECTION TO THE JEWISH AGENCY Nr. 223

Mr. Filderman's letter to Constantin Bursan

Bucarest, le 25 Janvier 1943

Cher Monsieur Bursan,

A la veille de votre départ je' reviens à charge pour vous prier d> vouloir bien reprendre les discussions concernant l'emmigration de israèlites déportés en Transnistrie.

J'èspere que cette fois vous aurez — ou plutôt nous aurons — le chance de trouver à Ankara les autorités compétentes pour vous écouter et pour decider.

Mais je voudrais aujourd'hui insister surtout sur la question de cinq mille orphelins, dont les deux parents sont mort entre temps et dont, par conséquence, la situation est des plus tragiques et à l'égard desquels je pense que de toute façon il n'y pas d'objection possible.

Ettant donné les difficultés du voyage il faudrait arranger je pense qu'il fussent transportés par chemins de fer ou batteau à Constant; nople, d'où ils pourront être dirigés plus loin sur les frais des organisa tions israèlites étrangères.

Il nous sera en effet impossible de pourvoir à tous les frais du voyage, étant donné, l'appauvrissement de la population Israélite et le grand nombre de malheureux dont elle a la charge et aussi le fait qu'en Transnistrie la monnaie officielle étant le Reichsmark, que nous changeons au cours de 60 lei, nous arrivons à payer la bas un pain, 6 fois plus cher que dans l'ancien Royaume.

En dehors de ce problème, je vous prie de vouloir bien discuter s'il n'était pas possible d'envoyer des secours en nature: vêtements, medicaments, nourritures, outiles pour les déportés en général et les orphelins en particulier.

Je pense que le Gouvernement ne refuserait pas de donner toutes les garanties pour leur emploi: soit la réception et la distribution par un comité composé entre autre d'un délégué de la Croix Rouge internationale et de la Croix Rouge roumaine.

Vous souhaitant bon voyage, et espérant recevoir bientôt des bonner nouvelles, je vous prie d'agréer mes sentiments les meilleurs.

Dr. W. FILDERMAN

ANSWER FROM THE JEWISH AGENCY Nr. 224

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

Istanbul, 1.3.1943

Immigration

Department JERUSALEM P. O. B. 92

Ch. Barlas

Monsieur CONSTANTIN BURSAN Istanbul Park Hotel

Monsieur.

Je me réfère à notre conversation d'aujourd'hui au sujet de l'emmigration des enfants juifs déportés en Transnistrie, question que Mr. l'Avocat Filderman vous a prié par sa lettre du 25 Janvier a. c. de traiter avec nous.

Ainsi que je vous l'ai expliqué, nous sommes prêts à accorder au plan de Pemmigration des enfants juifs de Transnistrie, tout notre appui.

- 1. Je suis heureux de vous confirmer sur base de la déclaration du Gouvernement Palestinien du 4.2. a. c., que je vous ai montré, que je suis en état de mettre à cet effet à la disposition des enfants en question 5000 certificats pour les enfants accompagnés par des convoyeurs, dont 2000 seront immédiatement disponibles, à condition que le Gouvernement Roumain accorde toutes les facilités pour le départ des enfants et le transport.
- 2. Je confirme aussi ma déclaration que je ferais le nécéssaire pour couvrir les frais de voyage de la frontière turque jusqu'à Haifa. [?]Bien entendu les frais de voyage jusqu'à Istanbul doivent être réglés en Rou-

manie. Nous ferons tout notre possible pour obtenir le permis de mettre à la disposition les sommes nécéssaires dans le cas d'un transport des enfants par bateau.

3. La question d'un secours en nature: vêtements, medicaments, nourritures, outils pour les internés en Transnistrie est discutée par les autorités compétentes et je vous saurais gré si vous pourriez nous aider à obtenir l'autorisation du Gouvernement Roumain pour faire parvenir ce secours par l'entremise du représentant de la Croix Rouge Internationale aini que par notre homme de confiance à Bucarest. Dans ce cas il sera possible d'accelerer le secours nécéssaire.

Je vous prie de transmettre à Monsieur Filderman mes meilleurs salutations et de .lui dire que je le prie de discuter cette question en commun, avec Mr. Wilhelm Fischer et le Dr. Enzer.

FIRST MAIN DECISIONS OF REPATRIATION Nr. 225

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE Minister's cabinet Nr. 347 E March 10, 1943

Dear Minister,

According to the directives of Mr. Ioan C. Marinescu, Minister of Justice, President of the Special Interministerial Committee for organizing Jewish issues, to your letter Nr. 730022 of 1943, referring to the deportees of Transnistria, I have the honor to inform you that at the meeting of the Interministerial Committee held on March 6, this year, it had been decided to revise only the deportees who asked to leave for the Soviet Union after Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were ceded; these deportees were found on the lists of the former Russian Legation and those deported at the request of the Supreme General Staff because they did not comply with the directives referring to forced labor duty.

In order to revise and to prevent the replacement of any person by mistake, it has been decided that a special envoy of the Minister of the Interior, of the Supreme General Staff or the Interministerial Committee should check the situation of each particular person on the spot.

The name of your delegate is to be communicated to the Committee. Yours faithfully,

Committee Secretary, ST. CHENDI

TO GENERAL C.Z. VASILIU, SUB-SECRETARY OF STATE OF THE MINISTRY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

THE FIRST SELECTION IN THE VAPNIARCA CAMP Nr. 226

MINUTES

Today, March 17, 1943, in Vapniarca, Transnistria, we the Committee set up by the Ministry of the Interior by the order nr. 55437 of January 19, 1943 and 21755 of March 6, 1943, in order to select the Jewish deportees interned in the Vapniarca camp, composed of:

Lt.col. Grosu Victor, deputy inspector and president; Gheorghe Motas, inspector delegated by the General Police Direction; Capt. Nicolae Diaconescu from the General Gendarmerie Inspectorate; lieut. magistrate Vasile Antonovici, delegate of the Court Martial in Tiraspol, chief commissar Sava Dumitrescu delegate of the Capital's Police Prefecture,

found out the following:

On March 8, 1943, on our meeting at the residence of the Odessa Gendarme Inspectorate, we established the conditions required for the camp selection, according to the Ministry instructions. On March 9, we went to the Vapniarca camp and we carried out the selection of the inmates until March 17, 1943.

According to the received instructions, the committee dealt only with the category of inmates who had not been previously condemned. The other categories of internees were not selected, namely: the Jews transferred from the Tg. Jiu camp, the Jews and Christians interned on the basis of different sentences given by civilian and military courts, or the Christians who had been sent to Vapniarca because of other accusations.

The committee found a number of 554 Jews who were interned in Vapniarca but had been free before (were not condemned or imprisoned). Out of these, 427 Jews received approvals for being set free while 116 internees were not allowed to leave the camp.

11 persons were not set free because of missing files.

The committee found that the great majority of files drawn up by different police stations of the country comprised only few data, no concrete assertions, and vaguely formulated suspicions. Therefore, the committee did not find any justified reasons for keeping them in the camp. They proposed that they should be set free and continue to stay in the Transnistria ghettos together with all the other deported Jews.

The following minutes was drawn up in 3 copies, two of which will be delivered to the Ministry of the Interior and a third one will be kept by the gendarme inspectorate in Odessa.

President, Members: Lieut. Col. VICTOR GROSU GH. MOTAS

> Capt. N. DIACONESCU Lt. Mag. V. ANTONOVICI

Head Commissar: SAVA DUMITRESCU

Nr. 227

Extracts from the justification report compiled by the Selection Committee in order to release internees from the camp

Marc Moise,	Under the legionary regime – on December 2, 1940,
Taylor - Medias	he was sued to the Military Tribunal in Craiova for
	communist activity but he was acquitted of any
	penalty. He was not searched or sued for other deeds.
Zitron Ladislau,	No subversive activity was found in his personal file;
mechanic - Blaj	he was not searched or involved in any subversive
	organization. He was sent to the camp under the

	accusation of being a communist sympathizer but no evidence was found in his file
Stein Alexandru,	He was considered as a communist sympathizer
accountant,	because he was the president of the unemployed
Timisoara	section of private clerks in Timisoara. He was never
	arrested, searched or sued.
Stein Ioan, lawyer,	In the year 1931, he was sued in Timisoara because he
Timisoara	distributed communist leaflets but was no longer
	accused by an ordinance of quitting follow up issued
	by the instruction judge. Since then he had never been
	arrested or sued.
Weinstein,	There is no supporting evidence in the file
merchant, Lugoj	
Milini Robert,	There is no justification in his file. He was never
accountant,	arrested, searched or sued for subversive activity.
Caransebes	
Caras Herscu,	He is accused of having supported the list of the
baker, Iasi	Peasant Labor Party; this is not a reason to justify the camp internment
Baras Iosif,	The accusation, according to which he had tried in
teacher,	1929 to set up a socialist – communist party, was not
BOTOSANI	proved. He was neither searched nor sued to judgment
	for any subversive deed.
Tily Brul,	She was accused of having kept in her house a book
seamstress,	called "Prospectiva" in 1934
Botosani	
Croitoru Iosub,	Accused of being in the entourage of mostly
primary school	communist elements but no evidence was found or
teacher, Botosani	included in the file. He was neither investigated nor
	sued for any deed contrary to State Security.
Feierstein Jean,	The accusation of having performed subversive
cook, Roman	activities within the framework of the waiters' trade
	union in 1921 could not be proved by any evidence in
	his file because he had never been investigated.
Hotaru Froim, shoe	Since 1920, when he participated in a strike, he has
maker, Tg. Neamt	never performed any activity against State Security.

Hers Andrei,	In 1942 his house was searched having negative
physician	results – this does not justify his being interned into
	the camp.
Ludovic Czem,	The accusation of having found at his home a copy of
lawyer, Arad	the magazine "Revue de Moscou" of 1937, does not
	justify his internment to the camp.
Gros Petru, high	He was neither sued nor condemned. He was accused
school student,	of being a communist sympathizer because he
Beius	committed himself to help the Jewish refugees from
	ceded Transylvania. He was neither searched nor
	sued.

CLAIMS OF GESTAPO AGENTS Nr. 228

Minutes of the Meeting between Dr. W. Filderman and Dr. A. Tester,

March 24, 1943

ORPHANS' EMIGRATION

Today I was visited by Mr. Const. Bursan accompanied by Mr. Soreanu. The former suggested that we buy back two thirds of the Cunard Star shares for 1,500,000 lei; the other third belongs to Dr. Tester who does not wish to sell and lose his profit.

Meanwhile, Mr. Misu Benvenisti asked me to go together with Dr. Cornel Iancu to Mr. Tester. This was also confirmed by Mr. Bursan.

Dr. Tester repeated Mr. Bursan's proposal motivating that the German government would have refused to approve the issue of emigration authorizations and that only the Marshal can approve. In Bulgaria, however, the Gestapo may not approve.

He gives the example of 3 Polish children who emigrated from Romania and were stopped in Bulgaria. His life was saved by Dr. Cornel Iancu and he intervened through Mr. Bursan who in his turn asked Baron Killinger who approved their emigration.

He insisted that he did not wish to profit by the orphans but by the adults who would also emigrate.

He criticized Mr. Gingold because although Mr. Lecca had told him that no emigration would take place any longer he failed to announce the Jews.

Mr. Benvenisti was to handle the issue tomorrow morning, calculate the budget and see me tomorrow afternoon.

Dr. W. FILDERMAN

March 26, 1943

ORPHANS' EMIGRATION

Mr. Benvenisti informed me of the meetings' result:

- a) with Unterman who asked 2,500 lei per child for Mr. Tester; 1,500 lei for himself and 125,000 lei per month for him;
- b) with Brück who asked 300 500 lei per child for him and plus salaries of approx. 120,000 lei per month for him and

We agreed to reply:

- a) that we are ready to pay 600,000 lei right away plus 840,000 lei after the emigration approvals are issued;
- b) that we are ready to pay the sums asked per child, trying to reduce the Unterman and Brück quotas;
- c) that we do not buy the shares; the emigration action will be accomplished by a special independent committee through the Central Office and the shares will be kept as a bond (guarantee) with us in order to prevent any activity of Cunard until the orphans are evacuated.

Dr. W. FILDERMAN

I was visited by Mr. Benvenisti accompanied by W. Fischer who informed me of what had been discussed with Mr. Tester and Gingold.

Mr. Tester accepted our proposals on condition that the emigration should be apparently arranged by Cunard (as he was well known in Germany) who will provide the travelling tickets; all the other operations of selection, arrangement, etc. should be done by the above committee.

Mr. Gingold – also accepted.

Dr. W. FILDERMAN

THE SECOND SELECTION OF VAPNIARCA CAMP INMATES Nr. 229

MINUTES

Today, March 30, 1943 in Bucharest

We, Captain Diaconescu P. Nicoae and reserve Lieut. Popescu Patriciu assembled according to the resolution order of the Sub-Secretary of State, General of Army Corps, C.Z. Vasiliu, in order to investigate the Jews interned in the Vapniarca camp and to check the relevant handed in petitions, report the following:

- after having examined 188 petitions, we have found that only a part of them, i.e. 120, are connected with the internees whose selection was done by the Committee that worked in Vapniarca. In a separate column of table Nr. 1, all the new elements overlooked by the Committee were entered. These elements might bring about a change in the situation of the investigated persons.

After we have checked again the situation of the Jews proposed by the committee to:

- be freed from the camp and continue to stay in Transnistria and
- to stay further in the camp,

we have selected three categories of Jews, as follows:

- Jews proposed to be set free and brought back to Romania because they were found not guilty (218 Jews);
- Jews proposed to be freed from the camp and to remain in Transnistria along with the other Jews; These Jews (209) had been searched by the police or courts but the reasons for which they had been accused did not justify their being further imprisoned in the camp;
- Jews who are to be kept in the camp.

In addition to the 3 categories mentioned before, there are 11 persons who could not be fit in any category because their personal files were missing.

The remaining 68 petitions which do not refer to the Jews examined by the Vapniarca committee are classified as follows:

- 1. 15 Jews who were evacuated because they asked to be sent back to the Soviet Union;
- 2. 18 Jews who were deported because they did not obey the forced labor regulations (a measure ordered by the Supreme General Staff);
- 3. 5 Jews who were transferred to Vapniarca from Tg. Jiu;
- 4. 30 Jews whose situation is completely unknown to us.

Totaling 68 petitions for which the Committee cannot give any opinion as there are no relevant data available

Referring to the Jews who had been deported to Transnistria because they had asked for being repatriated to the Soviet Union, it has been found that they amount to 598 persons who were initially evacuated to Berezovca. We do not possess any data about them.

The Gendarme Inspectorate in Transnistria can provide details about those Jews.

These minutes have been concluded by us, the undersigned,

Captain DIACONESCU P. Reserve Lieut. POPESCU PATRICIU NICOLAE

Nr. 230

Report drawn up by the Police Sub-Secretary of State for the interministerial Council of Order with proposals of liberating the internees of the Vapniarca camp

REPORT

According to the order of the presidency of the Council of Ministers Nr. 9283/July 24, 1942, the following categories of Jews were deported to Vapniarca:

- 1) Jews who had been free before 554
- 2) Jews who were in the Tg. Jiu camp: 406
- 3) Jews transferred from prisons (condemned for communist activity): 85

1.045

As the internees and their families claimed that they had been accused for unjustified reasons, the Ministry started to investigate and drew the conclusion that the police authorities have not thoroughly analyzed the lists of internees.

While the Jews who were transferred from prisons and from the Tg. Jiu Camp were really guilty, not the same could be said about those who had been free of any accusation before being sent to the Vapniarca camp. They had been sent to Vapniarca based on unjustified or vaguely formulated accusations.

In some cases, this injustice was obvious. Those Jews had a perfect behavior in the previous war; they received war distinctions and had been sent to Vapniarca without any concrete case of guilt.

The committee formed three categories of Jews, according to their accusations:

1.	Jews who will remain in the camp	
2.	Jews proposed to be set free in Transnistria in the areas inhabited	209
	by Jews	
3.	Jews proposed to be brought back to Romania	218
	Total	543

If the 11 Jews who were not comprised anywhere because of missing files, are added, the total number of Jews will amount to 554 Jews.

As the ministry considered the conclusions reached by the committee as right, we propose to investigate if there are any other reasons that might prevent the implementation of the above mentioned proposals.

Minister, Sub-secretary of State, Army Corps General, C.Z. VASILIU

Nr. 231

Order of the Ministry of the Interior for releasing 427 internees from the Vapniarca camp provided they continue to stay in Transnistria in places chosen by them

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR General Secretary's Cabinet Nr. 3.967

GENDARME INSPECTORATE TRANSNISTRIA

Nr. 711/5 of March 20, 1943

Two lists of Jews interned in the Vapniarca camp are enclosed herewith.

List Nr. 1 comprises a number of 427 Jews who will be immediately set free from the camp and left to settle down in Transnistria in the counties inhabited by Jews.

List Nr. 2 comprises 116 Jews who will continue to stay in the camp.

Secretary General, Col. Mag. V.T. GELEP

Nr. 232

Report of the General Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie about placing the Jews released from the Vapniarca camp into 3 localities chosen by the Government where they will not be free but supervised

GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE Department of Public order and Security Department II.A

May, 1, 1943

GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE
To
MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR
Police State Sub-secretariat

To your order 3967 of April 17, 1943, I am honored to report to you the following:

The GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE in Transnistria, after submitting the issue to the Governor of Transnistria, decided that the 427 Jews of List nr. 1 should be allotted by trades and set free in order to be compelled into forced labor, just like the other Jews, namely:

100 Jews in Olgopol, Balta County 127 Jews in Savrani, Balta County 200 Jews in Tribudi, Golta County

GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE

Illegible signature

Department of Public order and Security General C. TOBESCU

ION ANTONESCU'S CONTRADICTIONS Nr. 233

Communiqué of the Police State Subsecretariate about Antonescu's Decision not to Repatriate any Jew

MINISTRY OF JUSTICE Special Interministerial Committee for Jewish Issues Nr. 410 E/ July 8, 1943

Dear Minister,

Referring to your letter Nr. 20056 A of July 2, this year, I am honored to return the attached documents to you, informing you of the following:

At the meeting held on March 6, 1943 of the Interministerial Committee for organizing the Jewish issues, it had been decided to revise the situation of the Jews who were deported to Transnistria in order to repatriate several categories of Jews, excepting those who had asked for being repatriated to the Soviet Union (in the past).

Ever since the meeting held on November 30, 1942, the Ministry of the Interior and the Supreme General Staff had decided to draw up and send lists of all the Jews who were deported and to specify the reasons why they had been sent there, serving as a basis of discussions for the Interministerial Committee.

The report was drawn up and handed in at the Secretariat of the Committee.

At the meeting of April 22, 1943, you informed the Committee that the Marshal ordered that no Jew should be repatriated, they being free to settle anywhere in Transnistria.

Relying on that announcement, all the petitions referring to the repatriation of the deported Jews were returned to the Ministry of the Interior.

As there is a contradiction between what was decided at the meeting of April 22, 1943 and at the meeting of March 6, 1943, please send me precise information about this issue.

Ministry of Justice, IOAN C. MARINESCU

Nr. 234

Announcement of the Council Presidency to the Ministry of the Interior Referring to Ion Antonescu's Decision of Repatriating 10 Categories of Jews

PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS

Nr. 509622 C.B.B.T.

July 8, 1943

Registered at the State Administration under Nr. 25901-14.07.1943

Marshal Ion Antonescu approved the following principles on the basis of which Jews from Transnistria can be set free and only after the approval (depending on the particular case) of both the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of the Interior.

- 1) war invalids and their direct heirs (ascendants or descendants);
- 2) war widows and orphans;
- 3) parents of those who fell on the battlefield;
- 4) those who actively participated in Romania's wars, on the front lines and had been wounded or distinguished themselves with bravery medals;
- 5) former active militaries in the Romanian army;
- 6) pensioners of the Romanian state who performed deeds for the benefit of the country;
- 7) Jews married to Christians, no matter if they have children;
- 8) Jews who were christened before 1920;
- 9) Jews aged over 70 having families in Romania who can upkeep them;
- 10) Exceptional cases of meritorious people who do not fall under any of the above mentioned categories and who will be subject to your appreciation.

BUREAUCRATIC PREPARATIONS FOR MASSIVE REPATRIATIONS Nr. 235

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR Minister's Cabinet

August, 11, 1943

GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE

Department for Security and Public Order

Under Nr. 33844/May 14, 1943

We have the honor of asking you to draw up and hand in the following lists:

- I. A nominal list comprising:
- 1. Jews who had been deported to Transnistria because they had asked for being repatriated to the Soviet Union;
- 2. As some of them had disappeared, it is necessary to specify for each case if the deported person is still alive and where exactly in Transnistria has he settled.
- II. A numerical list of the Jews who had been mass deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina, comprising the following data:
- 1. Jews who had been initially deported
- 2. How many of them are still alive and in what localities have they settled

We also ask you to be so kind as to send the office head of the General Inspectorate to the Ministry in order to check the lists we have at the camp office to see what data are missing and have to be filled in.

The Ministry should have a full evidence of the Jews who had been deported to Transnistria.

Minister Sub-Secretary of State Army Corps General, C.Z. VASILIU

Nr. 236

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR Minister's Cabinet Nr. 28868 A

August, 11, 1943

SUPREME GENERAL STAFF Department I.

Under Nr. 424200 of July 28, 1943

Please send us a list of the Jews who had been deported to Transnistria out of your order for infractions committed in connection with the forced labor duty.

The list should comprise the following data:

- 1. Family name and First name of the deported Jews and their place of origin;
- 2. Localities in Transnistria where each of them are established;
- 3. Specifying, if possible, if the deportee is still alive;

I would also like to inform you that the Interministerial Committee of the Ministry of Justice announced that for the time being the repatriation order was canceled, referring mostly to the communist elements that are in the Vapniarca camp.

As far as those Jews who did not comply with forced labor duty, they belong to another category who had not been as dangerous as the above; therefore the Ministry of the Interior agrees that those who have not committed serious infringements should be brought home, considering that the other 12,000, who had the same situation, were no longer deported to Transnistria.

Minister, Sub-secretary of State Army Corps General C.Z. VASILIU

LATE AND FUTILE INVESTIGATIONS Nr. 237

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR **Cabinet of State Sub-secretary** Nr. 1710/1943

August, 11, 1943

GENDARME INSPECTORATE ODESSA

On September 1942, according to the order of the Ministry of the Interior Nr. 2592/942, a number of abt. 523 Jews were deported to Transnistria. They were found on the lists drawn up by the former Russian legation, having to be repatriated to the Soviet Union after Bessarabia and Bukovina had to be ceded.

These Jews were interned by you in the Slivina camp, Oceacov County. Out of the above number, a part had disappeared and a rest of 110 persons remained in the area.

As the families of those Jews complained for several times that their accusations were unjustified, it has been decided to check the situation of each Jew. Therefore it is necessary that we have an evidence of the number of Jews, their family members and their whereabouts.

Even if you cannot supply exact data, please be so kind as to submit all the data owned by the Inspectorate referring to this category of Jews.

Army Corps General

Minister, Sub-secretary of State C.Z. VASILIU Cabinet Director, Lieut. Col. Mag. AL. MADARJAC

Nr. 238

August, 19, 1943 GENDARME INSPECTIORATE ODESSA Office for Public order and statistics to MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR Cabinet of the Sub secretary of State

Further to your order Nr. 1710/943, referring to the Jews interned in the Slivina camp, Oceacov County,

I am honored to report that the following categories of Jews were confined in the Slivina camp:

- 1. Jews of Bessarabia and Bukovina who withdrew from those provinces together with the retreat of the Soviet troops
- 2. Jews who were born in Transnistria
- 3. Jews from Romania who committed common law infractions and were punished by being interned in the camp
- 4. Multiple offenders sent by the Bucharest Police Prefecture
 Our researches revealed that in the Slivina camp were interned only
 the Jews who asked for being sent back to the Soviet Union.

Gendarme Inspector Odessa, Col. ILIESCU Head of Security and Police Department signature illegible

WHIMS OF THE POLICE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE Nr. 239

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR Minister's Cabinet 21295 A

August, 11, 1943

GENERAL POLICE LEADERSHIP

Security Police Department

To Nr. 14.559 S of June 23, 1943

We are honored to return the file with the petitions of the Jews from Arad requesting to be brought back from Transnistria to Romania.

When the Jews were deported to Transnistria, the police authorities worked carefully and in accordance with the received information, hence no

innocent Jews were deported. Now the same Jews receive approvals to be sent back home.

This procedure puts both the police authority and the Ministry of the Interior into a bad light, so that the question arises: when did they proceed correctly and conscientiously? At that time? And if yes, then how can we qualify the approval given today other than faulty? Given under the pressure of the interested parties.

The Ministry cannot give any answer to the report; therefore it returns the file which would imply useless work of the clerks of the Arad police who have to suffer for the decisions of the higher officials.

> Minister, Sub secretary of State, Army Corps General, C.Z. VASILIU

NEW CRITERIA FOR REPATRIATION Nr. 240

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR State Administration Nr. 25452 A.

August, 24, 1943 To IOAN C. MARINESCU Ministry of Justice

Referring to your letter Nr. 410 E/943, I am honored to inform you of the following:

Three categories of Jews had been deported to Transnistria, as follows:

- 1. Communist activists who will continue to remain in Transnistria or in the Vapniarca camp, as decided by the relevant committee. These Jews cannot be brought back to Romania.
- 2. Those Jews who had been deported from Bessarabia and Bukovina and for whom Marshal Ion Antonescu gave his approval for being

- repatriated because they were born in the Old Kingdom. Their situation will be separately examined.
- 3. Those who asked to be repatriated to the Soviet Union
- 4. Those sent by the General Supreme Staff because they infringed the laws referring to forced labor.

The situation of the deported Jews belonging to those last two categories will be re-examined after we receive the lists of the relevant Jews.

Yours faithfully,

Minister, Sub secretary of State, Army Corps General, C.Z. VASILIU

THE JEWISH CENTRAL OFFICE INTERVENES FOR THE REPATRIATION OF SOME CATEGORIES OF DEPORTEES

Memo of the Jewish Central Office in Romania Nr. 241

JEWISH CENTRAL OFFICE IN ROMANIA Nr. 21548

September 7, 1943

Dear General Commissar,

We are honored to submit to you a note in connection with the situation of some categories of Jews coming from the Old Kingdom who had been deported to Transnistria. Please be so kind as to examine their situation and to intervene for their repatriation, considering that both you and the Government showed special thoughtfulness toward this matter.

Yours faithfully,

President,

Dr. N. GINGOLD

To his Excellency, the general commissar for Jewish issues

REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMISSAR FOR JEWISH ISSUES, DRAWN UP ON THE BASIS OF THE NOTE ENCLOSED WITH THE MEMO OF THE JEWISH CENTRAL OFFICE IN ROMANIA

Nr. 242

GENERAL COMMISSARIATE FOR JEWISH AFFAIRS

Nr. 10991/Sept. 23, 1943

Dear Prime Minister,

Further to the announcement I received from The Jewish Central Office in Romania, I would like to inform you of the following:

Among the Jews who had been deported to Transnistria, there are some categories who need to be paid special attention, according to our opinion, as follows:

- 1. Widows, invalids and those who received medals for special merits or war deeds during Romania's wars;
- 2. Pensioners and former state officials.

In addition to the said categories, there are other Jews who were born in the Dorohoi town and county and had been deported in autumn 1941; there are also some Jews from the Old Kingdom who happened to be in Bukovina at the time of the deportations, their legal residence being in the Old Kingdom. Those people came there to visit their relatives, to health resorts or only on business. They were mistakenly deported along with the other Jews who were deported from Bukovina.

3. Jews deported in Sept. 1942 from the Old Kingdom, Transylvania and Banat.

In Sept. 1942, the authorities decided to deport two categories of Jews:

- those suspected of forbidden political activities (1,200 persons). They were deported to Vapniarca without prior investigations. A great number of them were found innocent after a revision made in the Vapniarca camp and were set free in the Transnistria ghettos.
- those who did not perform forced labor (abt. 350 persons) from the Old Kingdom, Transylvania and Banat. They were often deported without previous investigation.
 - 4. children who remained orphans in Transnistria

The Jewish Central Office in Romania repeatedly informed us of an important number of children who were orphans of both parents and helpless. Proposals were made to save them and organize their emigration. For this purpose, it is necessary to put those children into special centers.

Considering that the deportation of the Jews from Bukovina and Bessarabia was a political measure while those from the Old Kingdom and the other parts of the country were deported as a measure of punishment for those who did not comply with their obligations towards the state, we think that Jews who were born in the Old Kingdom and who belong to the above categories and who happened to be in Bukovina and Bessarabia during the time of deportations as well as those who were deported in Sept. 1942 and found not guilty when investigated by the administrative authorities, should be brought back to their homes; the orphan children should be accommodated in some makeshift camps provided by the Jewish Central Office, where they could be looked after accordingly.

Please order that the above shown situation should be investigated and that the solution proposed by me should be approved.

Assuring you of my deepest devotion and respect, Yours faithfully R.D. LECCA, General Commissioner for Jewish Issues

RESOLUTION OF THE PRIME MINISTER Nr. 243

PRESIDENCY OF THE COUNCIL
OF MINISTERS
Vice-president of the Council of
Ministers

Bucharest, Sept. 23, 1943 Nr. 1099/Cab./942

Dear Director,

I have the honor to send you attached as a copy, the report of the general commissioner for Jewish Issues referring to some special categories of Jews deported to Transnistria, asking you to submit it to the Minister in order to be informed of the resolution of the Vice-president of the Council of Ministries:

Approved. The widows and invalids will be revised and repatriated. The same is valid for those distinguished in war, pensioners and state officials.

Under point 3 – "I need to be shown precise situations".

Under point 4: "Concerning the orphans: An orphanage should be set up in Odessa through the International Red Cross until they will emigrate".

M. ANTONESCU

Please receive, my special respect,

Cabinet Director,

Signature illegible

TO HIS EXCELLENCY CABINET DIRECTOR OF THE MINISTER OF THE INTERIOR

FINISHING BUREAUCRATIC FORMALITIES FOR REPATRIATIONS Nr. 244

GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE Security and Public order Department

Nr. 42411 Sept. 16, 1943 to

THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR

Police Sub secretary of State

Further to the Order Nr. 28.868/943, I have the honor of submitting to you the following lists:

- 1. nominal list of the Jews who had been deported to Transnistria because they asked to be repatriated to the Soviet Union in the year 1940;
- 2. numerical list of the Jews evacuated from Bessarabia and Bukovina to Transnistria;
- 3. a situation drawn up by localities together with a drawing showing the number of Jews of the category Nr. 2 who are still living in Transnistria.

4. a nominal list of all Jews confined in the Vapniarca camp

Director of Public Security and Order,
General C. TOBESCU

Head of Security Department
Lt. Col. TEODORESCU

NUMERICAL LIST OF THE JEWS DEPORTED FROM BESSARABIA AND BUKOVINA TO TRANSNISTRIA

PLACE FROM WHERE THEY	NUMBER OF	REMARKS
WERE EVACUATED	EVACUATED JEWS	
from Bessarabia	55,867	
from Bukovina	43,798	
TOTAL	99,665	

GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE PUBLIC ORDER AND SECURITY DEPARTMENT

NUMERICAL LIST

of the Jews found today in Transnistria, by Counties and Localities, from among those who had been Evacuated from Bessarabia and Bukovina Situation on Sept. 1, 1943

Item	Name of county	Name of locality	Evac	uated	TOTA COUN	L BY NTIES	Grand total
			Basarabia	Bukovina	Basarabia	Bukovina	
1	Ananiev	Town Ananiev Com. Petroverovca "Saraevo "Cernova "Hoţului "Troiţca Farm Arva Farrm Filip "R Maria	1 -	1 3 1 2 2 1 6 1 1			

Item	Name of county	Name of locality	Evacı	uated	TOTA COUN	L BY NTIES	Grand total
			Basarabia	Bukovina	Basarabia	Bukovina	
		TOTAL Ananiev County	1	_	13	18	31
2	Berezovca	Town Berezovca Com. Vladislavca	2 5	1			
				1			
		"Mostovoi	4	4			
		"Suha Balca	2 7	4			
		Farm Budioni Com. Veselinovo	-	2 2			
			$\frac{1}{2}$	1			
		"Covaleovca		1	42	24	
		Total Berezovca			42	24	66
3	Dubasari	County Dubăsari		11			
3	Dubasan	Com. Coșnița		2			
		Total Dubasari				13	13
		County				13	13
4	Ovidiopol	Com. Belaevca	3	29			
-	Ovidiopoi	Total Ovidiopol	3	2)	3	29	32
		County			3	2)	32
5	Oceacov	Com. Trihati	117	491			
		Total Oceacov County		.,,	117	491	608
6	Tiraspol	TownTiraspol	33	123			
	•	Corn. Rasdelnaia		5			
		Slobozia		5			
		Tebrica		2			
		Grosilovo		2			
		Total Tiraspol County	_	_	33	137	170
7	Balta	Balta Town	418	448			
		Com. Bersad	1998	3263			
		"Mihalovca Voitovca	87	418			
		"Ustia	475	280			
		,, Savrani	665	8			
		" Pesceana	2	14			
		"Obodovca	36	508			
		,, Catașin	865	147			

Item	Name of county	Name of locality	Evac	uated	TOTA COUN		Grand total
			Basarabia	Bukovina	Basarabia	Bukovina	
		"Budi	134	136			
		,, Bondurovca		116			
		"Cicelnic	421	54			
		,, Belanovca	270	46			
		,, Verhovca	68	1			
		Ilaneţ	42	46			
		Olgopol	164	27			
		,, Tibulovca	17	373			
		,, Tartac	26	114			
		Verebca	483	246			
		,, Tarcanovca	58	3			
		Total Balta County	_	_	6229	6248	12471
8	Moghilev	Moghilev town	348	12836			
		Com. Vindiceni	3	259			
		,, Lucinet	177	830			
		,, Lucinese	1	95			
		,, Hrinova	10	182			
		"Stepanchi	3	168			
		"Gromivca	9	30 83			
		,, Gorai	4	35			
		" Luzina	5	13			
		,, Plosca	40	212			
		"Nemerici		100			
		"Vinoj		47			
		,, Ozarinti		207			
		Com. Tropova	14	8			
		,, Milnovca	_	24			
		"Olcidaevu	_	184			
		"Cucavca	_	216			
		", Slidi	_	292			
		", Balki	388	619			
		,, Copaigorod	676	77			
		", Popivţi	752	1			
		", Coșarinți	167	3			

Item	Name of county	Name of locality	Evac	uated		AL BY NTIES	Grand total
			rabia	vina	rabia	vina	
			Basarabia	Bukovina	Basarabia	Bukovina	
		" Romanki	3	31			
		"Volodievti	8	119			
		" Halcinti	5	24			
		" Marianovca	5	17			
		" Carișcov	210	198			
		" Grabivti	_	48			
		"Cuzminti	80	60			
		"Pzomesanita	24	8			
		"Chianovca	71	2179			
		" Murafa	426	2731			
		"Sargorod	240	29			
		,, Penchivca	_	70			
		"Rudanschi	29	48			
		" Ivascauti	184	15			
		"Conatcauti	27	27			
		"Lozova	4	304			
		"Derebcin	3	2			
		"Copistern	3	7			
		,, Nasicovca	53	1			
		" Pasiuca	21	166			
		"Smerinca	105	43			
		,, Bandasouca	_	472			
		" Iaruga	6	2490			
		"Djurin	381	109			
		"Politanchi	_	272			
		,, Crasnoie	10	170			
		" Vorosilovca	108	418			
		" Tivriv	40	81			
		"Stanislavcia	_	91			
		"Kotmazov	253	23			
		" Cazaciovca	1	125			
		Com. Zatiscea	206				
		Total Moghilev			5103	26899	32002
		County					

Item	Name of county	Name of locality	Evac	uated	TOTA COUN		Grand total
			Basarabia	Bukovina	Basarabia	Bukovina	
9	Golta	Oraș Golta	54	18			
		Com. Vradievca	20	_			
		,, Crivoi-Osero	106	_			
		,, Marinovca	8	_			
		"Rom. Balca	8	_			
		,, Nicolaevca	371	25			
		,, Acmecetca	44	2			
		"Bogdanovca	69	1			
		"Cantacusino	12	_			
		"Dumanovca	120	4			
		Total Golta county	_	_	820	54	874
10	Râbniţa	Oraș Râbnița Com.	370	34			
	-	Birzula	10	85			
		Total Rabnita County	_	-	380	119	499
11	Tulcin	Oraș Tulcin	7	220			
		Com. Nestervarca	422	1168			
		,, Trostiancic	6	64			
		,, Trostianeţ	_	95			
		,, Capustiani	_	66			
		"Beleusovca	10	52			
		,, Chirnasovca	_	42			
		,, Rahnia	15	5			
		,, Bratlav	9	135			
		,, Peciora	26	2			
		Total Tulcin County	I	ı	495	1849	2344
12	Iugastru	Oraș Iampol	156	348			
	_	Com. Olsanca	22	7			
		,, Miscova	177	9			
		"Crijopol	23	51			
		"Zabocrici	70	175			
		,, Cernoviti	170	279			
		,, Tamspol	31	2			
		"Dzigovca	96	9			
		Total Iugastru County	_	_	745	880	1625
	Ge	neral total			13980	36761	50741

Nr. 245

SUPREME GENERAL STAFF
SECTION 1
Office 10
to
MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR
Cabinet of State Sub secretary

To Nr. 28.868-A/1943,

We are sending attached, a nominal list of the Jews deported to Transnistria because they did not perform their forced labor duties.

Head of Section Nr. I Lieut. Col. BOLDUR LATESCU

Col. illegible signature Head of Office 10

FIRST ORDER OF REPATRIATION Nr. 246

GENERAL GENDARMERIE INSPECTORATE

Nr. 43504 October 3, 1943

to

Public Security and Order Department

GENERAL GENDARMERIE INSPECTORATE

Secret

According to the order of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, we would like to inform you that it has been approved to repatriate all Jews who had been sent to Transnistria together with their families because they did not perform their forced labor duties.

These Jews will be sent back to Romania, to their places from where they had been picked up. By no means are they allowed to leave for any other destination than shown above.

The legion commanders will round up all the Jews belonging to the above mentioned category, sending them in groups to the destination places,

under escort up to Tighina. From there, they will be set free to travel to their homes, the travelling expenses being supported by them.

The following documents will be issued for each family head:

- a train travelling permit and
- release papers, to be delivered to the police station within 24 hours since the arrival of the Jews to their homes.

The legion commanders are informed to see to it that only those Jews who did not perform their forced labor duties will be sent back to Romania. Therefore, the legion commanders will take special care to select the Jews of the above category so as not to squeeze in other categories of Jews sent to Transnistria for other reasons.

The Supreme General Staff will check the situation of each Jew brought back to Romania. Strict sanctions will be applied to the legion commander on whose territory will be brought other categories of Jews together with those who did not comply with their forced labor duty.

After finishing the relevant operation, you will have to report to the General Inspectorate of the Gendarmerie and deliver nominal lists in two copies per family head and members of the Jews sent back to Romania based on the conditions of this circular order.

General Inspector of the Gendarmerie Army Corps General, C.Z. VASILIU

MEMO SENT TO THE GOVERNMENT BY Dr. W. FILDERMAN Nr. 247

October 12, 1943

BRINGING THE DEPORTED JEWS BACK TO ROMANIA

1. The number of Jews in 1940 and 1942

In 1940 in Romania there were 728,115 Jews out of whom only 272,409 remained in 1942. Bukarester Tageblatt of August 8, 1942, declared about this figure:

"As compared to the previous evaluations which calculated about 700,000–800,000 Jews, today, their number is smaller."

In another article of the same edition it was written:

"In the summer of 1940, the Jewish population decreased very much during a short period of time".

2. The number of deported Jews

In 1940 approx. 300,000 Jews lived in Bessarabia, Bukovina and the Dorohoi County, of which 275,419 lived on the territory occupied by the Soviet Union (Annals of the Statistical Institute of Romania, 1942, vol, I, page. 340-341). Today, only 16,000 Jews live there (Bukarester Tageblatt of August 8, 1942) and 3,000–4,000 in Dorohoi, so that on these territories 280,000 Jews are no longer here.

In "Bukarester Tageblatt" of August 8, 1942, it is written that 185,000 Jews had been deported. If we add the deported Jews after August 8, 1942, we could have 190,000–200,000 deportees.

As for the remaining Jews up to 300,000, there are no official data. It is known that a number of Jews were taken by or followed the Soviet troops.

3. The number of surviving Jews.

Today there are only abt. 78,000 deported Jews in Transnistria, meaning that 61% (122,000) died during 2 years.

These 78,000 Jews are comprised of the following categories:

- 25,000 men, most of them aged over 50;
- 33,000 women and
- 20,000 children of both sexes, below 18.

The higher percentage of women is explained by the fact that from the Dorohoi County, the women were deported while their husbands were performing forced labor in other counties of the Old Kingdom. The women had been told that their husbands would follow them and they took their children and left with only their clothes on. Therefore, the highest percentage of mortality is registered by the Jews deported from Dorohoi.

4. What were the reasons for the deportation of the Jewish population, exceptions approved by the Vice-President of the Council of Ministers

The deportation was justified by:

- a) the behavior of the Jews toward the Romanian Army when it retreated from the ceded territories and by
- b) their attitude towards the Romanian population during the occupation of the Soviet Union

After having examined the reasons of the deportations, and the exceptions that had been ordered, it results that the following categories of Jews had been deported beyond the intentions of the Government:

a. The Jews who lived in Dorohoi and Southern Bukovina

These territories had never been occupied by the Soviet Union and their inhabitants have never been guilty of the above mentioned accusations. War widows and orphans were deported, their descendants and those of the veterans of the Independence War, women and children whose husbands were also deported and Jews who were sent from the front line of Bukovina and Dorohoi to Muntenia when war was declared, but when the Ministry of Finance intervened that they should contribute to the Loan, they had been sent back home. But after they contributed to the Loan, they were deported. If they had stayed in Muntenia and Oltenia they would have never been deported, just as those who instead of going back to Dorohoi or Southern Bukovina, settled in other towns of the Old Kingdom.

- b. The Jews who were born in the Old Kingdom, Transylvania or Banat who happened to be in Bessarabia or Bukovina on business trips or were visiting their families.
- c. The state officials and pensioners from Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia. Following the prime Minister's order, the clerks and pensioners who had not been deported yet still get their pensions. Those who had been deported before the issue of the order, among whom there are also Presidents and Counselors of the Court of Appeal are still in Transnistria and do not even get their pensions.
- d. Jews who although born in the occupied territories were mobilized by the Romanian Army when the territories were ceded and who withdrew together with the Army suffered from the attacks that are attributed to the Jews but they could not have committed them.
- e. Women and children from Bukovina whose husbands and parents were not deported because they were considered useful, according to the order of the Vice-president of the Council of Ministers.

5. Proposal to repatriate the deportees

While it is natural to repatriate the five above mentioned categories of Jews, we think it also necessary and ask you to order the repatriation of the other Jews because the deportation procedure was made globally, without individual investigation of the accusations and also for humanitarian reasons.

Even if all Jews are guilty, any punishment has a term and even those condemned to lifelong forced labor are acquitted for either general or special reasons.

If we think that in 2 years, two thirds of the deportees died in exile, that there are families in which out of 10 members only one or two survived; there are children whose parents died in exile, thousands of deportees are barefoot and hungry and their daily food consists of only hot water with 30-40 g of corn flour, meaning that those remaining Jews are also doomed to die, hence their sufferings deserve to be forgiven, bearing in mind that the majority of those who survived are women and children.

In the speech held by Marshal Antonescu when the school girls from the lyceum of Odessa, were admitted, he recommended that the children's tender souls should be infused with "the love for their kinsmen and brethren in order make them understand that man should be considered, treated and led like a human being, irrespective of his language and faith, his merits or sins" (Universul newspaper, June 1, 1943).

6. Where should the Jews be transported

In Bessarabia, Bukovina and Dorohoi lived approx. 300,000 Jews and 125,655 Germans. While the Jews had been deported, the Germans were repatriated to Germany. Therefore, the dwellings which housed approx. 423,000 people remained free. In Transnistria there are only 78,000 Jews left, i.e. 1/6 of the Jewish and repatriated German population, so that their coming back home would not be much of a problem.

If it is preferred to find another solution of concentrating them in some towns, then they might be grouped according to their origin in the towns of Bessarabia, Bukovina, Dorohoi or the Old Kingdom, or in ghettos similar to those in Transnistria.

Moving back a number of 70,000–80,000 Jews does not require too much effort and the railway system will be sure to handle this issue.

Dr. W. FILDERMAN

REPORT OF THE POLICE SUB-SECRETARY OF STATE¹⁾ Nr. 248

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR

Police Sub - secretary of State

REPORT

According to the measures of ethnic cleansing of Bessarabia and Bukovina, in the autumn of the year 1941, after these provinces were reoccupied by the Romanian army, the Jewish population was deported to Transnistria (ordered and carried out through the army police units).

It was possible to have a statistical evidence of the deported Jews only after they had settled and the Romanian administration was established while it was handed over by the German troops.

Based on the available data, their number would have amounted to:

Evacuees from Bessarabia and Bukovina	Bessarabia	55,867
	Bukovina	43,793
From the town and county of Dorohoi		10,368
		Total 110,033

During the years 1941–1942, a part of the Jewish population died because of the epidemics and the impossibility to provide medical assistance and to prevent diseases. The statistics made on September 1, 1943, showed that only 50,741 Jews had remained being settled in the Moghilev, Tulcin and Golta counties in more compact masses and in the other counties in a lower number.

These Jews have satisfying living conditions, the able bodied are used for different community and industrial activities. Their food was supplied through the Transnistria Governorate and aids were given through the Jewish Central Office of Bucharest.

November 12, 1943.

¹ This report can be found in the secret archive "Transnistria" of the year 1943 of the Ministry of the Interior, State Sub secretariat of the Police and Public order. It has neither date nor signature. It is drawn up by the state sub secretary of that time, general C.Z. Vasiliu. According to its content it seems that it dates from November 1943 and that it was intended for the Council of Order held on

Considering the decision of the state leadership to bring back to Bessarabia and Bukovina the able bodied Jews from Transnistria to be used for the convoys of workers as required by the necessities of war, we propose the following:

- 1. they have to be fitted out properly for the winter season in which they will work.

This operation cannot be done in Transnistria. It is possible only in the localities they had been taken from. Therefore, each family should be brought to the county of residence. If they do not arrive in one or two towns they are strictly forbidden to settle in villages.

Although a part of the towns we refer to were destroyed to a certain extent, we think that it will be possible to carry out the operation considering the small number of the Jews who return.

The Jewish Central Office will provide the care and feeding as in Bessarabia and Bukovina there are no local Jewish Committees.

In order not to interfere with the military transports, the Jews will be transported from the Moghilev county (the greatest majority there is: 32,002) on foot and by carts until the Dniester line is passed. From there, they can be transported by train. The same operation can also be done for the Jews from the Tulcin and Iampol counties; their number is very low, amounting to 3,969 people.

Those from the Balta county whose number amounts to 12,477, and considering the high distance, the transportation will take place gradually by local means; After crossing the Dniester, it will be possible to use the train. The entire transportation operation could take approx. 30 days.

Concerning their selection, during the month of January they will be examined by a medical committee, establishing the number of those aged between 18–45 who are fit for work. After being equipped they will be transported in labor battalions to the relevant areas.

- 2. Concerning the orphan children of both parents whose number amounts to 5,000, they will be settled in orphanages to be set up in Bessarabia and Bukovina by the Jewish Central Office in Bucharest.
- 3. Concerning the aged people and those who have no possibility to make their living, they will be taken care by the same Jewish Central Office in Bucharest, being interned in special old age homes.
- 4. Under no circumstance will the proposal of the delegate of the Jewish Central Office be accepted that the Jews who had been born in

Bessarabia and Bukovina should be brought to Moldova or other parts of the country where there are already local Jews who are concentrated in the residence towns of the relevant counties, being a permanent burden for the local population. Therefore, we think that bringing them back to other parts of the country would make this task more difficult and would provoke a series of dissatisfactions among the local Christian population.

- 5. However, the orphans (5,000) could be spread all over the country, one to each Jewish well to do family who should look after the children.
- 6. Another category of repatriated Jews will be formed of those 427 Jews evacuated from the rest of the country under the suspicion of forbidden political activity; when the Commission sent by the Ministry of the Interior to Vapniarca investigated them, no serious reasons of confinement were found, being therefore set free in Transnistria.
- 7. Concerning the Jews sent to Transnistria because they converted to Christianity, it still had to be decided.
- 8. Apart from those Jews who will be brought back to Romania, according to the above mentioned proposals, the following categories of Jews will remain confined in the Grosulovo (Vapniarca) camp:
 - a) communist Jews sent from the Tg. Jiu camp407

 - c) Jews condemned for communist activities, evacuated from the penitentiaries of Romania85

Total 619

- d) Polish Jews who entered Bukovina illegally and were evacuated to Transnistria (their number has to be subsequently established).
- e) In addition to those mentioned under point 8, in Transnistria will remain those who were deported by special orders.

II.

Considering the political conjuncture of Romania and in order not to bring about interpretations that might be harmful to the inner order and our political relations, we think it necessary to take the above mentioned measures gradually and by categories of Jews.

We propose the following solution:

To divide the Jews who could be brought home into the below mentioned categories and by the following order of priorities:

- a) orphan children, with no father and mother, aged up to 18, who have no means of subsitence and no possibility to work;
- b) invalids, veterans and war decorated people who participated in Romania's wars:
- c) Jews who were born in the Old Kingdom and who happened to be in Bessarabia and Bukovina when the deportation took place;
- d) Jewish families who had been evacuated from Bessarabia and Bukovina, without the relevant heads of families who were in labor battalions at that date:
- e) Professionals who were required in Romania (physicians, engineers, technicians and skilled workers).

After finishing this action, the other remaining Jews who correspond to the decision taken by the state leadership will be also brought back to Romania.

NOTE Situation of the Jews deported to Transnistria

1)	Jews evacuated from	from Bessarabia	55,867	
	Bessarabia and Bukovina in the year 1941	from Bukovina	43,798	
	From Dorohoi and Herta		10,368	
		Total	al 110,368	
	Left on September 1, 1943		50, 741	
2)	Communist Jews sent to the V	apniarca camp who had	554	
	been free when they were depo	orted to Transnistria		
	From these: - taken from the camp and left free in			
	Transnistria left in the camp			
3)	Jews sent to the Vapniarca can	np from Tg. Jiu	407	
4)	Communist Jews who were in	penitentiaries when they	85	
	were evacuated to the Vapniar	ca camp		
5)	Jews evacuated by the Suprem	e General Staff for not	594	
	attending forced labor duty (th	e situation on October 12,		
	1942)			
6)	Jews who asked to be repatriat	ed to the Soviet Union	578	
	out of these – disappeared 562			
	lived: 16			

NOTE
referring to the number of Jews by categories and sexes, deported to
Transnistria in September 1942 for being suspects of Communism and
for having asked to be repatriated to the Soviet Union in 1941

1)	Communist Jews, who had been free before having	554
,	been deported to Transnistria	
	out of these: - men	499
	- women	55
2)	Jews deported to Transnistria from the Tg. Jiu camp out of these:	407
	- men	355
	- women	52
3)	Jews deported because they asked to be repatriated to the Soviet Union out of them	578
	- family heads	144
	- family members	434

Out of the category of Jews mentioned under point 3, on September 1, this year, there were still living: 9 men and 7 women, totaling 16 Jews.

DECISION OF THE COUNCIL OF ORDER ON NOVEMBER 12, 1943 Nr. 249

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR Public Order Direction

November 16, 1943 GENERAL GENDARMERIE INSPECTORATE

Please be informed that in the framework of the Council of Order held on November 12, this year, the following decisions were made referring to the situation of the Jews in Transnistria: 1. The situation of each of the Jews evacuated from Bukovina and Bessarabia in the year 1940–1941 will be examined and they will be brought back into the localities they were deported from, namely in the town of residence of the county they originated from. It is strictly forbidden for the Jews to be settled into urban villages that are non-residence ones or into rural villages.

This operation will start with:

- Jews who were born in the other parts of the country (Moldova but for the Dorohoi county, Muntenia, Oltenia, Banat and Transylvania) who happened to be in Bessarabia or Bukovina
- Pensioners of the Romanian state, invalids, war widows and orphans
- Professionals required in Romania (physicians, engineers —as for the physicians, only those necessary to take care of the deported Jewish population from there will be left, technicians and skilled workers) as well as intellectuals necessary for the public life, industrialists or traders necessary for the national economy.
- Orphans of both parents who remained in Transnistria because their parents passed away will be brought to Romania by groups; according to the transportation and accommodation possibilities they will settle down in the towns where there are Jewish communities. The Jewish Central Office will see to it that each well to do family should raise an orphan. Children aged up to 12 are considered to be orphans.

The Jewish Central Office in Bucharest will submit lists of the towns where they would be sent to and the number of orphans that will be allotted to each town, according to the possibility of procuring train cars.

The Jewish Central Office in Bucharest will send delegates there in order to organize transportation, food supplies and the orphans' accompanying to the destination.

- The Jews from the Dorohoi County also belong to the above mentioned categories, however these Jews will be sent back to the Dorohoi town (not in county towns or villages).
- The Jews who had been sent for underground political activity and set free in Transnistria also fall into the above mentioned categories
- The Jews who were deported because they converted to Christianity also belong to the above mentioned category

- The Jews who had been interned in the Grosolovo camp and possibly the Jewish offenders of the Slivina camp will remain in Transnistria
- The Jews who are still living and had been deported because they asked permission to be repatriated to the Soviet Union will be brought back.

Minister, Sub-secretary of State, Army Corps General, C.Z. VASILIU

OTHER WHIMS OF THE POLICE SUB-SECRETARY OF STATE Nr. 250

November 30, 1943

Audience to the General Minister Vasiliu

1. TRANSNISTRIA

He told me that no decision had been made referring to repatriation. Governor Alexianu is expected. Tomorrow he will work with the Marshal and will present his proposals, namely:

- about 220 persons from the Vapniarca camp will return to Romania
- abt. 6000 from Dorohoi will also return

The Vijnita case had been examined but it had been found that there are only 220 dwelling places without doors and windows which also need other repairs to be made in order to accommodate 1,800 people.

He does not believe that others could be brought.

Although I insisted, I could not convince him. I told him that the Jews from Southern Bukovina have the same situation as those from Dorohoi. Both categories are in accordance with the definition of the Marshal's letter.

He told me that it was something else.

2. FOREIGN DEPORTEES AND POLISH REFUGEES

I told him that there are a few foreign Jews who were deported by mistake: Argentinean and Polish Jews, etc.

He talked about the Polish Jews that they are always crossing the border illegally and they have to be passed over the border.

I told him about a Polish surgeon who took refuge when Poland collapsed and he works at the Moghilev hospital. He was transferred to a military hospital in Bessarabia and from there he was deported.

He replied that Romania cannot absorb all of them. Each should follow his own fate in his own country.

ROMANIAN JEWS FROM FRANCE

He told me that abt. 700 Romanian Jews should be brought from France but he objected. I replied that they are Romanian citizens with passports and if the Germans want to deport them, Romania has the right and the duty to accept them.

He replied that he did not agree because they had left 10 years ago. I replied that it does not matter; there are also Christian Romanians who had left tens of years ago.

Dr. W. FILDERMAN

REPATRIATION OF THE JEWS FROM DOROHOI Nr. 251

Extract from a note of the president of the Aid Committee, lawyer A. Schwefelberg, about a discussion held with Dr. N. Gingold

A. SCHWEFELBERG

December 21, 1943

NOTE

Referring to the discussion with Dr. Gingold

Together with Dr. Zimmer I had today a long talk with Dr. Gingold about Transnistria, repatriation and card fees.

1. Mr. Saraga called this morning that the first batch of Jews from Dorohoi (1,400–1,500) were embarked under good conditions (the others follow).

It is true that the prefect of Dorohoi complained to the Labor Inspectorate about the local population's discontent because the Jews are coming back. However, the repatriation campaign goes on.

2. Mr. Rosenkrantz and Billig returned from Tighina where only 69 repatriates passed from the 218 selected in Vapniarca. The others will come through Moghilev. Another batch of 209 selected Jews would follow.

The people of the former batch were born in the Old Kingdom.

Col. Iliescu was in Tighina and from there he goes farther to Moghilev to investigate repatriation possibilities.

3. The county of Dorohoi was separated from Bukovina and attached to the Iasi region. This was a great relief from several points of view.

I talked about providing assistance to the repatriated Jews who were born in Dorohoi. I asked that food cards should be provided as well as work permits in order to exempt them from forced labor duties. The General Commissary promised to issue forced labor exemption cards.

I requested that they should not be immediately sent by the local authorities to forced labor service because the people are exhausted and they need time to settle down, to organize their households and to recover.

I came up with the idea of setting up collective workshops in Dorohoi that should provide for the needs of the Jewish communities both in Romania and in Transnistria.

We still have some tools in our shed that we could not send to Transnistria as we were advised by the Transnistria Governorate.

Mr. Gingold asked us to send two delegates to Dorohoi to see what can be done.

The delegate of the Jewish Central Office, Mr. Covaci, returned for reporting and then went back. I have to be informed about accommodation possibilities, fuel supplies and canteens.

I specified that we have paid more than 16,000,000 lei for the repatriation of the Jews who originated in Dorohoi while the Jewish Central Office did not pay anything. It is not our responsibility to provide for the Jews' subsistence on this side of the Dniester.

- 4. I discussed about the petition sent from Trihati (a harbor on the Bug river) referring to 500 outfits and 300 pairs of shoes. Yesterday we sent there 480 parcels of clothes and shoes for which we received confirmation.
- 5. I reminded him that the application referring to the authorization of exporting new objects has to be followed up.

- 6. We have no news regarding the objects sent by Lieut. Orendi from the Todt organization to Varvarovka.
- 7. I approached the issue of repatriations of the southern Bucovinians and orphaned children, in general.

General Dragalina, Bukovina's Governor objects to the return of the Southern Bucovinians.

Referring to the orphaned children, Mr. Geiger and Enzer visited Dr. Gingold and informed him that according to the information received from the Jewish Agency in Istambul, two Bulgarian ships will be sent for the children. Dr. Gingold did not agree with the transportation by sea as it is not safe enough. Mr. Geiger and Enzer had complained to the Marshal for not being allowed to deal with the issue of children's emigration.

But we are told from other sources that the children's emigration will not be approved unless the transportation is safe.

SCHWEFELBERG

REPATRIATION OF THE DEPORTEES SELECTED IN THE VAPNIARCA CAMP Nr. 252

GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE Public order and Security Security Service Office A

> January, 8, 1944 to THE MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR Police Sub-Secretary of State Security Service

To your order Nr. 216.962 of January 4, 1944;

I am honored to report the following:

The 209 Jews comprised in the list attached to your order with the above number are part of the Jews selected by the Committee of the Ministry of the Interior that worked in the Vapniarca camp in May 1943.

After having checked a number of 427 Jews who were deported by the Romanian police stations no reasons of suspicion were found. Therefore they should be set free and sent to the Transnistria ghettos (according to the instructions of the Ministry of the Interior).

Later on, after having gone through a second revision by the same committee, the total number of 427 Jews who were not evacuated according to the set regulations were divided into 2 categories, namely:

- the first category of 218 persons that might be brought home
- the second category of 209 persons that should continue to stay in Transnistria until further orders

We do not know the reasons why the people belonging to the first category were not immediately brought home.

According to higher ordinances, in December 1943, a number of Jews from Transnistria were repatriated and along with them were also repatriated the Jews of the above mentioned first category while the Jews belonging to the 2-nd category remained in Transnistria in the ghettos of the Balta County.

We also do not know the reasons why those of the 2-nd category were stopped from being repatriated.

According to our opinion, all the Jews comprised in the table could be brought back to the country under the same conditions as the first ones.

However we do not agree with bringing back to the country the 17 Jews evacuated from Chrernovitz, comprised in your list under number 147–163.

Head of Security Service, Lieut. Col. S. TEODORESCU

Nr. 253

MINISTRY OF THE INTERIOR Direction of Public Order

GENERAL INSPECTORATE OF THE GENDARMERIE Security and Public order Direction January 11, 1944

To Nr. 50295/1944 and further to the order Nr. 216 962 of January 1944:

We are honored to inform you that according to the decision made by the Council of Discipline it has been approved to bring from Transnistria the remaining 192 Jews who had been interned in the Vapniarca camp and selected by the March 1944 Committee.

The 17 Jews who were evacuated from Chernovitz will not fall into this category. They belong to the category of Jews evacuated from the Bukovina.

In this respect, the subordinate organs will have to put the orders into practice.

Minister Subsecretary of State, General of Army Corps, C.Z. VASILIU

> Director of Public Discipline, Lt. Col. Magistrate AL. MADARJAC

DENIAL OF GENERAL REPATRIATION Letter of architect H. Clejan to Ion Antonescu Nr. 234

February 2, 1944

Dear MARSHAL, (Sir)

I am happy that you agreed to admit my requested audience and I would like to inform you that there are situations which should be solved as soon as possible. Therefore, I would like to present to you the following situations as brief as possible:

- 1. the situation of the Jews from Transnistria
- 2. the situation of the Jews across the Bug river
- 3. the situation of the Jews of the Old Kingdom and Transylvania

According to the data of November 10, 1943 of the Ministry of the Interior, 55,000 survivors remained of the 110,000 deported Jews. Out of these – 6,300 Jews were repatriated from Dorohoi together with 700 political deportees, totaling 7000 repatriated Jews that is 48,000 Jews remained.

According to the data collected by the Committee for Transnistria, 58,000 persons would have remained and they are threatened to be exterminated, waiting for their salvation. The entire Jewish community suffer for them and their tragic fate.

Therefore I am begging you to forgive those who are innocent. If some of them were deported just for the fault of having thought or worked against the interests of the state, half of them have already paid for this mistake with their life while those who remained expiated through their sufferings. As many of them were not guilty, they still shared the same fate with the guilty ones: death, misery and shortages.

I know that numerous petitions have been addressed to you and that some measures were taken in this respect. It was decided to repatriate the orphaned children but only those aged up to 15 and those whose both parents had died.

Please approve that this measure should include all minors up to the age of 21, orphaned of even one parent. The other deportees of Transnistria should be taken to places situated closer to the Dniester and then sent to their native towns or to camps in the Old Kingdom.

Jews were sent to labor detachments across the Bug River for the Todt organization and others. It is said that they had been killed - the last 433 on December 10, 1943, as stated in a letter sent from Tulcin.

As for the situation of the Jews of the old kingdom and Transylvania, please do not impose too high taxes for the labor exemption cards. Most Jews have to fight with the hardships of life and besides direct contributions and military fees they have to pay for the upkeep of all those who were compelled into forced labor and their families, of the population that had been evacuated from towns and shtetls as well as of those deported, of hospitals and schools.

Bucharest, Feb. 2, 1944

H. Clejan

Antonescu's Reply¹

THE LEADER OF THE ROMANIAN STATE

Bucharest, Feb. 4, 1944

MR. CLEJAN,

Your letter referring to the situation of Jews in Transnistria and beyond the Bug, and to the sums which have to be paid for exemption from forced labor gives me an opportunity to point out some aspects concerning the issue of Romanian Jews, within the framework defined by the state of war and the events which preceded it.

As I have already explained to you in person, I was forced to deport Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina, since the inhabitants hated them so much for their behavior during the Russian occupation of these Romanian territories. If I had not taken these actions, I am sure that the most horrible pogroms would have taken place.

Although I had decided to deport all the Jews from Bessarabia and Bukovina, various interventions and intercessions prevented me from doing so. Today, I regret that not having done so, as the main enemies of the country were recruited from among the Jews who have remained here. There is not one terrorist or communist organization which has been uncovered by the police, in which Jews or frequently exclusively Jews could not be found. The tragedy of the Jewish race is that it is ungrateful to the country it lives in, while making a profit out of it. This is why I once again draw attention to the fact that if the Jews continue to undermine this extremely tolerant state, then they will have to reckon with much more serious consequences than have had to until now, because the state cannot leave unpunished those who actively, and with sinful consistence, play a part in bringing about its demise.

One should not forget that we have in Transnistria over 200,000 Romanians and beyond the Bug approximately the same number who would like to come to Romania and I am deeply grieved by the fate of these hundreds of thousands Romanians whom I cannot receive.

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¹ See photocopy, illustration XVI.

It goes without saying that under these circumstances it is morally and politically impossible for me to accept that the Jews from Transnistria should be brought back.

Out of the Jews from Transnistria only those who had mistakenly been deported there, that is: about 7,000 Jews from Dorohoi and 4,500 orphaned children will be repatriated.

As for the sums which have to be paid for exemption from forced labor, I do not interfere with this issue. However, I think that nothing compares to the sacrifices of the militaries that face the enemy and with the weapons in their hands defend the life of all the people inside the country, including the Jews. These sums were settled by mutual agreement with the Jewish Central Office and a great part of them are used for the needs of the Central Office and to help the needy Jewish families.

ANTONESCU, Marshal of Romania, Leader of the Romanian State

THE LAST REPATRIATIONS Nr. 256

NOTE

Dr. W. Filderman, about an audience to General C.Z. Vasiliu

1. REPATRIATIONS

- a) He does not remember to have approved the repatriation of the Chief Rabbi's sisters, Mayer, Pechthalf from Murafa and Elka Birbraier from Murafa and Elka Birbraier from Verkovka.
- b) Eng. Jaegendorf, Katz, Dr. Budich and Mrs. Berg. He does not know where the document is.

2. ARRESTING THE ZIONIST EXECUTIVE LEADERSHIP

He has heard about that. There are letters in Hebrew which are being translated. He does not know the content of the file yet.

3. REPATRIATION OF ORPHANS

He agrees with the repatriation of orphans aged up to 18.

4. GENERAL REPATRIATION

It cannot be done. All will be moved towards the southern part where they will be protected from the fightings.

Nr. 257

NOTE

Dr. W. Filderman referring to the repatriation of orphans sent to the Police Sub secretary of State, General C.Z. Vasiliu

February 5, 1944

It was decided to repatriate the orphans. The marshal considered the number of 4,500 orphans.

According to the known statistics by age, of the orphans of both parents or of one parent, the situation is as follows:

- 1. Orphans of both parents up to the age of 15 2000
- 2. Orphans of both parents up to the age of 18 950
- 3. Orphans of one parent -2000

-4950

Dr. W. Filderman

Nr. 258

NOTE

Dr. W. Filderman referring to a telephone conversation with General C.Z. Vasiliu

Feb. 10, 1944

1. REPATRIATION - Katz, etc.

No document was received.

2. The CHIEF-RABBI'S SISTERS

De doesn't know where the document is.

3. REPATRIATION ORDER UP TO THE AGE OF 15

I asked if he did as he promised to revise the order. He answered that Mr. Gingold asked him to bring back first the orphans of one parent up to the age of 15 and then the orphans of both parents up to the age of 18.

Dr. W. Filderman

Nr. 259

NOTE

Dr. W. Filderman, audience to General C.Z. Vasiliu

Feb. 15, 1944

1. REPATRIATIONS

a) Jaegendorf, Katz and the Rabbi's sisters

No order was received yet. I handed in a petition asking him to present it to the prime-minister.

b) Orphans

Only 2000 will be repatriated. He agreed with Gingold to draw up a statistical evidence of the orphans of mothers, up to the age of 15, who will

be returned in the second series. Then he will discuss the issue of the orphans of both parents aged between 15 and 18.

c) the 17 persons from Olgopol

In the outer office I have discussed with General Tobescu who is against their repatriation while Col. Lamru agrees with the issue.

1. DEMOLISHING THE HOUSES IN IASI

Although Antal told me that he had given him the note, he claims to know nothing about it.

2. REPATRIATION OF FUCHS

He is going to investigate.

3. REPATRIATION OF PAUL MOSCOVICI

The resolution is at General Tobescu.

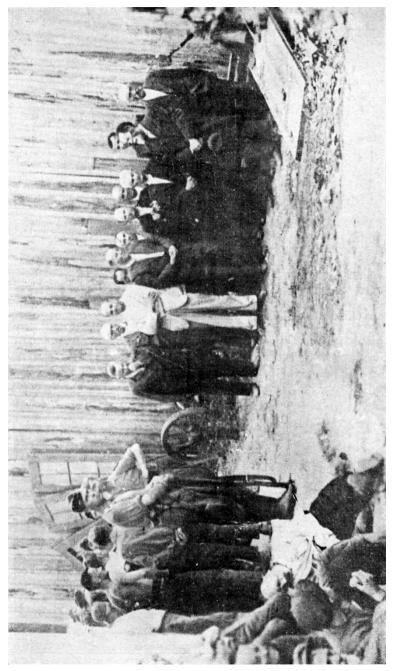
4. DEPORTED FOR DIFFERENT DEEDS AND THE BALTA LABOR BATTALION

The Balta battalion is the concern of the Supreme General Staff. He will investigate all the other issues.

Dr. W. Filderman

ILLUSTRATIONS

MASSACRES IN BESSARABIA



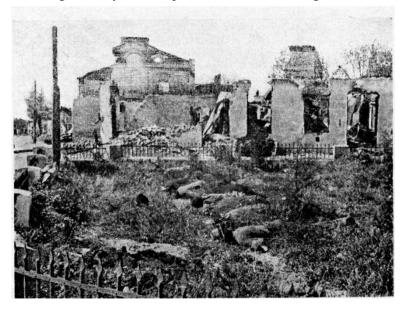
From left to right: Summer Zitterman, Iosif Brottman, Bernard Walter, Sacha Diagot, Aizic Schächtman, Schmerl Schoihat, Burach Blank, Suchar Roitman, Simon Grünberg, Cripps, Leibis Galavata, Iankel Tenenboim (Nr. 18) The last committee of the Jewish Community in Balti, one hour before the execution.

Illustration Nr. II

MASSACRES IN BESSARABIA



Jewish hostages shot by the Gestapo in the Soborului Vechi garden in Balti



Another view of the garden spread with Jewish bodies

Illustration Nr. III THE BALTI GHETTO

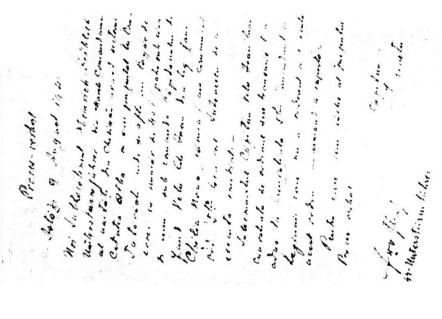


In the courtyard of the Moldova Bank



A corner of the ghetto

Illustration Nr. IV MASSACRES IN BESSARABIA



BE-Dair IT into 1941

Janvicius Landali Indra

Janvicius Landalii Indra

An oboare a raportat

In urra inajeopinior facute in Judaju

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- Na

Report of the Senior Military Judge about the remaining Jews in the Balti County

Minutes referring to the shooting of 485 Jews

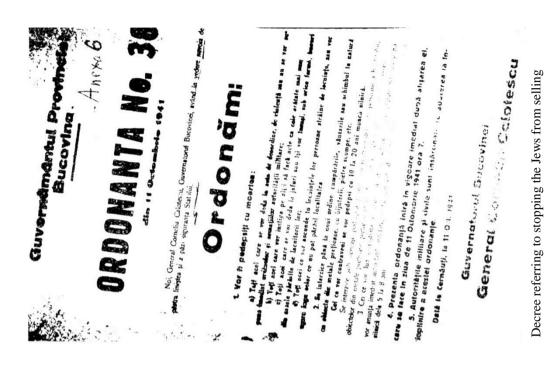
in the Tatarasi Chilia camp

Comandamentul Suprem al Armatei a hotărât strângerea intregil

populații evreesti din Cermăuți intr'un ghetou, dapă care va urma On urmare, populatia evreland este invitată a se muta im

evacuares din localitate.

THE CHERNOVITZ GHET



pe ceilalti ce vin.

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gathering the Jews into a ghetto in Chernovitz. Order issued by the governor of Bukovina for

their goods before entering the ghetto.

510

prin spatele liceuluisi a Conservatorului de pe strada General Prese

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gtrada Romand, xxxxidereşalxiterexem, pirada General Averesou, str.

str. Hegele Ferdinand mai jos de comenduires piwtei, str. Jormusache brece prin spatele cartierului Mviziei, tae atrada br. Keles, apei

et Piata Daciel.

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- Haine grosse, indricaminte, etc.

- Haine grosse, indricaminte, etc.

- Haine grosse, indricaminte alle con el el este pentru instalare

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poate reveni la locutața svută.

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Dwreil gastți dupe ors 18 în afera chettoului vor fi

Impuscat:

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strada Vorobobevici, strada Marāsesti, strada Maresal Foch, xxx tes

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linie dreaptă până la calea ferată, urmeasă pe linie ferată până

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Moin, str. St. Treine, str. I.C. Brateanu, Str. Prutului pana la Calea

fermta dupa care in lungul oail ferate pand la intretaleres a.i.

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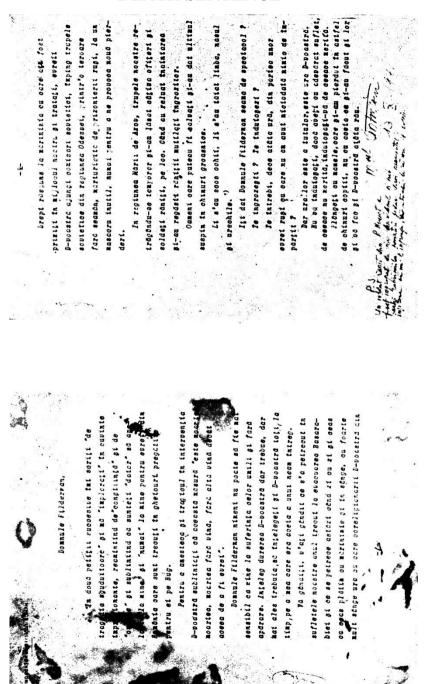
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TELEGRAMA

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TELEGRAMA

Illustration Nr. VII DEATH SENTENCE



The first and last page of Ion Antonescu's letter of October 19, 1941 to Dr. W.Filderman, president of the Federation of Jewish Communities

LOOTING

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Nota informativa No. 16	Lecotonontul Regea de la Cosp nia de politite din Otage erente No — 195qui Soroca, venit aici de la Roman, are soita sa pro- Essera el Esca merou naveta focăroan cu ; canantane de la Otagi la Roman sun fo altă parte. Prin otagi an trecut evreii fo francuistrialo pre- zent no mai este nici ubul, toti s'an scura și se așteaș ta sa vina alții. La fincapet Di.Li.Rogea au ridicat fot surul de la evrei fara sa facă vre'un tabel sau sa deu vre'o dovada și pur și stapbu l'a bagat Bas. 10 buznar și pictunisti da a Ccapacia de poliția.—Di.Li.Rogea a interia jada ailor de la postul și secția locala sa se apropie de la ailor de la postul și secția locala sa se apropie de la ailor de la postul și secția locala sa se apropie de la ailor de la postul și secția locala sa se apropie de la ailor de la postul și secția locala sa se apropie de la ailor de la postul și secția locala sa se apropie de la ailor de la postul și secția locala sa se apropie de la ailor de la postul și secția locala sa se apropie de la fortă și pi baloturile cu efecte co mai aven și le-a deport locă și firt or emiză mare așa c. e' su plecat unnai proce a fest pe ei și fara bani.— Diat și baloturile cu efecte co mai aven și la-a deport c. c

Informative note with marginal remarks of the Senior Military Judge, general Ion Topor referring to the lootings of Atachi (Otaci)

Illustration Nr. IX Images from Transnistria



Dr. W. Filderman deported to Moghilev



Children in the Moghilev ghetto

Illustration Nr. X

Views from Transnistria



Jews who could not keep pace with the convoy and were shot and robbed



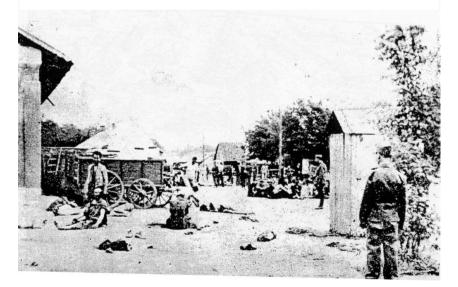
After one convoy passed, between Birzula and Grozdovca

Illustration Nr. XI

TRANSNISTRIA



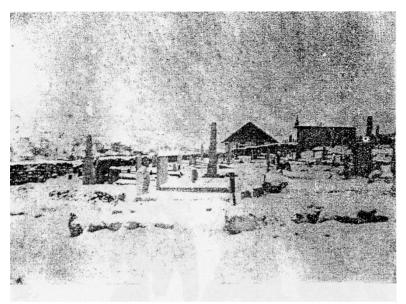
On the way to forced labor



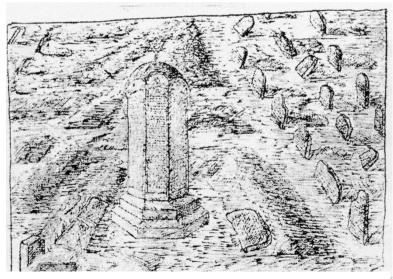
Coming back from forced labor

Illustration Nr. XII

Views from Transnistria



The cemetery in Shargorod



The cemetery in Bershad. In the middle there is a monument built by the survivors in memory of the 20,000 deported Jews, who died in the town of Bershad

Illustration nr. XIII CHILDREN OF TRANSNISTRIA

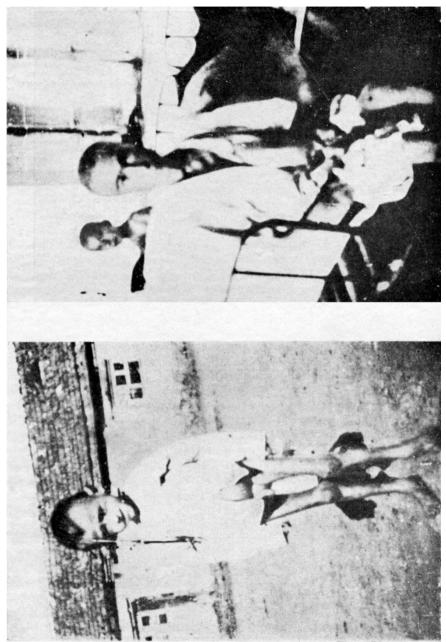


Illustration Nr. XIV

ASSISTANCE MESSAGES

Lieber Piecher & Fieldermann ! Ich benütze die gute Gelegenheit um Euch meine besten Grüsse zu senden. Es freute mich sehr,dass die Tante Stephan Tera-Alafim zufolge Eurer Bestätigung gut angekommen ist. Bei Stephan selbet befinden sich also bereit die Schelauschis Alafim. Ich weiss auch heute keinen bessern Weg um zu helfen als eben der Aufanthalt bei Stephan. Weun es Euch möglich wäre auf die gleiche Weise nochmals zu helfen so wäre ich einverstanden und erwarte hierüber Euren Bericht. Wir wollen für unsere Akton diesen Verkehr als Tmura beseichnen und ist jede Transaction für Schelauschis zu verstehen. Bis jetzt haben wir Transaction Rischaun fest abgemacht und falls eine sweite u.s.w. sustande kommt so werden wir hierüber per Scheini, Schlishi u.s.w. kofrespondieren, damit ich hierübergenau informiert bin wird man in der Adresse jeweils angeben 30/II u.s.w. Mein Scheliach habe ich sumführlich in mein vollstes Vertrauen gezogen und bitte Buch das Bleiche auch zu tun. In Debrigen erwarte durch das Rote Kreus Bericht welche Kedikamente beschafft werden sollen und hat man mir in Genf versprochen hierübe mit dem offiziellen Delegierten ebenfalls bei Euch Information einzuholen. Diese Thura bezieht sich ausschlieselich auf Transpistriem,denn bei uch selbst nehme ich an,dass Ihr Such selbst belfen könnt. Tein coled Schleiach hat mir ganz eig ach su berichten, dass Tmura Scheini, Schlischi, avii est sich bei guter Gesundheit be-fincet. denn es moglich ist mir einen Vertrauensmann in der Schweiz aufzu geben so bin ich nicht abgeheigt denselben anzuhören, wonn er sich über Truma Scheini ect bei mir vorstellt. binso höre ich stets geme Sure weitern Vorschläge an und bin ich guten Kutes, dass wir uns restlos verstehen und Such weiter helfen können. In diesem Sinne grusse ich Such vielmals auch herzlich wie'immer Bott of san Saly Mayer, H. Gallere.

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principal is token or Joint in the Heart for

principal and to H. Albertan in Flories, to Keep.

Messages sent by the president of the Jewish Communities in Switzerland, Saly Mayer to the clandestine leadership of the Jews in Romania. They were written in a conventional language; they tried to hide messages – the messages on the right side was written on the cover of a razor blade – unfortunately it was in vain because the documents were handed over to the Gestapo first and then to the addressees.

Illustration Nr. XV

Istanbul, 1.3.191;

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE

immigration Ospariment P. O B ..

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Longlaur atanbul

Park Hotel Monsteur,

BOKELE ELEMEN CALL PICAC

EMIGRATION OF ORPHANS



coverage which circulated only in the eastern (Reichskreditkassenschein). Money without FRAUD-German Marks RKKS

Transmittria, question que Mr. L'avoat Filaerman vous a prié par es lettre du 25 Janvier a.c. de traiter avec nous. au sujet de l'emigration des enfants juifs déportée en

Ainsi que je vous l'ai expliqué, nous sommes prêts à moorder au tann de l'emaîgne tonn des enfants juifs de Transentatre tout notre apuli.

declaration du Couvernament Falestinien du 4.2-a.o. que je vous ai montré, que je suis an état de mettre à cet effet Souvernement (country a coorde toutes les facilités pour le départ des enfants et le transport. la disposition des enfants en question 5000 certificats," 2000 seront 1 mediatenent disponibles à conditton que le suis neureux de voue confirmer sur base de

jusqu'à Istanbul doivent être réglès en Roumanie. Nous ferons disposition les sommes necessaires dans le cas d'un transportides enfants par bateau. 2. Je confirme unast me déclaration que je fermie hee Le necessire pour touver tous frais en voyage de la Fron-tière turque jusqu'à Halfa. Hen ententu les frais de voyag tout notre possible pour obtenir le permis de mettre à la

n.s.rie est discutée par les autorités compétentes et le vous manfais gré el vous pourries nous aider à obtenir l'autorisse du représentant de la Groix Bouge Interné. lo-per notre homme de gonfliance à Bacarest, ..ams La question 1'un secours en nature, vatements, mefaire parvent os secours la Groix Bouge Internatio nourritures, outils pour les internés en gransto cas il sera possible d'accelerer le secours necessatre. mod nimmon iar l'entremise du représentant vale anna . ue dicaments, tion da

. Pour les enfants accompagnés par des conveyeurs.

clandestine Jewish leadership by Mr. Charles The first page of a message sent to the Barlas, Director of the Jewish Agency

Illustration Nr. XVI

CYNICISM

KARESAL AL RO-AMIETO

CONDICIAL STREET

CHANTLE O'L & J K N

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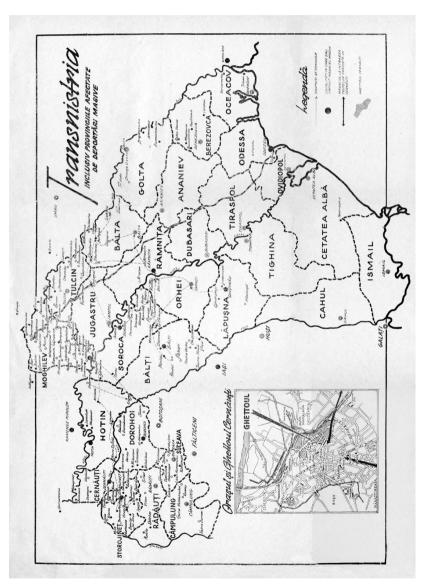
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Buchingtt, 4 John orte 1744.

In as priveste turels supertate pentur darnetale de scutire as muna obligatorie și emercitărea projestunit, a o chestiune în aare nu mă ansista și dare nu mi privoște, Socot totuși că nu se jodite face nicio comprație între contribuția materială, dui de unii envel pentru a fil scutiți de mună, și între jerta de biață și de sințe a celor canticu, și la manca tatiror color din liminal pripă, cel și a streilor, Aceste tare suntenial înterior cu dentrala spesior si o pare parie interior în decensese necollor dentrale; și apirorită, janitătă alosese necollor dentrale; și apirorită, janitătă or vereești, libette de milance.

The first and last page of a letter addressed by Ion Antonescu to the architect Clejan, expressing his regret that he did not deport and exterminate more Jews

MAP OF TRANSNISTRIA INCLUDING THE PROVINCES WHERE MASSIVE DEPORTATIONS TOOK PLACE



PLACES WHERE MASSIVE MASSACRES WERE COMMITTED

MASSACRES WHEN FASCIST TROOPS ENTERED

CHERNOVITZ GHETTO

CHERNOVITZ

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