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The Rescue and Self-Help of Jews and Roma in Ukraine during the Holocaust

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Contents

Abstract

This dissertation analyses Jewish and Roma self-rescue and the rescuing of Jews and Roma by people of other origins, mainly Ukrainians, during the occupation of Ukraine by Germany and Romania between 1941 and 1944. The methods, forms and circumstances of Jewish and Roma self-help and external help provided to them lie at the centre of the dissertation. Based on multiple case studies, this research brings a new understanding of social relations in the occupied Ukraine and emphasises the human component in inter-ethnic wartime relations, particularly between Ukrainians, Jews and Roma. The dissertation discusses several under-researched and controversial questions such as the help given to Jews by the Roma, the collaboration of Jews and Roma with the occupiers as a method of self-rescue, the help provided by the Ukrainian and Polish national movements, and the attitude of churches to the victims. The dissertation also examines both less assertive and more assertive methods for rescuing Jews and Roma, and the backgrounds of rescuers and rescued in order to understand which categories of Jewish and Roma victims were more frequently assisted, and by whom.

This research suggests that the role and positions of individuals as a human agency, conditions of life under the occupation, and circumstances in which Jews and Roma as well as non-Jews and non-Roma found themselves, mainly determined the actions of both rescued and rescuers. The research demonstrates the importance of Roma and Jewish self-rescue and the proactive actions of victims in Ukraine, both of which were previous overlooked in the existing historiography. The analysis of multiple cases of help and rescue reveals that assistance and rescue of Jews and Roma by non-Jews and non-Roma occurred in all the occupied zones in Ukraine, something that contradicts the idea that Ukrainians were mainly collaborators of the German occupiers.

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Glossary and Abbreviation

AYIU	Archive de l'association internationale 'Yahad-In Unum'
AK	*Armia Krajowa,* The Home Army, a major Polish resistant movement
ark.	*arkush*, particular page from *sprava* in Ukrainian archives
BA(B)	Bundesarchiv (Berlin), the German Federal Archives, Berlin-Lichterfelde Branch
BA(L)	Bundesarchiv (Ludwigsburg), the German Federal Archives, Ludwigsburg Branch
Band	file in *Bundesarchiv*
d.	*delo*, archival file in Russian and Belarusian archives
DACO	The State Archive of Chernivtsi Oblast
DADO	The State Archive of Dnipropetrovsk Oblast
DAKO	The State archive of Kyiv Oblast
DALO	The State Archive of Lviv Oblast
DAOO	The State Archive of Odessa Oblast
DARO	The State Archive of Rivne Oblast
DAVO	The State Archive of Vinnytsia Oblast
DG	*Distrikt Galizien*
F.	fond, and archival 'fund' or collection.
GARF	The State Archive of the Russian Federation
GAVt	The State Archives of Vitebsk Region

Gestapo	Secret State Police in the Third Reich and German occupied territories
ChGK	*Chrezvychainaia gosudarstvennaia komissiia po ustanovleniiu i rassledovaniiu zlodeianii nemetsko-fashystskikh zakhvatchikov i ikh soobshchnikov i prichinionnogo imi ushcherba grazhdanam, kolkhozam, obshchestvennym organizatsiiam, gosudarstvennym predpriiatiiam i uchrezhdeniiam SSSR*, The State Extraordinary Commission for Investigation of Nazi War Crimes
Holodomor	Great Famine of 1932-1933 in Ukraine, organised by Stalin
Izvestiia	one of the main newspapers in the USSR and the official newspaper of the Communist Party
județ	county, an administrative division in Romanian and territories under the Romanian control
KGB	*Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopastnosti*, the USSR State Security Committee
kolkhoz	collective farm
L.	particular page from *delo* in Russian and Belarusian archives
MAZ	Military Administrative Zone
Mischlinge	an official term in Nazi Germany to define persons who had both Jewish and non-Jewish ancestors or Roma and non-Roma ancestors
NARB	The National Archives of the Republic of Belarus
NKVD	*Narodnyi komissariat vnutrennikh del*, The People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, a main repressive organ of the USSR

oblast	region in the USSR and contemporary Ukraine
op.	*opis* in Russian, *opys* in Ukrainian, the 'inventory' of *delo* (Russian) or *sprava* (Ukrainian) within a *fond*
OUN(B)	Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (Bandera), Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist, Stepan Bandera branch
OUN(M)	Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv (Melnyk), Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist, Andrii Melnyk branch
Politburo	*politicheskoe biuro*, political bureau is the executive committee for communist parties
POWs	Prisoners of War
RKU	*Reichskommissariat* Ukraine
Pravda	one of the main newspapers in the USSR and the official newspaper of the Communist Party
predsedatel	the head of *kolkhoz* or village
raion	district
RGAE	The Russian State Archive of the Economy
Righteous Among the Nations of the World	a title awarded to non-Jews by the Yad Vashem for rescuing or rescue attempts towards the Jews during the Holocaust
S.	*Seite*, particular page from *Band* (file) in *Bundesarchiv*
SBU	*Sluzhba Bezpeky Ukrainy*, The Security Service of Ukraine
SD	*Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsführers-SS*, the intelligence agency of the SS and the Nazi Party in Nazi Germany

selsovet	*selskii sovet*, village council in Russia and the USSR among Russian speakers
silrada	*silska rada*, village council in Ukraine and the USSR among Ukrainian speakers
SiPo	*Sicherheitspolizei*, Security Police, state security agencies for political and criminal investigation
SS	*Schutzstaffel,* Protection Squads, responsible for enforcing the racial policy of *Nazi* Germany and later carried out all security-related duties.
spr.	*sprava,* archival file in Ukrainian archives
TsDAVOVU	The Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine
TsDAHOU	The Central State Archives of Public Organizations of Ukraine
VHA	USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive
UPA	*Ukrainska Povstanska Armiia*, Ukrainian Insurgent Army
USSR	*Soiiuz Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheckikh Respublik*, the Soviet Union
VKP(b)	*Vsesoiuznaia Kommunisticheskaia Partiia Bolshevikov*, The Communist Party of the Soviet Union
Yad Vashem	The Holocaust Remembrance Research and Educational Centre and Museum in Jerusalem
YVA	Yad Vashem Archives:

Note on Transliteration and Translation

The Ukrainian language transliteration has been made according to the National 2010 Romanisation system. The Russian language transliteration has been made according to the Passport (2013) ICAO. Transliteration of the locations follows the Ukrainian versions of the location names, except for the names that have been already established in English e.g. Odessa (in Ukrainian: Odesa), Babi Yar (Ukrainian Babyn Yar, and etc. Transliteration of the personal names follows the language of the interviews, otherwise written in Ukrainian manner. If a name appeared in written documents (testimonies, archival documents and, etc), the same spelling is used in the text of the dissertation. Still, there are cases where two different spellings of the same name may be used if the name spelled in Polish or German manner but known in Ukrainian as well. For instance: Clement Sheptytsky (written in Polish manner in Yad Vashem archival documents) and Klementii Sheptytskyi (established in Ukrainian).

The translation of oral narrations does not strictly follow the original language and liberal in order to bring more sense and reflect what the witness meant. All oral testimonies and written documents that were not in English originally, have been translated by the author of this dissertation.

Introduction

The occupation of Ukraine started immediately after the Wehrmacht entered the lands of the Soviet Union in 1941 and continued until the complete taking over of Ukraine from the Nazi rule by the *Red Army* on 28 October 1944. The whole period from 22 June 1941 to 9 May 1945 is known as the Great Patriotic War in Soviet and Post-Soviet historiography.[1] The German Army Group South (*Heeresgruppe 'Süd'*) entered western Ukraine around the city of Lviv on the first day of the invasion of the Soviet Union on 22 June 1941 as part of operation Barbarossa and the killing of Jews started immediately. In the town of Sokal (first town invaded and located in Lviv *oblast*), the Germans shot 11 Jews,[2] probably as communists. Starting from 25 June, the killing of the Jews gained a mass character: 60 Jews were shot in the town of Herța (Chernivtsi area) and 180 Jews – in the town of Toporiv (Lviv area).[3] By the end of June 1941, the murder of the Jews became systematic and total.

The first Roma were killed by German invaders in Zaporizhzhia *oblast* on 5 and 21 October 1941 – 48 and 60 respectively.[4] They were Bessarabian Roma evacuated to the east of the country. In addition, 32 nomadic Roma were shot in Chernihiv *oblast* also in October 1941, apparently for being suspected of partisan activity: they had with them German ammunition and did not have any identity documents.[5] Starting from 1942 the killing of Roma on occupied Ukrainian territories started to have a systematic character.

Germany's Romanian allies occupied other parts of Ukrainian territory and implemented deportations and exterminations of both – Roma and Jews systematically starting from October 1941 for Jews, and the spring 1942 for Roma. Both minorities tried to survive these deportations and save their lives and lives of their relatives and friends of the same origin. That was not easy: there were plenty of local helpers in persecuting Jews and Roma alongside the occupiers. Among them were Ukrainians, Russians, Poles, *Volksdeutsche* (native Germans resided in Ukraine), Crimean Tatars and others who tried to serve the

[1] In Ukrainian historiography different terminology is used such as German-Soviet War or Soviet-German War (for instance, see: Yaroslav Hrytsak, *Narysy Istorii Ukrainy: Formuvannia Modernoi Ukrainskoi Natsii XIX—XX st.* (Kyiv, 1998); Oleksandr Lysenko, 'Istoriopysannia Druhoi Svitovoi Viiny yak Samostiina Subdystsyplyna', in: Valerii Smolii, et al. (eds.), *Ukraina v Druhii Svitovii Viini: Pohliad z XXI stolittia, Vol. 1* (Kyiv, 2011), pp. 19-22).
[2] Aleksandr Kruglov, *Khronika Kholokosta v Ukraine 1941-1944 gg*. (Dnipropetrovsk, Zaporizhzhia, 2004), p. 6.
[3] Aleksandr Kruglov, 'Genotsid Tsygan v Ukraine v 1941–1944 gg.: Statistiko-Regionalnyi Aspekt', *Holokost i Suchasnist. Studii v Ukraini i Sviti,* 6:2, (2009), p. 8.
[4] Ibid., p.92.
[5] Ibid., pp. 95-96 with a reference to GARF, F. 7021, op. 61, d. 18, ll. 1, 4, 8, 46, 47, 119.

occupiers by looking for benefits from a new power or just because of their personal motives such as hatred, sadism, a wish to gain material benefits. The persecution and extermination of Jews and Roma by German and Romanian occupiers would probably not have been so successful or complete without those collaborators. The vast historiography on this topic has answered many questions on who collaborators in Ukraine were, and why and how they served the occupiers. A school of scholars who research Ukrainian collaboration or collaboration in Ukraine was formed and continues to bring new cases on this matter.

However, there was another category of people: those who helped and rescued Roma and Jewish victims in Ukraine and about which only a few publications exist. This dissertation aims to fill a gap in the existing scholarship and by drawing attention to another aspect of the Holocaust in Ukraine – namely rescue and self-rescue. Considering the circumstances in which Jews and Roma found themselves during the war period, the chances for survival without external help and assistance in rescuing were close to zero, particularly for the Jews. Non-Jewish and non-Roma helpers and rescuers risked their lives by assisting Jewish and Roma in Ukraine during the Holocaust. They were people of various age, occupation, style of life, religion, and origin. Ukrainian women and men, along with Poles, Crimean Tatars, Germans (*Volksdeutsche*), Russians, Belarusians, Moldovans, Armenians, Greeks, and others in villages, towns and cities tried to save lives of Jews and Roma in occupied Ukraine.

The efforts of the Jewish and Roma victims to save their own lives and to help and protect their families and friends should not be underestimated. In most cases, before asking or looking for help from outside, Roma and Jews tried to act on their own. Sometimes, their efforts were successful, in some cases they could rely only on external help, though in most cases, their own efforts and external aid were used in combination and led to success in surviving the occupation.

The focus of this dissertation is twofold. The first is self-help and self-rescue of main victims of German and Romanian occupational regime – Jews and Roma. The second is helping and rescuing of Jews and Roma by peoples of other origin, mainly Ukrainians. The methods, forms and circumstances of Jewish and Roma self-help and external help received by Jews and Roma from others lie at the centre of the dissertation. Based on multiple case studies, the research brings a new understanding of social life in Ukraine under the

occupation and emphasises the human component in inter-ethnic relations during the wartime, in particular, between Ukrainians, Jews and Roma.

The main argument of this research is twofold: on the one hand, the incidences of self-rescue and rescue of both Jews and Roma were determined largely by conditions and circumstances of life under the various occupational forces in Ukraine which were primarily German but also Romanian; on the other hand, the position and actions undertaken by individuals, as a human agency,[6] played a significant role in both Roma and Jewish self-rescue and rescue towards Jews and Roma attempted by non-Jews and non-Roma. The division of Ukrainian territories into different occupational zones determined the conditions of life, and hence the specifics of survival conditions for Jews and Roma as well as willingness of others, mainly Ukrainians, to assist them. Yet, the actions undertaken by Roma and Jews individually and collectively demonstrate their proactive position and the human agency's impact on one's own fate. The same is applied for non-Jews and non-Roma, mainly Ukrainians, who assisted and rescued the Roma and the Jews: individual and collective as well as institutional help show the role of actors in individual decision-making, its implementation and impact.

This work attempts to analyse interrelated and challenging aspects of rescuing such as the incidences of self-help by both Jews and Roma, their specifics and differences; the interaction between Roma and Jews and the similarity of their fate in Ukraine; the help provided by Ukrainians and people of other nationalities, whether at an individual level, or as a part of an organised network response; the ways and methods of rescue employed and how they differed in different zones of occupation; a social background of rescuers and rescued. This project emphasises ways of help and rescue which were dependent on diverse factors such as geography, local authority, urbanisation, and the relationships between rescued and rescuers. Scholarly works of this nature on Western Europe and Poland has been extensive, but the role of rescue in the survival of the Jewish populations of the Soviet Union, and particularly Soviet Ukraine, has remained largely un-researched. Moreover, the

[6] Using the term 'agency', I follow a sociological explanation of a role of the agency given by William H. Sewell: 'Agency entails an ability to coordinate one's actions with others and against others, to form collective projects, to persuade, to coerce, and to monitor the simultaneous effects of one's own and others' activities. Moreover, the extent of the agency exercised by individual persons depends profoundly on their positions in collective organization'. Therefore, Sewell sees 'agency is collective as well as individual' because 'personal agency is laden with collectively produced differences of power and implicated in collective struggles and resistances'. William H. Sewell, 'A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation', *American Journal of Sociology*, 98:1 (1992), p. 21.

extermination of the Roma in Ukraine and their self-help and rescue by non-Roma is presented for the first time by this dissertation. This work also draws comparison between the annihilation of Jews and Roma in the occupied Soviet Ukraine and provides new evidence of the relationship between the Roma and the Jews. The dissertation looks specifically at Ukraine and includes the study the survival of both Jews and Roma. This research is intended as a counterweight to the existing post-Soviet historiography that has seen Ukrainians primarily as collaborators in German genocidal policies. The new approach implemented into this research while taking on understudied cases of Jews and Roma, will contribute to Eastern European and global Holocaust historiography and will pave a way for further research on interethnic relations in Ukraine during the wartime.

The Chronological and Geographical Scope of the Dissertation

The chronological frame of my dissertation and its primary focus is from 22 June 1941 to 28 October 1944. It begins with the German invasion of the Soviet Ukraine, which started with the bombing of the city of Kyiv, the capital of Soviet Ukraine, and capture of the first Ukrainian settlement, a town called Sokal (Lviv *oblast*). The very same day the extermination of the Jews began when eleven Jews were shot near the Roman Catholic Church.[7] The second date corresponds to the liberation of the Soviet Ukraine from the German occupation when, on 28 October 1944, the town of Chop (Zakarpattia), the last occupied Ukrainian town, was liberated by the Soviet Red Army. In a larger chronological context, the dissertation expands between the 1 September 1939 and 2 September 1945. The first date reflects the situation in Ukrainian territories on the eve of German invasion to the Soviet Union and the beginning of the Second World War. The last date corresponds to the official end of the Second World War.

The geographic frame of the dissertation covers the occupied territory of Ukraine in relation to the borders of the Soviet Ukraine as of 22 June 1941 that also to a large extent corresponds to Ukraine's contemporary borders. The Soviet Ukraine within its borders of 1941 did not include Crimean Peninsula and Zakarpattia (Carpatho-Ukraine or Transcarpathia) which are both today are territories of Ukraine. Zakarpattia was an autonomous region of Czechoslovakia in 1938–1939; in March 1939 was annexed by

[7] Alexander Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreistva: 1941-1944 gg. Entsyklopedicheskii Spravochnik* (Kharkiv, 2001), p. 291; Aleksandr Kruglov, *Khronika Kholokosta v Ukraine,* p. 6.

Hitler's ally Hungary, led by Miklós Horthy and liberated by the *Red Army* in 1944.[8] Crimea was included into the territory of Ukraine in 1954 and has its own complicated history connected with deportations of national minorities, resettlement and inter-ethnic and inter-religious relations that require a separate research project.[9] However, the Soviet Ukraine of 1941 included the area of the city of Przemyśl that is today a part of Podkarpackie Voivodeship in Poland. In a larger context, the geographical space that interests this dissertation expands partially on contemporary territories of Ukraine, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Germany, and Poland.

During the occupation of the Soviet Union, Ukraine was divided between Germany and Romania. There were three large zones under the German control that covered the main part of Ukraine: District of Galicia (German: DG, Ukrainian: *District Halychyna*), the RKU, and the MAZ. The Romanians ruled also three zones: the largest one was the Transnistria Governorate (Romanian: Guvernământul Transnistriei), two others were provinces of southern Bessarabia (Romanian: *Basarabia*, Ukrainian: *Besarabiia*) and northern Bukovina (Romanian: *Bucovina*, Ukrainian: *Bukovyna*) that were annexed by the Soviets in 1940, then taken back by German-Romanian troops and incorporated into the Kingdom of Romania.

Historiographical Overview

The historiography of the Holocaust in the Soviet Union is an important part of Holocaust Studies because the total systematic extermination of Jews, so-called 'the Holocaust by Bullets'[10] started in the USSR in 1941, and specifically in Ukraine. Jewry suffered the most from the destructive impact of the war in Soviet Ukraine and Soviet Belarus, among all the territories of the former Soviet Union. Ukraine lost about 2/3 of its entire Jewish population during the Holocaust.[11]

[8] On Holocaust in Zakarpattia see: Raz Segal, *Genocide in the Carpathians: War, Social Breakdown, and Mass Violence, 1914–1945* (Stanford, 2016).
[9] See, for instance, Kiril Feferman, *The Holocaust in the Crimea and the North Caucasus* (Jerusalem, 2016).
[10] The expression first was used by a French priest, the president of NGO Yahad in-Unum Patrick Desbois: Patrick, Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets* (New York, 2008).
[11] See approximate calculations in: Jeffrey Veidlinger, *In the Shadow of the Shtetl: Small-Town Jewish Life in Soviet Ukraine* (Bloomington, 2013), pp. 160-161.

An important part of the Holocaust Studies is a research on the topic of Jewish self-help and the rescuing Jews by non-Jews. These studies occupy a significant place in the European and Northern American historiographies. The first works and testimonies of Jewish survivors started to be published immediately after the end of the Second World War. The autobiography of Varian Fry, published in 1945, about participation of the author in rescue of more than 2,000 Jews from the Vichy France can be considered as the first work on the rescue of Jews during the Holocaust.[12] Anne Frank's Diary, published in 1947, however, was a critical turning point in relation to the problem of rescue of Jews; it was republished numerous times in different languages and countries.[13] Soon afterwards, in 1949, first collection of histories about rescue was published in the United States.[14] At the same time, in the second half of the 1940s, a collection of documents about first rescue attempts in the Holocaust appeared in the Soviet Union through publication of the Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) materials which included investigations of occupiers' crimes toward Jews.[15] The first collection of articles about the extermination of Jews in the Soviet Union was published in 1944 by Ilya Ehrenburg.[16] After the end of the war several testimonies about the resistance of Jews and their fight against Germans were also published in Russian and Yiddish.[17]

Articles, monographs and a dissertation on the Holocaust also appeared in the second half of the 1940s. Though the word 'Holocaust' was not used, the authors described the total extermination of Jews and their suffering in ghettos (the word 'ghetto' was used widely). Those researches can be found in Ukrainian archives. There is no indication that any of these were published at the time, but they were written by historians with scholarly standards of that time in Soviet Ukraine. The works were based on ample data, including

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[12] Varian Fry, *Assignment Rescue: An Autobiography* (New York, 1945).
[13] Anne Frank, *Het Achterhuis* (Amsterdam, 1947).
[14] Eric H. Boehm, *We Survived: Fourteen Histories of the Hidden and Hunted of Nazi Germany* (New Haven, 1949).
[15] *Zverstva Nemetsko-Fashystskikh Zakhvatchikov. Dokumenty*, vol 1-15 (Moscow, 1942–1945); *Dokumenty Obviniaiut: Sbornik Dokumentov o Chudovishchnykh Zverstvakh Germanskikh Vlastei na Vremenno Zakhvachennykh Imi Sovetskikh Territoriiakh,* vol. 1 and 2 (Moscow, 1943, 1945). Regarding Ukraine, see: TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 253 ('Akty NDK pro zvirstva ta masove znyshchennia myrnoho naselennia Vinnytskoi oblasti'), F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 258 ('Akty NDK pro zvirstva ta masove znyshchennia myrnoho naselennia Dnipropetrovskoi oblasti'); F. R-4620, оп. 3, спр. 263 ('Akty NDK pro zvirstva ta masove znyshchennia myrnoho naselennia Zhytomyrskoi oblasti'); F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 274 ('Akty NDK pro zvirstva ta masove znyshchennia myrnoho naselennia Kirovohradskoi oblasti'), and etc.
[16] Ilya Erenburg (ed.), *Voina (Aprel 1943 – Mart 1944): Sbornik Statei* (Moscow, 1944), pp, 132–138.
[17] Aleksandr Pecherskii, *Vosstanie v Sobiburovskom Lagere* (Rostov/D, 1945); Girsh Smoliar, *Mstiteli Getto* (Moscow, 1947); *Partizanskaia Druzhba: Vospominaniia o Boevykh Delakh Partizan-Evreev, Uchastnikov Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voiny.* (Moscow, 1948).

materials from the ChGK, collection of eyewitness testimonies and German archival documents (mostly captured by the Soviets). Information about helping Jews by non-Jews was constantly presented in most of these researches. In the Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine one can take the draft of the dissertation of T. Khalepo (1948), 90% of which discussed the problem of Antisemitism and annihilation of Jews as an example. He cited the record of the Soviet Information Bureau from 19 December 1942: '…[the] population shows extraordinary solidarity towards the tortured Jews, including those who were expelled from the West, and provide them [Jews] all possible help, assisting in all cases, when it is possible, their escape, sheltering them in villages, sharing with them own scarce food.'[18] While this might have been considered as Soviet propaganda; Khalepo was able to confirm this statement with eyewitnesses' testimonies.[19]

D. Strikha, the author of another article written in 1948 and found in the Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine, described the story of a Ukrainian woman who sheltered a Jewish woman and her daughter, and meanwhile kept on threatening them with handing them over to Gestapo if they did not work all the time.[20] In addition, a series of documents about the occupation of the USSR in general and the Ukrainian territories in particular were published at much the same time. There was no selection of particular documents on the fate of Jews and Roma, but among all the documents one can find isolated facts about both extermination policies and the help given to Jews and occasionally Roma.[21] Generally, all the research written in 1940s contains only fragmentary information about help and rescue, and emphasise survival of Jews rather than any acts of assistance provided to them by non-Jews.

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[18] TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 241, ark. 160.

[19] However, the second version of the same dissertation, after the corrections of the supervisor, does not contain information about helping to Jews by non-Jews: TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 236.

[20] TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 297. To read more on the Soviet historiography of the Holocaust see: Hanna Abakunova, 'Znyshchennia Yevreiv na Okupovanykh Natsystamy Radianskykh Terytoriiakh v Istoriohrafii Radianskoi Ukraini 40-kh rokiv XX stolittia', in: *Materialy Mizhnarodnoi Konferentsii 'Zlochyny Totalitarnykh Rezhymiv v Ukraini: Naukovyi ta Osvitnii Pohliad' (Vinnytsia, 21-22 lystopada 2009 r.)* (Kyiv, 2012), pp. 90-100 (in Ukrainian).

[21] A good example is *Odessa v Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voine Sovetskogo Soiuza. Sbornik Dokumentov i Materialov*, vol. 1-3 (Odessa, 1947, 1949, 1951). Similar documents continued to be published through the Soviet era, however, because information about Jews and Roma is spread across all publications, I will not draw particular attention to these collections. As an example of such collections are published documents about Romanian occupation zone, Transnistria: *Moldavskaia SSSR v Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voine Sovetskogo Soiuza. Sbornik Dokumentov i Materialov,* vol. 1 and 2 (Kishinev, 1976). *Prestupnye Tseli, Prestupnye Sredstva. Documenty ob Okkupatsionnoi Politike Natsistskoi Germanii na Territorii SSSR. 1941-1944* (Moscow, 1985).

The work of Léon Poliakov (1951) was the first publication within which rescuers were distinguished as a separate category of war actors.[22] Further development of the topic of help and rescue of Jews by non-Jews (in public as well as in scholarly circles) was connected with the establishment of the Yad Vashem Institute in Israel in 1953. One of the Institute's tasks was locating people who had helped and rescued Jews during the Holocaust and the collection of testimonies about cases of help. Thus, in the 1950s more works devoted to rescue of Jews were published.[23] Philip Friedman in his book *Their Brothers' Keepers* examines help that was provided to Jews in different countries of Western and Eastern Europe.[24] Friedman spared a chapter devoted to the rescue of Jews in the Soviet Union, particularly in the city of Lviv.[25] In his chapter titled 'Eastern Europe', Friedman analysed Soviet Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Belarus separately, emphasising the attitude of the Church to Jews. The first case he wrote about was the Ukrainian Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi as a rescuer of Jews and the attitude of the entire Greek Catholic Church to Jews. This research can be considered as the first comprehensive analysis of the topic of rescue and help in general in the USSR. Also, as Raul Hilberg pointed out, this was the first research on Ukrainian-Jewish relations.[26]. In the USSR, the Anne Frank's Diary was published in Russian in this period,[27] and the first work that mentioned help given to Jewish prisoners of war by their fellow soldiers of the Red Army, appeared.[28]

From 1960s there was a proliferation in the Holocaust research. This was connected mostly with the Eichmann court case in 1961. This event changed attitude to the Holocaust and evoked awareness of this historical event among ordinary people, both Jewish and non-Jewish. In connection with this, the emphasis of the research moved to perpetrators rather than rescuers or victims. The same year Hilberg's *The Destruction of the European Jewry* was published. In his book he allocates non-victims and non-perpetrators to the category of

[22] Léon Poliakov, *Bréviaire de la haine le IIIe Reich et les Juifs* (Paris, 1951).
[23] Norman Bentwich, *The Rescue and Achievement of Refugee Scholars* (The Hague, 1953); Norman Bentwich, *They Found Refuge* (London, 1956); Abraham Margolian, *A Piece of Blue Heaven* (Fredericton, 1956); Jan Otcenasek, *Romeo and Juliet and the Darkness* (Prague, 1960); Agar, Herbert, *The Saving Remnant: An Account of Jewish Survival* (New York, 1960).
[24] Philip Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers: The Christian Heroes and Heroines Who Helped the Oppressed Escape the Nazi Terror* (New York, 1980).
[25] Ibid., pp. 117-118.
[26] Raul Hilberg, 'Developments in the Historiography of the Holocaust', in: Asher Cohen, Joav Gelber and Charlotte Wardi (eds.). *Comprehending the Holocaust: Historical and Literary Research,* (Frankfurt/M., 1988), p. 39.
[27] Irina Korintseva (ed.), *Dnevnik Anny Frank* (Moscow, 1960).
[28] Aleksandr Lebedev, *Soldaty Maloi Voiny: Zapiski Osventsimskogo Uznika* (Moscow, 1961).

'bystanders', i.e. those who did not act in the Holocaust personally but were observants of events.

Starting from 1963, the award of 'Righteous Among the Nations of the World' was granted by Yad Vashem to non-Jews for rescuing Jews. This has contributed to the search for stories about help to rescued Jews as well as non-Jewish rescuers. This flow also inspired work in archives and the collection of facts about rescue in particular and the Holocaust in general. Along with further publications of autobiographies and descriptive works on the rescue of Jews,[29] analytical research focusing on different aspects of rescue became public. Among the topics are rescue of children, the Red Cross and helping Jews, rescue of Jews in different countries (Denmark, France and Poland).[30] With these works researchers paid attention to the rescue of Jews of neutral countries, such as Switzerland and help given to Jews by Germans.[31] In 1970, the first interdisciplinary research (in History and Psychology) on rescue was published.[32] Scholars also became more interested in researching the Church and its attitude to the Holocaust, including rescue of Jews by Polish (Staszek Jackowski) and French (Father Marie-Benoît) Catholic priests.[33] However, in the 1960s there was no published work on help provided to Jews in the occupied territories of the USSR. Polish authors considered western parts of Ukraine and Belarus as Polish and rarely mentioned them in their researches.

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[29] Gerald Grenn, *The Legion of Noble Christians, or the Sweeney Survey* (London, 1966); Herbert Ford, *Flee the Captor* (Nashville, 1966); Michael Horbach, *Out of the Night* (New York, 1967); Wladyslaw Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewinowna, *The Samaritans: Heroes of the Holocaust* (New York, 1970).

[30] Donald A Lowrie, *The Hunted Children* (New York, 1963); Karen Gershon, *We Came as Children* (London, 1966); Henry L. Feingold, *The Politics of Rescue: The Roosevelt Administration and the Holocaust, 1938-1944* (New Brunswick, 1970); Yehuda Bauer, *Flight and Rescue: Brichah - The Organized Escape of the Jewish Survivors of Eastern Europe, 1944-1948* (New York, 1970); David Lampe, *The Danish Resistance* (New York, 1960); Harold Flender, *Rescue in Denmark* (London, 1963); Leni Yahil, *The Rescue of Danish Jewry: Test of a Democracy* (Philadelphia, 1969); Robin Reilly, *The Sixth Floor* (London, 1969); Anny Latour, *The Jewish Resistance in France (1940-1944)* (New York, 1970); Emil C. Fabre (ed.), *God's Underground* (St. Louis, Mo, 1970); Tatiana Berenstein and Adam Rutkowski, *Assistance to the Jews in Poland (1939-1945)* (Warsaw, 1963); Wladyslaw Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin (eds.), *Righteous Among Nations: How Poles Helped the Jews, 1939-1945* (London, 1969).

[31] Alfred Haesler, *The Lifeboat is Full: Switzerland and the Refugees, 1933-1945* (New York, 1969); Heinz David Leuner, *When Compassion Was A Crime: Germany's Silent Heroes 1933-1945* (London, 1966).

[32] Jacqueline R. Macaulay and Leonard Berkowitz (eds.), *Altruizm and Helping Behavior* (New York, 1970).

[33] Gunther Lewy, *The Catholic Church and Nazi Germany* (New York, 1964); Carlo Falconi, *The Silence of Pius XII* (Boston, 1965); Friedländer, Saul, *Pius XII and the Third Reich: A Documentation* (New York, 1966).
The first general work on this topic was published in 1944: Camille Maximilian Cianfarra, *The Vatican and the War* (New York, 1944), Ruth Gruber, *The Heroism of Staszek Jackowski* (New York, 1967); Fernande Leboucher, *Incredible Mission* (New York, 1969).

Mass study of rescue of Jews started in 1970s. In this period attention was given to all the countries of Western Europe where cases of rescue could be found,[34] but in Eastern Europe only Poland was examined in detail.[35] In this very decade, scholars first raised the topic of rescue of Jews in China and Japan.[36] Also in this decade, the qualitative approach in research came to the fore. Scholars began to analyse ways of rescue chosen by individuals and organisations, rather than finding and describing cases of rescue.[37] Some works combined two topics – rescue and resistance.[38] Researchers tried to comprehend the conditions in which rescue took place, therefore, the role of rescuer's personality and its moral aspects became the major interest in the Holocaust Studies of the period.[39]

The main event devoted to the topic of help and rescue of Jews was the International Yad Vashem Conference (1974) which was followed by the publication of its proceedings in 1977. The entire conference was about the rescue of Jews and the subsequent publication contained twenty one articles that focused on different aspects of rescue, including the role of international organisations (for example, the Red Cross, the Jewish Agency, the Jewish Congress);[40] the policies of the most powerful countries such as the USA, the USSR and the Great Britain in extending help to Jews;[41] the rescue of Jews in different countries

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[34] Petrow, Richard, *The Bitter Years: The Invasion of Denmark and Norway, April 1940-May 1945* (New York, 1974); Corrie ten Boom, John and Elizabeth Sherill, *The Hiding Place* (New York, 1974); Philip Hallie, *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed, The Story of the Village of le Chambon and How Goodness Happened There* (New York, 1979); Walter Lacqueur, *The Terrible Secret: Suppression of the Truth about Hitler's Final Solution* (Boston, 1980).

[35] Kazimierz Iranek-Osmecki, *He Who Saves One Life: A Documented Story of the Poles who Struggled to Save the Jews during World War II* (New York, 1971); Emmanuel Ringelblum, *Polish-Jewish Relations during the Second World* War (Jerusalem, 1974).

[36] David Kranzler, *Japanese, Nazis and Jews: The Jewish Refugee Community of Shanghai, 1938-1945* (New York, 1976); Marvin Tokayer and Mary Swartz, *The Fugu Plan: The Untold Story of the Japanese and the Jews during WWII*. (New York, 1979).

[37] Johanna Reiss, *The Upstairs Room* (New York, 1972); Yehuda Bauer, *They Chose Life* (New York, 1973); Eva-Lis Wuorio, *To Fight in Silence* (New York, 1973); Nathaniel Benchley, *Bright Candles* (New York, 1974); Andre Biss, *A Million Jews to Save* (New York, 1975); Alexander Ramati, *The Assisi Underground: The Priests Who Rescued Jews* (New York, 1978); Peter Hellman, *Avenue of the Righteous: Portraits in Uncommon Courage of Christians and the Jews They Saved from Hitler* (New York, 1980).

[38] Edward V. McCarthy, Jr., *The Pied Piper of Helfenstein* (Garden City, NY, 1975); Peter Hoffmann, *The History of the German Resistance: 1933-1945* (Cambridge, MA, 1978).

[39] Moshe Bejski, *The Righteous among the Nations* (Jerusalem, 1976); George M. Kren and Leon H., Rappoport, *The Holocaust and the Crisis of Human Behavior* (New York, 1980).

[40] Elizabeth E Eppler, 'The Rescue Work of the World Jewish Congress During the Nazi Period', in: Yisrael Gutman and Efraim Zuroff (eds.), *Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust. Proceedings of the Second Yad Vashem International Historical Conference (April 1974)* (Jerusalem: 1977), pp. 47–70; Meir Dworzecki, 'The International Red Cross and its Policy Vis-à-Vis the Jews in the Ghettos and Concentration Camps in Nazi-Occupied Europe', in: Yisrael Gutman and Efraim Zuroff (eds.), *Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust*, pp. 71-110; Dalia Ofer, 'The Activities of the Jewish Agency Delegation in Istanbul in 1943', in: Yisrael Gutman and Efraim Zuroff (eds.), *Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust,* pp. 435-450.

[41] Henry L. Feingold, 'Roosevelt and the Resettlement Question', in: Yisrael Gutman and Efraim Zuroff (eds.), *Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust,* pp. 123–182; Nathaniel Katzburg, 'British Policy on

including Lithuania, Croatia, Belgium, France and Denmark;[42] and resistance as a form of self-rescue.[43] Two articles of the proceedings were devoted to the rescue on the occupied USSR: Dov Levins' and Yitzhak Arad's. Levin's paper examined the numbers of Jews who had been saved and survived thanks to evacuations in Belarus, Ukraine and partially Russia.[44] Arad's article was about self-help of Jews who joined Partisans' detachments that operated in Belarus and partially in Ukraine.[45] It is necessary to note that in 1970s the first attempts to combine History and Sociology were also made. The first sociological works on the rescue of Jews were published at the end of 1970s.[46] Lastly, this time period also witnessed the use of oral history and the collection of interviews from survivors. This eventually influenced the fieldwork, collection of survivors' testimonies and their publication. The first collection of gathered testimonies were devoted to the resistance and rescue.[47] In the meantime in the USSR, there was only a single work that superficially described the sheltering of Jewish prisoners of war by local non-Jewish people.[48]

The heyday of the topic of rescue and help in relation to Jews was in 1980s. During this decade a variety of testimonies, memoirs, interviews written by the rescued and some rescuers were published.[49] Scholars from different disciplines, mostly from psychology and

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Immigration to Palestine During World War II', in: Yisrael Gutman and Efraim Zuroff (eds.), *Rescue Attempts during the Holocaus0,t* pp. 183–204; Dov Levin, 'The Attitude of the Soviet Union to the Rescue of Jews', in: Yisrael Gutman and Efraim Zuroff (eds.), *Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust* pp. 205–236.

[42] Sarah Neshamit, 'Rescue in Lithuania During the Nazi Occupation', in: Yisrael Gutman and Efraim Zuroff (eds.), *Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust,* pp. 289–332; Carpi, Daniel, 'The Rescue of Jews in the Italian Zone of Occupied Croatia', in: Yisrael Gutman and Efraim Zuroff (eds.), *Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust,* pp. 465–526; Lucien Steinberg, 'Jewish Rescue Activities in Belgium and France', in: Yisrael Gutman and Efraim Zuroff (eds.), *Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust,* pp. 603–616; Leni Yahil, 'The Uniqueness of the Rescue of Danish Jewry', in: Yisrael Gutman and Efraim Zuroff (eds.), *Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust,* pp. 617–647.

[43] Yitzhak Arad, 'Jewish Family Camps in the Forest – An Original Means of Rescue', in: Yisrael Gutman and Efraim Zuroff (eds.), *Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust,* pp. 333-353; Haim Avni, 'The Zionist Underground in Holland and France and the Escape to Spain', in: Yisrael Gutman and Efraim Zuroff (eds.), *Rescue Attempts during the Holocaust,* pp. 555-590.

[44] Levin, 'The Attitude of the Soviet Union'.

[45] Arad, 'Jewish Family Camps in the Forest'.

[46] Helen Fein, *Accounting for Genocide* (New Brunswick, 1979).

[47] Mark Jonathan Harris and Deborah Oppenheimer (ed.), *Hebrew University Contemporary Jewry Oral History Collection: Part II: World War II, the Holocaust, Resistance, and Rescue. New York Times Oral History Program* (Glen Rock, NH., 1975).

[48] Nikolai Lemeshchuk, *Ne Skloniv Golovy: O Deiatelnosti Antifashystskogo Podpoliia v Gitlerovskikh Kontslageriakh* (Kyiv, 1978).

[49] Peter Hellman, *Avenue of the Righteous*; John Mendelsohn, *Relief and Rescue of Jews from Nazi Oppression, 1943-1945* (New York, 1982); Ruth Gruber, *Haven: The Unknown Story of 1000 World War II Refugees* (New York, 1983); Arieh L. Bauminger, *The Righteous* (Jerusalem, 1983); Joseph Friedenson and David Kranzler, *Heroine of Rescuer: The Incredible Story of Recha Sternbuch Who Saved Thousands from the Holocaust* (Brooklyn, NY, 1984); Caro Rittner and Sondra Myers, *The Courage to Care, Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust* (New York, 1986); Milton Meltzer, *Rescue: The Story of How Gentiles Saved*

sociology, continued to build interdisciplinary work initiated in late 1970s. The historical-sociological work of Nechama Tec exhaustively researched the rescue of Jews by Polish people where the main emphasis was placed on the religious motivation of rescuers.[50] Historical-psychological work which was published by the Oliners tested the concept of altruistic personality when related to rescuers.[51] Both works were influenced by the concept of intrinsic motivation of Polish psychologist Janusz Reykowski.[52] Generally the rescue of Jews in different countries was considered from a larger perspective: scholars researched help Jews in Finland, Switzerland, Denmark, the Netherlands, Italy and Poland).[53] The main focus was on the rescue of Jewish children.[54] Rescue and resistance was also connected with a new topic – the responsibility for the Holocaust not only by Nazis-perpetrators, but also silent neighbours-bystanders.[55] A new topic for the period was rescuing attempts of the Jesuit Order and rescue of Jews by Nazi Germans and Volksdeutsche on the territory of the occupied USSR.[56]

In 1980s, scholars started to pay attention to social status of rescuers and their occupations. An Italian researcher, Susan Zucotti, examined the rescue of Jews by monks in monasteries and bishops who sacrificed their lives for the sake of rescue of Jews; rescue by doctors, Carabinieri, and local bureaucrats who had access to the Nazi documentation.[57] Many researches focused on Raoul Wallenberg*, a* Swedish diplomat, who saved Jews in

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Jews in the Holocaust (New York, 1988); Ivo Herzer, *The Italian Refuge: Rescue of Jews during the Holocaust* (Washington, 1989).

[50] Nechama Tec, *When Light Pierced the Darkness: Christian Rescue of Jews in Nazi-Occupied Poland* (New York, 1986).

[51] Samuel P. and Pearl Oliner*, The Altruistic Personality: Rescuers of the Jews in Nazi Europe* (New York, 1988).

[52] Janusz Reykowski, 'Dimensions of Development in Moral Values: Two Approaches to Development of Morality', in: Nancy Eisenberg, Janusz Reykowski and Ervin Staub (eds.), *Social and Moral Values: Individual and Societal Perspectives* (Hillsdale, NJ,1987).

[53] Hannu Rautkallio, *Finland and the Holocaust: The Rescue of Finland's Jews* (New York, 1987); Sybil Milton, *Rescue to Switzerland: the Musy and Saly Mayer Affairs* (New York, 1982); Jorgen H. Barfod, *The Holocaust Failed in Denmark* (Copenhagen, 1985); Leo Goldberger, (ed.), *The Rescue of the Danish Jews: Moral Courage under Stress* (New York, 1987); Andre Stein, *Quiet Heroes: True Stories of the Rescue of Jews by Christians in Nazi-Occupied Holland* (New York, 1988); Susan Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust. Persecution, Rescue, Survival* (New York, 1987); Herzer, Ivo. *The Italian Refuge: Rescue of Jews during the Holocaust.* Washington: Catholic University Press, 1989; Warhaftig, Zorach. *Refugee and Survivor.* Jerusalem: Yad VaShem: Torah Education Department, 1988.

[54] Frida S. Weinstein, *A Hidden Childhood: A Jewish Girl's Sanctuary in a French Convent, 1942-1945* (New York, 1985).

[55] Michael D. Ryan (ed.), *Human Responses in the Holocaust: Perpetrators and Victims. Bystanders and Resisters* (New York, 1981).

[56] Vincent, S.J. Lapomarda, *The Jesuits and the Third Reich* (Lewiston, NY, 1989); Douglas K. Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno: The Stirring Story of Fritz Graebe, A German Christian Who Riske His Life To Lead Hundreds of Jews to Safety During the Holocaust* (New York, 1985).

[57] Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust*, pp. 207-224.

Hungary.[58] Although the first appearance of Wallenberg's case was in Friedman's book of 1957, only in the 1980s did this topic became popular. Likewise, the interest in the Anne Frank family has increased by publications of story of a woman which hid Frank's family in Amsterdam.[59] To follow historiographic tendency, it can be observed that from the end of 1940s to the beginning of the 1960s attention was paid to famous people who helped Jews as these stories were more easily accessible; in late 1960s-1970s the emphasis was laid on ordinary, unknown people who risked their lives to rescue Jews; in 1980s and 1990s scholars came to a certain balance in researching cases of ordinary helpers along with those of famous diplomats.

A breakthrough in the study of rescue of Jews took place in the 1990s. This was related to the period of *perestroika* and *glasnost* with opening of Soviet archives which followed by the collapse of the USSR. This gave non-Soviet scholars the opportunity to work with archival documents and examine the Holocaust on this territory. In addition, the late 1980s and 1990s saw the active immigration of Jews from the USSR to Israel, Germany, Canada, and the United States, and opened new phase for post-Soviet scholars and Holocaust survivors for research and publications of testimonies. Thanks to this cycle of immigration new facts about the Holocaust came to light and this evoked the interest of scholars and provided publicity to the Holocaust in the East. Another event which turned public interest to rescuers and at the same time forced scholars to draw more attention to the topic of rescue was 'Schindler's List', a film directed and produced by Steven Spielberg (1993). After the movie Yad Vashem studied the case of Schindler and in 1996 granted Oscar Schindler and his wife Emilie Schindler the title 'Righteous Among the Nations of the World' for their role in rescuing Polish Jews. The use of oral history also became widespread in 1990s and fieldwork to collect Jewish survivors' testimonies began. At that time USC Shoah Foundation's project on the collection of eyewitness testimonies from Jews and Roma and people of other nationalities who helped Jews during the Holocaust started in Ukraine. This project collected thousands of testimonies and recorded them in audio and video formats.

[58] Per Anger, *With Raoul Wallenberg in Budapest* (New York: 1981); John Bierman, *Righteous Gentile: The Story of Raoul Wallenberg, Missing Hero of the Holocaust* (New York, 1981); Marton, Kati, *Wallenberg: Missing Hero* (New York, 1982); Elenore Lester, *Wallenberg: The Man in the Iron Web* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ, 1982); Harvey Rosenfeld, *The Swedish Angel of Rescue: The Heroism and Torment of Raoul Wallenberg* (Buffalo, NY 1982); Frederick E. Werbell, and Thurston Clarke, *Lost Hero: The Mystery of Raoul Wallenberg* (New York, 1982); Danny Smith, *Wallenberg: Lost Hero* (Basingstoke/Hampshire, 1986).
[59] Miep Gies and Alison Leslie Gold, *Anne Frank Remembered: The Story of the Woman Who Helped to Hide the Frank Family* (New York, 1987).

Starting from 1990s each published general work on the Holocaust contained separate chapter or subchapter on the help given to Jews and relations between Jews and non-Jews.[60] A number of researches focused on the topic of rescue, and help to Jews by non-Jews were published at that time.[61] In these years scholars focused on the following subtopics: rescue of Jews;[62] Jewish resistance as one of the ways for self-rescue;[63] organisation of self-rescue;[64] and rescue in Denmark, Italy, France, Norway, Bulgaria, and Albania.[65] Great deal of attention was paid to political figures who rescued Jews. In addition to continuation of the research on the Raoul Wallenberg's case,[66] academics examined other cases such as the rescue of Jews by a Japanese diplomat *Chiune (Sempo) Sugihara* who worked in occupied Lithuania and Portuguese consul Aristides de Sousa Mendes who worked in France during the war.[67] Rescue of Jews by different categories of people such as political

[60] Leni Yahil, *The Holocaust: The Fate of European Jews* (Oxford, 1991); Michael Berenbaum, *The World Must Know: The History of the Holocaust as Told in the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum* (Boston, 1993); Bob Moore, *Victims & Survivors. The Nazi Persecution of the Jews in the Netherlands 1940-1945* (London, New York, Sydney and Auckland, 1997); Debórah Dwork and Robert van Pelt, *Holocaust. A History*. (New York/London, 2002), pp. 327-355.

[61] Eric Silver, *The Books of the Just: The Silent Heroes Who Saved Jews from Hitler* (London, 1992); Irene Gut Opdyke and Jeffrey M.Elliot, *Into the Flames: The Life Story of a Righteous Gentile* (San Bernardino, CA: 1992); Mordecai Paldiel (ed.), *The Path of the Righteous: Gentile Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust* (New York, 1993); Peter Hellman, *When Courage Was Stronger Than Fear, Remarkable Stories of Christians Who Saved Jews from the Holocaust* (New York, 1999); William L. Shulman, *To Save One Life: The Story of Righteous Gentiles* (Bayside, NY, 2000).

[62] Devorah Omer, *The Teheran Operation: The Rescue of Jewish Children from the Nazis (Based on the Biographical Sketches of David and Rachel Laor)* (Washington, DC, 1991); David Klugman, *The Conspiracy of the Righteous: The Silence of the Village of Prelenfrey-Du-Gua Saved Jewish Children and Adults in 1944* (Nimes, 1995); Jack Werber, *Saving Children: Diary of a Buchenwald Survivor and Rescuer* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1996); Marcel Braitstein, , *Five to Ten: Story of A Hidden Child* (Montreal, Quebec,1999).

[63] Ellen Levine, *Darkness Over Denmark: The Danish Resistance and the Rescue of the Jews* (New York, 2000); D. A. Lande, *Resistance!: Occupied Europe and Its Defiance of Hitler* (New York, 2000); Lucien Lazare, *Rescue as Resistance: How Jewish Organizations Fought the Holocaust in France* (New York, 1996);

[64] Selwyn Ilan Troen and Benjamin Pinkus (ed.), *Organizing Rescue: National Jewish Solidarity in the Modern Period* (Portland, OR, 1992).

[65] Herbert Pundik, *In Denmark It Could Not Happen: The Flight of the Jews to Sweden in 1943* (London, 1998); Nicola Caracciolo, *Uncertain Refuge: Italy and the Jews during the Holocaust* (Chicago, 1995); Margherita Marchione (ed.), *Yours Is A Precious Witness: Memoirs of Jews and Catholics in Wartime Italy* (Mahwah, NJ, 1997); Agnes Holzapfel Seugnet, *Petit Claude: The Orphan of Auschwitz and His French Rescuers: A True Story 1938-1945* (Philadelphia, 2000); Samuel Abrahamsen, *Norway's Response to the Holocaust* (New York, 1991); Maynard M. Cohen, *A Stand Against Tyranny: Norway's Physicians and the Nazis* (Wayne State University Press, 2000); Michael Bar-Zohar, *Beyond Hitler's Grasp: The Heroic Rescue of Bulgaria's Jews* (New York, 2001); Harvey Sarner, *Rescue in Albania: One Hundred Percent of Jews in Albania Rescued from Holocaust* (Brunswick, 1997).

[66] Harvey Rosenfeld, *Raoul Wallenberg* (New York, 1995).

[67] James Bacque, *Just Raoul: The Private War Against the Nazis of Raoul Laporterie, who Saved over 1,600 Lives in France* (Rocklin, CA, 1992); Tomio Andou, *The Story of Chiune Sugihara* (Tokyo, 1992); Yukiko Sugihara, Visas for Life (San Francisco, CA, 1995); Hillel Levine, *In Search of Sugihara: The Elusive Japanese Diplomat Who Risked His Life to Rescue 10,000 Jews from the Holocaust* (New York, 1996); Pamela R. Sakamoto, *Japanese Diplomats and Jewish Refugees, a World War II Dilemma* (Westport, CT, 1998); Enric Deaglio, *The Banality of Goodness: The Story of Giorgio Perlasca* (Notre Dame, IN, 1998); Michael Smith, *Foley: The Spy Who Saved 10,000 Jews* (London, 1999); Theo Tschuy, *Dangerous*

activists, Catholic priests, Muslim imams, rescue of Jewish prisoners by other prisoners became more and more popular.[68] This time period also witnessed emergence of new subtopics in the scholarship such as organised rescue by the underground movement in Poland and rescue of Jews by arranging their emigration to Palestine before and in the beginning of the Second World War.[69] Among ways of rescue scholars analysed only sheltering, because they considered it as the most effective strategy.[70] Rescue and help from psychological perspective remained popular; the main aspect in these researches is analysis of motivation of rescuers.[71] Most of works are devoted to the religious or belief related motivation from the perspective of Christian morals that lead to glorification and heroisation of non-Jewish rescuers.[72] It should be mentioned that collections of stories and memoirs about rescue continue to be released along with academic researches.[73]

Regarding research on the territory of the occupied USSR, the first works were published by former Soviet citizens who became Israeli or German scholars in 1990s. Former Soviet citizens who immigrated to other countries started to return to the USSR on their personal initiative to allow the collection of their testimonies. These first former Soviet immigrants-scholars, who conducted fieldworks in Belarus and Northern Russia, worked with archival materials and published first research on the Holocaust and rescue in those regions. Among those immigrant-scholars Daniel Romanovsky and Leonid Smilovitsky, both with Israeli

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Diplomacy: The Story of Carl Lutz, Rescuer of 62, 000 Hungarian Jews (Grand Rapids, MI, 2000); Manuela Franco, *Tribute to Aristides Sousa Mendes* (Washington, DC, 2000).

[68] See for example: Silver, *The Books of the Just.*

[69] Irene Tomaszewski and Tecia Werbowski, *Zegota: The Rescue of Jews in Wartime Poland* (Montreal, Quebec, 1994); Abraham J. Edelheit, *The Yishuv in the Shadow of the Holocaust: Zionist Politics and Rescue Aliya, 1933-1939* (Boulder, 1996).

[70] Jayne Pettit, *A Place to Hide: True Stories of Holocaust Rescues* (New York, 1993).

[71] Pearl M. Oliner, et al. (eds.), *Embracing the Other: Philosophical, Psychological, and Historical Perspectives on Altruism* (New York, 1992); Eva Fogelman, *Conscience and Courage: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust* (New York, 1994).

[72] Gay Block and Malka Drucker, *Rescuers, Portraits of Moral Courage in the Holocaust* (New York, 1992); David P. Gushee, *The Righteous Gentiles of the Holocaust: A Christian Interpretation* (Minneapolis, MN, 1994); Silver, *The Books of the Just*.

[73] Generally speaking, the majority of the researches of that period were based on the Yad Vashem materials: Janet Keith, *A Friend Among Enemies: The Incredible Story of Arie Van Mansum in the Holocaust* (Richmond Hill, Ontario, 1991); Ellen Land-Weber, *To Save A Life: Stories of Jewish Rescue* (Champaign, IL, 1996); Herbert Boucher, *Miracle of Survival: A Holocaust Memoir* (Berkeley, CA, 1997); Alan L. Berger (ed.), *The Holocaust Rescuers*, [Provo, UT, 1998); Marek Halter, (ed.), *Stories of Deliverance, Speaking with Men and Women Who Rescued Jews From the Holocaust*, (Chicago, 1998); Nathan Katz, *Teach Us to Count Our Days: A Story of Survival, Sacrifice and Success* (Cranbury, NJ, 1999); Shulman, *To Save One Life*; Talbott, Hudson, Forging freedom, a true story of heroism during the Holocaust, New York, 2000, 64 p.; Paldiel (ed.), *The Path of the Righteous*; Mordecai Paldiel (ed.), *Saving the Jews* (Rockville, 2000); Mordecai Paldiel (ed.), *Sheltering the Jews: Stories of Holocaust Rescuers* (Augsburg,1995).

citizenship, should be mentioned.[74] Among topics raised by them were rescue of children, organisation of escape from ghetto as the way of rescue, rescue of Jews by German soldiers, and the motives behind rescue.

Regarding Ukraine, in 1990s the first research devoted to the Holocaust in Ukraine was published by a Israeli scholar Shmuel Spector, where the author focused on the Volhynian Jews during the occupation of Ukraine.[75] The famous work penned by Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders,* contains materials on help and rescue of Jews in Belarus and Ukraine.[76] Israeli scholar Yakiv Suslensky published the first collection of stories about rescue of Jews in Ukraine by Ukrainians, bringing to public attention stories of ordinary Ukrainian rescuers whom he found personally.[77]

In the post-Soviet countries scholarly research on the Holocaust started in the second half of 1990s. The first step into the topic of rescue and help Jews by non-Jews was the publication of *The Black Book*, edited by Vasily Grossman and Ilya Ehrenburg, which contained collected, testimonies of survivors on rescue from the USSR (mostly from the territory of Ukraine).[78] Ehrenburg and Grossman started to collect testimonies from survivors immediately after the liberation of the Soviet territories by the Red Army. However, this book could be published only after the collapse of the USSR, despite the fact that its first publication was in Jerusalem in the 1980s. In the two years after its publication in Russia, the second part of it was unexpectedly found in Russian archives by a Russian historian, Ilya Altman, and published under the title *Unknown Black Book*.[79] This has stimulated post-Soviet scholars to collect more materials on the Holocaust in the USSR.[80] All Holocaust-themed published books have contained a chapter about Righteous Among the Nations of the World from the former Soviet territories or combined rescue and

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[74] Romanovsky, Daniel, 'Sovetskie Evrei pod Natsystskoi Okkupatsiei', in: *Kovcheg: Almanakh Evreiskoi Kultury, Vyp.1* (Moscow/Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 283-312; Leonid Smilovitsky, Kholokost i Spasenie Evreev Belarusi, 1941-1944 gg., in: Leonid Smilovitsky, *Evrei Belarusi: Iz Nashei Obshchei Istorii: 1905-1953* (Minsk, 1999), pp. 128-178; Smilovitsky, Leonid*, Katastrofa Evreev v Belorussii: 1941-1944 gg.* (Tel-Aviv, 2000), pp. 46-60, 73-77.

[75] Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews 1941-1944* (Jerusalem, 1990).

[76] Raul Hilberg, *Perpetrators, Victims, Bystanders: The Jewish Catastrophe 1933-1945* (New York, 1992), pp. 195-255.

[77] Yakiv Suslensky, *Spravzhni Heroi* (Kyiv, 1993).

[78] Vasilii Grossman and Ilya Erenburg, (eds.), *Chernaia Kniga: O Zlodeiskom Povsemestnom Ubiistve Evreev Nemetsko-Fashystskimi Zakhvatchikami vo Vremenno Okkupirovannykh Raionakh Sovetskogo Soiuza i v Lageriakh Polshi vo Vremia Voiny 1941-1945* (Kyiv, 1991), pp. 354-378.

[79] Yitzhak Arad, Tatiana Pavlova, Ilya Altman, Shmuel Krakowski, et al (eds.), *Neizvestnaia Chernaia Kniga: Svidetelstva Ochevidtsev o Katastrofe Sovetskikh Evreev (1941-1944)* (Jerusalem/Moscow, 1993), pp. 58, 364-377, 390-402.

[80] See for instance: Leonid Koval (ed.), *Kniga Spasenniia, 2 vols* (Jurmala, 1993).

resistance in one chapter.[81] In addition, a series of publications devoted to the Righteous and rescue were established in Ukraine.[82] In this period in post-Soviet Russia and Ukraine, the Anne Frank Diary was translated and published along with memoirs of other survivors.[83] The most significant collection of testimonies of the period was published by Boris Zabarko where he paid attention to forms and methods of rescue and inter-ethnic relations in the occupied Ukraine.[84] The first academic research on rescuing and help Jews by non-Jews in the post-Soviet Ukraine was published in 1998 by Zhanna Kovba.[85] In two chapters of this publication the problem of rescue of Jews in the territory of Galicia (Western Ukraine) is carefully examined.

The impact of Spielberg's 'Schindler's List' was continued by the screening of another Holocaust-themed film, 'The Pianist', directed by Roman Polanski in 2002. The story of survival of the pianist Wladyslaw Szpilman in Poland drew public and scholarly attention to Eastern Europe and episode where Szpilman is helped by German officer Wilhelm Hosenfeld again emphasised the rescue of Jews by non-Jews. In connection to this, a series of academic works devoted to Szpilman and Schindler were published, including works devoted to Germans who helped Jews.[86]

In the 2000s, the issue of bystanders was actively researched with a particular focus on the involvement and assistance of local populations to the rescue of Jews as well as their extermination. New terms such as 'witnesses', 'beholders', 'neighbours', or simply 'third party' started to be introduced by scholars as an alternative to the Hilberg's term

[81] Iosif Finkelshtein (ed.), *Kniga Muzhestva i Skorbi. Evrei Vinnitsy v Gody Vtoroi Mirovoi* (Vinnytsia, 1999). pp. 10-18.
[82] *Vestnik: Liudi Ostaiutsia Liudmi: Svidetelsvta Ochevidtsev*, vol. 1-5 (Chernivtsi,1991, 1992, 1994, 1995, 1996); David Meltser, *Chernaia Kniga s Krasnymi Stranitsami: Tragediia i Geroizm Evreev Belorussii* (Baltimor, MD, 1996); Boris Zabarko (ed.), *Zhivymi Ostalis Tolko My: Svidetelstva i Dokumenty* (Kyiv, 2000).
[83] Anna Frank, *Ubezhishche. Dnevnik v Pismakh* (Moscow, 1995); Anna Frank, *Rasskazy i Skazki iz Tainogo Ubezhishcha* (Kyiv, 1997); Aleksandr Shissel, *Rodnye Kamni Mostovoi* (Yaroslavl, 1997); Aleksandr Shissel *I na Bereg Vytashchen k Shchatiiu* (Yaroslavl, 1999).
[84] Zabarko (ed.), *Zhivymi Ostalis Tolko My*.
[85] Zhanna Kovba, *Liudianist u Bezodni Pekla. Povedinka Mistsevoho Naselennia Skhidnoi Halychyny v Roky 'Ostatochnoho Rozviazannia Yevreiskoho Pytannia'* (Kyiv, 3rd ed., 2009), pp. 140-202.
[86] Władysław Szpilman, The Pianist (New York, 2002); David M. Crowe, *Oskar Schindler: The Untold Account of His Life, Wartime Activities, and the True Story Behind the List* (New York, 2004); Ann Byers, *Oskar Schindler: Saving Jews from the Holocaust* (Berkeley/Heights, NJ, 2005); Michael Good, The Search for Major Plagge: The Nazi Who Saved Jews (New York, 2006); Samson Madievsky, *Drugie Nemtsy* (Moscow, 2006).

'bystanders'. The meaning of these terms was rather negative when applied to those who kept silence or collaborated with occupiers during the Holocaust.[87]

Regarding Ukraine, it was not possible to exterminate Jews in masses without help or at least silent acceptance of the fact by the non-Jewish population. Understanding of this matter directed public attention to works on Ukrainian collaboration with the occupiers and relevant aspects of the Organisation of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Such works started to appear in late 1990s and reached and their popularity in the 2000s.[88] On the one hand, survivors of the Holocaust would not have survived without receiving any help. Considering this aspect of survival, researchers paid attention to the philosophical comprehension of human choices in wartime and resulting action toward help and rescue.[89] On the other hand, raising the question of morality, academics used a critical approach in the examination of rescue.[90] In general terms, the subtopic of 1990s remained popular in western European and Northern American circles from the early 1990s through into the 2000s. The rescue of Jews in European countries included Poland,[91] Lithuania, Bulgaria, Hungary, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, the

[87] For example, Jacques Semelin dividing people on active and passive, call them simply as "the third part" in opposite to victims and perpetrators: Jacques Semelin, *Purify and Destroy. The Political Uses of Massacre and Genocide* (London, 2007), p. 102.

[88] Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941-1944: Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (München, 1996); Martin Dean, *Collaboration in the Holocaust: Crimes of the Local Police in Belorussia and Ukraine, 1941-44* (New York, 2000); Omer Bartov, *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine* (Princeton, NJ/Oxford, 2007); Aleksandr Dyukov, *Vtorostepennyi Vrag. OUN, UPA i Reshenie 'Evreiskogo Voprosa'*, (Moskva, 2nd ed., 2009); John-Paul Himka, *Ukrainians, Jews and the Holocaust: Divergent Memories* (Saskatoon, 2009); John-Paul Himka, 'The Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Holocaust', paper prepared for *the 41st National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies* (Boston, 12-15 November 2009), available at:
https://www.academia.edu/1071581/The_Ukrainian_Insurgent_Army_UPA_and_the_Holocaust
(last accessed on 17 April 2018). As counter argument, a Ukrainian historian, Volodymyr Viatrovych, published a book on the ideology of OUN and UPA where he presented cases of rescue of Jews by OUN's members. Volodymyr Viatrovych, *Stavlennia OUN do Yevreiv: Formuvannia Pozytsii na Tli Katastrofy* (Lviv, 2006).

[89] Garret Keizer, *Help: The Original Human Dilemma* (San Francisco, 2004); Kristen Renwick Monroe, *The Hand of Compassion: Portraits of Moral Choice during the Holocaust* (Princeton, NJ, 2004).

[90] David P. Gushee, *Righteous Gentiles of the Holocaust: Genocide and Moral Obligation* (St. Paul, MN, 2003).

[91] Maria Kostyra, *Ratunek i Pamięć: Ratowanie Przedstawicieli Społeczności Żydowskiej Przez Polakow na Podstawie Wywiadów z Osobami Odznaczonymi Tytułem Sprawiedliwy Wśród Narodów Świata* (Krakow, 2006); Cezary Kuklo, Anna Pyzewska and Ewa Rogalewska (eds.), *Kto ratuje jedno zycie, ratuje caly swiat..., pomoc ludnosci zydowskiej pod okupacja niemiecka w wojewodztwie bialostockim* (Bialystok, 2003); Jan Halbersztat, *Przywracanie Pamięci Polakom Ratującym Żydów w Czasie Zagłady* (Warszawa, 2007); Israel Gutman, Sara Bender, and Shmuel Krakowski, *Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust Poland, 2 vols* (Jerusalem, 2004).

Netherlands, France, Denmark, and Lichtenstein[92] Works on rescue in Ukraine and continued to be published.[93] The scholars examined such aspects of rescue as rescue of children, ways of survival, resistance and rescue.[94] Again the role of the Catholic and Orthodox Church, rescue of Jews by representatives of different confessions, and the role of religious motivation in the process of rescuers' decision-making occupied a significant place among the questions posed.[95] Scholarly interest in the personal stories was still on the agenda: research on Anne Frank's family and rescue by famous political and religious figures.[96] Israeli and German scholars of Soviet origin are actively involved in the

[92] Nancy Wright Beasley, *Izzy's Fire: Finding Humanity in the Holocaust* (Toronto, 2004); Dalia Kuodyte, Rimantas Stankevicius and Alexander Fortescue, *Whoever Saves One Life...: The Efforts to Save Jews in Lithuania between 1941 and 1944* (Vilnius, 2002); Tzvetan Todorov, *The Fragility of Goodness: Why Bulgaria's Jews Survived the Holocaust* (Princeton, NJ, 2003); Charles Fenyvesi, *When Angels Fooled the World: Rescuers of Jews in Wartime Hungary* (Madison, 2003); Sylvain Brachfeld, *A Gift of Life: The Deportation and the Rescue of the Jews in Occupied Belgium* (1940-1945) (Herzliya, 2007); Israel Gutman, Dan Michman, and Sara Bender, *Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust Belgium* (Jerusalem, 2005); Meir Wagner, Andreas C. Fischer, and Graham Buik (eds.), *The Righteous of Switzerland: Heroes of the Holocaust* (Hoboken, NJ, 2001); Jacob Borut, Israel Gutman, Sarah Bender, *The Righteous of Austria, Heroes of the Holocaust* (Jerusalem, 2007); Israel Gutman, Sara Bender, Josef Melkman, and Bert-Jan Flim, *Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust. The Netherlands, 2 vols* (Jerusalem, 2004); Simon Jeruchim, *Hidden in France: A Boy's Journey Under the Nazi Occupation* (Mckinleyville, CA, 2005); Israel Gutman, Sara Bender, and Lucien Lazare, *Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust. France* (Jerusalem, 2003); Patrick Henry, *We Only Know Men: The Rescue of Jews in France during rhe Holocaust*, (Washington, DC, 2007); Emmy E. Werner, *A Conspiracy of Decency: The Rescue of the Danish Jews during World War II* (New York, 2004); Ed Dunlop, *Escape to Liechtenstein: The Young Refugees* (Greenville, 2003).

[93] Daniel Mendelsohn, *The Lost: A Search for Six of Six Million* (New York, 2006).

[94] Kerry Bluglass (ed.), *Hidden from the Holocaust, Stories of Resilient Children Who Survived and Thrived* (Westport, 2003); Bert Jan Flim, *Saving the Children: History of the Organized Effort to Rescue Jewish Children in the Netherlands 1942 - 1945* (Bethesda, 2005); Deborah Desaix, Ruelle Durland, and Gray Karen, *Hidden on the Mountain, Stories of Children Sheltered from the Nazis in Le Chambon* (New York, 2007); Pamela Shatzkes, *Important or Indifferent? Anglo-Jewry 1938-1945* (London/Portland, 2002), pp. 163-215; Debbie Spring, *Righteous Smuggler* (Toronto, Ontario, 2006); Emily S. Smith, *A Visit to the Hiding Place: The Life-Changing Experiences of Corrie ten Boom* (Haarlem, 2005); Peter Duffy, *The Bielski Brothers: The True Story of Three Men Who Defied the Nazis, Built a Village in the Forest, and Saved 1,200 Jews* (New York, 2004); David Gur, *Brothers for Resistance and Rescue: The Underground Zionist Youth Movement in Hungary during World War II* (Jerusalem, 2007).

[95] Daniel Goldhagen, *A Moral Reckoning: The Role of the Catholic Church in the Holocaust and Its Unfulfilled Duty of Repair* (New York: 2002); Allison Stark Draper, *Pastor Andre Trocme, Spiritual leader of the French Village Le Chambon* (New York, 2001); Pearl M. Oliner, *Saving the Forsaken: Religious Culture and the Rescue of Jews in Nazi Europe* (New Haven, CT, 2004); Mordechai Paldiel, *Churches and the Holocaust, Unholy Teaching, Good Samaritans, and Reconciliation* (Jersey City, NJ, 2006); Sally M Rogow, *They Must Not Be Forgotten, Heroic Priests and Nuns Who Saved People from the Holocaust*, (Martinsburg, 2005).

[96] On Anna Frank's family, see: Gordon F. Sanders, *The Frank Family That Survived* (London, 2004); Eda Shapiro, Rick Kardonne, and Victor Kugler, (eds.), *Victor Kugler: The Man Who Hid Anne Frank* (Jerusalem, 2008).

On political and religious figures see: Jose Alain Fralon, *A Good Man in Evil Times: The Heroic Story of Aristides de Sousa Mendes—The Man Who Saved the Lives of Countless Refuges in World War II* (New York, 2001); Tschuy, *Dangerous Diplomacy*; Debra MacArthur, *Raoul Wallenberg: Rescuing Thousands from the Nazis' Grasp* (Berkeley Heights, NJ, 2005); Mordechai Paldiel (ed.), *Diplomat Heroes of the Holocaust* (Jersey City, NJ, 2007).

investigation of the topic of rescue on the former territory of the USSR, analysing the ways and methods of rescue of Jews, rescue of children and the social classification of rescuers.[97]

Along with affording hero-status to rescuers, which developed through new research partially based on Ukrainian cases, a critical perception of rescuers has become one of the main characteristics of Holocaust research in 2000s: rescuers were already perceived not as solid heroes but considered according to their actions.[98] A Canadian historian Jan Grabowski exposed mercenary motives behind rescue, such as money, work exploitation and use of sex as an object in examining diaries of rescued in Poland and post-war judicial trials over collaborationists.[99] Unsuccessful stories of rescue, when a Jew, or both, a rescuer and a Jew were shot by Germans, were also started to be researched and published.[100] New research on refugees and evacuations, which also can be considered as alternative form of rescue, have found a place in this form of scholarship.[101] The first comprehensive monograph on Jewish prisoners of war was published by Israeli scholar Aharon Shneyer, where aspects of help and rescue were discussed.[102] A new subtopic on rescue became the rescue of Jews by Muslims and Jewish religious figures.[103] The last issue can be included in the other relatively new subtopic – self-rescue of Jews which had diverse forms, one of which was autonomous organisation of family partisan camps.[104] The topic of Jewish self-

[97] Evgenii Berkovich, *Banalnost Dobra. Geroi, Pravedniki i Drugie Liudi v Istorii Kholokosta. Zametki po Evreiskoi Istorii Dvadtsatogo Veka* (Moscow, 2003); Madievsky, *Drugie Nemtsy*; Kiril Feferman, 'K Voprosu o Spasenii Evreev Neevreiami na Okkupirovannoi Territorii Sovetskoi Belorussii i Prisvoenii Ikh Spasiteliam Zvaniia "Pravednik Narodov Mira", in: Yakov Basin (Ed.), *Aktualnye Voprosy Izucheniia Kholokosta na Territorii Belarusi v Gody Nemetsko-Fashistskoi Okkupatsii* (Minsk, 2006), pp. 135-140; Leonid Smilovitsky, 'Sudba Evreiskikh Detei v Belorussii v Gody Kholokosta: 1941-1944', in: *Evrei Belarusi: Istoriia i Kultura. Sbornik Statei, Vyp. 5* (Minsk, 2000), pp. 144-163.

[98] Martin Gilbert, *The Righteous. The Unsung Heroes of the Holocaust* (London, New York, Toronto and Sydney, 2002), pp. 1–28, 29–64? a chapter of Gilbert's book is dedicated to rescue on the east including the territory of the USSR. A subchapter tells readers about the Eastern Galicia and Ukrainians who were awarded the title of the 'Righteous'.

[99] Jan Grabowski, 'Ratowanie Żydów za Peniądze: Przemysł Pomocy', *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materialy, 4,* (2008), pp. 81-109; Jan Grabowski, 'Rescue for Money: Paid Helpers in Poland, 1939-1945', in: *Search and Research*, Vol. 13, (Jerusalem, 2009).

[100] Mendelsohn, *The Lost.*

[101] Debórah Dwork and Robert van Pelt, *Flight from the Reich: Refugee Jews, 1933–1946*. (New York, 2009).

[102] Shneyer, Aron, *Plen, vol. 2* (Jerusalem, 2003), pp.167–205.

[103] Norman Gershman, *Besa, a Code of Honor: Muslim Albanians Who Rescued Jews during the Holocaust* (Jerusalem, 2007); David Kranzler, *Holocaust Hero: The Untold Story and Vignettes of Solomon Schonfeld, An Extraordinary British Orthodox Rabbi Who Rescued Four Thousand During the Holocaust* (New York, 2003).

[104] See in detail: Leonid Smilovitsky, Evreiskie Semeinye Lageria i Otriady, in: Leonid Smilovitsky, *Evrei Belarusi: Iz Nashei Obshchei Istorii: 1905-1953* (Minsk, 1999), pp. 178-189.

rescue was raised in late 1990s by a British scholar, Bob Moore, and continued to be analysed by him in 2000s.[105]

By beginning their research on the East, European and American scholars have concentrated their attention on Ukraine more than any other Soviet republics. This resulted from the following factors: Firstly, Ukraine was divided into five different occupational zones during the Holocaust and remained not only under German control, but also under Hungarian and Romanian authority as well; and in each zone the 'final solution' had its own peculiarities. Secondly, mass extermination of Jews started on Ukrainian territories and about 70% of Ukrainian Jewry was destroyed during the Holocaust. Thirdly, Ukraine was a yet uncharted field for Holocaust research as in 1990s there was no exhaustive research in Ukrainian archives and fieldworks have not been conducted.

A new project on the collection of eyewitness testimonies from all survivors of German occupation who had witnessed killing of Jews and Roma was initiated by a French catholic priest, Patrick Desbois, in 2004.[106] Since then his team started to conduct fieldworks in Ukraine. The same and following years two significant works on the Holocaust in Ukraine were published in English. The first one is a research of Dutch scholar Karel Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, which examined the RKU, part of the Ukrainian territories which were under German rule. This book was the first monograph devoted to the Holocaust in Ukraine that explained social and national relations in everyday life during the war period in Ukraine. This research can be considered as of profound importance for the social history of Ukrainian territories that remained under German occupation.[107] A year later, in 2005, a German-American historian, Wendy Lower, published a new research on the Holocaust in Ukraine based on the case study of the Zhytomyr General Commissariat.[108] She showed Nazi machine in action, Nazi policies towards Jews and Ukrainians and inclusion of *Volksdeutsche* (local Germans) into the German administration. In terms of its focus, Lower's work was based on a new research agenda. Both Berkhoff's and Lower's research touched on the topic of helping Jews by sheltering and punishment of Ukrainians by death

[105] See: Moore, *Victims & Survivors;* Bob Moore, *Survivors: Jewish Self-Help and Rescue in Nazi-Occupied Western Europe* (Oxford, 2010).
[106] In 2008 he published a book based on fieldwork stories. A chapter of the book was devoted to a Ukrainian family who sheltered Jews during the Holocaust. For more see: Desbois, *The Holocaust by Bullets*, pp. 193–201.
[107] Karel C. Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule* (Cambridge, MA, London, 2004).
[108] Wendy Lower, *Nazi-Empire Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill, 2005).

for their acts of help. After translation of these monographs into Ukrainian (Lower in 2010 and Berkhoff in 2011), Ukrainians could read about their history of the Second World War from a different perspective than that of the Eastern European scholarship in Holocaust Studies.[109]

In 2007, in Paris, the USSHM organised a conference dedicated only to the Holocaust in Ukraine. The following year an edited book devoted to the Holocaust in Ukraine was published. The proceedings of the conference of 2007 were published in 2013. After the conference. These extensive researches brought to discussion the topic of inter-ethnic relations in Ukraine, where one of the main features was the Antisemitic component which first was shown in the example of Polish-Jewish post-war relations.[110] Yet, 2000s was the breakthrough point in research of the Holocaust in Ukraine.

In post-Soviet countries interest in the rescue of Jews significantly increased in 2000s and manifested in publications of a number of testimonies, memoirs and diaries.[111] Often authors of these publications brought not only an emotional component in recounting rescues but also tried to analyse, on a personal level, why people helped Jews, in which ways, and why this particular way was chosen, who knew about the act of help from neighbours and what their behaviour was towards helpers.[112] Some of these publications contained two parts: the first one was devoted to the memoirs of those who were evacuated, and in this case evacuation was also considered as a form of rescue; the second part was dedicated to the stories about the 'Righteous among the Nations of the World'.[113] Numbers of publications of so-called 'Book(s) of Memory' became a particular feature of the Ukrainian historiography of 2000s. Each Jewish community of every city and town tried to

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[109] Wendy Lower, *Tvorennia Natsystskoi Imperiï ta Holokost v Ukrani* (Kyiv, 2010); Karel C. Berkhoff, *Zhnyva Rozpachu. Zhyttia i Smert v Ukraini pid Natsystskoiu Vladoiu*, (Kyiv, 2011).

[110] Frank Golczewski, 'Shades of Grey: Reflections on Jewish-Ukrainian and German-Ukrainian Relations in Galicia' in: Lower, Wendy and Brandon, Ray (eds.), *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization*, (Bloomington, Indianapolis, 2008), pp. 114-155; Jan Tomasz Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne* (Princeton, NJ, 2001), in Russian: Jan Tomasz Gross, Gross, Jan Tomasz, *Sosedi. Istorija Unichtozhenija Evrejskogo Mestechka* (Moscow, 2002).

[111] O. Arkadieva, L. Geller, T. Kurdadze, and D. Rusakovskaia (eds.), *Na Perekrestkah Sudeb* (Minsk, 2001); Ilya Levitas (ed.), *Pamiat Babiego Yara: Vospominaniia i Dokumenty* (Kyiv, 2001); Evgenii Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli* (Moscow, 2002); Boris Zabarko (ed.), *Zhizn i Smert v Epohu Kholokosta. Svidetelstva i Dokumenty*, vols. 1-3 (Kyiv, 2006, 2007).

[112] Semen Dodik, *Sudba Malchika iz Rasstreliannogo Getto* (Moscow, 2004), 28, 32.; Galina Kosteliants, *Ot Ukrainy do Belorussii: Istoriia Odnoi Evreiskoi Semii* (Dnipopetrovsk, 2009); Zhanna Kovba (ed.), *Shchodennyk Lvivskoho Hetto. Spohady Rabyna Davyda Kahane* (Kyiv, 2003).

[113] *Vozrozhdenie Pamiati: Vospominaniia Svidetelei i Zhertv Kholokosta*, vol. 1 (Dnipropetrovsk, 2008), pp. 125-147, 148-187.; *Vozrozhdenie Pamiati: Vospominaniia Svidetelei i Zhertv Kholokosta*, vol. 2 (Dnipropetrovsk, 2009), pp. 99-147, 178-189.

publish names of the killed during the Second World War, Jewish testimonies about their survival which always connected with help and rescue by non-Jews.[114] Separate books devoted to rescuers and those who were awarded the 'Righteous' were published in Ukraine, Russia and Belarus. All of them were collections of stories by Jews about their rescue and sometimes testimonies from rescuers. In spite of these publications being descriptive rather than analytical, their existence and accessibility was very significant for Ukraine and other post-Soviet countries as they led to recognition and sharing of the positive past of Ukrainian-Jewish relations in wartime.[115] Particular attention was given to those who rescued Jews from the mass shooting at Babi Yar; even though not all of these people were granted the title 'Righteous' from Yad Vashem, authors of publications called all them 'Righteous of Babi Yar'.[116]

Regarding scholarly research of rescue, such works were almost non-existent and still are very rare in Ukraine and in all post-Soviet territories. The most notable is the monograph by a Russian scholar, Ilya Altman, on the Holocaust in the USSR. The author collected large quantities of archival material from across the former USSR and devoted one chapter of his research to the problem of help given to Jews and their rescue during the Holocaust in the USSR. Altman discussed methods of rescue, the motivation of rescuers and the punishment of rescuers by Nazis.[117] Another Russian researcher, Mikhail Shkarovsky brought up the subject of rescue of Jews by the Greek Catholic Church.[118] Ukrainian scholars writing on rescue of Jews also focused on the help Jews and their rescue by representatives of different Christian confessions.[119]

The 2000s were the period when the topic of rescue of Jews by non-Jews and Jewish self-help and self-rescue flourished in academia and in the public sphere. This development is

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[114] Viktoriia Lebedieva and Pavlo Sokolovskyi (eds.), *Knyha Pamiati Drobytskoho Yaru. Spohady. Narysy*. *Dokumenty* (Kharkiv, 2004), pp. 113-153; *Knyha Pamiati Voinov-Yevreev*, vol. 3 (Dnipropetrovska, 2004), pp. 390-406.
[115] Inna Gerasimova and Arkadii Shulman (eds.), *Pravedniki Narodov Mira Belarusi* (Minsk, 2004); Ilya Altman, Alla Gerber, and Dmitrii Poltorak, (eds.), *Kniga Pravednikov* (Moscow, 2005).
[116] Ilya Levitas, *Pravedniki Babiego Yara* (Kyiv, 2001); Ilya Levitas (ed.), *Babii Yar: Spasiteli i Spasennye* (Kyiv, 2005); Altman, Gerber, and Poltorak, (eds.), *Kniga Pravednikov.*
[117] Ilya Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti: Kholokost v SSSR 1941–1945 godakh* (Moscow, 2002), pp. 305-319.
[118] Mikhail Shkarovskii, *Krest i Svastika: Natsistskaia Germaniia i Pravoslavnaia Tserkov* (Moscow, 2007).
[119] Faina Vinokurova, 'Vidobrazhennia v Dokumentalnykh Dzherelakh DAVO Uchasti Predstavnykiv Relihiinykh Konfesii u Poriatunku Yevreiv, Yaki Perezhyly Holokost na Terytorii Vinnytskoi Oblasti', Hanna Abakunova (ed.) *Problemy Istorii Holokostu, Vyp. 4.* (Dnipropetrovsk, 2007), pp. 114-126; Oleh Surovtsev, 'Kreshchenie kak Sposob Spaseniia Bukovinskikh Evreev v Gody Kholokosta', in: *Kholokost. Materialy 10-oi Ezhegodnoi Mezhdunarodnoi Mezhdistsiplinarnoi Konferentsii po Iudaike* (Moscow, 2005), pp. 68-70.

evident in the amount of published research on this particular topic in Western European, Northern American as well as in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. The first important publications on the Holocaust in Ukraine opened new perspectives for other scholars. Eventually, several Ukrainian, Russian and Belarus researchers brought this topic to the attention of both society and academia in post-Soviet countries.

In the last ten years, research on the Holocaust in Ukraine has continued to develop, Ukrainian researchers are more and more integrated into world scholarship thanks to different fellowships and grants. The main attention of scholars has been on the activity of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) during the Holocaust and their attitude towards Jews, including killing or helping them.[120] From 2010 onwards, Holocaust scholars started to focus their research on the examination of memory about the Holocaust in the contemporary world and about Holocaust commemoration.[121] Ukrainian scholars were caught up in this tendency and also started to conduct their research about different aspects of Holocaust memory in Ukraine.[122] In the last decade, Ukrainian researchers of the Holocaust emerged in terms of both quality as well as quantity. Young historians started to publish their research in academic journals and in online mediums. Among the dominating topics, other than memory of the Holocaust in Ukrainian

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[120] Marco Carynnyk, 'Foes of Our Rebirth: Ukrainian Nationalist Discussions about Jews, 1929–1947', Nationalities Papers, 39:3, (2011), pp. 315-352; Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, Debating, Obfuscating and Disciplining the Holocaust: Post-Soviet Historical Discourses on the OUN–UPA and other Nationalist Movements', East European Jewish Affairs, 42:3, (2012), pp. 199-241; Per Anders Rudling, '"The Honor They So Clearly Deserve": Legitimizing the Waffen -SS Galizien', Journal of Slavic Military Studies, 26:1, (2013), pp. 114-137.

[121] Joanna Michlic, 'The Aftermath and After: Memories of Child Survivors of the Holocaust', in: Sarah Horowitz (ed.), Lessons and Legacies X: Back to the Sources (Evanston, IL, 2012); Dalia Ofer, 'We Israelis Remember, But How?: The Memory of the Holocaust and the Israeli Experience', Israel Studies, 18:2, (Summer 2013), pp.70-85; John-Paul Himka, 'The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Ukraine', in: John-Paul Himka and Joanna Michlic (eds.), Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe (Lincoln, NE, 2013), pp. 626-662.

[122] Anatolyi Podolskyi, 'Pamiat, yaka vona? Rozdumy pro Kulturu Pamiati v Ukraini na Prykladi Stavlennia do Istorii Holokostu', available at: http://historians.in.ua/index.php/istoriya-i-pamyat-vazhki-pitannya/427-anatolii-podolskyi-pamiat-iaka-vona-rozdumy-pro-kulturu-pamiati-v-ukraini-na-prykladi-stavlennia-do-istorii-holokostu, (last accessed on 03 January 2018); Igor Dvorkin and Artem Kharchenko, '"Chy Tse Nasha Istoriia?": Holokost v Syntetychnykh Pratsiakh z Istorii Ukrainy', available at: http://historians.in.ua/index.php/avtorska-kolonka/404-ihor-dvorkin-artem-kharchenko-chy-tse-nasha-istoriia-holokost-v-uzahalnenykh-pratsiakh-z-istorii-ukrainy (last accessed on 12 March 2017); Iryna Sklokina, *'Radianska Polityka Pamiati pro Kolaboratsiiu Periodu Natsystskoi Okupatsiii yak Instrument Natsionalnoi Polityky: Rehionalnyi Aspect'*, Part 1: available at: http://historians.in.ua/index.php/zabuti-zertvy-viyny/749-iryna-sklokina-radyanska-polityka-pamyati-pro-kolaboratsiyu-periodu-natsystskoyi-okupatsiyi-yak-instrument-natsionalnoyi-polityky-rehionalnyy-aspekt-chastyna-1 (last accessed on 12 May 2017); Iryna Sklokina, *'Radianska Polityka Pamiati pro Kolaboratsiiu Periodu Natsystskoi Okupatsiii yak Instrument Natsionalnoi Polityky: Rehionalnyi Aspect'*, Part 2: available at: http://historians.in.ua/index.php/zabuti-zertvy-viyny/755-iryna-sklokina-radyanska-polityka-pamyati-pro-kolaboratsiyu-periodu-natsystskoyi-okupatsiyi-yak-instrument-natsionalnoyi-polityky-rehionalnyy-aspekt-chastyna-2 (last accessed on 15 May 2017).

society, were collaboration of Ukrainians with the occupiers[123] as well as the Babi Yar tragedy.[124] Although there were no articles specifically on rescue published in Ukraine between 2010 and 2015,[125] the help and rescue of Jews in Transnistria are mentioned in some of researches.[126] However, a few works on the Holocaust, included in a chapter on rescuing the Jews in occupied Ukraine, were published in Ukraine and abroad during the last three years.[127] In Western European and American historiography, this topic became less visible in the Holocaust Studies scholarship, but interest has recently revived in Ukraine.[128] After the most comprehensive research, written by Bob Moore (2010), on help and rescue of Jews during the Holocaust in Western Europe and Jewish self-help, no other research of such calibre has been produced.[129] This work summarised all aspects of this topic covered in previous years. Since 2010 only two researchers have continued to work on the rescue of children in Eastern Europe during the Holocaust Joanna Michlic and Debórah Dwork,[130] both of whom focussed on personal experiences of Jewish survivors and their self-help.

The extermination of the Jews and the Roma during the Second World War has not traditionally been seen as an important topic in Ukrainian Academia. Post-Soviet scholarship has only started to discover this topic in recent years. For example, the *Ukrainian Historical Journal* (*Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*), published by the Ukrainian

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[123] Yuri Radchenko, 'Accomplices to Extermination: Municipal Government and the Holocaust in Kharkiv, 1941–1942', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 27:3, (Winter 2013), pp. 443–463; Yuri Radchenko 'We emptied our magazines into them" Ukrainische Hilfspolizei and Holocaust in Generalbezirk Charkow, 1941-1943', *Yad Vashem Studies,* 41:1, (2013), pp. 63-98; Anatolii Podolskyi, 'Collaboration in Ukraine During the Holocaust: Aspects of Historiography and Research', in: *The Holocaust in Ukraine: New Sources and Perspectives. Conference Presentations* (Washington, DC, 2013), pp. 187-198.

[124] Aleksandr Kruglov, *Tragediia Babiego Yara v Nemetskikh Dokumentakh* (Dnipropetrovsk, 2011); Vitalii Nakhmanovych, 'Babyn Yar. Istoriia, Suchasnist, Maibutne? (Rozdumy do 70-richchia Kyivskoi Masakry 29-30 veresnia 1941)', *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, 6, (2011), pp. 105-121.

[125] More detailed on the Historiography of the Holocaust in Ukraine in 2010-2014 see: Anna Abakunowa, 'Obecny Stan Badań nad Zagładą na Ukrainie', *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały*, 10, (2014), pp. 889-915

[126] Diana Dumitru, *The State, Antisemitism, and Collaboration in the Holocaust: The Borderlands of Romania and the Soviet Union* (New York, 2016).

[127] Ibid., pp. 176-230; *Pravedniki Narodiv Svitu: Dovidnik* (Dnipro, 2016); Aleksandr Kruglov, Andrej Umanskij, and Ihor Schupak, *Kholokost v Ukraine: Nemetskaia Voiennaia Zona, Rumynskaia Voiennaia Zona, Distrikt 'Halychyna', Zakarpatie* (Dnipro, 2017).

[128] There are two ongoing dissertation projects: Ionela Ana Dascultu, 'Jewish Children in Orphanages in Transnistria (1942-1944): History and Memory', (in progress), doctoral thesis, University of Haifa; Raisa Ostapenko, 'La Résistance Ukrainienne: Le Sauvetage des Juifs Pendant l'Occupation Allemandes', (in progress), doctoral thesis, (Sorbonne université).

[129] Moore, *Victims & Survivors*; Moore, *Survivors: Jewish Self-Help and Rescue.*

[130] Joanna Michlic, Jewish Children in Nazi-Occupied Poland Survival and Polish-Jewish Relations during the Holocaust as Reflected in Early Postwar Recollections (Jerusalem, 2008); Joanna Michlic, 'The Untold Story of Rescue Operations: Jewish Children in Nazi-Occupied Poland Helping Each Other', in: Patrick Henry (ed.), Jewish Resistance to The Nazis (Washington, DC, 2013), pp. 300-318; Dwork, Debórah, A Boy in Terezin: The Private Diary of Pavel Weiner, April 1944-April 1945 (Evanston, IL, 2012).

Academy of Sciences and the Ukrainian Institute of History, is probably the leading journal for contemporary Ukrainian historiography. However, in its 178 volumes (published in 1991-2017) there are only two articles about Jewish-Ukrainian relations: the first one just mentioned the rescue of the Jews by Ukrainians without any analysis and the second one was specifically devoted to the rescue of the Jews during the Holocaust in the RKU.[131] This second article was written by a Ukrainian scholar, Oleksii Honcharenko, and published in 2010.[132] Honcharenko described the conditions of life in the RKU and highlighted examples of Ukrainians' rescue attempts toward the Jews from several Ukrainian archives. He was more concerned with the far more widespread Ukrainian inaction and why the population collaborated with the Nazi Germany. Honcharenko concluded that 'there are no reasons to affirm that the local population of Ukraine had other, better fate than Jews; the Jews were just completely exterminated in the first place.'[133] This statement essentially claims that other elements of the local population of Ukraine (Ukrainians, Russians, etc.) were the next in line for extermination. Making this statement, Honcharenko claims that 'despite extreme conditions of the occupation regime and the scale of the genocide, Ukrainian people, except for certain groups of collaborators [with the Nazis], did not become a blind tool in the Nazis' hands' and 'the part of the citizens rescued their compatriots', something that the author interprets as 'civil resistance'.[134] On the one hand, such an interpretation does not reject the existence of the Holocaust, but presents mass killing as an ordinary event in the Second World War that could be inflicted on any nationality, but where Jews were the initial victims. On the other hand, this generalisation does not serve to inscribe the Jewish Holocaust into the Ukrainian history of the Second World War. On the contrary, the author implicitly distinguishes between the Jews and the 'local population' in his title by talking of the 'participation of *local people* in the rescue of Jews'. This author, like many others, isolates the Jews by not considering them as integral part of the 'local population' in Ukraine. The case of Honcharenko illustrates the state of the Ukrainian historiography in general that follows the pattern of the Soviet government policy to underemphasise the Jewish losses during the Holocaust. In fact, research about the everyday life of national groups during wartime is entirely absent in Ukrainian academia. Some Ukrainian historians

[131] Mikhail Koval, 'Natsystskyi Henotsyd Shchodo Yevreiv ta Ukrainske Naselennia', *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal,* 2, (1992), pp. 25-32.
[132] Oleksii Honcharenko, 'Do Pytannia pro Uchast Mistsevoho Naselennia u Poriatunku Yevreiv na Terytorii Raikhskomissariatu Ukraina (1941–1944 rr.)', *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal,* 1, (2010), pp. 128-141.
[133] Ibid., 130.
[134] Ibid., 140.

have reported publicly that at an official level (the governmental Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance and textbooks in History), the Holocaust and the Jewish history in general, have never been included in Ukrainian history, memory and historiography.[135] The same applies to the Roma, the only difference being that at official level, the Roma are not even mentioned in the context of the Second World War, although there are a few publications on extermination of the Roma in Ukrainian historiography.[136]

The self-rescue and rescuing of Roma are a new topic within genocide scholarship, even though the first works on extermination of Roma appeared at the same time as the researches about the annihilation of Jews. There are fewer studies on the persecution of the Roma by the occupiers than on the Jewish Holocaust. Since 1940s study of the Holocaust has progressed through collection of sources and has moved into interpreting and analysing stage. In contrast, scholars on the Roma extermination still try to gather documents and eyewitness testimonies to reconstruct the events around one central question: whether their extermination was predicated on a racial ideology or whether they were annihilated as an 'asocial element' rather than a racial one.[137]

With regards to the extermination of Roma in the occupied territories of the USSR, including the Baltic States, there are few qualitative works written, and in most of cases these are by Western European scholars.[138] However, among other post-Soviet countries,

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[135] See, for example: Podolskyi, 'Pamiat, yaka vona; Yaroslav Hrytsak, 'Holokost i Holodomor: Vyklyky Kolektyvniy Pamiati', *Krytyka (2010),* available at: http://krytyka.com/ua/articles/holokost-i-holodomor-vyklyky-kolektyvniy-pamyati, (last accessed on 14 February 2018); Tetiana Pastushenko, Dmytro Tytarenko, and Olena Cheban, z '9 travnia 2014–2015 rr. v Ukraini: Stari Tradytsii – Novi Tseremonii Vidznachennia', *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, 3, (2016), p 118.

[136] See, for instance: Mikhail Tiaglyy and Olena Paziuk (eds.), *Henotsyd Romiv Ukrainy v Period Druhoi Svitovoi Viiny: Vyvchennia, Vykladannia, Komemoratsiia. Materialy Naukovo-Praktychnoi Konferentsii m. Kyiv, 4 zhovtnia 2016 r*. (Kyiv, 2016); Mikhail Tyaglyy (ed.), *Peresliduvannia ta Vbyvstva Romiv na Terenakh Ukrainy: Zbirnyk Dokumentiv, Materialiv ta Spohadiv* (Kyiv, 2013); Aladar Adam, Yuliia Zeikan, and Navrotska Yevheniia (eds.), *Bilyi Kamin z Chornoi Kativni. Holokost Romiv Zakarpattia* (Uzhhorod, 2006).

[137] See different point of views in: Ian Hancock, *The Pariah Syndrome: An Account of Gypsy Slavery and Persecution* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1987); Viorel Achim, *The Roma in Romanian History* (Budapest, 2005); Radu Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania: The Destruction the Jews and Gypsies under Antonescu Regime 1940-1944* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 2000); Martin Holler, *Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord an den Roma in der Besetzten Sowjetunion (1941–1944)* (Heidelberg, 2009); Vladimir Solonari, 'Etnicheskaia Chistka ili Borba s Prestupnostiu? Deportatsiia Rumynskikh Tsygan v Transnistriiu v 1942 g.', *Holokost i Suchasnist. Studii v Ukraini i Sviti,* 3:1, (2008), pp. 65-87.

[138] Valdemar Kalinin, 'Roma in the Resistance in the Soviet Union', in: Donald Kenrick (ed.), *The Gypsies during the Second World War,* vol. 3: *The Final Chapter* (Paris/Hatfield, 2006), pp. 111-118; Wolfgang Wippermann, 'Nur eine Fusnote? Die Verfolgung der sowjetschen Roma: Historiographie, Motive, Verlauf', in Klaus Meyer and Wolfgang Wippermann (eds.), *Gegen das Vergessen: der Vernichtungskrieg gegen die Sowjetunion 1941-1945* (Frankfurt/M., Haag, and Herrchen, 1992), pp. 75-90; Michael Zimmermann, 'The Soviet Union and the Baltic States 1941-1944: The Massacre of the Gypsies', in: Donald Kenrick (ed.), *The Gypsies during the Second World War,* vol. 2: *In the Shadow of the Swastika* (Hatfield, 1999), pp. 131-148;

Ukraine is a pioneer in research on Roma persecution. The difference in treatment of Roma in this territory should evoke interest among scholars because the territory of Ukraine was divided between the Nazi Germany and its allies – Romania and Hungary. Yet, no research was undertaken to compare these territories with each other and across the whole former USSR in order to understand the treatment and persecution of Roma there. Historians pay special attention only to the territory under Romanian authority – Transnistria – since most Roma from Moldovan and Romanian territories, particularly from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, were deported and died, or survived in Transnistria. Romanian policy towards Roma and the deportation of the Roma to Transnistria are examined mostly by Romanian and partially by Moldovan scholars. Their significant collection of documents regarding Romanian policy during the wartime towards Roma and Jews was published in volumes edited by Jean Ancel and Viorel Achim.[139] The volume that contains documents on Roma in Transnistria was published in Ukraine as well.[140] The 'Final report', the critical research work based in most part on archival documents, provided a very detailed examination of Romanian policy towards Jews as well as persecution of Roma in Romania and deportation of both to Transnistria. The 'Final Report' was a result of a work of a team of experts formed the International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania. The Commission was created in October 2003 on the initiative of the President of Romania, Mr. Ion Iliescu and 'was conceived from the very beginning as an independent research body, free of any influence and political consideration. The Commission's aim was to research the facts and determine the truth about the Holocaust in Romania during World War II and the events preceding this tragedy'.[141] Along with the 'Final Report' and collections of documents, scholars contributed to the topic by publishing their articles on deportation and Roma

Aliaksander Friedman, 'Neviadomy Genatsyd: Znishchenne Belaruskikh Tsyganoŭ u 1941-44', *ARCHE*, 2, (2004), pp. 130-142; Sławomir Kapralski, 'Collaboration and the Genocide of Roma in Poland', in: Gelinada Grinchenko and Eleonora Narvselius (eds.), *Traitors, Collaborators and Deserters in Contemporary European Politics of Memory* (London, 2018), pp. 215-240; Martin Holler, 'The Nazi Persecution of Roma in Northwestern Russia: The Operational Area of the Army Group North, 1941-1944', in: Anton Weiss-Wendt (ed.), *The Nazi Genocide of the Roma: Reassessment and Commemoration* (London, 2013), pp. 153-180; Anton Weiss-Wendt, 'Extermination of the Gypsies in Estonia during World War II: Popular Images and Official Policies', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 17:1, (2003), pp. 31-61; Vytautas Toleikis, , 'Lithuanian Roma during the Years of the Nazi Persecution', in Christoph Dieckmann, Vytautas Toleikis, and Rimantas Zizas (eds.), *Karo Belaisvių ir Civilių Gyventojų Žudynės Lietuvoje: 1941-1944* (Vilnius, 2005), pp. 267-285.

[139] Jean Ancel (ed.), *Transnistria 1941-1942. History and Documents*, 3 vols. (Tel-Aviv, 2003); Viorel Achim (ed.), *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor în Transnistria*, 2 vols. (Bucureşti, 2004).

[140] *Romy u Transnistrii (1941-1944). Arkhivni Dokumenty, Vypusk* 1 (Odessa, 2011).

[141] Elie Wiesel, Tuvia Friling, Radu Ioanid, and Mihail E. Ionescu (eds.), *Final Report / International Commission on the Holocaust in Romania* (Iaşi, 2004), Foreword.

annihilation of Roma in Transnistria.[142] Regarding the other occupied Ukrainian territories that stayed under German and Hungarian control, only a few studies of Roma persecution exist.[143] It should be emphasised that no comprehensive monographs or edited books were published on the subject of Roma extermination in Ukraine, in contrast with the Jewish Holocaust in Ukraine, where a couple of fundamental studies exist. Yet, some conferences and their proceedings were devoted to the history of the Roma minority in Ukraine, including two articles on their extermination.[144] Works in Roma Studies aim at finding and analysing material about annihilation of Roma on the Soviet Ukrainian territory, and then, extricating cases of rescue.[145] However, so far Roma Studies have not focused us on memory of eyewitnesses to find about Roma experience in the Second World War. Even though Roma do not have written tradition and could not describe their history of persecution in the Second World War, the study of memory along with archival materials allowed researchers to reconstruct the history of Roma.

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[142] Adrian-Nicolae Furtună, Delia-Mădălina Grigore, and Mihai Neacşu, (eds.), *Sostar na Rovas? O Samudaripen Thaj Lesqi Ciaci Paramisi. Dece Nu Plâng? Holocaustul Rromilor şi Povestea Lui Adevărată. Deportarea Romilor în Transnistria: Mărturii, Studii, Documente* (Bucureşti, 2010); Nikolai Bessonov, 'Etnicheskaia Gruppa Tsygan-Kisheniovtsev', *Zhurnal Etnologii i Kulturologii*, 9-10, (2011), pp. 62-75; Anna Abakunova, 'The Holocaust and the Destruction of Romani in the World War II: Oral History Interpretations on the Deportations of Romani and Jews to Transnistria Governorate', in: Irina Vainovski-Mihai (ed.), *New Europe College Black Sea Link Program: Yearbook 2012-2013* (Bucharest, 2014), pp. 21-52; Viorel Achim, 'Die Deportation der Roma nach Transnistrien' in: Mariana Hausleitner, Brigitte Mihok, and Juliane Wetzel (eds.), *Rumänien und der Holocaust. zu den Massenverbrechen in Transnistrien 1941-1944* (Berlin, 2001), pp. 101-111; Ion Duminica, 'Deportarea şi Exterminarea Tiganilor din Romania in Transnistria (1942-1944)', in: *65 de Ani ai Verdictului Tribunalului de la Nurnberg: Învăţă Minte Pentru Europa Contemporană. Conferinţa Ştiinţifică Internaţională, 19 decembrie 2011* (Chişinău, 2012), pp. 38-62; Michelle Kelso, 'The Deportation of Gypsies from Romania to Transnistria 1942-44', in Donald Kenrick (ed.), *The Gypsies during the Second World War,* vol. 3: *The Final Chapter* (Paris/Hatfield, 2006), pp. 95-130; Tatiana Sirbu, 'Les Roms de Bessarabie sous le Gouvernement du Marechal Ion Antonescu', *Revista de Etnologie şi Culturologie*, 1, (2006), pp. 240-250; Solonari, 'Etnicheskaia Chistka ili Borba s Prestupnostiu?', and some other.

[143] Tyaglyy (ed.), *Peresliduvannia ta Vbyvstva Romiv na Terenakh Ukrainy;* Tyaglyy, Mikhail, 'Nazi Occupation Policies and the Mass Murder of the Roma in Ukraine', in: Anton Weiss-Wendt (ed.), *The Nazi Genocide of the Roma: Reassessment and Commemoration* (London, 2013), pp. 120-152; Mikhail Tyaglyy, 'Were the "Chingene" Victims of the Holocaust? Nazi Policy toward the Crimean Roma, 1941–1944', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies,* 23:1 (2009), pp. 26–53; Mikhail Tyaglyy, 'Chingene – Zhertvy Kholokosta? Natsystskaia Politika v Krymu v Otnoshenii Tsygan, 1941–1944', *Z Arkhiviv VUChK–GPU–NKVD–KGB*, 2, (2007). pp. 61-98; Holler, *Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord an den Roma;* Sławomir Kapralski, 'Zagłada Romow w okupowanym ZSRR w świetle nowych materiałow archiwalnych', *Studia Romologica*, 3, (2010), pp. 237-246; Oleksandr Belikov, 'Tsyhany Ukrainy pid Chas Druhoi Svitovoi Viiny', *Nauka. Relihiia. Suspilstvo*, 4, (2002), pp. 64-73; Kruglov, 'Genotsid Tsygan v Ukraine', and few other.

[144] Mikhail Tyaglyy, 'Palachi – Zhertvy – Nabliudateli: Natsystskaia Antitsyganskaia Politika v Okkupirovannoi Ukraine i Pozitsiia Mestnogo Naseleniia (1941-1945): Metodologicheskie Zamechaniia', in: Vsevolod Naulko (ed.), *Romy Ukrainy: Iz Mynuloho v Maibutnie* (Kyiv, 2008); Volodymyr Levykin, , 'K Voprosu o Natsionalnom Sostave Vermakhta', in:. *Naukovi Zapysky: Zbirnyk Prats Molodykh Vchenykh ta Aspirantiv (seriia Romy Ukrainy: iz Mynuloho v Maibutne),* 15, (2008), pp. 270-274.

[145] Ancel (ed.), *Transnistria 1941-1942*; Achim (ed.), *Documente Privind Deportarea Ţiganilor*; Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*; Holler, *Der nationalsozialistische Völkermord an den Roma,* and some others, but there is no analysis on the rescue of Roma.

When it comes to Memory Studies, there are works that discuss Roma collective memory in relation to their persecution during the Second World War and commemoration of the tragedy.[146] The few researchers who conducted fieldwork and collected testimonies from Roma survivors in Ukraine use these testimonies only to prove or disprove facts established in the historiography or found in archives. They do not analyse interviews about Roma persecution from the perspective of individual or/and collective memory. Only recently a few articles have been devoted to Roma memory, particularly in the occupied territory of Ukraine.[147] Work on the collection and publication of testimonies from Roma survivors in Ukraine is not being undertaken and there are only two isolated publications which contain collected eyewitness testimonies on Roma annihilation in Ukraine.[148]

In relation to Ukrainian historiography, and even the Soviet historiography, one should emphasise that before the Second World War ethnographical research on Roma communities in the USSR was carried out on the basis of Russian and Ukrainian ethnographical expeditions of the 19th century.[149] In early articles and dissertations written immediately after the Second World War and based on testimonies of eyewitnesses and ChGK materials, Roma extermination in the occupied territories of Ukraine were mentioned along with the persecution of Jews.[150] However, after the late 1940s, research on Roma persecution and Roma history in general has stopped. Through the Soviet period, published articles about Roma have been mere brief overviews on Roma ethnography and they never discussed any of aspects of Roma history.[151] Following the Soviet heritage, even those few dissertations on Roma history which have been written and successfully defended in contemporary independent Ukraine, only briefly mentioned the period of Roma

[146] Roni Stauber and Raphael Vago, (eds.), *The Roma: A Minority in Europe: Historical, Political and Social Perspectives* (Budapest, 2007); Anna Green, 'Society Individual Remembering and 'Collective Memory': Theoretical Presuppositions and Contemporary Debates', *Oral* History (Memory and Society), 32:2, (Autumn, 2004), pp. 35–44; Michael Stewart, 'Remembering without Commemoration: The Mnemonics and Politics of Holocaust Memories among European Roma', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 10:3 (2004), pp. 561–582 and few others.

[147] For example, participation in the project 'The Roma Genocide in Ukraine 1941-1944: History, Memories and Representations' supported by the Foundation for Baltic and East European Studies (*Östersjöstiftelsen*), allowed Swedish scholar Andrej Kotlyarchuk (Södertörn University) to produce several articles on this topic. See as an example: Andrei Kotljarchuk, 'Natsystskii Genotsid Tsygan na Territorii Okkupirovannoi Ukrainy: Rol Sovetskogo Proshlogo v Sovremennoi Politike Pamiati', *Holokost i Suchasnist. Studii v Ukraini i Sviti*, 12:1, (2014), pp. 24-50.

[148] Adam, Zeikan, and Navrotska (eds.), *Bilyi Kamin z Chornoi Kativn;* Tyaglyy (ed.), *Peresliduvannia ta Vbyvstva Romiv na Terenakh Ukrainy.*

[149] See for instance: Oleksii Barannikov, *Ukrainski Tsyhany: Zbirnyk Natsmenoznavstva* (Kyiv, 1931); Aleksandr German, *Tsygane Vchera i Segodnia* (Moscow, 1931).

[150] See, for example: TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 297.

[151] See, for example: Vladimir Vladykin, 'Tsygane', *Voprosy Istorii*, 1, (1969), pp. 204-210; Valerii Sanarov, 'Problemy Istoriko-Etnograficheskogo Izucheniia Tsygan', *Sovetskaia Etnografiia*, 3, (1971), pp. 59-67.

persecution during the Second World War. They did not examine the documents of the German and Romanian occupation period and testimonies of Roma survivors.[152] In recent years some of Ukrainian scholars have started to mention the annihilation of Roma during the Second World War, but only in one or two sentences.[153] Thus, the topic of Roma Genocide is fully uncharted territory and research on this topic is very rare, although in 2009 the Ukrainian Centre for Holocaust Studies devoted its issue No.6 of its peer reviewed journal *Holocaust and Modernity (Holokost i Suchasnist)* to Roma extermination in general. For the first time in Ukrainian history, *The Encyclopaedia of the History of Ukraine* (2012), included an article on Roma in the Second World War.[154] There have also been a couple of articles on the methodology and the complexities of research on Roma annihilation in Ukraine published by Ukrainian scholars in the last decade.[155]

In contrast to the Holocaust Studies, where the topic of rescue of Jews and help of non-Jews was established in 1960s and widely developed through 1980s and 2000s and still is topical, research devoted to the help and rescue of Roma by non-Roma has not been undertaken in any country. Notwithstanding, some scholars mentioned the help given to Roma by non-Roma in their works, examining the attitude of local population towards local or deported Roma. In their research academics talk about 'strategy of survival' for Roma.[156] On the one hand, undoubtedly, asking for help was one of the 'chosen' strategies of

[152] Oleksandr Belikov, 'Tsyhanske Naselennia Ukrainy (XVI-XX st.)', (2003), *Kandydat nauk* thesis, Donetsk National University; Nataliia Zinevych, 'Tsyhanskyi Etnos v Ukraini: Istoriohrafiia ta Dzherela', (2005), *Kandydat nauk* thesis, The National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine, Institute of Ukrainian Archeography and Source Studies.

[153] Tetiana Pershyna, 'Realii Voiennoi Povsiakdennosti v Ukraini, 1943–1945 rr. (Deiaki Aspekty Problemy)', in: Oleksandr Lysenkko (ed.), *Storinky Voiennoi Istorii Ukrainy: Zbirnyk Naukovykh Statei* (Kyiv, 2010), pp. 202-215.

[154] Mikhail Tyaglyy, 'Romy, Henotsyd Romiv na Terenakh Suchasnoi Ukrainy pid Chas Druhoi Svitovoi Viiny', in: Valerii Smolii et al. (eds.), *Entsyklopediia Istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 9 (Kyiv, 2012), pp. 288-289.

[155] Nataliia Zinevych, 'Problemy Doslidzhennia Henotsydu Romiv (Tsyhan) na Ukrainskykh Zemliakh u Roky Druhoi Svitovoi Viiny', *Naukovi Zapysky: Zbirnyk Prats Molodykh Vchenykh ta* Aspiranti, 16, (2008), pp. 415-439; Nataliia Zinevych, 'Do Pytannia pro Spetsyfiku Henotsydu Romiv na Ukrainskykh Zemliakh u Roky Druhoi Svitovoi Viiny', *Holokost i Suchasnist. Studii v Ukraini i Sviti*, 6:2, (2009), pp. 148-163; Anna Abakunova, 'Unichtozhenie Tsygan vo Vremia Vtoroi Mirovoi Voiny: Problemy Issledovaniia i Sokhraneniia Pamiati', in: Vladimir Shevchenko (ed.), *Genotsid v Istoricheskoi Pamiati Narodov i v Informatsionnykh Voinakh Sovremennosti: Materialy Mezhdunarodnogo Foruma, Moskva, 28 noiabria 2014 goda* (Moscow, 2015), pp. 94-107; Lenchovska, Anna, 'Videosvidchennia Instytutu Fondu Shoa yak Dzherelo do Vyvchennia ta Vykladannia Istorii Romiv Ukrainy u Period 1941-1944 rr.' *Holokost i Suchasnist. Studii v Ukraini i Sviti*, 6:2, (2009), pp. 114-123.

[156] Nikolai Bessonov, 'Tsygane SSSR v Okkupatsii. Strategii Vyzhyvaniia', *olokost i Suchasnist. Studii v Ukraini i Sviti*, 6:2, (2009), pp. 17-52; Shannon Woodcock, 'What's in A Name? How Romanian Romani Were Persecuted by Romanians as Tigani in the Holocaust, and How They Resisted', *Interstitio*, 2:4, (2009), pp. 29-50; Shannon Woodcock, 'The Holocaust and Romani Romanians: Deportation and Resistance', in: Colin Martin Tatz (ed.), *Genocide Perspectives, IV. Essays on Holocaust and Genocide* (Sydney, 2012), pp. 353-380. Dennis Reinhartz, 'The Genocide of the Yugoslav Gypsies', in: Donald Kenrick (ed.), *The Gypsies during the Second World War,* vol. 3: *The Final Chapter* (Paris/Hatfield, 2006), pp. 47-86 and others.

survival. On the other hand, to examine help and rescue of Roma as a 'survival strategy' is not pertinent because Roma did not always have 'the choice' to ask for help from non-Roma and even if Roma did ask, such help was not always provided. Also, 'survival strategy' includes everything that helped survival, including collaboration with the occupiers, hiding the Roma identity or armed resistance. Thus, there is no particular work in historiography which examines the question of help and rescue of Roma by non-Roma including Jews as well as Roma self-help. The case of Ukraine is all the more interesting for studying this question since Ukraine was divided in several occupied zones and ways of help and rescue took place in many different circumstances.

Nevertheless, since 1990s, one can observe an increasing tendency to compare the fate of Roma and Jews during the Holocaust, in terms of both their extermination and their survival. First pioneering works in this direction have been written by German scholars Wolfgang Wippermann and Michael Zimmermann. Wipperman drew attention to the systematic mass killing of the Soviet Roma by Einsatzgruppen that acted in the same way towards mass extermination of Jews; then he continued his research with direct juxtaposition of Jewish and Roma annihilation.[157] Michael Zimmermann emphasised differences in the system and methods of extermination used against Jews and Roma in the Soviet Union.[158] Other extensive pioneering research on the deportation of Roma and Jews to Ukrainian territories, so-called Transnistria, and their annihilation in Transnistria was published by Romanian scholar Radu Ioanid.[159] Based on large quantity of archival materials and witness testimonies, his research still remains the only comparative study of Romanian occupational policies and the attitudes of the Romanian authorities to both Jews and Roma. Only recently a new generation of scholars started to work on a comparison of Roma and Jewish extermination by Germans and their allies. German scholar Martin Holler, following the heritage of his predecessor, continues to research extermination of Roma in the Soviet Union by the German Army and the Einsatzgruppen and its comparison

[157] Wippermann, 'Nur eine Fusnote? Die Verfolgung; Wolfgang Wippermann, '*Auserwählte Opfer?' Shoah und Porrajmos im Vergleich: Eine Kontroverse* (Berlin, 2005), p. 170.
[158] Michael Zimmermann, 'Die nationalsozialistische Verfolgung der Juden und "Zigeuner". Ein Vergleich-uberlegungen zur Diskussion um das Mahnmal für die Ermordeten Sinti und Roma', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 52:1, (2004), pp. 50-71; Michael Zimmermann, 'Gypsies and Jews: Comparing Nazi Persecutions', in: Judit Molnar (ed.), *The Holocaust in Hungary: A European Perspective* (Budapest, 2005), pp. 385-403; Michael Zimmermann, 'The National Socialist persecution of the Jews and Gypsies: Is a Comparison Possible?', in: Donald Kenrick (ed.), *The Gypsies during the Second World War,* vol. 3: *The Final Chapter* (Paris/Hatfield, 2006), pp. 135-150.
[159] Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, p.226.

with the Jewish genocide.[160] American researcher Ari Joskowicz works on the project of Jewish-Romani relations during the Holocaust. His published research shows how the 'model of the Jewish Holocaust has come to shape the collections and narratives of the Romani Holocaust', i.e. how Jewish memory on the Holocaust incorporated Roma memory that influences our understanding of Roma persecution by the occupiers.[161] Other than the foregoing, there are a few researches on comparison of Roma and Jewish experience and memory of the persecution during the Second World War. Again, this field of research is understudied. Neither in the Soviet Union, nor in independent Ukraine, was a single article written on help for Roma and their rescue including their self-rescue, or on the comparison of rescue of Jews and Roma. Though 'the treatment of Jews and Roma during the mass killings and testimonies from local populations indicate a strong connection between the genocide of the Jews and of the Roma in Eastern Europe',[162] comparative study on the Roma and Jewish experiences of survival in the Holocaust has not been conducted. Examination of Jewish and Roma testimonies and memories and their comparative study, from the perspective of memory studies, have not yet been exhaustively undertaken either.

If the topic of the Roma extermination and survival has been started to be researched recently, the topic of the rescue of the Jews passed a significant path from collection and description of cases to substantive analysis and creation new theories. Despite the fact, the topic of rescue of Jews and Roma, particularly in Ukraine, as an occupied region, was understudied. Three studies of the Holocaust and rescue had particular impact. The research of Karel Berkhoff on the Holocaust in the RKU did not examine the rescue in particular, though some of the pages mentioned rescuing the Jews.[163] Also, Berkhoff made an attempt to compare the annihilation of the Jews and Roma in Ukraine.[164] Berkhoff's exploration of the history of Ukraine before the occupation and explanation of everyday life conditions under the occupation, influenced this dissertation in terms of its structure and aim – to comprehend the circumstances of rescuing. Such an approach paves the way to understand social history and inter-ethnic relations in Ukrainian lands which this dissertation attempts.

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[160] Martin Holler, '"Like Jews?" The Nazi Persecution and Extermination of Soviet Roma Under the German Military Administration: A New Interpretation, Based on Soviet Sources', *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust*, 24:1, (2010), pp. 137-176.
[161] Ari Joskowicz, 'Separate Suffering, Shared Archives: Jewish and Romani Histories of Nazi Persecution', *History and Memory*, 28:1, (Spring/Summer 2016), p. 112.
[162] Ilsen About and Anna Abakunova, *The Genocide and Persecution of Roma and Sinti. Bibliography and Historiographical Review*, (International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance: Austrian Federal Ministry of Education and Women's Affairs, 2015), p.18.
[163] Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, pp. 83-88.
[164] Ibid., pp. 59-60, 70.

The research of Jan Grabowski on assistance to Jews by Poles in occupied Poland forced me to look at the aspect of rescue as paid help. The Grabowski's point of view that paid help must not always show helpers as immoral individuals and must be considered in a certain context through case studies, was also partially accommodated in this research.[165] Grabowski's approach of finding cases of rescue in post-war trial materials was used, where possible, in this current study by use of post-war Soviet and German court cases on collaborators. The last research which had a great impact on selection of cases and their analysis was Bob Moore's study on rescuing and self-rescuing of the Jews in the Netherlands, Belgium and northern France. Moore's methodology and investigation of the cases formed a structure and methodology for this dissertation. His approach in analysis of individual and collective ways of self-rescue was applied in this dissertation. Moore found that self-rescue also had its 'dark side' through the Jewish collaboration and rescuing the Jews by non-Jews.[166] Moore's findings helped me to examine the cases of Jewish and Roma willingness and unwillingness in collaboration in Ukraine as the ways to self-rescue. The case study of rescuing children and helping by Christians, which Moore discussed on the example of France, was applied to the Ukrainian territories.[167] Thus, all the foregoing researches helped me to develop a comparative analysis of the circumstances and methods of rescue that were applied for the Roma and the Jews in the occupied territory of Ukraine, including self-rescue.

Sources

This research project incorporates data of various types from different archives from all over the world. Provisionally, the sources can be divided into four groups – unpublished archival documents and testimonies, recorded interviews, published documents and historiography, and online materials. To collect the sources, several research trips and fieldworks were conducted, several years before and during the PhD program, to Ukraine, Moldova, Russia, Belarus, Israel, Poland, the Netherlands, France, Germany, Romania, and the USA. Some of the sources were accessed in Great Britain as well.

[165] Grabowski, 'Rescue for Money', p. 9.
[166] Moore, *Survivors: Jewish Self-Help and Rescue*, pp. 324-329, 345-355.
[167] Ibid., pp. 260-261; 142-147.

The first group of primary sources is archival materials that include orders, decrees and reports of the German and Romanian local occupational administration, *Einsatzgruppe*n reports, Soviet official documents towards minority groups in Ukraine, ChGK reports, decrees and orders of the Soviet command, Soviet partisans' reports, the Soviet filtration documents of the post-war trials on collaborators, first testimonies about the persecution of Jews and Roma written or taken immediately after the liberation, first scholarly researches of 1946–1948 which included analysis of Jewish and Roma persecution by the Germans, newspapers published by local Romanian and German occupational administration, epistles and letters of priests, petitions written by relatives of the deported Jews to the Romanian authorities. Also, archival materials include protocols of interrogations by the Soviets with survivors after the liberation, diaries and testimonies of Jewish and Roma survivors.

The second group of sources consists of recorded audio and video interviews that can be divided into three groups. The first group includes audio records and notes made during the conversations with the Roma and Jewish survivors that were collected by the author during her fieldwork to Ukraine and Moldova, and, partially, during her work in archives in Israel. The second group of interviews includes video interviews only with the Roma survivors on the territory of occupied Ukraine. They were recorded by the USC Shoah Foundation, the Institute of Visual History and Education and accessed at the library of the Royal Holloway, University of London. The third group of video interviews was collected by an NGO, Yahad in-Unum (Paris) and includes interviews with Ukrainians who observed the persecution of the Jews and Roma in occupied Ukraine and also with Roma and Jewish survivors. The interviews with Ukrainians allowed an examination of the rescue of Roma and Jews from a different perspective and created a better understanding of the dynamics of rescue, particularly in rural areas of Ukraine.

The published documents and historiography (monograph, articles, and PhD dissertations) include international agreements between Nazi Germany and allied Romania, the decrees of Hitler and Antonescu, Nuremberg trial documents, acts and decrees of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and decrees, orders and official records of the Soviet command. The online materials include documentaries on survival of Roma in Transnistria and digital collections of some other testimonies and documents. In addition, the tertiary sources such as Encyclopaedias related to the Holocaust Studies also were accessed online.

Not all the accessed sources are cited or referred to in this research because of the structure of the dissertation and its limitations. Nevertheless, the work on all of these materials allowed me to better comprehend the complicated relationship between Jews, Roma and Ukrainians, the dynamics and methods of rescuing and self-rescuing as well as the Holocaust in Ukraine and occupiers' policy there in general. Some of my assumptions and conclusions are based not only on sources referenced in this dissertation, but rather on this larger analysis of entire collection of materials. Also, comparing different type of sources allowed me to criticise and understand limitation of each particular type of source.

Methodology

The case study method is the main method which is employed for this research. Precisely, the collective or multiple case study method is used: the focus of the research placed not on a particular case, but on studying different cases to see replicated similarity and contrast through the selected cases. This method allows the reconstruction of history in certain occupied zone and does not limit the project by narrow geographical location, e.g. one town or one region. Because the project covers a very large geographic area, only particular cases are examined in depth, either as an exception (for instance, the Zhmerynka case) or the most typical case (for instance, the village of Zaplazy). The case study method also allows the application of a comparative approach for different cases within one occupational zone as well as to draw comparison between different occupation zones (for instance, between the RKU and the MAZ which were both under the German occupation, or Transnistria Governorate and the DG that were under the Romanian and German occupation respectively). Similarly, the dissertation does not undertake an extensive examination of the Holocaust itself but highlights the specificities of a location and the social, economic, and cultural circumstances in which the rescue occurred. The range of cases thus enriches this research by covering a larger geographical space and allows comparison of cases that makes wider generalisation, specification and criticism possible.[168]

[168] As occupied Ukraine covered a large territory, it is very difficult to research the entire territory deeply. This is the reason why other researchers of the Holocaust in Ukraine pay attention to a particular occupied territory, for example, Transnistria or District Galicia only; or even smaller areas such as Zhytomyr General Commissariat (see for example: Lower, *Nazi-Empire Building*.

A phenomenological approach is one of the main approaches for this kind of research because of the uniqueness of any experience in life. Thus, each incidence of rescue or self-rescue was unique and shows a variety of margins within a certain time and space. Through this approach, by analysing each case, certain conditions and circumstances in which the person was found at the time of occupation for both rescued and rescuers, is taken into account.

Critical thinking is another important method which is applied for archival materials. For instance, interrogations of survivors or collaborators by Soviets were frequently done in an atmosphere of fear that a person might be accused of treason and given a capital punishment. Therefore, survivors could hide their relations with the occupier or with *Volksdeutsche* who *a priori* were considered by Soviets as collaborators and criminals. During Soviet trials, the testimonies could be obtained through application of physical force or moral suppression. Under such circumstances, a person could confirm whatever the interrogator wanted. Materials from the ChGK do not always reflect real numbers and names of the murdered Jews and Roma. Because of the hierarchical system of the collection materials from liberated territories, some of the reports contain imprecise information. The most detailed materials were provided and gathered on the first level - level of villages, then the data was generalised and expanded to the level of district (*raion*) and city and finally, the level of *oblast*. What was sent to the Soviet authorities was sometimes censored and too generalised. Also, human factor played a role: some of the heads of the villages just wanted to send their report as soon as possible seeing it as an extra bureaucracy without any understanding of its importance, whereas others wrote their reports scrupulously and with as much detail as possible.[169] Without application of critical thinking method, researcher's work with such documents is impossible.

Using the post-war Soviet archival materials in the dissertation was particularly difficult. Authors of the documents, which were found in early post-war period 1945-1948, tried to be balanced in their reflection on the war situation. However, already since 1948, more documents are affected by the Stalin's policy and propaganda. For instance, some of the documents, particularly dissertations and articles, written immediately after the war and based on first-hand materials (Soviet orders, reports and eyewitness testimonies), were

[169] I am grateful to Mary Ginzburg, a senior Yad Vashem archivist, for providing me with the information about the ChGK internal order.

doctored by replacing ‘Jews’ with ‘Soviet citizens’. To read those works, one has to question, who exactly those ‘Soviet citizens’ were If a document described mass killings, one can understand if the murdered were Jews or Roma by analysing the procedure of killing. The Jewish names used in the documents helped to excerpt the information about the Jewish partisans. The documents about the Nationalists movements – Ukrainian and Polish – contain always a negative propaganda and an attitude towards the members of movement, particularly of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. Some documents contain description of pogroms and conclude that they were organised or implemented by the OUN, though after the analysing the document such conclusion unlikely could be made. The best approach, if it is possible, is to compare such documents with eyewitness testimonies. To properly examine post-war archival documents, one has to ask, what the purpose of that document was, by whom it was written and to whom it was sent. Finding the answers for these questions helped me to understand the nature of the document and its reliability. However, overwhelming majority of the documents used in this dissertation was created during the wartime, which reflected the immediate situation at a certain time and in a certain location. The usage of German and Romanian archival documents allowed comparison of some information, sometimes overlapping, with that found in the Soviet archival documents.

Recorded audio and video interviews require a separate methodological approach for their analysis. From the perspective of memory studies, all interviews describe specific survivor experience in specific locations, and thereby relating this research again to the multiple case study method. Data was examined for the systematisation and classification of narrations on survival experience of Jews and Roma including help and rescue. The range of respondents cover the entire territory of occupied Ukraine – different zones of occupation on the level of cities, towns and villages. The respondents are of both genders, though women are in the majority. The social background, education and style of life of respondents differ drastically that allows seeing wider picture of the narration from all levels of social structure. Following this approach, I define individual memory as personal memory, where personal recollections fit into the frame of the narrator’s personality and personal life. However, it is complicated to make a distinction between individual and collective memory because they supplement each other, especially in the case of Roma who are very much tied to community/family life. Narrations of the interviewees, Ukrainians, Jews and particularly Roma, sometimes interlaced with many other episodes told by other

survivors, with information which was heard on TV or read in books or/and newspapers and then discussed with others. This phenomenon is defined by Jan Assmann as 'communicative memory'. This type of memory 'includes those varieties of collective memory that are based exclusively on everyday communications'[170] because 'on the social level, memory is a matter of communication and social interaction'.[171] Individuals provide interpretations for other individuals, and these are dealt with as information to be assimilated, remembered, or archived, to create the multiple pasts.[172] Because Roma do not have a written tradition they transfer their experience orally, and in Roma case the Assmann's theory works for this project.

The function of memory is not only memorisation, saving and reproduction, but also forgetting which can be unintentional caused by physical processes in the brain for liberation of brain from non-actual meanings or it can be deliberate as well. It may also be caused by deep traumatic events. Analysing the interviews of Roma one can observe that in most cases Roma told everything hastily and without details, pretending that such details were not so important for them. Possibly the details were really not important for them or maybe they just tried to avoid telling such details because of the trauma involved. Often Roma told me that they have nothing to remember while 'inside' the family or community they recall details of the occupation that may illustrate deliberate forgetting. Regarding the individual memory of Ukrainians, one can observe that the occupation was not the most traumatic event for everyone, especially those who survived *Holodomor* (Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933). Ukrainians and other non-Jews and non-Roma talk about the Holocaust with details that can help to elaborate on the same cases told by Jewish and Roma survivors or to look at the cases from a different perspective.

Generally, the dissertation reflects the social processes in order to illustrate social life, including social interaction during the period of the Second World War and the occupation of Ukraine. There is some connection to ethnic history (Jewish, Roma and Ukrainian), and political history when analysing the policies of the Soviet Union, Germany, and Romania during the Second World War; and using politics and its influence on the construction of

[170] Jan Assmann, 'Kollektives Gedächtnis und Kulturelle Identität', in: Jan Assmann und Tonio Hölscher (Hrsg.), *Kultur und Gedächtnis* (Frankfurt/ M., 1988), p. 10.
[171] Jan Assmann, 'Comunicative and Cultural Memory', in Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning in collaboration with Sara B. Young (eds.), *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin, New York, 2008), p. 109.
[172] Susan A. Crane, 'Writing the Individual Back into Collective Memory', *The American Historical Review,* 102:5, (1997), pp. 1381–1382.

the narrative. The dissertation adheres to the principle of historicism and inheritance of tradition in history. This research does not focus on analysis of the motivation of rescuers because such type of analysis requires comparative approach that employs sociological or psychological methodologies, though, the issue of motivation sometimes is very important and appearance of this question cannot be omitted totally.

Question of Terminology

There are several issues regarding the terminology used in the dissertation. The first issue is the naming of the extermination of Jews and Roma during the Second World War. Referring to Jewish annihilation during the German occupation, I use the term 'Holocaust' emphasising the uniqueness of this event. The situation with the definition of the Roma annihilation during the Second World War is more complicated. Since the 1990s, scholars have used different terms for the persecution of the Roma and Sinti during the Second World War. One of the first references to a specific term for the Roma and Sinti persecution appeared in an article by Henry R. Huttenbach.[173] I would divide the relevant scholarship in this question in two groups: those who want to underline the uniqueness and specificity of the Roma extermination and distinguish it from other genocides including the Jewish, and those who want to 'inscribe' the Roma persecutions into the large concept of the Holocaust paradigm. Many scholars of the extermination of Roma have mainly borrowed approaches from Holocaust studies and consider the Roma annihilation as a part of the Holocaust. Some scholars argue that they study a specific phenomenon – the 'Roma Holocaust' – and this term has become more and more widespread in referring to the fate of Roma in the Second World War. In historiography one can find three terms that are used for the Roma annihilation during the Second World War: 'Porrajmos' (Porajmos, Pharrajimos, Parajmos), 'Samudaripen' and 'Kali Trash' (Kali Traš). The term 'Porrajmos', which was proposed by Ian Hancock, a historian, is the most widely used term at present in scholarly circles. However, the word 'Porrajmos' derived from one of the many Roma dialects and is synonymous with 'poravipe' and can be translated as 'violation', 'abuse', or 'rape'. Some Roma consider this term as offensive, therefore, the

[173] About and Abakunova, *The Genocide and Persecution of Roma and Sinti*, pp. 31-49; Henry R. Huttenbach, 'The Romani Porajmos: The Nazi Genocide of Gypsies in Germany and Eastern Europe', in: David A. Crowe and John Kolsti (eds.), *The Gypsies of Eastern Europe* (Armonk, 1991).

Balkan Roma activists and some scholars prefer the term 'Samudaripen' that is translated as 'mass killing' or as 'murder of all'. Also, Russian Roma activists proposed the term 'Kali Trash' (Kali Traš) which is translated as 'Black Fear'; although this term has not entered into public and academic discourse.[174] The persecution of Roma during the Second World War is a unique tragedy that differed from the Jewish Holocaust in terms of approach and implementation by the Germans and their allies, despite some similar and overlapping methods of extermination. The term 'Roma Holocaust' has not been used in this dissertation. Main reason is that the author does not support the universalisation of the Holocaust with other genocides and ethnic cleansing. Also, the preference is not to use the terms 'Porrajmos' or 'Samudaripen' to define the annihilation of Roma during the Second World War because of the contradictions involved. Thus, to define the Roma persecution by the Germans and their allies this dissertation uses a common term such as 'extermination' of Roma or 'annihilation' of Roma.

Another complicated issue is naming Roma and Jews. The name 'Roma' or 'Romani' as Roma in plural is officially established in historiography. Sometimes one can find a different spelling as 'Rroma'. Using the word 'Roma' scholars usually refer either to the entire Roma population or to the largest group of the Roma people with the same spelling. To distinguish Roma as a group from Roma as the people, some scholars and activists use double 'R' while usual spelling spared to refer to the specific group of the Roma. However, spelling with double 'R' is not widespread. To refer Roma in plural, some scholars use word 'Romani' which one can see in scholarly publications alongside the word 'Roma'. In the dissertation the word 'Roma' is used to refer to the entire Roma people. The word 'Romani' is not used because often it corresponds to linguistic literature produced within the Roma language. When it comes to a specific group of the Roma it is specified in the text. The phrase 'persecution of Sinti and Roma' is quite established in historiography referring to two largest groups of the Roma people in Europe; however, in analysing Ukrainian territories it is more suitable to use the word 'Roma', referring to both groups,

[174] Regarding different terminology and debates around it see, for example: Ian Hancock, 'Uniqueness of the Victims: Gypsies, Jews and the Holocaust', *Without Prejudice: International Review of Racial Discrimination,* 1/2, (1988), pp. 45–67; Ian Hancock, 'Responses to the Porrajmos: The Romani Holocaust', in: Alan S. Rosenbaum (ed.), *Is the Holocaust Unique: Perspectives on Comparative Genocide* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 39–64; Ian Hancock, 'Downplaying the Porrajmos: The Trend to Minimize the Romani Holocaust', *Journal of Genocide Research,* 3, (2000), pp. 56–63; Angus Fraser, *The Gypsies* (Oxford, 1995); Nikolai Bessonov, 'Ob Ispolzovanii Terminov "Poraimos" i "Kholokost" v Znachenii "Genotsid Tsygan"', *Holokost i Suchasnist. Studii v Ukraini i Sviti,* 2:1, (2007), pp. 71–82; Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, 'Holocaust, Porrajmos, Samudaripen... Tworzenienowej Mitologii Narodowej', *Studia Romologica*, 3, (2010), pp. 75–94.

considering that Sinti were found only in very small numbers (a couple of families in south and west of Ukraine). The Sinti families survived the persecution in Ukraine and moved back to Poland and Hungary immediately after the war. Therefore, on contemporary Ukrainian lands one can find only few Sinti families who emigrated from Germany in the late 19th century and settled in Ukraine.

Following tendencies in the western historiography, term 'Roma' is used on order to refer to Roma in plural, although the Roma narrators addressed to each other as 'Rom' for men or 'Romka' for women (in Ukrainian or Russian languages only) inside of their communities, whereas talking about themselves to outsiders, they used the word 'Tsygane' (in Russian) or 'Tsyhany' (in Ukrainian) that corresponds the English word 'Gypsies'. The word 'Gypsies' was used as a common name for Roma in the Soviet Union and later remained in use in contemporary Ukrainian territories. In such cases the word 'Gypsy' appears in the dissertation in the way it is used by the informants. As researchers of Roma Elena Marushiakova and Veselin Popov argued, 'before the changes in 1989 – 1990, the name 'Roma' was used as an endonym (an internal community self-appellation) in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe (except for former Yugoslavia). This name was not widely popular and did not have an official status.'[175]

In their research they use the word 'Roma' only for the period after 1989. In all other cases Marushiakova and Popov use the word 'Gypsies' with the explanation that the word 'Gypsies' is wider in scope than 'Roma'. They use it also 'to include the Gypsy communities who are not Roma or who are considered to be 'Gypsies' by the surrounding population.'[176] In the Soviet Union, as well as in Ukraine, Russia and other post-Soviet countries, the word 'Gypsies' is a common term to identify a person of a Roma origin. However, this word did not and does not have any negative connotations and is not pejorative in contrast to the word 'Zhyd' (also 'Yid' from the word 'Yiddish' – a carrier of Yiddish culture, or 'Żyd' in Polish). The word 'Zhyd' was used in the Soviet Union and still is in use in Ukraine (except western part of Ukraine – Galicia and Volhynia) to deliberately abuse and humiliate a person of Jewish origin. At the same time, the word 'Zhyd' was used in Polish territories as well as in western Ukrainian lands to identify a

[175] Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, 'Historical and Ethnographic Background. Gypsies, Roma, Sinti', in: Will Guy (ed.) *Between Past and Future: the Roma of Central and Eastern Europe* (Hatfield, 2001), pp. 33–53.
[176] Ibid.

person of Jewish origin. So, the word 'Zhyd' may or may not be offensive, depending on who uses this word and in what context. In some of the interviews, which I used in my dissertation, people used the word 'Zhyd' and in this case it appears in text the way it is used by the narrator with my explanation of the meaning, if needed.

The terminology concerning people of non-Jewish origin who helped and/or rescued Jews is also unclear. In many cases scholars who research the rescue of Jews by non-Jews use the term 'Christians'.[177] As Bob Moore noted categorising all non-Jewish rescuers as 'Christians' undermines the possibility of atheistic motives.[178] Using the term 'Christians' towards all non-Jewish rescuers leads also to the limitation of the concept or rescuers, excluding in this way Muslims, atheists or adepts of any other religion who helped Jews. Some scholars define them as 'Righteous' following the Yad Vashem concept of 'Righteous among the Nations of the World' in broader context to refer to all people who helped Jews.[179] More often, one can find the term 'Righteous Gentiles' which corresponds to only Christian rescuers and neglects non-Christians but, nevertheless, applied to all non-Jewish rescuers in western and northern American historiography. Sometimes in historiography one can observe the expression 'those who helped to rescue of Jews' without any explanation who helped rescuing Jews: scholars as if to avoid defining those people clearly.[180] Regarding Roma, there is no concept referring to people of non-Roma origin who helped and/or rescued Roma simply because this topic is absolutely underdeveloped.

In my dissertation I use terms 'rescuers' to define people of non-Roma and non-Jewish origin who saved the lives of Roma and/or Jews. The term 'helper' I use to define people of non-Roma and non-Jewish origin who helped or tried to help (unsuccessful help) Jews

[177] Tec, *When Light Pierced;* Friedman, *Their Brothers' Keepers*; Perry London, 'The Rescuers: Motivational Hypotheses about Christians Who Saved Jews from the Nazis', in: Jacqueline R. Macaulay and Leonard Berkowitz (eds.), *Altruizm and Helping Behavior* (New York, 1970), pp. 241-250; Grenn, *The Legion of Noble Christians*; Hellman, *Avenue of the Righteous*; Stein, *Quiet Heroes*; Hellman, *When Courage Was Stronger,* and others.
[178] Moore, *Survivors: Jewish Self-Help and Rescue*, p. 369.
[179] The honorary title used by Yad Vashem to award non-Jews who risked their lives during the Holocaust to save Jews from extermination by the Nazis. It started to be awarded from 1963 by the Special Commission of the Institute Yad Vashem (Jerusalem). However, the process of the awarding is complicated one involving deep scrutiny of the case. There are certain controversial criteria which applied for granting the title. On its usage, see, for example: Gilbert, *The Righteous*, p. 149.
[180] See for example: Meltzer, *Rescue: The Story of How Gentiles Saved Jews;* Shulman, *To Save One Life*; Leonid Smilovitsky, 'Righteous Gentiles, the Partisans and Jewish Survival in Belorussia 1941-44', in: *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 11:3 (1997), pp. 301–329; Victor J. Seidler, 'Rescue, Righteousness, and Morality', in: Pearl M. Oliner, et al. (eds.), *Embracing the Other: Philosophical, Psychological, and Historical Perspectives on Altruism* (New York, 1992), pp. 48-65, p. 50.

and Roma in any way during the occupation. Talking about helpers and rescuers of Roma or Jewish origins, I clearly define the origin of helpers and/or rescuers.

Another issue is the definition of rescue and terminology concerning people who rescued Jews. There are several terms which are related to the concept of rescue, namely 'rescue', 'rescue attempts', 'saving' 'help', 'aid', and 'sheltering'. To generalize meaning of these words in Holocaust Studies scholarship, I can maintain that terms 'rescue' and 'save' are used as synonyms and imply successful attempt to save life of a Jew, whereas the term 'rescue attempt' in most publications means unsuccessful trial to save life of a Jew. However, in some cases scholars use the term 'help' as synonym to 'save' or 'rescue' whereas not all Jews who received help could survive although without help they would not survive at all. The term 'sheltering' often is misused as synonym of 'rescue', though not all Jews were saved thanks to sheltering. The term 'rescue attempt' can be defined as 'to make an effort to achieve to save (someone) from a dangerous or difficult situation'. Using the same term researchers may apply different meaning and vice versa – scholars may apply the same meaning using different terminology.

Regarding the concept of rescue, in most Holocaust scholarship, scholars just avoid defining what they mean by using this or that term and lead to ambiguity, and rarely try to provide readers with a definition of rescue. The *Lexikon des Holocaust*, which is supposed to define all important and used terms in the Holocaust Studies, does not provide any definition of this term, just providing information about the people who rescued Jews, their motives and examples of rescue.[181] *The Holocaust Encyclopaedia*, edited by Judith Tydor Baumel and Walter Laqueur, provides the following definition of rescue: 'In the concept of Zionism the term "rescue" is used for the definition of the Jewish Agency Executive Committee's and official Yishuv organisations' efforts towards rescuing of European Jews from the mass extermination by the Nazi Germany.'[182] The Encyclopaedia provides only 'Zionistic' concept of rescue and defines the term rescue through itself, i.e. as 'efforts towards rescuing of European Jews'. Nechama Tec and the Oliners', researchers of rescue, do not define the term 'rescue of Jews' although continuously using it, and the term 'help' in the meaning of the 'saving lives of Jews' and a 'way' or 'action' aimed at rescuing accordingly.[183] One of the scholars who paid attention to the problem of terminology under

[181] 'Rettung', in: Wolfgang Benz, (ed.), *Lexikon des Holocaust* (München, 2002), p. 196-199.
[182] Walter Laqueur (ed.), *Kholokost: Entsiklopediia* (Moscow, 2008), p. 591.
[183] Tec, *When Light Pierced*; Oliner, *The Altruistic Personality*.

concept of rescue is an Israeli researcher, Dan Michman who separates terms 'rescue' and 'relief', arguing that sometimes relief was the beginning and the basis for rescue, but theoretically it could be opposite to rescue.[184] Therefore, he explores the term 'rescue' only and defines it as 'an action taking to extricate from an immediate Nazi menace or total removal of Jews from an area that the Nazis' tentacles reached. (Accordingly, a rescue *attempt* is an attempt to take such an action)'.[185] One of the few scholars who tried to define rescue is Lucien Steinberg. He points that 'the term encompasses activities carried out or attempted by individuals, groups or organisations whose objective was to ensure the physical survival of the Jews. I stress simply 'the Jews' and not 'all Jews' because as far as I know, there were never attempts to save all the Jews.'[186] Eventually, terminology is still not defined and unified.[187]

In respect to different definitions of the terms, I suffice to clarify the terminology which I use. I define 'self-rescue' as a physical survival of people of Jewish and/or Roma origin as a result of their own efforts or efforts of people of Roma /Jewish origins respectively. The term 'self-help' relates to attempts or/and actions of Jews/Roma to support themselves or other Jews/Roma and ameliorate their hard-living conditions under the German occupation or that of their allies.

The term 'rescue' I define as an act by non-Jews to take Jews out of life-threatening conditions/situations in order to save their lives. Only the physical survival of Jews can be considered as a rescue. Unsuccessful attempts to save Jewish lives, I do not define as rescue. At the same time, I understand rescue as both a long-time and a momentary act as well, which means that the same Jews could be rescued several times during the Holocaust. For example, initially Jews could be rescued from the shootings in a ghetto by organising their escape (a momentary, single act) and the second time the Jews could be rescued from starvation by being provided food for couple of weeks or months (a long-time multiple act). I use the terms 'aid', 'assistance' and 'help' as synonyms and define these two terms as sorts of attempts or/and actions of non-Jews to support Jews in their hard-living conditions under occupation of the Germans and their allies. It also can be defined as a momentary

[184] Dan Michman, *Holocaust Historiography: A Jewish Perspective: Conceptualizations, Terminology, Approaches and Fundamental Issues* (London, 2003), pp. 180-181.
[185] Ibid., p. 181.
[186] Steinberg, 'Jewish Rescue Activities, p. 603.
[187] For other definitions and rescue concept see: Dworzecki, 'The International Red Cross', p. 76; Seidler, 'Rescue, Righteousness, and Morality', p. 50.

rescue in some cases (e.g. starvation). In some cases, providing help was conducive to survival of Jews. However, not all acts of help assured survival. So, the rescue is a result of somebody's help which is necessary condition for the rescue. The term 'sheltering' I use in cases where somebody hid Jews and provided them safe places for a certain time. The same definitions of these terms are completely applicable to Roma cases with the difference that helpers and rescuers are non-Roma.

My concept of rescue includes actions of non-Jews and non-Roma, as well as Jews and Roma at an individual and a collective level, aimed at preserving lives of Roma and Jews under the occupation of Germans and their allies. It should be emphasised that I reject 'the Zionist concept' of rescue albeit I take it in the broader framework of the term 'rescue', considering that the actions of Jewish and non-Jewish organisations rescued or helped Jews.

Structure of the Dissertation

The dissertation consists of an introduction, five chapters, a conclusion, and a bibliography. The first chapter provides a historical context for exploring the topic of self-rescue and rescue. The chapter describes the life of the population on the eve of the German invasion of Soviet Ukraine and during the German and Romanian occupation. Particular attention is paid on the demographic situation in 1930s in Ukrainian-inhabited lands (Northern Bukovina, southern parts of Bessarabia, Volhynia, Eastern Galicia and Soviet Ukraine), Antisemitism and Antigypsyism among Ukrainians, and the identity of Ukrainian, Jews and Roma on the eve of the occupation. The chapter also pays attention to such aspects: the annexation of Ukrainian inhabited territories by the Soviet Union in 1939-1940, the refugee movements and evacuation in the period of 1939-1941, the division of Ukrainian lands after the German invasion in 1941, and the establishment of new administrations on each part of the divided Ukraine. Particular attention is laid on the Hitler's 'New Order' implemented over most of the territory of Ukraine; especially, the occupiers' policies on persecution of Jews and Roma and German and Romanian regulations of the life in occupied Ukraine. The chapter examines the question of awareness of Jews and Roma about their persecution and argues that neither Jews, nor Roma were informed about Hitler's plans enough and those who could not decide to flee or to be evacuated faced the new regime unprepared. Finally, the chapter argues that the fate of Jews and Roma in Ukraine were similar.

The second chapter explores cases of Jewish and Roma self-rescue and provides comparison of such actions on two levels: Jews and Roma attempts to self-rescue and self-help in different occupational zones. The main argument of this chapter is that both Jews and Roma tried to save their lives and help their relatives and friends in the first instance, before relying on outsiders' help or seeking such help. The cases of self-help and self-rescue can be categorised into official and non-official (non-organised) attempts as well as collective and individual. The official self-help or/and self-rescue was a form provided by the Jewish or Roma organisations. Such form of help and rescue was *a priori* a collective one because an individual could not provide any official help even though this individual represented a certain group or official organisation. To consider a rescue as official certain conditions had to be met: the Jewish or Roma organisation had to be registered officially, have a certain structure and issue certain orders towards helping the Jews or the Roma; aid had to be provided regularly based on the written or oral regulations of the organisation; and there had to be network of the people working for this or within this organisation and helping or rescuing the Roma or the Jews. Official self-help for the Roma in occupied territories of Ukraine as well as elsewhere could not be provided because Roma and Sinti organisations connected with the Ukrainian Roma had not yet been formed: their establishment occurred only after the Second World War. Official self-help for the Jews in the occupied Ukraine was provided by several Jewish international organisations: the American *Jewish Joint* Distribution Committee (JDC) based in New York,[188] the World Jewish Congress,[189] and the Palestinian Jewish Community (the *Yishuv*).[190] There were also Jewish organisations in the occupied territories of the USSR and in Romania at both local and national scale such as the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee headed by Solomon Michoels and based in Moscow,[191] the Jewish Centre in Romania (*Centrale Evreilor din Romania*),[192] and the Jewish Social Self-Help Organisation in the city of Chernivtsi.[193] These organisations tried to help Jews in a range of ways – from spreading information about their deportations and murder by the Germans and their allies to the distribution of food and sending requests to higher authorities with demands to stop the persecutions. This research

[188] Yehuda Bauer, *American Jewry and the Holocaust: the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, 1939-1945* (Jerusalem, Detroit, 1981).
[189] Eppler, 'The Rescue Work of the World Jewish Congress, pp. 47–70.
[190] Ofer, 'The Activities of the Jewish Agency Delegation in Istanbul'; Tuvia Frilling, 'Organizing Jewish Resistance: The Decision-Making and Executive Array in Yishuv Rescue Operations during the Holocaust', in: Patrick Henry (ed.), *Jewish Resistance against the Nazis* (Washington, DC, 2014), pp. 245-276.
[191] Redlich, *War, Holocaust and Stalinism*.
[192] YVA, M.52, JM/11321, pp. 1104-1116.
[193] YVA, M.52, JM/11346, p. 538.

is not focused on the Jewish official help and rescue because the analysis of the rescue attempts by the Jewish organisations toward the Ukrainian Jews requires a different research methodology which cannot be undertaken within the limits of this dissertation. Therefore, the second chapter discusses ways and methods which were employed by Jews and Roma for non-official self-help and self-rescue. By analysing these methods and ways, a less or more assertive self-rescue, and individual and collective self-help were determined. The chapter finds that the most frequent ways to self-help that were escape or/and hiding and reveals previously unresearched interactions between Jews and Roma and help given by Roma to Jews in occupied Ukraine.

The third chapter analyses controversial and outstanding cases of self-rescuing that are not well-known in Holocaust scholarship or ones that can be viewed from a different perspective such as self-help by *Judenräte* and mayors of 'Gypsy' villages. The chapter also discusses such controversial ways of rescuers being an *Ostarbeiter,* organising an armed resistance by forming national detachments and the 'dark side' of self-rescue such as Jewish and Roma collaboration with the occupiers on different levels. The chapter argues that the Jews and Roma employed collective self-help ubiquitously and relying on own efforts being it official representation of the Jewish or Roma communities or forming the armed detachments. On individual level, Jews and, possibly, Roma used any methods to survive, willingly or unwillingly, that led directly or indirectly for collaboration with the occupiers and under different circumstances could include also an outsiders' assistance.

The fourth chapter discusses institutional help and rescue of Jews and Roma by non-Jews and non-Roma. The chapter brings forward a new argument regarding help for Jews given by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. Also, this chapter analyses help for the Jews and Roma by Polish organisation *Żegota,* Soviet and Polish partisan and underground movements and by churches in Ukraine. The main argument of this chapter is that help was provided to the Jews and Roma on institutional level but only occasionally and depended on the personal attitudes and the influence on others by the heads of those institutions, that also underlines an impact of individual actions.

The fifth chapter examines individual cases of helping and rescuing Jews and Roma by non-Roma and non-Jews and provides a background information on the encouragement of local non-Jewish population to betray Jews and Roma (in comparison), and possible punishment for helping Jews in contrast to helping Roma. The chapter is based on new case

studies and provides comparison of circumstances, ways and methods of rescuing the victims by non-Jewish and non-Roma individuals who were mainly Ukrainians. The main argument is that the rescue attempts depended on many factors, including occupation regimes and geographical characteristics, the occupier's' policy and control, the level of risk for helpers, rescuer's personal initiative, and relationship between victims and their helpers before the occupation. Via multiple case studies the chapter attempts to provide a characteristic for social background of helpers/rescuers and rescued.

The dissertation concludes with new findings that the scale of self-help of Jews and Roma, as well as the rescue of Jews and Roma by Ukrainians and people of other origins, is underestimated. Roma and Jews, first of all, tried to save their lives without outside help and employed numerous methods for it individually and collectively. Nevertheless, any assistance to Roma and Jews from non-Jewish and non-Roma population was significant for successful survival of the victims. Attempts to help the Jewish and Roma victims occurred, on a collective and individual level, more often than it is credited in existing Holocaust scholarship. Collective help to Jews and Roma in villages had common patterns and was carried less or more assertive character

Chapter I

Ukrainians, Jews and Roma on the Eve of the German invasion of the Soviet Ukraine and under the Occupation

The chapter overviews the social situation on the eve of the German occupation of Soviet Ukraine in June 1941. The last censuses before the German invasion in three countries – Romania, Poland, and Soviet Union in 1930, 1931 and 1939 respectively – provide the demographic information for Ukrainian-inhabited lands – Northern Bukovina, Southern Bessarabia, Eastern Galicia, Volhynia and the Soviet Ukraine. This census information allows us to understand the structure of the society in terms of nationalities, language, religions, urbanisation and gender. Such information provides grounds for understanding the role of identity on the part of the Ukrainians and the main victims of the German regime – Jews and Roma. This provides details not only of lifestyles of these groups but also the issue of how the German occupiers could distinguish and separate the Roma and Jewish minorities from the Ukrainian majority.

The invasion by the Soviet Union of Polish and Romanian territories in 1939-1940 and incorporation of Eastern Galicia, Volhynia, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina into Soviet Ukraine formed a new larger Ukraine. The occupation of Poland by Germany on the one hand, and the repressive policies of the Soviet authorities implemented on 'new territories', on the other, created a refugee crisis. Despite the terrorisation policies in the Soviet Union, most of the Jews tried to escape from the German-occupied territories to the Soviet Ukraine. However, there was little awareness about German antisemitism and virtually no knowledge of their prejudice against gypsies before as well as during the German occupation. Therefore, many Jews and Roma did not know what to expect from the occupiers before the mass killings started and rumours of killings reached the Roma and the Jews. This lack of awareness played a negative role for the Jews and the Roma in influencing their decision to evacuate or to flee just right before the Germans arrived.

This chapter argues that the Soviet Union did not organise its evacuation processes well for the population as a whole and did not pay any particular attention to the Jews and Roma – the main target of the occupiers' racial politics. Thus, the evacuations cannot be considered as an institutional rescue of Jews and Roma and led both victim groups to self-rescuing or seeking help from non-Jews and non-Roma who remained under the occupation. The last part of the chapter briefly overviews the German and Romanian politics of the Holocaust and Roma annihilation.

The Population in the Soviet Ukraine on the Eve of the War: Regional Statistics and Demographic Aspects

On the eve of the Second World War, that has begun on 1 September 1939, the lands mainly inhabited by ethnic Ukrainians were not a unified territory. Ukraine as a state existed only within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (the USSR) under the name of Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic since 1922, when the Soviet Union was formed as a state. The Ukrainian SSR was composed of fifteen *oblasts* (regions): in the east – Kharkiv, Voroshilovhrad (later Luhansk), Stalino (later Donetsk), Zaporizhzhia, and Dnipropetrovsk, in the west – Kmelnytskyi (during the time of the war Kamyanets-Podilskyi), in the north – Sumy and Chernihiv, in the south – Odessa and Mykolaiv, and in the centre – Poltava, Kirovohrad, Kyiv, Zhytomyr, and Vinnytsia. Kherson *oblast* did not exist at the time and was created only in 1944, after the liberation of the Ukrainian SSR. Contemporary Cherkassy *oblast* was created only in 1954; before the war the territory of the Cherkasy region was included into the Kyiv *oblast*. The Ukrainian SSR also included the Moldavian ASSR until 1940. The capital of the Ukrainian SSR before 1934 was the city of Kharkiv, after 1934 – the city of Kyiv.[194]

According to the Soviet 1939 population census, which was completed in January 1939, before the incorporation of other Ukrainian lands, the Ukrainian SSR consisted of more than one hundred nationalities. The majority were Ukrainians - 76.5% (23,667,509), and

[194] On administrative division of Ukrainian SSR before the Second World War, see: *SSSR. Administrativno-Territorialnoe Delenie Soiuznykh Respublik: Izmeneniia, Proisshedshie za Vremia S 1/X 1938 g. po 1/III 1939 g. / Informatsionno-Statisticheskii Otdel pri Sekretariate Prezidiuma Verkhovnogo Soveta Soiuza SSR* (Moscow, 1939); pp. 8-11; Yurii Loza, 'Formuvannia Terytorii', in: Valerii Smolii, et al. (eds.), *Entsyklopediia Istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 2005), p. 22.

followed by Russians - 13.5% (4,175,299), Jews - 5% (1,532,776), Germans - 1.3% (392,458), Poles - 1.2% (357,710), Moldavans - 0.7% (230,698), Belarusians - 0.5% (158,174), Greeks - 0.4% (107,047), Bulgarians - 0.3% (83,838), and Tatars - 0.2% (55,456). Also, the census recorded significant numbers of Armenians (21,688), Czechs (14,786), Uzbeks (12,962), Mordvins (12,041), Kazakhs (11,269), Gypsies (10,443),[195] and Georgians (10,063) (but each of them was less than 0.1%) in Ukraine.[196] Thus, Ukrainians were the titular nation which inhabited the Ukrainian SSR. Russians and Jews were the main national minorities followed by the Germans and the Poles.

The population census of 1939 was criticised for its inaccuracy in terms of population statistics. For one, the population census of 1937 was declared methodologically defective by Stalin because it included only permanent populations residing in the USSR. Thus the 1939 census counted both the permanent and the present population and, therefore, the number of the inhabitants was higher than the one in the census of 1937.[197] The new census of 1939 was needed for hiding a pressing demographic situation: the rapid decrease in population, particularly in Ukraine where *Holodomor,* the Great Famine of 1932-1933, took lives of between three and half and eight or nine million people, according to different estimations.[198] Such a severe decrease in population required an explanation, which USSR authorities did not want to provide publicly, moreover, the man-made character of the *Holodomor* was concealed and presented as a natural harvesting disaster.[199] Yet, the

[195] 'Gypsies' is translation of the Russian word 'Tsygane' and Ukrainian 'Tsyhany' which was used in all documents of the Soviet period, including the period of the German occupation.

[196] *Vsesoiuznaia Perepis Naseleniia 1939 Goda. Natsionalnyi Sostav Naseleniia po Respublikam SSSR. Ukrainskaia Sotsialisticheskaia Sovetskaia Respublika*, available at: Demoskop Weekly, Institute of Demography of the National Research University 'Higher School of Economics': http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/ssp/census_types.php?ct=6, (last accessed on 15 August 2019). All percentage calculations for the Soviet Ukraine here and hereafter are mine.

[197] See on criticism of the population census of 1939 in details: O. Gladun, N. Kulyk, and O. Rudnytskyi, 'Chyselnist, Sklad i Rukh Naselennia', in: Smolii, Valerii, et al. (eds.), *Entsyklopediia Istorii Ukrainy,* vol. 10 (Kyiv, 2013), p. 52; Valentina Zhyromskaia, Vsesoiuznaia Perepis Naseleniia 1939 goda: Istoriia Provedeniia, Otsenka Dostovernosti, in: *Vsesoiuznaia Perepis Naseleniia1939 goda: Osnovnye Itogi* (St. Petersburg, 1992), pp. 4-12.

[198] Anne Applebaum, *Red Famine: Stalin's War on Ukraine* (New York, 2017), p. 284; David Marples, *Heroes and Villains: Creating National History in Contemporary Ukraine* (Budapest/New York, 2007), p. 243, with a reference to Viktor Mysan, *Opovidannya z Istorii Ukrainy* (Kyiv, 1997), pp. 174–179.

[199] To suppress peasantry in Ukrainian lands, Joseph Stalin organised a mass Famine. In 1932-1933, the harvest was taken from Ukrainian peasants and stored in barns. Any attempt to get wheat from *kolkhoz* fields were punished immediately by death (shooting). See a vast historiography on Holodomor: Applebaum, *Red Famine;* Natalia Levchuk, 'The Role of Grain Procurement in Understanding Regional Variations of 1933 Holodomor Losses', paper delivered at *the 14th Annual Danyliw Seminar, Chair of Ukrainian Studies* (Ottawa, University of Ottawa, 8-10 November 2018), available at: https://docs.wixstatic.com/ugd/ff1dca_74d887d3985e47daac08dc295fb067fd.pdf, (last accessed 01 July 2019); Robert Conquest, *Harvest of Sorrow: Collectivization and the Terror-Famine* (New York, 1986); Tetiana Boriak , 'Violence as Intentional Tool of Killing During Holodomor 1932-33 in Ukraine', paper

population census of 1939 is the one held chronologically close to year 1941, when the German invasion and occupation of Ukraine was started. Also, for the first time, existing population was counted with consideration of those who resided temporarily as well as permanently (including those who were absent at the time of the census. The checks were put in place in order not to miss a person and not to count a person twice (in case a person moved to another location at the time). For this purpose, all people who were counted and needed to move to another location obtained a paper indicating that this person has already been counted.[200] Thus, for this research the population census of Ukrainian SSR of 1939 seems more reliable than the population census of 1937, where such foregoing checks were not employed. Notwithstanding, the author of this research is aware of criticism that might be directed to the population census 1939.

The population numbers for nationalities, and the number of native language speakers may display a discrepancy, because both of these categories were recorded following respondents' declarations, and not necessarily according to the Soviet documents (certificates of birth or passports) where individual's nationality was recorded. Thus, here one could observe differences between official Soviet identity documents and self-declared identity of a person. At that time, under the process of Russification, repressions, and Great Purge, some of non-Russians could have stated that they were Russians rather than, for example, Ukrainians or Jews, and their native language would be declared as Russian (especially, if they could speak Russian well).[201] For instance, the majority of the Poles living in the USSR stated that their native language was Ukrainian (mostly in the Ukrainian SSR), Belarusian or Russian.[202] It seems complicated to discern, if Poles had indeed forgotten their Polish language and were assimilated into the linguistic majority (in Ukrainian SSR – Ukrainian or Russian, in Belarusian SSR – Belarusian or Russian), or the

presented at *the 9th Annual Danyliw Seminar, Chair of Ukrainian Studies* (Ottawa, University of Ottawa, 31 October -2 November 2013); Andrea Graziosi, 'Les Famines Soviétiques de 1931-1933 et le Holodomor Ukrainien une Nouvelle Interprétation Est-Elle Possible et Quelles en Seraient les Conséquences?', *Cahiers du Monde Russe,* 46:3, (2005), pp. 453–472; Robert W., Davies and Stephen G. Wheatcroft, *The Years of Hunger: Soviet Agriculture, 1931-1933 (Industrialisation of Soviet Russia)* (Basingstoke, 2004); Stanislav Kulchytskyi, , *Golod 1923-1933 gg. v Ukraine kak Genotsyd* (Kyiv, 2005); Georgiy Kasianov, *Danse Macabre. Holod 1932-1933 rokiv u Politytsi, Masoviy Svidomosti ta Istoriohrafii (1980-ti – pochatok 2000)* (Kyiv, 2010), and others.

[200] T. Labutova, 'Osnovnye Organizatsionnye i Metodologicheskie Voprosy Vsesoiuznoi Perepisi Naseleniia 1939 goda', in: *Vsesoiuznaia Perepis Naseleniia 1939 goda: Osnovnye Itogi* (St. Petersburg, 1992), pp. 12-18.

[201] On Russification, see: Ivan Dziuba, 'Rusyfikatsiia', in: Valerii Smolii, et al. (eds.), *Entsyklopediia Istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 9 (Kyiv, 2012), p. 378. On the Great Purge, see: Sheila Fitzpatrick, *Everyday Stalinism: ordinary life in extraordinary times: Soviet Russia in the 1930s* (Oxford/New York, 1999), pp.190-217.

[202] *Vsesoiuznaia Perepis Naseleniia1939 goda: Osnovnye Itogi* (St. Petersburg, 1992), p. 248.

atmosphere of fear was so overwhelming that it was better for Poles to state that Polish was not their native language. In addition, speaking Russian could offer more benefits in education and career. Such reasoning might have also applied not only to Poles but also to other non-Russians. On the contrary, Yiddish was considered as a native language for all *Ashkenazi* Jews[203] despite the fact that many Jews were assimilated and considered Russian or any other as their native language, but not Yiddish. Officially the language was called 'Jewish' ('*evreiskii*').[204] When it comes to Roma, all dialects of Romanes (Romani) were recorded merely as 'Gypsy' (*tsyganskii*) language.[205] Both of the languages – 'Jewish' and 'Gypsy' - were spread across the USSR.

Not all nationalities were categorised accurately in the 1939 census: some of the ethnicities were 'infused' into other nationalities. For instance, Czech and Slovaks were recorded as one nationality; Kipchaks, Turks and Qurama were recorded as Uzbeks along with native Uzbeks; Tatars and Crimean Tatars along with some other peoples were recorded as Tatars, though the Crimean Tatars and Tatars have different ethnogenesis and are completely different peoples and nationalities.[206] Even though the category 'native language' existed in the census, it was not tabulated separately for each Republic, but only for the entire Soviet Union. Moreover, minor languages were not counted at all, and the percentage was given only for wide-spread languages. In the Soviet Ukraine, majority of the people spoke Ukrainian and/or Russian. In rural areas of Ukraine, Ukrainian has prevailed. In urban areas Russian was spoken. Jewish populations spoke mainly Yiddish, but the assimilated Jews also spoke Russian or only Russian and rarely Ukrainian or Polish. Roma spoke different dialects of Romanes and in many cases Ukrainian and rarely Russian. All these nuances are very important when exploring the question on identity of Jews and Roma in Ukraine on the eve of the German invasion.

In terms of religion, the policy of the USSR from 1929 onwards was directed towards the restriction and finally the elimination of religions and particularly Ukrainian churches, which was achieved through repressions and the killing of clergy by the time of the Second

[203] Ibid. On formation of Ashkenazi Jewish identity from ancient times to contemporary, see, for instance: Silberstein, Laurence, *Mapping Jewish Identities* (New York, 2000), particularly Chapter 6, Anita Norich, 'On the Yiddish Question', pp.145-158; Howard Wettstein (ed.), *Diasporas and Exiles: Varieties of Jewish Identity* (Berkeley, CA, 2002).
[204] *Vsesoiuznaia Perepis Naseleniia 1939 g.,* p. 81.
[205] Ibid., p. 82.
[206] Ibid., pp. 246-247. On Crimean Tatars, see, for instance, Brian Glyn Williams, 'The Ethnogenesis of the Crimean Tatars: A Historical Reinterpretation', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 11:3, (2001), pp. 329-348.

World War. Thus, population census of 1939 had no category of 'Religion', but the 1937 census recorded the percentage of 'believers' and 'non-believers' in the USSR. Thus, 56% of the population in the USSR defined themselves as believers, while 43% declared that they were 'non-believers' and 1% did not answer the question.[207] According to this record, 75.2% of the USSR population was Orthodox. The second biggest religion was Islam with 15%. Catholics were recorded without differentiating Roman Catholics from Greek Catholics and this category corresponded to 0.9% of the population. Protestants also were not recorded according to their different denominations and composed 0.9% of the population. 'Other Christians', without any explanation of which particular groups, consisted 0.7%. Jews were 0.5% of entire population of the USSR. The category of 'Others' and 'those who did not declare religion' was 6.3%. Arguably, atheists and those who were afraid to state their religious beliefs were included into this category.[208] This statistic demonstrated the overall situation in the USSR, but it can be cautiously applied to the situation in the Soviet Ukraine. The overwhelming majority of the population of the Ukrainian SSR was Christian Orthodox that included the Russian Orthodox Church (the Patriarchal Church), the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church), and the Orthodox Autocephalous Synodal Church, though, other Christian denominations such as the Catholics, the Greek Catholics, and various Protestants (Baptists, Adventists, and others) existed in relatively insignificant numbers. Thus, it is most likely that 75% of Ukrainians could be Orthodox, though the percentage of Protestants in the Soviet Ukraine could be definitely higher than the all-Union percentage simply because Ukraine was the centre for Baptist, Adventist and other Protestant denominations primarily because of the large number of Germans resident in the Soviet Ukraine since the time of Catherine the Great. The percentage of Muslims may have been significantly less, because in some of the Soviet Union Republics Muslim population were more prevalent whereas in Soviet Ukraine, Muslims lived only in the south and east (Tatars, Crimean Tatars, Uzbeks, and etc.), and in very small numbers. Conversely, Judaism was mainly observed in Ukraine because 51% of all USSR's Jews resided in the Soviet Ukraine before the Second World War.[209] In fact, if one correlates language with nationality, we can see

[207] V. Starovskii, 'O Chislennosti Veruiushchikh v SSSR i Ikh Raspredelenii po Religiiam po Perepisi 1937 goda, in: GARF, F. 1562, op. 33, d. 2990, ll. 72.
[208] Ibid., l. 74.
[209] Calculation is based on the population census of 1939.

approximately a third of the Soviet Ukraine's population stated that they were Jews and spoke Yiddish.

Religion in the Soviet Union was not forbidden though church activities were restricted as were the activities of other religious institutions.[210] In everyday life, people in Ukraine continued to maintain their religious customs, especially in rural areas. All interviews contain information about the secret practice of religious traditions in families, and hidden communication with priests, rabbis and imams. However, by the beginning of the Second World War, because of the Great Terror and repressions employed against religious activists, the number of those who were hiding their religious beliefs probably increased. For those who occupied high positions, stating that they were atheists was more convenient. Among them also were people who sincerely denied religion, though the statistics of such people was never produced.

The population of the Soviet Ukraine was mostly rural: 63.8% lived in villages, whereas 36.2% lived in cities.[211] Kyiv, the capital of Ukraine, and its *oblast* territory hosted 35.3% of the entire urban population. The other *oblast*s with large urban populations were Stalino (Donetsk) with 78.1%, and Voroshilovhrad (Luhansk) with 65.7%. Kharkiv and Dnipropetrovsk *oblasts* urban population were respectively 52.7% and 53%. Other *oblasts* were predominantly agrarian, except for the Odessa *oblast* on the south, where the urban population corresponded to 41.8% of all *oblast* population. In a nutshell, an urban population prevailed only in the east of Soviet Ukraine.

In both villages and cities, the same percentage of men and women prevailed, namely: 47.7% and 52.3%. It reflected the general gender situation in Soviet Ukraine: there were more women than men.[212] This meant that after the mass mobilisation into the Red Army in 1941, mostly women and older males and children were left in both rural and urban areas, though some of women were mobilised too.

[210] Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine The Land and Its Peoples*, (Toronto, Buffalo and London, 2nd ed., 2010), p. 581.
[211] RGAE, F. 7971, op. 16, d. 54, l. 8. According to the population census of 1939, 11,200,218 people lived in cities, 19,746,000 – in villages.
[212] *Vsesoiuznaia Perepis Naseleniia 1939 g*., p. 25.

The Population of Eastern Galicia and Volhynia on the Eve of the War: Regional Statistics and Demographic Aspects

Another large territory inhabited by Ukrainians was Eastern Galicia and Volhynia (Ukrainian: Volyn) which had been given to Poland after the First World War. Less than three weeks after the beginning of the Second World War, the Soviet Union entered into these western Ukrainian territories and incorporated them into the Soviet Ukraine. Before the Soviet invasion on 17 September 1939, Poland administratively was divided into Voivodships (Polish: *województwo*). There were four Voivodships where Ukrainians constituted the majority: Lviv (Polish: Lwów), Ternopil (Polish: Tarnopol), Stanislav (Polish: Stanisławów; after 1962 – Ivano-Frankivsk), and Volhynia (Polish: Wołyn). The major city on the south-eastern Polish borders was the city of Lviv. The last population census before the Second World War was conducted in Poland in December 1931. The census did not count national minorities but recorded two main categories – religion and primary language – according to which it is possible to classify national minorities too. According to this population census in the four above-mentioned Voivodships, those who spoke Ukrainian as a mother tongue consisted 37.3% of the population (3,093,512 people out of 8,293,674).[213] Volhynia Voivodship had 68% of Ukrainian speakers as the first language, Tarnopol Voivodship 46.9%, that means that majority of Ukrainian population in Volhynia and almost half in Tarnopol were Ukrainians. Even though in Lviv (including the city of Lviv) and Stanislav Ukrainian speakers consisted only 18.5% and 25.1% respectively, the Ukrainian population could have been denser in reality: some of Ukrainians and other non-Poles may have stated their mother tongue as Polish because of the 'Polonisation' of these territories in interwar Poland. The reasons for non-Poles declaring themselves as Poles (or at least, declaration of the mother tongue as Polish if they spoke it fluently) were exactly the same as for the Russification in Soviet Ukraine. As Rogers Brubaker wrote, 'While it was widely believed that Germans could not and Jews should not be assimilated, the assimilation of Belarussians and Ukrainians was seen as both possible and desirable, even as necessary.'[214] Also, some of Ukrainians could speak

[213] *Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z Dnia 9 XII 1931r. Formularze i Instrukcje Spisowe (Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1932),* available at: https://www.wikizeroo.org/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvUG9saXNoX2NlbnN1c19vZl8xOTMx, (last accessed on 20 August 2019). All percentage calculations for Polish Voivodships here and hereafter are mine.

[214] Rogers Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (Cambridge, 1996), p.100.

Rusyn[215] language or Russian (especially in Volhynia because of its former inclusion in the Russian Empire) as a first language.

It is important to mention that only ten languages were recorded in the census: Polish, Ukrainian, Ruthenian, Belarusian, Russian, Czech, Lithuanian, German, Yiddish and Hebrew. All other languages were included into the category 'other' and a category 'not declared' also existed in the census. For instance, the Armenian language was not among those listed even though Armenian Christians were mentioned in the main category of 'Religion'.[216] Needless to say, Romanes was not mentioned in the census either. However, Hebrew and Yiddish – languages spoken by Jews – had two separate categories – in Polish '*Hebrajski*' and '*Żydowski*', although modern Hebrew could not have existed at that time as an everyday language. Most likely, religious Jews, who devoted their lives to learn Torah, declared Hebrew as a mother tongue, yet spoke Yiddish in day-to-day life. This hypothesis is indirectly confirmed by the statistics on religion: a very small number of people declared their primary language as Hebrew in comparison with those who declared Yiddish as a primary language, but all of them declared their religion as Judaism. It should be emphasised that many people in Eastern Galicia and to a lesser extent in Volhynia were able to communicate in multiple languages, including Polish, Ukrainian, Russian, Yiddish, Hebrew and/or German. Because Volhynia had been part of the Russian Empire before the First World War, Russian was the most widespread second or third language in those lands. German was also widespread in Eastern Galicia because it had been part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire between 1772 and 1918.

According to the first language, statistics of nationalities in four Voivodships, including the main city of Lviv could be seen as follows: Poles – 39.5% (3,272,964), Ukrainians - 37.3% (3,093,512), Rusyns – 13.8 (1,147,483), Jews – 7.6% (626,793), Germans – 0.9% (78,344), Czechs – 0.4% (31,741), Russians – 0.3% (24,558), Belarusians and Lithuanians – less than 0.1% (2,701 and 116 respectively). However, considering situation with the policy of assimilation and Polonisation, one might argue that Ukrainians could have constituted the

[215] Rusyns were the ethnic Slavic group populated in Transcarpathian close to Ukrainians. They are also known as Ruthenians or Ruthene. They spoke Rusyn language which is similar to Ukrainian. For ethnogenesis of Rusyns see Sergei Segeda, *Antropolohichnyi Sklad Ukraintsiv Skhidnykh Karpat. Etnohenez ta Etnichna Istoriia Naselennia Ukrainskykh Karpat* (Lviv, 1999), pp. 461–482.

[216] *Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z Dnia 9 XII 1931r. Formularze i Instrukcje Spisowe (Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1932),* available at: https://www.wikizeroo.org/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvUG9saXNoX2NlbnN1c19vZl8xOTMx, (last accessed on 20 August 2019).

majority in most of those territories as the Czechs, Germans, and Russians were much more common in the Volhynia Voivodship.[217] Roma were given no consideration as a separate group and there was therefore no statistical data on them.

The table of the category 'Religion' correlates with that of languages and thus confirms the hypothesised statistics of nationalities. As Joseph Marcus stated, commenting on population census of 1921 '…with the exception of Germans, differences of religion and rite largely corresponded to the differences of nationality in Poland.'[218] The same is applicable for the census of 1931, but instead of nationalities, one can see that primary language precisely corresponds to religion. Thus, the most popular religion in Eastern Galicia was Greek Catholicism (the Uniate Church). In simple terms, the Greek Catholic Church was subordinated to the Pope in Vatican, while preserving the Orthodox rite. In 1925, Poland and Vatican signed a concordat according to which the jurisdiction of Metropolitanate of Halych was restricted to only three eparchies – Lviv, Stanislav and Przemyśl. The main city of Metropolia was Lviv.[219] 52.5%of the population of three Voivodoships – Stanislav, Lviv and Tarnopol - were followers of this Church.[220] An absolute majority of Ukrainians (99%) and a majority of Rusyns (70.8%) in the three Voivodships belonged to the Greek Catholic Church that flourished in the interwar period. Some Poles in those three Voivodships also belonged to the Uniate Church (16.2%). The second popular religion in Eastern Galicia was Roman Catholicism. 36.7% of the population declared themselves as belonging to this religion. The majority of believers were Poles (36.1% of the population of three Voividships). Only 0.2% of Ukrainians and same percentage of Rusyns and Germans belonged to this Church. The third major religion was Judaism. 9.9% of the population claimed this religion as theirs, though in the census it was recorded under the category of 'Mojżeszowe' in Polish, with a translation into French as '*Israélite*'. What is striking is that not all who recorded their religion as Judaism stated their first language as Yiddish or Hebrew. There was a significant number of those for whom the mother tongue was Polish (31.4%), which suggests a fast pacing Polonisation. Insignificant numbers (0.1%) of those who declared themselves belonging to Judaism stated Rusyn, German, Ukrainian, Czech and other non-Jewish languages as their mother

[217] Ibid.
[218] Joseph Marcus, *Social and Political History of the Jews in Poland, 1919-1939* (Berlin, New York, 1983), p. 17.
[219] Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine,* p. 638.
[220] The calculations, based on population census of 1931, here and after are mine.

tongue. The Orthodox Church was not popular at all and only 0.2% of the entire population belonged to this religion. Protestants of different denominations, such as Lutherans, Calvinists (Reformed) and others, were more popular and consisted 0.5% of the population of Eastern Galicia. Generally, Germans were Protestants but also, in insignificant numbers, Poles and Ukrainians (the last particularly in Stanislav Voivodship).

In Volhynia Voivodship, the most popular was the Orthodox Church. 69.8% with 94.7% of them being Ukrainians. Some Russians (1.6%), Czechs (1.5%), and Poles (1.4%) also belonged to the same church as well as Rusyns (0.6%) and Belorusians (0.2%). The second popular religion was the same as in Eastern Galicia – Roman Catholicism. 15.7% of entire population of Volhynia Voivodship were registered as belonging to this religion. Among them the Poles constituted the majority (96.9%). Some Czechs (2.2%) and an insignificant number of Ukrainians (0,6%). The Third popular religion was also the same as in Eastern Galicia - Judaism. 10% of the population of Volhynia Voivodship declared themselves as Jews by religion. Among them 1% declared their mother tongue as Polish and a few people as Ukrainian, Russian, German and other. Protestants consisted 2.6% of the population. The majority of Protestants, the same as in Eastern Galicia, were Germans, but also Ukrainians, Poles and Czechs. The Greek Catholic Church was the least popular in Volhynia: with only 0.5% of the population as adherents. Most were Ukrainians, but also some Poles and insignificant number of Rusyns.

The population of Volhynia and eastern Galicia was overwhelmingly rural with many economic concerns,[221] though precise data on rural and urban populations cannot be accessed. The city of Lviv was the largest city in eastern Galicia and in Ukrainian inhabited lands under Polish rule with a population of 312,231.[222] In terms of gender, women consisted of 51-52% and men 48-49% - or around the same as in Soviet Ukraine.

[221] Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed,* p. 100.
[222] *Drugi Powszechny Spis Ludności z Dnia 9 XII 1931r. Formularze i Instrukcje Spisowe (Warsaw: Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 1932),* available at: https://www.wikizeroo.org/index.php?q=aHR0cHM6Ly9lbi53aWtpcGVkaWEub3JnL3dpa2kvUG9saXNoX2NlbnN1c19vZl8xOTMx, (last accessed on 20 August 2019).

The Population of Northern Bukovina and Southern Part of Bessarabia Subordinated to Romania on the Eve of the War: Regional Statistics and Demographic Aspects

The last area included in the geographical frame of this research is the territory of the southern part of Bessarabia (Romanian: *Bassarabia*) and Northern Bukovina (Romanian: *Bucovina de Nord*), that also were extensively inhabited by Ukrainians. It was included in the Kingdom of Romania before June 1940 when the Soviet Union annexed these territories and included them in Soviet Ukraine.

The last population census in Romania before the Second World War was conducted in December 1930. It included such categories as nationality (in Romanian: *neamul* - 'nativity (race)') recorded according to self-declaration, mother tongue and religion. Statistical information was provided by Provinces (in Romanian: *Provincii*) and *Județe* (counties).[223] Unfortunately, the data of this census cannot be applied fully to this dissertation because statistics were not given specifically for Northern Bukovina, but for the entire region of Bukovina – both Northern and Southern, the latter being a permanent part of Romania. The same is true of southern Bessarabia as the statistics cover all of Bessarabia, which later became a part of the Moldavian SSR and is not included in geographical coverage of this research. Nevertheless, it is possible to use the *Județ* (county) data. Bessarabia *Provincii* included nine *Județe*, four of which are within the geographic area covered for this research: Hotin, Balta (in Romanian: *Bălți*), Cetatea Albă (between 1940 and 1944 – Akkerman, later - Bilhorod-Dnistrovskyi), and Izmail. In Bukovina Provincii are two *Județe* of interest: Chernivtsi (Romanian Cernăuți) and Storozhynets (Romanian: *Storojineț*). By extracting the data from these four centres it is possible to obtain quite precise data. The total population of Northern Bukovina (two *Județe*) was 476,088,[224] whereas the population of entire Bukovina was 853,009. Thus, Northern Bukovina had 55.8% of the entire Bukovinian population (Southern and Northern), including the main and largest city of Bukovina, Chernivtsi (Romanian: *Cernăuți*), with a population of 112,427. The southern territories of Bessarabia, which includes four *Județe*, housed 1,345,836 people whereas the

[223] Sabin Manuilă, (ed.), *Recensământul General al Populatiei României din 29 decemvrie 1930*, vol 2: *Neam, Limbă Maternă, Religie* (București, 1938).
[224] All calculations for southern part of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovian here and hereafter are mine based on: Manuilă, (ed.), *Recensământul General al Populatiei României*.

entire population of Bessarabia was 2,864,402. Thus, southern part of Bessarabia had 47% of the entire population of Bessarabia.

The population census of 1930 had some shortcomings. Regarding nationalities, the Romanian population census included 20 nationalities, and also two separate categories of 'other races' and 'Unknown'. However, some of the nationalities were not distinguished, but recorded together as, for instance, Czechs and Slovaks, also Serbs, Croatians and Slovenians. As to Ukrainians, the main concern for this research, they were counted under one category with Rusyns (Ruthenians, in Romanian: *Ruteni*) but at least, separately from Russians which had not been the case in previous population census. Thus, the real percentage of Ukrainians cannot be calculated as well as those who spoke only Rusyn language, though Rusyns, seemingly, were in smaller numbers. Also, some Germanic ethnographic groups such as Swabians or Saxons who stated their nationality as Swabians or Saxons, were included as 'Germans'. The same applied to different groups of Romanians and Hungarians.[225] The Roma were recorded in the census as '*Țigani*' ('Gypsies' in Romanian). The Jews were recorded as '*Evrei*' (Jews in Romanian). There were ten cases during the recording of census of the Jews where Jews stated their nationality (in the original documentation of the census indicated as 'race') as Hungarian.[226] Plausibly, it happened in Transylvania where Hungarian minority was significant and did not relate to Bessarabia and Bukovina. The meaning of such a declaration could be that a person considered her/himself as a 'Jew of Hungarian origin' that meant, at the that time, 'a Jew who derived from Hungarian lands'. The major languages were limited to 16 categories with an additional category of 'Other languages' and 'Unknown' (probably for those who did not want to declare their native language).

There were other nuances in the recording of mother tongues. For instance, under the category of Hungarian language only the Magyar language was mentioned without any reference to other dialects. Croatian, Slovenian and Slavonic were recorded under the category of 'Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian' language. Turkish and Tatar languages were counted as one and recorded as 'Turkish, Tatar'. The 'Czech, Slovak' category recorded both languages in one category without distinguishing them. For this research, it is important to observe that the same was done with the 'Rusyn, Ukrainian' category: both

[225] Ibid., p. XIV.
[226] Ibid., p. XVII.

languages were recorded in one category without distinction. Therefore, it is impossible to understand the actual percentage of Ukrainian speakers and calculate the numbers of Rusyn minority. The language or Roma and its various dialects appeared in the category 'Gypsy' language (in Romanian: *Ţiganeăscă*). Yiddish was recorded as a separate category (in Romanian: *Idiş*), however, Ladino was recorded as dialect of Spanish Jews under the category of 'Spanish - Portuguese', but this finally appeared in published materials under the category of 'Other'. Thus, it is impossible to find out how many Jews spoke Ladino as a first language in Romania.

The category of 'Religion' was also far from perfect. There were 13 categories for religion with and additional four: 'Other Religions and Sects', 'Without Religion, Free Thinkers', 'Unknown', and 'Mosaic'. Some of the religions were combined into one category. Within the category of 'Mosaic' four other completely different religions were included: Spanish-Ritual, Orthodox-Mosaic, Israelite, and Hebrew. Thus, Hebrew was recorded not as a language but religion. The word 'Israelite' was used instead of 'Judaism'. It should be understood that those who were recorded as Israelite and Hebrew did in fact belong to Judaism. The main problem with the category of religion is that both Hebrew and Israelite were included into a very large category of 'Mosaic' together with other non-Judaic religions. Therefore, it is impossible to calculate, how many Jews belonged to Judaism and how many considered not to be Judaic and were assimilated.

Despite all the foregoing nuances and shortcomings, the population census in Romania of 1930 has a significant advantage: Romania was the first country which asked declaration of the people's origin (nationality), and along with this recorded a mother tongue and a religion.[227] Both before and after in Romania, the origin of the people was not recorded, but only religion and native language. Self-declaration of origin and its recording allows the establishment of the necessary correlations between all three categories and thus make a more precise definition of the national composition of the region.

Northern Bukovina contained 90.5% (213,762 people) of all Ukrainians residing in entire territory of Bukovina, whereas the Romanians accounted for only 16% (136,184) of all the Romanians of Bukovina. The overall population statistics for Northern Bukovina were as follows: Ukrainians – 44.9% (213,762), Romanians – 28.6% (136,184), Jews – 14%

[227] On the methodology of the population census, see: Manuilă, (ed.), *Recensământul General al Populatiei României*, p. XI-XXII in Romanian, French and English.

(66,569), Germans – 6% (28,576), Poles – 4.9% (23,228), Russians – 1% (4,877), and others – less than 1%, including Hungarians, Bulgarians, Turks, Armenians, Czechs and Slovaks. Thus, Jews were the third largest nationality in Northern Bukovina after Ukrainians and Romanians and made up 72% of the entire Jewish population of Bukovina. Roma were few in numbers – 0.08% (399), however, they consisted of 18.4% of all the Roma in Bukovina.[228]

The language situation may be congruous with the statistics of nationalities. Thus, the main mother tongue in Northern Bukovina was Ukrainian; 49.5% of the population recorded this as their first language whereas Romanian was the first language for 24.3% of Northern Bukovinians. The difference between those who stated their nationality as Ukrainian and those who stated their mother tongue as Ukrainian is significant – 4.6%: those who declared their first language as Ukrainian were more than those who stated their nationality as Ukrainian. It is matching up with a smaller percentage of those who spoke Romanian language in comparison to the percentage of those who stated their nationality as Romanian (4.3%). Such a difference can be explained by the policy of Romanianisation carried out by the Kingdom of Romania after the incorporation of Bukovina in 1918, even though between 1928 and 1933 there was a period when a degree of liberalisation occurred.[229] To be a Romanian national in Romania had advantages – and this parallels the same pattern as the Polonisation of Eastern Galicia and Volhynia and the Soviet Ukraine. It was socially and politically advantageous to declare one's nationality as Romanian, but the mother tongue would be indicated as it actually was. Yiddish as a mother tongue was spoken by the 11.3% of the population, that is 2.7% less than the declared nationality, which indicates the slow-paced assimilation of the Jewish population in Northern Bukovina. Two other important languages were German and Polish with 8.7% and 4.5% of speakers respectively. The percentage of Polish language as the first language corresponds to the percentage of those who declared their nationality as Polish. The percentage of German speakers as a mother tongue is 2.7%, higher than those who stated their nationality as German. This can be explained by two factors. The first is that some other nationalities such as the Czechs and Hungarians spoke German as a first language as well and the second is the significant

[228] Ibid., p. XXXII-XXXIII.
[229] Mariana Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina: Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918–1944* (Münich, 2001), particularly Chapter 3 'Die Inkorporation der Bukowina in Grossrumänien 1918-1928'.

influence of the Austro-Hungarian Empire into which Northern Bukovina was incorporated before the First World War.[230]

The majority in Northern Bukovina - 71% of the population - belonged to the Christian Orthodox Church that included Orthodox Romanian, Greek Orthodox, Pravoslavonic, Greek Oriental Christians and Romanian Orthodox Churches. The second most popular religion was Judaism: 14% of the Northern Bukovinian population adhered to it. If the category of 'Mosaic' with Hebrew and Israelite added, the tally for Judaism would go up to at least 16% of the entire population of this region. 9,7% of the population were Roman Catholics and 3.1% Greek Catholics. Protestantism with its different denominations accounted for 0.2% of the population. Other religions, including Islam had less than 0.1%. Unfortunately, it is impossible to see which nationalities belonged to which religion. It is more or less clear only with the Jews, with one concern remaining that it is not clear how many Jews stated their religion as something other than Judaism. Considering the impact of Romanianisation this should have been a few in numbers. The Romanian authorities maintained a record of baptised Jews starting from 1912. During the Holocaust the lists of the Jews who became Christians were prepared in order to identify them.[231] Presumably, the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians and Romanians as well as Russians were Christian Orthodox. Some of Ukrainians were Greek Catholics. The majority of Poles traditionally belonged to Roman Catholicism and Germans to the Protestant Church.[232]

In the southern parts of Bessarabia, the situation was slightly different. Ukrainians consisted overwhelming majority of 87% (273,305 people) of all Ukrainians from entire Bessarabia lived in southern parts (Khotyn, Balta, Akkeman, and Izmail *Județe*), whereas Romanians – 33.7% (543,259) of all Romanians resided in the entire Bessarabia.[233] Moreover, the majority of all Bulgarians residing in Bessarabia were concentrated in the four *Județe*, particularly in Akkerman and Izmail *Județe* with 70%. The majority of Russians resided there as well (64.2% of all Russians in Bessarabia). In addition, slightly more than half of the Bessarabian Poles (58%) lived in this region. Conversely, less than

[230] Manuilă, (ed.), *Recensământul General al Populatiei României*, p. LVIII-LIX.
[231] See, as different files at: YVA, M.52, JM/11346, pp. 569-570, 571-574, 583-593, 600-605, 625-653.
[232] Manuilă, (ed.), *Recensământul General al Populatiei României*, p. LXXXIV-LXXXV.
[233] All calculation of the population resided on southern parts of Bessarabia are mine based on: Manuilă, (ed.), *Recensământul General al Populatiei României*.

half of the Jews from Bessarabia (41.7%.) resided in this southern area. Finally, the very same region was a home to 34.2% of the Bessarabian Roma.

In terms of nationalities, the population of southern part of Bessarabia consisted of Romanians – 40.4% (543,259), Ukrainians – 20.3% (273,305), Russians – 16.8% (225,931), Bulgarians – 8.5% (114,694), Jews 6.3% (85,367), Germans – 4.4% (58,527), Gagauz – 1.7% (23,477), and others – less than 1%, including, Poles, Hungarians, Greeks, Albanians, and others. Thus, the third largest minority in Bessarabia were Russians which can be explained by the influence of the Russian Empire to which Bessarabia had been attached before the First World War. Also, Bessarabia has been home to Gagauz, with 99% of them residing there. Jews were the fifth largest nationality in Bessarabia whereas Roma consisted of only 0.3% (4,635) of the population in four *Județe.*[234]

The percentages of language speakers match that of the nationalities. Thus, the main mother tongue in southern Bessarabia was Romanian: 39.6% with of the population and less than 1% different from the percentage of nationality. The Ukrainian language was spoken as a first language by 21.3% of the population, that is just 1% more than the percentage of those who identified as Ukrainians. Russian was spoken by 17.5% of the population in four *Județe*, that almost corresponds to the statistics of Russians. The same can be observed with the Bulgarian language – 8.7% indicated it as a mother tongue and German language – 4.3% declared it as a first language. Yiddish was spoken by 6.2% of the Jews that is just 0.1% less than the stated nationality. It means that assimilation had not taken place as Jews lived only in their closed communities. 0.2% of Roma spoke Romanes that is also 0.1% less than statistics on nationality. This difference might be explained either through Roma reluctance to declare their native language because they spoke other languages fluently, or because they had become sedentary and resided inside other communities.[235]

The overwhelming majority in southern Bessarabia were Christian Orthodox – 85.8%. Traditionally, Romanians, Ukrainians, Russians and Bulgarians of the region were Orthodox, therefore, this percentage is no surprise. The second largest religion was Judaism – 6.4% stated it as their religion. If one adds those who were recorded as 'Mosaic', the number can be increased up to 7% which is slightly more than the percentages of those who stated their language and nationality as Jewish. Roman Catholics were 0.6% of the

[234] Ibid., p. XXXII-XXXIII.
[235] Ibid., p. LVIII-LIX.

population, Protestants - 0.2%, Muslims – 0.1. other religions, including Greek Catholicism was less than 0.1%.[236]

The population in both four *Județe* of Bessarabia and two *Județe* of Northern Bukovina were mostly rural, especially in southern Bessarabia where urban population was merely 11.8%, whereas in Northern Bukovina the percentage was higher – 31.6%. This depended on development of the region: it has always been an outpost of previous imperial states: the Austro-Hungarian Empire in Northern Bukovina, the Russian Empire in Bessarabia and later the Kingdom of Romania. Only the Austro-Hungarian Empire had some impact with the development of the main city of Northern Bukovina, Chernivtsi, which decreased the proportion of the rural population in Bukovina in comparison to Bessarabia.[237] Statistics on gender are not available in the Romanian census of 1930.

All these censuses provide a general understanding of the structure of population on the eve of the Second World War. Obviously, the official statistics cannot be taken entirely at face value, but they are nevertheless the only full and reliable demographic source available that provide us with a full picture of the population as a whole. Nevertheless, understanding the population's structure helps with the analysis of rescuing and rescuers. Thus, the statistical information proves that Ukrainians were the absolute majority on all Ukrainian residing in the relevant territories except for Bessarabia where Ukrainians were the second largest national group. Thus, in analysing rescue, the statistics indicate indirectly that the majority of helpers were Ukrainians, even though precise calculations are impossible. Also, the Jews were the third largest group in these territories and present in significant numbers which meant that Jews and non-Jews could not avoid interaction. The situation with Roma is quite the opposite: in all these territories they were not a particularly large group. Their identity helps in understanding their lives and their integration into society – things that cannot be understood through the available statistics.

[236] Ibid., p. LXXXIV-LXXXV.
[237] The statistics on gender is not available in the Romanian population census of 1930.

The Identity of Ukrainians, Jews and Roma on the Eve of the German Invasion

Issues of nationality or national identity became vastly more important after the German invasion of the Soviet Ukraine. National identity is, generally, an important category because it distinguishes groups of people according to their culture, language, religion etc. Identity shows similarities and differences in lifestyles for Jews, Roma and other people living in Ukraine at the time. Indirectly, identity provides the basis for understanding, in a way, the attitude of non-Jewish and non-Roma population of Ukraine to Jews and Roma. Last, but not the least, the identity of Jews and Roma allowed the occupiers to recognise and select Roma and Jews from among the population as a whole. The identity of Ukrainians on the eve of German invasion is also important for understanding social characteristics of Ukrainians in the Soviet Ukraine and how this majority were distinguished from the main victims – Jews and Roma – by the German and Romanian occupiers.

The category of nationality and identity were an ambiguous and complicated issue in the Soviet Union and did not always coincide. Nationality in the USSR was understood not as a citizenship, but rather as a sum of ethnic, linguistic and religious specifications. The nationality of the people was printed on all Soviet passports and birth certificates. Choices and registration of nationality were determined as follows: if both parents were registered as Ukrainians in their passports, their child was registered in the documents as 'Ukrainian', but if one of the parents was Ukrainian and the other was, for instance, Russian, their child could be registered as either Russian or Ukrainian. The same situation applied to the cases of Jews and Roma. The selection of nationality, in some cases was made by parents' projection of benefits from a specific nationality. For instance, to avoid future discrimination for their children in the event of total Russification, Ukrainians could register their children as Russians. For example, the latter was the case in the family of my grandfather. Also, in many cases nationality could be 'purchased': with parents or adults changing their nationality in documents by bribing relevant state officials. Such 'waves' of changing nationality from any to Ukrainian or from Ukrainian to Russian, depended on the direction of Soviet government policies: Ukrainisation and sympathy for Ukrainians shifted into hatred towards Ukrainians and the abolition of Ukrainisation, and a Russification

process was unleashed. All these factors determined the decisions of some citizens to get themselves registered either as Ukrainians or as Russians.

In terms of self-identification, Ukrainians could present themselves as Ukrainians only because they resided in the Soviet Ukraine, or, frequently, because of their linguistic/religious/cultural characteristics: if they spoke Ukrainian or *surzhyk* - a mixture of Ukrainian and Russian or Ukrainian and Polish in western Ukraine; if they were Orthodox Christians, and/or if they belonged to the Greek Catholic Church, or just followed Ukrainian folk customs and had a certain intrinsic style of life. In scholarly works, these nuances are usually neglected and when one analyses the territory of Ukraine, all people except the Jews automatically become Ukrainians, particularly in the scholarship of collaboration with occupiers. At times, one can observe even a more absurd situation in scholarship: when one talks about rescue of Jews in Ukraine, rescuers are presented according their nationality/identity as Romanians, Germans, Poles, Armenians, Russians, and so on. However, when one talks about collaborators all these categories are automatically transformed into one, i.e. ethnic Ukrainians.

When Germans occupied Ukraine, they had to identify and distinguish Jews from the others. It was not an easy task in an unknown country. Obviously, one of the ways to recognise a Jew was to ask people living in a certain locality. The Jews did not hide their identity before the Second World War and in the old territory of Soviet Ukraine, before incorporation of Eastern Galicia by the Soviets, even further – before June 1941. Therefore, non-Jewish neighbours always knew the Jews in their localities and, if asked, could provide this information to the occupiers. One of the first steps in organising the German administration in occupied regions was to register themselves with the occupiers' authorities. It was compulsory for the Jews and as law-abiding citizens, most Jews registered. However, it is important to recognise that not all Jews obediently registered and not all neighbours denounced the Jews.

There were several ways for occupiers to recognise the Jews. Firstly, they could identify Jews as a religious group, and this was rather simple. Ukrainian Jews were *Ashkenazi* and religious Jews of Ukraine were mainly *Hasidic*. They stood out from the rest of the population with their distinctive clothing; they attended synagogues, followed Jewish tradition and customs: they observed Jewish holidays and had a distinctive lifestyle. Most only spoke Yiddish, often without any command in any other language including

Ukrainian, Russian, Romanian or Polish, though they could understand German because of the similarities between German and Yiddish. Not only religious Jews spoke Yiddish, as secular Jews spoke in Yiddish as well, but if necessary, they could speak in broken Ukrainian or Russian or developed Polish or Romanian. It should be emphasised that not all non-religious Jews could speak in languages other than Yiddish; particularly elderly people who had been brought up without interaction with the non-Jewish population. Furthermore, at least one third of the Jews lived in *shtetls* – small Jewish towns where at least 40% of total urban populaiton were Jews.[238] In such *shtetls* at least 60% of non-Jews had to learn Yiddish in order to communicate.[239] Even in big cities, such as Vinnytsia, Jews often lived in separate districts and communicated with other locals only if it was needed.[240] Such districts also served the occupiers in making it easier to locate the Jews. Moreover, Jewish men were easier to identify than Jewish women because of the circumcision tradition that persisted even among assimilated Jews.

However, some of the Jews were secular and even baptised. If a child was baptised, the certificate of this act could be issued in churches or personally by a priest. Those Jews who were born in former Polish or Romanian territories were recorded in the church registers and often in a special list of baptised Jews. The baptism could not change the nationality written in official documents – certificates of birth or passports. Therefore, in the Soviet Union one could find, for instance, an Orthodox Christian with all documents certifying this person as a Jew; or a person written up in the documents as a Ukrainian who was in fact a pious Jewish. In some cases, people could even combine the customs of Judaism and Christianity in their everyday lives without any apparent contradictions. The Russian historian Yuri Slezkine affirms that the Soviet Jews knew that they were Jews 'by blood', despite changing their religion. Thus, the Soviet essence of Jewishness corresponds to the Nazi's essence of the racial theory.[241] Also, there were assimilated Jews, especially in big cities.

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[238] See: Motl Kiper, *Dos Yidishe Shtetl in Ukraine* (Kharkiv, 1929), in: Jeffrey Veidlinger, *In the Shadow of the Shtetl: Small-Town Jewish Life in Soviet Ukraine* (Bloomington, 2013), p. 5; Adam Teller, 'The Shtetl as an Arena for Integration in the Eighteenth Century', *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* 17 (2004), p. 39.
[239] About life in Soviet shtetls, see: Charles Hoffman, *Red Shtetl: The Survival of a Jewish Town Under Soviet Communism* (Jerusalem, 2002); about shtetls in 18th – 19th century see: Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern, *The Golden Age Shtetl : A new history of Jewish life in East Europe* (New Jersey, 2014).
[240] Interview with a Jewish survivor Riva M., author's personal archive.
[241] Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton, NJ, 2006), p. 286.

According to a prominent specialist of Soviet Jewry, Zvi Gitelman, there were four types of Jews and Jewish culture in the Soviet Union: religious Jews, absolutely secular Jews who considered themselves Russians and spoke Russian, secular '*Yiddishists*' who considered themselves secular but spoke Yiddish, and secular '*Hebraists'* those who spoke Hebrew but were non-religious.[242] New findings of Diana Dumitru confirm that Jews did not need to hide their identity because of friendly relations between Jews and non-Jews in the Soviet Union which is confirmed by accounts of both non-Jews and Jews. The situation differed only in Bessarabia where relations between Jews and non-Jews were much more negative.[243] Dumitru's point of view partially contradicts the findings of Elana Jakel who wrote her dissertation on Jewish identity and suggested that even though Soviet Jews remember the interwar time when nationality had no significance, Jews experienced some antisemitism on everyday life level.[244]

Not all Roma were registered during official population censuses: many of them were still nomadic and were not aware of the census. However, even if one assumes that Roma population of the Soviet Ukraine was twice the size before the War than was officially registered, their numbers would not exceed 0,1% of the entire population. Considering this, it was quite difficult for the Germans to identify Roma. In many cases Roma had Slavic names and surnames, most of the Roma in Ukraine were Christians, mostly Orthodox, and attended churches. This fact was a reason for many Slavic neighbours to perceive Roma as 'brothers in faith'. At the same time, some Roma groups in the Odessa region were followers of Islam and attended mosques. Those Roma who did not (or did not want) to identify themselves as Roma were recorded as Ukrainians, Moldovans or Russians in their passports and/or birth certificates. Though in many cases Roma did not have any documents at all the occupiers could often identify nomadic and semi-nomadic Roma simply by their lifestyle, their dress, their language and their physical (non-Slavic) appearance.[245]

Roma lifestyle on the eve of the German invasion of Soviet Ukraine the Roma could be roughly divided into three groups: settled, nomadic and semi-nomadic. This last category

[242] Zvi Gitelman, 'What Future for Jewish Culture in the Soviet Union?', *Soviet Jewish Affairs*, 9:1, (1979), pp. 2-21.
[243] Dumitru, *The State, Antisemitism, and Collaboration*, p. 137.
[244] Elana Jakel, '"Ukraine without Jews?" Nationality and Belonging in Soviet Ukraine, 1943-1948', (2014), doctoral thesis, Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, p. 61.
[245] This section is based on the analysis and generalisation of available interviews with the Roma survivors in Ukraine and their descendents. A presumed percentage is given according to the calculation based on population census of 1939.

includes those who travelled during the warm season and rented houses or flats during the winter. According to more than 100 testimonies of the Roma survivors, most of them were semi-nomadic, while others were completely settled on the eve of the occupation, and only several families nomadised on regular basis.[246] Thus, the common picture of an exclusively nomadic style of life is inaccurate for the territory of Soviet Ukraine.

Lifestyle depended on the structures within the Roma community and local laws. There were several groups of the Roma resident or nomadic in Ukraine at that time. The biggest Roma group in Ukraine was the *Servi* or the *Servitka Roma*, who also often identified themselves as 'Ukrainian Gypsies' or 'Ukrainian Roma'. Other big Roma groups residing in Soviet Ukraine were *Lovari*, the *Kalderash* (*Kalderaš, Căldărari, Kelderari*) or *Kotliary*. There were some Roma from Crimea – *Chingene* –in the Odessa and Mykolaiv regions which was divided into two major groups *Krimurja* (*Kirimlitika Roma also called Crymy or Krymy*) or *Tatarika Roma* and *Dajfa* (*Tajfa*).[247] Also there were small groups of the *Sepetçi*, the *Demerji*, the *Ursari* and etc. in the Crimea itself, however, there is no indication if they travelled to the mainland of Ukraine.[248] Each group had its own professional specialisation. Beside the Roma, another group – the *Sinti* who came from Germany – were also present in western and southern regions of Ukraine but only in very small numbers.[249]

Antigypsyism and Antisemitism among Ukrainian Population and the Impact on the Attitude towards Roma and Jews

Stereotypes regarding both Roma and Jews were formed throughout centuries. These stereotypes – negative and positive – reflected the attitude to Roma and Jews based on the views formed during their co-living in the same geographical, social, political and often

[246] This section is based on the analysis and generalisation of available interviews with the Roma survivors in Ukraine and their descendents, and on: Oleksii Barannikov, *Ukrainski Tsyhany* (Kyiv, 1931); Aleksei Barannikov, *Tsygany SSSR: Kratkii Istoriko-Etnograficheskii Ocherk* (Moscow, 1931), pp. 50-51; Nikolai Bessonov and Nadezhda Demeter, *Istoriia Tsygan – Novyi Vzgliad* (Voronezh, 2000).
[247] Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, 'A Contemporary Picture of Romani Communities in Eastern Europa', in: *Roma Culture: Project Education of Roma Children in Europe* (Strasbourg, 2016), pp. 1-8. Regarding Crimean Roma, see: Elena Marushiakova, Vesselin Popov, , 'Segmentation vs. Consolidation: The Example of Four Gypsy Groups in CIS', *Romani Studies*, 14:2 (2004), pp. 145–191. I am grateful to Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov for providing me with their research.
[248] Vsevolod Naulko and Nataliia Zinevych, 'Tsyghany', in: Valerii Smolii, et al. (eds.), *Entsyklopediia Istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 10 (Kyiv, 2013), p. 476.
[249] See on the identity of Roma and Sinti in the world: Leonardo Piasere, 'Pour une Histoire des Auto-Dénominations Romanès', *ANUAC,* 8:1, (2019), pp. 85-118.

cultural *milieux*. The negative stereotypes regarding the Roma and Jews seemingly were very spread in the Russian Empire as well as in the Austro-Hungarian Empire and Europe in general. These stereotypes played a significant role in history of the Holocaust, being transformed on gradient scale from brutal violence inflicted by the Ukrainian population – *pogroms* of Jews abetted by the occupiers in 1941 – to reluctance and unwillingness to assist the main Nazi victim groups – Roma and Jews.

The negative stereotypes of Roma being illiterate, uncivilised, bringing decease, beggers and thieves flourished in Europe[250] and seemingly travelled to the Russian Empire and later the Soviet Union. The study of the Roma ethnography has begun in the second half of the 19th century by archeographic commissions. Probably, first documents collected by a Ukrainian historian about the Roma that mention the robbery and horse theft by the Roma were the collection of Volodymyr Antonovych. This collection was found in the Vernadsky National Library of Ukraine and consisted of, amongst others, legal documents about Volhynia and Podillia in the 17th-18th centuries.[251] Studying ethnographic and historical works on Roma in the Russian Empire of the late 19th – beginning of the 20th century, Brigid O'Keeffe mentions that 'Due to their [Gypsies] dire poverty, the ethnographers claimed, Gypsies sometimes relied on theft, fraud, and charity to survive.'[252] However, the life of the Roma in the Russian Empire was going on without discrimination of their lifestyle, even though the tsarist state tried to settle nomadic Roma but did it with financial support of the state rather than applying force.[253] Thus, the state tried to settle nomadic Roma in two villages in Bessarabia, supplying Roma with some money, essential for agricultural activity and constructing huts for the Roma families. However, the Roma returned to their nomadic lifestyle in four years.[254] The ethnographers emphasised that starting from the 18th century, Roma was subjected to sorts of discrimination: the Russian law was tailored to include the Roma into the Russian estate system.[255] O'Keeffe noted that Russian

[250] On stereotypes of Roma in Europe, see: Katie Trumpener, 'The Time of the Gypsies: A "People without History", in the Narratives of the West', *Critical Inquiry* 18:2 (1992), pp. 843–884.
[251] Nataliia Zinevych, 'Tsyhany v Doslidgenniakh Ukrainskykh Archivistiv kintsia 19 – pochatku 20 st.', *Naukovi Zapysky IUAD NANU*, 15 (2008), p. 217.
[252] Brigid O'Keeffe, 'Gypsies as a Litmus Test for Rational, Tolerant Rule: Fin-de-siècle Russian Ethnographers Confront the Comparative History of Roma in Europe', *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice*, 38:2 (2014), p. 115.
[253] Ibid., p.120.
[254] Barannikov, *Tsygany SSSR*, p.27
[255] O'Keeffe, 'Gypsies as a Litmus Test for Rational', pp. 119-120.

ethnographer Mikhail Plokhinskii whose main work was 'Tsygane Staroi Malorossii' argues that

> in Ukraine … Gypsies had also demonstrated the capacity to productively adapt to settled life … many settled Gypsies in Ukraine had accustomed themselves to working productively alongside their neighbors as blacksmiths and horse dealers. Moreover, even though nomadic Gypsies remained estranged from social and economic life, Ukrainians nonetheless related to them "without hostility or hatred." This was, in part, explained by the fact that Gypsies in Ukraine profoundly resembled "the native population" in terms of cuisine, clothing, and religion. This cultural common ground … had helped to "reconcile the Ukrainian population to Gypsies".[256]

During the Soviet period, researching of the Roma culture continued by the Ethnographic Commission at the All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (today, the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine). In January 1929, the Cabinet of National Minorities at the Commission of Ukrainian Ethnography was created, and the Archive of National Minorities of Ukraine was established. Under the umbrella of this Archive, a 'Gypsy' department was organised along with Bulgarian, Albanian, Greek, and Czech departments.[257] The Cabinet existed until late 1931, and from 1920s until 1932 the ethnographic fieldwork and work with the archival documents on Roma continued.

Exactly during this time significant works on the Roma ethnography in Ukraine were published by Oleksii Barannikov. Studying Roma folklore, particularly songs, Barrannikov came to the conclusion that theft in general and stealing horses in particular is one of the main folkloric topics and unskillfulness to steal is considered as a disadvantage for Roma. This opinion was strongly criticised by Russian researchers Nadezhda Demeter and Nikolai Bessonov as recreation and spreading of negative stereotypes about Roma. Analysing the other Roma songs, Bessonov and Demeter could not confirm that the theft was considered as a good skill for Roma or was mentioned in Roma songs frequently.[258] However, in his other work 'Tsygany SSSR', Barannikov criticised mercilessly those authors who wrote about Roma only negative stereotypical information. Thus, Barranikov stated that

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[256] Ibid., p. 122 with a reference to: Mikhail Plokhinskii, 'Tsygane Staroi Malorossii (po arkhivnym dokumentam)', *Etnograficheskoe Obozrenie,* 7 (1890), p. 108.
[257] Liudmyla Pavlenko, 'Stvorennia Archivu Natsionalnykh Menshyn Ukrainy v Konteksti Rozhortannia Vitchyznianykh Natsmenoznavchykh Doslidzhen 20-kh rr. 20 st.', *Tezy Dopovidi do Mizhnarodnoi Naukovoi Konferentsii 'Biblioteka. Nauka. Kommunikatsiia'* (Kyiv, 2015), pp. 118-120.
[258] Nikolai Bessonov and Nadezhda Demeter, Chapter 'Natsionalnoe Samosoznanie i Osnovnye Zaniatiia Tsygan', *Istoriia Tsygan – Novyi Vzgliad* (Voronezh, 2000).

'depending on personal sympathy of different authors, we see either sharp condemnation of Gypsies or soppy sentimentalism.'[259] Barannikov noted that many authours wrote about that Roma occupied themselves only with begging, smuggling, stealing, fate-telling and wild dancing. Some of the authors who, Barrnikov cited, called Roma as 'cursed tribe' 'without any kind qualities falling in all sins'.[260] Though, some authors mentioned positive characteristics: Roma fondness of freedom, dancing, singing and playing music, and beauty of the Roma girls.[261]

Likely, the negative stereotypes about the Roma were spread and encouraged by the Soviet state. After establishment of the Soviet power of labourers and peasants, the state created the requirements for all Soviet population, including Roma, to match with the Soviet ideals of new Soviet society. That society had to to be useful, rational, disciplined and etc. – all characteristic not inherited for the Roma nomadic lifestyle. Therefore, as O'Keffee argues,

> Gypsies figured menacingly in the Bolshevik imagination as the personification of backwardness and inscrutability. As perceived icons of indifferent marginality, disorder, indolence, parasitism, criminality, illiteracy, philistinism, irrationality, and a feminine slavishness to the flesh, Gypsies threatened Bolsheviks' ideal vision of New Soviet Men and Women. The accursed "Gypsy question" was thus an inescapable Bolshevik problem.[262]

Roma were 'popularly defined as unruly nomads, parasites, and marginals' and considered to be '"most backward" minority people'.[263] Trying to 'civilise' Roma, on the one hand, and following the Soviet strategy on controlling peasantry, the Soviets tried to create 'Gypsy *kolkhozes*' in late 1920s – beginning of 1930s. Writing about creation of collective farms for Roma, Barannikov seemed very positive and claimed that placing nomadic Roma together with cedentary Roma in *kolkhozes* was a very successful Soviet approach to deal with 'The Gypsy Problem'. Moreover, *kolkhoz* experience influenced positive changes in the 'psychology of the Russian Gypsies'.[264] In 1930s and particularly after 1938, the Roma

[259] Barannikov, *Tsygany SSSR,* p. 30.
[260] Ibid.
[261] Ibid., p. 31.
[262] Brigid O'Keeffe, *New Soviet Gypsies: Nationality, Performance, and Selfhood in the Early Soviet Union* (Toronto, 2013), p. 5.
[263] Ibid, 8.
[264] Aleksei Barannikov, 'On the Russian Gypsy Singers of to-Day', *Gypsy Lore Society Journal*, 3:11 (1932), pp. 188, 192. Most likely, by 'Russian Gypsies' Brannikov meant Roma of the USSR but not only those Roma who resided on the territory of the Russian SSR.

were not considered anymore as a special ethnic group in the USSR but as 'an integral part of the Soviet society, without any special attention'.[265]

Despite the example of many settled Roma who lived at least two centuries among the Ukrainian population and were not very different from Ukrainians, incorporating their lifestyle, traditions and even language into own life,[266] negative stereotypes about Roma being fortune-telling, begging, work-shying, and thieving were still alive among non-Roma population. Even sedentarisation of many Ukrainian Roma and their work in Soviet *kolkhoses*, could not challenge the existing stereotypes. For instance, a Ukrainian woman from the village of Kachivka in Mykolaiv *oblast*, talking about Roma deported to Transnistria, many times repeated that they were sent to die 'because they did not want to work'.[267] Another example of Ukrainian man from the village of Domanivka, Mykolaiv *oblast,* answering the question if the Roma could buy any food in his village during their deportations, a man laughingly said: 'They begged, they did not buy, or they stole… Begged and stole because they are Gypsies!'[268] Apparently, begging and stealing were inherited features of the Roma according to that man's worldview.

Positive stereotypes regarding Roma existed along with the negative among the Ukrainian population. For instance, another Ukrainian man from the mentioned village, Domanivka, talked about the Roma as talented and skilful people, especially women who could dance and sing nicely. Regarding the Roma men, the same Ukrainian witnessed that they, the Roma, were 'real specialists' and described how Roma made rings, repaired kitchen stuff, smithed, and repaired shoes.[269]

Regarding Jews in Ukraine, one could find far less positive image than about Roma. Judeophobia and Antisemitism had a long tradition in Europe and in the Russian Empire. Numerous negative stereotypes about the Jews as greedy, cunning and etc. people were formed far before even the First World War.[270] The pogroms against the Jews rolled across the Russian Empire in the late 19th – in the beginning of the 20th century, the bloodiest of

[265] Elena Marushiakova and Vesselin Popov, 'European Policies for Social Inclusion of Roma: Catch 22?', *Social Inclusion,* 3:5 (2015), p. 20
[266] Barannikov, *Tsygany SSSR,* p. 50.
[267] AYIU, Witness 1258UK.
[268] AYIU, Witness 1263UK.
[269] AYIU, Witness 1264UK.
[270] See, for instance, John D. Klier, 'German Antisemitism and Russian Judeophobia in the 1880's: Brothers and Strangers', *Jahrbücher Für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 37:4 (1989), pp. 524–540.

which were the Kishinev pogrom in 1903 and the Odessa pogrom in 1905.[271] A main accusation towards the Jews was so-called blood libel – accusation that the Jews use the blood of new-borns or innocent Christian kids for preparing *matsa* – ritual food – for Passover. This accusation initiated the case of Beilis, a Kyivan Jew who was unjustly accused in killing of a Ukrainian boy. The trial took place in Kyiv in 1911-1913.[272] However, the cruellest pogroms of Jews that revealed high level of Antisemitism in the Ukrainian society, occurring in 1918-1921, during the Civil War after the collapse of the Russian Empire. Then, more than 1500 pogroms of Jews occurred across Ukraine during which around 200,000 Jews were seriously wounded, thousands of women were raped and between 50,000 and 200,000 Jews were killed.[273] In spring 1922, the Commissariat for Nationality Affairs organised an investigation of the pogroms. According to the result of the Commissariat's investigation, which was based on recorded evidence, the death toll in Ukraine was estimated not less than 100,194, and 76% of the victims were male.[274] Other sources suggest that it was twice more.[275]

The forces who organised and implemented the pogroms were various: paramilitary troops of Ukrainian Cossacks and *Haidamaks,*[276] the Ukrainian Central Rada and the Directorate of Ukraine under Petliura, the White troops headed by general Anton Denikin and baron Piotr Wrangel, the forces headed by a former tsarist officer and later rebellious *ataman* Nikifor Grigoriev, the Red *Bolshevik* troops, the Polish forces, and some unknown groups of bandits.[277] To create a pretext for pogroms, Jews were accused in all possible sins:

> The pogrom perpetrators saw the Jews as the source of much of their misfortune: some blamed the Jews for the communist onslaught, some blamed the Jews for the war, some

[271] On this matter see, for instance, Robert Weinberg, 'Visualizing Pogroms in Russian History', *Jewish History* 12:2, (1998), pp. 71-92; Monty Noam Penkower, 'The Kishinev Pogrom of 1903: A Turning Point in Jewish History', *Modern Judaism* 24:3, (2004), pp. 187-225; Caroline Humphrey, 'Odessa: Pogroms in a Cosmopolitan City', *Ab Imperio,* 4, (2010), pp. 27-79.
[272] Hans Rogger, 'The Beilis case: Anti-Semitism and Politics in the Reign of Nicholas II', Slavic Review, 25:4, (1966), pp. 615-629. The Beilis case will be discussed more detailed in the fifth chapter.
[273] Oleg Budnitskii, *Russian Jews Between the Reds and the Whites, 1917-1920* (Philadelphia, 2012), pp. 216-217.
[274] Veidlinger, *In the Shadow of the Shtetl*, pp. 319, 34.
[275] See, Vladimir Bogoraz, *Evreiskoe Mestechko v Revoliutsii. Ocherki* (Leningrad, 1926).
[276] *Haidamaks* or *Haidamaky* in Ukrainian (from Turkish 'to push away' and 'get in action') were members of Ukrainian paramilitary units subordinated to theUkrainian Central Rada and the Directorate of Ukraine.
[277] Budnitskii, *Russian Jews Between the Reds and the Whites,* p. 217. Also, see archival cases regarding pogroms organised, implemented or encouraged by all mentioned forces: DAKO, F. R-3050, op. 1, spr. 46 (Denikin and Petliura units); Ibid., spr. 125 (Petliura troops); Ibid., spr. 130 (Grigoriev, Petliura, and Denikin); Ibid., spr. 181 (Vrangel, Denikin, and Petliura); Ibid., spr. 190 and 217 (Polish forces).

> blamed the Jews for the economic collapse, and. others blamed the Jews simply for being Jews.[278] -

The first pogrom occurred in January 1918 in Novohrad-Volynskyi, in Volhynian Governorate. The main wave coincided with the offensive launched by the troops of the Central Ukrainian Rada against the Bolsheviks in February 1918. Describing the situation in a tiny town of Peshchana, Odessa Governorate, in late 1919 – early 1920, a witness said:

> There are about 70 tombs of Jews in our cemetery who were brutally murdered by bandits. This is without counting those who disappeared and was not found until now. There are villages in neighbourhood where the Jews lived since olden times. Many of those Jews were killed and others resettled in the town, but they are in danger of death here as well because the entire gang is consisted of local and neighbouring peasants. These peasants [bandits] are in hiding [by others] and it is too difficult to catch them.[279]

This account demonstrates that the attacks on the Jews was perpetrated by local Ukrainians of unknown subordinations. Most likely, they were simply local non-Jewish peasants without any clear political agenda. Yet, it seems unlikely that the pogroms were done with the purpose of robbery: those Jews were the same peasants or inhabitants of a tiny town where richness did not exist; moreover, the archival accounts does not mention any robbery attempts. This case does not exclude that in other localities Jewish property was looted during or after the pogroms.

In February 1919, forces subordinated to Petliura Ukranian troops and headed by *atamans* Semosenko and Kivarchuk together with Cossacks and *Haidamaks* killed more than 1600 Jews in the town of Proskuriv (after 1954 Khmelnytskyi). The murdering of the Jews was decided in advance during a common meeting where Semosenko 'plentifully treated *Haidamaks* and Cossacks with vodka and cognac during the dinner'. Afterwards, Semosenko

> demanded from them a vow that they will fulfil their saintly duty to slaughter Jewish population. They also vowed that they [Cossacks and *Haidamaks*] will not touch any

[278] Veidlinger, *In the Shadow of the Shtetl,* pp. 32-33.
[279] DAKO, F. R-3050, op. 1, spr. 237, ark. 8. I am greatful to Alexey Lipes for providing me with this archival file.

> Jewish belongings because robbery is reproachful for the Cossacks. Thus, they had to slaughter but not to rob.[280]

Thus, the troops wanted to slaughter unarmed Jews, including women and children just because they were Jews. For making a fair statement, it should be mentioned that not everybody who attended the dinner agreed with plan of slaughtering the Jews. A unit commander (*polusotnik*) offered to impose reparations on the Jewish population of Proskuriv instead of murdering, however, Semosenko threatened to shoot this commander if he insists further. A commander of another unit (*sotnik*) rejected the slaughter of unarmed people and therefore he and his men did not participate in it.[281]

During and after the pogrom in Proskuriv, couple of Jews asked their Ukrainian-Christian neighbours to help them but received rejections seemingly in all cases except one: a Ukrainian peasant woman agreed to help Jews to treat their injuries.[282] This pogrom is the most infamous in history of Jewish pogroms and clearly illustrates antisemitic views of non-Jewish population, in this particular case, of Ukrainians.

Ostensibly, Ukrainian neighbours helped Jewish victims during other pogroms of 1918-1921. Jeffrey Veidlinger in his book *"In the Shadow of the Shtetl: Small-Town Jewish Life in Soviet Ukraine'* brings examples of such help and states that some stories of those Jews who survived pogroms and their descendants mentioned that their Christian neighbours attepted to defend them during the pogroms and 'Christian neighbors helping them in their time of need, whether it involved rescuing them from the mass graves during the pogroms or simply bringing them hot tea on the Sabbath.'[283] Veidlinger brings an example of pogroms in Tulchyn that occurred in 1918-1919 and local Orthodox Christians led by their priest Afanasii Braduchan, who tried to prevent the pogroms. Veidlinger notes, that according to the evidence, even if majority of the population decided not to intervene into those tragic events, Christian priests persistently defended the Jews.[284] Thus, priests tried to save Jews in their chapels and sometimes, if discovered, were killed together with the Jewish victims.[285]

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[280] Ibid., p. 12.
[281] Ibid.
[282] Ibid, pp. 13-14.
[283] Veidlinger, *In the Shadow of the Shtetl,* p. 48.
[284] Ibid., pp. 33-34.
[285] Ibid., p. 35.

The co-existence of Jews and non-Jews in Ukraine and helping Jewish victims during the pogroms might arguably be explained within the phenomenon of *shtetl* – small towns with prevailing Jewish population which have been already mentioned above. A close and constant interaction between Jews and non-Jews via close cultural, social, and economic ties, may be a possible explanation for both violence against the Jews and helping the Jews during the pogroms. Researching the shtetls in *Galicia* in interwar period, some scholars pointed out that despite far from perfect relationship between Jews and Poles in *shtetls,*

> there are ample grounds to assume that they were, on the whole, better than in the big cities. Perhaps the shtetl experience did not neutralize growing economic and political Antisemitism. But it did serve to slow down the process of estrangement and to preserve a social universe where Poles and Jews met as neighbours, as economic partners, and even as friends.[286]

Studying the town-shtetl of Sarny in Volhynia where Jews lived or neighboured along with Ukrainians, Poles and Czechs, Yehuda Bauer mentioned the pogroms of Jews that occurred after the First World War. Along with it, Bauer states, that in the interwar period, particularly in 1930s, relations between Jews and Ukrainians in Sarny were 'quite friendly'. There was no Antisemitism among the Czech neighbours too. The Antisemitism was also not widespread among Poles that inhabited Sarny and its neighbourhood because Poles saw Jews as a defensive wall against Ukrainians with whom they had tense relations.[287] A friendly relationships between Jews and non-Jews were observed not only in the western parts of Ukraine. Jews also testified friendly relations between Jews and Christians in *shtetls* in the Soviet Ukraine, explaining it by poverty that was common in Soviet Ukraine's *shtetls*: '"We were too poor for antisemitism," recalled one interviewee.'[288] Certainly, there were some exemptions. For instance, a Jew, Harry Jarvis described the life of his family in late 1920s – early 1930s as 'pleasant and relaxed' as the family 'lived in a relative luxury'. The family lived in a village that was situated near the city of Chernivtsi. The Harry's father was a physician and was allowed private practice, therefore, the family even had two servants.[289]

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[286] Samuel Kassow, 'The Shtetl in Interwar Poland', in: Steven T. Katz (ed.), *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York, 2006), p. 123.
[287] Yehuda Bauer, 'Sarny and Rokitno in the Holocaust: *A Case Study of Two Townships in Wolyn (Volhynia)',* in: Steven T. Katz (ed.), *The Shtetl: New Evaluations* (New York, 2006), pp. 258-259.
[288] Veidlinger, *In the Shadow of the Shtetl,* p. 48.
[289] The Wiener Library Archive, Harry Jarvis Collection, file 1617/8.

The memory about the pogroms of the Ukrainian Jews remained among Jewish descendents until today. Referring to the pogroms, the Jews established a term *'Khurbn'* or *'Hurban'* (חורבן) which can be translated as 'destruction' a term that later used to refer to the Holocaust.[290] This term is used by some Israeli academics and it is still alive in Yiddish culture. One of the possible explanations why this term lives so long and also applied for defining the Holocaust is the fact of pogroms occurred in 1941 along with and after the German invasion of Ukraine.[291] As Wendy Lower argues, 'Western Ukraine saw some of the worst cases, not only in the region's capital of Lviv, but also across the villages and towns extending eastward and southward'.[292] In some locations of Eastern Galicia and Volhynia, the pogroms of summer 1941 were instigated or even launched by the occupiers as it happened in the city of Lviv. In other locations, the pogroms were started before the German invasion and were initiated by local non-Jewish, seemingly by the Ukrainian population, soon after the Soviet troops left, but Germans before arrived, as it was the case in the town of Kremenets, in Ternopil *oblast*.[293]

Thus, Antisemitism and Antigypsyism based on long tradition of Judeophobia and negative stereotypes regarding the Roma caused difficult relations between Jews and non-Jews, and Roma and non-Roma in Ukraine. These relations were distinguished by violence and cruelty, particularly regarding the Jews that came out in the form of pogroms against the Jews in Ukraine. The negative attitude towards Roma seemingly was supported by the Soviet state added to everyday life Antigypsyism. Still, during the pogroms of Jews some non-Jews tried to help the victims or even prevent their murdering. Interwar period and relations between Jews and non-Jews, especially Ukrainians and Poles, could be characterised as quite friendly in all parts of Ukraine. The same applied to Roma: in everyday life, non-Roma also saw in Roma not only danger but some positive characteristics. This positiveness towards Roma was explained by the Roma culturally inherited features such as good players of musical instruments, dancing and singing, and by usefulness of the Roma as good smiths and shoe-making specialists.

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[290] Ibid., p. 33.
[291] A detailed research about the violence and pogroms in western parts of Ukraine see in: Jeffrey S. Kopstein and Jason Wittenberg, *Intimate Violence: Anti-Jewish Pogroms on the Eve of the Holocaust*, (Ithaca, 2018), Chapter 5, pp. 84-113.
[292] Wendy Lower, 'Pogroms, Mob Violence and Genocide in Western Ukraine, Summer 1941: Varied Histories, Explanations and Comparisons', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 13:3 (2011), p.218.
[293] Ibid. p. 224.

The Beginning of the Second World War: Invasion of Ukrainian Lands by the Soviets and Beginning of the Terror

The Second World War began on 1 September 1939, after the German and Soviet authorities signed an agreement with additional secret protocols, widely known as the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact or the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact of 23 August 1939.[294] The secret protocols divided spheres of interest between Germany and the Soviet Union. The major Soviet claim was to reconstruct the borders of the Russian Empire before the First World War. Thus, for instance, historical a Ukrainian land Volhynia was included into the Russian Empire as well as historic Bessarabia. However, some of the territories claimed or annexed later by the Soviets were not parts of the Russian Empire and the Soviets just took the opportunity to claim them. Thus, the territory of Eastern Galicia and later Northern Bukovina, which were parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire before the First World War and never were included in the Russian Empire, were also annexed by the Soviet Union.

The Soviets entered western part of the historically Ukrainian lands of Volhynia and Eastern Galicia on 17 September 1941, just three weeks after the signing of the secret protocol with Germans. Jan Tomasz Gross has pointed out that although the Soviets did not have much time to prepare their invasion, the necessary propaganda work had started before 17 September.[295] Therefore, it is not surprising that the Red Army was generally welcomed, and particularly by young Ukrainians, Belarusians and Jews.[296] Presumably, the arriving Soviets were seen as liberators from centuries of Polish domination as Ukrainians lived

[294] The text of the Pact can be found online in Russian and German under the German project The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pakt, in: *100 Schlüssel Dokumente zur Deutschen Geschichte in 20. Jahrhundert*, available at: https://www.1000dokumente.de/index.html?c=dokument_de&dokument=0025_pak&object=translation&l=ru, (last accessed on 12 June 2019); The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, in: *Digital Archive of Wilson Center,* available at: https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/110994.pdf?v=61e7656de6c925c23144a7f96330517d, (last accessed on 12 June 2019); The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, in: *Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, the Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History and Diplomacy*, available at: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/conproto.asp (last accessed on 12 June 2019). On the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact see: Ingeborg Fleischhauer, *Der Pakt: Hitler, Stalin und die Initiative der deutschen Diplomatie 1938–1939* (Berlin, 1990). Detailed analysis of the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact can be found in: Mikhail Miagkov, 'Ot Miunkhenskogo Soglasheniia do Podpisaniia Sovetsko-Germanskogo Dogovora ot 23 avgusta 1939 goda: Predystoriia Voprosa', in: *Mezhdunarodnyi Krizis 1939-1941 godov: Ot Sovetsko-Germanskikh Dogovorov 1939 Goda do Napadeniia na SSSR* (Moscow, 2006), pp. 47-60; Sergei Sluch, Vneshnepoliticheskaia Strategiia Gitlera v 1939 godu i Sovetskii Soiuz, in: Ibid, pp. 61-92; Duraczynski, Eugeniusz, 'Vneshniaia Politika Polshi (1939-1945): Usloviia, Vozmozhnosti, Tseli i Resultaty', in: Ibid., pp. 153-179. The most recent unclassified collection of documents on diplomatic relations between the USSR and Germany including the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact, see: *Vestnik Archiva Prezidenta RF. SSSR — Germaniia 1932–1941* (Moscow, 2019).

[295] Jan Tomasz Gross, *Revolution from Abroad: The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia* (Princeton, NJ, 2002)., p. 28.

[296] Ibid., p. 29.

under Rzeczpospolita rule and fought against it, even making alliances with Russia in 1654.[297] Ukrainian historian Yevhen Nakonechnyi, who in 1939 was eight years old and remembers arrival of the Red Army in the Lviv region where he lived, recalled how young Jews greeted the Red Army:

> Ordinary Galician Jews met the Red Army with flowers and sincere enthusiasm. The happiness was so tumultuous, sincere and overwhelming that it was shocking. It was particularly shocking for the Poles, who for some reason considered the Galician Jews as Polish patriots, and, therefore perceived it as blatant ingratitude or even as almost a national betrayal. Temperamental Jewish youth rushed to kiss the armour of the Soviet tanks. Fierce exclamations were heard around: 'Long live Stalin!', 'Long life for the Soviet Union!', 'Long life for Soviet Ukraine!'… The tumultuous and joyful reaction of the Jews to the arrival of the Red Army had a good reason. Galician Jews were informed in detail about the theory and practice of Hitler's Antisemitism. In contrast to the Soviet Union, the Jewish publications in Poland informed readers in detail about Antisemitic persecution in Germany… ' It should be added that the Jews also were happy because they got rid of their state of humiliation by the Polish chauvinist circles.[298]

However, Nakonechnyi also pointed out that Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia 'better understood totalitarian essence of Moscow bolshevism… They evaluated the situation as a shift of occupiers.'[299] Ukraine nationalism had been evident for centuries but became particularly strong in the 1920s and 1930s, apparently as a response to European national movements. The struggle became invigorated after the creation of the first paramilitary organisation, the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) and later the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which started an armed struggle for Ukrainian independence against Poland and later, against both Poland and the Soviet Union.[300] Other historians confirm Nakonechnyi's vision of the population's perception of the Soviets. For instance, Oleksandr Lutskyi analysing Polish and Soviet sources confirms that an impoverished population, mainly Ukrainians and Jews, supported the Soviets while others adopted a wait-

[297] V. Gorobets, 'Pereiaslavska Rada 1654', in: Valerii Smolii, et al. (eds.), *Entsyklopediia Istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 8 (Kyiv, 2011), p. 142.
[298] Yevhen Nakonechnyi, *'Shoa' u Lvovi* (Lviv, 2006), pp. 20-21. Also available online: Nakonechnyi, Yevhen, *'Shoa' u Lvovi,* available at: https://www.e-reading.club/bookreader.php/1042738/Nakonechnyy_-_Shoa_u_Lvovi.html#label6, (last accessed 13 February 2018).
[299] Ibid., p. 20.
[300] In detailed see, Myroslav Shkandrij, *Ukrainian Nationalism: Politics, Ideology and Literature (1929-1956)* (New Haven/London, 2015), particularly 'Introduction' and 'Interwar Nationalism, 1922–38'.

and-see attitude.[301] Ostensibly, in Volhynia, the population met the Soviets with the same attitude that they would be better off: before the First World Volhynia belonged to the Russian Empire and overwhelming majority of Orthodox believers were closer to the Soviets than to Poland.

The Soviets changed the administrative division of the incorporated territories: Volhynia, Lviv, Ternopil and Stanislav *oblast* remained; a new Drohobych *oblast* was created and existed until the German occupation. After the invasion, Soviet NKVD began repressions, killings and the displacement of the population of western Ukraine. The NKVD prepared special lists of Poles, Ukrainians and other 'unreliable' and 'suspected elements', in the first instance political figures and the clergy.[302] There were several waves of Soviet repression that had begun in November 1939. The Jewish intelligentsia and clergy were repressed both then and later. Those arrested were mainly deported to Kazakhstan and Central Asia where they perished from starvation and punishing living conditions. In February 1940, Ukrainians and Jews who resided on the border between the Soviet Union and Germany were also deported with many of the arrested being secretly shot in NKVD prisons.[303] The Polish population of the city of Lviv experienced waves of arrests, deportations and killings. For instance, officers' and policemen's families (between 7,500 and 8,500 Poles) were deported on the night of 12-13 April 1940. Then the economic elite was arrested and deported, particularly Poles and Jews, but also Ukrainians.[304] The last wave of repressions was organised exactly one month before the German invasion – 22 May 1941 and was directed against Ukrainian Nationalists and their families.[305] As Christoph Mick records:

> Terror and repression were an integral part of Sovietization. Victims were defined either exclusively by their class status (as members of the pre-war social and political elite); by the combination of ethnicity and social status (e.g., Polish military settlers); by their status as aliens (e.g., the mostly Jewish refugees from German-occupied Poland); or by their political convictions (Jewish socialists - Bundists, Zionists or

[301] Oleksandr Lutskyi, 'Lviv pid Radianskoiu Okupatsiieiu, 1939-1941 rr.', in: Volodymyr Viatrovych (ed.), *Ukrainskyi Vyzvolnyi Rukh, Zbirnyk 7* (Lviv, 2006), pp. 89-119, p. 90.
[302] Anna M. Cienciala, 'Poles and Jews under German and Soviet Occupation, September 1, 1939 - June 22, 1941', *The Polish Review*, 46:4, (2001), p.396.
[303] Yakov Khonigsman, 'Deportatsiia Evreev iz Vostochnoi Galitsii v 1939-1942 gg.', in: Fedir Turchenko (ed.), *Zaporozhskie Evreiskie Chteniia*, *Vypusk 4*, (Zaporizhzhia, 2000), pp. 44-45.
[304] Christoph Mick, 'Incompatible Experiences: Poles, Ukrainians and Jews in Lviv under Soviet and German Occupation, 1939-44', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 46:2 (April 2011), p. 341.
[305] Khonigsman, Yakov, 'Deportatsiia Evreev iz Vostochnoi Galitsii', pp. 44-45.

> Ukrainian nationalists). Poles, Ukrainians and Jews were affected differently and at different points in time by the waves of repression. Initially, a large part of the social pre-war elite was arrested or deported.[306]

Not only those who resided in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia were repressed but also refugees, mainly Jews, who fled from the territories occupied by the Germans. Again, many of those arrested were secretly shot in the NKVD prisons.[307] According to the estimated numbers based on published NKVD data, more than 10% of Ukrainians from western Ukraine were deported, as well as more than 20% of Jews and about 60% of Poles, and also more than 7% of Belarusians. According to these sources, Soviet deportations of 1939-1941 affected between 300,000 and 500,000 people.[308] ,

After the annexation of Eastern Galicia and Volhynia, the USSR prepared for the future annexation of Southern Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina. If the Soviet claim of southern parts of Bessarabia was agreed with Germans by the secret protocol, their claim on the territory of Northern Bukovina was ostensibly unexpected by both the Germans and Romanians. Northern Bukovina had never been part of the Russian Empire except for a temporary occupation during the First World War. However, it was very important for the Soviets to include Northern Bukovina: as Malbone Graham suggests, as the Soviets could not allow this territory to remain between eastern and western Ukraine after both were under Soviet control.[309] Arguably, it was not easy for Germans to negotiate this issue with the Soviets. The main problem was caused not by a new claim that expanded Soviet territory, but by the existence of a pro-German policy which Romania had initiated since the beginning of the war. Nevertheless, the annexation was agreed and on 26 June 1940,

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[306] Mick, 'Incompatible Experiences, p. 341.

[307] On arrests, deportations and murdering of the population of Eastern Galicia and Volhyn, particularly Jews, Poles and Ukrainians, see: Gross, *Revolution from Abroad*; Christoph Mick, '"Only the Jews do not Waver…" Lviv under Soviet Occupation', in: Elazar *Barkan*, Elizabeth A.*Cole* and Kai *Struve* (eds.), *Shared History - Divided Memory* (Leipzig, 2007), pp. 245-262; Cienciala, 'Poles and Jews under German and Soviet Occupation', pp. 391-402; Yakov Khonigsman, *Katastrofa Evreistva Zapadnoi Ukrainy* (Lviv, 1998), paricularly Chapter VII.
On numbers of arrested, deported and killed Poles by the Soviets in 1939-1941, see: Piotr J., Wróbel, 'Class War or Ethnic Cleansing? Soviet Deportations of Polish Citizens from the Eastern Provinces of Poland, 1939–1941', *The Polish Review*, 59:2, (2014), pp. 19-42.
On social life of the Jews under the Soviets, see: Ben-Cion Pinchuk, 'The Sovietization of the Jewish Community of Eastern Poland 1939-1941', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 56:3, (1978), pp. 387-410. On social life Ukrainians and repressions by the Soviets in 1939-1941 on the example of Lviv, see: Lutskyi, 'Lviv pid Radianskoiu Okupatsiieiu', pp. 89-119.

[308] Mick, 'Incompatible Experiences, pp. 341-342 (footnote 17).

[309] Malbone W, Graham, 'The Legal Status of the Bukovina and Bessarabia', *The American Journal of International Law* 38:4 (1944), pp.670-671.

the USSR sent Romania an ultimatum, the main sense of which was that if Romania would not allow the Soviet troops to enter into Southern Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, the Soviets were ready to take it by a military action.[310] Within two days, on 28 June, Romania bowed to Soviet demands and by 3 July, Northern Bukovina and Southern Bessarabia had become part of Soviet territories.

Here again, Soviet military preparations for the annexations seem to have started earlier. The reports of the Police Office to the Minister of Foreign Affairs written in May and June, before the ultimatum, contained information on the militarisation of Eastern Galicia on the Romanian-Polish border and possible move of military units further into Romania. The same reports contained economic and social information which contained information about the deportations of Polish and Ukrainian nationalists deep inside the Soviet territories. It was admitted in the reports that Polish and Ukrainian population of Galicia were disappointed with the Soviet communist regime. Furthermore, Ukrainian population 'regretted the time when Galicia was ruled by Poland'[311]

The populations of Southern Bessarabia and even Northern Bukovina, except for the Romanians, generally greeted Soviets with enthusiasm and support. The numerous administrative, police and military reports, as well as personal accounts confirm that Jews particularly participated in pro-Soviet and anti-Romanian activities. However, such reports did not differentiate ethnic Ukrainians who had some pro-Soviets among them as well.[312] Moreover, about 17% of the population of the southern parts of Bessarabia were Russians and supported the Soviet Union as a successor of the Russian Empire.

After the occupation of Northern Bukovina and Southern Bessarabia, the Soviet terror began in a similar fashion to what had been done in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia. Arrests and deportations were carried out against those who were suspected of working as pro-Romanian agents. Administrators, gendarmes, former members of Romanian parliament as well as traders and owners of lands who had decided not to evacuate when Romanian troops left the territory were arrested and deported to Siberia and Kazakhstan. The first arrests took place during the time of the annexation – between 28 June and 4 July but the biggest

[310] The full text of the Ultimatum available at: Walter Duranty, 'Rumania Expected Nazi Aid on Russia; but Germans Failed to Honor Assurances They Gave When Regime Was Revamped…, June 29, 1940', *The New York Times*, June 29, 1940 (accessed at the Online The New York Times Archive).
[311] Cezar Ciorteanu, 'The Occupation of the Northern Bukovina by the USSR (June, 28th –July, 3rd 1940). Political and Military Observations', *Codrul Cosminului*, 12:1, (2016), pp. 117-118.
[312] Wiesel, Friling, Ioanid, and Ionescu (eds.), *Final Report*, pp. 82-84.

wave of arrests and deportations occurred ten days before the German invasion: 12-13 June 1941 when 31,419 people from Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, and Herța county were deported. The patriarchs of the 'suspects' families were probably executed (shot).[313] In total, approximately 86,000 people were affected by the Soviet repressions between 28 June 1940 and 22 June 1941 but the precise numbers of people who were repressed in the Ukrainian ethnic lands of Northern Bukovina and the Southern parts of Bessarabia cannot be determined. Thus, the repressions implemented by the Soviets following the annexation of the new territories contributed to the refugee crisis of 1939-1941: people from the annexed territories tried to escape from the Soviets either to the German occupied territories (some Ukrainians, Poles, Romanians) or deeper inside the eastern part of Ukraine and even deeper into Russia.

Awareness of Jewish and Roma about Their Persecutions by the Occupiers

Understanding the need to self-rescue or seeking for help from outside depended on what the Jews and Roma in Ukraine knew about their persecution. Knowledge of the Nazi aim to annihilate the Jews and the Roma should have been accessible via the Soviet public media and some information did in fact appear regarding the Jews, but in a limited fashion: mainly in a weekly *Eynikayt* (*Unity*) in Yiddish which started to be published from 7 June 1942.[314] One of the major warnings about German plans came from the Soviet Jewish leader, chairman of *Eynikayt* and later the member of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee, Solomon Mikhoels. This was republished in Russian in two main newspapers *Pravda* and *Izvestiia*.[315] During the first broadcast meeting of the Jewish-Soviet group in August 1941, a writer of Jewish origin, David Bergelson, warned that that existence of the Jews was 'at

[313] Igor Caşu, 'Stalinist Terror in Soviet Moldavia', in: Kevin McDermott and Matthew Stibbe (eds.), *Stalinist Terror in Eastern Europe* (Manchester, 2010), pp.40-42; Igor Caşu, *Duşmanul De Clasă. Represiuni politice, violenţă şi rezistenţă în R(A)SS Moldovenească, 1924-1956* (Chişinău, 2014), pp. 40-42. More on numbers and of arrested, deported, and killed and the repressions, see collection of documents: Alexandru Moraru (ed.), *Victimele Terorii Comuniste în Basarabia Rezistenţă Ocupanţilor: Arestaţi, Torturaţi, Întemniţaţi, Ucişi* (Chişinău, 2010); Caşu, *Duşmanul De Clasă.*

[314] Dov-Ber Kerler, 'The Soviet Yiddish Press: Eynikayt During The War, 1942-1945', in: Robert Moses Shapiro (ed.), *Why Didn't the Press Shout?: American & International Journalism During the Holocaust* (New York, Jersey City, NJ, 2003), p. 223.

[315] Karel C. Berkhoff, *Motherland in Danger: Soviet Propaganda During World War II* (Cambridge, London, 2012), p. 136.

stake'.[316] The summary of the meeting was published in two major newspapers *Pravda* and *Krasnaia Zvezda* but only on last pages, thus, people had to read the newspapers thoroughly.[317] *Eynikayt* reported the persecution of the Jews, but it was only published from the end of May 1942 when the majority of Jews had already been killed.[318] Also, it was published only in Yiddish and just three times per month, something that significantly decreased wider access by Soviet Jews and it was unavailable to those who were already under German occupation, which meant all Ukrainian Jews.

After first mass shooting took place, non-Jewish eyewitnesses and Jewish survivors were the first and primary informants. As Karel Berkhoff emphasised in his exhaustive study of Soviet wartime propaganda, the citizens of the USSR who left this country shortly after the war, in their interviews said that 'the population trusted rumours more than the Soviet press.'[319] Eventually, as Berkhoff concludes, 'the key point is that despite the media's tendency to bury the knowledge that the Jews were targeted for total mass murder, Soviet readers and radio listeners who *wanted* [sic] to know were able to find references to that Nazi campaign.'[320]

Obviously, Soviet readers and radio listeners might not notice a short mention of the murdering of the Jews within the flow other information about the feats of the Red Army, labour feats and the like. In addition, the information given could be misleading and misunderstood. For instance, despite the fact that Stalin received the first NKVD reports about German actions on 19 July 1941 and was well informed about the violence towards the certain groups of population including the Jews.[321] Indeed, in his July radio speech, Stalin pointed out that all peoples of the USSR were in danger and this danger was 'not death but enslavement.'[322] In his later speech of 7 November 1941, he mentioned pogroms organised by the Hitlerites on the Jews.[323] However, in other speeches and notes by Soviet

[316] Shimon Redlich, *Propaganda and Nationalism in Wartime Russia: The Jewish Antifascist Committee in the USSR, 1941-1948* (Boulder, CO, 1982), pp. 40-41.
[317] Ibid., p. 193, footnote 5; Shimon Redlich, *War, Holocaust and Stalinism: Documented Study of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee in the USSR* (Luxembourg, 1995), p. 183. This appeal was recorded on video and audio in Russian and was broadcasted via central radio; it may be found in the Russian State Film and Photo Archive in Krasnogorsk.
[318] Redlich, *War, Holocaust and Stalinism*, pp. 95, 189, 192.
[319] These interviews were recorded in 1950-51 for Harvard project on the Soviet Social System: Berkhoff, *Motherland in Danger*, p. 276.
[320] Ibid., p. 166.
[321] Ibid., pp.117- 118.
[322] Ibid., p. 118.
[323] Ibid., p. 118-119.

leaders, the Jews were not mentioned as a special category of victims even though Stalin knew about the Nazi aim to exterminate Jews no later than August 1941.[324] 1942 was a critical year in terms of receiving reliable information about the Nazi extermination of the Soviet Jews and on its practical implementation. In the first month of 1942, Stalin was in possession of the German documents 'confirming the killing campaign specifically directed against Jews.'[325] The very same month the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee was formed. The Committee published the Soviet reports and other related information about the persecution of the Jews, both Soviet and non-Soviet, in *Eynikayt*. Probably, it was the only source for the Jews where information about the killing was given regularly and in detail.

Karel Berkhoff mentions that that some Soviet leaflets dropped from air 'seem to have told the Jews to remain in hiding'[326] In November 1942, the Extraordinary State Commission on the investigation of the German crimes in the occupied territories of the USSR (ChGK) was founded. The task of the Commission was to gather documents and witness' testimonies about the occupier's atrocities for future publicisation. In 1943, some reports about German atrocities in Kharkiv and Stalino *oblasts* were published by the ChGK.[327] Nevertheless, the population remained largely uninformed about the fate of Jews. In many newspapers' reports the word 'Jews' was replaced with 'Soviet citizens', 'Soviet population', 'peaceful inhabitants', or 'peaceful people'. Often the Jews were mentioned among other nationalities without emphasis on the calamities befell them alone. If in 1941 and 1942 Jews were from time to time mentioned in the Soviet media, after 1942 media omitted to use the words 'Jews' and 'Jewish' in its reports.[328]

Although, the information about the occupier's plans towards Jews could be found officially, it was not public before the German occupation: or indeed after 1939 when some information about German Antisemitic policy in Germany and occupied Poland leaked to the Soviet newspapers. Radios were not affordable for many families in the cities and there was usually only one common radio in individual villages. In villages people received newspapers via the mail much later than in the cities and were therefore were not up to date with news, thus, they knew nothing about the 'outside war'. Galician Jews were better informed about the persecution of the Jews in Germany before 1939 as the Polish Jewish

[324] Ibid., 2012, p. 135.
[325] Ibid., 2012, p. 142.
[326] Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, p. 83.
[327] Berkhoff, *Motherland in Danger*, p. 122.
[328] Ibid., p. 153.

press published materials about it.[329] Also, numbers of refugees came from occupied Poland to western Ukraine and Galician Jews learnt about the antisemitic politics of the Germans from them. For other Ukrainian Jews there was a little chance to receive any information about the persecution of Polish Jews: the mass media were controlled, and foreigners hardly travelled there.[330] This being the case, because Galician Jews were incorporated into the USSR, their access to information was seemingly lower.

This being the case, the Jews had no more idea than other elements in the population about what might follow the German invasion of Ukraine. One of the factors that kept them uninformed was the constant of business life for people. In June 1940 all people had to work eight hours per day and seven days per week.[331] Obviously, the war is not ordinary event, but at the same time people tried to maintain their everyday routines. The diary of non-Jew Iryna Khorosunova illustrates this point well:

> Yes, evidently that is how life in an occupied city is arranged. The war has moved away several steps, and life is starting up again. And everything is taking its turn. And some people will go on living even though Jews continue to be led to the Lukianivka cemetery. Life still goes on even though yesterday prisoners were led along our street and six corpses were left lying in the roadway.[332]

When it comes to Roma, there are no sources about their persecution in the Jewish weekly *Eynikayt* or in Soviet newspapers. As Karel Berkhoff notes, in January 1943 the Central Staff of Partisan Movement created a report for Stalin about Nazi crimes in Soviet territories which was specifically about the persecution of the Jews. This report also had a line that the Roma were the subject of mass annihilation too.[333] However, even if this information had been publicised, it would be too late for both Jews and Roma because they

[329] Nakonechnyi, *'Shoa' u Lvovi,* pp. 20-21.
[330] Zvi Gitelman, 'Soviet Jewry before the Holocaust', in: Zvi Gitelman (ed.), *Bitter Legacy: Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR* (Bloomington/Indianapolis, 1997), p. 9.
[331] Document №20 'O Poriadke Primeneniia na Predpriiatiiakh Promyslovoi Kooperatsiiy Ukaza Prezidiuma VS SSSR ot 26 Iiunia 1940 g. "O Perehode na Vosmichasovoi Rabochii Den, na Semidnevnuiu Rabochuiu Nedeliu i o zapreshchenii Samovolnogo Uhoda Rabochikh i Sluzhashchikh s Predpriistii", ot 1940.07.22', in: *Sobranie Postanovlenii i Rasporiazhenii Pravitelstva Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik* (Moscow, 1940), pp. 694-497.
[332] Iryna Khoroshunova, 'Personal Testimony', *EHRI Online Course in Holocaust Studies: The Holocaust in Ukraine*, available at: https://training.ehri-project.eu/b03-diary-iryna-khoroshunova-30-september-2-and-6-october-1941, (last accessed 10 November 2017).
[333] Berkhoff, *Motherland in Danger*, pp. 135-136.

did not have access to newspapers under the occupation and about 90% of all victims had already been exterminated.[334]

Oral sources reflect the question of the awareness of the Roma about their persecution the best. This can be explained in two ways: the Roma and Sinti were (and are) people with an oral culture and they therefore received information mostly via rumours and the stories of eyewitnesses who escaped from shootings. There is no statistical data available for the percentage of educated Roma in the beginning of the war but given that some of the families maintained nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life, one can presume that at least some of the Roma in the Soviet Ukraine could not read and write. In addition, the majority of the Roma lived in villages where reading Soviet newspapers after the occupation was impossible.[335] Arguably, only radio broadcasts could help raising Roma awareness, but they were mostly apolitical and learned news through rumours from another Roma. Interviews recorded with the Roma and Sinti survivors show that some of them, thanks to word of mouth, became aware of the persecutions after the first killings of some Roma families: 'A rumour was that Gypsies were killed. Those who nomadised. [We] heard about it. Those who nomadised with caravans,[336] were killed.'[337] Other Roma heard conversations among local Ukrainians, Russians or Poles: 'Russians said that the Gypsies and the Jews will be killed. But we did not know anything! Russians told us, and we started hiding.'[338] Even though there is no possibility of producing statistics showing how many Roma were informed about their possible extermination, undoubtedly, rumours were the main source of information. Thus, both Jews and Roma appeared uninformed and absolutely unprepared both before the German invasion and when faced by German occupation policy in practice.

[334] See more on Soviet press in Russian: Yitzhak Arad, 'The Holocaust as reflected in the Soviet Russian Language Newspapers in the years 1941-1945', in: Robert Moses Shapiro (ed.), *Why Didn't the Press Shout?: American & International Journalism During the Holocaust* (New York/Jersey City, NJ, 2003), pp. 199-220. On Soviet press in Yiddish: Kerler, 'The Soviet Yiddish Press', pp. 221-249.
[335] According to the population census of 1939 in the USSR, 20,406 of Roma and Sinti lived in the cities whereas 67,836 – in villages. See: GARF, F. A-259, op. 1, d. 632, ll. 25-26. On the Roma life and histoty in the Soviet Union, see: Nikolai, F Bugai, 'Zabytye Stranitsy Zhyzni Soobshchestva Tsygan v Soiuze SSR: 1930-1960-e gody', *Privolzhskii Nauchnyi Vestnik*, 7:47 (2015), p. 47.
[336] Originally 'shatry', meaning: 'big marquees'.
[337] Interview with Mariia Sergeeva, VHA, interview code: 49475.
[338] Interview with Ekaterina Barieva, VHA, interview code: 49386.

Refugee Crises and Evacuation in 1939-1941

The main phase of escape of the Jews and Roma during the Second World War occurred at the very beginning of the Second World War until the German invasion of the Soviet Union, i.e. 1 September 1939 – 22 June 1941. This phase can be characterised by the mass escape of the Jews from German occupied Poland and the Soviet-German negotiations about the acceptance of the Jewish refugees. The Roma resident in Hungary and Poland moved, during the first days of the war, to western Ukraine to be under the Soviet rule. Some Roma were still able to move from occupied Poland to western Ukraine and stay there for the entire war because the borders were closed.

This time span (1 September 1939 – 22 June 1941) is not the main focus of this dissertation, though it is critical to understand how massive the flight was, the motivation of the refugees and the routes they took. Therefore, the discussion here constitutes an overview and introduction for further examination of cases of self-rescue. The flight began after the Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact has been signed. From the first day of the Soviet occupation of Poland until the day of elections in the annexed western parts of Belarus and Ukraine (22 October 1939), the Soviets did not close the border. The Germans also left the border open from the day of invasion until an order forbidding the Jews from crossing the border was issued (20 September 1939). Five days later only Ukrainians loyal to Germany and *Volksdeutsche* were allowed to cross through the newly created frontiers.[339] Seizing the opportunity, some Ukrainians who were anti-Soviet political activists, escaped from the USSR to occupied Poland while pretending to be native Germans.[340]

The exchange of the population from invaded territories was regulated by the Confidential Protocol attached to the German-Soviet Boundary and Friendship Treaty signed by both countries on 28 September 1939. According to this Protocol, the Government of the USSR was obliged not to create any obstacles to the 'Reich nationals and other persons of German descent' if they wanted to migrate to Germany and a 'corresponding obligation [was] assumed by the Government of the German Reich in respect to the persons of Ukrainian or Belorussian descent residing in the territories under its jurisdiction.'[341] A joint Soviet-

[339] Yosef Litvak, 'Jewish Refugees from Poland in the USSR, 1939-1946', in: Zvi Gitelman (ed.), *Bitter Legacy: Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR* (Bloomington/Indianapolis, 1997), p. 125.
[340] Lutskyi, 'Lviv pid Radianskoiu Okupatsiieiu', p. 92.
[341] The Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact: The Documents, *Lituanus: Lithuanian Quarterly Journal of Arts and Sciences*, 35:1 (Spring 1989), available at: http://www.lituanus.org/1989/89_1_03.htm (last accessed on 12 June 2019).

German resettlement commission was formed in October 1939 and on 16 November 1939 produced an agreement with a detailed procedure for resettlement. The document was secret and was published neither in Germany nor in the USSR.[342] One of the articles defined particular categories of the population that could be exchanged between Germany and the USSR: Ukrainians, Belarusians, Russians and Germans.[343] Because officially Jews were not among the nationalities which could be exchanged, they started their illegal flight from Polish territories occupied by Germany to the USSR – western parts of Soviet Ukraine and Belarus. After the Soviets closed the border, refugees were either sent back to German jurisdiction, or imprisoned as spies.[344] While the German authorities did not obstruct the illegal flight of Jews, the USSR frontier guards tried to prevent it after November 1939.[345]

Those Jews who successfully fled to the Soviet territory were investigated by the NKVD. In November 1939, a special Politburo committee was created to record the exact number of refugees and organise them as a labour force. Refugees who could not be used for hard work were considered for repatriation to German occupied territories.[346] Primarily these were the old, sick and disabled people but former Polish citizens from western parts of Ukraine and Belarus who did not accept the Soviet citizenship granted to them by a special decree of the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union on 29 November 1939, were also sent back.[347] Different estimates put this figure at between 14,000 and 25,000 people.[348] Those, who accepted the conditions of the Soviets received passports and were sent for hard labour to the north and east of the USSR and to the eastern regions of Ukraine.[349] Between November 1939 and February 1940 many thousands of refugees were sent to the Stalino (Donetsk) area, famous with its coal mines. Poor and unsafe working conditions forced some of these refugees to return to the western parts of Ukraine and Belarus from where they had come.[350] In addition, all refugees and residents in Soviet occupied territories were

[342] Dmitriy Tolochko, 'The Problem of Refugees from Poland in Soviet-German Relations (September 1939 – June 1940)', in: Aleksandr Dyukov and Olesia Orlenko (eds.), *Divided Eastern Europe: Borders and Population Transfer, 1938-1947* (Newcastle, 2012), p. 106.
[343] RGASPI, F.17, op. 162, d. 26, l. 76-77, in: Gennadii Kostyrchenko, *Tainaia Politika Stalina: Vlast i Antisemitism* (Moscow, 2nd ed., 2003), p.187.
[344] Litvak, 'Jewish Refugees from Poland', p. 126.
[345] Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti*, p. 378.
[346] Kostyrchenko, *Tainai Politika Stalina*, p.189, with a reference to RGASPI, F.17, op.3, d.1016, l. 3
[347] Ukaz Prezidiuma VS SSSR ot 29.11.1939 o Priobretenii Grazhdanstva SSSR Zhiteliami Zapadnykh Oblastei USSR i BSSR, *Biblioteka Normativno-Pravovykh Aktov SSSR*, available at: http://www.libussr.ru/doc_ussr/ussr_4215.htm (last accessed on 13 June 2019).
[348] Dmitriy Tolochko, 'The Problem of Refugees', p.117; Kostyrchenko, *Tainai Politika Stalina*, p.189.
[349] Ibid.
[350] Litvak, 'Jewish Refugees from Poland', p. 127.

screened for political reliability. The First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Ukraine, Nikita Khrushchev, who was sent by Stalin to accompany the Soviet troops in western Ukraine in 1939, recalled that there were many Jewish communists among the workers and intelligentsia in Lviv and other western Ukrainian cities:

> They [all communists in western Ukraine], according to our understanding, [were] required to be checked… We looked at them as undisclosed agents, they had to be not only checked, but checked under a special magnifier. And many of them, after getting liberated by our Red Army, found themselves in our Soviet prisons.[351]

Those refugees who did not pass this check were categorised as politically 'unreliable elements' and 'social aliens' and were sent back to the German occupied territories. Even though there is no data about the ethnic origins of the expelled people, one can speculate that among 'social aliens' there were refugees of Roma and Jewish origin who were not assimilated and continued to maintain their own language and culture. The total of refugees expelled from the USSR and their ethnic origins is unknown but at least 23,600 people from Western Ukraine and Western Belarus were arrested between 1939 and May 1941, and some of them were sent to *GULAGs* inside the USSR. Some of them could have been Jews because according to various sources, approximately 11,000-12,000 Jews were in GULAGs from Soviets occupied western territories of Belarus and Ukraine.[352]

On 27 December 1939, in response to a German initiative on population exchanges, the Politburo issued a decree to accept up to 14,000 refugees from the German side to the territory of western Ukraine and western Belarus and to allow up to 60,000 refugees from the Soviet territories to go to the German side.[353] Many of these refugees were Jews from both sides: from the Soviet side who did not want to accept 'Sovietisation', and from the German side who wanted to escape from the Nazi regime. The Council of People's Commissar I. Serov, who worked on the exchange of the population in Lviv, told the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Ukraine Nikita

[351] Nikita Khrushchev, *Vospominaniia. Vremia. Liudi. Vlast,* vol. 1, (Moscow, 2016), p. 68; Available online: Nikita Khrushchev, *Vospominaniia. Vremia. Liudi. Vlast,* vol. 1, available at: https://profilib.net/chtenie/98917/nikita-khruschev-vospominaniya-vremya-lyudi-vlast-kniga-1-lib.php (last accessed 11 November 2018).
[352] Kostyrchenko, *Tainai Politika Stalina*, p. 190.
[353] Kostyrchenko, *Tainai Politika Stalina*, p. 188, with a reference to RGASPI, F.17, op. 162, d. 26, l. 156.

Khrushchev that there were long queues of those who wanted to return to the Polish territory [already occupied by the Germans] at the registration point. Mainly they were Jews who even bribed the German frontier guards for help to leave the USSR. Khrushchev pointed out that 'they wanted to return to the places of their birth and living, though they knew how Germans violently dealt with the Jews in Germany (…) On the other hand, a lot of people, especially Jews, ran away from Germans to us [Soviets].'[354] Increases in the number of the Jews who tried to leave Soviet territories was observed starting from January 1940.[355] Possible reasons for this could be the wish to reunite with their families on the German side, poverty and repressions in the USSR during 1939.

On 9 February 1940, the Resettlement Department of the USSR's Council of People's Commissars received two letters from the Zentralstelle für jüdische Auswanderung (Central Office for Jewish Emigration) with an offer to organise the resettlement of the Jewish population from Germany to the USSR, particularly to Western Ukraine and Birobidzhan, a Soviet Jewish Autonomous *Oblast* situated in the Russian Far East. The proposed number of refugees was about 1,800,000 Polish Jews and about 350,000-400,000 from the Greater German Reich.[356] The Resettlement Department of the USSR's Council of People's Commissars rejected this offer with the note that in accordance with the agreement between Germany and the USSR, only Ukrainians, Belarusians, Rusyns and Russians could be accepted.[357] The Jewish Autonomous *Oblast* nevertheless needed a new population and in April 1940 the Soviet government considered the question of resettling about 30,000-40,000 of refugees from the territories of western Ukraine and Belarus. Moreover, a special instruction from the NKVD was issued that allowed the resettlement of those refugees who refused to take Soviet citizenship as 'special resettlers' to faraway *oblasts* in the USSR.[358] The Germans tried to send Jews disguised as people of Ukrainian origin, but the Soviets rejected them.[359] A Russian historian, Ilya Altman, considers that this offer from the German side confirms that at that time Nazis looked for a way to deport Jews from their country rather than totally exterminate them. By rejecting the German offer

[354] Nikita Khrushchev, *Vospominaniia. Vremia. Liudi. Vlast,* vol. 1, (Moscow, 2016), p. 70.
[355] Dmitriy Tolochko, 'The Problem of Refugees, p.117; Kostyrchenko, *Tainai Politika Stalina*, p.116.
[356] Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti*, p. 379.
[357] Kostyrchenko, Gennadii, Kostyrchenko, *Tainai Politika Stalina*, p.189 with a reference to RGASPI, F.82, op.2, d. 489, l. 1.
[358] Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti,* pp. 379-380.
[359] Dmitriy Tolochko, 'The Problem of Refugees', p.111.

to accept Jewish refugees, the Soviet Government was indirectly responsible for the development of the 'final solution' towards Jews and the fate of the European Jews.[360]

Escape by Roma's is impossible to reconstruct in terms of its chronology and the numbers on the move for several reasons. Firstly, a significant part of the Roma maintained a semi-nomadic lifestyle (in addition to some of the Roma who were purely nomadic) and moved not only within a certain county but also between countries, particularly in 1939-1940 when the borders between Poland, Ukrainian SSR, and Romania changed. Keeping registration books for all Roma families which moved to Ukraine on the eve or at the beginning of the Second World War was not possible for the Soviet authorities. Some Roma families, which, for example, arrived from Polish territories in 1939, continued their wandering inside Ukrainian territories, something that inevitably complicated accurate registration of the numbers of Roma.[361]

Secondly, the majority of the Roma did not or could not obtain any passport or *propiska* – a temporary or permanent record of registration in the USSR, sometimes translated as 'a residence permit'. The passport system was introduced in the USSR on 27 December 1932 in order to prevent migration to the cities, particularly as the government's reacted to the flight of rural populations to cities to escape the consequences of Stalin's man-made famine.[362] Therefore, the passports were not issued to villagers and *kolkhozniks*: Leaving a *kolkhoz* was only possible with the permission from that *kolkhoz*.[363] As only a small number of Roma lived in towns and cities, most of them were ineligible for passports. Semi-nomadic and settled Roma, as well as many villagers of other nationalities, could only obtain papers with a temporary registration record from the heads of villages. Moreover, Roma were ineligible for passports or any residency permit, as 'unreliable elements' from the first half of the 1930s onwards. The Soviet government's distrust of Roma even led to a special operation conducted in 1933 to collect the Roma around Moscow and deport them

[360] Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti*, pp. 379, 382.
[361] Interview with Ludwik Dolinski, VHA, interview code: 44108. On escape of the Roma in Sinti in 1939-1941 based on oral accounts, see: Anna Abakunova, 'Roma and Sinti Self-Rescue in Occupied Soviet Ukraine During the Second World War: Escape, Hiding, and Identity Concealment', in: Danijel Vojak and Ivo Pejaković (eds.), *Stradanje Roma u Europi za vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata s posebnim osvrtom na stradanje u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj. Zbornik radova s međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa, Jasenovac: Savez Roma u Republici Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb, 2018), pp. 15-28.
[362] Postanovlenie VTsIK SNK ot 27.12.1932 'Ob Ustanovlenii Edinoi Pasportnoi Sistemy po Soiuzu SSR i Obiazatelnoi Propiske Pasportov', available at: http://docs.cntd.ru/document/901958829 (last accessed on 10 May 2019).
[363] Sheila Fitzpatrick, 'Ascribing Class: The Construction of Social Identity in Soviet Russia', *The Journal of Modern History*, 65:4, (1993), p. 763.

to Siberia.[364] Also, nomadic and sometimes semi-nomadic Roma did not bother themselves with any sort of documents except birth certificates because, among other reasons, they did not want to oblige themselves to reside at a certain location which was a precondition for obtaining formal documents. These complications effectively prevented the government from having accurate statistics and tracking Roma migrations in Ukrainian territories between 1939 and 1941.

Evacuation of the Soviet Ukrainian Population: Jews and Roma

If states are considered as institutions, then all measures taken by the Soviet state to help Jews and Roma can be counted as an institutional help. Evacuation of the population and, primarily of Jews, before the invasion by the German troops is one such institutional actions that must have been undertaken by the state. However, the Soviet administration did not expect a German *blitzkrieg* offensive and the question of evacuation was addressed only on 24 June 1941 – three days after the invasion had begun. On this day, the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed a resolution to create the Evacuation Committee. The resolution determined that decisions about evacuation would be implemented through the Evacuation Committees of the People's Commissariats and authorised persons in the places affected.[365] On 26 June 1941, the Republican Committee on Evacuation was created in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. On 27 June, a secret resolution, 'About order on transportation and relocation of contingent of people and valuable property', was issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of People's Commissars of the USSR. According to this resolution, enterprises that produced strategic goods, raw materials, spare parts, semi-finished food products, machinery, agricultural corn, agricultural inventory and cattle had to be evacuated together with the Party and Soviet nomenclature, youths of conscription age, qualified workers, engineers, employees together with their enterprises, and also women and children.[366] However, as Mordechai Altshuler noted, 'no organised evacuation took place from small and medium-sized towns, particularly if they lacked

[364] Nicolas Werth and Gaël Moullec (eds.), *Rapports Secrets Soviétiques: La Société Russe dans les Documents Confidentiels (1921-1991)* (Gallimard, 1994), pp. 43-44.
[365] Oleksandr Lysenko, 'Evakuatsiini Zakhody Uriadiv URSR i SRSR na Terytorii URSR v Roky Velykoi Vitchyznianoi Viiny SRSR, 1941—1945', in: Valerii Smolii, et al. (eds.), *Entsyklopediia Istorii Ukrainy*, vol. 3 (Kyiv, 2005), p. 9.
[366] Ibid.; Gennadii Kostyrchenko, *Stalin Protiv 'Kosmopolitov': Vlast' i Evreiskaia Intelligentsiia SSSR* (Moscow, 2009), p.76; Yitzhak Arad, *Katastrofa Evreev na Okkupirovannykh Territoriiakh Sovetskogo Soiuza (1941-1945)* (Dnipropetrovsk, 2007), pp. 135-136.

heavy industrial factories, and when evacuations did occur, they were very limited in scope.'[367] Thus, the priority was industry and people who could be useful for the war effort. Implementation of the resolution and its subsidiary instructions took several days to put into action.[368]

Any ethnic background except for Germans was considered as a priority by the Soviet leadership. In this sense the evacuation of the Jews was subject to the same rules as the rest of the population. In acting this way, the Soviet administration had its own concerns. If they gave priority to the Jews during the evacuations it would be interpreted and used against the Soviets as a confirmation of the German propaganda that the Jews and commissars dominated in the USSR. To prioritise the Jews would contradict the Soviet declaration about equal rights for all peoples in the country and could cause inter-ethnic strife.[369] Nevertheless, in some locations Jews constituted a high percentage of the evacuated (for example in Kyiv) because they worked on strategic enterprises or/and had been members of the Communist Party. Since major decisions in relation to the evacuation were made by local authorities, the result of evacuation in each locality depended on those in charge and the conduct of operations could vary between locations. Some Jewish *kolkhoz* leaders in Ukraine simply followed the order of priority indicated in the resolution and therefore, tried to transport property first, whereas others tried to evacuate Jews first.[370] This was contrary to Soviet propaganda, which had featured a major article about Hitler's hatred towards Slavs and which effectively reached wide readership, but very little information about the persecution of Jews leaked out.[371] This meant that many local authorities had no reason to prioritise the Jews.

Because of rapid advance of the Wehrmacht into Soviet Ukrainian territories and the lateness of Soviet evacuation plans, the evacuations were often chaotic and there was no

[367] Mordehai Altshuler, 'Evacuation and Escape During the Course of the Soviet-German War', *Dapim: Studies on the Holocaust*, 28:2, (2014), p. 67.
[368] Mordehai Altshuler, 'Escape and Evacuation of Soviet Jews at the Time of the Nazi Invasion', in: Lucjan Dobroszycki and Jeffrey S. Gurock (eds.), *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union: Studies and Sources on the Destruction of the Jews in the Nazi-occupied Territories of the USSR, 1941-1945* (New York, 1993), p. 79.
[369] Leonid Smilovitsky, 'Evreiskie Bezhentsy i Evakuatsiia: Neraskrytaia Stranitsa Kholokosta: K Postanovke Problemy' in: Aleksander Dyukov and Olesia Orlenko (eds.), *Voina na Unichtozhenie: Natsystskaia Politika Genotsyda na Territorii Vostochnoi Evropy. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi Nauchnoi Konferentsii (Moskva, 26–28 aprelia 2010 goda)* (Moscow, 2010), p. 357.
[370] 'Evakuatsiia' in: Altman, Ilya, et at. (eds), *Kholokost na Okkupirovannoi Territorii SSSR. Entsiklopediia* (Moscow, 2009), pp. 1107-1108.
[371] Ibid.

possibility of evacuating the entire Western Ukrainian population.[372] Sokal, a town in Lviv *oblast* (eastern Galicia), fell under the German control in the first day of the invasion,[373] Lutsk, a Volhynian city, was captured on 25 June 1941, Rivne fell on 29 June, and the Galician city of Lviv on 30 June.[374] On 2 July 1941 German and Romanian troops invaded the Khotyn area (Bessarabia) and in two days the whole region had been occupied.[375] All these territories were 'new' western Soviet territories incorporated by the USSR in 1939-1940. Jews from these territories had little to no chance to react and only 10-12% of them managed to escape or be evacuated.[376] On 5 July the Soviet administration issued the resolution 'On Measures of the Evacuation of the Population in Wartime'. According to this resolution, the authority to evacuate population from the territories where 'military actions was taking place' was given to the local military commanders whilst the decision on evacuation from the territories 'adjacent to the front or in danger of being overrun by the enemy had to be approved by the Supreme Evacuation Council. Again, the decision-making depended on local commanders' attitudes and assessments.[377] Germans capture of the 'old' Soviet Ukrainian territories began in July: the first major city of Proskuriv (contemporary Kmelnytskyi) was captured on 8 July.[378] Also, on 5 July, the Soviet authorities decided to organise evacuation points for facilitating an evacuation *en masse*.[379]

As the process of evacuation only really began some two weeks after the initial resolution on 24 June 1941 and that the decisions were made by local commanders or needed approval from the higher authority, the chances of being evacuated from the 'old' Soviet Ukraine were also near zero. The organised evacuation was drowned in chaos and caused a disorganised flow of masses.[380] Many of those who at the last moment attempted to get evacuated returned to their home towns because the escape routes had been cut off by the Wehrmacht.[381] Besides, most people walked on foot or used carts, because they could not

[372] On evacuation and Jewish refugees from occupied Poland see: Mark Edele and Wanda Warlik, 'Saved by Stalin? Trajectories and Numbers of Polish Jews in the Soviet Second World War', in: Mark Edele, Sheila Fitzpatrick, and Atina Grossmann (eds.), *Shelter from the Holocaust: Rethinking Jewish Survival in the Soviet Union* (Detroit, MI, 2017), pp. 95-131; Sheila Fitzpatrick, Annexation, Evacuation, and Antisemitism in the Soviet Union, 1939–1946, in: Ibid., pp. 133-160.
[373] Kruglov, *Khronika Kholokosta v Ukraine,* p. 6.
[374] Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, p. 11.
[375] Ilya Altman and Oleh Surovtsev, 'Bukovina', in: Altman, Ilya, et at. (eds), *Kholokost na Okkupirovannoi Territorii SSSR. Entsiklopediia* (Moscow, 2009), p.117.
[376] Kostyrchenko, *Stalin Protiv 'Kosmopolitov',* p.77.
[377] Altshuler, 'Escape and Evacuation of Soviet Jews', p. 81.
[378] Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, p. 11.
[379] Altshuler, 'Evacuation and Escape', p. 64.
[380] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 48.
[381] Interview with a Jewish survivor Tsylia K., author's personal archive.

take trains or other vehicles.[382] Some who managed to find places on trains perished under the German bombardment. However, those who were evacuated and those who managed to flee are referred to as 'evacuees' in the Soviet documentation. Those who managed to flee on their own also considered themselves as being evacuated.[383]

There were two major waves of evacuation: the summer and autumn of 1941 when the Germans arrived on Soviet territories, and the summer and autumn of 1942 when the Germans moved deeper into the Soviet territories.[384] During the first wave, about, 100,000 people were evacuated to the North Caucasus, particularly to Stavropol and Krasnodar, from the territories of western Ukraine. In fact, the actual number of those evacuated cannot be calculated as thousands of refugees tried to reach the same region by their own means in order to save their lives.[385] One group of evacuees consisted of the Soviet Germans from the west of the USSR. This was probably the only ethnic group considered for evacuation by the Soviet authorities. During the second wave people were 're-evacuated' from the North Caucasus to the Soviet hinterland.

Regarding the Jews, there were two stages of evacuation: first lasted from 22 June 1942 until mid-July, and the second from mid-July to the end of August. Those who had a railway station near their locality and who had priority for evacuation from the local Soviet authorities had better chances to survive.[386] Regarding the Roma, there is no available official documentation on evacuations, and the relevant historiography has not raised this question. Seemingly, the Roma could not have been distinguished as a special group or as a group to be evacuated in general for a number of reasons. The Roma were apolitical and mostly villagers; as a rule of thumb, they were not employed in big factories, whose workers were evacuated; Roma were not politicians or members of the Communist party who were also prioritised for evacuation. Therefore, they remained on their own. The lack of information about Hitler's racial policies towards Roma and the inconsistency of the occupiers in their attitude towards Roma and Sinti also played a role in their fate. The Roma semi-nomadic or even nomadic lifestyle which was maintained by many of the Roma

[382] Arad, *Katastrofa Evreev na Okkupirovannykh Territoriiakh Sovetskogo Soiuza,* p. 139; Albert Kaganovich, 'Jewish Refugees and Soviet Authorities during World War II', *Yad Vashem Studies* 38, 2 (2010), pp. 85-121.
[383] Altshuler, 'Evacuation and Escape, p. 59.
[384] Ibid., p. 65.
[385] Kiril Feferman, 'A Soviet Humanitarian Action?: Centre, Periphery and the Evacuation of Refugees to the North Caucasus, 1941-1942', *Europe-Asia Studies*,61:5, (2009), pp. 814-817.
[386] Smilovitsky, 'Evreiskie Bezhentsy i Evakuatsiia', p.355.

families was against the Soviet ideology of collective work in *kolkhozes* and the Roma were classified as 'unreliable elements', that apparently removed the Roma from consideration in any of the planned evacuations. Finally, the political priority of the Soviet State was to evacuate people from Leningrad (contemporary Saint Petersburg) and Moscow, who eventually amounted to about 56 % of all those evacuated.[387] Therefore, settled Roma, particularly nomadic and semi-nomadic Roma, as well as Jews who lived on the frontier regions, had much less chance to survive through escape.

As Kiril Feferman noted, the evacuation process has to be considered as a part of the Soviet war strategy. Firstly, the evacuation of the entire, or a high percentage, of the population seemed unfeasible in practice. Second, to leave empty or almost empty lands for the Germans would not be beneficial for the Soviet authorities as it would speed up Germanisation of the lands and would not provide grounds for resistance by the population beyond the front.[388] Also, to organise and administer these areas could and did absorb a great deal of German time, effort and resources that to a certain extent slowed down their movement and pace of the occupation.

The Soviets should not bear all the responsibility of leaving Jews behind in the hands of German and Romanian occupiers. Even though the authorities can be blamed for not informing and explaining the antisemitic policies of the Germans, and also for their evacuation policy, it is clear that many of the people, including the Jews, chose not to believe the rumours of impending calamity. The decision to flee or evacuate also had to be made very quickly. For people, who for decades lived in the same places it was hard to take such a decision: to go to into the unknown while leaving behind all their possessions. The situation was even more complicated if the family had a sick or disabled member, elderly relatives or babies. Many people, convinced by Soviet propaganda about the strength of the Red Army, did not believe that the Germans could be so successful. For instance, according to the recollections of the Jewish survivor Semen D., 90% of the population of his town of Bar (Vinnytsia *oblast*) were not evacuated because they were sure that 'ours [Soviets] will throw out [the] Germans immediately.'[389]

[387] Ibid., 356.
[388] Feferman, 'A Soviet Humanitarian Action?', pp. 814-815.
[389] Interview with a Jewish survivor Semen D. whose father was captured by the Germans during the First World War, author's personal archive.

The Jews who could read other languages and knew about German achievements in philosophy, literature, and music could not imagine German maltreatment of the Jews. For example, Sergei S. talked about his own and his grandmother's positive attitude to the Germans. His grandmother visited Berlin before the war, spoke German and taught Sergei the German language and introduced him to German culture.[390]

> My grandma was from Minsk. She took courses in nursing and worked with a doctor as a midwife and a nurse. He [this doctor] moved to England, then – to Germany and my grandma assisted him for years. She knew German and communicated not only with Volksdeutsche-colonists but also with Germans [from Germany]. She was [lived for a while] in Germany (Berlin) and in England (London) before the war and [we] did not believe that Germans can do it [extermination of the Jews]. (…) In 1939, I was 11 years old and we received a journal in German which I read to know composers, because I learned piano playing (…) When Hitler came to power, the magazine 'Abroad' was published, and there were always pictures of the revolutionaries which Hitler arrested, for example, Thälmann (…) Antifascist propaganda was published and suddenly this agreement [Molotov-Ribbentrop pact], the German ships entered the port of Odessa and all anti-Hitler and anti-Semitic propaganda stopped. I could not understand what was going on. We [could think] that there [the war may bring] some limitations [on living conditions] – yes, but killings [nobody expected]![391]

Some of the Jews (or their parents) who met the Germans personally during the First World War had a very positive impression of the Germans as intelligent people and kept denying claims about German cruelty during the Second World War. Such a positive opinion was even entertained by those who were the prisoners of Germans in the First World War:

> Even though we knew what Germans did with the Jews (already on 1938 there were films, newspapers and we knew that the war with fascists will be started), my father did not believe [in it]. My father was in German captivity during the First World War. Then, they treated Jews better than the Russians did, and we were not afraid of Germans.[392]

The very religious Jews did not want to evacuate because of their belief in God. To summarise different accounts of religious perception of the situation: everything in the

[390] Interview with a Jewish survivor Sergei S., author's personal archive.
[391] Ibid.
[392] Interview with a Jewish survivor Semen D., author's personal archive.

world is happening according to the almighty God's will, which follows that there is God's will to all positive and negative things in life and people just have to accept it and follow. Also, there was another interpretation: all happens according to the God's will and the God never will allow that evil would come Jews and will protect them if it comes. Moshe F. from the town of Khotyn (Bessarabia), recalled that: 'When the War began, many people started to evacuate. My father was a religious man. He said that we do not have anything to be afraid of; it is impossible that Germans would kill Jews for no reason. God will protect us.'[393] The Roma survivors did not record their attitude to the Germans before the war, therefore no conclusion on that point can be made.

Generally, the process of evacuation contained particular features in the way it was organised and implemented. The instructions which eventually came caused time losses and hampered the decisions of individuals to escape (without help of the State). The life of 'ordinary' people was not considered as a priority. The Soviet government was not interested in the fate of the ethnic groups that were the main German targets for destruction, even though the Soviet leadership was aware of the higher risks the situation carried for the Soviet Jewish population. In the final analysis, the evacuation of people who lived in the Soviet Ukraine at that time, including Jews and Roma, cannot be considered as institutional help provided by the Soviet government, and, moreover, it cannot be classified as an organised collective rescue attempt toward Jews and Roma. Therefore, according to the estimation of Mordechai Altshuler, approximately 1,575,700 Jews resided in Soviet Ukraine by June 1941.[394] It means that about 50,000 more of the Jews have been living in Ukraine on the eve of the German invasion in comparison to the Soviet population census of 1939. This increase in the Jewish population in Ukraine can be explained by incorporation of new territories – former Polish and Romanians – where Jews resided, on the one hand, and by migration processed in 1939-1941, on the other hand. The Roma population on the eve of the German invasion of Ukraine in June 1941 can be estimated as about 20,000, according to Aleksandr Kruglov.[395] There was also for approximately 9,500

[393] Interview with a Jewish survivor Moshe F., author's personal archive. More on motives for non-evacuation of the Jews see: Anna Shternshis, 'Evacuation and Escape of Jewish Civilians in the Soviet Union during World War II', paper delivered at *the University of Colorado* (Boulder, 2 November 2010); Anna Shternshis, 'Between Life and Death: Why Some Soviet Jews Decided to Leave and Others to Stay in 1941', in: *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History*, 15:3 (Summer 2014), pp. 477-504; Kiril Feferman, Kiril Feferman, 'To Flee or not to Flee: The Conflicting Messages of Soviet Wartime Propaganda and the Holocaust, 1941', *Cahiers du Monde Russe,* 56:2, (2015), pp. 517-542.
[394] Mordechai Altshuler, *Soviet Jewry on the Eve of the Holocaust: A Social and Demographic Profile* (Jerusalem,1998), p. 16.
[395] Kruglov, 'Genotsid Tsygan v Ukraine', p. 86.

Roma more than it was recorded in the Soviet population census of 1939. However, the Roma population could be slightly more in numbers, probably, around 25,000 because many Roma nomadic families could not be taken into account. First of all, those Roma who nomadised in Bessarabia and arrived to the territory of Ukraine in 1941, exactly by the time of the invasion and later those Roma could not move or return back: they had to stay under Romanian rule on Ukrainian inhabited lands.[396] Such situation, for instance, occurred with some Roma nomadic family who had to stay in the town of Izmail (southern Bukovina) or in Odessa *oblast* (Transnistria). Other Roma and couple of Sinti nomadic families who nomadised in Galicia arrived to Eastern Galicia from Western Galicia (Poland) exactly before the German invasion and also could not move back because the borders were closed.[397] Thus, both Jews and Roma increased their presence in Ukrainian territories by June 1941 and both groups of victims were left face to face with the occupiers and had to attempt to survive on their own. In such a situation, self-help and self-rescuing were the first things the Roma and the Jews attempted.

The German and Romanian Occupation of the Soviet Ukraine: The Division of the Territory, and Persecutions of the Jews and the Roma

After the invasion, the Germans divided the Soviet Ukraine into several zones. The Government General had already been established in the occupied Poland and four *Distrikte* were included in it: Warsaw, Lublin, Cracow, and Radom. On 1 August 1941, a fifth, the DG, was added.[398] It included Eastern Galicia, namely the Lviv, Stanislav, and Ternopil *oblasts.* The recently established Soviet Drohobych *oblast* was abolished, and its territories were included into the Lviv *oblast.* The DG was headed by the Governor-General Hans Frank and its main city was Lviv.

The Transnistria Governorate was formed out of parts of western and southern Ukraine, including the largest city of Odessa, in accordance with the German-Romanian treaty signed in 1941. The terms of the treaty granted control of Transnistria to German-allied Romania, headed by general Ion Antonescu. On 19 August 1941, the province of

[396] Interview with a Roma survivor Piotr D., author's personal archive
[397] Interviews with Ludwik Dolinski, Mieczysław Goman, and Wladysław Guman, VHA, interview codes: 44108, 32796, and 46073 respectively.
[398] Isaiah Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Council in Eastern Europe under Nazi Occupation* (New York, London, 1972), p. ix.

Transnistria was created by Antonescu's Decree No.1 and the 'Instruction concerning the Governance of Transnistria Province' was approved.[399] The region included the Ukrainian territory between the Dniester and the Southern Buh Rivers (Pivdennyi Buh), and limited in the south by the Black Sea. Taking in contemporary borders as a reference, the Transnistria Province expanded beyond the Dniester River, which belongs to present day Moldova: the entire Camenca *raionul* (regioere and Rîbniţa *raionul*, eastern parts of Dubăsari *raionul* with the main city of the Dubăsari, the entire Grigoriopol *raionul* (and Slobozia, and Tiraspol' *municipiu* (municipality). From the Ukrainian side, with reference to contemporary borders, Transnistria included the Odessa *oblast*, the western and south-western parts of the Mykolaiv *oblast*, excluding its main city of Mykolaiv, and the major part of Vinnytsia *oblast*, except its northern part and the main city of Vinnytsia which was under the German control. By Decree No.3 published on 4 October 1941, Antonescu appointed Gheorghe Alexianu as the Governor of Transnistria. The status of Governor was equal to the status of a state minister.[400] At the beginning of the occupation the administrative centre of Transnistria was in Tiraspol city (contemporary Moldova) as stipulated in Antonescu's Decree No.1. On 16 October 1941, the city of Odessa (contemporary Ukraine) fell and the following day Antonescu declared the inclusion of Odessa city and its region into Transnistria, and appointed Odessa as its capital city.[401] Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina were returned to Romanian control.

The main part of Ukraine constituted the RKU and was territorially expanded by the further advance of the Wehrmacht to the east, extending to a minor part of western (including Volhyniaia) and the entire central Ukraine. The first transfer of the territory from Wehrmacht to civilian administration occurred on 1 September 1941, then 20 October and 15 November when it expanded further to the east of the Horyn and Sluch rivers, north of the Southern Buh River, and up to the Dnieper River. The final expansion of the RKU took place on 1 September 1942, and this time it expanded to the Left Bank of the Dniper River.[402] The RKU consisted of six *Generalbezirke* (general districts). Four of them were

[399] 'Instrucţiunile pentru administrarea Provinciei Transnistria, Arhivele naţionale istorice centrale. Fond Preşedinţa Consiliuilui de miniştri-Cabinet militar, dosar nr. 597/1941, f. 3', in: *Romy u Transnistrii (1941-1944). Arkhivni Dokumenty*), p. 8; the same document in Russian: *Odessa v Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voine Sovetskogo Soiuza. Sbornik Dokumentov i Materialov*, vol. 2 (Odessa, 1949), p. 5.
[400] 'Arhivele naţionale istorice centrale, f. Preşedinţa Consiliuilui de miniştri-Cabinet militar, dosar nr. 597/1941, f. 3', in: *Romy u Transnistrii (1941-1944). Arkhivni Dokumenty*, p. 9.
[401] 'Arhiva Naţională a Republicii Moldova, f. 706, inv. 1, dosar 1119, f. 7', in: Olivian Verenca (ed.), *Administraţia Civilă Română în Transnistria 1941-1944* (Bucuresti, 2000), p. 58.
[402] Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, p. 36.

named by their main city using not Ukrainian, but Russian names: Shitomir (Ukrainian: Zhytomyr), Kiew (Kyiv), Nikolajew (Mykolaiv) except for its western and south-western parts which were included into Transnistria, and Dnjepropetrowsk (Dnipropetrovsk). The fifth one was Wolhynien und Podolien (Volhynia- Podillia) with Lutsk as its main city. The sixth one was Krim (Crimea), with Melitopol as the main city. Krim was in fact a 'partial district' of Teilbezirk Taurien (Taurida) without the Crimea proper. Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Kryvy Rih, Zaporizhzhia, and Kamianske had their own city commissars as the largest cities in the *Reichskommissariat*.[403] Eric Koch was appointed as the *Reichskommissar*. The capital of the RKU was the city of Rivne (German: Rowno). The Military Administration controlled the eastern, southern (including Crimea) and northern parts of Ukraine which potentially had to be included into the RKU. There were Stalino, Voroshilovhrad (present-day Lugansk), Kharkiv Sumy, Chernihiv and partially Zaporizhzhia and Kherson areas under the control of the Military Administration by 1942.

The vast historiography on Nazi racial policies and the essence of *Lebensraum* exists and will not be discussed here.[404] However, it is essential to provide an overview of the Holocaust and persecution of the Roma in Ukraine in order to understand why Roma and Jews had to save their lives and under which circumstances they looked for help and rescue from non-Jews and non-Roma.

The murdering of the Jews started immediately after the German invasion of Ukraine. The killings were organised primarily by *Einsatzgruppen*, but also included other SS units, police and elements within the Wehrmacht. Their main targets were Jews, Communists, the disabled, homosexuals, and in some cases the Roma in Eastern Europe. There were two *Einsatzgruppen* (*C* and *D*) acting in the occupied Ukraine that actively recruited local help.[405] On the tenth day of the occupation, the mass shooting of the Jews began at Babi Yar. In this particular place, according to the official German documents, in two days, 29-

[403] Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, p. 39.
[404] On the racial definition of the Jews in 1937, including Mischlinge, see: BA (B), R/73/63, Reiche 39, S. 167. On the racial defining of the Gypsies in 1937-1941, including Mischlinge, see: BA (B), R/3101/14250, Reiche 8.
[405] On the activity of *Einsatzgruppe C*, see: Alexandr Kruglov, (ed.), *Bez Zhalosti i Somneniia: Dokumenty o Prestupleniiakh Operativnykh Grupp i Komand Politsii Bezopasnosty i SD na Vremenno Okkupirovannoi Territorii SSSR v 1941-1944 gg*., vol. 3 (Dnipropetrovsk, 2009); On the activity of *Einsatzgruppe D*, see: Alexandr Kruglov (ed.), *Bez Zhalosti i Somneniia: Dokumenty o Prestupleniiakh Operativnykh Grupp i Komand Politsii Bezopasnosty i SD na Vremenno Okkupirovannoi Territorii SSSR v 1941-1944 gg*, vol. 4 (Dnipropetrovsk, 2010); Andrej Angrick, , *Besatzungspolitik und Massenmord. Die Einsatzgruppe D in der südlichen Sowjetunion 1941-1943*, (Hamburg: 2003). *Die Einsatzgruppen* reports see: BA (B), R/58/219, Plate 1-5.

30 September 1941, the Germans with help of local collaborators, killed 33,771 Jews.[406] Aleksandr Kruglov suggests that for all the shootings in Babi Yar between 1941 and 1943 around 40,000 Jews were killed.[407] However, in some of the German non-official documents the figure of 50,000 Jews appears as victims in Kyiv.[408] Around two hundred Roma were also killed at Babi Yar.[409] This is often considered to be the first mass shooting of the Jews in the Soviet Union but according to the German sources, the first mass killing of the Jews was in Kamianets-Podilskyi where Hungarian, Polish and Czechoslovak Jews had been deported in July 1941. On 28 August 1941, 20,000 Jews were executed at Kamianets-Podilskyi.[410] In a three-day period from 11 September, 23,600 Jews were shot there.[411] The shootings in August-September 1941 were conducted exclusively by the Wehrmacht.[412] Roma were also killed at Kamianets-Podilskyi on 6 June 1942 in the same manner as the Jews. The numbers of murdered Roma were not mentioned in the available documents.[413]

After the first mass shootings of the Jews conducted by the *Einsatzgruppen* and Wehrmacht on the occupied territory of Ukraine, ghettos were organised. The Jews were registered and moved into ghettos within a couple of days. They were restricted from leaving the ghetto, forced to live with low food rations, and obligated to wear a Star of David, the colour of which varied: yellow or blue on white bandage.[414] Ghettos existed usually from three months to three years before the complete liquidation during *Aktionen*. The *Aktionen* were conducted by the occupiers with the help of local collaborators. Generally, there were two or three *Aktionen* before the final liquidation of a particular ghetto.

The situation with the Roma was different. No specific orders for the extermination of the Roma were issued until November 1943. Therefore, the treatment of Roma was decided by

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[406] Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, p. 33, with a reference to Ereignismeldung UdSSR 101 (October 2,1941): 2; Hartmut RuB, 'Wer war verantwortlich fiir das Massaker von Babij Jar?', *Militdrgeschichtliche Mitteilungen 57:2* (Potsdam, 1998), pp. 495, 499.
[407] Kruglov, *Tragediia Babiego Yara*, pp. 39-42.
[408] BA (L), B 162/5071, S. 46.
[409] It is impossible to provide an exact number, because Germans did not hold account of killed Roma in Baby Yar. There are no official documents on this killing found so far, only some testimonies.
[410] BA (L), B162/5071, S. 67.
[411] Ibid., S. 49.
[412] Dieter Pohl, 'The Murder of Ukraine's Jews under German Military Administration and in the Reich Commissariat Ukraine', in: Wendy Lower and Ray Brandon (eds.), *Shoah in Ukraine: History, Memory, Memorialisation*, (Bloomington, Indianapolis, 2010), p.29.
[413] BA (L), B 162/5071, S. 128.
[414] See, for instance, DAVO, *Vinnytski Visti,* 4 December 1941, p. 4. On the regulation of life in Dnipropetrovsk regions (RKU): and creation of ghetto: DADO, F. R-2311, op. 2, spr. 27. On the regulation of life in the MAZ: NARB, F. 1440, op.3, d. 957, l. 162.

the occupiers in each locality separately. The result was that in some places murders had started as early as the autumn of 1941 (for example, in the city of Chernihiv, MAZ), but in other places Roma only started to be persecuted in the summer of 1943 (for example in the town of Sambir, DG). As a general practice, the local German administration in occupied Ukraine decided to kill the Roma rather than not to touch them.[415] Nevertheless, in some places like the city of Lviv, many Roma managed to survive in hiding.[416]

A document found in the Bundesarchiv contains information on how the annihilation of Roma was decided. In 1942, Roma from the *Reichskommissariat Ostland* wrote a request to the commissars of Riga and Libau to allow them to work and move freely, on the grounds that they were loyal to the Germans, and that they were skilled workers. They received a rejection, but the question of Roma was raised within the German administration. Communications between the *Reichskommissars* and Police Chiefs had been finalised when the issue of Roma on the occupied Soviet territory was raised at ministerial level. The *Reichsminister* Rosenberg sent an order to the *Reichskommissars* of Riga, Minsk and Rivne (Rowno) 'to treat Gypsies the same as the Jews'. That meant to exterminate as by this time almost no Jews remained alive except those who had escaped from the ghettos and were hiding. The order was issued on 15 November 1943.[417]

On territories under the Romanian occupation, the annihilation of the Jews and Roma started with their deportation to Transnistria from Northern Bukovina and Bessarabia. In August 1941 an agreement about the administration and exploitation of the region (*Convenţie asupra administraţiei şi exploatării economice a teritoriului dintre Nistru şi Bug, respectiv Bug şi Nipru*) was signed between Germany and Romania in Tighina (now Bendery, Moldova).[418] This agreement also specified that all Jews, including those who had not yet been transferred across the Buh River, should be used to construct labour camps until the time when they could be transferred to the east.[419] Thus, the agreement confirmed

[415] Kruglov, 'Genotsid Tsygan v Ukraine'.
[416] Piotr Wawrzeniuk, "'Lwów Saved Us": Roma Survival in Lemberg 1941–44', *Journal of Genocide Research*, 20:3, (2018), pp. 327-350.
[417] BA (B), R/90/147, Reiche 65, S. 723, 725,727, 729-730.
[418] 'The Agreement for the Security, Administration, and Economic Exploitation of the Territory between the Dniester and the Bug and the Bug-Dnieper', in Jean Ancel, (ed.), *Documents Concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust,* vol. 9*: Romanian-German Relations 1936-1944*, (New York, 1986), pp. 188-191; Verenca (ed.), *Administrația Civilă Română în Transnistria, pp.* 85-97.
[419] Jean Ancel (ed.) *Documents Concerning the Fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust,* vol. 9*: Romanian-German Relations 1936-1944*, (New York, 1986), pp. 188-191; Wiesel, Friling, Ioanid, and Ionescu (eds.), *Final Report*, p. 66.

that cleansing Transnistria of Jews was the Nazi's main aim.[420] Therefore, this document can be considered as the main regulation of the deportations of Jews to Transnistria. Deportation of the Roma started in May 1942, after Antonescu's order signed on 1 May that regulated deportation of nomadic Roma, as 'asocial elements', from Romania to Transnistria.[421] In Transnistria Jews and Roma were moved mostly on foot and died from starvation and exhaustion in significant numbers. Many of Jews who were deported to the main camp in Domanivka (Russian: Domaniovka) and Bohdanivka (Russian: Bogdanovka) were shot there.[422] Thus, the extermination of the Roma and Jews was total, starting from the beginning of the occupation and lasting until either no Jews and Roma were left alive or the Red Army liberated them. Some of Roma and Jews were saved by local non-Jews and non-Roma, mainly Ukrainians. Some of the Jews and Roma managed to rescue themselves, but in most cases, it involved a combination of the two.

One can highlight three main phases in rescuing that correlates with the implementation of the Holocaust in occupied Ukraine. The first phase corresponds to the period from the first day of the German invasion until the significant changes in the administration of the occupied territories and policy towards the Jews, that can be placed in the timeframe between 22 June 1941 and 1 September 1941. This period can be distinguished by the evacuation of the population, including Jews and possibly Roma, from the frontline territories and collective attempts by the Jews to flee during the first days of the occupation. The second phase can be marked from the time of regulation and new organisation of life in the occupied territories, including deportations of the Jews and Roma to and in Transnistria and regular mass killings of the Jews and the Roma, until the tide of war changed the liberation of Ukrainian territories by the Red Army began, that is from September 1941 to February 1943. This stage can be highlighted by individual and collective efforts of the Jews and the Roma to self-rescue from the *Aktionen,* ghettos and labour camps, mainly by escaping, or hiding inside the occupied territories. The last phase, from February 1943 to October 1944 when the final liberation of Ukraine was completed, was characterised by group and individual escape of the Jews and the Roma into the forests

[420] Wiesel, Friling, Ioanid, and Ionescu (eds.), *Final Report*, 139.
[421] Solonari, 'Etnicheskaia Chistka ili Borba s Prestupnostiu?, pp. 65–87.
[422] Diana Dumitru, 'Genocide for "Sanitary Purposes"? The Bogdanovka Murder in Light of Postwar Trial Documents', *Journal of Genocide Research, 21:2,* (2018), pp. 1-21.

with the intention of joining the Partisans or regular army units of the Soviet Red Army or the Polish Armia Ludowa.

Conclusion

The social and demographic situation on the eve of the German invasion demonstrates that the third largest ethnic group in the Soviet Ukraine were the Jews, whereas the Roma were insignificant in terms of numbers. Both Jews and Roma historically experienced a negative attitude from their non-Jewish and non-Roma neighbours. Antisemitism and Antigypsyism was based on negative stereotypes towards the Jews and the Roma subsequently. Antigypsyism was seemingly supported by the Soviet state, particularly in 1930s. Though, on everyday life basis, the attitude to the Roma among non-Roma, mainly Ukrainian population, was not always negative: some Ukrainians appreciated Roma skills such as smith and shoe-making as well as performative art. Antisemitism was widespread and evoked cruel pogroms in 1918-1921, conducted by local Ukrainians and every newly arriving authority. Nevertheless, the relationships between non-Jews and Jews in Ukraine in 1930s were characterised by both Jews and Ukrainians as more or less friendly.

Both Jews and Roma lived apart from other communities having their own separate traditions and languages. The identification of the Jews through official documents, where the nationality was recorded, such as birth certificates and passports, made the occupiers job easier. Both groups of victims were easily recognisable by the occupiers because of their physical appearance which made them stand out from the people of Slavic origin people.

The incorporation of the former Polish, Romanian and Ukrainian populated lands by the Soviet Union, made the Soviet Ukraine a larger territory and increased the Jewish population significantly. The Soviets implemented policies of terror on newly incorporated land of Eastern Galicia, Volhynia, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, during which hundreds and thousands of Ukrainians, Poles, Jews were targeted, and some were arrested and deported to Central Asia or Siberia, or were killed by the NKVD. As a result, some people, particularly Poles and Ukrainians, escaped to German occupied Poland while the majority, who remained in the Soviet Ukraine nevertheless hated the Soviet regime despite the fact that many sections of society had initially welcomed their arrival.

The refugee crises increased the Jewish and, probably also the Roma population in Soviet Ukraine. The subsequent German invasion was unexpected, both by the Soviet government and the population at large. to the society. Public awareness about the occupiers' intentions to annihilate the Jews and the Roma was extremely limited. Soviet official mass media carried some information in between lines, but never emphasised the danger for the Jews or the Roma. Even though the Yiddish newspaper *Eynikayt* carried material about the murder of Jews from the summer of 1942, it was too late for Ukrainian Jews – most of them had already been killed. The Roma appeared to be better informed due their lifestyles and the transmission of news by word of mouth. However, Roma also received this information only on the eve of killings or when the first killings started. Thus, neither Roma, nor the Jews, were largely unaware of Nazi racial policies and this prevented them from making considered decisions to evacuate or to flee.

When the German invasion started, the Soviet authorities decided to evacuate the population from western and later the entire Ukraine. However, the main attention was paid to evacuation of material subjects such as heavy industrial and strategic factories and also members of the Communist party and the Soviet nomenclature. Thus, the evacuation of ethnic groups, particularly, Jews and Roma, was not organised. Generally, the evacuation process was poor or disorganised and what the Soviets referred to as evacuation had the characteristics of a mass flight. The Roma did not have any chance to be evacuated as they did not occupy any positions in the communist hierarchy and were considered as 'unreliable elements' by the Soviets. Therefore, they were left on their own. The Jews had a better chance because of their high percentage in the Communist party and their skilled labour qualities. Nevertheless, evacuation and flight depended on several factors, for example the availability of transportation and the speed of decision-making. The first one depended on means and the authorities, the second – on individuals. As a result of positive experiences with the Germans during the First World War and appreciation of the German achievements in culture and technology, many of the Jews decided to remain in the occupied territories, though the exact number of people who made such decision cannot be calculated. Religious factors also played a role in the decision-making that depended largely on the availability and reliability of such information about the German plans which were only received by the Soviet people mainly from the Soviet newspapers, which was neither in abundance nor reliable. Thus, the Soviet state did not fulfil its function to protect and preserve its people, and therefore, evacuation cannot be considered as a sort of rescuing of Jews and Roma.

The German and Romanian invasion and the implementation the policies leading to the Holocaust and persecution of the Roma help us to understand the conditions of life for the victims and how such conditions influenced self-rescuing and rescuing of the Roma and Jews. In the case of Roma, the decision on their persecution in Ukraine was made by the Germans higher authorities no earlier than in 1943, that means that largely the extermination of Roma depended on local and immediate decision-making by the heads of *Einsatzgruppen* or heads of local German administration. It made the killing of the Roma chaotic and possibly increased chances for Roma to self-rescue or rescuing by non-Roma. The exception is that on the territory of Transnistria the murder of the Roma had a regular character. The Romanian higher authorities had decided on the persecution of Roma by 1942 and implemented it via regular deportations of Roma (and Jews) from Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to Transnistrian labour camps.

Chapter II

Jewish and Roma Individual and Collective Self-Help and Self-Rescue

This chapter discusses Jewish and Roma responses, as human agency, as diverse forms of individual and collective self-rescue, to their persecution by the Germans and their allies in occupied Soviet Ukraine. In the decades that followed the war, the high proportion of Jewish victims from Ukraine among others, created a false impression and misunderstanding in scholarly and public circles ascribing it to Jewish passivity or reliance on non-Jews for their survival. Frequently, scholars affirmed that the Jews walked to shooting locations (or gas chambers) as 'the sheep to the slaughter' that meant that the Jews submissively went to death without any resistance.[423] However, the phrase itself originally had a different meaning.[424] It was used as a call to resistance during the Holocaust by Abba Kovner from Vilna ghetto with an opposite meaning: '*not* to go as sheep to the slaughter'.[425] There was a word shift in that call: instead of using the word 'lamb' (as originally in Hebrew), the word 'sheep' was used. It completely transformed the meaning of the phrase: instead of applying to one person (a lamb), it applied to the entire Jewish community (sheep), and by substituting semantics, the phrase moved 'from the acceptance of sacrificial victimhood ('as sheep to slaughter') to resistance'.[426] Nevertheless, in post-Holocaust historiography, this phrase was used only in order to accuse the Jews of passivity and in

[423] This was, first of all, position of Hilberg, who, referring to Emmanuel Ringelblum, mentioned this phrase in his book. Ringelblum talked about the Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto who did not resist from the beginning of the ghetto's creation. See in: Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews* (Chicago, 1961), pp. 321, 209.

[424] It was originally written in the Bible, Genesis 22 on the Isaac' sacrifice: '*ka-seh la-tevah yuval'* 'a lamb led to slaughter', meaning obedience to God's will.

[425] Yael S. Feldman, '"Not as Sheep Led to Slaughter"? On Trauma, Selective Memory, and the Making of Historical Consciousness', *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture, Society*, 19:3 (Spring/Summer 2013), pp. 139–169, p. 144.

[426] Interview with Prof. Yehuda Bauer, by Amos Goldberg, *Yad Vashem Shoah Resource Center*, January 18, 1998, (transcript only, pp. 1-58), available at: https://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%203856.pdf (last accessed 1 April 2019); Feldman, '"Not as Sheep Led to Slaughter"?, p.141.

disheartening them in their efforts to self-rescue and resist.[427] Notwithstanding, rigorous research of Jewish self-help shows that in many cases, Jews in Ukraine tried to rescue themselves, often by relying on their individual efforts and helping each other. Albeit, the resistance of the Jews during the Holocaust, including but not limited to the USSR, only started to be researched in the 1970s and occasionally considered as a form of self-rescue. Yet, other forms and cases of Jewish self-rescue that occurred in occupied Ukraine did not come to the scholars' attention. The same pattern is observed in the studies of the annihilation of Roma during the German and Romanian occupation of the USSR: only cases of Roma resistance in the occupied USSR were under the attention of researchers. Though, in contrast to the Jewish case, the phrase 'they went like the lambs to the slaughter' was never coined for the Roma. Indeed, the Roma were just ignored by scholars until the last two decades and their self-rescue is not an active topic in historiography. Thus, human agency of both Jews and Roma was understated in many researches on the Nazi victim's self-rescue.

The main aim of this chapter is therefore to shed light on self-help and self-rescue efforts of the Roma and the Jews, by analysing cases of individual and collective self-rescue in occupied Ukraine, and counter the existing Holocaust historiography, which downplays Jewish self-rescue efforts. Historians' approaches to date have blocked their understanding of the importance of self-rescue, and the appreciation of complications and difficulties involved in the act of self-rescue.

Roma and Jewish self-rescue occurred in all zones of occupation in Ukraine and to certain extent, it can be explained as a straightforward self-preservation instinct coupled with a degree of perception, but also by a strong notion of having to be self-reliant. Frequently, help from non-Jews and non-Roma was offered only after the Jews and the Roma tried to help themselves. If their efforts were not successful and circumstances were auspicious for asking or obtaining help from non-Jews and non-Roma, the victims inquired and accepted such aid. Thus, the self-rescue attempts demonstrate the proactive role played by Roma and Jewish victims in the process of their survival by reliance on their own efforts.

This chapter analyses non-organised self-help and self-rescue undertaken by both Roma or Jewish groups and individuals. Differentiating individual and collective efforts of Jewish and Roma self-rescue is a complicated and, perhaps, needless task. Regarding non-

[427] For a detailed analysis of the phrase see: Feldman, '"Not as Sheep Led to Slaughter"?, pp. 139–169.

organised help, individuals often cooperated with their relatives and friends that means that self-rescue resulted from collective actions. Usually, an action could be initiated by one or two individuals. Considering semi-nomadic or nomadic Roma, it is impossible to identify if the efforts to self-rescue were initiated by a group of Roma or by a particular individual. Therefore, collective and individual attempts of Jewish and Roma self-rescue are analysed together as the human agency, while being distinguished by their forms and methods.

Escape Attempts

The first way to survive was not to stay in the occupied territories or those at risk of being overrun. Fleeing from these territories before the German invasion, as well as escaping while being under the occupation, can be viewed as one of the first and, arguably, most important forms of self-rescue on both levels – collective and individual. One can argue that escape may not be considered as the first opportunity for survival because both groups of victims had a chance to be evacuated by the Soviet State. However, recent researches on this issue demonstrate that evacuation did not run smoothly or in an organised fashion. Analysis should therefore be framed of larger questions about refugees which include organised and unorganised escape before or soon after the German invasion.[428] As discussed in the first chapter, the evacuation of the Ukrainian Jews and Roma as potential victims of the Nazi policy was organised neither by the central Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, nor by local authorities of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

The Jews and occasionally the Roma started to flee from the territories occupied by the Nazis from the first days of the invasion and continued their attempts to escape throughout the occupation period even from isolated ghettos and camps. The decision to flee and its organisation was made by the victims on their own initiative and efforts in many cases by planning an escape in advance of having a plan how to proceed further. This elaboration of actions can be seen as a move from self-preservation to a self-rescue.

The killing of the Roma in Ukraine had begun in September 1941 and became a mass killing and widespread in the spring of 1942. Roma escapes had started in the first months of the

[428] Altshuler, 'Evacuation and Escape'; Smilovitsky, 'Evreiskie Bezhentsy i Evakuatsiia; Feferman, 'A Soviet Humanitarian Action?'.

occupation and became a mass phenomenon as the persecution escalated in the spring of 1942. This form of rescue was the most prevalent among the Roma. Those who lived in the occupied areas or happened to live in the vicinity of the deep forests in the western and northern parts of Ukraine – mainly the Volhynian, Chernihiv, Rivne, Ivano-Frankivsk and Lviv areas, tried to escape there. Nomadic and semi-nomadic Roma and Sinti tried to flee individually, or in small groups with their children. The Roma were able to survive in the forests on their own as they knew the areas and roads well, having lived there before the war. They also were used to harsh travel and living conditions and knew where to find food. They wandered the forests, smuggling or begging food in villages and sometimes stumbling across abandoned or half-destroyed houses on the edge of villages which were situated close to the forest. In such premises Roma could survive the worst months of the winter. Escape of the Roma and Sinti from occupiers is mentioned in all interviews of the survivors at all stages of the occupation.

Polish, German and Hungarian Roma, Sinti and Lovari could be found in western Ukraine at the beginning of the occupation. Ludwik Dolinski derived from a mixed semi-nomadic family – his mother was a Polish Roma and his father – a German Sinti. Ludwik told about his experience of escape: 'This was not too far from the town of Włodziemierz[429] [where] we stayed in the forests. That was a deep forest. We were afraid that we would be killed by the Germans or Ukrainians and [therefore] we were hiding in the forest.'[430]

Matylda Kaminska recalled how she, her mother, grandmother and four other children wandered in the forests in the DG with some overnight stops: 'There were such Gypsies who helped us… but we did not stay at one place: one day here, another day there, and walked further, even if it [was] winter.'[431] Wandering in the forests was not common and danger could come from many sides: the Germans searched forests searching for escapee Jews and Roma, Polish and Soviet partisans and also Ukrainian nationalist groups took wandering people for spies and shot them.[432] However, constantly changing location could

[429] Ludwik used the Polish names of the locations. In fact, it is a Ukrainian town Volodymyr-Volynskyi, in Volhynian *oblast, RKU*.
[430] Interview with Ludwik Dolinski, VHA, interview code: 44108.
[431] Interview with Matylda Kaminska, VHA, interview code: 47518.
[432] Interview with Liubov Sandulenko, VHA, interview code: 49366. In her interview, Liubov, who was a nomadic Roma, recalled how their family camp (*tabir*) was situated in the forest near town of Zhmerynka, Vinnytsia *oblast*, and the Germans accidentally found them and shot the entire *tabir* as partisans, except Liubov, her sister and mother who survived by a chance. The exact location of the forest was not mentioned in the interview, but most likely, it was Brailiv forest because Liubov mentioned Germans and the fact that

provide a better chance not to be discovered and therefore, meant a better chance of survival, especially in warmer seasons.

The Roma escaped not only to the forests, but also moved from one territory to another. For example, three caravans of semi-nomadic Roma, including the teller of the story, decided to escape from the Germans to a forest and after arriving decided to join a supposedly friendly Roma family camp (*tabir*) in the Kyrovohrad region (RKU). However, on their way, they met a Roma woman who had originated from that family camp and learned that everyone in the camp was murdered. Thus, they fled and continued to wander.[433] Thus, sometimes the Roma and Sinti could escape and survive by chance rather than by deliberate strategies.

Settled Roma did not know the roads or ways to survive out in the open; therefore, they tried to escape at least to neighbouring villages or to be hid by relatives. For instance, a settled Roma Ekaterina Barieva, who survived the war in the village of Velyka Lepetykha, Zaporizhia *oblast* (RKU) recalled: 'We were hiding, running away; we left our hut and escaped that they [Germans] would not kill us. We arrived to uncle's and aunt's with our baby and were hiding there in cellars.'[434] Another settled Roma woman Bairam Ibragimova from the village of Chaplynka, Mykolaiv region (RKU), recalled: 'Germans gathered all Gypsies … But we were hiding. They wanted to catch us. But my father decided to run away through the steppe, in a pile of straw, to a [neighbouring] village.'[435] Later, her family wandered from one village to another, sometimes hiding among Russians and Ukrainians. A Roma survivor, Tamara T., who was born and lived before the war in the village of Ivanivka (or Ivanovka, as the survivor pronounced in Russian), in Odessa region, Transnistria testified:

> When the Germans arrived, we ran away. We stopped at a remote village. My father rented a house from Russians, and we told them that we were refugees. We arrived in a small village in Odessa region. We spent the rest of the war there, nobody knew we were there, and then we went back to Ivanovka.[436]

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the *tabir* nomadised from north to this forest. The only big forest in that area was the Brailiv forest near the town of Brailiv that was under the German occupation, whereas Zhmerynka was under the Romanian control.
[433] AYIU, Witness 1261UK.
[434] Interview with Ekaterina Barieva, VHA, interview code: 49386.
[435] Interview with Bairam Ibragimova, VHA, code interview: 49368.
[436] Interview with a Roma survivor Tamara T., author's personal archive.

Sometimes Roma managed to escape from the labour camps. Wladysław Guman recalled his escape together with seven other Roma and Poles from Yanivska camp situated near Lviv (DG), and later their hiding in forests: 'We were able to escape. We were eight escaping and also there was [my] brother. He could not walk: such fear penetrated through him that his legs were disabled. We pulled him around on our backs. But we [managed] to escape and then went to Lublin.'[437]

The escape of the Jews occurred in the first days of the occupation and continued through the entire occupation period. Jews escaped from the shootings during the first *Aktionen* and from the deportations. The occupiers created lists of those Jews who escaped with the purpose of either to punish their relatives or find the escapees. For instance, such lists were created by German occupiers in Boryslav, Lviv *oblast* (DG), when 17 Jews escaped during the *Aktion* on 14 December 1942.[438] The collective flight of this group of 12 Jews occurred during the deportation of the Jews to Transnistria on 23 January 1943.[439] Many escapes of this nature were successful: men helped women with children and such collective escapes in most cases was planned rather than spontaneous. For example, Anatolii S., who was just about five-year-old, successfully fled from the labour camp of Karlivka with his mother who joined a group of Jews.[440]

Jews escaped in groups, with families or individually. They fled from camps and ghettos. The Jews, like the Roma, tried to escape from the Yanivska camp by jumping from a train which carried deported inmates to the Bełżec concentration camp. These so-called jumpers escaped to the forests where they tried to survive or join partisan units. Some of them managed to do this several times: after jumping if they could not find any help they returned to the ghetto, then they tried their chances again.[441] From those jumpers who returned to the Lviv ghetto, other inhabitants came to know about the trains and their final destination.[442] Jews also escaped from the Ternopil trains to the Bełżec concentration camp by jumping. The jumpers were mostly men because jumping from a train, when it is moving, to land successfully and to have power to continue running was very hard

[437] Interview with Wladysław Guman, VHA, interview code: 46073.
[438] YVA, M.52, file 159, p. 1018.
[439] YVA, M.52, JM/11310, p. 38.
[440] Interview with a Jewish survivor Anatoly S., author's personal archive.
[441] Martin Dean, and Geoffrey Megargee (eds.), Christopher Browning (foreword), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933-1945, Volume II: Ghettos in German-Occupied Eastern Europe,* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2012), p. 804.
[442] Robert Marshall, *In the Sewers of Lvov: The Last Sanctuary from the Holocaust* (London, 1990), p.4.

physically. Nevertheless, some women succeeded in doing it too. The risks were very high: remaining alive after a jump and not being shot by the sentry on the train. Janett Margolies described her jump from the Ternopil train:

> We were eighty women. The small windows were high up, with bars and barbed wire. Once inside, we found out that somebody had smuggled in a file to cut the bars. I started to organise a crew. Standing on top of the others, we started to work. The train continued to run. When the job was finished, and the bar was cut, each volunteer, in order to jump, had to climb up on the shoulders of another, put the legs through the window, then hold on [to the train]with their [both] hands, later holding with only one hand, take strong swing, and jump to the direction of the running train. I stood on the edge of the window watching the jumpers. Most of them were killed on the spot. Some were milled by trains coming from opposite direction. Others were shot by Gestapo sentry. Those who succeeded were later caught by special railroad patrol. Of all the Tarnopol[443] train jumpers, I think I was the only one who was left alive (…) I decided to jump. Already hanging outside the wagon, I got tangled up in the barbed wire. Being scared, I cried out loudly, feeling that I was falling down. A shot was heard over my head. It was the watchman. Luckily, he missed. In the same moment, I noticed a locomotive running straight toward me. With my last strength, I rolled over downwards into a depression. All this lasted just a few seconds. I was saved, but badly injured, bleeding from my head and hands. I tore out a little frozen grass, putting it on my wounds. I succeeded in stopping the bleeding.[444]

This detailed description of jumping from a moving train shows all the complications of such an escape action which eventually took just a few seconds. To cut through a bar and barbed wire was just the first step. The most difficult was deciding to jump from the train after observing the immediate terrible death of others from shooting, being caught under the trains or by landing unsuccessfully. Remaining conscious and being able to focus immediately on the next move could be handled only by a psychologically strong person. To be able to move after the fall was a matter of physical strength and luck, which was preconditioned by landing successfully and not being wounded. Perhaps, jumping from the train was the most difficult form of escape, though in other cases, similar conditions had to be met: to make a decision to escape; to start doing it at the right moment; to be physically

[443] Janett uses a Polish name of the city of Ternopil.
[444] Testimony of Janett Margolies, in: B.F. Sabrin, (eds.), *Alliance for Murder: The Nazi-Ukrainian Nationalist Partnership in Genocide* (New York, 1991), p. 72.

strong to continue escaping by running for hours and then hiding somewhere for a long period without movement, food and water; not to lose one's mind and make conscious decisions immediately after the escape (where to run, where and how to hide, whom to ask for help and etc.); to be lucky not to be shot or noticed by killers.

Liza Bystritskaia, a Jewish woman who survived the Holocaust in Vinnytsia region (RKU) under the German occupation, recalled how her family was driven from her village of Krasne to the town of Tyvriv in Transnistria under Romanian occupation where they were placed into the ghetto. She was 11 years old. On the way she was terribly beaten by the Romanian gendarmes. Upon their arrival, Liza's father gathered the family and decided to escape. They escaped to a nearby forest and returned to their village because they did not know where else they could go. Liza recalled how she escaped to the field and was hiding there in a pile of hay, and then continued to escape and hid herself in a swamp.[445]

A special category of self-rescuers was women with children who tried to save their children taking any chance and even at the cost of their own lives. They escaped while walking or being transported to execution sites, or at the sites themselves. Bliuma Bronfin who walked to the shooting together with her son in the town of Khmelnyk, Vinnytsia *oblast* (RKU), described her escape:

> When 200 people were gathered [by the Germans and Ukrainian policemen], we were driven to the pine forest. … There was a dug out, a big pit, and there was a pile of clothes on the edge. People in turn were forced to take off their clothes and to stand near the pit – they were waiting for machine gun shot. Terrible picture: wild screaming of children, groanings of those who were shot but still alive in the pit. It forced me to think to run away and I caught my scared son in my arms and ran away, thinking that now I will be shot. But the strong snowfall helped me [apparently, occupiers did not notice her or could not spot her with their guns]. I ran to nowhere and felt that I lose my power, and thought that I will fall with the child in a empty field and got frozen because there was a strong frost. But suddenly I saw an empty barn. I climbed to the attic … and was sitting there.[446]

Later Bliuma escaped a number of times from the police and from another *Aktion* and finally arrived to Zhmerynka ghetto where she was allowed to stay and where she survived

[445] Testimony of Liza Bystritskaia, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli*, pp. 88-89.
[446] Arad, Pavlova, Altman, Krakowski, et al (eds.), *Neizvestnaia Chernaia Kniga,* testimony №19, p. 146.

the Holocaust. There are many similar stories of escape by mothers with their children. Although escaping, and moreover, finding a shelter after fleeing with children was extremely difficult, the fact that Jewish women in occupied Ukraine managed to do it demonstrates a strong character and determination of the women to save the lives of their children.

Children, particularly boys, between 10 and 15 years of age managed to escape successfully on many occasions: while walking to executions, in front of the pit right before the shooting, and after the shooting but staying alive. For example, the son of Bliuma Bronfin, Misha, who was just 10 years old, pretended to be dead when he was shot by the Germans and later escaped along a river and survived.[447] Mikhail Vainshelboim from the town of Berdychiv, Zhytomyr *oblast* (RKU), who was 13 years old in 1941, was caught by Ukrainian policemen who noticed his circumcision and was supposed to be brought to the *Kommandatur.* On the way there, walking over the bridge, Mikhail decided to escape and simply jumped into the river. He swam for a while and then hid in the reeds until nightfall.[448] Volodka, a twelve-years-old boy was standing above the pit together with other four or five people and was waiting to be shot in the city of Uman (RKU). He jumped to the pit right before the first shot and stayed alive and not wounded.[449] Arguably, the children had more hope and a greater will to live than adults and therefore they did not think about the aftermath – they just wanted to survive. They were smaller physically, and this gave them an advantage in hiding and for not being a good target. The older brother of the Roma survivor Mykhailo Kozymyrenko[450] from the city of Chernihiv (MAZ), then a boy of thirteen-years old, escaped when the Germans collected the Roma for killing. He jumped into the crowd of onlookers and hid among the people. Then he escaped and hid near the river for couple of days. Unfortunately, when he returned to his home, some non-Roma denounced him and after that he was taken by the occupiers and killed.[451]

In rare cases the self-rescue by escape could be combined with an attempt to resist the occupiers. For instance, the aforementioned Roma woman survivor Bairam Ibragimova

[447] Ibid., p. 148.
[448] Testimony of Mikhail Vainshelboim, in: Zabarko (ed.), *Zhivymi Ostalis Tolko My,* p. 91.
[449] Arad, Pavlova, Altman, Krakowski, et al (eds.), *Neizvestnaia Chernaia Kniga,* p. 189.
[450] He named himself in Ukrainian whereas the VHA recorded him in Russian as Mikhail Kozimirenko.
[451] Interview with Mikhail Kozimirenko VHA, interview code: 37671.

told how her family tried to escape from the German occupiers in Mykolaiv and Kherson *oblasts* and after couple of successful attempts to flee all of them were captured:

> I say, we were locked in a long barn or maybe stables. Such a lock was on the door [shows by hands how big was the lock]. Probably, they [occupiers] left to negotiate when to return and burn or shoot [us]. But ours [means Roma] broke that door – not only my father was there, there were many Gypsies.[452] And that moment [when the door was broken] we fled. We fled and hid [ourselves].[453]

In most cases the decision of escape was made by Roma and Jewish individuals and mothers with children spontaneously and according to the circumstances: they acted instinctively and without much prior thought, whereas flight by a group of people required deliberation, organisation and coordination. There were many ways of escape: to jump from the train on the way to the concentration camp, to run away from the labour camp, ghetto or shooting *Aktion*, to pretend to be dead, to wander in the forests or just flee to nowhere in the hope of staying alive. In every case, the escape was the primary step on the way of self-rescue and in many cases the most important.

Sharing Food and Hiding

After escaping, the first aim was to avoid dying from dehydration and starvation, and finding a safe place to hide as soon as possible. Sharing food was quite common within both Jewish and Roma communities. Food was usually shared just with relatives or friends but in some cases with strangers of the Roma and Jewish origin too. Food sharing usually happened in the ghettos and in Roma settlements and was a feature of ordinary everyday life for nomadic and semi-nomadic Roma within their communities.[454] Tamara T. recalled:

> Once, my father went to smith and there was a Gypsy woman living there: she had this big house and a little boy and two girls. And the girl started begging: 'Uncle, take us to Odessa! We have gold in the catacombs, I will give you all the gold you want!' And Father says: 'Where will I take you, girl? I am a Gypsy too, so, I will be killed by the Germans along with you as soon as I go out! This is about surviving, not about gold!'

[452] Earlier she mentioned 10-15 Roma families.
[453] Interview with Bairam Ibragimova, VHA, interview code: 49368.
[454] Interviews with Roma survivors Tamara T., Kateryna S., and Yevgeniia V., authors' personal archive.

> We gave them money, mom gave some bread, lard, and told them not to come to us because everyone was afraid.[455]

In rare cases Roma testimonies indicated that an individual (usually the head of the family) gave money to buy food to another Roma but it was not common. Sharing food often occurred among the Jews in the ghetto and sometimes relatives and even the *Judenräte* managed to help Jewish inmates with food. For example, Ioakhim Anderman was imprisoned in April 1942 in the town of Buchach and his friends brought him some food. Then Ioakhim was transferred to the prison in the town of Chortkiv, Ternopil *oblast*, *Ditrikt Galizien*. The relatives and friends collected some food and sent it to Ioahim through mediation of the *Judenrat.*[456] Usually, self-helping by supplying with food was tightly connected with self-rescuing by hiding, but, sometimes, there were independent cases as was shown above.

After a successful escape from killing places, ghettos, or labour camps, the Jews and the Roma had to find a place to hide, or to move from one place to another. During their escape or deportations, the Jews and the Roma also hid in the open air: swamps, bushes, bales of hays. They tried to hide in their own homes; in vaults, cellars and attics or in their opinion, safer places such as stables and barns, abandoned buildings or, sewers and caves. Jews and Roma also hid during the roundups and *Aktionen* in special premises which they had constructed in advance such as bunkers, earthen huts and dugouts. In some cases, the Jew and Roma accepted other individual Jews and Roma and even families into these hideouts and provided shelter for them.

Sometimes hiding occurred before or instead of escaping. After escaping from the village of Luhove, Vinnytsia *oblast* (RKU), a Jew, Evgeniia Altman was buried in a pile of dung and, one of her brothers, Yasha, climbed into a tree and hid there.[457] A Jewish teenager Semen D., escaping from the *Aktion* in the town of Bar also in Vinnytsia *oblast* (RKU), in October 1942, was hiding in the huge pile of hay:

> I decided to go to the field: to the right was a river – the Romanian border[458] and near [the river] a pile of hay, a huge pile. I hid into a pile. But it happened that the pile of

[455] Interview with a Roma survivor Tamara T., author's personal archive.
[456] Testimony of Ioakhim Anderman, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli,* p. 29.
[457] Testimony of Evgeniia Altman, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli,* p. 24.
[458] The town of Bar was situated in the RKU, at the edge of the town was a river that served as a border between the RKU and Transnistria.

> hay was near a second place of shooting. The first one was on the one side of the town and the second one – on another…I hear this screaming and shots. I lied there until the evening and hearing those screams. I understood that my father, my little sister and my aunt Maika were shot.[459]

A Roma survivor Ekaterina Chebotar, from a nomadic Roma family, was just three years old at the time but remembered all horrors: she thought that she would die at that time. A big Roma family was discovered by the Germans near the town of Bershad, Vinnytsia *oblast* (RKU). The horses and caravans were taken from the Roma, but the Roma managed to flee, though the German followed them for a while. Ekaterina recalled: 'We ran away [from Germans] about 30 kilometres through forests. (…) We were hiding in the forest for three days without water and bread. During the day we were sitting in the bushes, collected berries; at night we were running.'[460]

During the *Aktion* in the town of Brody, Lviv *oblast* (DG), a Jew, Mikhail Gurevich was hiding together with his Jewish grandmother and aunt under the floor as ordered by his father. Apparently, the floor was wooden and had couple of layers, the Jews could dismantle the first layer, lie down inside and pull the wooden strips to cover themselves.[461] A settled Roma, Savelii Kaplan hid under a roof in the village of Kizomys, Kherson region (RKU).[462] A settled Roma, Anna R., who survived in the village of Polanochka, Cherkasy region (RKU), recalled: 'I did not look like a Roma, but, anyway, my little brother and I hid in the attic of our house [when somebody arrived].'[463] In the town of Baranivka, Zhytomyr *oblast* (RKU), a group of the Jews of ten people, including children hid themselves in the large attic in the house. During the next *Aktion* at the beginning of 1942, a survivor Yeva Gladkaia recalled:

> My [Jewish] friend and her mother ran to me and told me that the next *pogrom*[464] has begun (…) We were 10 people in the house and all of us climbed up to the attic to hide. (…) There was a passage from the attic to the barn and all of us hid there. The

[459] Interview with a Jewish survivor Semen D., author's personal archive.
[460] Interview with Ekaterina Chebotar VHA, interview code: 49372.
[461] Testimony of Mikhail Gurevich (Mikhail Tsyn), in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli,* p. 146.
[462] Interview with Savelii Kaplan, VHA, code interview: 49483.
[463] Interview with a Roma survivor Anna R., authors' personal archive.
[464] The Jews in their recollection often use 'pogrom' in reference to *Aktion*. Apparently, it was connected to the Jewish memory about the pogroms of the Jews during the First World War.

> *polizei*[465] was standing outside, near the door. We had to sit quite without moving. But my aunt Sheindl (father's sister) was [hiding] with us together with her two-years-old granddaughter. The girl was cold and wanted to eat. As soon as she started to cry, [the aunt] closed her mouth with a small onion which the aunt kept in her pocket. [The girl] sucked it and became calm.[466]

A nomadic Roma, Matylda Kaminska, hid together with her relatives in the basements of buildings in the city of Lviv (DG).[467] A settled Roma, Matrena Kirichenko, recalled how her family escaped from the town of Lozova to village of Martynivka, both in Kharkiv region (MAZ), where the family worked in a *kolkhoz*.

> One day partisans appeared and killed two Germans. [In response], Germans killed all the men and boys in the village. Only my husband remained. The rest [of the men] were killed… We [she and her husband] hid [at the place] where the cow was standing. There was a small room and we hid there and were sitting for a while.[468]

The mothers – Jewish and Roma – always tried to rescue and hide their children. A settled Roma girl, Nadezhda R., survived the annihilation in the village of Nesterivka,[469] Kamianets-Podilskyi *oblast* (RKU). She recalled how her mother hid her in the kiln when the Germans organised a hunt for the Roma.[470] To save their own lives individual Roma escaped and managed to find food and shelter in abandoned houses. For example, two members of the nomadic Goman family – a Roma women and her son Mieczysław – hid in Lviv region (DG) in a Jewish house, which remained empty after the Jews were exterminated (or taken to the Auschwitz death camp, according to the words of interviewee).[471] A Jewish woman Inna Vorobeichik revealed her story of hiding in the city of Kharkiv (MAZ) with her Jewish mother and brother Vladlen. It happened after the first shootings had finished and the rest of the Jews were gathered in the barracks of the Kharkov tractor factory:

> I, a five-year-old girl, … knew that the next morning all people in our barrack, including us, would be shot. In late evening on the eve of the shooting, my mom

[465] In all recollections, the Jews and, frequently, the Roma call Ukrainian Auxiliary Policemen simply '*Polizei*' from the German language.
[466] Testimony of Yeva Gladkaia, in: Zabarko (ed.), *Zhivymi Ostalis Tolko My*, p. 99.
[467] Interview with Matylda Kaminska, VHA, interview code: 47518.
[468] Interview with Matrena Kirichenko, VHA, interview code: 47281.
[469] Some of the villages mentioned in the interviews currently do not exist.
[470] Interview with a Roma survivor Nadezhda R., authors' personal archive.
[471] Interview with Mieczysław Goman, VHA, interview code: 32796.

> begged *polizei* to go [outside of the factory] and bring some water for children. We were allowed to go outside the factory with our buckets and because of cold and darkness *polizeis* did not follow us. We walked further, then threw the buckets and ran away. We ran to some huts on the outskirts of the city and asked [people] to hide us. The landlords allowed us to enter and immediately denounced us to police. The lorry arrived, and we were driven to the camp again. The *polizei* decided to sit in the driver's cabin and then my mom said: 'Children, if you want to live jump from the lorry [now when it was driving].' We did so [she and her brother, not the mother]. Then we returned to the city and started to hide in the cellars of bombed buildings. There we were found by our mother and aunt who escaped later [somehow].[472]

In western Ukraine, in the DG, the Jews managed to survive by hiding in the sewage system of the city of Lviv and in a cave near the city of Ternopil. From the group of 21 people hiding in a large Lviv sewer, ten survived.[473] The Stermer family together with other Jewish families were hiding in the system of caves situated in Ternopil *oblast.* The Stermer family lived in the village of Korolowka[474] and in October 1942 when the Germans started to collect everybody into ghettos, the mother of Shulim Stermer decided not to go to the ghetto and find a shelter. The Stermer family together with others started to hide in a grotto where they were discovered by the Germans in the end of March 1943. Most of the people managed to escape having prepared in advance a hidden emergency exit from another side of the grotto before being found by the Germans. Sometime later they managed to find another grotto which, in fact was a network of caves, a labyrinth. 38 people found shelter down there:

> We start looking around and we saw an opening, like something between the rocks like a fireplace… And we had to go in. We had no flashlight. We had a candle or something. And we did not know what to expect. If somebody was going to go down, maybe he was going to fall down 100 feet. So, we tied down my brother Nate(ph) with a rope and he went down. He said, 'OK, I am standing already.' And then we all five went in. Then we crawled maybe 40 feet, it was very long, and then we came to a big place. And then as we were walking on a little hill, suddenly a stone rolled down and I feared that they had fallen in the water. So, I ran down and I did not have a dish, no glass. I took my two hands and I put the water in front of me and I tasted it. And it was

[472] Testimony of Inna Vorobeichik (née Bogdanovskaia), in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli*, p. 105.
[473] Marshall, *In the Sewers of Lvov*; YVA, M.31.2/1379, case of Leopold Socha.
[474] The Polish name was used in the narration. In Ukrainian this village was named Korolivka.

> nice, sweet water. And we saw that we here, we have a chance to set up here. And on the 5th of May [1943] we all moved inside (…) And the first day it was very sad. You know, and then we started to set up. We found… a tunnel… A long tunnel, so we set up their beds. You know, my brothers, they build beds and we brought in all kind of pillows and covers and dishes. We took in every little piece separately. And we set up that was all; the walls were very wet… But we closed up the tunnel on both sides. In the front, we made like a little door, like a frame. So after like two, three weeks, we dried up the place and it was warm-like; and finally we started to adjust, and you had no choice.[475]

The Stermer family and other Jewish families survived in the cave which they called the Priest's Grotto about 1,5 years until the liberation. They drank spring water from the cave and some of them went out to find food. Germans and Ukrainian collaborators did discover the shelter, but they were afraid to go down and just filled up the exit a couple of times. The Jews discovered another opening and made it an alternative exit from the cave. They also had 'a liaison person' who informed them about the liberation. In 1990s, the cave was discovered by a speleologist, Chris Nicola, who arrived to climb down into the Giant Gypsum cave and his Ukrainian friends showed him the cave and told the story of self-rescue.[476] In fact, the Priest's Grotto was one of the caves in the system known among the people as the Giant Gypsum cave and has an official name *Optymistychna* cave that means literally 'The Optimistic Cave' that, by irony, really became optimistic for 38 Jews who were rescued there. The *Optymistychna* cave is the longest gypsum cave found in Ukraine and the second longest known in the world with the length of more than 200 km of internal passages.[477] The Priest's Grotto is part of that cave system and its entrance was about 2,5 km from the village of Korolowka which could take about 30-40 minutes to walk. Such short distance allowed the Jews to be hidden in the cave and also to go out close to an inhabited area and find some food left by peasants. The cave system had areas where the water filtered down and provided drinking water there but there was no danger of flooding because the system dispersed the water.[478] Still, the Jews needed somebody to connect them

[475] Interview with brothers-survivors Shlomo and Shulim Stermer, *Profile: Discovery of the Survival of the Stermer Family in a Ukrainian Cave During the Holocaust* (1:00-2:00 PM), (Broadcast transcript), Weekend Edition Saturday, 5 June 2004, transcript is available Hollis Harvard University Libraries.
[476] Interview with Chris Nicola, *Discovery of the Survival of the Stermer Family in a Ukrainian Cave During the Holocaust* (1:00-2:00 PM), (Broadcast transcript), Weekend Edition Saturday, 5June, 2004, transcript is available at Hollis Harvard University Libraries.
[477] Alexander Klimchouk, 'Gypsum Karst in the Western Ukraine', *International Journal of Speleology*, 25:3-4, (1996), p. 269.
[478] Ibid., p. 275.

with the external world and inform about the news, nevertheless, the self-rescue under such hard conditions was an example which the families managed to undertake.

The Roma, especially nomadic and semi-nomadic, used to rely on themselves and therefore, after or instead of escaping, tried to prepare secret places where families with children could be hidden. For example, one such place was prepared by a semi-nomadic Roma family in the city of Lviv (DG), and the family with six children hid there for more than year. Nadzieja Kwiek, one of those children, recalled:

> I do not remember anything because I was in the hiding place all the time. Father kept us there. (…) It was under a building [shows a small square], that was in Lviv, not far from our accommodation. He made such a hiding place under the earth. (…) And we wandered in forests, but the father did not want to wander for so long because [Germans] killed if found. [They] killed Jews and Gypsies in the first instance.[479]

In the same manner as Jews, settled Roma tried to prepare secret places where families with children could hide. A settled Roma Mykhailo Kozymyrenko survived the extermination around the city of Chernihiv, that was called Kordivka or Kordovka (MAZ). When the occupiers started to shoot first victims, his family escaped to the forest to hide there:

> I was a very little. I did not memorise a lot. I remember that our town twice passed from ours [the Soviets] to the Germans and from the Germans to ours. We heard a loud shooting. Our [his family] fled to the forest then. We lived in the outskirts near the river and a small forest. We made a dugout there. We covered it with branches that the rain would not fall on us. We lived like this a week or two. After it became quiet and when we did not hear shooting, we returned to our home.[480]

The Jews tried to prepare secret places where a family with children could be hidden in the same way as the Roma. These places were called in different ways: in the DG they were called *skhron,*[481] and *melina* or *malina.*[482] In the RKU some of the Jews also used the word

[479] Interview with Nadzieja Kwiek, VHA, code interview: 35716.
[480] Interview with Mikhail Kozimirenko, VHA, code interview: 37671.
[481] From Polish '*schron'* – hidden place.
[482] The word '*melina*' is Hebrew word: מלינה originated from Hebrew לָהַלִין – to keep overnight, to provide a lodge for the night. The word '*malina*' is a transformed Hebrew word '*melina'* that was used in criminal jargon and literally meant hideout that could be dug out in the earth or, mainly, applied to a hidden flat where criminals gathered for consultations or hid after affairs. Many Hebrew words were transformed into the Russian criminal jargon in 1930s when a vast number of the Jews were sent by Stalin to Gulags – the Soviet prison-camps. It is unknown from where the word '*malina*' derived into the Holocaust lexicon during the Holocaust time. Many of the Jews in the Distikt Galizien used the word '*melina*' to describe their hidden place whereas some of the Jews from the RKU used the word '*malina*'.

'*malina*' but mainly called the hidden places 'secret' - the same as the Jews from Transnistria. All of these words meant hidden place prepared in advance with the purpose of hiding from the occupiers. To prepare a 'secret', *'skhron'* or *'malina'* – a place for sheltering - was the most widespread example of collective self-rescue by the Jews. Usually, in a rural area, an attic or a cellar of a private house were selected for making a secret place, though frequently the Jews also used storerooms, larders, barns, pigsties, cattle sheds, and henhouses for this purpose. In urban areas, the 'secrets' were constructed in flats; where closets and wardrobes served the same purpose. In some places Jews constructed a special hidden room which was situated behind the wardrobe or stairs, but also, in case of private houses, such a place could be dug out as continuation of the basement or the cellar. A very popular hideout was a pit in the ground dug in barns, and even haystacks were used as a shelter. There are number of recollections of survivors from the occupied Ukraine who from time to time hid themselves in such shelters. The 'secrets' were created usually by one family or several families who were good friends or relatives. Sometimes, even Jews who did not know each other well, worked together to construct a larger shelter, and then hid themselves together. Shelters could accommodate from 3-4 to 50 or more people. The 'secrets' were prepared inside ghettos as well as outside. One of the Jewish survivors in Transnistria recalled, how her family sheltered in the 'secret':

> When the rumours passed around that people would be killed, Jews started to make such hidden places in advance. […] It was called 'a secret'. People made one such passage inside a Russian kiln, laid bricks and went down underground and sat there more than 50… no, more, about 100 people. In such a way we hid: we were in a 'secret'. Somebody had a cellar as an underground. In different houses there were different 'secrets'. People made 'secret' for the rescue… Everybody would bring with them [to 'a secret'] little water, a piece of bread because nobody [from outside of 'secret'] could not bring [anything] to there [to the shelter].[483]

When the Jews were hiding there, none of them knew if there would be enough water, food and air or when they could go out. After the *Aktion* was finished, the Jews came out from their shelters. In many cases, hiding took place several times on different occasions and circumstances in various places. A Jew, Viktor Gekht, survived in the hideout which he

[483] Interview with a Jewish survivor Berta B. in author's personal archive.

called *skhron* during the third and 'the most terrible' according to the words of the witness, *Aktion* in the town of Buchach, Ternopil *oblast* (DG) that took place on 1-2 February 1943:

> We were lucky to self-rescue in the ghetto's *skhron.* There was an empty room on the stairs between the first and the second floors. This door was made and painted to look like a wall in advance. The passage was made from the toilet. We packed in there and about 20-30 people stood touching each other. Neither Germans, nor *polizeis* found the *skhron*. They walked next to us and through the thin wall we heard voices, screaming and shots. Several old men were killed in the house. At a certain moment, a small baby started to cry, and his mother put on his head a pillow not to be discovered. After some time, when outside became quiet, she pushed up the pillow, but the baby was dead. All of us stood and cried. This was the price for our lives. (…) In May 1943 we managed to escape from the ghetto. (…) We were hiding in the outskirts of Buchach: in ravines, pits, forests and fields. We almost did not have any food and water. I lost consciousness [for several times] from the fatigue and hunger.[484]

Another way of self-rescue for the Jews was a construction of bunkers and hideouts, that was particularly spread in the forests of the DG. By sheltering in the bunkers, the Jews minimised their contacts with the outside world and that also minimised the possibility of being denounced. Israel Goldfliess, together with other Jews of Ternopil *oblast*, spent almost eight months – from May to mid-December 1943 - hiding in a bunker which he and others constructed in the forest.[485] Other Jews also mentioned their hiding in bunkers in Ternopil *oblast* in 1943 and then joining the Soviet partisans.[486] A group of five Jews escaped from the Korets ghetto, Rivne *oblast* (RKU), and moved to the forest near the city of Novohrad-Volynskyi, Zhytomyr *oblast,* the same area of occupation. There they constructed a hut out of wood, leaves, earth and mud that was called *kurin*[487] and lived there some time.[488] A Jewish boy, Ignacy Goldwasser, and his mother survived the Holocaust in the town of Boryslav, Lviv *oblast* (DG), by hiding in bunkers. It was already March 1944 and the Soviet troops were close but Jews in that area continued to be killed by the

[484] Testimony of Viktor Gekht, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli*, pp. 115-116.
[485] Testimony of Israel Goldfliess, in: B.F. Sabrin, (eds.), *Alliance for Murder*, pp. 109-116.
[486] Testimony of Krystyna Zielinska, in: Jakub Gutenbaum and Agnieszka Latała (eds.), *The Last Eyewitnesses: Children of the Holocaust Speak,* vol. 2 (Evanston, IL, 2005), p. 339.
[487] The name remained from the Cossack times of 17-18 century. It was a military term that meant a small combat and administrative unit as well as the huts or barracks where the Ukrainian Cossacks lived at the Zaporozhian Sich. The word was transformed in the 20th century to mean a battalion-size unit consisting usually of two or more companies of the Ukrainian armies. See: Volodymyr Kubijovyč (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Ukraine*, vol. 2 (Toronto, Buffalo, and London: Toronto University Press, 1998), p. 718.
[488] Testimony of Niuma Anapolskii, in: Zabarko (ed.), *Zhivymi Ostalis Tolko My* pp. 38-39, 41.

occupiers. Ignacy's mother heard rumours that about a dozen young Jewish boys from Boryslav had fled to the forest and built underground bunkers there. Then they returned to the Boryslav labour camp[489] and smuggled Jews to the bunkers for a fee. Ignacy and his mother arrived in the forest after some adventures on their road, and found the bunkers after a night spent in wandering around:

> At four o'clock in the morning we smelled smoke. There was a small bunker in front of us. We entered it through a trapdoor. There was a hole in the ground. The walls were reinforced with logs. The roof was also supported by logs. Altogether twenty people could fit in there, in about six square meters of space. The walls were wet. Water was dripping down on people. There were bunk bed, and a few people had some bedding, but everything was wet. We had a tiny stove, but we could cook only at night. Every day we had to clear the outside of the bunker from snow.[490]

In such a way the group could try to survive without or with minimum contacts with the 'outside' world. The construction of small places for hiding and larger shelters not only illustrates the life of the Jews throughout the occupation but demonstrates a desire to self-rescue and the efforts made, both collectively and individually.

Frequently, the Jews and the Roma accepted other Jews to their homes or hiding places and tried to self-rescue collectively. For example, Raisa Zelenkova a Jewish woman from the town of Piatyhory, Kyiv *oblast* (RKU), managed to give a shelter in her flat to two young Jewish women in late autumn 1941 who had escaped from the first shooting in the city of Cherkasy.[491] Milia B. and her mother, living in the Zhmerynka ghetto in Transnistria, accepted a boy of about ten years old who had escaped from the neighbouring town of Khmelnyk (RKU). The boy just knocked on the door, said that his parents had been shot by the Germans, but he had managed to flee and did not know where to go. Both women invited him to live with them but warned him not to go out of the house. Unfortunately, the boy did not listen, was caught and hanged the next day.[492] A Jewish woman Roza V. escaped with her three daughters from the shooting in the city of Vinnytsia (RKU), and found shelter for the first night in a house of a stranger, an old Jewish woman whose son was a Soviet soldier captured by the Wehrmacht who had then fled. The house was situated

[489] In original *Lager*.
[490] Testimony of Ignacy Goldwasser, In the Bunkers, in: Gutenbaum and Latała (eds.), *The Last Eyewitnesses* p. 79.
[491] Arad, Pavlova, Altman, Krakowski, et al (eds.), *Neizvestnaia Chernaia Kniga,* p. 168.
[492] Interview with a Jewish survivor Milia B., author's personal archive.

at the edge of the village and somehow the Germans did not kill that old Jewish woman. So, the woman with three children found shelter there for a night, and also some food and clothes for the children.[493] Later, this family was accepted by their relatives, aunt Marusia (Mania) and uncle Lazar (Leizer) immediately before the creation the aforementioned ghetto in Zmerynka, in Transnistria. The aunt and uncle shared their house with Roza and her three children. Later, after the creation of the ghetto, they paid for forged documents for the family.[494] To share one room with four other people including small children was extremely difficult. To accept young children also meant to have a moral obligation to support them by at least providing food, because obviously their mother could not do it while she was an illegal habitant of the ghetto and only later able to ask the Jewish Council for assistance with the forged documents. The council could refuse and send the entire family away. By looking after their relatives, the uncle Lazar and aunt Marusia were also risking their own lives.

The Roma and Sinti also helped each other to hide. Some Roma arrived at their relatives or friends of Roma origin who lived in neighbouring villages and asked for help in hiding. Some of the recollections of the Roma survivors described those cases:

> We were hiding, we escaped. [We] left our hut and ran away not to be killed. We ran to the relatives: to an uncle [of the husband], we went to an aunt [of the husband] with a baby. [We went there] not to be killed and hid there in the basement [of their house].[495]

Thus, hiding was an essential way for the Roma and the Jews to self-rescue that occurred during the entire period of the occupation. Some of the Roma and the Jews used only hiding as the main method for survival, particularly this method is related to some Jews in the ghettos and to those Roma who maintained either a settled or a semi-nomadic lifestyle. The nomadic Roma and some other Jews first tried to escape and then hid in caves, sewers, or abandoned houses or constructed special shelters in the forests. Hiding in urban areas was much more complicated and dangerous than in countryside. The area of hiding in a city or town was limited to a certain building or a house where there was only one entrance to the premises which means that all the neighbours could see anybody entering and exiting. In the rural areas, houses with hidden entrances could be found. There were certain places

[493] Interview with a Jewish survivor Riva M., an oldest daughter of Roza V., author's personal archive.
[494] Ibid.
[495] Interview with Ekaterina Barieva, VHA, code interview: 49386.

where one could be hiding in a city building: an attic, basement or secret room made between flats. In the village, people could be hidden not only in the building but also outside: in barns, pits, stables, in a pile of straw, and etc. Constructing a secret place in a rural area and house was easier than in urban conditions.

Concealing Identities

Often, the Roma and the Jews could not find a place to hide or were discovered by the occupiers or local collaborators. In this case, one of the ways to self-rescue was not hiding physically but hiding one's Jewish or Roma identity. This was quite easy for those Roma and Jews who were blond and looked like the local Slavic population. For instance, a settled Roma, Kateryna S. from Odessa region stated: 'The Germans did not know that we were Gypsies, since we were white. I did not look like a Gypsy girl.'[496] The importance of not looking like a Roma was confirmed also by another Roma survivor Maria Kwiatkowska. Upon the question of interviewer, 'how were you saved, a Roma is visible from afar?', Maria responded: 'I walked like a Pole… I was not looking like a Gypsy.'[497] The same applied to the Jewish girls and Jewish boys in cases where boys were not circumcised.

Not only appearance and outlook could help the Jews and the Roma in hiding their identity but also non-Jewish and non-Roma names. The names carried by the Roma depended on the locality where they lived. Although all Roma had their own names, which they used in their internal community life, the Roma and Sinti in western Ukraine officially had ordinary Ukrainian and Polish first and second names: Maria Kwiatkowska, Matylda Kaminska, Ludwik Dolinski, Julia Dolinska, etc.[498] The Roma names in central and eastern parts of Ukraine were mainly Russian or Ukrainian: Anna R., Aleksandr Kuzmenko, Pavel Andreichenko, Nadezhda R. etc.[499] The Roma and Sinti in southern Ukraine, including Crimea, could have Ukrainian and Russian names along with those of the Crimean Tatars: Kateryna S., Matrena Sliniavskaia, Seit Oglu, Bairam Ibragimova and etc.[500] Because of

[496] Interview with a Roma survivor Kateryna S., author's personal archive.
[497] Interview with Maria Kwiatkowska, VHA, code interview: 32103.
[498] Ibid.; Interviews with Matylda Kaminska, Ludwik Dolinski, and Julia Dolinska, VHA, interview code: 47518, 44108, and 43584 respectively.
[499] Interviews with the Roma survivors Anna R. and Nadezhda R., author's personal archive; Interviews with Aleksandr Kuz'menko and Pavel Andreichenko, VHA, code interview: 49374 and 50040 respectively.
[500] Interview with a Roma survivor Kateryna S., author's personal archive; Interviews with Matrena Sliniavskaia, Seit Oglu, and Bairam Ibragimova, VHA, code interview: 49387, 49509 and 49368 respectively.

these localised names, occupiers could not identify the Roma and Sinti without denunciations from local collaborators. In all parts of Ukraine, in many cases, the Jews had Jewish first names officially and in the community life, especially older Jews: Sura-Feiga, Shmil-Obe.[501] In spite of the fact that the Soviet system tried to assimilate the Jews and many of them used non-Jewish names among non-Jews (for instance, Shmil-Obe was just Semen, Moishe was Mikhail), their identity documents still contained their Jewish names and the occupiers could identify them. In some cases, non-Jewish second names could also help in hiding of the Jewish identity. A second name such as Vinokur could belong to a Jewish, Ukrainian or Russian person, Gitman could be Jewish or German, Dubinskaia could be Jewish, Polish, or Ukrainian etc.[502] Still, to identify the Jews by their names was easier than for the Roma.

Sometimes, self-declaration of Slavic origin could also help to self-rescue. For instance, during the shootings of the Jews in the town of Berdichev (RKU), a ten-years-old boy named Garik, was saved by his mother by declaring that he was Russian. When Garik, his mother, father and younger sister approached a pit, Garik's mother started to shout that Garik was a Russian son of her Russian neighbour. Other people near the pit started to shout the same as well and the Germans let the boy to go.[503] The Roma parents of the Roma survivor Wladysław Guman declared that they were Romanians: 'Then Romania cooperated with the Germans. And when Gestapo arrived, they asked: "Is there anybody from Gypsies?". My father spoke a little German [and answered]: "No, lord, we are Romanians!" And this [answer] gave them safety and [Germans] did not touch them.'[504]

The incident was in the city of Lviv area. The Guman's family were a Kelderash family, they were dark haired and could not pretend that they were Slavic. The Jews Yakov and his sister Genia were wandering from village to village. Yakov's sister was blond and spoke Ukrainian well. Therefore, she could pretend that she was a Ukrainian, whereas Yakov could not speak any Ukrainian, had a dark hair and a Semitic appearance. Not to put his sister into danger, Yakov separated with Genia and started to wander alone. He declared that he was a Roma because he had dark hair and to be Roma was less dangerous than the

[501] Shmil-Obe was an official name of Semen D., Sura-Feiga or Sura-Feige – were names of the Semen's mother and Riva's grandmother. Interviews with the Jewish survivors Semen D. and Riva M., author's personal archive.
[502] Interviews with the Jewish survivors Riva M. and Robin G., author's personal archive; testimony of Fania Dubinskaia, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli,* pp. 164-165.
[503] Grossman and Ilya Erenburg, (eds.), *Chernaia Kniga*, p. 40.
[504] Interview with Wladysław Guman, VHA, interview code: 46073.

Jew in certain locations, especially in the beginning of the occupation. Later, when people in one of the villages understood that he was a Jew, Yakov escaped and started to pretend that he was a Pole because he could speak Polish well.[505]

Good knowledge of local languages (Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Crimean Tatar, Romanian, Hungarian, or German) added to physical appearance and local names, helped the Jews and the Roma to prove their non-Roma and non-Jewish identity. As shown above, the knowledge of Polish language helped a Jewish boy, Yakov, in successfully concealing his Jewish identity. A Jewish man, Moisha K., knew both languages of the main occupiers of Ukraine very well: German and Romanian. His daughter Klara K., also a Holocaust survivor testified about their life in the ghetto of Mohyliv-Podilskyi, Transnistria:

> [My] father went from the ghetto to the city to find some food. He took off his star,[506] which was glued to everybody. Two Germans were walking behind him. [My] dad knew Romanian and German well. He heard when one of the Germans said that my father was a Jew and they had to kill him. The second German did not believe the first and said that if he [the father] will cross himself when passing the church, then he is not a Jew. My dad heard all of that and of course crossed himself. Later he was driven to work to [the town of] Tulchyn for [extracting] the peat. The father heard from the Germans that everybody will be killed after they finish their job. Thus, my dad and several other people dived into the water by the end of the day when the shooting had started. They made pipes [for breathing] out of swamp reed.[507]

The Romanians supplied the Germans with the Jewish workforce and therefore, knowledge of both languages was an essential feat for self-rescue in that area. A Jew, Boris Rozen, who was saved from the shooting in the city of Kharkiv (MAZ), and then fled through the entire RKU from where he crossed over to Transnistria, stated the five rules of his survival in his memoirs. The first one was that he fluently spoke the Ukrainian language and the second was that he could understand German because of his knowledge of Yiddish. The knowledge of those languages allowed him to hide his identity and, during his accidental meetings with the occupiers, to escape in a timely fashion.[508]

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[505] Testimony of Yakov Rudiuk, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli,* pp. 300-301.
[506] The Jewish 'David star' which all ghetto inhabitants had to wear at all times.
[507] Interview with a Jewish survivor Klara K., author's personal archive.
[508] Testimony of Boris Rozen, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli,* p. 275.

A Roma Julia Dolinska stated: 'Because my family could speak German, we were not killed, otherwise – we would be killed!'[509] A Roma Kateryna S. confirmed that because of knowledge of German, it was easier for her mother to communicate with the occupiers and family could survive.[510] Speaking Romanian could save the Roma in Transnistria, the Ukrainian territory under Romanian occupation. A Roma Sofia Bakro told the story of the self-rescue of her family:

> The Romanians arrived … Once open a time my cousin lived in Moldova, [he] could speak Moldavian.[511] And my sisters' mother-in-law also could speak a little bit in Moldavian. We sent them to [Romanian administration], - to talk because we cannot. We could not [speak] in Moldavian! And they started to talk: [we] live in Ukraine, but our ancestors were Moldovans. There are our children, they grew up in Ukraine where we speak Russian, and they cannot [speak] in Moldavian. Understand? Then Romanians brought us salt, tobacco, light tobacco, sugar, matches and started to give gifts us, their Moldovans.[512]

Ironically, this knowledge of the language and its role in concealing identity helped the Roma not only to save the lives of the entire family but to officially change their ethnic origin: after the war the identification documents were issued, and the Roma stated that they were Moldovans and inscribed themselves as Moldovans.[513]

Knowledge of the language not only rescued Jewish and Roma lives but also, sometimes, saved women from rapes at the hands of the occupiers. For instance, a Jewish woman Evgeniia Katsovskaia, who survived the Holocaust in the city of Odessa (Transnistria) testified, how she was warned to go in hiding in order not to fall into the hands of a Romanian officer:

> In the evening, the interpreter (a Jew, who knew Romanian) approached me and advised me to hide somewhere because the officer ordered him [the interpreter] to bring me this night to the officer. He [the interpreter] told me that usually during the day the officer looked for nice girls who later had to be brought to him [for the night].[514]

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[509] Interview with Julia Dolinska, VHA, code interview: 43584.
[510] Interview with a Roma survivor Kateryna S., author's personal archive.
[511] They say Moldavian but in fact it was Romanian.
[512] Interview with Sofiia Bakro, VHA, code interview: 48389.
[513] Ibid.
[514] Testimony of Evgeniia Katsovskaia, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli*, p. 176.

In many incidents, the methods of self-rescue were used in combination. The Roma man Fedor Zolotarev survived the extermination of the Roma in Odessa *oblast* by escaping, concealing his identity and thanks to his language skills. Upon arrival of the *Einsatzgruppen*, some of the Roma in Fedor's village were rounded up for shooting together with their children. Somehow, Fedor happened to be among them. The victims were forced to dig a pit and after they were shot. Fedor mentioned that local German colonists – *Volksdeutsche* – assisted the German occupiers in the killing of those Roma. Fedor and his schoolmate Ivan Vursov managed to escape successfully when the killers did not watch their side. Fedor and Ivan ran to their home that was about three kilometres from the killing site. Fedor's family survived the war because, according to his words, Germans did not know that the Fedor's was a Roma family. He remembered that both of his mother and father spoke to the occupiers in German. They knew German very well because before the war they lived in the village with *Volksdeutsche* for a while and learned German from them. Fedor presumed that his mother declared that she was German because of the knowledge of language and because his mother 'looked as a Russian, she was white [blond] like them [Russians]'.[515] Thus, identities could be concealed by having non-Jewish or non-Roma physical appearances, having non-Jewish and non-Roma names officially written in identity documents, and knowledge of the occupiers' languages could lead to self-rescue of Roma and Jewish individuals and whole families.

Forging Documents

In many cases hiding one's identity or just a declaration of another ethnic origin – non-Jewish and non-Roma, was not enough to assure self-rescue. The occupiers frequently checked the identification documents where the nationality of a person was written. Under the war conditions and movement of the population, there were cases when people did not have their identity papers: their documents having been burnt, torn apart, or lost. If a person did not have any documents, their fate was in the hands of the occupiers: they could just kill a person or an entire family, which sometimes happened to nomadic Roma, or to re-register the person. The Jews and the Roma tried to falsify their identification documents or tried to forge new documents where they were inscribed as Ukrainians, Russians,

[515] Interview with Fedor Zolotarev, VHA, code interview: 49595.

Moldovans, Romanians, Hungarians or Polish. Advice to forge such documents and assistance in producing often came from non-Jews and non-Roma. However, in some cases, the initiative to change the official origin came from the Roma and the Jews themselves. In rare cases, such documents were produced by the victims themselves. Thus, fabrication and forging the documents can be considered as a way of self-help within the Roma or Jewish communities and also as a form of self-rescue if this latter way was successful and saved the lives of the victims. The main condition to consider forging documents as self-rescue, first, the initiative to do so had to come from the Roma and the Jews, but not from some outsider, and, second, the Roma and the Jews had to produce the documents without outside helpers' involvement.

No incidents were found where the Roma produced false identification documents themselves, but plenty of cases when such documents were created by Roma initiatives in requesting them from others. For instance, a semi-nomadic Roma Ivan Lebedev, who lived in the RKU during the war, recalled that the occupiers started to identify and shoot all nomadic Roma. Many Roma families started to find their ways to *kolkhozes* and asked for documents showing that they were not Roma but had another origin: Moldovans, Tatars, etc. To achieve this, the Roma negotiated with the heads of *kolkhozes* and bribed them with food and clothes.[516] Ekaterina Chebotar, whose family survived in Transnistria, heard from her parents that her father had bribed the head of the *kolkhoz* by giving him a horse and had acquired documents for the family which showed their nationality as Moldovans.[517]

Some Jews managed not only to bribe others, but also to produce false documents themselves. A Jewish woman Raisa Zelenkova, from Kyiv *oblast* (RKU), gave birth and decided to baptise her daughter in order to save her. She negotiated that the godmother would be a childless woman to whom Raisa would later leave her baby. As the godfather Raisa chose the head of the village because he was authorised to use a 'German stamp' that was used for approval of all documents issued by the occupiers' authorities. When both godparents arrived for the baptism celebrations of Raisa's daughter, Raisa had them drink vodka to make them drunk and once successful, took the stamp from the godfather's pocket, which he always had with him. When all guests slept, Raisa forged six papers and their

[516] Interview with Ivan Lebedev, VHA, code interview: 49418.
[517] Interview with Ekaterina Chebotar, VHA, interview code: 49372.

copies for herself, her daughter and two other Jewish women whom she was hiding at that time. In these documents Raisa indicated that the holders were all Ukrainians.[518]

A very interesting incident of forging documents occurred in the DG and was called the 'Essigmann affair' in the official reports of the German *Sipo-SD*. Soon after the occupation of the city of Lviv, a Jewish man with the surname Essigmann, born and residing in Lviv, managed to obtain 'German documents' and started his small furniture business. He also hired a couple of other Jewish and Polish people as assistants. Essigmann spoke Yiddish, Polish and German that facilitated his business. However, the business was only a 'cover' for fabricating documents where the nationality was stated as 'Polish' or 'German'. Essigmann distributed the documents to the Jews who lived in the non-Aryan side of the city. To produce the documents, Essigmann used original South American, mostly Argentinian, passports which he then forged for the Jews. The Germans started to investigate the case but could not catch either him, or his 'co-workers. He was carefully followed by the Gestapo because several *Sipo-SD* reports from 1941 and 1942 contained information about his activities. According to those reports, Essigmann managed to help about two hundred Jews. Reports show that the occupiers finally discovered the location of the 'document factory' but Essigmann and his partners managed to escape.[519] Thus, one Jewish person with a group of 'employees' saved the lives of hundreds of Jews in Lviv – an excellent example not only of forging documents but also of Jewish collective self-rescue.

Bribery

Bribing the Germans and Romanians was another recurrent way of self-rescue for both the Jews and the Roma. Survivors from both groups of victims stated in their testimonies that bribing Romanians was very easy and many of the Roma and the Jews saved their lives that way. In Transnistria, for instance, bribing the Romanian occupiers was a common way of self-rescue for Roma. A Roma woman Nina Shvets, from a settled family, survived the occupation in Odessa *oblast*, Transnistria. She recalled the time when Romanians arrived and their treatment of the Roma:

[518] Arad, Pavlova, Altman, Krakowski, et al (eds.), *Neizvestnaia Chernaia Kniga,* testimony №27, p. 169.
[519] Yad Vashem, O.51, files: 163.43; 163.47, and 163.56.

> Romanians would not touch anybody if someone would give them a piece of *salo.*[520] I know it and my mom also was laughing about it: as soon as we cooked *mamalyha*[521] – how much of that *mamalyha* [we] ate! – [we] cooked *mamalyha* and gave a piece of *mamalyha* and piece of *salo* [to Romanians] and that's it. They would not touch anybody; they would be gone already. They somehow did not shoot [us]… beating – yes, they beat [us], [because] they were foolish, they were uneducated.[522]

Not only settled families were self-rescued by bribing the Romanian occupiers, but also those who were nomadic and semi-nomadic. In a case that took place in Odessa *oblast,* a nomadic Roma camp (*tabir*), consisting of about 10-15 families or up to 200 people, had to be transferred to the territory occupied by the Germans, apparently, to be shot there. However, a Roma man bribed the Romanians with money and saved the entire *tabir*: around that time the Romanians were permitting Roma to stay within the Roma controlled territories and in this particular example they let the Roma go.[523] By using bribery, the Roma man not only freed himself, but also gained time for his relatives, and this showcases Roma collective self-rescue. Making a collective attempt for self-rescue was an easier way for them to survive. This was especially the case for the nomadic or the semi-nomadic elements. Firstly, the Roma could offer more jewellery or money to occupiers collectively than individually, and everybody among them knew this was saving their lives. Second, being nomadic for many years together and developing tight kinship connections, the Roma felt a responsibility for each other.

Several sources confirm that some of the Jews also attempted to bribe the occupiers individually and collectively. A Jewish woman survivor from the town of Tulchyn in Transnistria testified about repeatedly bribing the Romanian occupiers when they wanted to send her family to the Pechora labour camp, known among the Jews as 'the Dead Loop' because nobody returned from there.[524] There are several German reports on Jewish attempts to bribe policemen during several Lviv *Aktionen* in March, April and August 1942. The report contains lists with names of the Jews who took part in this group attempt.[525]

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[520] *Salo* is one of the traditional foods in Ukraine. It is a large and thick piece of pork's lard that salted or smoked and eaten with a piece of dark bread.
[521] *Mamalyha* in Ukrainian or *Mămăligă* in Romanian is the Romanian and Moldovan traditional food made out of boiled yellow maize flour with water or milk and eaten as it is or with sour cheese and sour cream.
[522] Interview with Nina Shvets, VHA, interview code: 49704.
[523] Interview with a Roma survivor Tamara T., author's personal archive.
[524] Interview with a Jewish survivor Tsylia K., author's personal archive.
[525] YVA, M.52, files: 101 250, 407, 1150 and 1690; microfilms: 99.2693, pp. 426-429 (on *Aktion* on 31.03.1942 and 01.04.1942); 99.2696, p. 1407 (on *Aktion* on 13.08.1942).

According to the reports, the Jews tried to bribe the policemen and their superiors. For instance, during the *Aktion* on 13 August 1942 there were two reports in Ukrainian and German (although the German report contains more detailed information) about such an attempt. The Ukrainian report noted that two Jews - a woman Tazba Tsuker (Zuker) and a man Natan Evarzbarg[526] tried to bribe the policemen: Tazba gave 200 golden coins and golden finger ring with a precious stone and Natan gave away 180 golden coins. The same report also said that these three Jews were shot during their attempt to escape. The German report mentions another 12 Jews who attempted to bribe the Ukrainian police during the same *Aktion:* 11 of them were women, and nine of them were mentioned as being in one group. The Jewish women gave policemen their jewellery: golden wedding rings, golden bracelets and golden neck chains, and watches.[527] It seems that such attempts occurred regularly and if the attempt succeeded was not included in the reports. Thus, bribing the Ukrainian police also can be considered as a way of self-helping.[528]

Petitions and Monetary Self-help in Transnistria

The Jews and the Roma tried all possible ways to self-rescue and to help their Jewish and Roma relatives. The variety of self-rescue was greater than those listed above, particularly in Transnistria. Some of the Jews and the Roma there tried to find a legal way to preserve their lives. Apparently, they believed in the power of the law, whatever government was in power. Thus, one popular way to appeal for justice was writing petitions to the Romanian authorities and explaining mistakes made by the authorities in their treatment of the Jews. The Jews from Romania who somehow avoided the deportations wrote petitions to the highest Romanian authorities on behalf of their family members and these can be found in the regional archives of Bukovina and Bessarabia. For example, Viktoria Schneider from the town of Dorohoi (Romania, Bukovina) sent a request to Elena, the Queen of Romania, for the return of the Schneider family to Dorohoi; the family having been deported to the city of Mohyliv-Podilskyi, Transnistria.[529] The report was dated 17 December 1941, which means that Viktoria sent it soon after the deportation which had started on 9 October

[526] The first letter of the second name is not visible clear to read, probably 'E' (Evarzbarg).
[527] YVA, M.52, file 407.
[528] YVA, M.52, files: 101 250, 407, 1150 and 1690; microfilms: 99.2693, pp. 426-429 (on *Aktion* on 31.03.1942 and 01.04.1942); 99.2696, p. 1407 (on *Aktion* on 13.08.1942).
[529] YVA, M.52, JM/11348.

1941.[530] Similar attempts were undertaken by the Roma in the villages of Kovalivka, Katelinka and others in Ochakiv county.[531]

Some of the Jews, who were wealthy and not deported or killed, while still residing in Romania sent monetary help to their relatives in the ghettos of Transnistria. Numerous handwritten documents, along with the official receipts for posting money, were found by the author in the State Odessa Archive, all of them dating from 1942. According to the documents, all payments were transacted officially through the National Bank of Romania in Romanian currency – lei.[532] They also reveal the date of payment, the name of payer, the name of payee, the place where money should go, and the sum involved. The payments were sent from Bucharest, Tyraspil, Suceava etc.[533] to the ghettoes of Bershad, Sharhorod, Murafa, Dzhuryn, and Obodovka.[534] The official receipts with identical numbers were given to the payer. The sums varied from 2,000 to 30,000 leis.[535] There is no information on whether the recipients received the money and what the received sum was. Oral testimonies do mention that some of the Jews who were deported from Romania and Bukovina, did get help in the ghettos - parcels with food and clothes – from their relatives.[536] How Romanian Jews could send money, how they acquired the addresses of their relatives and what exactly happened to the money they sent to Transnistria remains unknown.

Roma Assistance to Jews

The Roma Assistance to Jews has never been considered as a topic either in Holocaust or Roma historiography. Nevertheless, oral accounts reveal unique information about one group of victims helping another, demonstrating an inter-ethnic relationship during the Holocaust in Ukraine. Although Jewish and Roma communities did not cooperate closely or even communicate before the war on a regular basis, several cases of interaction between

[530] Wiesel, Friling, Ioanid, and Ionescu (eds.), *Final Report*, p. 10.
[531] Viorel Achim, 'Roma Deported to Transnistria Speaking about Their Suffering in Several Petitions from 1943-44', a paper delivered at the International conference *'Tracing the Legacies of the Roma Genocide'*, (Prague, 20-22 September 2017).
[532] DAOO, F. R-2242, op. 3, spr. 9.
[533] DAOO, F. R-2242, op. 3, spr. 11 and 39.
[534] DAOO, F. R-2242, op. 3, spr. 9, pp. 2, 5,7, 9, 132, 157, 158.
[535] DAOO, F. R-2242, op. 3, spr. 9, pp. 3-5, 39, 40.
[536] Interview with a Jewish survivor Anna I. from Sharhorod; Testimony of Aleksander Zhornitskii, in: Boris Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit. Svidetelstva i Dokumenty*, vol. 1 (Kyiv, 2013), p. 316.

Jews and Roma and the rescue attempts of the Roma towards the Jews occurred during the war. Jewish and Roma survivors recalled several cases of their coexistence during the occupation of Ukraine. One such case comes from the Karlivka labour camp, *Mykolaiv oblast*, in Transnistria. Roma and Jews were deported to this camp and were placed together in pigsties and stables. Two accounts of the Jewish survivors of the camp confirm that the Roma were deported there in the winter of 1943, though one of the survivors was just five years old and most likely remembers the information from the words of his mother.[537] A Roma account also described the life of the Roma and the Jews together in Transnistria. According to the description and looking at the way and time when Roma were driven there, the account is most likely about the Karlivka camp, however, the witness could not remember any geographical locations.[538] Even though none of the survivors mentioned mutual help, it is clear that Jew and Roma were indeed in Karlivka camp together. One of the survivors, Arkadii (Arkadiy) Khasin stated: 'In winter 1943 Gypsies were brought into Karlovka concentration camp.[539] And until the very liberation, two things united us – grief and death.'[540]

The Roma oral testimonies reveal a good deal about the persecutions of Jews and along with it, information on how the Roma helped them. Help mostly came on a one-off basis and was limited to supplying Jews with food and shelter for one or two nights. For example, a Roma family tried to help Jews who escaped from a shooting by supplying them with food. There were such occurrences in Ivano-Frankivsk *oblast* (DG) and Volhynian *oblasts* (RKU) when wandering Jews asked Roma for food: 'Jewish fugitives, families, came to us in the evening and we helped them with what we could, because [then] we were not persecuted so hard… We gave them [Jews] either flour, or bread, or piece of corned beef, - what we had that we gave [them].'[541] The helpers were a sedentary Roma family with their own household. Yet, looking at this particular case, a very important nuance has to be kept in mind: the Roma survivors recollected that at this time they themselves were not persecuted. That means that the Roma did not seek for need assistance for themselves and

[537] Interview with a Jewish survivor Anatoly S. in author's personal archive; Arkadii Khasin, 'Vozvrashcheniie iz Ada', *Lekhaim*, 84:4, (1999), available at: http://www.lechaim.ru/ARHIV/84/hasin.htm (last accessed on 1 March 2019); YVA, O.33, file 5912, pp. 1-5.
[538] Interview with a Roma survivor Zinaida P, author's peronal archive.
[539] This is how the witness pronounced in Russian. It is Karlivka in Ukrainian. Karlivka was not a concentration camp but all witnesses talk about it in such manner because they could not differentiate labour and concentration camps.
[540] YVA, O.33, file 5912, p. 5.
[541] Interview with Maria Kwiatkowska and Julia Dolinska, VHA, interview codes 32103 and 43584.

could help others. It is unknown when exactly these events occurred and if the Roma knew about the punishments for assisting the Jews or not. Another case of one-time assistance by sheltering for one night and provision of food by a Roma family to a Jewish woman and her daughter, happened in the village of Sukha Verba, Odessa *oblast*, Transnistria. During the deportations, the Jews stayed for a night in the village of Sukha Verba. The sedentary Roma family of Lidiia Zolotareva took in a Jewish woman and her seven or eight-year-old daughter for one night and fed them. After that night the woman left and joined the other Jews. In return for landlady's hospitality, the Jewish woman gave Lidiia's mother a downy shawl. This family knew that they would be killed for helping the Jews but still did it 'because [they] had pity for this woman'.[542] Moreover, this case occurred after the Roma family was warned about the persecution of the Roma and had already escaped from their native village to Sukha Verba. Thus, although they were being persecuted, the Roma family still tried to help the Jews.[543]

Roma also helped the Jews in the RKU, though they began to be murdered there soon after the Jews. A Jewish woman from the city of Odessa, Betia, was friends with a Roma man from the city of Mykolaiv. In early 1943 she arrived at his door asking for shelter. This man sent her to his Roma relatives (his sister) in the town of Kizomys, Mykolaiv *oblast* (during the war, now Kherson *oblast*). Betia lived with this Roma family in their house until the liberation and thanks to the head of the family received, under a false surname, a work permit – to collect tomatoes. The Roma family was aware of the death penalty for hiding a Jew, but still acted as they considered the right course of action: 'She arrived and said: "The grandpa [the name was not pronounced well] sent me." He was my mother's brother. She continued: "The grandpa sent me to you that I would save my life because I am a Jew!" (…) She lived with us in our house.'[544]

Talking of adults or old men as 'grandpa' did not reflect any sort of kinship: any old man could be called 'grandpa' and old women - 'grandma' as well, and any women of pretty same age as the narrator could be called 'aunt' and any man – 'uncle'. This case is rather unusual because the Roma family was not persecuted and could shelter her for a long period of time. Moreover, the Roma hosts managed to employ her with false identity documents, realising that the family could be killed for helping a Jew. In fact, they could not act in any

[542] Interview with Lidiia Zolotareva, VHA, interview code: 49615.
[543] Ibid.
[544] Interview with Savelii Kaplan, VHA, interview code: 49483.

other way as under the Roma cultural code: the request for help came from the hosts' mother's brother and in that culture the woman could not reject the request of a Roma man: In effect, the message from the Roma man was perceived as an order rather than a request. The same was applicable for older people, though it is not known, if the brother was the elder or not. However, it does not diminish the value of help. The Roma man knowingly put his family in danger and risked punishment for the entire family but prioritised his cultural obligations.

One of the very interesting cases of everyday life of the Roma, the Jews and the Ukrainians and help during the occupation can be found in the town of Kakhovka, Mykolaiv *oblast* (RKU). A sedentary Muslim Roma, Elena Kantemirova, recalled how her family and her relatives lived in the same street with Jewish families and some Ukrainians. This example showcases the fluidity of social borders in this particular context. Because Muslims there did not have their own place of prayer, Elena's family joined the Jewish religious services:

> We were friends together [with the Jews], we ate together, we drank together. When the rabbi Gurevich gave sermons on Saturdays my mother and my father joined him. (…) My father spoke in the Jewish language … and even we, the children, already started to speak in the Jewish language, because we were together all the time: all children, all families. Do you understand? This was how friendly [our relations were]![545]

When the murder of the Jews began, Elena's mother hid two Jewish children (their second names were Rechitskii and Simai or Simakh) for some time in the vault of her house. Unfortunately, the children wanted to join their parents and left the Roma family. Nevertheless, this case demonstrates how this Muslim Roma family helped a Jewish family because of friendship and faith brotherhood between families before the war. Soon after, the persecution of the Roma also started, and Elena's family also had to seek help.

Matrena Kirichenko, a settled Roma, survived in the occupation in Kharkiv *oblast* (MAZ). She was 21 years old in 1941 and had a family with four young children. In her recollections in Romanes, she recalled the persecution of the Roma and the Jews and the story of saving a Jewish girl:

[545] Interview with with Elena Kantemirova, VHA, interview code: 48412.

> We knew [that the Jews were murdered]. One Jewish [girl] escaped to us. I walked with my cow and saw her crying; the girl was about 14 years old. She said: 'I escaped but all of us [family and other Jews] were killed.' Her name was Sonia. I told her: 'Well, what to do, live with us.' Thus, she lived with us and looked after my children.[546]

The Roma were murdered at the same time and in the same manner as the Jews in the MAZ, i.e. from the beginning of the occupation. In her earlier recollections, Matrena explained how they were also escaping and hiding to survive. This case occurred in the village of Martynivka, Kharkiv *oblast*, in 1943, but against all odds, Matrena hid a Jewish girl, even though all her family could be killed for it. The punishment for hiding the Jews in the MAZ was immediate execution of everyone in the house.

The cases of Roma helping Jews were limited to supplying food and shelter although there are several complex cases of help and rescue such as hiding for a long period, forging a false identity and providing employment. All the Roma who helped the Jews were sedentary and knew that they were helping Jews and what the punishment was for it. This shows that the Roma understood the fatal circumstances of the Jews and yet were ready to help despite the dangers involved.

There are no identified cases of Jews helping Roma, and these most likely did not exist. The reason is that the total extermination of Jews was carefully executed by the occupiers from the first days of the occupation, whereas the Roma were often persecuted much later than the Jews. In most locations, the Roma had fewer restrictions than the Jews until later in the occupation and, therefore, had slightly more opportunities to help others whereas the Jews had to rescue themselves from the very first days of occupation.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on several instances of Roma and Jewish self-rescue which were common for both groups of victims and could be identified and seen in the different archival and oral sources. The most frequently occurring examples of self-rescue for both Jews and Roma were escape and physical hiding. Other ways, such as concealing identity, forging

[546] Interview with Matrena Kirichenko, VHA, interview code: 47281.

documents and bribing the occupiers occurred when certain conditions were met. For example, to conceal an identity, a Jew or a Roma had to have a Slavic appearance: blond hair, green or blue eyes etc, though, sometimes, Jews and, especially, Roma having no Slavic physical appearance pretended that they were Moldovans or Romanians. Forging documents required special skills and connections to produce new identification documents. Bribery required money or other valuables to be offered to the occupiers. Special cases of self-help can be seen in the territory under the Romanian occupation: of sending money to the ghettos for deportees from Romania and writing petitions to the Romanian authorities requesting the return of relatives from the places where they had been deported.

Escape, physical hiding, sharing food, and identity concealment did not usually require the direct interaction of Jews and Roma with non-Jewish and non-Roma population or the occupiers. Therefore, these methods can be characterised as 'less assertive' self-rescue: even though certain actions were undertaken by the Roma and Jews in order to survive, survival depended, to a great extent, on circumstances and chance. It contrasts with 'more assertive' self-rescue, such as changing identity by forging the documents, bribing occupiers, writing the petitions and sending money to relatives required deliberate strategy and direct interaction with the occupiers and/or local non-Roma and non-Jewish populations. Although, physical hiding also could be attached to the category of 'more assertive' self-rescue in cases when the Jews and the Roma combined their efforts to build bunkers or construct the 'secrets' or '*melinas*'.

To differentiate the individual and collective efforts of the Jews and Roma in terms of self-rescue is complicated. For helping each other, individuals often cooperated with their relatives and friends. It means that self-rescue resulted, eventually, from collective actions, even though an action could be initiated by one or two individuals. Considering semi-nomadic or nomadic Roma, it is impossible to identify if the efforts to self-rescue were initiated by a group or by particular individuals. Therefore, collective and individual attempts of Jewish and Roma self-rescue should be analysed together but distinguishing between ways and methods of self-help. It is difficult to estimate if collective self-help was more effective than individual and led to self-rescue more or less frequently. Nevertheless, the fact that the Jews and the Roma attempted to avoid the persecution by the Germans and their allies on both levels, individual and collective, demonstrates their readiness to make their own decisions rather than rely on circumstances and outsiders' help. It highlights the

importance of human agency on both individual and collective levels in self-rescue attempts during the Holocaust. Individuals tried to save their own lives and lives of close relatives in various ways, though, often it was easier to do by joining other victims – families, group of friends, or even random Jews and Roma.

Occasionally, the Roma, while being also victims, helped the Jews to survive by providing them with food or/and shelter or tried to join the Jews for organising getaways or resistance. These cases reveal close interaction between main victim groups and give a new notion of victimhood – acts of self-rescue common to both Roma and Jews. The reliance of the Roma and the Jews on their own efforts rather than on circumstances or receiving help from non-Roma and non-Jews reflects the active participation of victims in determining their own fate and making their own decisions not only for individual but also collective survival. Seemingly, the Roma relied on self-help much more than Jews: in most cases Roma had more chances to survive than Jews. Firstly, because the extermination of the Roma started later than that of the Jews. Secondly, the level of persecution of Roma (from different confines to deportations and shooting) very much depended on local administrations and the specific zone of occupation, whereas the Jews were always the targets for complete extermination. Thirdly, some Roma had very close family connections (even with distant relatives) and they tried to find a solution together.

In most of the cases, not any single method of self-rescue was employed but several, such as the construction of secret places or escaping, that were undertaken on a number of different occasions during the occupation. One form of self-rescue did not follow another one: for instance, hiding could take place in the first instance without escaping, after the Roma and the Jews were warned about forthcoming executions or by listening to rumours. Good skills such as knowledge of local languages or those of the occupiers, knowing neighbouring areas and adaptation to the hardest life conditions could all help the chances of survival. Frequently, self-rescue was assisted by help from non-Jewish and non-Roma population and would not succeed without such help. However, the first attempts to self-help and self-rescue were undertaken by the victims themselves, and sometimes together.

Chapter III

Jewish and Roma Self-Help and Self-Rescue: Selected Outstanding and Controversial Cases and Ways

Outstanding and controversial cases of Jewish and Roma self-rescue display multi-faceted conditions in which Jewish and Roma leaders as well as their communities faced, both individually and collectively, and the complicated decisions which they were forced to make. Being victims, Jews and Roma tried not only to escape and to hide. In some cases, they relied on their leaders, such as Jewish Councils in the case of the Jews, and the 'mayors', i.e. elders of the so-called 'Gypsy villages' in Transnistria, in the case of the Roma. Both Jewish and Roma higher authorities understood that help was needed and provided as much as they could, so that such cases can also be classified as a self-helping. Saving lives by being registered and worked as forced labourers and, particularly as *Ostarbeiter*, is an important and undiscussed mode of Jewish self-rescue. Hiding their own identity among Ukrainians, Jews had to make a critical decision: to stay with their families in their home towns and cities, or to hand themselves over to occupiers and to be deported to Germany as slaves, with no means out of complaining of bad living and working conditions, and without any possible escape. Nevertheless, the survival rates of those who were transported to Germany as forced labourers from the occupied territories of the USSR (more than 83%) suggests that it was an effective recourse for the Jews and Roma who could hide their origins. Collaboration with the occupiers – with the Germans or Romanians and their Ukrainian administrations was another way for Jews and Roma to save their lives. Collaboration was possible only by hiding one's ethnic origin, particularly for Jews, therefore, such cases were rare and can be considered as unusual. Findings about the 'dark side' of self-rescue, that is collaboration, shed new light by analysing issues of circumstances and moral choice. Outstanding cases of self-rescue also demonstrate the narrow margins between self-rescue and collaboration with perpetrators, whether deliberate or not. The last part of the chapter discusses the formation of Jewish and Roma clandestine

and family camps in the Ukrainians forests and discusses the following question: to what extent the resistance can be considered as a way of collective self-rescue. All the cases in this chapter analyse controversial or unspoken questions of Jewish and Roma self-rescue.

Helping and Rescuing by the Jewish Councils (*Judenräte)*

The role of Jewish Councils as representative bodies in the occupied territories has always been controversial. The extremely high number of killed Jews in occupied Ukraine, Poland and other European countries masked the fact that some Jewish community leaders attempted to preserve lives – sometimes successfully, sometimes not. The charges that the Jewish community leaders were 'ineffective at best, and collaborationists at worst'[547] sometimes still applied for less researched territories, such as Ukraine. In this way, this form of organised collective Jewish self-help, particularly on the occupied territory of the USSR, was ignored by scholars.

The stance and preferences of the Jewish Councils' members often invoke the question of collaboration and its extent.[548] A fiery debate arose on this issue after the Eichmann trial and Hannah Arendt's report, where the question of Jewish Councils came under the spotlight. In her book, Hannah Arendt forthrightly accused Jewish leaders of collaboration with the Nazis and indirectly with the destruction of (European) Jewry:

> Wherever Jews lived, there were recognized Jewish leaders, and this leadership, almost without exception, cooperated in one way or another, for one reason or another, with the Nazis. (…) To a Jew this role of the Jewish leaders in the destruction of their own people is undoubtedly the darkest chapter of the whole dark story (…) In the matter of cooperation, there was no distinction between the highly assimilated Jewish communities of Central and Western Europe and the Yiddish-speaking masses of the East.[549]

Though Arendt's critique was the most radical, other scholars generally supported this point of view, with some minor exceptions.[550] Aharon Weiss pointed out that historiography also

[547] Moore, *Survivors: Jewish Self-Help and Rescue*, p. 8.
[548] Michman, *Holocaust Historiography*, p. 159.
[549] Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (London, 1963), pp. 111, 104.
[550] For the analysis of different points of view, see: Aharon Weiss, 'The Historiographical Controversy Concerning the Character and Function of the Judenrats', in: Israel Gutman and Gideon Greif (eds.), *The Historiography of the Holocaust Period: Proceedings of the Fifth Yad Vashem International Historical*

included an element of 'the duality of fulfilling German dictates and exploiting authority',[551] which could explain the varieties of behaviours of the Jewish Councils members. Apparently, there was a nuance, particularly in occupied Ukraine, where some Jewish Councils and their heads tried to help and, in some cases, even save the Jews.

On the one hand, scholars point out that creation of *Judenräte* and their actions were determined by the Nazi German authorities with the only purpose of better controlling of the Jewish communities and easily facilitating their extermination. Thus, Jewish Councils and their leaders did not have any real power to stop or interrupt the annihilation of their communities. Even though *Judenräte* were merely instruments of the Nazi German and later Romanian administration in Transnistria, in some cases Jewish Councils tried to help the community members to save or at least to prolong their lives by delaying administrative tasks.[552] On the other hand, *Judenräte* were accused of collaboration with the Nazi regime because they served the regime exactly in a way they were designed to: the facilitation of the destruction of Jewish communities.[553] Ordinary Jews followed the instructions of *Judenräte* for two reasons: the heads of Jewish Councils were recognised leaders of Jewish communities and the Jewish Councils were official authorities – insiders – who understood the internal order of the communities. Ordinary Jewish community members had every reason to trust their *Judenräte* and rely on them: Jews knew well their leaders personally and they did not have other choices. Moreover, it was easier to follow *Judenräte* instructions than to make their own choices and try to escape with the high risk of immediate death. The transferring of responsibility for one's own life, consciously or instinctively, made ordinary Jews dependent on their Jewish Councils and deprived them of their own choice that sometimes was the only decision from the Councils' point of view.

The idea of establishing representative Jewish bodies began in Poland.[554] The first official document about the Jewish Councils – an urgent circular letter (*Schnellbrief*) on the Jewish

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Conference, Jerusalem, March 1983 (Jerusalem, 1988), pp. 679-696; Aharon Weiss, 'Jewish Leadership in Occupied Poland — Postures and Attitudes', *Yad Vashem Studies*, 12, (1977), pp. 335-365**.** Among all voices, only Jacob Robinson denied collaboration of the *Judenräte*. See: Jacob Robinson, *And the Crooked Shall Be Made Straight: The Eichmann Trial, the Jewish Catastrophe, and Hannah Arendt's Narrative* (New York, 1965).

[551] For the analysis of different points of view, see: Weiss, 'The Historiographical Controversy', p. 696.

[552] Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Council*. This work is the main research on *Judenräte* in Eastern Europe, including the DG and the RKU. See also: Weiss, 'The Historiographical Controversy', pp. 679-696.

[553] Raul Hilberg was one of the first scholars who raised this question: Hilberg, *The Destruction*, pp. 664-666.

[554] Isaiah Trunk found a number of evidences on this issue: Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Council*, pp.14-16.

Question dated 21 September 1939 – was sent by Reinhard Heydrich, the chief of SD (the Security Service of the *Reichsführer-SS*), to the chiefs of all *Einsatzgruppen* in the occupied Polish territories. The document outlined the structure of the Jewish Councils of Elders and their main function, i.e. to fulfil all orders of the occupation authorities in general terms. The regulation for the establishment of the *Judenräte* was issued on 28 November 1939. It was published in the Official Gazette of the Government General in Krakow and signed by the Governor General Hans Frank:

> 1. In each community a body representing the Jews will be formed.
>
> 2. The representation of the Jews, known as *Judenrat,* will consists of 12 Jews in communities with up to 10,000 inhabitants, and in communities with more than 10,000 inhabitants, of 24 Jews, drawn from the locally resident population. The *Judenrat* will be elected by the Jews of the community. If a member of the *Judenrat* leaves, a new member is to be elected immediately.
>
> 3. The *Judenrat* will elect a chairman and a deputy from among its members.
>
> 4. 1) After these elections, which must be completed not later than 31 December 1939, the membership of the *Judenrat* is to be reported to the responsible sub-district Commander (*Kreishauptmann*), in urban districts to the City Commander (*Stadthauptmann*).
>
> 2) The sub-district Commander (City Commander) will decide whether the *Judenrat* membership submitted to him should be approved. He may order changes in the membership.
>
> 5. It is the duty of the *Judenrat* through its chairman or his deputy to receive the orders of the German Administration. It is responsible for the conscientious carrying out of orders to their full extent. The directives it issues to carry out these German must be obeyed by all Jews and Jewesses.[555]

Thus, this document described the full procedure of organisation of the Jewish Councils, emphasising that the main decision on approval of the members of the *Judenräte* remains to German occupiers. Also, the main function of the Jewish Councils – to receive and fulfil

[555] Yitzhak Arad, Israel Gutman, and Abraham Margaliot (eds.), *Documents on the Holocaust: Selected Sources on the Destruction of the Jews of Germany and Austria, Poland, and the Soviet Union* (Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 191-192 with a reference to *Verordnungsblatt für das Generalgouvernement*, 1939, pp. 72-73.

the orders of the occupiers – was pointed out. The word *'Judenrat'* was used in the text of the regulation as a definition for Jewish Council.

The first and the main task of the Jewish Councils, amongst others, was to conduct a census of the Jews and to be responsible for the concentration of the Jews in the larger cities.[556] These two functions were also specified in the decree of the DG *Gauleiter* (Governor General) Hans Frank on 7 August 1941 after this area was incorporated into the General Government on 1 August 1941.[557] Other tasks of the Jewish Councils were defined later, and included supply of and collecting of Jewish property, Jewish labour and use of Jewish police force for implementing the occupiers' orders in ghettos.[558] The Jewish Councils were supervised by the Security Police[559] (*Sicherheitspolizei* or *SiPo*).

The establishment and nature of the Jewish Councils largely depended on three factors: the Jews, the German authorities, and in some cases also the local authorities. In most cases members of the Jewish Councils were appointed by the occupiers upon a recommendation or nomination of the local Ukrainian administration.[560] In some localities, the Jewish Councils were elected by the Jews themselves, and then confirmed by the local Ukrainian authority or by the occupiers. For instance, in the town of Burshtyn (DG), the Jewish Council was elected by the Jews and confirmed by the Ukrainian mayor. In the town of Drohobych (DG), German occupiers gathered Jewish physicians, lawyers and industrialists together, who then elected a Jewish Council and its head. In the city of Lutsk (RKU), the members were nominated upon an advice from the Ukrainian authorities.[561] Similar situations took place in Transnistria. Thus, there was no specific order of conduct or uniformity about how and by whom the Jewish Councils should be elected in different areas of the occupation.

In Poland, pre-war Jewish community leaders generally formed the Jewish Councils.[562] The same pattern can be observed in the wartime DG and RKU (at least in those cities and towns where the ghettos were established for extended periods): Jewish Council members were

[556] Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Council*, pp. 1-3, 43.
[557] The Jewish Councils had to assist Germans to transfer the Jews from the countryside to the cities: Ibid., p. 4.
[558] Hilberg, *The Destruction,* p. 146.
[559] Ibid., p. 147.
[560] Shmuel Spector, 'The Holocaust of Ukrainian Jews', in: Zvi Gitelman (ed.) *Bitter Legacy: Confronting the Holocaust in the USSR* (Bloomington/Indianapolis, 1997), p. 48; Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Council*, p. 27.
[561] Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Council,* pp. 27-28.
[562] Hilberg, *The Destruction,* p. 145.

typically former activists or communal leaders.[563] Unlike the Jewish Councils under the German authority, where the members were local Jews, members of Jewish Councils in Transnistria were usually Romanian Jews deported to Transnistria or those who spoke Romanian from among local Jews, to facilitate easier communication with the occupiers and this was to play a critical role in the survival of Jews.[564] In occupational terms, the members and heads of the Jewish Councils were typically lawyers, doctors, engineers. For example, in the town of Volodymyr-Volynskyi, the head of the Jewish Council was the lawyer Veiler,[565] in the town of Sniatyn – the dentist Kohan,[566] in the town of Mohyliv-Podilskyi (district of Moghilev) – the engineer Jägendorf.[567] All members of the Jewish Councils and their heads were usually men. A unique case of an appointment of a woman, Liza Lindenboim, as the head of the Jewish Council took place in the city of Proskuriv (RKU).[568]

The name *Judenrat* had been in common usage since the invasion of Poland in 1939, though there were other names such as *Ältestenräte* – 'Council of Elders' or *Judenälteste* – 'Jewish Elders'. In the occupied territory of the Soviet Union, the Jews called them Jewish *Kehila* or Jewish Community (in Russian '*Evreiskaia obschina'*) or Jewish Committee ('Evreyskii komitet'). The head of *Judenrat* was called *Obmann* – ' chairman' – in the *Reich* territories and *Evreiskii starosta* or *Evreiskii starshyna* – 'elder'– in the occupied USSR.[569] In the DG, the head of a *Judenrat* was called in German *Älteste* – 'the eldest one', and the title *Șeful jidanilor* – 'the chief of the Jews' – was mentioned in some documents from the Romanian authorities in Transnistria.[570]

The first Jewish Councils in the DG started to be formed before the instructions on their functions were issued. For instance, the head of the Jewish Council in Lviv had already been appointed on 22 July 1941 following the request of the commanding officer and mayor (*starosta*) of the city of Lviv, Dr. Yu. Polianskyi, and the council was formed by the

[563] Spector, 'The Holocaust of Ukrainian Jews', p. 48.
[564] Ibid., p. 48.
[565] Testimony of Aron Babukh, in: Boris Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit. Svidetelstva i Dokumenty*, vol. 2 (Kyiv, 2014), p.485.
[566] Testimony of Yevgeniia Manukian (Udelsman) in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 2, p. 661.
[567] Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, p.203.
[568] Testimony of Tatiana Batulinskaia (Poperechnaia), in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 1, p. 494.
[569] Michman, *Holocaust Historiography*, p. 166; Spector, 'The Holocaust of Ukrainian Jews', p. 48.
[570] Ancel (ed.), *Transnistria 1941-1942,* Vol. 2, p. 29.

beginning of September 1941.[571] Similar situations could be found in other towns of the DG: for example, in Drohobych, Ternopil, and Stanislav (contemporary Ivano-Frankivsk).[572]

The general regulations regarding the Jews in the RKU contained the terms 'Jewish Police' (*Ordnungsdienst*) and 'Jewish self-government' (*Jüdische Selbstverwaltung*) where the ghetto itself was apparently recognised as a 'self-government', and the Jewish Police was under its control.[573] Yet, there is an order with the title *'Der Judenrat'*, dated 21 October 1941 and published in the Official Bulletin of the *Gebietskommissars*, that states that the leadership (*die Spitze*) vested with authority over the local Jews was a *Judenrat*, and the function of the *Judenrat* was to provide liaison people (*Verbindungsleute*) with the German departments (*deutschen Dienststellen*). 'Furthermore, the *Judenrat* [was to be] assisted by the Jewish Police (*Ordnungsdienst*) to carry out orders.'[574] That also meant that the *Judenrat* was responsible for the implementation of the German measures aimed at the Jewish community. This Bulletin was published monthly in the capital of the RKU, Rivne, and it is most likely that this was the first mention of the establishment of the *Judenrat*, with a definition of its functions in the areas of Ukraine which were incorporated into the RKU.

In the MAZ, the ghettos were only organised in some localities, in others the Jews were exterminated in first days of occupation as, for instance, in the Zaporizhzhia *oblast*.[575] Therefore, *Judenräte* were not created in every community and information on those that did exist in the MAZ is scarce. In that zone, Jews were the responsibility of the *Stadtskommandantur* – the city military administration which appointed the members of Jewish Councils. There was a case in the city of Yevpatoria in Crimea, which was under military control, where the Germans 'stopped ten Jews on the street (…) and appointed them all as the members of the Jewish Committee.'[576] It is certainly possible that the occupying forces acted in a similar way in other parts of the MAZ.

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[571] Yakov Khonigsman, 'Katastrofa Lvovskogo Evreistva', in: Ster Elisavetskii (ed.), *Katastrofa i Soprotivlenie Ukrainskogo Evreistva (1941-1944): Ocherki po Istorii Kholokosta i Soprotivleniia v Ukraine*, (in 2 parts), part 1 (Kyiv, 1999), p. 232.
[572] Khonigsman, *Katastrofa Evreistva Zapadnoi Ukrainy,* p. 128.
[573] Trunk, *Judenrat: The Jewish Council*, pp. 6-7.
[574] BA (L), B162/21867, Amtsblatt des Gebietkommissars in Rowno, Anordnung 9, 21.10.1941, S. 7.
[575] Dean and Geoffrey (eds.), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 1615.
[576] Letter of Fishgoit in: Mikhail Tyaglyy, 'Evreiskie Komitety v Okkupirovannom Natsystami Krymu: Postanovka Problemy', *Kultura Narodov Prichernomoriia,* 46, (2003), pp.160-168 with a reference to Vasilii

In Transnistria, the committees in areas under Romanian control were created in the same way as Jewish Councils. The tasks of the Jewish Councils in Transnistria, i.e. to carry out the orders of the local administration and to supply workers for forced labours, were similar to those of the *Judenräte* under the German control.[577] Jews elected the heads of these committees as representatives to deal with the Romanian authorities. As available data shows, the first Jewish Council in Transnistria was established in the county (*Județ*) of Balta, 3 September 1941, when 'the head of the Jews' was appointed.[578]

The behaviour of the *Judenräte* in the occupied USSR went beyond the fulfilment of the occupiers' orders and silent collaboration. There are examples that show a variety of actions undertaken by the *Judenräte* and their leaders to help or even to save their communities or, more frequently, groups of individuals. Obviously, helping a few people was different from attempting to rescue an entire community and posed different levels of risk and demanded a greater range of abilities, skills and influence on the part of members of *Judenräte*. For example, in the RKU accepting a Jewish escapee from another town into a ghetto could provoke a mass shooting of the entire community whereas in Transnistria, such an act could go entirely unnoticed or, at worst, the escapee could be killed but no further action would be taken.

The *Judenräte* tried to help not only those Jews who belonged to their communities, but also those who escaped from other ghettos or shootings. For example, Tatiana Lasker with her mother and younger brother managed to escape the deportations in Transnistria, but could not remain in her town, Kodyma in Odessa *oblast.* For some reason, Tatiana's mother decided to go to the urban settlement of Chechelnyk (RKU). They successfully found their way to the Chechelnyk ghetto. The ghetto was forbidden to accept new people and because all its inhabitants were registered, new people would immediately be identified by the occupiers. Despite all these difficulties, the head of the ghetto (*starosta*) accepted Tatiana and her family and placed them in a room with other people. There was no place to sleep and Tatiana, her brother and mother could only sleep on a big table in the room.[579] In the town of Dzhuryn, Transnistria, the Jewish Self-Administration Committee[580] collected

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Grossman and Ilya Erenburg, (eds.), *Chernaia Kniga: O Zlodeiskom Povsemestnom Ubiistve Evreev Nemetsko-Fashystskimi Zakhvatchikami vo Vremenno Okkupirovannykh Raionakh Sovetskogo Soiuza i v Lageriakh Polshi vo Vremia Voiny 1941-1945* (Vilnius: Yad, 1993), pp. 206-207.

[577] Yitzhak Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union* (Lincoln, Jerusalem, 2009), p. 299.

[578] Ancel (ed.), *Transnistria 1941-1942,* vol. 2, p. 29.

[579] Testimony of Tatiana Lasker, in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 2, p.36.

[580] Apparently, the head of the Judenrat, in the text '*rukovoditeli evreiskogo komiteta samoupravleniia*'.

jewellery and paid off the occupiers to have all the Jews stay in the ghetto.[581] These actions prevented occupiers entering the ghetto and therefore saved the Jews, according to the words of a witness. The Dzhuryn ghetto's *Judenrat* organised a communal kitchen for poor Jews, a pharmacy, a hospital, and an orphanage. There were more than 3,000 Jews deported to Dzhuryn from Romania, Bukovina and Bessarabia. The head of the *Judenrat* was a rabbi, Gershel Koralnik. On his orders, deported Jews were billeted into the houses of local people in the ghetto. Those, who could not be found a place, were accommodated in the synagogue. By the end of the occupation, there were about 4,000 Jews in Dzhuryn, 85% of whom survived the Holocaust.[582] The *Judenrat* also found other ways to provide help. For example, Ioahim Anderman was kept in the prison in the town of Buchach (DG), but he received a food package prepared by his Jewish relatives which the *Judenrat* managed to transfer to him.[583]

Some of the *Judenräte* can be considered exceptional in terms of their efforts, their ability to negotiate with occupiers, and end results they achieved. In the Lviv ghetto (DG), a special committee was created to help those who were starving (mainly children) after occupiers decreased the rations for the ghetto. The committee was created by the *Judenrat* members Leib Landau, Max Schaff and Max Ettinger. After the city authorities refused to increase the quantity of products and medications, they created a branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help (its centre was in Krakow). This branch started work in September 1941 and smuggled products into the ghetto where a free common kitchen was organised.[584] Later, on the initiative of the chief of the Jewish Police, the Jewish Council established a committee for helping those who were imprisoned in neighbouring labour camps. By bribing some of the chiefs at the Yanivska Street labour camp, it managed to negotiate the return of some weak prisoners to the ghetto and also sent products and medications into the camp.[585] Moreover, despite a ban placed by the occupiers on any religious and cultural life, the *Judenrat* had a religious department, that allowed continuation of the religious life and

[581] Testimony of Yakov Khelmer, in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 2, p. 466.
[582] There only about 500 Jews died in the Holocaust. See: V. Lukin, B. Khaimovich, and A. Sokolova, (eds.), *100 evreiskih mestechek Ukrainy. Istoricheskii putevoditel. Vypusk 2. Podoliia* (St. Petersburg, 2000), pp. 512-514; Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 1, p. 547.
[583] Testimony of Ioahim Anderman, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli,* p.29.
[584] Khonigsman, 'Katastrofa Lvovskogo Evreistva', p. 244.
[585] Khonigsman, Yakov, 'Yudenraty v Zapadnoi Ukraine', available at: https://kalusz.io.ua/s412950/yakov_honigsman_yudenraty_v_zapadnoy_ukraine (last accessed on July 10 2019), with a reference to DALO, F. R-35, op. 12, d. 50, ll. 1-7.

its teaching.[586] In May 1942, *Judenrat* tried to protect the old Jewish cemetery in Lviv and even sent a letter to Governor-General with a request to prevent the destruction of the cemetery due to its architectural and historical importance.[587] In the village of Olhopil (RKU), the *Judenrat* organised a free communal kitchen, communal bath, orphanage, and a dentist.[588] The *Judenrat* in the town of Mohyliv-Podilskyi (*judeţ* Moghilev) in Transnistria organised two hospitals, a communal kitchen, orphanage and an institution for elderly people by mid-March 1942.[589] This Jewish community of about 13,000 Jews was headed by Siegfried Jägendorf, who successfully ran the ghetto and had good relations with the local Romanian authorities. He managed to convince the Romanians of the benefit of using the Jews as a workforce and established a foundry in the town where most of the labour came from the Jews.[590] On 16 February 1942, the Romanians ordered the deportation of 4,000 Jews to a labour camp in Skazinets. On 26 March, the Jewish Council replied that this was impossible, arguing that the accommodation at the places of deportation required substantial repairs and even after repair, the camp could house no more than 2500 Jews. By 4 April 1942, the deportation order had been cancelled, probably owing to the efforts of the Jewish Council.[591] All in all, as a result of the efforts of the *Judenrat* and its leader, about 50 percent of the Jews survived the war in the district of Mohyliv.[592]

The iconic example of saving the Jews by a *Judenrat* comes from the ghetto in the town of Zhmerynka, in Transnistria. Zhmerynka was a small town in Vinnytsia *oblast* with a strategic location: the town had a large railway station which served as a hub for sending trains in all directions throughout Ukraine and beyond. The ghetto in Zhmerynka was established at the end of August 1941. The first Jewish Council was appointed by the head of the city administration. After the sudden death of the Jewish Council's leader, Iosif Yukelis, a Romanian Jew, took over. In October-November 1941, the Jews from Chernivtsi were deported in stages to Zhmerynka. Among them was Dr. Adolph Herschmann, a native speaker of German and fluent in Yiddish and Romanian and with some knowledge of

[586] Kovba (ed.), *Shchodennyk Lvivskoho Hetto*, p. 14; Dean and Geoffrey (eds.), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 803
[587] YVA, M.52, file ID 3748519 'Letter of Lviv Judenrat…'. The original document is from the Archive of the Administration of the Security Service of Ukraine in Lviv *oblast.*
[588] Testimony of Yevdokiia Brailovskaia (Shnaider), in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 1, p.510.
[589] Matatias Carp (ed.), *Cartea Neagră Suferinţele Evreilor din România 1940-1944,* vol. 3: *Tragedia Transnistrianii* (Bucureşti, 1947), p.269; Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, p. 203.
[590] Jürgen Matthäus, *Jewish Responses to Persecution: 1941–1942, Vol. 3: 1941-1942* (Plymouth, 2013), p. 218.
[591] Carp (ed.), *Cartea Neagră Suferinţele Evreilor*, pp. 269-271.
[592] Ioanid, *The Holocaust in Romania*, p. 204.

Russian, he immediately occupied a leading position in the ghetto Council.[593] Despite the fact that he became the head of the *Judenrat* officially only in 1943, he effectively ruled the Council long before his official appointment. During the occupation, at least two hundred of Jews were accepted into the Zhmerynka ghetto from many neighbouring towns in the RKU.

The rumours about Zhmerynka travelled far and wide and many Jews tried to reach and enter the Zhmerynka ghetto in order to save their lives. Some of the Jews arrived even before the ghetto had been organised. For instance, Riva M. with her mother and two younger sisters escaped from a mass shooting of the Jews in Vinnytsia and arrived in Zhmerynka at her mother's sister Mania (also called Marusia) and her husband Lazar (or Leizer, in Yiddish) who allowed them to live in their house for a few days before the ghetto was organised. Thus, they were treated as natives of Zhmerynka and were able to obtain documents. In the ghetto, Riva together with her mother Roza worked in the communal kitchen. They processed peas for making soups and porridge, cleaned the dishes and swept the floor.[594] Grigorii Ferman escaped to Zhmerynka from a neighbouring village in the RKU after the ghetto in Zhmerynka was organised. He survived the war working in Zhmerynka. This is how he described the ghetto:

> The camp-ghetto was the main supplier of people for work for the firm 'Walter Schiffler und Gekler'. I worked for the firm of Walter Schiffler, cleaned snow on the railway road… Zhmerynka camp was a mini town. There was a communal kitchen for lonely people and those who could not work, a shop, a bath, a synagogue, a workshop where leather was processed and even a theatre, where the actors from Chernivtsi performed... even gendarmes visited it.[595]

Bluma Bronfig escaped to Zhmerynka with a child from neighbour Khmelnyk. During her stay in the Zhmerynka ghetto, she also worked for the German firm of Walter Schiffler.[596] Some of the ghetto inhabitants called the ghetto a labour camp in their testimonies, because work was a must there. The father of Bella M. was a dentist and managed to escape to Zhmerynka from the German-occupied territory because he had an *Ausweis* as a specialist.

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[593] Vadim Altskan, 'On the Other Side of the River: Dr. Adolph Herschmann and the Zhmerinka Ghetto, 1941–1944', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies,* 26:1, (Spring 2012), pp. 9-11.
[594] Interview with a Jewish survivor Riva M., author's personal archive.
[595] Testimony of Grigorii Ferman, in: Zabarko (ed.), *Zhivymi Ostalis Tolko My,* pp. 429-433, 432.
[596] Letter of Bluma Bronfig, in: Arad, Pavlova, Altman, Krakowski, et al (eds.), *Neizvestnaia Chernaia Kniga:* p. 148.

In Zhmerynka he continued to work as a dentist and even had his own surgery where the inhabitants could use his services.[597] Not everybody worked in the ghetto or outside as skilled workers. Milia B. testified how she and her mother, a native of Zhmerynka, walked to work beyond the ghetto's borders: they cleaned toilets for the Romanians and cleaned the streets in Zhmerynka in summer and winter. In autumn, they worked in the fields digging up potatoes, beetroot, and onions.[598]

The *Judenrat* in Zhmerynka accepted not only families and adults, but also sheltered orphan children who escaped there. Leonid Rubinshtein, who was just six or seven years old, managed to arrive in Zhmerynka by train. By the time of his arrival, Leonid had wounds on his feet and spent some time in the hospital there. Later, Herschmann brought Leonid to a Jewish family:

> He told them [the family] that they had to take care of me as if I was their son. … They happened to be nice, kind people. The father of the family Yasha, his wife Rosa, and their beautiful daughter Nina. I told them everything about myself and lived with them for the whole time until the arrival of the Red Army. They supported me, and I was as if in my native family.[599]

Herschmann himself adopted an orphan girl whose parents had been shot by the Germans in another zone of occupation.[600]

The *Judenrat* also gave shelter to Soviet Jewish prisoners of war who managed to escape from the military camps *Stammlager* (*Stalags*) and *Offizierslager* (*Oflags*). According to the testimonies of the official head of *Judenrat* Iosif Yukelis, there were about 400 such men hidden in the ghetto. Yukelis was sure in what he testified because he had given them all civilian clothes so that they could discard their military uniforms.[601] However, the *Judenrat* did not accept every fugitive. There were number of cases when the Jewish Council refused to allow the Jews into the ghetto. For instance, a group of Jews from Khmelnyk walked for three days to reach Zhmerynka. However, upon their arrival 'the chief [*starosta*]' of the ghetto did not allow them to stay and directed them to another

[597] Interview with a Jewish survivor Bella M., author's personal archive.
[598] Interview with a Jewish survivor Milia B., author's personal archive.
[599] Testimony of Leonid Rubinshtein, in: Zabarko, Boris (ed.), Zabarko (ed.), *Zhivymi Ostalis Tolko My,* pp. 288-293, p. 292.
[600] Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti*, p. 120.
[601] Faina Vinokurova, 'Soprotivlenie Evreev Politike Genotsyda: Naum Monastyrskii – Uznik Zhmerinskogo Getto i Uchastnik Podpolnoi Gruppy', *Holokost i Suchasnist. Studii v Ukraini i Sviti,* 4:2, (2008), pp. 81-105.

village.[602] The same situation happened with Semen D., who had escaped from mass shootings a couple of times in different locations in RKU before finally hearing that in the Zmerynka ghetto people were not dying. He reached the ghetto and met Herschmann who did not allow the sixteen-year-old Semen to stay.[603] He was forced out of the ghetto without any further explanation, probably because he evoked suspicions that he might be a spy. Moreover, he had arrived by train after wandering in many places, and without any recommendation. Semen did not know anybody in the ghetto and could not refer to anybody known by the *Judenrat*. The same explanation may have applied to another group of people: as they arrived in the ghetto and were immediately suspect. However, Herschmann sent them to a neighbouring village where another ghetto existed with which Herschmann apparently had a connection. This may suggest that around that time Herschmann could not accept that group of Jews for specific reasons but that he did not suspect them of spying.

The most tragic situation occurred with the Jews who fled to Zhmerynka ghetto from neighbouring town of Brailiv which was under the German jurisdiction. Brailiv Jews started to arrive into the Zhmerynka ghetto in the spring and summer of 1942. In late summer 1942, the *Gebietskommissar* of Brailov district, Hans Graff, learned about escapees and 'demanded that the local Romanian gendarmerie should return "his" Jews.'[604] It is unknown how Graff knew about this situation. Most likely, local Ukrainians denounced the Jews hiding in Zhmerynka ghetto. According to some eyewitness testimonies, Zhmerynka Jews went late in the day outside the ghetto to a market which was situated directly beyond the ghettos' barbed wire. This was no doubt illegal as leaving the ghetto was forbidden.[605] Brailiv Jews also went out of the ghetto and Ukrainians, who came from neighbouring towns to Zhmerynka to buy and sell food in the market, recognised them and apparently denounced them.[606] Following the order of the *Gebietskommissar,* the Romanian authorities ordered Herschmann to create a list of the Brailiv Jews. Herschmann, postponed the preparation of the list at great risk to the security of the entire ghetto, and meanwhile, tried to warn Brailiv Jews about the danger, but they did not want to hear Herschmann's warnings. Finally, the Zhmerynka *Judenrat* had to obey the orders and disclose the Brailiv Jews.[607] The exact number who were handed over to Germans is unknown. Altskan

[602] Testimony of Yevgeniia Nelavitskaia, in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 2, p.167.
[603] Interview with a Jewish survivor Semen D., author's personal archive.
[604] Altskan, 'On the Other Side of the River', p. 18.
[605] Ibid., p. 10.
[606] Interviews with the Jewish survivors Milia B., Berta B. and Bella M., author's personal archive
[607] Altskan, 'On the Other Side of the River', pp. 18-19.

suggests that the list consisted of between 250 and 270 Jews whereas Kruglov says about 286 people.[608] The same number of 286 people is mentioned in the report of the Soviet Extraordinary State Commission (ChGK) established in 1944 after the liberation of Zhmerynka. The report was dated 23 March 1944, the third day of the liberation from the German occupation and return of the Soviet authority (the report covered the period of occupation from 17 July 1941 to 20 March 1944).[609] However, according to Vinokurova, who referred to another Act written by the Zhmerynka district (raion) ChGK in 20 August 1942, only, 248 of Brailiv Jews were shot.[610]

Only a few Jews from Brailiv survived by hiding in Zhmerynka, escaping on the way to the shootings or staying alive after the executions. One of those Jews who arrived to Zhmerynka from Brailiv was Yakov Livshits. He, his older sister and both parents survived in the Zhmerynka ghetto.[611] There are couple of testimonies about Izia Dachman who was shot in Brailiv during the first *Aktion* but survived the shooting. After he got out from the pit, he arrived at a nearby railway station where Ukrainian friends of his father lived. They transferred Izia to Zhmerynka in a sack. When the Brailiv Jews were called together in Zhmerynka ghetto, he did not comply and hid in a chimney, thanks to which he survived.[612] While the other Brailiv Jews were gathered and kept in a building to await further orders, some of them bribed the Romanian guards and escaped. The ghetto's inhabitants smuggled some others out when they brought them food.[613] Yasha Dainichev was also originally from Brailiv and survived in Zhmerynka ghetto, even becoming part of the underground movement which operated in the ghetto.[614]

This Jewish underground, named 'the Soviet patriots', was established in the ghetto around autumn 1942.[615] According to Ukrainian sources, thirty-two Jews were members of the underground in Zhmerynka ghetto, headed by Aron Gefter, a teacher.[616] Some were former

[608] Ibid., p. 18; Kruglov, *Katastrofa Ukrainskogo Evreistva ... Entsyklopedicheskii Spravochnik'*, p. 114.
[609] GARF, F. R-7021, op. 54, d. 1341, p. 124 accessed in YVA, M.33, JM/19689, JM/19942, p. 150 (number of a page from Yad Vashem computer).
[610] Vinokurova, 'Soprotivlenie Evreev Politike Genotsyda', p. 86, with a reference to DAVO, F. R-1683, op. 1, spr. 13, ark. 472–474.
[611] Testimony of Yakov Livshits, in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 2, p.42.
[612] Testimony of David Judchak in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 2, pp. 623-624; Interview with a Jewish survivor Milia B., author's personal archive.
[613] Altskan, 'On the Other Side of the River', p. 19.
[614] Interview with a Jewish survivor Milia B., author's personal archive; Testimony of Naum Monastyrskyi, in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 2, p. 109.
[615] Efraim Volf, (ed.), *Vospominaniia Byvshykh Uznikov Zhmerinskogo Getto* (Jerusalem, 2001), p. xxxiv.
[616] Faina Vinokurova, 'Soprotivlenie Evreev Politike', p. 90.

prisoners of war sheltered in Zhmerynka ghetto, among whom were Grishin, Kiniaiev, and Navrotskii.[617] The underground movement helped Soviet partisans with food, winter clothes and medication.[618] According to the recollections of Milia B., there was, for a while, a workshop [*tsekh*] where she and other women of the ghetto knitted socks and sent them to the Soviet partisans (in original, '*nashim*' - 'to ours that always means Soviet partisans or in some cases the Red Army's soldiers). Obviously, this was kept as a secret and not everybody, even the workers, knew about it.[619]

Whether or not Herschmann was aware of the group is ambiguous. The testimonies from members of this clandestine group are contradictory: some of them were convinced that Herschmann did not know that the group helped partisans or about the underground printing house (for instance, an active member of the group, Naum Monastyrskii), others asserted that he knew all about its activities and was interested in information gleaned from *Sovinformburo* (the Soviet Information Bureau) to which it was forbidden to listen (for example, Yevheniia Lekhtman). Nevertheless, testimonies confirm that other members of the *Judenrat* knew about these clandestine activities.[620] Analysing the Soviet investigation of Herschmann's role in the Zhmerynka ghetto, Altskan came to the conclusion that Hershmann certainly knew about the underground but did not participate, and never persecuted or betrayed its members. Moreover, he personally warned them about dangers and supplied documents that allowed members of the group to escape.[621]

The Zhmerynka ghetto was the only ghetto with such a successful history, despite the massacre of the Brailiv Jews. It was a unique case in the history of the Holocaust in Ukraine when the entire ghetto population was saved thanks to the actions of its *Judenrat*. The ghetto functioned well economically and provided valuable services and workers for German and Romanian needs. The *Judenrat* and its *de facto* head Herschmann, became a kind of a partner for the occupiers and this may explain why all Jews in Zhmerynka ghetto survived. Altogether, by their collective efforts, Herschmann, Yukelis and the other members of the Jewish Council saved lives of approximately 3,000 Jews both local and non-local: including those who were deported to the ghetto from Bukovina and Bessarabia

[617] Volf, (ed.), *Vospominaniia Byvshykh Uznikov*, p. xxxiv.
[618] Vinokurova, 'Soprotivlenie Evreev Politike Genotsyda', p. 90, with a reference to USHMMA; Interview with Jewish survivors Riva M., Milia B., Berta B., and Bella M., author's personal archive.
[619] Interview with a Jewish survivor Milia B., author's personal archive.
[620] Vinokurova, 'Soprotivlenie Evreev Politike Genotsyda', p. 90, with a reference to several documents at DAVO.
[621] Altskan, 'On the Other Side of the River, p. 21.

and those who escaped to the ghetto from neighbouring villages, towns, and cities.[622] Thus, Zhmerynka's *Judenrat* in Transnistria is the best example of a collective self-rescue.

Taken together, these examples illustrate that many *Judenräte* in the occupied Ukraine were committed to helping and saving the Jews rather than collaborating with the occupiers. Nevertheless, the aforementioned examples do not exclude the possibility that some Jewish Councils, or at least some of their members, fulfilled all the occupiers' orders for certain material benefit (e.g. money, clothes, or just food) or were just passive, simply hoping to stay alive until the end. Nevertheless, in various towns and cities of the occupied Ukraine, some *Judenräte* leaders did attempt to help and even save their Jewish communities - choosing different ways for doing so and using different methods. Some of the *Judenräte* risked not only their own lives but lives of the entire Jewish community in order to prevent mass extermination of its community, as, for example, in Dzhuryn. Others used less risky methods to help and did not try to save the community but to help individuals: to allow entry into the ghetto or supply food as in the case of Chechelnyk or Lviv. Some help was provided on a momentary basis or for a short period of time; in other cases, aid was given for a longer period. In most cases, the frequency of help, methods and results depended primarily on the heads of the communities and their connections with the occupiers – Romanians or Germans. Having developed connections, the *Judenräte* leaders could achieve more, even preventing deportations to labour camps as one can see from the actions of Jägendorf in Mohyliv-Podilskyi, or in saving the entire community as it was managed in the Zhmerynka ghetto under Herschmann. Many successful cases involving the rescue of part or all of specific Jewish communities can be observed in Transnistria. This suggests that it was easier to negotiate with the Romanians than with the Germans. Romanians willingly used the Jews as a workforce, which led in turn to the preservation of the ghettos' inhabitants, as observed in the examples of Zhmerynka, Dzhuryn and Mohyliv-Podilskyi where between 50 and 95 percent of the Jews survived. The members of *Judenrat* helped in different ways: by trying to delay the creation of deportation lists, by establishing links with the Soviet or Polish partisans, by cloaking underground groups in the ghetto, or just by supplying food to those in need in the Jewish ghetto. Any such help could lead to survival of individuals, families or group of the Jews and even an entire ghetto as it was in Zhmerynka.

[622] Ibid., p. 24.

Roma Self-Help: Roma Villages in Transnistria

The role of Roma communities and their leaders in collaborating with the German and Romanians in the occupied USSR or, conversely, their attempts to save their communities, has not been a topic of research until recently when new documents were discovered. The existence of the Roma villages in Transnistria and their administration by the Roma is a unique case in the persecution of the Roma during the Second World War. This case study shows a parallel between the creation of *Judenräte* as Jewish administrative units and the self-rule of the Roma villages with a similar structure to that of a Jewish ghetto. The case also demonstrates that the Roma leaders of the villages behaved in the same way as the Jewish leaders in the ghettos by attempting to help and rescue their brethren.

The deportations of nomadic Roma from Romania to Transnistria started in June 1942 and the deportation of sedentary Roma followed in September 1942.[623] The nomadic Roma were mainly placed in Golta county, whereas the sedentary Roma were in Ochakiv county.[624] On 18 December 1942, the Romanian Government in Transnistria established a new regime for the Roma which regulated their settlement and work. The Roma were to be settled in groups of 150–350 depending on the capacities and the needs of local villages; each group of the Roma had its own leader who was responsible for making sure that no one left the village or the work. Those Roma caught after leaving their workplace or residence without authorisation from the Romanians would be punished by being sent to special camps organised in each county. All Roma were obliged to work in teams in agriculture, woodcutting, and etc., but skilled workers could follow their professions. These measures were supposed to ensure that the Roma had food and acceptable living conditions, yet, in reality, they endured a miserable life.[625]

In 1943 there were 4-5 'Gypsy' villages in Ochakiv county which were described in detail by a Romanian historian, Viorel Achim. According to him, the Roma were settled in villages of Kovalivka, Katelinka, Vladimirovka and a couple of others. Ukrainians who lived in those villages before were resettled to neighbouring villages or to one part of the village with the other part being reserved for the Roma. Each village was headed by a 'Gypsy mayor' (eldersMy) and also had a 'Gypsy' police. The treatment of the Roma by

[623] Wiesel, Friling, Ioanid, and Ionescu (eds.), *Final Report*, p. 228.
[624] Achim, *The Roma in Romanian History*, p. 175.
[625] Ibid., pp. 175-176.

Romanian authorities was much better in those villages than in other Roma settlements in Transnistria, though the relationships between the 'Gypsy' mayors and the Ukrainian authorities were far from good.[626] When food supplies reached critical levels, the Mayor of the Roma village Kateline or Katelinka, Ion Gluca, wrote a petition to the prefect of Ochakiv complaining that the Roma did not receive food on time and therefore could not work. The Mayor asked the prefect to issue a permit which would allow him to travel to Ochakiv and resolve the problem.[627] In fact, petitions from sedentary Roma had already started to arrive in 1942 and continued to be sent throughout 1943. In first months of the deportations the petitions requested the return of Romanian Roma back to Romania. Later petitions requested food and clothes for the Roma deported from Romania to Transnistria. Some of petitions were collective with several Roma families or several villages signing the petitions, all of which were addressed to Ion Antonescu personally, or to the Governor of Transnistria, Gheorghe Alexianu, or otherwise to the prefects of individual districts.[628] In this way the Roma tried to help themselves and negotiate with the Romanian authorities. Though the Roma villages cannot be called a 'ghetto', some parallels can be drawn: they also had their own leaders and police, they were separated from the outside world, residents were forced to work, and the heads of the Roma villages tried to protect their people and rescue them in the same manner as some of the Jewish Councils.

[626] Achim, 'Roma Deported to Transnistria Speaking about Their Suffering'.
[627] Ibid.
[628] Ibid.

Self-Rescue as *Ostarbeiter*

Forced labour in the Third *Reich* has been widely discussed in historiography of the Second World War and the role of the *Ostarbeiter* in particular. The first collection of documents about forced labour, and mainly about *Ostarbeiter*, was published in the USSR in 1943.[629] Immediately after the war, in 1945-1948, new research emerged in the Ukrainian SSR, based on freshly collected testimonies of returning forced labourers and on materials gathered by the ChGK.[630] Forced labour also became one of the issues that attracted the attention of western researchers.[631] Some of the later researches focused particularly on *Ostarbeiter* from the former Soviet Union territories and the Soviet Ukraine.[632] In independent Ukraine, research on forced labour mostly carries a regional character, limited to doctoral dissertations on the topic of *Ostarbeiter* which occasionally appeared as publications.[633] However, some Ukrainian researchers, working on oral history materials in combination with archival documents, have contributed to wider research on this

[629] *Sovetskie Liudi na Nemetskoi Katorge* (Moscow, 1943).

[630] Some dissertations and research on this topic, containing references to Ostarbeiter, can be found in TsDAVOVU. See, for instance: 'Vyhnannia Radianskykh Hromadian v Nevoliu do Fashystskoi Nimechyny (1942-1943 rr.), Dysertatsiia Lefterovoi, 151 arkush in: TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 242; Fedir Shevchenko, (ed.), *Lysty z Fashystskoi Katorhy: Zbirnyk Lystiv Radianskykh Hromadian, Yaki Buly Vyhnani na Katorzhni Roboty do Fashystskoi Nimechyny* (Kyiv, 1947).

[631] J.H.E. Fried, *The Exploitation of Foreign Labour by Germany* (Montreal, 1945); Alexander Dallin, *German Rule in Russia, 1941–1945: A Study of Occupation Policies* (London, 1957), part 2 particularly brings cases of Ukraine); Edward L. Homse, *Foreign Labor in Nazi Germany* (Princeton, NJ, 1967); Hans Pfahlmann, 'Fremdarbeiter und Kriegsgefangen in der Deutschen Kriegswirtschaft 1939-1945', in: *Beiträge zur Wehrforschung, Bd. XVI—XVII* (Darmstadt, 1968), and etc.

[632] Ulrich Herbert, *Fremdarbeiter: Politik und Praxis des 'Ausländer-Einsatzes' in der Kriegswirtschaft des Dritten Reiches* (Berlin, Bonn, 1985); Ulrich Herbert, *Hitler's Foreign Workers: Enforced Foreign Labor in Germany under the Third Reich* (Cambridge, 1997);
Rolf-Dieter Müller, 'Die Zwangsrekrutierung von "Ostarbeitem" 1941-1944', in: Wolfgang Michalka (Hg.), *Der Zweite Weltkrieg. Analysen. Grundzüge. Forschungsbilanz* (München/Zürich, 2. Auflage, 1990), pp. 772-783; Rolf-Dieter Müller, 'Die Rekrutierung sowjetischer Zwangsarbeiter für die deutsche Kriegswirtschaft', in: Ulrich Herbert (Hg.), *Europa und der 'Reicheinsatz' Ausländische Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und KZ-Häftlinge in Deutschland 1938—1945* (Essen, 1991), pp. 234-250; Pavel Poljan and Žanna Zajončkovskaja, 'Ostarbeiter in Deutschland und daheim. Ergebnisse einer Fragebogenanalyse', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, 41:4, (1993), pp. 547-561; Pawel Poljan, 'Die Deportation der Ostarbeiter im Zweiten Weltkrieg', in: Andreas Gestrich, Gerhard Hirschfeld und Holger Sonnabend (Hgs), *Ausweisung und Deportation. Formen der Zwangsmigration in der Geschichte*, (Stuttgart, 1995), pp. 115-140. Herbert, *Hitler's Foreign Workers*; Mark Spoerer, *Zwangsarbeit unter dem Hakenkreuz: Ausländische Zivilarbeiter, Kriegsgefangene und Häftlinge im Deutschen Reich und im besetzten Europa 1939–1945* (Stuttgart: 2001), p. 97; Pavel Polian, *Zhertvy Dvukh Diktatur: Zhizn, Trud, Unizheniia i Smert Sovetskikh Voennoplennykh i Ostarbaiterov na Chuzhbine i na Rodine* (Moscow, 2nd ed., 2002).

[633] See, for instance: Serhii Halchak, Ostarbeiter" z Podillia (1942-1947)', (2003), *Kandydat nauk* thesis, Kharkiv Karazin University; Serhii Halchak, *Na Uzbichchi Suspilstva: Dolia Ukrainskykh 'Ostarbaiteriv' (Podillia 1942-2007 rr.)* (Vinnytsia, 2009) (based on his dissertation); Tetiana Lapan, 'Verbuvannia i Deportatsiia Naselennia Ukrainy do Nimechyny ta Umovy Yoho Pratsi i Pobutu u Nevoli (1939-1945 rr.)', (2005), *Kandydat nauk* thesis, Lviv National University.

topic.[634] One of the major projects to collect interviews from former forced labourers across the world and publishing research based on these materials, was *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe*.[635] This project is significant because, amongst others, it includes papers on *Ostarbeiter* from Ukraine and Roma and Jews as forced labourers.[636] In focusing on Jewish and Roma as forced labourers, researchers usually discuss the Jews and Roma in concentration or labour camps, or in ghettos. The question of Jews and Roma who were transported to the Third *Reich* as *Ostarbeiter* and survived has not been so extensively analysed. Yet, being an *Ostarbeiter* was one way of self-rescue, although not prevalent. Alexander von Plato mentioned that during a project on collection of testimonies about forced labour he found cases of the Jews and Roma 'who worked while living underground'.[637]

Before moving on to specific cases, it is important to determine who could be considered as an *Ostarbeiter.* During the Second World War about 13,5 million people worked as force labourers in Germany and German-occupied territories. The number included 8,4 million civilian workers who worked in industrial and agricultural sector for both private companies and public institutions.[638] The majority of these forced labourers came from the Soviet Union as well as from France, Poland and Italy. though some of them were not civilians.[639] The great part of all workers have been brought to the Third *Reich* by force, though some workers were volunteers or initially volunteered for work and later forced to

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[634] See, for example: Tetiana Pastushenko, *Ostarbaitery z Kyivshchyny: Verbuvannia, Prymusova Pratsia, Repatriaciia (1942 - 1953)* (Kyiv, 2009), except mentioned monograph, this author published a number of articles on this topic; Gelinada Grinchenko, (ed.), *Nevyhadane. Usni Istorii Ostarbaiteriv* (Kharkiv, 2004), this author has many publications and known in Ukraine because of her work based on oral history methodology; Gelinada Grinchenko, 'Usni Svidchennia Kolyshnikh Ostarbaiteriv: Sproba Analizu', *Ukraina Moderna*, 11, (2007), pp. 111-126; Gelinada Grinchenko, Irina Rebrova, et al. (eds.) '*...To Bula Nevolia': Spohady ta Lysty Ostarbaiteriv* (Kyiv, 2006).

[635] Alexander von Plato, Almut Leh, and Christoph Thonfeld, (eds.), *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe* (New York, 2010).

[636] On Osterbeiter from Ukraine see two articles: Tetyana Lapan, 'The Experience of Forced Labourers from Galician Ukraine', in: Alexander von Plato, Almut Leh and Thonfeld Christoph (eds.), *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe* (New York, 2010), pp. 238-249 and Gelinada Grinchenko, 'Oral Histories of Former Ukrainian Ostarbeiter', in: Ibid., pp. 250-261.
On Roma see: Artur Podgorski, 'Interview with Polish Roma: A Report of My Experiences', in: Ibid., pp. 99-112 and Birgit Mair, 'They Survived Two Wars: Bosnian Roma as Civil War Refugees in Germany', in: Ibid., pp. 177-187.
On Jews see: Bejarano, Margalit and Boasson, Amija, 'Slave Labour and Shoah: A View from Israel', in: Ibid., pp. 338-350; Dori Laub, and Johanna Bodenstab, 'Context of the Jewish Holocaust Experience', in: Ibid., pp. 364-374.

[637] Alexander von Plato, 'It Was Modern Slavery: Some Results of the Documentation Project on Forced and Slave Labour', in: Ibid., pp. 441-484.

[638] Alexander von Plato, Almut Leh, and Christoph Thonfeld, (eds.), *Hitler's Slaves: Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-Occupied Europe* (New York, 2010), pp. 3-4.

[639] Ibid., p. 4.

stay in Germany.[640] Although, there is no commonly accepted definition for the term 'forced labourer', to define who was a forced labour, the conditions of work and life should be taken into consideration. Spoerer and Fleischhacker proposed four critical criteria towards the definition:

> (1) Was the worker able to end the employment relationship in the short term? (2) Was he or she able to enforce legal standards concerning the conditions of life and work? (3) Would he or she have any voice in complaining about the conditions of life and work? (4) Was his or her probability of surviving similar to that of a normal (native) worker?[641]

Thus, if a worker could leave his or her work and had the opportunity to complain, s/he could be defined as 'privileged'. If a worker could complain about conditions but could not leave his or her work, a worker can be defined as 'forced'. If a worker had no possibility leave and no voice, he or she can be defined as a 'slave'.[642] Thus, all civilian labourers from the occupied territories of the USSR and Poland should be defined as slave labourers because they could not quit their work and leave the country, and they did not have any voice to complain about their working and leaving conditions. In three ranks that illustrate 'a degree of discrimination' of the main foreign labour groups in Germany during the Second World War – privileged labours, forced labours and slaves - Spoerer and Fleischhacker relate Poles and the Soviet citizens to the category of slaves, whereas Polish and Soviet Prisoners of War, as well as inmates, including working Jews, are related to the category 'less-than-slave' labourers.[643] Spoerer and Fleischhacker suggested that the term 'slave labourer' cannot be applied for Jews and Soviet Prisoners of War because a typical slaveholder would try to preserve the lives of his or her slaves due to economic interests. German authorities, in contrast, created conditions to work POWs and Jews to death. The same conditions applied to Roma. Thus, Jews and Soviet POWs were even less than slaves,[644] though, generally, *Ostarbeiter* can be included into the category of slaves.

To find a definition of *Ostarbeiter* in German documents is not an easy task. The German bureaucracy issued regulations where the various ethnic groups were categorised and,

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[640] Mark Spoerer and Jochen Fleischhacker, 'Forced Laborers in Nazi Germany: Categories, Numbers, and Survivors', *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, 33:2 (Autumn, 2002), p.172.
[641] Ibid., pp. 173-174. As Bob Moore noted, there were criteria to differentiate forced labour from volunteer labour.
[642] Spoerer and Fleischhacker, 'Forced Laborers in Nazi Germany', p.175.
[643] Mark Spoerer and Jochen Fleischhacker, 'The Compensation of Nazi Germany's Forced Labourers: Demographic Findings and Political Implications', *Population Studies*, 56:1, (2002), p. 7.
[644] Spoerer and Fleischhacker, 'Forced Laborers in Nazi Germany', p. 176.

therefore, clarified treatment based on their ethnic origin. However, the terminology applied to these categories was inconsistent and unclear. There were such terms as 'aliens', 'foreign workers' (*Fremdvölkische*), '*Ostarbeiter*', 'guest workers', '*Russenweiber*' (Russian broads).[645] In January 1941, the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA) issued a decree for the treatment of foreigners in the *Reich* where officially two groups of foreign workers were mentioned: workers of German origin (those who had German descent. '*Arbeitnehmern germanischer Abstammung'*) and foreign nation workers ('*fremdvölkischen Arbeitnehmern'*). To the first group Norwegians, Danish, Flemish and the Dutch were included while all others fell under the second group.[646] Thus, *Ostarbeiter* were also among the second group without any specification or determination of their status. One definition of *Ostarbeiter* can be found in the 'Instructions on Using of Civilian Foreign Workers in Germany' from 1 October 1942: 'To the Eastern labourers belong the persons from former Soviet districts, excluding Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Białystok and Lviv *oblasts*. No difference among Ukrainians, Caucasians, Georgians, Armenians, and etc. must be made.'[647]

The official State Legislative Bulletin of the German *Reich* published a more precise definition the same year:

> *Ostarbeiter* are workers of non-German ethnicity (*Volkszugehörigkeit*) from the *Generalbezirk* of Belarus (that is eastern part of the *Reichskommisssariat Ostland*) or other territories to the east from territories of earlier free states of Latvia and Estonia borders, who, after the occupation by the German Wehrmacht and incorporation into the German *Reich*… were brought and used there.[648]

This definition changed with the progress of the Wehrmacht to the east and the occupation of additional territories. In February 1943, the categorisation of workers by the RSHA was expanded and consisted of: 1) German workers; 2) non-German allied nations; 3) non-German nations under German sovereignty 4) *Ostarbeiter,* or civilian workers from the occupied territories of the Soviet Union.[649] In 1944, the last definition of *Ostarbeiter* found

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[645] Cord Pagenstecher, '"We were treated like slaves." Remembering forced labour for Nazi Germany', in: Raphael Hörmann, and Gesa Mackenthun (eds.), *Human Bondage in the Cultural Contact Zone: Transdisciplinary Perspectives on Slavery and Its Discourses* (Münster, New York, München and Berlin, 2010), pp. 285-286.
[646] Spoerer, *Zwangsarbeit unter dem Hakenkreuz*, p. 25.
[647] Document №120, 'Iz Pamiatki po Obrascheniiu s Grazhdanskimi Inostrannymi Rabochimi v Germanii ' in: *Prestupnye Tseli, Prestupnye Sredstva,* pp. 194-195.
[648] Spoerer, *Zwangsarbeit unter dem Hakenkreuz*, p. 94, with a reference to Reichsgesetzblatt (1942: I.419).
[649] Ibid, p. 26.

in German official documents was the following: '*Ostarbeiter* are workers of non-German ethnicity (*Volkszugehörigkeit*) from the *Reichskommisssariat* Ukraine, *Generalbezirk* of Belarus or other the territories of eastern borders of Latvia and Estonia, who after the occupation by the German Wehrmacht*,* are used in the *Reich*.'[650]

From this definition, one can presume that the labourers from Ukraine were significant in number and, therefore, the RKU was mentioned as the first territory from where *Ostarbeiter* arrived. Conversely, Tetyana Lapan distinguishes Galician Ukrainians workers from other labourers from Belarus, Russia and southern and eastern parts of Ukraine. She argues that Galician labourers had better conditions and were treated by Germans in the same manner as people from the Baltic states, i.e. friendlier and with some privileges such as receiving ration cards, having one free day a week and accessing medical care, whereas labours from other parts of Ukraine as well as from Belarus and Russia suffered the worst.[651] The Germans also distinguished Ukrainian workers from Eastern Galicia and called them 'Poland's Ukrainian nation' ('*Polen ukrainischen Volkstums*') in 1942.[652] Indeed, the memories of an *Ostarbeiter* from Galicia (western Ukraine) and those from the rest of Ukraine differ as the former did not describe themselves as *Ostarbeiter.* In the recollections of Galician Ukrainians "'*Ost*" in the *Reich* were only Ukrainians taken from Eastern Ukraine (or Russia, or Belarus).'[653] Therefore, Lapan proposes the term 'Ukrainian *Ostarbeiter'* for labourers deported from east and south of Ukraine.[654]

In August 1941, by order of Alfred Rosenberg, the *Reich* Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories, forced labour was applied only to the Jews between the ages 14 and 60;[655] however, by December 1941, the Ministry had imposed forced labour on all residents of Ukraine between the ages of 18 and 45.[656] From Soviet territory, 55.5% of female and

[650] BA (B), NS/5/VI/2252, ,'Anordnung zur Regelung der Einsatzbedingungen der in der Landwirtschaft eingesetzten Ostarbeiter. Vom 29. Juni 1944', S. 240.
[651] Lapan, 'The Experience of Forced Labourers from Galician Ukraine', p. 248.
[652] Spoerer, *Zwangsarbeit unter dem Hakenkreuz*, p. 73.
[653] Lapan, 'The Experience of Forced Labourers from Galician Ukraine, p. 243.
[654] Ibid., p. 248.
[655] Document №173, Rosenberg's order on forced labor for Jews in the occupied territories, 16 August 1941, in: Arad, Gutman, and Margaliot (eds.), *Documents on the Holocaust: Selected Sources on the Destruction of the Jews*, p. 383.
[656] Markus Eikel '"Cherez brak liudei...": Nimetska Polityka Naboru Robochoi Syly ta Prymusovi Deportatsii Robitnykiv iz Okupovanykh Oblastei Ukrainy 1941–1944 rokiv', *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, 6, (2005), pp. 139-160, p. 141, with a reference to TsDAVOVU, F. 3206, op. 1, spr. 52, ark. 12–14.

38.0% of male[657] forced labourers were between the ages of 14 and 18 as of 1941.[658] Though Ukrainian *Ostarbeiter* mention in their testimonies that Germans selected young men and women between 16 and 18 years old, 15-year-olds could also be selected, if they looked physically mature.[659]

In the beginning, the campaign to recruit people for work in Germany was voluntary. The announcements for the recruitment of forced labourers and *Ostarbeiter* were published in local newspapers such as *Ukrainske Slovo* (*the Ukrainian Word*), *Nove Ukrainske Slovo* (*the New Ukrainian Word*) in Kyiv.[660] All volunteers had to be between 17 and 50, and had to pass through a recruitment process in the local *Arbeitsamt* (labour office).[661] Many Ukrainians voluntarily signed up and left Ukraine to work in Germany.

There were instructions for using the forced labour from occupied eastern territories provided in a letter addressed to the *Reich* Minister for the Occupied Eastern Territories and *Wirtschaftsorganisation Ost* (Economic Organisation for the Eastern Territories) from a group responsible for labour dated 13 December 1941. According to article 2, all civilian labourers who could be used for work, should be used in Germany. The procedure was as follows: special committees responsible for recruiting civilian labourer were deployed to register prisoners of war and civilian workers.[662] The task of recruiting forced labour was given to chiefs of districts and mayors in cities and villages, and to the *starosta* (chief) in rural areas.[663] During the recruitment process, 'the workers had to show, if possible, passports or any other identification.'[664] Each labourer had to go through a medical inspection and disinfection.[665]

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[657] Spoerer and Fleischhacker, 'The Compensation of Nazi Germany's Forced Labourers', p. 11. In another publication by these authors, the percentage silightly differs: 49.9 for women and 35.4 for men, see: Spoerer and Fleischhacker, 'Forced Laborers in Nazi Germany', p. 199.
[658] Mark Spoerer and Jochen Fleischhacker, 'The Compensation of Nazi Germany's Forced Labourers', p. 11.; Pastushenko, *Ostarbaitery z Kyivshchyny* p. 89.
[659] Interview with a Ukrainian Izabella Yelnikova, a former Ostarbeiter from the city of Dnipropetrovsk, author's personal archive.
[660] Pastushenko, *Ostarbaitery z Kyivshchyny*, pp. 39-40, 44.
[661] Polian, *Zhertvy Dvukh Diktatur*, p. 160.
[662] Document №106, 'Pismo Grupy po Ispolzovaniiu Rabochei Sily Vedomstva Upolnomochennogo po Chetyriokhletnemu Planu Raikhsministru Okupirovannykh Vostochnykh Oblastei i Khoziaistvennomu Shtabu 'Vostok' ob Ispolzovanii v Kachestve Rabochei Sily Voennoplennykh i Grazhdanskoe Naselenie', in: *Prestupnye Tseli, Prestupnye Sredstva*, p. 179.
[663] Eikel, '"Cherez brak liudei...": Nimetska Polityka Naboru', p. 154.
[664] Document №106, 'Pismo Grupy po Ispolzovaniiu Rabochei Sily', p. 179.
[665] Ibid., pp. 175-180.

The movement of civilians for forced labour in Germany began on a regular basis in early 1942, although preparations had started in late 1941.[666] The first train with labourers was set from Kharkiv to Cologne on 18 January 1942 and transported more than one thousand skilled workers who had signed up voluntarily.[667] However, from April 1942 onwards, registrations were forced because the quantity of volunteers declined drastically: for instance, in Kyiv in April 1942, approximately 30% of recruited labours were registered by the *Sicherheitspolizei* on voluntary basis whereas in May 1942 this was reduced to 12%.[668] Non-volunteer labourers were recruited in several ways: by sending an order to their home or work ordering them to present themselves at an *Arbeitsamt* on a certain day and hour; through raids, mostly in large cities; and by selecting people during evacuations on the frontline.[669]

The recruitment of civilian labourers was vital for the German war economy, and there were a series of telegrams from Fritz Sauckel, who was responsible for supplying labourers to the *Reich* (*Generalbevollmächtigter für den Arbeitseinsatz*) and from the *Oberkommando des Heeres* (OKH) to enforce the process of recruiting civilian workers from eastern occupied territories (dated 31 March 1942 and 10 May 1942 respectively).[670] The extract from the protocol produced during the Sauckel's meeting on 4 September 1942, reveals Hitler's decision to send 400-500 thousand Ukrainian women, aged between 15 and 35, to Germany for use in households.[671] At times the Germans, to increase the number of the forced labourers and to force people to go to Germany, registered them as Prisoners of War. Thus, in April 1942, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Viacheslav Molotov, mentioned forced abduction of several million of Soviet citizens, from cities and villages, as forced

[666] Polian, *Zhertvy Dvukh Diktatur*, pp. 93, 157.
[667] Grinchenko, 'Oral Histories of Former Ukrainian Ostarbeiter', p. 251.
[668] '"Cherez brak liudei...": Nimetska Polityka Naboru, p. 143.
[669] Grinchenko, 'Oral Histories of Former Ukrainian Ostarbeiter', p. 251; Interview with a Ukrainian Izabella Yelnikova, a former Ostarbeiter from the city of Dnipropetrovsk, author's personal archive.
[670] Document №111, 'Telegramma Zaukelia Raikhskommissaram Okkupirovannykh Vostochnykh Oblastei o Primenenii Samykh Surovykh Mer pri Verbovke Rabochei Sily ', in: *Prestupnye Tseli, Prestupnye Sredstva*, pp. 183-184; Document №115, 'Iz Direktivy Geenralnogo Shtaba Sulhopotnykh Voisk ob Uskorenii Tempov Mobilizatsii Russkoi Rabochei Sily dlia Germanii' in: *Prestupnye Tseli, Prestupnye Sredstva*, 188-190.
[671] Document №119б 'Iz Protokola Zasedaniia Generalnogo Upolnomochennogo po Ispolzovaniiu Rabochei Sily Saukelia ob Otpravke v Germaniiu 400-500 Tysiach Ukrainskikh Zhenschin dlia Ispozovaniia ikh v Domashnem Khoziaistve', in: *Prestupnye Tseli, Prestupnye Sredstva*, pp. 193-194.

labourers to Germany that were listed as 'Prisoners of War'.[672] However, it was in Kremlin's interests to downplay the real number of POWs.[673]

Ostarbeiter, just like Roma and Jews, occupied the lowest niche in the worker's hierarchy within the *Reich*: they were not covered by civil law, they worked without any pay and had no social rights.[674] They had to wear a sleeve patch that looked like a rectangle with blue and white edging with the word 'Ost' in white on a dark blue background.[675] It was not easy to survive under such conditions, but not only Ukrainians, but in rare cases, also Jews registered themselves as *Ostarbeiter.* Dieter Pohl has noted, without providing any details, that many Jews came to the *Reich* as *Ostarbeiter* by having false identity documents. By obtaining the status of an *Ostarbeiter*, they were rarely checked and therefore, received some sort of security. The worst scenario for such people was to meet somebody who knew them before the war because denunciation was almost the only way that Jews who became an *Ostarbeiter* could be identified.[676] Thus, the aim of this part of the chapter is to draw attention to this unique form of self-rescue for Jews: being in Germany as an *Ostarbeiter.*

The decision to work for the Germans by becoming an *Ostarbeiter* could be seen as an effective way to survive for people of Jewish origin. At times, such a decision presented the only way to survive, as some specific cases show. In other cases, one could assure a more privileged position being an *Ostarbeiter*. A Jewish woman Rozaliia Fishman, who lived in the city of Vinnytsia in 1941 managed to change her name and obtain documents with a Russian-sounding name, Galina Buchkova. With these documents, after some weeks in hiding in the town of Haisyn, she decided to register herself as a labourer to be sent to Germany. She succeeded and on 6 June 1942 left the occupied USSR. She arrived in German town of Breslau on 15 June 1942, to 'the distribution point' which later she recalled as 'a detention camp'.[677] Somehow Rozaliia managed to stay there and obtained a position registering newly arrived *Ostarbeiter* from the USSR. Rozaliia described her duties during her interrogation by the Soviets after the war in 1945: 'My duty was to register people, to

[672] 'Nota Narodnogo Komissara Inostrannykh Del Tov. V.M. Molotova O Chudovischnykh Zlodeianiakh i Nasiliiakh Nemetsko-Fashistskikh Zakhvatchikov v Okkupirovannykh Sovetskikh Raionakh i Ob Otvetstvennosti Germanskogo Pravitelstva i Komandovaniia za Eti Prestupleniia, in: *Zverstva, Grabezhi i Nasiliia Nemetsko-Fashystkikh Zakhvatchikov* (Leningrad, 1942), p. 29.
[673] I am grateful to Dr. Karel Berkhoff for this note.
[674] Spoerer, *Zwangsarbeit unter dem Hakenkreuz*, p. 97
[675] Document №120 'Iz Pamiatki po Obrascheniiu s Grazhdanskimi Inostrannymi Rabochimi v Germanii ' in: *Prestupnye Tseli, Prestupnye Sredstva*, p. 194.
[676] Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien,* p. 362.
[677] DAVO, F. R-6023, op. 4, spr. 12612, ark. 16, 30.

sanitise the premises, to accommodate people in the rooms, and to distribute foodstuffs before they [the people] were assigned for their work.'[678] After working in this position for about one month, she was sent to the *Borsigwerke* (Borsig factory) which produced locomotives where she worked as a cleaning lady for about a year. Then, she was sent, with other young women, to the Junkers aircraft engine factory where she worked for a year until June 1944. After a scandal with other workers and a following report about it, Rozalia was sent to Ravensbrück concentration camp where she spent about two weeks and was then sent to a factory near Berlin which produced machine guns for the Wehrmacht. In this factory she worked until 20 April 1945 when it was liberated by Polish forces.[679] The case shows not only a Jewish woman's decision to work as an *Ostarbeiter*, but also her ability to occupy a relatively high position among other *Ostarbeiter* and even being redeployed from a concentration camp. Unfortunately, the interrogation was not interested in how Fishman received high appointments and rapid liberation from Ravensbrück. In her narrative, Rozaliia avoided saying much about being in the concentration camp fearing her Soviet investigators. Nevertheless, she stated: 'I recognise myself guilty in the fact that I went to Germany voluntarily.'[680]

Often, the decision to save one's life through working for Germans was made not by a person but by relatives. Sima M. lived in the city of Kyiv with her mother and every summer travelled to the town of Zolotonosha in Cherkasy *oblast,*[681] to her father and stepmother. Both of her parents had Jewish origins, while her stepmother was a Russian. According to Sima, she appears to have just arrived in Zolotonosha when the Germans started their invasion of the USSR. On 19 September 1941, the Germans occupied Zolotonosha[682] and Sima was hidden by her stepmother. In 1942, she was hidden by another non-Jewish woman, the stepmother's neighbour, for about two months, rumours started that her stepmother was hiding a Jewish girl. As it has become dangerous to hide Sima, the neighbour suggested Sima's stepmother send Sima with the young men and women who were registered to be sent on carts to Germany. Sima recalled how the neighbour told her stepmother: 'Let us throw her into a cart, maybe she will survive. Here, anyway, she will

[678] Ibid., ark. 16
[679] Ibid., ark. 16-18, 30-35.
[680] Ibid., ark .25.
[681] By the time of the occupation Zolotonosha was included into Poltava *oblast* (since 1937 until 1954).
[682] Dean and Geoffrey (eds.), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 1610.

die. We will throw her and if she survives – good for her, if not – what to do.'[683] These carts passed by Sima's stepmother's and her neighbour's home from time to time. Seizing a moment when this was happening, the neighbour managed to place Sima, who was then just 15 years old, on one of them. Sima, according to her memories, arrived at a camp of 200 people in Germany. She worked in a factory and also as a servant. There were also French, Dutch and Italian labourers, all men, and only one Russian girl and Sima. Everyone wrote letters to home and Sima was asked why she did not write to anyone. She felt compelled to write something and wrote to her mother who was left in Kyiv. Sima then received an answer from the neighbour which said: 'Do not write home. Your mom was sick with the same sickness as you and (she) died.' Obviously, the head of the camp had censored the letter and asked Sima, what the sickness mentioned was? Sima did not answer and thought that the chief understood about her Jewish origin. Yet, she continued to work and even when an Italian labourer suspected her of being a Jew, calling her '*Jude*', the chief did not react. After a while the Italian disappeared from the camp. Out of that Sima concluded: 'Probably, the chief of the camp was either a loyal person to her or a communist.'[684] In this way, Sima's life was saved when she was sent to Germany as an *Ostarbeiter.*

The story of Olga Pankova and her sister Sonia, who lived in the city of Poltava and survived in the city of Kharkiv, demonstrates that Jewish women could be taken as *Ostarbeiter* by accident. Olga arrived in Kharkiv from Poltava in 1940, after finishing her 7th year in secondary school, and her sister Sonia followed Olga in 1941.[685] Following the German authority's announcement calling all Jews in Kharkiv to the Machine-Tool Factory on 16 December 1941,[686] both sisters were advised by a neighbour not to go but to go to Poltava because the Jews had been already shot there.[687] Therefore, they set out, wandering and sleeping in the open air during the winter until Sonia contracted frost bite in her toes and could not walk anymore. Olga asked some villagers for help and they placed Sonia in

[683] Interview with a Jewish survivor Sima M., author's personal archive.
[684] Interview with a Jewish survivor Sima M., author's personal archive.
[685] The Soviet secondary education system at the time offered graduation after 7th year for those who were planning to enter technical colleges (*technicums*), what is known in English as technical and vocational education and training. Those who planned to enter Institutes and Universities had to complete 10 years of education in a secondary school.
[686] Dean and Geoffrey (eds.), *The United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 1768.
[687] Testimony of Olga Pankova, in: Yurii Liakhovitskii, (ed.), *Poprannaia Mezuza (Kniga 'Drobitskoho Yara'): Svidetelstva, Fakty, Dokumenty o Natsystskom Genotside Evreiskogo Naseleniia Kharkova v Period Okkupatsii, 1941-1942*, (Kharkiv, 1991), p. 81.

a local village hospital. Olga left the village with a made-up story that she was trying to find her father and stepmother in Kyiv. She was 16 years old by that time.

> There were many people of different ages who wandered on the roads. Such people were caught and brought to Kyiv. I was caught too. I did not have any documents with me, I did not look like a Jew, and… I was brought to Kyiv together with others [wanderers]. We were washed and then sent to Germany by railway. (…) When echelons arrived in Germany we were 'sorted' and then sent to the job. I worked in the town or Priebus[688] (Silesia) on the rivers Oder and Neisse in so-called *Sonderkommando* [which worked] on undetonated shells.[689]

In August 1945, Olga met her sister Sonia in Poltava. After her recovery in the village hospital, Sonia was also sent to Germany and worked there as a servant. Thus, by chance, both women became *Ostarbeiter*, and this provides the opportunity for them to survive the Holocaust.

Hiding as an *Ostarbeiter* was not restricted to Jewish women, but also involved some men. Semen Kris was 16 years old. His family had lived in the city of Donetsk since the early 1930s after moving from the town of Balta. One night in April 1942, when all his family was shot, he slept in the attic of another house and therefore survived. Semen left Donetsk and walked to Skadovsk, Kherson *oblast*: '[At that time] there was nothing to eat, therefore many people wandered between villages and exchanged their clothes for bread. I was among such a crowd and walked about 500 kilometres with them.'[690] On his way to Skadovsk, Semen met a former neighbour and they together found a job in a *kolkhoz.* During the recruiting interview, Semen lied about his father's name and his second name and pretended to be Semen Shpachenko that sounded like a Ukrainian name. In June 1943, Germans selected him with other 38 young men and women and sent them to Germany as *Ostarbeiter*. When they arrived in the town of Peremyshl, the Germans forced them to go through a medical check while being naked. Semen was circumcised but the doctor let him to go without pointing out his Jewishness. After the medical check, Semen was sent to Breslau[691] from where he was taken to a factory which produced coal briquettes. Three months later he was again brought to Breslau and was sent to a farmer where Semen worked

[688] In nowadays, it is Przewóz. This town belongs to Poland as of 1945 after the implementation of the border line between Germany and Poland.
[689] Testimony of Olga Pankova (Zlotina) in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 2, p. 187.
[690] Testimony of Semen Kris, in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 1, p. 464.
[691] After 1945 - the city of Wrocław, Poland.

for almost two years until the liberation by the Red Army. '[He – the farmer] was a real fascist: when it seemed to him that I did something wrong, he knocked out my teeth', recalled Semen.[692] However, this farmer did not discover Semen's Jewish identity.

There were cases when Roma also applied for registration as *Ostarbeiter*. One such case is described in the testimony of a Roma. Ivan Akhtamov was born in 1922 and found himself in the city of Dnipropetrovsk in June 1941, where he worked as a machinist. Sometime after the occupation began, Ivan decided to go to Smolensk (Russia) where he had been born and raised in an orphanage. In one of the villages on his way, where Ivan settled for a while, the head of the village insisted that Ivan go to the German *Kommandatura* and register as an *Ostarbeiter*. Ivan arrived and was asked his nationality. He replied that he was a 'Gypsy' and was told: 'We do not take Gypsies [to Germany]'.[693] Then Ivan asked for and received a document for the head of the village indicating that Germans did not take Roma for work in Germany.[694] The exact geographic location where Ivan tried to register as an *Ostarbeiter* is not known for sure: it was on his way from Dnipropetrovsk (Ukraine) to Smolensk (Russia). However, there were cases when the Roma were taken to Germany as forced labourers, most likely as *Ostarbeiter*. For example, a sedentary Roma woman, Ekaterina Barieva, survived the occupation in the village Velyka Lepetykha, Zaporizhzhia *oblast* (RKU), and was afraid to be taken to Germany as an *Ostarbeiter*. In her recollections about her marriage she revealed the reasons for this fear:

> Though he [husband] was older than me, I still decided to marry him because the war has started! Maybe I would not marry him, but I decided to marry not to be taken to Germany. [The Germans] wanted to take me and send me directly to Germany! At that time [the Germans] were taking young people and sending them to Germany. One of my brothers was taken and remained there! (…) Volodka is his name, [he was] born in 1926. He died there or was killed, I do not know.[695]

According to the recollection of Ekaterina, her younger brother was taken to Germany as a forced labourer. Arguably, Roma could also manage to become *Ostarbeiter* or be taken by force to be sent to Germany in certain cases, for example if Roma looked physically like

[692] Testimony of Semen Kris, in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 1, p. 465.
[693] Nikolai Bessonov, *Tsyganskaia Tragediia 1941-1945: Fakty, Dokumenty, Vospominaniia:* Vooruzhennyi Otpor (Saint Petersburg, 2010), pp. 269-270. According to the narration, it was apparently early spring of 1942.
[694] Ibid., p. 270.
[695] Interview with Ekaterina Barieva, VHA, interview code: 49386.

Slavic people or if it was a time when Germany was desperate for fresh workers. Unfortunately, oral testimonies seldom reveal details of Roma from Ukraine being sent and surviving in Germany as *Ostarbeiter.*

Another unusual way to self-rescue, other than becoming an *Ostarbeiter,* was being employed by the Organisation *Todt,* responsible for engineering and technology, named after its founder Fritz Todt.[696] Organisation *Todt* recruited Polish workers from Eastern Galicia; and for Jews from Eastern Galicia this was an opportunity to pass unnoticed with false documents. To stay in their own villages, towns and cities in Eastern Galicia was dangerous: to rent a place or to be employed required identity papers. Even with false papers there was always a risk of possible denunciation by non-Jewish neighbours. Therefore, Jews tried to escape using forged documents to places in central and eastern parts of Ukraine where nobody could recognise and identify them as Jews. Working in the Organisation *Todt* was preferable and more secure than staying in one's own hometown.[697] At first, the Organisation *Todt* in Ukraine was operational in suburban areas in Lviv. Its workers were entitled to receive a salary of 25 roubles per day. In 28 July 1941, the *Reich* Minister for Armaments and Ammunition, Fritz Todt, issued an order in which he pointed out that using workers on Russian territories was different from using them in Western Europe: work should be done through forced labour without any remuneration and workers should receive only a modest meal.[698] Even under such conditions, the work in the Organisation *Todt* could bring some security for the Jews with false identification papers.

According to the available statistics, the total number of civilian labourers recruited by the Third *Reich* from the USSR between 1939 and 1945 is 3,125,000, including about 315,000 Ukrainians of former Polish nationality. By mid-1945, there were 2,600,000 survivors from the USSR. The share of Ukrainians civilian labourers among labourers from the USSR was about 43%,[699] which means that the total number of recruited Ukrainian civilian labourers

[696]About the Organisation Todt see more in: Jeffrey Herf, 'The Engineer as Ideologue: Reactionary Modernists in Weimar and Nazi Germany', *Journal of Contemporary History (Reassessments of Fascism),* 19:4, (1984), pp. 631-648, Richard J. Overy, 'Mobilization for Total War in Germany 1939-1941', *The English Historical Review*, 103:408 (1988), pp. 613-639.
[697] Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien*, p. 362.
[698] Document №105, Prikaz Ministra Vooruzhenii i Boepripasov Todta o Zapreschenii Oplaty Truda Rabochikh v Okkupirovannykh Vostochnykh Oblastiakh i Ispolzovanii Ikh na Tiazhelykh Rabotakh', in: *Prestupnye Tseli, Prestupnye Sredstva,* p. 174.
[699] Spoerer and Fleischhacker, 'The Compensation of Nazi Germany's Forced Labourers' p. 19. According to another research of Mark Spoerer, there were 55% of Ukrainians among all forced labourers from the USSR, see: Spoerer, *Zwangsarbeit unter dem Hakenkreuz*, p. 80.

was 1,343,750 (Spoerer and Fleischhacker's calculation was 1,320,000). The records of ChGK, dated 1 March 1946, mention 2,023,112 people were 'sent to German slavery' from the Ukrainian SSR that equals to 49% of all USSR's *Ostarbeiter* (composed of people from Ukrainian, Belarusian, Russian, Moldovan, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, and Karelo-Finnish SSRs). The number was based on an investigation and records in all Ukrainian regions, including western Ukraine.[700] Thus, almost a half of the civilian workers from the former USSR were extracted from the Ukrainian territories. According to Spoerer and Fleischhacker, by mid-1945, there were 1,210,000 survivors among Ukrainians,[701] that was indeed a high percentage – about 90% survivors (from entire USSR – 83,2%). All numbers and calculations exclude Prisoners of War, Jews and Roma who, according to Spoerer and Fleischhacker, had the status 'less-than-slave' labourers.[702] This high percentage of *Ostarbeiter* from Ukraine suggests that not only Ukrainians potentially could be sent to forced labour in Germany and *Reich* territories. The percentage of survivors confirms that it was indeed possible to survive being enslaved in Germany and for the Jews who managed to be registered as *Ostarbeiter,* to survive in this way was better than staying in the occupied territories of Ukraine.

Undoubtedly, survival as an *Ostarbeiter* was not a first step of self-rescue: as to become one was not so easy. To pass through the registration process, Jews and Roma had to hide their origins. This could be achieved in various ways: by forging identification documents where nationality was recorded, preferably to be registered as a Ukrainian; to declare another nationality and pretend that the identification documents were lost; to hide one's Jewish or Roma origin without declaring any other. Sometimes, these ways could be combined, but in any case, a person of a Jewish origin had to be able to speak Ukrainian or Russian fluently and should not have a Jewish appearance (to be blond rather than dark or red-haired, not having a big nose, to pronounce the letter 'r' properly, not to burr). Almost the same strictures applied to people of Roma origin. Moreover, only women and men between ages of 14 and 45 could become an *Ostarbeiter* and preference was given to young women between the ages of 15 and 35, without children and not pregnant.[703]

[700] Polian, *Zhertvy Dvukh Diktatur*, pp. 11, 735-737, with a reference to: GARF, F. 7021, op. 116m d. 246. On page 11 there is a mistaken number 2,032,112.
[701] Spoerer and Fleischhacker, 'The Compensation of Nazi Germany's Forced Labourers', p. 19.
[702] Ibid.
[703] Polian, *Zhertvy Dvukh Diktatur*, p. 177

Collaboration with the Occupiers as a Form of Self-Rescue

Jewish and Roma collaboration with the occupiers in Ukraine has not been widely discussed. The main problem with this topic is a lack of sources and, probably an unwillingness to raise such a contentious issue. Germans and Romanians did not record this information in their documentation because, presumably, co-operation was seen as the norm. In many cases, the occupiers might not have known about the Jewish or Roma origins of the people who collaborated and it thus remained undocumented. Interviews with the Roma and Jewish survivors also do not usually reveal this information. In the first instance, people do not want to publicise any information about themselves which can show them in a bad light. Second, memory is selective, and during the Holocaust, there were so many tragic and traumatic events taking place that details about collaboration with the occupiers for the sake of survival might have been superseded by the memories about killing and suffering. Moreover, in many cases, those who cooperated with the occupiers on an everyday basis may not even have been aware that it was a collaboration. That being said, some interviews disclose information about the Jewish Police who were selected or appointed in every ghetto and sometimes openly collaborated with the occupiers by punishing the Jews and fulfilling the occupiers' orders. However, the main source which can be used for identifying Jewish and Roma collaboration is the post-war interrogations carried out by the Soviet authorities and reflected in the so-called filtration files and court trial materials.[704]

There were several categories of collaboration. The first one can be defined as willing or unwilling collaboration. Willing collaboration is when a person cooperates with the occupiers while fully understanding the tasks assigned by the occupiers and fulfilling them according to their orders and expectations. Unwilling collaboration can be defined as a cooperation with the occupiers when a person is physically and/or morally forced to cooperate but finally fulfils the assigned tasks in full or in part. A determinative factor for willing collaboration is a motivation, i.e. a reason (or reasons) why a person wished to collaborate. For the Jews in the occupied territory of Ukraine, the only reason was their

[704] Some of these files are still classified or not provided in the first request. Moreover, to order such files in Ukrainian archives one must know the name of the person who was interrogated. Unfortunately, it is not always possible because, as a rule of thumb, there are no catalogues created by subjects or by names, and any sort of description about the file. Thus, one can spend in an archive couple of years without any success, or, otherwise, occasionally, an interesting case can be found immediately. Obviously, the directors and vice directors of archives in Ukraine know about declassified files and how to identify them, however, it is in their will and power to disclose information or not.

physical survival. All the energies of individuals, groups and institutions such as *Judenräte* were directed towards survival. Moreover, in most cases, an individual or groups of Jews were coerced into cooperation by threats, moral pressure, promises of survival or just by beatings and torture. Thus, to survive, or to believe that they might survive, the Jews had to cooperate with the occupiers.

The second category is conscious or unwitting collaboration. Conscious collaboration is when a person fulfils the tasks assigned by the occupiers while understanding the possible criminal and/or moral responsibility for his/her actions. Unwitting collaboration can be defined as a cooperation with the occupiers when a person could not understand or was not aware that his/ her actions helped the occupiers in the establishment and implementation of their policies. Unwitting collaboration was the most widespread and occurred regularly in everyday life. Ordinary Jews, and, sometimes Roma, trying to survive, helped occupiers as translators, cooks, tailors, and so forth. In most cases the Jews did not have any choice: either to be killed immediately (or in near future) or to work for occupiers in an attempt to save their own lives and sometimes the lives of relatives and friends as well. Conscious and unwitting collaboration also could be combined with willingness and unwillingness at the same time. Collaborators could act for a long period by serving the occupiers or cooperate once or twice during the entire occupation. All types of collaboration by the Jews and the Roma could lead to a potential self-rescue and, sometimes, such collaboration was the only way to survive for the Jews and, arguably, for the Roma as well. The following section provides examples of all the aforementioned types of Jewish collaboration.

The most well-known cases of collaboration admitted by Jewish survivors were the actions of the Jewish Police *(Jüdische Ordnungsdienst)* in the ghettos. In most cases such collaboration was unwilling or even coerced because the Jewish Police were appointed by the occupiers or by the *Judenräte.* However, in some cases, Jews were willing to collaborate as they believed that in such a way, they could save their lives. Some of the recollections mention individuals. For example, M. Faingold[705] originally from the town of Uman (RKU), was transported to the village of Mikhailivka, Haisyn district, Vinnytsia *oblast* (RKU). The Jews were guarded there by Ukrainian and Lithuanian collaborators. The witness described the condition of the life and mentioned a Jewish policeman:

[705] The first name is not known.

> There was a stable surrounded by a barbed wire and [it was] prepared for us [to live there] (…) There was a Jew in our camp, [named] Aizik, from Uman. He took a big stick in his hands and started to help the *Reich* annihilate the Jews. He was afraid that Germans, Ukrainian *polizeis* and Lithuanian barbarians would not manage it well, and he started to help them. He hit [all] with this stick so hard that [once] he killed one guy from Teplyk.[706] With his chicken brain he considered that the sooner the they [the Germans] finished with the Jews, the sooner he would be allowed to go home. But we could see how he was forced to dig out a pit for himself, and how he was killed by a butt of the rifle in the same way he killed others. I wrote nothing and told nobody about it. I was ashamed for him, but people must know about it.[707]

An irony with the Aizik case is that it shows a trauma connected to the disappointment with the behaviour of a Jewish person. Such a disappointment is shown through all testimonies of Jewish survivors who testified about the Jewish Police actions. The eyewitnesses from the aforementioned Zhmerynka ghetto recalled that there was a Jewish policeman in the ghetto who used his position and took bribes from the ghetto inhabitants for different favours such as assignments to easier jobs or even the cancellation of the job.

> We were taken, for example, to dig out potatoes. One could pay off if one had something [means money, clothes, or anything valuable]. If someone could give something to a Jewish *polizei* […] even a Jewish *polizei* could take [a bribe]. People everywhere remain people! [means that all people without consideration of the origin have own negative sides] One of them [a Jewish policeman] beat my friend. Klara was beaten by our *polizei*, Teplitskii. (…) Klara told me that one of the *polizeis*, Teplitskii, beat her so hard that she stayed in the bed for a long time and could not get up! Her grandfather looked after her; he prepared and applied compresses. They [policemen] tried to show up in front of Dr. Herschmann, that they fulfilled their job well. It is what I told you: the Jews also were of different sorts.[708]

The survivor did not disclose the reason why their friend was beaten. Nevertheless, they testified about the cruel attitude to other Jews in the ghetto and corruption among the policemen. Testimonies about the Jewish Police are limited but usually reveal negative information about Jewish policemen's attitudes towards their brethren in comparison with other collaborators. For example, Boris Sokoletskii, a survivor from the Murafa ghetto in

[706] The Jews from the town of Teplyk were deported to the village of Mykhailivka in 1942.
[707] Testimony of M. Faingold, in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 2, p. 436.
[708] Interviews with the Jewish survivors Milia B. and Berta B., author's personal archive.

Transnistria recalled: 'Ukrainian *polizeis* did not touch us, but the Bukovinian Jewish policemen were much worse than [Ukrainian] *polizeis.*'[709] At the same time, he gave no explanation about what exactly the Jewish Police had done in Murafa. The cases of Jewish Police are quite complicated to categorise as to whether they were willing collaborations or not. Could a Jew refuse to become a policeman if the occupiers chose him? Or if a Jew was assigned by his *Judenrat*? And where Jews readily became policemen, what was their motivation? Being a policeman, could a Jew choose his own line of behaviour or did everybody follow a certain pattern and work out a common strategy? One can recognise that the members of Jewish Police had a privileged status in comparison with the ordinary Jewish inhabitants of the ghettos. Also, policemen may have thought that their position gave them a better control of the situation and in such a way they could manage to save their lives.

One case of unwilling but conscious collaboration can be found in the State Archive of Vinnytsia *Oblast*. The case comes from a post-war Soviet trial of people who were suspected of collaboration with the occupiers. This so-called 'filtration file' contains official interrogations with the defendant Rozaliia Fishman who was arrested by the KGB on 30 July 1945. Rozaliia Fishman lived in the city of Vinnytsia at the time when the occupation began. She managed to forge a birth certificate in the name of Galina Buchkova and established her nationality as Ukrainian.[710] With this document she successfully survived in Vinnytsia until early April 1942 when she was denounced and brought to the Gestapo for interrogation.[711] After having sex with a Gestapo officer, she was offered the chance to work for the Gestapo in return for 'Russian' documents and comfortable conditions of life.[712] Her job was to denounce Jews from Vinnytsia who still remained alive and were in hiding. She accepted the offer and wrote a statement where she agreed to collaborate with the Gestapo with the following content:

> I, Buchkova Galina, pledge to be loyal to the German State and at the same time to be vigilant. All detected moods against German regime and power, I pledge to inform the Gestapo. I am obliged to disclose all places in the city of Vinnytsia where the Jews live and where they are hiding, and to provide the Gestapo with all materials in a

[709] Testimony of Boris Sokoletskii, in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 2, p. 349.
[710] DAVO, F. R-6023, op. 4, spr. 12612, ark. 18, 78.
[711] Fishman repeatedly told during her KGB interrogations about a woman who witnessed in Gestapo that Fishman was a Jew and whom Fishman did not know.
[712] DAVO, F. R-6023, op. 4, spr. 12612, ark. 15-16.

written form. All tasks must be done in top secret.' There was my signature at the end: Buchkova.[713]

In further interrogations, Rozaliia stated that she should also have been denouncing Soviet Communists Party activists and *Komsomol*[714] members.[715] Upon the question, why Rozaliia did not denounce anybody, she answered that she did not know whether some Jews survived or not. To clarify her motives the interrogator asked, if that was the only reason of non-denouncing, to what Rozaliia answered: 'Yes, the main reason was that I really did not know, if [Jewish] persons who survived the pogroms [means: *Aktion*] of Jews…',[716] so later she added that anyway she would not tell about them to Gestapo. The more she was interrogated, the more she exaggerated all the horrors of her situation and tried to describe the hatred of the Germans towards the Soviets in the most impressive manner. Nevertheless, her first interrogations are more trustworthy because, early in the procedures, she did not fully understand the possible sentence she was facing, and the investigators asked more detailed questions.

After signing the statement for the Gestapo, Rozaliia was immediately freed. Perhaps, this statement was just to provide the excuse for the Gestapo officer to free Fishman in case he was challenged by a higher authority about why he had released a Jew. Alternatively, perhaps the Gestapo officer really did want to find a Jewish collaborator to denounce the Jews sheltering underground. Whatever her motivations could be, the officer kept his promise and had Fishman released, maybe with a hope of having a longer sexual relationship with her. It is unknown how Rozaliia fulfilled her obligations to the Gestapo. She asserted that after she was released, she immediately left the city and escape to a village situated in Vinnytsia *oblast,* yet this information could not be confirmed by either documentation or witnesses.

Rozaliia Fishman fully understood her responsibilities for such an act. During her first interrogation she hid the information about her agreement to collaborate with the occupiers. Later, a couple of times during interrogations she mentioned that a German officer recruited her as a secret agent for the Gestapo.[717] When questioned by the investigator why she hid this information, Fishman answered: 'By giving written obligation to cooperate with

[713] Ibid., ark. 15.
[714] The All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, known widely as *Komsomol.*
[715] DAVO, F. R-6023, op. 4, spr. 12612, ark. 30, 78.
[716] Ibid., ark. 40.
[717] Ibid., ark. 78.

Gestapo, I, in fact, committed a crime against the Soviet Motherland. I was afraid of responsibility for this action, and, therefore, I hid this fact during the first interrogation intentionally.'[718] The case of Rozaliia Fishman is an example of conscious collaboration of a Jew, which is probably not unique.

One of the interesting cases of collaboration with the German and Romanian occupiers while helping Jews in the ghetto is described in an interview given by the Jewish survivor, Riva M. She had managed to escape from one of the mass shootings in the city of Vinnytsia in the autumn of 1941. She was then almost thirteen years old and escaped with her mother and two younger sisters. On the way, the family met a young woman who had also managed to flee from the mass killings organised by the German occupiers. Riva described the woman: 'She was wearing a nice outfit. I remember as if it is now, her maroon beautiful coat, shoes, beautiful curly chestnut hair.'[719] The woman lived in Riva's family neighbourhood in Vinnytsia, so Riva's mother knew her. Her name was Betti, which is a subversion from a Jewish name Riva or Rivka. Betti approached the family and asked where they were going. Riva's mother answered that they were going to Zhmerynka to her sister and invited Betti to join them. However, Betti refused the invitation saying that she had money and gold at her home, and she wanted to take them with her, but if she needed anything, she would try to find the Riva's family. A year later, Betti appeared in the town of Zhmerynka with a new Ukrainian name Marusia. She lived outside the ghetto. Somehow Betti found Riva's family and managed to pass a message asking Riva to wait for her at a specific place near the barbed wire which surrounded the ghetto. When Riva approached the barbed wire, Betti threw some items over the wire into the ghetto side:

> We agreed with her a certain time and sometimes she threw me couple kilograms of peas, sometimes barley flour for soup over the wire a. She was receiving a salary and was buying those [products]. She could throw a piece of bread and I kept it in my small bag. Nobody saw it: neither the Romanians nor the neighbours, and we did not tell anybody about it.[720]

After the war, when Riva and Betti met again and made friends with each other, Betti told Riva her story. By bribery she acquired a passport from the Germans where it stated she was Russian. Then she managed to be employed in Vinnytsia *Stadtskommandantur.* After

[718] Ibid., ark. 16.
[719] Interview with a Jewish survivor Riva M., author's personal archive.
[720] Interview with a Jewish survivor Riva M., author's personal archive.

a while Betti realised that she was followed, apparently by the *Gestapo,* and she heard rumours that Jews were safe in the Zhmerynka ghetto. She arrived to Zhmerynka where nobody knew her and again managed to find a job in a Romanian *Kommandantur*.[721]

According to the testimony, Betti coped with working in two *Kommandanturen:* the German and the Romanian. There is no information about what Betti's responsibilities were, but the facts of the matter show her direct and willing collaboration, which Betti probably did not think about but saw merely as an attempt at self-preservation. At the same time, Betti attempted to help her former neighbour with food, and undoubtedly risked not only her job, but also her life. Certainly, questions remain about the trustworthiness of this testimony, and about her precise role with the occupying forces. While it is impossible to verify much about this case, it does have a similarity with that of Rozaliia Fishman insofar as it shows an example of a Jewish woman collaborating with the occupiers to rescue herself.

There were several cases of unwitting collaboration where some Jews managed to rescue themselves. There is the well-known story of Dina Pronicheva, a Jewish woman who survived Babi Yar massacre in the city of Kyiv on 29-30 September 1941, which includes examples of unwitting collaboration with the Germans. In her testimonies to the Soviet tribunals in April 1946, Dina described how she escaped after the shooting in Babi Yar and made the acquaintance of another Jewish woman, a nurse called Liuba, with whom she escaped from execution for a second time. Neither woman had anywhere to stay but they found some abandoned hut-wagons near a factory in the vicinity of Kyiv and hid there. After the Germans discovered them, Dina lied that she and Liuba worked for the Germans in that factory and their house was destroyed.[722] Both women were taken to a German barracks:

> Later, the Germans arrived there [to the barracks]. They were reconstruction detachments which were recruiting a workforce for a rebuilding of the factory. They needed registrars, but because Liuba knew German quite well and I knew German poorly, but knew Latin, I was taken as a registrar to the office and Liuba became a

[721] Ibid.
[722] Dina Pronicheva, 'A Stenography of Conversation with A Witness of the German Atrocities in Babi Yar', *EHRI Online Course in Holocaust Studies: The Holocaust in Ukraine*, available at: https://training.ehri-project.eu/sites/training.ehri-project.eu/files/Ukraine_B_10_TsDAHOU_166_3_245_115%E2%80%93134_comp.pdf (last accessed on 13 November 2018), pp. 125-126.

> translator. Thus, we were beyond suspicion [of being Jewish]. Later, the Germans settled in these barracks and we had to go. The [German] chiefs, mercifully, accepted us into the kitchen where [we had] to wash their linen, darn the clothes, bring water, iron, cook, chop wood, and all in all, to do everything and also to work in the office.[723]

In such a way Dina and Liuba unwittingly helped the German occupiers, however, it was the only way to survive for both these Jewish women. Generally, acting as translators for the German occupiers as well as working for them in the kitchens were a common way of self-rescue and collaboration simultaneously. For example, Vladimir Goikher translated for a German officer in the town of Letychiv, Khmelnytskyi *oblast* (RKU), even during the officer's 'assignations'. When his help as a translator was not needed, Vladimir worked in the kitchen: cleaned pots and dishes.[724] Klara Barer worked for Germans in the town of Balta: she sewed greatcoats and later she worked in a German buffet.[725]

There are also rare examples of unwitting Roma collaboration with the occupiers by fulfilling an everyday task and trying to self-rescue. For instance, one young semi-nomadic Roma man Petr Vursov worked for the Germans in a kitchen in the large village called Velyka Oleksandrivka in Kherson *oblast.* According the words of his daughter Mariia and wife Nadezhda, in 1943 the Germans started to persecute the Roma in that region which was included in the RKU. Petr managed to work for the Germans (apparently in the *Kommandatura*) every day by washing dishes.[726]

However, there are no other known instances of Roma and Sinti collaboration with the occupiers in Ukrainian territories, and the only examples are a couple of cases in the Crimean Peninsula which is not included in the geographical frames of this research. A Polish sociologist and researcher of the Roma in Poland, Sławomir Kapralski, pointed out that the topic of collaboration of the Roma is still a *terra incognita* in the scholarship on the Roma and in genocide studies more generally.[727] Finding any evidence of Roma collaboration in Ukraine is extremely difficult as they have no written culture and there are no preserved diaries, or any other written sources produced by the Roma. In oral testimonies, the Roma tried to avoid any negative information about their communities because the narrative of Roma identity requires the reassurance of positives for the entire

[723] Ibid., p. 126.
[724] YVA, O.3, file 5211, p. 20, Testimony of Goicher Vladimir.
[725] Testimony of Klara Barer, in Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli*, p. 60.
[726] Interview with Nadezhda Vursova, VHA, interview code: 49634.
[727] Kapralski, 'Collaboration and the Genocide of Roma in Poland', p. 215.

group. Therefore, Roma communities try to remove episodes from their narration of the past 'that are not sufficiently glorious' in order to protect 'the values of the Roma culture, the Roma social world, and the consistent vision of Roma history that enhances the sense of existential security.'[728] The oral testimonies of non-Roma do not contain any information about the Roma collaboration either. The only source for this topic is archival materials from the Security Service of Ukraine (SBU) which has started to be declassified gradually in the last couple of years. A Ukrainian historian, Mikhail Tyaglyy, found some cases of Roma who served in SS in police and auxiliary formations and as informants for the SD.[729] Analysing the documents, Tyaglyy concluded that the German command never had information about the Roma origins of these collaborators. The motivation to collaborate was explained by one of the Roma as wish to rescue himself and his family,[730] and this can, therefore, be portrayed as unwilling but conscious collaboration.

Thus, collaboration of the Roma and Jews with occupiers was not an unusual phenomenon and occurred in number of cases – willingly or unwillingly, consciously or unconsciously. In all cases, Jews and Roma, by collaborating with the occupiers, helped them to certain extent in the annihilation of the people of Jewish and Roma origin. However, in most cases such collaboration was determined by the instinct of self-preservation or a conscious choice to self-rescue.

Resistance as Self-Rescue?

The vast historiography on Jewish resistance during the Holocaust in the Soviet Union and including Ukraine, was briefly discussed in the Introduction. This section examines whether the Jewish and Roma resistance could be counted towards their self-rescue or whether resistance occupies a special place which is unconnected to Roma and Jewish self-help? Nechama Tec examined three different types of Jewish resistance: the 'humane' resistance of the Jews in the ghettos (that included economic support and cultural programs); the case of a group of Jewish partisans headed by Tuvia Bielski;[731] and the case of a Jew, Oswald Rufeisen, who repeatedly saved the Jews in Belarus while serving to the

[728] Ibid., p. 235.
[729] Tyaglyy, 'Were the "Chingene" Victims of the Holocaust?', pp. 43-44.
[730] Ibid., p. 44.
[731] See: Nechama Tec, *Defiance: The Bielski Partisans* (Oxford, New York, 1993).

Germans as a translator. After the war he became a catholic priest.[732] Based on analysis of these cases, Tec points out the significance of selfless rescue as a form of resistance.[733] To take this point further, Jewish and Roma resistance in certain cases may be considered as self-rescue.

There are many cases of the Roma and the Jews from occupied Ukraine who fought in the Red Army or individually (or in small groups) joined partisan and underground movement – Soviet or Polish. These cases are unlikely to be considered as self-rescue: individually the Jews in occupied Ukraine had no chance to survive. Those who escaped from *Aktionen* or from ghettos before the mass murdering did not have any means for survival: food, clothes, or weapons. They had to rely on help of the local non-Jewish population or try to join the partisans. In both cases, help was provided to the Jews by non-Jews – they received food or were accepted into partisan detachments. The same situation applied to the settled Roma. Nomadic and semi-nomadic Roma had better chances to survive on their own. As we have seen, the general population had a better attitude towards the Roma than towards Jews (and denounced Roma less often than Jews). Roma knowledge of the routes and forests where they travelled sometimes gave them an opportunity to escape from the occupiers or to hide themselves. The settled Roma found themselves in the same situation as the Jews and had to seek help from non-Roma. The help provided by the Soviet and Polish partisans and underground movements toward Roma and Jews in Ukraine is discussed in the fourth chapter on 'institutional help'. Nevertheless, there were cases of resistance that probably can be analysed in the framework of Roma and Jewish self-rescue, particularly the cases when Roma or Jews formed their own partisan or underground detachments. The challenge here is to raise the question whether Jewish and Roma detachments were formed for their own survival or for fighting against the occupiers. This question determines if the task of the Jewish and Roma detachments was to self-rescue in first place, or to risk their lives and take revenge for own relatives killed by the occupiers.

There are no testimonies or documents on the formation of separate underground or partisan detachments by the Roma in occupied Ukraine, despite the fact that there are many interviews in which Roma survivors mentioned their participation in underground or Soviet partisan activities. However, these cases were about individuals, not groups. Roma may

[732] See: Nechama Tec, *In the Lion's Den: The Life of Oswald Rufeisen* (New York, 2008).
[733] Nechama Tec, 'Jewish Resistance: Facts, Omissions, and Distortions', in: Patrick Henry (ed.) *Jewish Resistance against the Nazis* (Washington, DC, 2014), pp. 69-70.

have been accepted by the partisans but did not act as decision makers. Generally, the participation of the Roma and the Jews in underground and partisan movements in Ukraine, Moldova and other Soviet countries, as well as in Romania, has been understated by scholars or included in the larger study of an anti-fascist resistance movement.[734] Nevertheless, many Jews and most likely Roma were not mentioned in official documents of the Ukrainian Headquarters for the Partisan Movement if they were not included in the official Soviet partisan detachments and acted as partisans with their own initiative and with their own sources. Some names of the Jewish and Roma partisans are known from oral testimonies of their co-fighters. For instance, the Jewish underground was organised in the town of Buchach, Ternopil *oblast*. There were about 300 people and a group of 40 having some weapons who went into the forests in the summer of 1943 where they met partisans and joined them, however only some of their names are known through the interviews of survivors, but they were not mentioned in the official documents.[735] Apparently, the same applies to the Roma partisan units.

There were two types of cases of collective self-rescue of Jews and Roma combined with resistance: the establishment of family camps in the forests or organising a group or forming a military unit that acted clandestinely and later joined Polish or Soviet partisan movement. All these activities were possible only in a forested area where Jews and Roma could escape and hide with little risk of denunciation. In Ukraine this was primarily in the west, particularly Volhynia and Rivne *oblasts,* and partially Ivano-Frankivsk and Lviv *oblasts*. Volhynia was a perfect place for partisans, as well as for Roma and Jewish escapees thanks to its large forests. Nomadic Roma families in that area could hide from the occupiers for a while thanks to their knowledge of the routes in the forests. Jews could locate Polish or Soviet partisans in the forests and try to join them. Some family Jewish camps also existed in Galicia near Lviv and Stanislav (Ivano-Frankivsk) also in the forests that surrounded this area.[736] Also, some forests existed in Vinnytsia *oblast* and therefore, partisan and Jewish units were also active there. The proximity of forests determined underground and partisan activities in the area, though several Jewish underground movements were organised in other *oblasts*, including the area of ghettos: Ternopil, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, and others.

[734] Bogdan Chiriac, 'Between Survival and Noncompliance: Roma "Acts of Resistance" in Transnistria During World War II, in: Evelin Verhás, Angéla Kóscé, and Anna Lujza Szász (eds.), *Roma Resistance during the Holocaust in its Aftermath: Collection of Working Papers* (Budapest, 2018), p. 25.
[735] Shmuel Spector, 'Evrei v Partizanskom Dvizhenii i Podpolie v Ukraine', in: *Ten Kholokosta: Materialy II Mezhdunarodnogo Simpoziuma 'Uroki Kholokosta i Sovremennaiia Rossiia'* (Moscow, 1998), pp. 82-83.
[736] Arad, 'Jewish Family Camps in the Forest', p. 334.

Generally, the underground movement inside the labour camps and ghettos, is unlikely to be considered as self-help, but only as resistance. The cost of an underground organisation being uncovered was very high: all ghetto could be immediately exterminated. There were rare examples of successful actions carried out by underground movements formed inside ghettoes that led to self-rescue. The case of the Jewish underground in the town of Brody can be seen as one of them. In the autumn of 1942, the Jewish underground organisation in Brody was formed, spreading political information inside the ghetto. From February 1943, the organisation started to construct bunkers in order to hide there and ultimately to attack the Germans. To this end, they wanted to obtain weapons. From March 1943, the group established a connection with a similar group from Lviv and united with them. They started to work together to make an underground tunnel from Lviv to Brody. The members of the organisation successfully escaped to the nearby forests and started direct attacks on the Germans. The Jewish Council helped the organisation with food and medicines.[737] Rebellions organised by the underground in ghettos were frequent but almost all of them were unsuccessful in terms of rescuing: only a few people managed to survive by escaping.[738] Thus, only guerrilla movements can be considered as self-rescue for Jews and Roma in its full sense.

The first Jewish partisan units started to appear in Volhynia area (RKU) and in the DG. One of the first Jewish groups that decided to form a partisan unit was a group of 12 formed by two former policemen (*militsionery*), Bakalchuk and Misiura, in a very small town, Sernyky, Rivne *oblast.* At the beginning, the group did not have any weapons but acquired some soon afterwards.[739] The group ultimately consisted of about 70 Jews. The head of the Soviet partisan detachment, Anton Brinskii, recalled how he ordered the creation of a civil camp under Misiura's leadership and all who wandered in the forests ended up there.[740] Most likely these wanderers were Jews and Roma who had escaped the roundups. In the main Jews were organised into groups in their hometowns that were later formed as partisan units. They knew each other and escaped together into the forest where others joined them.

[737] Betti Ajzensztajn (ed.), *Ruch Podziemny w Ghettach i Obozach: Materiały i Dokumenty* (Warszawa, Łódź and Kraków, 1946), pp. 154-165.
[738] Look for example the history of the rebellions in the ghettos of Tuchyn and Mizoch in Rivne *oblast* and others in: Khonigsman, *Katastrofa Evreistva Zapadnoi Ukrainy*, pp. 232-233; Ajzensztajn (ed.), *Ruch Podziemny w Ghettach i Obozach*, pp. 100-103.
[739] Ster Elisavetskii, 'Evreiskie Partizanskie Gruppy i Otriady Volyni i Prikarpatia' in Ster Elisavetskii (ed.), *Katastrofa i Soprotivlenie Ukrainskogo Evreistva (1941-1944): Ocherki po Istorii Kholokosta i Soprotivleniia v Ukraine* (Kyiv, 1999), pp. 328-340.
[740] Yitzhak Arad, (ed.), *Unizhtozhenie Evreev v Gody Nemetskoi Okkupatsii (1941-1944). Sbornik Dokumentov i Materialov* (Jeruslaem, 1991), p. 382.

Sometimes, Jewish units were formed spontaneously. Iosif Wulf recalls his escape from the Sarny ghetto:

> I left [Sarny] and arrived at the village of Karasyn where I met guys who also escaped from the camp.[741] Organising into one group, we started to burn the bridges where Germans drove, destroying the road etc. At the beginning of 1943, I joined partisan detachment of the Hero of the Soviet Union, comrade Naumenko, where I acted until 1944. In April 1944, we united with the Red Army.[742]

The case of the town of Sarny, Rivne *oblast*, is particularly interesting because this was the only known case when Jews and Roma acted together. The German occupiers there organised the Poleska labour camp where they put the Jews from the town and the nearby settlements of Berezhnytsia, Klesiv and Tomashhorod. The camp consisted of about 14,000 Jews and 100 Roma. The camp was guarded by the German and Ukrainian police and *Todt* organisation soldiers; it was protected by machine-guns and barbed wire. Among the Jews brought to the camp were members of the resistance movement from Sarny who decided to break through the wire and organize a mass escape from the camp. They managed to bribe some German soldiers and started destroying the barbed wire. At the same time, the Roma set up a smoking fire to draw attention away from the barbed wire and decrease visibility in parts of the camp. People started to run away through the opening in the fence. The soldiers started to machinegun escapees. Nevertheless, about one thousand managed to escape from the camp into the forests but only about one hundred of all the escapees ultimately survived until the end of the war.[743]

A group of Jews from the Volhynian town of Kamin-Kashyrskyi wanted to escape to the forests before the last *Aktion* and prepare a place there for other people who might escape from the ghetto. They also planned to prepare to fight the German occupiers before the execution of the Jews in the ghetto. This group consisted of about 20-25 Jewish men with two or three women. They could not manage to fulfil their plan but nonetheless managed to escape from the ghetto into the forest the night before the executions. With the help of villagers from a nearby village Zalezie (or Zalesie), the Jews settled in the forest and lived

[741] He called it a concentration camp, though it was a ghetto.
[742] TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 241, ark. 158.
[743] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 195.

there for three months. They had weapon(s) with them and, therefore, managed to survive and later joined the partisans.[744]

In the town of Korets, Rivne *oblast,* after the main *Aktion* in May 1942, a group of the Jews, consisting of about 22 people, decided to escape to the forest and find the partisans. They bought a pistol and five bullets from a Polish seller and had another pistol and a butcher's knife. Moshe Gildenman, later known as 'Diadia Misha [Uncle Misha]', was chosen by the group as their leader. The group successfully reached the forest and met with partisans. The group asked to join but were rejected by Mayor Pashun, the chief of the guerrilla detachment, because the group was almost unarmed. The Mayor also told Gildenman about 100 Jewish elderly people, women and children who were wandering in the forest, accompanied by couple of armed Jews and three non-Jewish partisans. Gildenman's group found these Jews and managed to acquire weapons, shoes and clothes after attacking Germans who passed through the area. The group, which was basically a civilian Jewish camp although joined by at least one former POW. The group functioned independently as a guerrilla unit for couple of months in late 1942 before joining the Saburov partisan unit in January 1943.[745]

In Roma testimonies, one can find mention of nomadic Roma families from Ukraine who escaped to the forest and later joined the Soviet partisans. For example, a Roma, Olga Romanenko, testified how her nomadic Roma family from the Zhytomyr area decided to find the Soviet partisans: 'Our family was [consisted of] nine people, altogether [with other relatives] – fifteen. [My] father decided that we had to flee to the partisans. Gypsies are forest people and partisans too. Then many [Roma] families went to [the] forest.'[746] Thus, in most cases, Roma and Jews first existed on their own as a clandestine unit or family camp for several days and sometimes up to two-three months and then tried to join partisans.

However, not all Jews and Roma were accepted by the partisans. First, partisans had to maintain their mobility and increasing the number of unit members could lead to difficulties in logistics and movements. Second, Roma and Jewish escapees seldom had weapons

[744] A. A. Stein, et al (eds.), '*Sefer ha-zikaron le-kehilat Kamien Koszyrski ve-ha-seviva,* Kamien-Kashyrskyi Memory le Book', (Tel Aviv, 1965), available at: https://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/Kamen_Kashirskiy/Kam701.html (last accessed on 27 March 2019).
[745] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews,* pp. 287-288; Maksim Gon (ed.), *Holokost na Rivnenshchyni. Dokumenty ta Materialy*. (Dnipropetrovsk/Zaporizhzhia, 2004), pp. 27, 95-96.
[746] Bessonov, *Tsyganskaia Tragediia 1941-1945,* p. 295.

or/and did not know how to use a weapon. It meant that Roma and Jews were not fighters equal to other partisans and could not contribute to the partisans' goal in exterminating the enemy. Moreover, they sought protection and became a burden to partisans. Last, but not the least, the groups of Roma and Jews consisted of elderly people and children who simply could not be considered as any sort of a fighter. Even though sources show that women fought along with men in partisan units,[747] the presence of women in a guerrilla unit was not encouraged because of the stereotype that women were weak and could not be trained appropriately or cope with all the complications of life as ordinary fighters. That led to the assumption that only a sexual relationship with male partisans could explain a woman's presence there.[748] Most likely, the partisans accepted the Roma women into their units more willingly than Jews. Roma women could bring information from the occupied settlements by going there as fortune-tellers, something that was quite popular, especially in wartime when people did not know anything about their lost relatives.[749] Jews did not have the same opportunities and were confined to self-rescue, forming civilian camps and surviving in the forests without or with minimal support from the partisans.

The establishment of the Jewish family camps or civilian camps was most spread in Belarusian Polesia. Yet, in Ukraine there were also examples, the majority being in the Rivne and Volhynia regions.[750] They were very important paramilitary formations for self-rescue consisting not just of Jewish men but also women and children. Why would Jews particularly set up Jewish family units rather than join the partisans? Anika Walke, analysing Jewish units in Belarus, suggests that such a decision was a response not only to the occupation regime which murdered Jews, but also to the Soviet partisans 'who hampered Jews' attempts to find either protection outside of the ghettos or opportunities to engage in military resistance'.[751] Despite the fact that escape of the Jews and Roma to the forests and the organisation of the family camps occurred at the same time when the Soviet

[747] The number of Jewish women in the Soviet partisan movement was four times more than the number of non-Jewish women, see: Spector, 'Evrei v Partizanskom Dvizhenii i Podpolie v Ukraine', p. 82. Unfortunately, there are no statistics about the Roma women.
[748] Some oral testimonies reveal this information and allow making such a conclusion. See: Anika Walke, *Pioneers and Partisans: An Oral History if Nazi Genocide in Belorussia* (New York, 2015), p. 165.
[749] See stories of the Roma women in the Soviet partisan and underground movements: Bessonov, *Tsyganskaia Tragediia 1941-1945*, pp. 181-211, 296.
[750] Spector, 'Evrei v Partizanskom Dvizhenii i Podpolie v Ukraine', p. 83.
[751] Anika Walke, *Pioneers and Partisans*, p. 170.

partisans formed their detachments,[752] the Soviet partisans were not willing to include the family camps in their detachments.

The first Jewish family camps in Volhynia were established in autumn-winter 1942. Around this time the partisans attacked Jewish camps: 'the well-being of the Jews in the family camps mainly were dependent upon the local leaders, whether Polish or Ukrainian, who, on the whole, felt negatively about the Jews.'[753] Most of such family units were established in Volhynia area between towns of Kovel and Sarny with an expansion to the north (a Ukrainian historical territory called Polissia) towards Belarusian Polesia. For example, the Jews from small Volhynian towns of Povorsk, Troianivka, Manevychi and Horodok created two Jewish family camps in the forests.[754] The family camps consisted of families and individuals and included not only men, but also women and children. The size of the camps fluctuated from very small groups up to several hundred people.[755] The family camps had to be able to stay alive and therefore, the essential rule of life was that the armed group of men had to protect inhabitants of the camp and procure food.[756] To be able to stay alive and not to be harmed by Polish or Soviet partisans, the family camps often provided services to the partisan units: they prepared food, cleaned and repaired clothes and shoes, looked after horses, helped wounded partisans, manufactured and repair weapons. According to the testimonies, the Jews of the family camps became useful and helpful for partisans.[757]

It is not known, how many of such family camps or military units had a status of being Jewish or Roma, even though the Germans regularly sent reports about the partisans who were active on occupied territories. Usually the partisan units were named by the nickname or the real name of a unit's leader. It is difficult to say if separate Jewish units could be listed among the partisans operating in Ukraine, at least in German documents such units were not mentioned, whereas in occupied Belarus, for instance, Germans marked the 'Bielski' unit as '*Juden*'.[758] In the Soviet documents one also cannot find recognition of 'national' units. The only Jewish detachment officially recognised in the Soviet documents

[752] Yehuda Merin and Jack Nusan Porter, 'Three Jewish Family-Camps in the Forests of Volyn: Ukraine during the Holocaust', *Jewish Social Studies*, 46:1, (Winter 1984), p. 86.
[753] Ibid., p. 87.
[754] Ibid., p. 85.
[755] Arad, 'Jewish Family Camps in the Forest', p. 333.
[756] Ibid., p. 334.
[757] Ibid., p. 351 with a reference to several testimonies.
[758] BA (L), B162/26924, S. 378. Obviously, it was Tuvia Bielski family camp. The report about partisan units in Belarus is from 20 July 1943.

as Jewish was formed in Transnistria. The organizer and leader of this unit was David Mudryk, from the small town of Illintsi, Vinnytsia *oblast.* He had served in the Red Army after he had finished secondary school. After his marriage, a month before the German invasion of the USSR, Mudryk moved to Kyiv from where he was recalled into the Red Army. He was captured and sent to a POW camp in Zhytomyr where he hid his Jewish identity and managed to escape to the town of Illintsi (RKU). After the big *Aktion* in December 1942, Germans left alive only 'specialists' and their close relatives. Mudryk and his family remained alive because he was a smith like his father. After the *Aktion*, Mudryk decided to escape to the forest with a group of Jews consisting of four women and fourteen men. They obtained some weapons that happened to be broken. Mudryk tried to connect with the Soviet partisans, however, at that time partisans were not active in that area. Mudryk and his small unit was joined by other Jewish escapees and survived on its own until August 1943 when, finally, the unit met up with the Soviet partisans headed by Ihnatii Rybachenko. Partisans helped the unit with food but could not provide any weapons. Mudryk's unit obtained weapons by fighting the occupiers and was so successful that it remained as a separate Jewish detachment. It was called 'Jewish' in official Soviet documents along with only two others that operated in occupied Belarus – the Bielski and Zorin groups. Officially, there were 124 people in Mudryk's detachment but in reality, there were about 250 people: some were not registered officially, and others later moved on to other partisan units. The unit consisted of about 60% of men and 40% women between the ages of 17 and 45. Also, there were children and older people. There was no separation between civilians and military people. Mudryk's unit established a bakery and those who could not take part in military tasks were cooking, baking, cleaning and repairing clothes and footwear as well as looking after the sick and wounded.[759] In fact, Mudryk's unit was a Jewish family camp with an armed group of Jewish men and women. This family camp acted on its own and assisted the Soviet partisans. So far, it is the only officially recognised Jewish guerrilla unit which existed in occupied Ukraine, even though unofficially there were many other units operating successfully. Thus, the Jewish family units were formed in connection with the Jewish partisan units and 'constituted an independent and original Jewish means of rescue'.[760]

[759] Shmuel Spector, 'Hapluga Hapartizanit Yehudit Bemakhoz Vinnitsa (Transnistria)', in: Abraham Milgram (ed.), *Ala et Yabegorali* (in Hebrew) (Jerusalem, 2014), pp. 127-132, in: Abraham Milgram (ed.), Ala et iabegorali, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2014 (in Hebrew).
[760] Arad, 'Jewish Family Camps in the Forest', p. 353.

The challenging question is to what extent the Jewish and Roma clandestine formations were part of the resistance movement and to which extent the forming of such units was a part of Jewish and Roma collective self-rescue? Interviews with former Jewish partisans help in answering this question. In personal interviews, the head of the most well-known and the largest Jewish family camp in occupied Belarus, Tuvia Bielski said that 'I wanted to save, not to kill'.[761] Another member of the camp Pinchas Boldo added: 'Now people idealise and exaggerate the motivations. Our aim was to survive… We did not plan to fight the Germans, we thought about staying alive.'[762] Most likely, the same statement could be applied for the Jewish family units in the territory of occupied Ukraine: to self-rescue was much more important than fighting Germans occupiers. Researchers on this topic came to the same conclusion:

> The family camps were established in order to save the women, children and old people who had escaped liquidation operations while the partisans were established, for the most part, to fight the enemy.[763] (…) Thus while the principal aim of the partisan units was to fight against the Nazis, this was only of secondary importance for those in the family camps, whose main objective was to save lives.[764]

Apparently, from the summer of 1942 to the winter of 1943, the main aim and task for Jewish and Roma units was just to survive: the war was far from over and victory by either side could not yet have been predicted. Jews and Roma often escaped after major *Aktionen,* having no food or weapons. Under such conditions, their first priority was survival. However, beginning in the spring of 1943, some of these groups fought the occupiers on their own or within other partisan formations – either Soviet or Polish. By this time the war situation had demonstrated German weaknesses that inspired people to continue the fight. Moreover, the Soviet guerrilla movement gained more and more strength and, as a result, the partisans started to help scattered Jewish and Roma groups; and the Roma and the Jews wanted to take revenge from occupiers for their killed relatives. Presumably, self-rescue turned to pure resistance and combat with the occupiers in the last period of the war. Therefore, organising the Jewish and Roma family units or small partisan units from the

[761] Tec, *Defiance: The Bielski Partisans*, p. 48.
[762] Ibid.
[763] Merin and Nusan Porter, 'Three Jewish Family-Camps in the Forests of Volyn', p. 88, with a reference to the memoirs of the Polish partisan Jozef Sobiesek (Max), published in Burzany, Warsaw, 1964.
[764] Arad, 'Jewish Family Camps in the Forest', p. 334.

summer of 1942 to the winter of 1943 can be considered as the case of collective self-rescue with the element of resistance.

Conclusion

This chapter drew attention to controversial and outstanding cases of Jewish and Roma individual and collective self-help and self-rescue: help given to Jews by *Judenräte* and Roma by mayors of 'Gypsy' villages, self-rescue of Jewish individuals as *Ostarbeiter,* collaboration of Jews and Roma with the occupiers, and resistance of Jews and Roma as a collective self-help. These cases include several ways of self-rescue and several levels of decision-making for implementation of those ways. Therefore, these cases cannot be included in basic and regular individual and collective ways of Roma and Jewish self-rescue. Nevertheless, the cases complement the study of Jewish and Roma self-rescue and illustrate the complexity and multi-layered elements of the topic.

The case of Jewish self-help and self-rescue by the Jewish Councils demonstrates the controversy in historiography: *Judenräte* mostly were considered as organs that collaborated with the occupiers either voluntarily or involuntarily. However, examples introduced here show that the Jewish Councils tried to help and rescue the Jews in the occupied territories of Ukraine. They were proactive and used all efforts and power to attain this purpose. Depending on the territory, the *Judenräte* acted to fulfil the needs of the Jews rather than blindly implementing the orders of the occupiers. Moreover, the Jewish Councils found specific ways to save majority or all Jews. They were particularly successful in Transnistria where higher proportions of the Jews were saved thanks to the efforts and courage of the *Judenräte* leaders. Thus, the unique case of saving the entire ghetto in Zhmerynka proves that the leadership of the Jewish Councils had a crucial role in Jewish collective self-rescue and showed all complications which *Judenräte* faced in order to prevent the murder of the Jews.

The case of the Roma villages reveals unique information on the structure of the Roma communities as similar to Jewish ghettos and the actions of the Roma community leaders – mayors of 'Gypsy villages' in attempting to save the lives of the Roma. The courage of the Roma mayors in writing petitions to Transnistrian higher authorities, requesting food and clothes for Roma, demonstrates a proactive role in their self-help. The case of the Roma

village mayors can draw a parallel with the Jewish Council leaders in their efforts to help and save the lives of their own people.

The case of self-rescue of the Jews as *Ostarbeiter* helps to shed light on the previous absence of Jewish self-rescue in the existing historiography. This case not only allows us to pinpoint a particular form of individual Jewish self-rescue, but also define the place of Ukrainian *Ostarbeiter* in the system of forced labour in the Third *Reich.* Obviously, to become an *Ostarbeiter* was not an easy way to self-rescue. First of all, Jews had to find a way to hide their identity. Some Jews managed to acquire forged identification papers where the given nationality was not Jewish but 'Ukrainian', others just relied on their physical appearance that allowed them to be taken as non-Jewish. To hide one's identity was easier for the Jewish young women than for the young men as almost all Jewish men had been circumcised and medical examinations allowed doctors to identify them immediately. The phase was to continue hiding one's identity while working in Germany – something that was also not easy as the case of Sima M. illustrates. Nonetheless, managing all these conditions gave Jews a better chance to survive in Germany working as *Ostarbeiter* than for their relatives who stayed in occupied Ukraine. The percentage of surviving forced labourers (83.2 %) suggests that there was a good chance for the Jews to survive, whereas in occupied Ukraine from 70% to 90% of the Jews were killed. Considering that the majority of *Ostarbeiter* were deported from Ukraine, Ukrainian Jews could be among them, especially Jewish young women because it was easier for them to hide their identity and because the Germans had specific orders to bring Ukrainian women for work in Germany. An important question, namely making decision to register oneself as an *Ostarbeiter*, was raised in this chapter. In some cases, the decision was made by relatives whereas in others, individual Jews made their own decisions as it was seen in case of Rozaliia Fishman. Some Jews could be taken as an *Ostarbeiter* accidentally when the Germans tried to transport as many young people as possible. Most likely all the above-mentioned applied to Roma young men and women too, though evidence was not found. The case of self-rescue of Jews as *Ostarbeiter* and as workers in Organisation *Todt* should be included in a larger historiography of forced labour.

The 'dark side' of self-rescue – Jewish and Roma collaboration with the occupiers in Ukraine is also absent from the existing historiography. The cases discussed in this chapter analyse willing and unwilling collaboration. Some examples prove that in certain circumstances Jews and Roma could collaborate with the occupiers on a voluntary basis,

whereas in others - they were forced to do so. In many cases, the collaboration of both Jews and Roma occurred without their understanding that it was a collaboration: they could cook or translate for occupiers without compulsion but also without awareness of their collaboration, whereas others understood that it was collaboration but still continued to do it for the sake of self-rescue and the rescue of their children. Conscious and unconscious collaboration was one of the important aspects to consider when discussing the self-rescue attempts of Roma and Jews.

Finally, the last section examined forms of Jewish and Roma resistance as a way of self-rescue. The establishment of local underground groups to escape from the ghettos or labour camps, forming clandestine units and joining Polish and Soviet partisans, and organising a family (or civilian) camps were forms of resistance that also can be considered as the ways of Roma and Jewish collective self-rescue. Obviously, the initial form of self-rescue was to escape from labour camps or ghettos. Only after a successful escape could Jewish and Roma groups hope to engage in further self-rescue that acquired another form – that of resistance. Jewish and Roma groups of different sizes operated in Ukrainian forests on their own and then joined the partisans because it was easier to survive together. Moreover, partisans had weapons which Jewish and Roma groups did not always have. However, partisans were generally not willing to accept such units until 1943 and some Jews organised family units, within which not only fighters, but also women and children could survive. These paramilitary Jewish and Roma formations demonstrate the ability of the Jews and Roma to organise successful collective self-rescue that in many cases was later transformed into successful resistance, as it was illustrated in the example of the David Mudryk's unit. To conclude, unique cases of Roma and Jewish self-rescue bring a new dimension to this topic and show the varieties and some of the controversies surrounding forms of self-help and self-rescue.

Chapter IV

Institutional Assistance and the Rescue of Jews and Roma

This chapter discusses the institutional help given to Jews and Roma during the occupation of Ukraine. It seeks to investigate the position and actions of Soviet, Polish and Ukrainian armed national movements and the attitude of various Churches as institutions towards the Jews and Roma in the occupied Ukrainian lands. The main argument is that institutional help was provided to Jews and Roma on only occasionally and depended on the personal attitudes and the influence of the leaders of those institutions on others. The analysis of the documents and historiography in this chapter brings a new angle to the discussion and controversial topics such as the rescue of Jews and Roma by partisans, the attitudes of (Ukrainian) nationalists towards Jews and Roma and the help provided by networks of the Greek Catholic Church.

Institutional assistance to Jews usually depended on the dedication and perception of an individual, often the head of the organisation concerned. The case of Polish organisation *Żegota* is a perfect example of institutionally organised help implemented by individuals. Likewise, the case of Andrei Sheptytskyi, a Metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Church emphasises the influence of authority and ability to organise a controlled network of rescuers. At the same time ignorance of the persecution of Roma by all institutions meant that these same organisations remained indifferent to the fate of the Roma.

Soviet Ukrainian Partisans and Underground Movement: Assistance to Jews and Roma

The Soviet partisan and underground movements were formed and controlled by the Soviet authorities and structured and operated hierarchically. Partisans and members of the underground operating in Soviet Ukraine were subordinated to the Central Committee of the Communist Party. The partisans' terms of reference were created by a directive, dated

29 June 1941, of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of the People's Commissars of the USSR. According to Moscow's orders, the core group responsible for the establishment of network of underground organisations and partisan detachments was to be created in Ukraine from 30 June 1941 - a week after the German invasion of the USSR and practically the first day of the German occupation of Ukraine. On 30 May 1942, the State Defence Committee issued a decree to establish the Central Headquarters of the Partisan Movement and other partisan headquarters were subordinated to it. On 20 June 1942, in a year after the German occupation had begun, the Ukrainian Headquarters for the Partisan Movement began its work and controlled partisan operations in Ukraine and Moldova.[765] The heads of the main detachments of Soviet partisans operated in Ukraine were Sidor Kovpak, Oleksii Fedorov, Oleksander Saburov, Yakiv Melnyk, and Mykhailo Naumov.[766]

The majority of the Soviet partisans operated in central and northern Ukraine while being challenged by the Polish and Ukrainian national movements with armed forces in the forests of Volhynia and Galicia (western Ukraine). The area of activity was determined by natural conditions: central and especially northern Ukraine had large deep woods and forests that would serve partisans as a natural cover, whereas eastern and southern Ukraine was predominantly open steppe. The partisans knew all tracks in the forests; they could survive there for a while and attack unexpectedly and successful without major losses against an enemy who did not know the area. The Ukrainian historic territory called Polissia which extends to Belarusian Polesia was a haven not only to Jewish family detachments as shown in previous chapter but for all Soviet partisans to survive and fight. From 1943, Soviet partisans also moved into the steppes.

There are no available sources that allude to formal discussions in the upper echelons of the partisan movements about assisting and rescuing the Jews. Nevertheless, partisans documented the persecution and extermination of Jews from newspapers, announcements, information from members of underground movement and so on.[767] Among a number of partisan reports preserved in Kyiv at the Central State Archives of Public Organisations of

[765] Anatolii Kentii, 'Partyzanskyi Rukh v Ukraini v Roky Druhoi Svitovoi Viiny', Valerii Smolii, et al. (eds.), *Entsyklopediia Istorii Ukrainy* in 10 vols., vol. 8 (Kyiv, 2011), p. 70.
[766] The reports about Kovpak's and Fedorov's activities in Ukraine are found in TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 22, spr. 50 and 51; on Saburov, Melnyk and Naumov see: Kentii, 'Partyzanskyi Rukh v Ukraini v Roky Druhoi Svitovoi Viiny', p. 71.
[767] Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti*, p. 399.

Ukraine, there are some reports mentioning the extermination of the Jews and help given to Jews by non-Jews.[768] Presumably, in the absence of any formal instructions to partisans in relation to helping the Jews, each detachment commander made his own decisions about assistance and rescue of Jewish victims. In such a haphazard fashion, one of the partisan detachments in Vinnytsia *oblast* (RKU) freed more than 1,000 Jews from the Mykhailivka ghetto. In July 1943, partisans led by Sidor Kovpak freed more than 300 Jews from the Deliatyn ghetto in Stanislav *oblast* (DG) and Skalat in Ternopil *oblast* (DG).[769] However, such partisan actions were rare. More typical was to persuade the Jews, after helping them to escape, to join partisan detachments even though weapons were not always provided. Jews who escaped from the ghettos had three main ways to survive: going into hiding, forming a military unit with other escapees (though finding weapons and food was a problem), or joining the partisans. On the one hand, being accepted by the partisans was not a form of rescuing in its pure sense: in the struggle against the occupiers anyone could be badly wounded or killed. From this point of view, joining the partisans was resistance rather than rescue, moreover, the main motive for many Jews to be among partisans was to wreak vengeance on their persecutors rather than just to survive.[770] On the other hand, acceptance by partisans provided a better chance of survival than trying to survive alone without access to food and weapons. Therefore, many Jews who escaped the ghettos tried to find partisans and be permitted to join them. For instance, Yitzhak Arad provides the text of a telegram, documented in the Russian State Archive, sent to the Central Headquarters of the Partisan Movement in September 1942 by one of the NKVD groups worked in Volhynia, that asked for supplies to form and arm a Jewish detachment, made up of several groups each of consisting 15-20 strong, who wanted revenge against the German occupiers for the massacre of their wives and children. The telegram was sent after the liquidation of ghettos in Volhynia in 1942, when the Jews who had managed to escape into the forests sought out the Soviet partisans. The telegram was apparently read at the Partisan Headquarters; and an unanimous note, handwritten in the margin of the telegram, gave an order to contact these Jews and to form an independent detachment out of them. The note also had a date – 7 September 1942. It remains unclear, if this telegram and the

[768] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 22, spr. 35; 53; 55; 153.
[769] Yulian, Shulmeister, 'Gitlerizm v Istorii Evreev (Kyiv, 1990), pp. 185-186, in: Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti*, p. 400.
[770] This motive was pointed out by Anna Sternshis based on her research: Anna Shternshis, webinar 'Ustnaia Istoriia i Folklor Sovetskikh Evreev o Vtoroi Mirovoi Voine', available at: https://sefer.ru/rus/education/educational_programmes/ustnaia_istoria.php, (last accessed on 5 September 2018).

note impacted the organisation of the first or any Jewish partisan unit in Volhynian with the help of the Soviet partisans. However, Arad noted that one of the first groups of Jewish partisans appeared in Volhynia already by the end of 1942. The unit was included into the Soviet partisan detachment headed by Anton Brinskii in February 1943.[771] In Eastern Galicia, Jews who managed to escape from ghetto liquidations, joined Sidor Kovpak's partisan detachments while others Jews from Volhynia were reported in other Soviet partisan groups, including Oleksii Fedorov's and Alexander Saburov's detachments. Some of the partisan units were in contact with Jews, protecting and enlisting them into their own units.[772]

It was not easy for Jewish men to be accepted by partisans, especially if the Jews had no combat experience and/or some needed skills. Martin Dean stated that 'the Jews were by no means always welcomed by the Soviet partisans' and were often rejected if they did not come with a weapon.[773] Researchers have emphasised the antisemitism of many Soviet commanders and even cited cases of Soviet partisans killing Jewish women.[774] Shmuel Spector, for example, describes a situation when a group of Jewish youngsters from the town of Koval established contact with Nasyekin, one of the partisan unit commanders. When this group met Nasyekin and asked to join his partisans 'they were told to go back to Koval and carry on with supplying arms. After Jews refused, they were murdered by the partisans. According to another testimony, Nasyekin had a plan to murder Jewish partisans fighting in the ranks of other partisan battalions but this was exposed and never carried out.[775]

Jewish women, the elderly, children and the sick had no chance to be accepted by partisans but with some extraordinary exceptions. For instance, a unit of the partisan commander with the nickname Kruk (real name was Nikolai Kanishscuk) consisted more than 100 Jews, among whom only about 20 were armed men whereas others – women with children and elderly people. He accepted each and every Jew who had escaped from the ghettos. After meeting with the colonel Anton Brinskii who arrived in the Volhynia area, a decision

[771] Arad, *Katastrofa Evreev na Okkupirovannykh Territoriiakh Sovetskogo Soiuza*, pp. 744-745.
[772] Ibid., p. 750. On ethcnic compositions of the Soviet partisan detachments and a share of the Jews in it, see also: Koval, 'Natsystskyi Henotsyd Shchodo Yevreiv, p. 30; Ster Elisavetskii, *Polveka Zabveniia: Evrei v Dvizhenii Soprotivleniia i Partizanskoi Borbe v (1941-1944)*, (Kiev, 1998); Alexander Gogun, *Stalin's Commandos: Ukrainian Partisan Forces on the Eastern Front,* (London, New York, 2016).
[773] Dean, *Collaboration in the Holocaust*, p. 124.
[774] Walke, *Pioneers and Partisans*, p. 169.
[775] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews,* p. 306.

was made to create a separate camp under partisan protection for those Jews who could not fight. Brinskii later also continued to gather those Jews who escaped from the ghettos and accepted them to the camp.[776]

Roma do not feature in any documentation from the higher echelons of the partisan movement. Similar to the Jews, each partisan commander independently determined policies vis-a-vis the Roma. Forms of partisan help for Roma included accepting them into detachments and providing them with weapons. In contrast to the Jews, Roma joined partisan detachments more often. Antigypsy stereotypes of Roma being horse thieves and fortune-tellers were deemed good skills within the partisan ranks. The semi-nomadic or nomadic style of life of many Roma often helped detachments to better orient in the wilderness, Roma skills in blacksmithing (valid only for certain groups of Roma) helped detachments in repairing arms while women fortune-tellers were often used for intelligence gathering and spying. At times Roma operated in partisan detachments without weapons and in contrast to the Jews, Roma women were more welcome in partisan groups. Many Roma served as partisans in the Sidor Kovpak's detachment in Ukraine even though they were not originally from Ukraine.[777] In the city of Chernihiv, some Roma were members of Fedorov's partisan detachment.[778] The family of the Roma Matrena Kirichenko from the Chernihiv area (MAZ) were among the partisans. Her brother Vasyl was denounced, due to his partisan activity, by non-Roma and when he came home, he was shot by the Germans. Other member of Matrena's family helped partisans and were murdered, though Matrena did not know for certain if they were killed for helping partisans or for being Roma: 'My mom baked and dried bread and transferred it to partisans. Our neighbour [non-Roma] knew it and denounced us to Germans; they [family] were shot. Some were shot, some buried alive (...) all my relatives.'[779]

Soviet underground groups occasionally helped Jews. However, establishing contacts with such formations was rather difficult and possible only with assistance of local non-Jews.

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[776] Anton Brinskii, *Po Tu Storonu Fronta: Vospominaniia Partizana*, available at: file:///E:/Archives/Books/Brinskiy_Po_tu_storonu_fronta_RuLit_Net_244044.html/Brinskiy_Po_tu_storonu_fronta_RuLit_Net.html, (last accessed on 02 February 2019). Printed version: Anton Brinskii, *Po Tu Storonu Fronta: Vospominaniia Partizana* (Kyiv, 1976).
[777] Bessonov, *Tsyganskaia Tragediia 1941-1945,* pp. 291-302.
[778] Mikhail Tyaglyy, 'Carrying Out the Orders or Acting on One's Own Initiative? Local Participation in the Persecutions of the Roma in Ukraine, 1941–1944', paper delivered at *the International Scientific Conference 'Romani Suffering in Europe During World War II with Particular Reference to Their Suffering in the Independent State of Croatia'* (Jasenovac, 19 May 2019).
[779] Interview with Matrena Kirichenko, VHA, interview code: 47281.

The most common form of help proffered by members of the underground was to connect Jews in hiding (and presumably Roma) with the Soviet partisans.[780] For instance, in late October 1941, the underground worker Vasilii Ivanov in Odessa (Transnistria) helped a group of Jewish escapees from the ghetto by suggesting they hide in Odessa's catacombs and showed them the secret entrance from his yard. He also supplied the Jews with some weapons. Later, this group of Jews united with a partisan unit and began operations against the occupiers.[781]

Members of the underground could also supply Jews with weapons for further escape and joining the partisans. This type of help was possible for those Jews and Roma who were hiding in villages or small towns. In big cities, the most widespread form of help rendered by the underground was warnings about roundups and executions and supplying Jews with forged documents. For example, in 1941-1942, the underground headed by the Ukrainian Yakov Samarskii in the city of Dnipropetrovsk (RKU) helped a couple of Jewish families with forged documents (passports and baptismal certificates provided by the priest Kitaiev).[782] Another Jewish member of the underground, Boris Sondak, hid for a couple of days in Samarskii's home. Samarskii's wife and daughter knew about his activities and helped him by warning Jewish families when first actions against the Jews started.[783] The full extent of interactions between Jews and the Soviet underground movement in the Soviet Ukraine remains elusive but comes mainly from the interviews with underground workers and the memoirs of Jewish survivors. Karel Berkhoff notes that some Soviet leaflets dropped from air 'seem to have told the Jews to remain in hiding',[784] something that can also be considered as helping Jews by warning them. There are, however, no documented cases of the Soviet underground helping the Roma or their families.

It seems that there were no specific directives or orders issued by the Soviet administration to the partisan and underground movements on helping Jews or Roma. Nevertheless, cases of help for Jews by non-Jewish members of the underground did occur. Both Jews and Roma were accepted into partisan detachments where they had better chances to survive.

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[780] Many testimonies written on this issue, see as an example: AYIU, Witness 1248UK; Dodik, *Sudba Malchika iz Rasstreliannogo Getto*, p. 44.
[781] Yitzhak Arad (ed.), *Unichtozhenie Evreev SSSR v Gody Nemetskoi Okkupatsii (1941-1944)* (Jerusalem, 1990), pp. 390-391.
[782] Interview with a Ukrainian Bella Bovkun, wife of the rescuer and 'Righteous among the Nations of the World', Georgy Bovkun, author's personal archive, YVA, M.31.2/7248, case of Georgy Bovkun.
[783] Interview with a Ukrainian Tamara A.-S., a daughter of the underground member Yakiv Samarskyi, author's archive.
[784] Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, p. 83.

Thus, the decision to help Roma and Jews were made by the heads of clandestine unites at an individual level rather than at an institutional one. This confirms that there was no systematic approach within the Soviet underground and partisan movement towards help for persecuted Jews and Roma whose survival therefore depended on a chance meeting with someone who had a positive attitude to the victim and the power to assist.

Polish Underground and National Movement and Their Assistance to Jews: The Cases of *Armia Krajowa* and *Żegota*

Keeping in mind the fact that western Ukraine was incorporated by the Soviet Union only in 1939, it should be remembered that the Polish national movement was active on those territories and its actions were directed against the Germans, the Soviets and the Ukrainian national movement. In Volhynia and particularly Eastern Galicia Soviet partisan activity was relatively small in scale. In contrast, both Polish and Ukrainian nationalist movements were quite extensive and active. One of the most powerful and active was the *Armia Krajowa* (AK). It was an underground military organisation that operated in occupied Poland and western Ukraine between 1942 and 1945. This AK's primary objectives was to fight for the liberation of Poles and former Polish lands. Jewish fugitives from the Germans hiding in forests and villages sometimes tried to join the AK, and in some cases succeeded. AK Commanders did, on occasion, accept Jews into their ranks. For example, one of the AK brigades included 'a platoon consisting entirely of Jewish artisans, i.e. cobblers, tailors, bakers, and etc.'[785] However, in this particular case all the Jews had professional skills while the question remains as to whether the Jews would have been accepted if they had not had such skills? Shmuel Spector mentions a promise given by a representative of the AK to assist in organising an uprising in the Volodymyr-Volynskyi and Ustilug ghettos. It is, however, not possible to confirm if this promise was given personally or in his capacity as an AK representative or indeed if the promise was honoured.[786] Based on testimonies, Shmuel Spector mentions that there were several cases of help to Jews rendered by the AK in Volhynia by providing them with forged Polish 'Aryan' documents. In Rivne there are

[785] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 264.
[786] Ibid., p. 263.

cases when such documents were provided to both male and female Jewish workers.[787] Some Jews who had their own weapons were accepted by the Poles into their ranks and operated to protect Polish villages from the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.[788] Because the AK operated mainly in Poland, there is a limited amount of information about this military formation's help to Jews and Roma in western Ukraine in an organised fashion, however, it is important to emphasise that some cases of helping the Jews by the AK occurred in Eastern Galicia, and that the AK was connected with another underground organisation – *Żegota.*

Żegota was a Polish underground organisation and the only underground organisation operating on Ukrainian occupied territories that was primarily formed to help Jews. The geographic area of *Żegota* operations was Eastern Galicia and other former Polish territories. *Rada Pomocy Żydom-Żegota*, the Council for Aiding Jews, was established by the Polish Government in Exile in London on 27 September 1942.[789] The masterminds behind this initiative were two women; Zofia Kossak-Szczucka, a writer and member of the Catholic lay organisation who had been labelled before the war as antisemite for her polemics against Jews and Wanda Krahelska-Filipowicz, a Catholic Socialist activist who was well-connected with the AK. Both women were involved in helping Jews by providing them with shelter and proffering various other assistance.[790] The provisional Committee of *Żegota* had four main tasks: contacting Jewish communities and offering them financial help; providing Jewish ghetto escapees with temporary sleeping places and apartments; providing Jewish escapees with food, clothes and work; and acquiring forged documents to claim Polish identities for Jews.[791]

Soon after its formation, *Żegota* started to deal with the most important problems: creating a plan of action, finding financial support and recruiting people. Members of *Żegota* had already served in the Polish underground and assisted Jews, and moreover, some of them were connected with the AK.[792] With a membership cadre with this profile, *Żegota* already

[787] Testimony of a Pole, Aloizy Dutkowski, YVA, O.3/2912, in: Shmuel Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 263.
[788] Arad, *Katastrofa Evreev na Okkupirovannykh Territoriiakh Sovetskogo Soiuza*, p. 750.
[789] Yisrael Gutman and Shmuel Krakowski, *Unequal Victims: Poles and Jews During World War Two* (New York: 1986), p. 252.
[790] Irene Tomaszewski and Tecia Werbowski, *Zegota: The Rescue of Jews in Wartime Poland* (Montreal, Quebec, 1994), pp. 154-164.
[791] Gutman and Krakowski, *Unequal Victims*, p. 255.
[792] For instance, Wladyslaw Bartoszewski was a member of the Information and Propaganda Bureau of the Armia Krajowa and was one of the organisers of the Jewish Section in the International Affairs Department

had the necessary skills and experience as well as a wide range of contacts in its inventory.[793] 180 Jews, mostly children, received help in early months of *Żegota's* existence. The *Żegota* leaders reached out to the resistance movement in Poland and the organisation was recognised as a branch of the Polish underground.[794] In the beginning *Żegota* was based in Warsaw, but swiftly expanded and created branches in other big cities and towns such as Cracow, Lublin, Zamosc, and Bialystok. In Ukraine, a *Żegota* branch was established in Lviv in September 1943.[795]

There are at least two cases of assistance rendered by *Żegota* to Jews in Lviv *oblast* that show the complexity of the network and its dedication to its mission. First is the case of a Polish woman Władysława Choms who chaired the *Żegota's* Lviv branch. She was born in Kielce (Poland) and later moved to the town of Drohobych, Lviv *oblast* (DG) where she lived before the start of the Second World War. There she married a Polish army major and in 1938 moved to Lviv. In June 1941, the Germans entered Lviv and arrested Władysława's husband while her son escaped to England and joined the Royal Air Force. Witnessing the fate of Jews at the hands of Germans, Władysława became involved with *Żegota* and organised a group of Poles to help Jews in the city. In the spring of 1943, she was elected as chairwoman of the *Żegota* in Lviv and gained the rank of Second Lieutenant. Through the *Żegota* formation in Lviv, Jews were supplied with forged papers and provided with hiding places. The group also collected jewellery from rich Jews and traded them for money to help Jews in need. After the ghetto was established in Lviv, Choms with her friends smuggled food, money, medicines and weapons into the ghetto. With the help of friends, she also freed Jewish children from the ghetto and placed them in Christian orphanages and monasteries. She also organised the escape of several Jewish families from the ghetto and provided them with 'Aryan' documents, and accommodation in Lviv and its neighbourhoods. She wrote a report on the plight of the Jews in Lviv which was then sent by the Polish underground to the Polish Government-in-Exile in London. In late 1943, the occupiers learned about Choms's activities and she had to flee to Warsaw where she continued her underground work. She came to be known among the rescued Jews as the

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of the Government Delegate Office, see: Joseph Kermish, 'The Activities of the Council for Aid to Jews ("Żegota") in Occupied Poland', *Yad Vashem Shoah Resource Centre*, available at: http://www.yadvashem.org/odot_pdf/Microsoft%20Word%20-%204804.pdf (last accessed on 29 August 2016), p. 6.

[793] Tomaszewski and Werbowski, *Zegota*, pp. 154-164.

[794] *The Jewish Foundation for the Righteous Żegota – Council for the Aid to Jews*, available at: https://jfr.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/jfrzegota.pdf (last accessed on 31 July 2016), p. 3.

[795] Kermish, 'The Activities of the Council for Aid to Jews', p. 11.

'angel of Lviv' or the 'angel from Lviv'. She personally helped 11 Jews and many others indirectly through her *Żegota* network. After the war, Władysława remained in contact with many of survivors whom she helped. On 15 March 1966, she became one of the first rescuers recognised by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations.[796]

The second case of helping Jews in western Ukraine is also connected with Władysława Choms. When the German occupation started in the town of Brody, Lviv *oblast* (DG) in 1941, a Polish catholic, Walter Jukalo (Ukalo) offered shelter to his Jewish neighbours. He hid a family of eight in his apartment for several months and then relocated them but continued to help with the assistance of two Ukrainians. In 1943 Walter was introduced to Władysława Choms and joined *Żegota*, working full time in Lviv and Brody. He received papers from *Żegota* that stated he had a disability, and this freed him from the obligation to work and allowed him to dedicate all his time to helping and rescuing Jews. Walter supplied Jews with false 'Aryan' documents, money, clothing, and provided shelter. Thanks to Jukalo's efforts at least eight people survived. Walter worked for *Żegota* until the end of the war. 21 September 1978, Yad Vashem recognised Walter Jukalo as Righteous Among the Nations.[797] Accepting the title from Yad Vashem, Walter stated that the only way he could live in 1941, after his father was killed by the occupiers, is 'by helping to keep as many people as [he] could from falling into their [Germans] hands. It was not a question of patriotism or ideology, but a simple issue of right and wrong. For those of us in *Żegota* there could be no other way'.[798]

These two cases demonstrate the dedication of individual Polish people to their task - rescuing Jews. The evidence shows that *Żegota*'s administration, recruitment and networking were well organised. Even though members of *Żegota* knew about each other, everything was kept in secret and the network survived until the end of the war. Despite its extensive activity and high profile, such group organisation directed to helping Jews was exceptional among all other undergrounds including the Polish nationalists, the Soviet, and the Ukrainian nationalists.[799] There is no evidence of the Polish national movement's attitude to the Roma and any interaction between AK and Roma. *Żegota* also did not have the goal of helping Roma, presumably because the Roma population in western Ukraine

[796] YVA, M.31.2/6, case of Władysława Choms; Silver, *The Books of the Just*, pp. 122-123.
[797] YVA M.31.2/1438, case of Jukalo (Ukalo); The Jewish Foundation for the Righteous Żegota, p. 10.
[798] YVA M.31.2/1438, case of Walter Jukalo (Ukalo).
[799] Gutman and Krakowski, *Unequal Victims*, p. 200.

was small in number and because the persecution of the Jews had begun in 1939, the persecution of the Roma was seemingly 'less visible' than that of the Jews.[800]

Ukrainian National Movement and its Help for Jews and Roma

The Ukrainian National movement was composed of three political organisations: the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (*Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv,* OUN), which was split into OUN(M) and OUN(B), an armed unit the Ukrainian People's and Revolutionary Army (Polissian Sich), and an armed unit the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (*Ukrainska Povstanska Armiia*, UPA). The last one, UPA, was formed in October 1942 under the aegis of OUN (B) after other groups were either eliminated or merged within UPA.[801] The Ukrainian National Movement in all its forms had the declared aim of achieving an independent Ukraine as its primary goal and in fact, fought against the Soviets and Poles, and later – the German occupiers.

The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was the first and most important group within Ukrainian nationalism. OUN had been established in 1929 in Vienna during the First Great Congress (*Pershyi Velykyi Zbir*) and was 'led by war veterans, [who were] frustrated by their failure to establish a Ukrainian state in 1917–1920.'[802] Therefore, the aim of the OUN, declared during the First Great Congress, was an independent Ukrainian State by any means.[803] OUN became the major political national movement in Ukraine, particularly in the western regions of Eastern Galicia and Volhynia, though the organisation had detachments in all localities in Ukraine. The split inside the OUN began in February 1940 and occurred decisively in April 1941, when OUN called for the Second Great Congress (*Druhyi Velykyi Zbir*) in Krakow.[804] Two wings of the OUN emerged after the Congress:

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[800] Slawomir Kapralski, 'Roma in Poland during the Second World War: An Outline' paper delivered at *the International Scientific Conference 'Romani Suffering in Europe During World War II with Particular Reference to Their Suffering in the Independent State of Croatia'* (Jasenovac, 19 May 2019).
[801] Yuriy Tys-Krokhmaliuk, *UPA Warfare in Ukraine: Strategical, Tactical and Organizational Problems of Ukrainian Resistance in World War II* (New York, 1972), p. 225.
[802] The First Great Congress see; Ivan Patryliak, 'Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh natsionalstiv', in: Smolii, Valerii, et al. (eds.), *Entsyklopediia Istorii Ukrainy* in 10 vols., vol. 7 (Kyiv, 2010), p. 610; Per Anders Rudling, *The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacturing of Historical Myths*, (Pittsburgh, 2011), p. 2.
[803] Taras Hunczak, 'OUN i Natsystska Nimechchyna: Mizh Kolaboratsionizmom i Rezistansom', *Ukrainskyi Vyzvolnyi Rukh*, 11, (2007), p. 61.
[804] Hunczak, 'OUN i Natsystska Nimechchyna', p. 64; Anatolii Kentii, *Narysy Istorii Orhanizatsii Ukrainskysh Natsionalistiv* (1929-1941 rr.) (Kyiv, 1998), pp. 126-140.

OUN(M) was under the leadership of Andrii Melnyk and OUN(B) – under the leadership of Stepan Bandera. The Soviet secret reports of early 1942 on the activity of OUN in occupied by Germans territories described that split and their leaders as following:

> OUN is represented by two leaders – Melnyk Andrii, who united the Ukrainian nationalists of [the] 'old generation', and Bandera Stepan, who was representative of the most reactionary circle of the OUN, so-called 'young generation'. Both were active fighters against the USSR under the slogan of 'For a Unified Independent Ukraine' [in original: '*Za Sobornu Samostiinu Ukrainu*'] under the protectorate of Germany. The most influential figure amongst the OUN youth was Stepan Bandera.[805]

Scholarly opinion on the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists is divided. One group of scholars from Northern America, Western Europe, Poland and Russia, see the OUN as an antisemitic and fascist organisation which actively collaborated with the German occupiers and participated in the killing of Jews in Eastern Galicia.[806] They focus specifically on two battalions, the Nachtigall Battalion (*Bataillon Ukrainische Gruppe Nachtigall*) and the Roland Battalion (*Battalion Ukrainische Gruppe Roland)*, which were formed under the OUN command as its subunits and which took part in the persecution of Jews.[807] Additionally, *Bukovyna Kurin*, a paramilitary unit, was organised as an OUN formation and took part in killing Jews as well.[808] What is more, these scholars hold that the leaders of both OUN wings – Stepan Bandera and Andrii Melnyk - were responsible for all the actions of their respective organisations. A second group of scholars from Ukraine take a different view and claim that the OUN was not primarily an antisemitic organisation and acted against both the Soviets and Germans in order to achieve an independent Ukrainian

[805] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 115, ark. 4.
[806] See, for instance: Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien*; Bartov, *Erased*; John-Paul Himka, 'The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army: Unwelcome Elements of an Identity Project', *Ab Imperio,* 4, (2010), pp. 83-101; Rudling, *The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust;* Karel. C. Berkhoff and Marco Carynnyk, 'The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and its Attitude toward Germans and Jews: Yaroslav Stets'ko's 1941 Zhyttiepys', *Harvard Ukrainian Studies,* 3-4, (1999), pp. 149-184; Grzegorz Motyka, *Ukraińska Partzyantka, 1942−1960: Dyiałalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistow i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii* (Warszawa, 2006); Dyukov, *Vtorostepennyi Vrag*; Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, 'Remembering and Forgetting the Past: Jewish and Ukrainian Memories of the Holocaust in Western Ukraine', *Yad Vashem Studies*, 43:2, (2015), pp. 13-50.
[807] Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, *Stepan Bandera: The Life and Afterlife of a Ukrainian Nationalist: Fascism, Genocide, and Cult* (Stuttgart. 2014); John-Paul Himka, 'True and False Lessons from the Nachtigal Episode', *BRAMA*, 18 March 2008; Vitalii Maslovskii, *Z Kym i Proty Koho Voiuvaly Ukrainski Natsionalisty v Roky Druhoi Svitovoi Viiny* (Moscow, 1999). Also see the Chapter 'Bataliony abveru "Nakhtihal" i "Roland"', in: Ivan Patryliak, *Viiskova Diialinist OUN(b) u 1940-1942 rokakh* (Kyiv, 2004), pp.292-368.
[808] See, for instance: Vitalii Nakhmanovych, 'Bukovinskii Kurin i Masovi Rozstrily Yevreiv Kyieva Voseny 1941 roku', *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, 3, (2007), pp. 76-97.

State. The same scholarly point of view holds that the OUN did not take active participation in mass killing of Jews but helped them.[809]

Seemingly, the truth is somewhere in between these two positions. There are plenty of oral and written testimonies as well as in archival materials about the participation of the OUN in the murder of the Jews and the Roma. Many of those killings were carried out on the initiative of the OUN. However, there are some documents which show that OUN also helped some Jews. Thus, the problem here lies in finding an answer to reason why Jews and Roma were killed by the OUN: was it because they were racial enemies conceived in the same spirit of the Nazi-German ideology where the ethnic background was the main factor for decision-making to eliminate a person of Jewish and Roma origin, or were OUN's killings based on political class perceptions where the ethnic background served as a collateral reason for the extermination of an enemy? To understanding the real rationale, one has to look at the main aims of the Ukrainian National movements and how these manifested themselves in OUN policies and actions.

The Second Great Congress (*Druhyi Velykyi Zbir*) defined the policies of the OUN as fighting 'for the sovereign Unified Ukrainian State and ensuring authority of the Ukrainian people over Ukrainian land.'[810] In the resolution of the Second Great Congress the title 'Political program', number 17 was related to the Jews:

> *Zhydy*[811] in the USSR are the most loyal supporters of the ruling Bolshevik regime and [Jews are] an avant-garde for Moscow's imperialism in Ukraine (...) The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists fights against *Zhydy* who are supporters of the Muscovite Bolshevik regime, [and] at the same time informs masses about the fact that Moscow is the main enemy.[812]

The extended version of the same document stated how to treat the Jews:

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[809] See: Viatrovych, *Stavlennia OUN do Yevreiv*; Patryliak, *Viiskova Diialinist OUN(b);* Viatrovych, Volodymyr, '*Stavlennia OUN do Yevreiv* (1920–1950 rr.)', in: Volodymyr Viatrovych (ed.), *Ukrainskyi Vyzvolnyi Rukh: Naukovyi Zbirnyk,* 7 (Lviv, 2006), pp. 155-207.

[810] A Decree of the Second Second Great Congress of OUN (Krakow, April 1941) on 'sovereign Unified Ukrainian State' see in: *OUN v 1941 Rotsi. Dokumenty,* vol. 1 (Kyiv, 2006), p. 38, with a reference to *OUN v Svitli Postanov Velykykh Zboriv, Konferentsii ta Inshykh Dokumentiv z Borotby 1929-1955 r.* (N.p., 1955).

[811] Zhyd (in plural Zhydy) is Jews were called in Polish language and spread in western Ukraine, which before 1939 was a part of the the Polish State and earlier remained under the control of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. However, in other parts of Ukraine, the word 'Zhyd' was used as pejorative name for a Jew, connoting all negative stereotypes about Jews.

[812]. *OUN v 1941 Rotsi. Dokumenty,* vol. 1 (Kyiv, 2006), pp. 35-50 with a reference to *OUN v Svitli Postanov Velykykh Zboriv, Konferentsii ta Inshykh Dokumentiv z Borotby 1929-1955 r.* (N.p., 1955).

> In the USSR, the Jews are the most faithful supporters of the ruling Bolshevik regime and the vanguard of Muscovite imperialism in Ukraine. The Muscovite-Bolshevik government exploits the anti-Jewish sentiments of the Ukrainian masses in order to divert their attention from the real perpetrator of their misfortune in order to incite them, in times of upheaval, to carry out pogroms against the Jews. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists combats the Jews as the prop of the Muscovite-Bolshevik regime and simultaneously educates the masses to the fact that the principal enemy is Moscow.[813]

After holding the Second Congress in April 1941, the OUN(B) circulated an instruction 'The OUN's Struggle and Activity in the War' amongst the members of OUN(B). This document suggested how to treat different nationalities. They were divided into two groups: the first group had to be treated the same way as Ukrainians because those peoples also suffered suppression and were loyal to the Ukrainians; the second group had to be eliminated as these peoples were loyal to the Soviets. The second group included Poles, Russians, and Jews; the latter had to be isolated whereas Russians and Poles had to be removed from all administrative positions.[814] Thus, it was declared in all OUN official documents that the Jews were considered as the primary political enemy who acted against the main aim of the Nationalists – to create an independent Ukrainian state.

De facto, this was achieved in 30 June 1941, when the Act and the Declaration of the OUN proclaimed a Ukrainian state in Lviv.[815] The Act has a key role in understanding of the primary goal of the Ukrainian independence movement. The extensive analysis of historiography and interpretation of the Act of Independence by David Marples shows that the Act played a significant role not only in the split of the OUN into two wings, but also in the attitude of the OUN to the Germans. Seemingly, the OUN (B) misunderstood the Germans in their intention to create a Ukrainian state[816] and as Myroslav Shkandrij pointed out, 'isolation from Western democracies made the movement grasp at German promises of assistance'.[817] Nevertheless, the main aim of the OUN was attaining an independent

[813] Taras Hunczak, 'Ukrainian-Jewish Relations during the Soviet and Nazi Occupation', in: Boshyk Yury (ed.), *Ukraine during World War II: History and its Aftermath* (Edmonton, 1986), pp. 40, with a reference to OUN v sviti postanov Velykykh Zboriv, Konferentsii ta inshykh dokumentiv z borotby (1929-1954), n.p., 1955, p. 36.
[814] Shkandrij, *Ukrainian Nationalism,* p. 63, with a reference to TsDAVOVU, F. 3833, op. 2, spr.1, ark. 38.
[815] See the Act and the Declaration in: TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 378.
[816] Marples, *Heroes and Villains*, p. 120.
[817] Shkandrij, *Ukrainian Nationalism*, p. 57.

Ukraine.[818] Therefore, the Bandera group declaring independence made them an enemy for the occupiers. By November 1941, the *Einsatzkommando* had been ordered to arrest all activists of the Bandera movement and secretly eliminate them as instigators of an uprising against the *Reich* in the RKU.[819] Bandera was taken to the Sachsenhausen camp while many activists of OUN (B) were arrested and executed. This placed OUN (B) in opposition not only to the Soviets and Poles, but also to the Germans. Therefore, circumstances forced the OUN (B) to fight against all enemies. At the same time, OUN (M) continued to collaborate with the Germans, though eventually, members of OUN (M) were also persecuted.[820] In fact, the OUN (M) remained loyal to the Germans throughout the war, whereas OUN (B) became rather more independent from the Germans.[821]

The struggle of Ukrainians for an independent state for centuries meant that this was the primary aim for the nationalists. Everything that could obstruct the goal had to be eliminated; everyone who resisted this goal was considered as an enemy. Therefore, the attitude of the OUN to Poles and Soviets was beyond any negotiation, they were treated by the OUN as colonialists and oppressors of Ukrainians. The attitude to the Jews seems also to have been negative, as supporters of the suppressive Soviet (formerly Russian) system. The text of one brochure which was circulated by both wings of the OUN in occupied Ukraine also confirms that OUN considered the Jews primarily as political enemies. Thus, the Jews were accused for voting in 1917-18 against the separation of Ukraine from 'Red Russia', then for cooperating with the Moscow-Bolshevist government where they occupied 75% of the positions and in this way helped Moscow to persecute Ukrainians.[822] As a wartime Soviet intelligence report states,

> The events of 1941 showed that all promises of the German authorities to create a 'Unified Independent Ukraine' given to the OUN leaders were only for using the OUN by Germans [to reach] their invasion targets. Further events clearly showed no wish of the fascists to fulfil their promises about the creation of the 'Unified Independent

[818] Ibid., p. 114-117.
[819] Einsatzkommando order against the Bandera movement, in: Yury Boshyk (ed.), *Ukraine during World War II: History and Its Aftermath* (Edmonton, 1986), p. 175
[820] Marples, *Heroes and Villains*, pp. 114-117.
[821] Rudling, *The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust*, p. 3.
[822] TsDAHOU, F. 3833, op. 2, spr. 74, 'Ukraina u zhydivskykh labetakh', pp. 8, 12, in: Yuri Radchenko, 'Stavlennia OUN do Yevreiv: Dyskusiia Bez "Spilnykh Deklaratsii"', available at: http://www.historians.in.ua/index.php/en/dyskusiya/1935-yurii-radchenko-stavlennia-oun-do-ievreiv-dyskusiia-bez-spilnykh-deklaratsii-chastyna-2, (last accessed on 20 May 2019).

> Ukraine'. Bandera and other OUN leaders (…) openly started to talk about a time for creation of Ukrainian National government.[823]

Another document without a date found in the State Archive of Rivne *oblast* also gives a straightforward information about OUN's attitude toward the Jews: 'Our attitude to national minorities: *Zhydy*. We consider them as agents of Moscow imperialism, once upon a time Tsarists, but now proletarians. Although, first we have to beat Muscovites [in original: *Moskaliv*] and then those who remained of the Jews [in original: *nedobytkiv*].'[824]

On the one hand, these attitudes to the Jews correspond to the German propaganda portrayals of Judeo-Bolsheviks. However, imitating the Nazi propaganda was not unique to OUN's attempt, as John-Paul Himka has pointed out, the Jews before the war were portrayed, especially in Eastern Europe, as agents of communism in memoir literature.[825] On the other hand, it is clear from OUN official statements that the Jews were not identified as Soviets, but only as their collaborators and supporters, and, therefore, they were a secondary enemy for the OUN. Thus, the Jews were treated as enemies as a political class rather than an ethnic category. Following this explanation, there is no contradiction between OUN killing the Jews as enemies of the Ukrainian independence and accepting other Jews as loyal to Ukrainians and sharing the same views as OUN members on the political future of Ukraine, and thus helping those Jews to be rescued.

Another explanation of OUN's Antisemitism is found in Marco Carynnyk's work where he stated that already in 1920s, and particularly in 1930s, OUN's Antisemitism had roots with racial tint. Following the works and views of Dmytro Dontsov who had an influence on OUN and the national movement, Carynnyk argues that the position of Dontsov was openly fascistic in character in early 1930s. In late 1930s, Dontsov followers openly discussed the 'Jewish Question' as 'racial-national'.[826] Thus, Antisemitism did not appear in the nationalist environment with the beginning of the German invasion, but had deeper root that was clearly shown in the beginning of the German occupation.

Only in autumn of 1942 did OUN(B) change its position against Jews and officially made clear that national minorities such as Magyars, Czechs, Romanians, Armenians and Jews

[823] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 115, Ark. 5.
[824] DARO, F. P-30, op. 2, spr. 82, ark. 36-37, in: Maksim Gon (ed.), *Holokost na Rivnenshchyni*, p. 88.
[825] John-Paul Himka, 'Ukrainian Memories Destruction of Jews Collected in 1947', *Canadian Slavonic Papers*, 54:3-4, (September-December 2012), p. 440.
[826] Carynnyk, 'Foes of Our Rebirth', pp. 318-323.

should not be touched.[827] The changes in OUN policies were reflected in their attitude to the German occupiers. Thus, in January 1943, according to the German reports, OUN(B) propagated the slogan 'Death to the German occupiers!' and 'Freedom to Ukrainians!'.[828] On the Third Great Congress (*Tretii Velykyi Zbir*) in August 1943, OUN cancelled its anti-Jewish resolution, and the new resolution stipulated equal rights for all national minorities in Ukraine.[829]

Despite the very negative attitude of the OUN toward the Jews, several cases of OUN helping Jews occurred in different localities and were initiated by the organisation. A German report of 1941 noted that the Bandera group (OUN (B)) helped the Jews with false passports; and those Jews were members of the OUN.[830] Out of this report one can presume, that the Bandera wing of OUN already had Jews as members in 1941. However, there is no other reports of such sort that could confirm this presumption. Another presumption is that the OUN (B) helped the Jews not only by just keeping them as members, but also by providing the Jews with forged documents to protect them from roundups and extermination by the occupiers. This would allow the Jews to fulfil their tasks as OUN members. Unfortunately, there is no information in the report as to how many detachments and in which localities OUN helped the Jews. Yet, there is no other German document which would corroborate or add more information about providing the Jews with forged documents by the OUN. Thus, the hypothesis of helping OUN toward Jews with forged documents cannot be verified based only on one document, even though it is a German report. In February 1942, the Germans again discovered that the OUN(B) was falsifying identity papers for the Jews and selling them in Zhytomyr, Poltava, Kharkiv, and Kyiv.[831] Helping the Jews was not a disinterested act: the organisation made money out of providing the Jews with forged documents. Nevertheless, acquiring false identity documents could rescue the Jewish lives.

There were two cases of rescuing the Jews by the OUN members who later were recognised as 'Righteous Among the Nations of the World' by Yad Vashem: Olena Viter (Witter) and Fedir (Fedor) Vovk. However, Fedir Vovk acted as an individual rather than as a

[827] Bernadetta Gronek, Serhii Kokin, et al. (eds.), *Poljaki i ukraïnci mizh dvoma totalitarnimi sistemami, 1942−1945* (Warsaw/Kyiv, 2005), p. 208.
[828] BA (L), B162/26923, 'Meldungen…№41', January 1943, S. 50.
[829] Taras Hunczak, *Kliuchovi Problemy Istoriohrafiï Druhoi Svitovoi Viiny* (Kyiv, 2011), p. 92.
[830] BA (L), B162/21161, S. 35.
[831] Lower, *Nazi-Empire Building,* p. 183, with a reference to SD Meldungen OST, weekly report dated 15 May 1942, NARG 242, T-175/R/16/2519847.

representative of the OUN, though, the organisation could help in preparation of false documents for the Jews whom Vovk rescued.[832] Olena Viter rescued the Jews as a nun of Greek Catholic monastery and acted as envoy of the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi.[833] Thus, both rescue cases were not organised directly by the OUN.

Other than the OUN, the Ukrainian People's Revolutionary Army-Polissian Sich (*Ukrainska Narodna Revolitsiina Armiia - Poliska Sich*) or better known as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army-*Polissian Sich* (further Polissian Sich) acted as a Ukrainian Nationalist movement in western Ukraine. The Polissian Sich was formed in July 1941, almost immediately after the German invasion of Ukrainian territories and operated mainly in Volhynia and was led by Taras Bulba-Borovets.[834] In the beginning, the formation collaborated with the occupiers and was recognised by the Germans as a military unit in the RKU. By the second half of the 1942, the Polissian Sich took an anti-German stance and channelled its efforts towards the fight for an independent Ukraine. Because Taras Bulba-Borovets had ideological disputes with the OUN, the two organisations remained separate.

The main concern about the actions of the Polissian Sich emerges from its operations against Jews in the town of Olevsk, Zhytomyr *oblast* (RKU). Serhii Stelnykovych referring to the archives of Rivne and Zhytomyr *oblasts* stated that the units of the Polissian Sich participated in the *Aktion* to murder the Jews in Olevsk on 19 November 1941, after the official disbanding of the Polissian Sich by the Germans (from that period Polissian Sich took a pause and later started to act against the occupiers). This information is written in the official protocol of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army-Polissian Sich and confirmed by witnesses.[835] Volodymyr Serhiichuk, referring to a document from the Archive of State Security Service of Ukraine, argued that a Captain of the SS arrived from Zhytomyr and asked the Polissian Sich members to help him in shooting the Olevsk Jews on 19 November

[832] YVA, M.31.2/8152, case of Fedir (Fedor) Vovk.
[833] YVA, M.31.2/6304, case of Clement Sheptytsky; YVA, M.31.2/421, case of Olena (Jozefa) Witer (Viter).
[834] Volodymyr Serhiichuk, (ed.), *Taras Bulba-Borovets. Dokumenty. Statti. Lysty* (Kyiv, 2011); Dziobak Volodymyr, 'Taras Borovets i "Polis'ka Sich"', *Z Arkhiviv VUChK–GPU–NKVD–KGB,* 1:2, (1995), pp. 39-69; Serhii Stelnykovych, *Ukrainskyi Natsionalnyi Rukh Oporu Tarasa Bulby-Borovtsia: Istorychnyi Narys* (Zhitomir, 2007).
[835] Serhii Stelnykovych, 'Arkhivna Dzherelna Baza Doslidzhennia Diialnosti Polisskoi Sichi', *Naukovi Zapysky Vinnytskoho Derzhavnoho Pedahohichnoho Universytetu im. M. Kotsiubynskoho,* 12, (2007), pp. 373, with a reference to DARO, F. R-30, op. 2, spr. 112, арк. 1-10, 15-18 and The State Archive of Zhytomyr Oblast, F. R-2636, оп. 1, spr. 66, ark. 2б; Serhii Stelnykovych, *Ukrainskyi Natsionalnyi Rukh Oporu Tarasa Bulby-Borovtsia*, pp. 72-76.

1941. The officer of the Polissian Sich responded that their detachment had been disbanded, and anyway the 'people will be called as warriors for fighting with an armed enemy but not for annihilating unarmed women, old men, disabled people and children despite their nationality'.[836] However, two officers and 60 soldiers of the Polissian Sich were mobilised and participated in the killings of the Olevsk Jews that was portrayed in the document as forced mobilisation.[837] Thus, the Polissian Sich did not protect the Jews and did not avoid killing them. Even if one takes the particular case of 19 November 1941 into consideration that their intention was not to follow the German order, the Polissian Sich took part in murdering the Jews in Olevsk *de facto*. Except for the Olevsk case, there is no other example which would imply a positive attitude of the Polissian Sich towards the Jews. However, a lack of fighters and changing the policies of the nationalists towards other non-Ukrainians in 1943, forced the Polissian Sich to seek cooperation with other groups. Thus, one of the German weekly report from early April 1943 mentioned that in February 1943 in an area of the town of Kostopol (Volhynia), the Taras Bulba-Borovets group of the Polissian Sich, had a meeting in a Polish village with Poles and called them to work together 'with Russians, Jews and Gypsies against the Germans'. The report concluded that Ukrainians were unreliable.[838] Yet, a single call for a cooperation between the Roma, the Jews, and the Poles made by the Polissian Sich unlikely can be considered as any assistance to Jews or Roma. Moreover, no other information to confirm or imply that Polissian Sich could help the Jews or tried to cooperate with them in any way has not been found to date. In addition, the periodical *Haidamaka*, published by Bulba-Borovets, was highly antisemitic and reflected the view of Bulba-Borovets and the Polissian Sich members. Thus, in the end of 1941 after mass shootings of Jews, the *Haidamaka* published that 'now the parasitical Jewish nation has been destroyed'.[839] Therefore, it is unlikely that the Polissian Sich would try to assist Jews or cooperate with them against the Germans. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (*Ukrainska Povstanska Armiia*, UPA) was formed in October 1942 and its ranks included members of the OUN, soldiers from the Ukrainian Insurgent Army-Poliska Sich and some other nationalists. Because the backbone of the UPA was formed from OUN(B) elements and indoctrinated with the ideas of Stepan

[836] Minutes of the meeting of the officers of 'Poliska Sich' regarding their refusal to participate in the shootings of the Jewish population of Olevsk in November 18, 1941, in: Serhiichuk, (ed.), *Taras Bulba-Borovets,* pp. 121-122.
[837] Ibid.
[838] BA (L), B 162/26923, S. 82.
[839] *Haidamaka*, 11 (22 November 1941), quoted in A. V. Kentii, *Narysy istorii Orhanizatsii Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv v 1941-1942 rr*. (Kiev, 1999), p. 59, in: Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair,* p. 64.

Bandera, scholars consider the two organisations as one OUN-UPA, even though they were different in their structure and actions. The scholarly discussion and differences in findings about the UPA and the Jews follow the pattern that of the OUN.[840] Notwithstanding, there were couple of cases of rescuing the Jews by the UPA as an organisation.

Shmuel Spector mentions two cases when UPA protected Jews. First was in the Kostopol district, Rivne *oblast* (RKU) where 400 Jews lived in a village. They were skilled workers and were employed by UPA units. Therefore, helping the Jews was not a selfless act: the UPA needed skilled workers and could find them among the Jews. Although, it is unknown whether non-Jewish skilled workers were available for employment. If this was the case then the employment of the Jews by the UPA could be seen as an act of rescue, but if not then the UPA did not have any other choice but was moved by pure pragmatism that also could serve for helping the Jews but could not be explained as the UPA's primary intention.

The second case of recue took place near Kovel, Volhynia *oblast* (RKU) where a UPA unit commander protected around 20 Jews by allowing them to settle near his camp and providing them with various service jobs.[841] The Jews were assisted thanks to the efforts of a peasant, Stepan Polishuk who was the father of a UPA unit commander, Roman Polishuk. In another source the number of the Jews who were assisted was 50: the Jews were armed for their self-defence by peasants and the peasant Stepan Polishuk told this to his son Roman. Eventually Roman saved these Jews. The difference in numbers between the two sources seems to have been because some Jews had died before they came under the UPA's protection. Ostensibly, rescuing the Jews was not systematic and each case has to be

[840] See: Himka, *Ukrainians, Jews and the Holocaus;* John-Paul Himka, 'The Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Holocaust', paper prepared for *the 41st National Convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies* (Boston, 12-15 November 2009), available at: https://www.academia.edu/1071581/The_Ukrainian_Insurgent_Army_UPA_and_the_Holocaust (last accessed on 17 April 2018); Taras Kurilo and Ivan Himka, 'Yak OUN Stavylasia do Yevreiv? Rozdumy nad Knyzhkoiu Volodymyra Viatrovycha', *Ukraina Moderna,* 13, (2008), pp. 252-265. See also the discussion in the historical peer-reviewed journal 'Krytyka': Timothy D. Snyder, 'A Fascist Hero in Democratic Kiev, *The New York Review of Books,* available at: https://www.nybooks.com/daily/2010/02/24/a-fascist-hero-in-democratic-kiev/ (last accessed on 12 September 2019); Volodymyr Kulyk, 'Neunyknyi Bandera', *Krytyka*, 3-4, (2010), pp. 13-1; Andrii Portnov, 'Kontekstualizatsiia Stepana Bandery', *Krytyka*, 14:3-4, (2010), pp. 149-150. A continuation of the discussion: Anatolii Rusnachenko, 'Symvol i Yogo Krytyky', *Krytyka*, 14:9-10, (2010), pp. 155-156; V. Rusnachenko, Anatolii, 'Symvol i Yogo Krytyky', *Krytyka*, 14:9-10, (2010), pp. 155-156; Vitalii Nakhmanovych, 'Ne Lyshe pro Banderu...', *Krytyka*, 14:9-10, (2010), pp. 9-10.

[841] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews,* p. 272. First case described in this book based on the collective testimony from found at YVA: Zilberg Melamed and others. The second case is described based on the article: Leo Heiman, '"We fought for the Ukrainel", The Story of the Jews in the UPA', *Ukrainian Quarterly* 20:1 (1964), pp. 33-34.

considered separately. A testimony confirms this: one of the Jewish survivors from Kovel, Zelik Broiderman, stated that

> …being objective, I cannot say today, if the humane attitude towards us [Jews]' was the general policy of the UPA, or it was just the case of this particular department which was led by Roman Polishuk… Fighters for the independence of their region, together with UPA, were the only ones that provided help to us and thanks to them we survived the darkest period in human history.[842]

Ukrainian historian and the former head of Ukrainian Institute of National Remembrance Volodymyr Viatrovych, argues that 'generally there are many proofs that show that Ukrainian nationalists provided help and shelter to persecuted Jews.'[843] Viatrovych refers to cases of help in the form of sheltering and providing forged documents by Natalia Shukhevych, the wife of Roman Shukhevych, the leader of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.[844] However, he gives no source for this and the only reference is to a conference paper by the poet and translator Moisei Fishbein 'The Jewish Card In Russian Special Operations Against Ukraine' delivered at the 26th Conference on Ukrainian Subjects at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 24-27 June 2009. This paper also has no references to sources for this piece of information.[845]

One of the UPA leaders, Mykola Lebed, wrote in his memoirs about rescuing Jews. He mentioned that the Jews [in original: Zhydy] saved by the UPA from Hitler's *Aktion* were mainly doctors that served in the UPA. According to this, UPA viewed Jewish doctors as citizens of Ukraine with equal rights to others.[846] Nevertheless, Lebed did not describe how these Jews-doctors were saved by the UPA, either accidentally or because they were doctors and UPA was in need of medical help. Also, the question remains: who made the decision to save the Jewish doctors – the commander of the unit, all members of this UPA unit or just by individuals within the UPA? It is not clear if the UPA unit received instructions from higher ranking officers to save those Jews or the unit acted independently. A Jewish

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[842] Suslensky, *Spravzhni Heroi,* pp. 14-15.
[843] Viatrovych, *Stavlennia OUN do Yevreiv*, p. 77.
[844] Ibid.
[845] Moisei Fishbein, The Jewish Card in Russian Special Operations Against Ukraine', paper delivered at *the 26th Conference on Ukrainian Subjects at the University of Illinois* (Urbana-Champaign, 24-27 June 200), available at: http://halychyna.ca/Moisei%20Fishbein%20speech%20in%20Urbana%20The%20Jewish%20Card.pdf, (last accessed on 20 August 2019).
[846] Mykola Lebid, *UPA – Ukrainska Povstansika Armiia: Yii Geneza, Rist i Dii u Vyzvolnii Borotbi Ukrainskoho Narodu za Ukrainsku Samostiinu Sobornu Derzhavu. Chastyna Persha: Nimetska Okupatsiia Ukrainy* (Vydannia Presovoho Biura UGVR, 1946), p. 35.

doctor Stella Krenzbach wrote a testimony entitled 'Thanks to UPA I [am] still alive' where she mentioned about her joining the ranks of the UPA. Stella was approached by a Ukrainian friend, Olia, to join the UPA in November 1943: 'I asked Olia how she had introduced me to the recruiters – as a Ukrainian or as a Jewess. She replied that… they do not divide people along racial lines – only into the decent or not decent. That day I joined the heroic UPA.'[847] Then, Krenzbach noted, as of 1944, this UPA unit included 12 Jews and eight of them were doctors.[848] Several historians including John-Paul Himka and Per Anders Rudling claim that this memoir is false.[849] The historian, Philip Friedman, inquired at the *Washington Post* where the Stella's memoir was first published, but could find no trace of it. He also asked Dr. N. M. Gelber to follow up with the Israeli Foreign Ministry because according to Dmitry Andreyewsky, Stella had arrived to Palestine after the Holocaust and worked as a secretary in the Foreign Ministry but after her memoirs were released in the *Washington Post* in 1954, she was killed. Friedman was told that no one of that name ever worked at the Foreign Ministry and such a case of killing was unknown. Based on this information Friedman concluded that the memoirs were a falsification by the UPA.[850] The same opinion was shared by a Ukrainian writer, Bohdan Kordiuk who affirmed that the UPA members he knew had never met Stella or heard about her.[851] Following Friedman's statement, other scholars also took the view that the memoirs were a hoax, however, none of them, except Friedman, tried to follow up. In fact, Friedman's requests to the *Washington Post* and Israeli Foreign Ministry cannot confirm the falsification or truthfulness of the memoirs. The post-war search for the author does not and cannot relate to the memoir and its content directly. After the war Stella could have used a pseudonym for any number of reasons, or any information of what happened after the war could indeed be fake, but it was not a part of the memoirs. However, falsified information about the post-war period does not mean that the information Stella wrote

[847] Stella Krenzbach, 'Zhyvu Shche Zavdiaky UPA', in: Petro Mirchuk (eds), *In the Ranks Of UPA: A Collection of the Memories of Former Soldiers of Ukrainian Insurgent Army* (New York, 1957), p. 345, In a version of the Stella's memoirs published by Yurij Chumatskyj, it is written: 'they do not divide people along racial lines – only into upright or the collaborationists', in: Yurij Chumatskyj, *Why Is One Holocaust Worth More Than Others?* (Lidcombe/Baulkham Hills: 1986).
[848] Chumatskyj, *Why Is One Holocaust Worth More Than Others?*, p. 71.
[849] See: John-Paul Himka, 'Falsifying World War II History in Ukraine', *Kyiv Post* (published on 8 May 2011), available at: https://www.kyivpost.com/article/opinion/op-ed/falsifying-world-war-ii-history-in-ukraine-103895.html?cn-reloaded=1&cn-reloaded=1 (last accessed on 10 March 2020); Rudling, The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust, pp. 63-64.
[850] Philip Friedman, Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust (New York/Philadelphia, 1980), pp. 203-204.
[851] For the entire story see: Rudling, *The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust*, pp. 63-64.

about the war period is false too. Besides, Stella's narration does not contradict the fact that UPA helped and rescued the Jews where it needed certain specialist skills. Moreover, those Jews accepted by the UPA were most likely not random individuals but friends or acquaintances of UPA members as Stella's memoirs also have shown. To check whether the memoir is authentic – inquiries need be made to see if such person existed. In her memoirs Stella mentioned that she was a daughter of a rabbi who was friends with a Greek Catholic priest. The priest had a daughter, Olia, with whom Stella was friends. The town mentioned in the memoirs is 'B.' and situated in about 75 km from Lviv, that could be Busk or some other town situated in Lviv region.[852] Based on this information the records of rabbis can be verified in the town(s), then testimonies and interviews about the life in this town and the Holocaust experience must be checked in several languages, including memorial books written in Yiddish. Without such scrupulous work one cannot prove that the memoirs were fake or truthful.

The attitude of Ukrainian nationalists to Roma differed depending on the Roma style of life. Nomadic Roma and, probably also the semi-nomadic were seen as criminals by the OUN, whereas settled Roma were part of society and did not evoke the same attitude.[853] As Mikhail Tyaglyy noted, the 'Gypsy question' was not as visible as the 'Jewish question', but in nationalist propagandists' literature, the Roma were mentioned as 'harmful, unnecessary, or one that should be eliminated'.[854] Thus, cases of Ukrainian nationalists killing the Roma were found in Ukrainian archives and occurred mostly in 1943 in Volhynia[855] where about 3,000-4,000 Roma were killed by the Germans and OUN.[856] Frequently, the Roma joined the Soviet partisan movements: something reported by different OUN groups. Apparently, fighting for the Soviets was the primary reason why Ukrainian nationalists treated Roma as enemies and persecuted them.[857] There is no information found either in the archives or in testimonies of Ukrainian nationalists helping or rescuing Roma from the German and Romanian occupiers. It is unknown if any Roma,

[852] Krenzbach, 'Zhyvu Shche Zavdiaky UPA', p.342.
[853] Mikhail Tyaglyy, 'Stavlennia Mistsevoho Naselennia v Okupovanii Ukraini do Peresliduvanykh Romiv (1941–1944)' in: Mikhail Tyaglyy and Olena Paziuk (eds.), *Henotsyd Romiv Ukrainy v Period Druhoi Svitovoi Viiny: Vyvchennia, Vykladannia, Komemoratsiia. Materialy Naukovo-Praktychnoi Konferentsii m. Kyiv, 4 zhovtnia 2016 r.* (Kyiv, 2016), pp. 126-158.
[854] Ibid., p. 129.
[855] Ibid., with areference to the YVA's testimony and the case form SBU Archive in Rivne Oblast.
[856] Jerzy Ficowski, 'The Polish Gypsies of To-Day', *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society,* 3:29, (1950), p. 92.
[857] Tyaglyy, 'Stavlennia Mistsevoho Naselennia', pp. 131-132.

either individuals or groups, were in the ranks of nationalists, or if any assistance was given to Roma from any organisation of Ukrainian nationalists.

To conclude, although there are a few cases of recorded help rendered to Jews by the Ukrainian nationalists, these cases cannot allow us to conclude that certain group of the Ukrainian national movements ever received specific instructions to protect Jews and (if so) when. Nonetheless, the cases and memoirs mentioned show that Jews were accepted into the Ukrainian national organisation and protected in cases when they could be used as skilled workers or professionals. It is most likely that assistance to Jews was provided by individuals, including UPA units' commanders who made the decision to help Jews on the spot. It is plausible that the head of each detachment made its own decision. Also, it appears that the nationalists did not help the Jews who were not the member of the organisation. Any evidence of assistance to Roma from Ukrainian nationalists has not been found.

Religious Institutions and Their Assistance to Jews and Roma

The different religions existing in Ukraine, besides Judaism, including various branches of the Christian Church such as Christian Orthodox, Christian Greek Catholics or Uniates, Christian Roman Catholic, various denominations of Protestants, and Muslims. Some of them helped the Jews and Roma, while others remained silent or even supported the occupational regime. The most widespread Christian churches in Soviet Ukraine before the occupation was the Orthodox Church. In the 1920s, it was divided into three Orthodox Churches: the Russian Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, and the Orthodox Autocephalous Synodal Church. In 1930s, the Soviet regime liquidated the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Orthodox Autocephalous Synodal Church while the Russian Orthodox Church (Patriarchal Exarchate) continued to exist despite being persecuted by the Soviet regime in the late 1930s. In 1939, after Poland was overrun and the German occupation started, the Orthodox Church, previously based in Poland, was renamed as the Holy Orthodox Autocephalous Church in the General Government, whereas the Orthodox Church in Volhynia and the Eastern Galicia belonged to the Orthodox Church of the Moscow Patriarchate.[858] Soon after the occupation on 18 August 1941, the archbishop Oleksii Hromadskyi called a Sobor (the synod of the Orthodox

[858] Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, p.232-233.

Church) in the town of Pochaiv, Ternopil *oblast* (DG), in secret, away from public attention. This Sobor proclaimed:

> …the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, while being autonomous, canonically depended on the Moscow Patriarchate. (…) The decision of the Pochaiv Sobor leads to a split of the church in Ukraine already in the first months of the German occupation. As a result, two rival churches appeared: the Autonomous and the Autocephalous.[859]

Therefore, the Autonomous Orthodox Church, headed by Oleksii (Hromadskyi), metropolitan of Volhynia and Zhytomyr, exarch of Ukraine, remained subordinate to the Moscow Patriarchate whereas the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, headed by archbishop Polikarp (Sikorskyi), who was appointed by the metropolitan of Warsaw Dionisii (Valedinsky), canonically remained under the Autocephalous Orthodox Church of Poland.[860] According to secret Soviet reports, Archbishop Polikarp sent a confirmation in his loyalty to and cooperation with the vice *Reichskommissar*.[861] Also, Polikarp expressed his gratitude for the liberation of the country from 'the Moscow-Judeo predominance'.[862] The Soviet report stated that in May 1942, Polikarp gave a sermon that 'all those who does not have a job must go to work to Germany or be mobilised in the [German] army and go to the front, or work in military industry factories.'[863] In a local newspaper, *Ukrainskyi Holos,* Polikarp published his antisemitic epistle where he accused the Jews in NKVD crimes and called Christians to fight with Judeo-Bolshevism in a way similar to the Nazi German propaganda:

> The Judeo-communists, reinforced by the armed Jewish plutocracy of America and England, and with the peoples of the USSR, who have been terrorized for 25 years, in their firm grasp, send these masses of people into the fierce battles for Judeo-communist world domination. (…) To mobilize all anti-Bolshevik forces for the

[859] Osyp Zinkevych and Oleksander Voronyn (eds.), *Martyrolohiia Ukrainskykh Tserkov, Vol 1: Ukrainska Pravoslavna Tserkva: Dokumenty, Materialy* (Toronto, Baltimore, 1987), p. 678.
[860] Dmytro Vedeneiev and Oleksandr Lysenko, 'Relihiini Konfesii Ukrainy yak Obiekt Operatyvnoi Rozrobky Nimetskykh i Radianskykh Spetssluzhb (1943–1945 rr.)', *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, 4 (2012), p. 109.
[861] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 115, ark. 35.
[862] TsDAVOVU, F. 3676, op.4., spr. 474, pp. 405-406.
[863] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 115, ark. 38.

> struggle against Bolshevism – that is our mission, for on the victory over Judeo-communism the survival of the Ukrainian people depends.[864]

The occupiers' policies towards religion were tailored to manage a certain balance among different Orthodox confessions in Ukraine,[865] though the German reports stated that the authorities should not provide the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church with more advantages than others.[866] The reports on the religious situation in Ukraine, particularly the RKU and the DG were sent to Berlin.[867] In the beginning of the German occupation of Ukraine, the new authority's attitude to the different branches of the Orthodox Church was rather supportive. However, starting from 1942, the Orthodox churches were gradually restricted in their functions.[868]

The southern and parts of western Ukraine – Transnistria, Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina – were subordinated to the Romanian Orthodox Church. After Germany's Romanian allies occupied part of the Ukrainian south and created the Transnistria Governorate, the Romanian Patriarch Nicodim (Munteanu) dispatched an Orthodox mission to Transnistria to take over control and lead religious activities in the region. The mission was based in the city of Odessa (after the capital of Transnistria was moved from Tiraspol to Odessa). The Romanian occupation meant the Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Autonomous Orthodox Church were liquidated in Transnistria. The Romanian dictator Ion Antonescu nonetheless supported the Orthodox Church and the right of religion was proclaimed as a freedom for the residents of the region.[869]

The reaction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Churches – the Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Autonomous Orthodox Church – to the persecution of Jews varied. The Autonomous Orthodox Church was subordinated to the Moscow Patriarchate that defined the general policies of this church. The Moscow Patriarchate took an anti-German line and

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[864] Archbishop Polikarp (Sikorsky) of the Orthodox Autocephalous Church denounces the Jews (25 March 1943), translated by Tobias Wals in: EHRI Online Course in Holocaust Studies 'The Holocaust in Ukraine – Christian Leaders', with a reference to *Ukrainskyi Holos*, 37 (271), 6 May 1943, p. 3, available at: https://training.ehri-project.eu/sites/training.ehri-project.eu/files/Translation%20Archbishop%20Polikarp%20%28Sikorsky%29%20of%20the%20Orthodox%20Autocephalous%20Church%20denounces%20the%20Jews_0.pdf (last accessed 02 February 2020).

[865] Vedeneiev and Lysenko, 'Relihiini Konfesii Ukrainy', p.108; the German policy towards Ukrainian churches see: TsDAVOVU, F. KMF-8, op. 1, spr. 38, p. 95.

[866] TsDAVOVU, F. 3676, Op.4, spr. 474, p. 138.

[867] See for instance: BA (L), B162/26925, S. 465-466.

[868] On the development of the Orthodox confessions under the German rule in Ukraine, see: Viacheslav Gordienko, 'Nimetsko-Fashystskyi Okupatsiinyi Rezhym i Pravoslavni Konfesii v Ukraini', *Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal,* 3, (1998), pp. 107-119.

[869] Shkarovskii, *Krest i Svastika*.

condemned the persecution of Jews.[870] The head of the Russian Orthodox Church in Moscow, the Patriarch (before his election in September 1943 he was Patriarchal *Locum Tenens*) Sergius (Sergii Stragorodskiy) called believers to fight against the occupiers immediately after the invasion.[871] One of his epistles from 13 December 1942 openly called believers to fight against Hitler in the front and in the rear.[872] Even though epistles did not directly speak of assisting the Jews, because of the official position of the Russian Orthodox Church being sharply against the occupiers, many priests of the Autonomous Orthodox Church provided Jews with help individually and rendered organised assistance through their eparchies.[873] At the same time, Sergius' leading representatives in Ukraine, for instance, Aleksii (Hromadskyi) of Volhynia prayed for Hitler even though he did not published antisemitic epistles.[874] At the same time, Aleksii's bishop, Panteleimon (Rudyk) of Kiev published a leaflet where he accused the Judeo-Bolshevism in murdering of millions of people:

> As we now know, during their bloody rule the Judeo-Bolshevik hangmen murdered up to three million innocent people, among them twenty-eight bishops and 42,800 clergymen of other ranks, not to mention the tens of millions who perished in civil war, famine, plagues or in exile and hard labour.[875]

The Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which was also called Ukrainian Orthodox Church was inclined to follow the view of the nationalists and support the occupiers. The formerly disliked authority of the Moscow Patriarchate and the ensuing suppression of the Soviet State caused the Autocephalous Orthodox Church clergy to generate a positive view of the German invasion on the one hand, and revived hopes for re-installation of the Ukrainian independent Orthodox Church, on the other. In early 1942, the archbishop Polikarp was appointed as the head of the Autonomous Church (officially: temporary administrator) 'in the lands of the liberated Ukraine' and Germans endorsed his appointment. Polikarp

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[870] Mikhail Shkarovskii, 'Proiavlenie Genotsida v Religioznoi Politike Natsistov na Okkupirovannoi Territorii SSSR', in: Aleksander Dyukov and Olesia Orlenko (eds.), *Voina na Unichtozhenie: Natsistskaia Politika Genotsida na Territorii Vostochnoi Evropy. Materialy Mezhdunarodnoi Nauchnoi Konferentsii (Moskva, 26–28 aprelia 2010 goda)* (Moscow, 2010), p. 188.
[871] Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti*, p. 417.
[872] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 369, ark. 4.
[873] Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti*, p. 417.
[874] EHRI Online Course in Holocaust Studies 'The Holocaust in Ukraine – Christian Leaders', available at: https://training.ehri-project.eu/christian-leaders (last accessed on 31 March 2020).
[875] A Leaflet, Bishop Panteleimon (Rudyk) of the Orthodox Autonomous Church Denounces Jews as Satanic, May 1943, in: EHRI Online Course in Holocaust Studies 'The Holocaust in Ukraine – Christian Leaders' with a reference to: GARF, F. 7021, op. 148, d. 57, ll. 1-3 ob., available at: https://training.ehri-project.eu/sites/training.ehri-project.eu/files/Ua_D09_0.pdf (last accessed on 31 March 2020).

collaborated with the Germans and at the same time positioned himself as a nationalist priest. Regarding the attitude to the Jews, the Autocephalous Orthodox Church did not issue any declarations to condemn the German policies towards the persecution of Jews, even when the Jews began to be murdered by the occupiers.[876] Besides, the archbishop of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church Polikarp and bishop Hryhorii (Ohiichuk) of Zhytomyr and Vinnytsia praised Hitler and supported Nazi German policy in their epistles and leaflets.[877] Hryhorii even called the communist 'Jewish Mongols'[878] that was a reference to the time of incursion of Mongol hordes in the 13th century who left after behind only corps and scorched land. As an institution, the leaders of the church did not encourage helping the Jews and, probably, did not influence their eparchy, or at least such evidence was not found so far.[879] Yet, some priests taking individual initiatives could be found assisting the Jews.

The Romanian Orthodox Church did not approve the annihilation of the Jews despite Romania being Germany's closest ally.[880] Yet, the Church was not benevolent towards the Jews and, in fact, followed and legitimised the Romanian politics of hatred. As Ion Popa noted, the Romanian Orthodox Church was also less involved in helping and rescuing Jews in comparison with other Romanian Christian institutions.[881] The Romanian Orthodox Church mission of the Transnistria Governorate was actively working and holding regular correspondence on administrative and financial issues with priests of *Judeţe* in 1942-43.[882] In most cases the priests of this Church made independent choices to help Jews although it should be noted that the mass baptism of Jews in order to rescue them occurred in Northern

[876] Shkarovskii, *Krest i Svastika.*

[877] 'Tak hynuly mil'iony liudei u tii kraïni, 'gde tak vol'no dyshit chelovek' – Promova iepyskopa,' in: EHRI Online Course in Holocaust Studies 'The Holocaust in Ukraine – Christian Leaders', with a reference to *Vinnytski Visti*, 1 July 1943, p. 3, available at: https://training.ehri-project.eu/d07-burial-victims-nkvd-shootings-bishop-hryhorii-ohiichuk-zhytomyr-and-vinnytsia-denounces-stalin (last accessed on 01 April 2020).

[878] A Leaflet, Bishop Hryhorii (Ohiichuk) of Zhytomyr and Vinnytsia Warns against Extermination by the "military resources of world Jewry," 3 August 1943, in: EHRI Online Course in Holocaust Studies 'The Holocaust in Ukraine – Christian Leaders'with references to: USHMM, RG-22.014M, reel 6, copy from GARF, F. 7021, op. 148, d. 57, ll. 3-3 ob., available at: https://training.ehri-project.eu/sites/training.ehri-project.eu/files/Translation%20Leaflet%20by%20Bishop%20Hryhorii%20%28Ohiichuk%29%20of%20Zhytomyr%20and%20Vinnytsia_0.pdf (last accessed on 15 March 2020).

[879] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 242.

[880] Shkarovskii, *Krest i Svastika;*

[881] Ion Popa, *The Romanian Orthodox Church and The Holocaust* (Bloomington, Indianapolis, 2017), Chapter 2 'Perpetrator, Bystander, or Savior? The Romanian Orthodox Church and The Holocaust (1941–1944)', pp. 41-71.

[882] DAOO, F. R-2270, op. 1, spr. 2; F. R-2270, op. 2, spr. 2.

Bukovina.[883] Attempting to deal with the situation of mass conversions, the Romanian authorities issued circulars in September 1942 that restricted conversion from Judaism to Christianity.[884] The Orthodox church was required to provide lists of baptised Jews at the request of the Romanian authorities. Such lists started to be prepared in 1942 and included the Jews who were baptised after 1912, those who were baptised in the period 1938-1941, and during the Second World War as of September 1941.[885]

The second large and influential church in Ukraine after the Orthodox Church was the Greek Catholic Church, also known also as the Uniate Church. In simple terms this Church observed the Church rite in the Orthodox manner, while the Vatican and the Pope were recognised as the highest authority in religious matters. This Church exerted most of its influence in the western parts of Ukraine, particularly in Eastern Galicia, and to a lesser degree, Volhynia. During the war, its central authority was the Galician Metropolis which consisted of three eparchies: Lviv, Przemyśl (Ukrainian: Peremyshl, part of present-day Poland, as of 1941 it remained in the Soviet Ukraine), and Stanislaw. The head of the Lviv eparch, simultaneously the Galician Metropolis, was Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi.[886]

The Germans perceived the Greek Catholics as 'an outpost of the Vatican' which tried to gain the gateway for its attack to the East through Eastern Galicia and Western Ukraine.'[887] While being subordinated to the Vatican, Metropolitan Sheptytskyi acted independently in many ways and tried to implement his own policies and rules. Against this backdrop Sheptytskyi aimed to unify all Orthodox Churches during the war. In December 1941, the Metropolitan addressed the Greek Catholic clergy with a message and called for the unification of the Churches as the beginning of a spiritual unification. Sheptytskyi sought to create an internal administrative structure of the united Ukrainian Church of the Kyiv Patriarchate. This new structure had to keep all the rites and customs of the Orthodox Church and had to be juridically and organisationally independent.[888] The Germans, were apparently informed about Sheptytskyi's activities because according to the secret Soviet reports he was arrested in February 1942 and released soon after.[889] However, his arrest

[883] See, for example: Surovtsev, 'Kreshchenie kak Sposob Spaseniia, pp. 68-70.
[884] YVA, M.52, JM/11340.
[885] YVA, M.52, JM/11346, pp. 569-653, 376, 987.
[886] Oksana Surmach, 'Hreko-Katolytska Tserkva v Period Nimetskoho Okupatsiinoho Rezhymu v Ukraini (1941 – 1944 rr.)', (2001), *Kandydat nauk* thesis, Lviv National University, p. 11.
[887] Zinkevych and Voronyn, (eds.), *Martyrolohiia Ukrainskykh Tserkov,* p. 746.
[888] Oksana Surmach, 'Greko-Katolytska Tserkva', p. 14.
[889] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 115, ark. 8.

could be connected not just to his religious activity, but also to his political role. The Metropolitan had connections with the Ukrainian Nationalists, on the one hand, and used his power as religious authority to rescue the Jews, on the other hand.

Sheptytskyi has been discussed in contrasting his collaboration with the Germans on the one hand, and the rescuing of Jews on the other.[890] During the early period of the German occupation Sheptyskyi personally, and the Greek Catholic Church institutionally (under his influence), viewed the Germans as liberators from the Soviets. The Metropolitan greeted the German invaders in his epistle 'To the Clergy and faithful of the Archdiocese' on 5 July 1941:

> By the will of the Almighty and Merciful a new epoch in the life of our Motherland begins. Victorious German Army which has already occupied almost entire land, we greet with joy and gratefulness for the liberation from the enemy [i.e. the Soviet Union]. In this important historical wave, I heartiest congratulate Reverend Fathers and Brothers, appeal to the gratefulness for the God, loyalty for His Church, obeying for the authority, strengthened work for the wellbeing of the Motherland.[891]

The Metropolitan saw the future of Ukraine in the same way as the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists – as a unified independent Ukraine. The wartime Soviet intelligence reports stated that the OUN (M) and personally colonel Andrii Melnyk was influenced by the views of the Metropolitan.[892] Following the Metropolitan, the Greek Catholic Church took a stance in favour of the Ukrainian nationalists, particularly the OUN and later UPA. Along with the OUN official line, Polish and Soviet rule were the worst that had happened to the Ukrainians in their fight for independence. Sheptytskyi viewed Galicia as the core for unification of all Ukrainian-inhabited lands and saw as a triumph the proclamation of Ukrainian state in 30 June 1941 as the president of the Ukrainian National Rada of Galicia.[893] Despite his welcoming message in relation to the Germans, Sheptytskyi expressed his regret and concerns about the inclusion of Galicia into the General Government:

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[890] See historiographical overview in: John-Paul Himka, 'Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the Holocaust', in: Yohanan Petrovsky-Shtern and Antony Polonsky (eds.), *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry*, Vol. 26: Jews and Ukrainians (Oxford/Portland, OR, 2014), pp. 337-338.
[891] YVA, M.52, file 450, p. 1; Zhanna Kovba, and Andrii Krawchuk (eds.), *Mytropolyt Andrei Sheptytskyi. Dokumenty i Materialy 1941-1944* (Kyiv, 2003), p. 8.
[892] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 115, ark. 7.
[893] YVA, M.52, file 456, pp. 1-2.

> I state that Ukrainian people welcome liberation of Ukrainian nation from Bolshevik yoke with deep feeling of gratefulness to the German people and its Great *Führer*. Although, I cannot be silent that proclamation of the General Governor from 1 August 1941 about inclusion of Galicia into General Government [centred] in Krakow, as if into Poland, evoked deep regret and humiliation of entire Ukrainian Peoples (…) I am hope that this act was [a] temporary [measure] and in deep belief that Ukrainian statehood is also [included] in the interests of the Great Germany and will find a complete support in it [Germany]. We state our loyal readiness to cooperate with the government of the Great Germany and believe that meanwhile we will be recognised with all rights as autochthonous nation of Galicia and we will take part in all organs of the state governing.[894]

Thus, Sheptytskyi was not blind in his support for the occupiers but tried to use all his power to achieve a real rather than a nominal independence for Ukraine and secure the governance of the state by Ukrainians. Along with his attempt to cooperate with the occupiers, Sheptytskyi assisted the Jews, rescued the Jewish adults and children, and organised the rescue of the Jews in Greek Catholic monasteries. Some clergymen also rendered help on his orders.

The personality of Sheptytskyi as an individual and as a politician along with his statements and actions during the period of the occupation of Ukraine in 1941-1943 were carefully examined amongst others by Shimon Redlich, Andrii Krawchuk and John-Paul Himka.[895] All these authors noted the complexity of the circumstances in which the Metropolitan had to act and the uneasy choices he had to make between cooperating with the Germans, supporting the Ukrainian community and conducting inter-church and inter-ethnic relations. Along with this, Sheptytskyi, used his power to organise the collective rescue of about 150 Jews. Thanks to Sheptytskyi's authority, influence and understanding of the circumstances, the Greek Catholic Church was involved in the process of rescuing the Jews as an institution. That was the only case of collective rescue organised by a religious institution that had no analogy outside Ukraine in any Catholic institution. Notwithstanding, the Metropolitan, other monks and the nuns risked their lives as well as the existence of their monasteries and the entire Church if the occupiers had discovered

[894] YVA, M.52, file 456, pp. 2-3.
[895] Andrii Krawchuk, *Christian Social Ethics in Ukraine: The Legacy of Andrei Sheptytsky* (Edmonton, 1997); Shimon Redlich, 'Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi: Ukrainians and Jews during and after the Holocaust', *Holocaust and Genocide Studies*, 5:1, (1990), pp. 39-52; Himka, 'Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky and the Holocaust', pp. 337-359.

their network and actions. All cases of rescue were successful involving not just priests but also simple followers of the church who recognised Sheptytskyi's authority. The Metropolitan acted together with his brother, Klementii Sheptytskyi. As Shimon Redlich presumes, based on his interviews with survivors and other sources, Sheptytskyi acted 'through certain fully trusted personnel, such as his brother, Klementii, head of the Studite Order and Mother Josefa. Another central figure was the Reverend Marko Stek, who seemed to act as a "contact man" between St George cathedral and the various monasteries within and outside Lviv.'[896] 'Studites' was a union, established in 1907, of monks and nuns who devoted themselves only to serve the God and helping the people. The Studites worked not only in monasteries but beyond them as well because many of them were skilled workers.[897] One of the survivors, Kurt Lewin, was a son of Andrei Sheptytskyi's friend – Dr. Ezekiel Lewin, the chief rabbi of the Lviv's Jewish community. Kurt stated in this testimony given to Yad Vashem in support of Klementii and Andrey Sheptytskyi receiving the title of 'Righteous among the Nations of the World':

> The Metropolitan Andrew Graf Sheptytskyi introduced me to his brother Ihumen Clement Szeptytzky,[898] the Superior General of the Studite Fathers, a monastic order of the Eastern rite of the Catholic Church …With Ihumen Clement's permission and under his guidance Jews were sheltered in the Studite monasteries with agreement and the cooperation of the monks. The Studite monks sheltered me and my brother for two years in their monasteries. Many other Jewish children were sheltered during the German occupation by the Studite nuns (a monastic order established by the Szeptytzky brothers for Ukrainian women headed by the Ihumenia Josepha)'.[899]

The process of rescue was not easy as Jewish children could not stay in a monastery for a long time. Thus, Andrei Sheptytskyi, his brother Klementii, Ihumenia Josepha known as Olena Viter, and the priest Marko Stek were responsible for transferring Jewish children between different monasteries in Galicia. Kurt was hidden first in the monastery of St John the Baptist in the town of Lychakiv (Lyczakiw) in suburb of Lviv, and later in the Lawra of Assumption in the tiny town of Univ (Uniw), then in the skete [in original: skit] of St. Andrew in Carpathian Mountains and finally, in the St. Josaphat monastery in Leopolis (Lviv area). The Kurt's brother Natan was hidden in St. George's Cathedral (Yur), later he

[896] Redlich, 'Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi', p. 47.
[897] Kovba (ed.), *Shchodennyk Lvivskoho Hetto*, p.160.
[898] The names were written in Polish manner.
[899] YVA, M.31.2/6304, case of Clement Sheptytsky, testimony of Kurt Lewin.

was taken to Ukrainian village Pidmikhailivtsi (in original: Pidmichailiwci) with the support of Basilian and then he was sent to the town of Bakhiv (Bachiv) in Volhynia. Natan mentioned several names of priests and nuns who took care of him during his stay. Kurt mentioned that during all his period in hiding he exchanged letters with Klementii.[900] All Jewish children hidden in monasteries received a baptismal certificate and a new false identity document where names were changed into Ukrainian. Also, all children learned the Ukrainian language in the monasteries.

Some rescued children were the children of rabbis such as Lewin and his brothers, or other important people connected with the Greek Catholic Church. For instance, Adam Rotfeld was a son of attorney from Przemyśl who before the war was the legal representative of the Studite Monastery in Univ.[901] Adam was sheltered in the Univ orphanage established on the request of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi together with two other Jewish boys Leon Chameides and Odet Amarant who also stayed there with Adam for the entire period of occupation. By the time of Adam's arrival, the orphanage had only 15 orphans among whom there were already two Jewish boys. The priest of Univ Lawra, Marko Stek, apparently upon the request of the Metropolitan, acted as patron for the Jewish children in hiding.

Supervising the rescue of the Jews, the Metropolitan brought a Christian understanding to other monks, nuns and priests that they have to help the oppressed, i.e. the Jews. For instance, two Studite monks of the monastery in Pyotr Skanga Street rescued the Fink family. Abraham was a shoemaker and acquainted with Mr. Kachmarski (it is not known if he was Polish or Ukrainian) in Lviv who was appointed as the Commissar of Ukrainian Police in Lviv. Kachmarski suggested that Fink hide in a small shoe factory where two monks worked as cobblers. The monks were ready to help and prepared a hiding place in the basement of the factory for the Fink family: Abraham, his wife Fajga and their daughters Anna and Bella. Later Bella and Anna were taken to the Studite monastery where they survived until the liberation of Ukraine.[902] Rabbi David Kahane also recalls in his diary about hiding of the Fink (in the text of diary: Funk) family by the Studite monks who also hid Kahane. The Rabbi mentions that it was not only the monks who were under the personal influence of Metropolitan who took part in rescuing Jews, but also many priests

[900] YVA, M.31.2/6304, case of Clement Sheptytsky, testimony of Natan Lewin.
[901] YVA, M.31.2/6304, case of Clement Sheptytsky, testimony of Adam Rotfeld.
[902] YVA, M.31.2/421, case of Olena (Jozefa) Witer (Viter).

who saved the Jews in the villages and towns of Galicia.[903] Kahane himself was hidden by Andrei Sheptytskyi in his residence during the final liquidation of the Lviv ghetto by the occupiers.[904]

One of the accusations against the Metropolitan is that he did not publish any official statements in support of the Jews or/and against the persecution of the Jews by the occupiers. However, in September 1943, in a conversation with 'Mr. Frederic', who was apparently a German spy, Sheptytskyi without any hesitation stated that 'Germany is worse than Bolshevism',[905] and blamed the Germans for their inhuman treatment of the Jews: 'Only in Lviv they killed 100,000 people and millions in Ukraine'.[906] Probably, he could openly express his attitude against the Germans in 1943 when it was already not so risky as it was 1941. Moreover, by this time the Metropolitan had already organised a network of priests, monks and nuns who hid the Jews in their monasteries and churches. However, if the Metropolitan had issued an official statement condemning the persecution of the Jews and appealed helping them, he would risk not only his own position and his life, but also those who worked with him. This would then have compromised his network and its ability to act. Sheptytskyi therefore chose not to risk the lives of hundreds of monks and nuns and the lives of the Jews whom they were saving and existence of the Church by being direct in his words, but to be active within his congregation. Instead, Sheptytskyi's epistles led his eparchy, in indirect but understandable manner, to condemn the Hitlerism and support the Jews. An official statement against the occupiers could have shown Sheptytskyi in a positive light as pro-Jewish but have ruined all his efforts and many lives. Without a historical context and an understanding of the day-to-day circumstances of occupation, it is impossible to understand the Metropolitan's paradox of welcoming and supporting the Germans and, in the meantime, rescuing the Jews.

The Roman Catholic Church primarily held sway in western Ukraine. Ethnic Poles were in the majority in attending the church services, but the Church also had an influence on other its branches as being the most powerful religious organisation in the world. The attitude of the Pope, as the head of the Catholic Church, towards the Jews during the Second World War is controversial and has been extensively discussed. Some scholars have underlined

[903] Kovba (ed.), *Shchodennyk Lvivskoho Hetto,* p. 175.
[904] Ibid., pp. 156-157.
[905] TsDAVOVU, F. KMF-8, Op. 1, spr. 77, p .40.
[906] Ibid., p. 41.

the silence of the Catholic Church in the face of mass killings of the Jews, both institutionally and by the Pope in person. They accuse the Church in general and the Pope in particular, for ignoring the annihilation of the Jews and their indulgence of Hitler's policies. Other scholars have drawn attention to the widespread help for Jews organised by Catholic priests and monks and supported by the Catholic hierarchy.[907] In 1995 Georges Passelecq and Bernard Suchecky published '*L'Encyclique cachée de Pie XI, Une occasion manquée de l'Eglise face à l'antisémitisme*' where the Pope Pius XI's Encyclical '*Humani Generis Unitas*', known as Hidden Encyclical, was publicised.[908] This Encyclical, written as a draft in 1939, included a condemnation of the Nazi's persecution the Jews. The Encyclical was hidden by the next Pope, Pius XII. This book raised questions and debates regarding the position of the Vatican, particularly of Pope Pius XII on German policies on the persecution and extermination of Jews. Some have even argued that the Catholic Church was one of the main Jewish rescue organisations.[909]

The attitude of the occupiers towards the Roman Catholic Church also played a role, as being both negative and with an embedded hostility towards both the Poles and the Vatican. In Ukraine, some priests were killed in Volhynia and Catholic churches were closed by the Germans.[910] The German directive on the Churches and Religious groups No.2205 issued in 1941 by the chief of the German Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei)* and SD, general-major Thomas, stated the following:

> [The] Vatican tries to organise a general Slavic movement under the leadership of the Catholics to the fight against the '*Reich*'. All attempts of [the] Vatican in the East must be stopped. It should be taken into consideration that [the] Vatican exactly now gave a permission to number of Jesuits to work in the guise of the Orthodox priests. To this and similar approaches particular attention must be paid.[911]

Thus, the Germans suspected the Catholic Church of spying and therefore, perceived it as one of their major enemies. As the Roman Catholic Church had fewer believers in Ukraine

[907] See for example: Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust;* Goldhagen, *A Moral Reckoning.*
[908] Georges Passelecq and Bernard Suchecky, *L'Encyclique cacée de Pie XI, Une occasion manquée de l'Eglise face à l'antisémitisme* (Paris, 1995).
[909] Susan Zuccotti, *Under His Very Windows the Vatican and the Holocaust in Italy* (New Haven, CT, 2000); Ronald. J Rychlak, *Hitler, the War, and the Pope* (Columbus, MS, 2000); Ronald J., Rychlak, *Righteous Gentiles: How Pius XII and the Catholic Church Saved Half a Million Jews From the Nazis* (Dallas, 2005); Symposium on Pope Pius XII and the Holocaust in Italy, *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 7:2, (2002), pp. 215-268.
[910] Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, p.239.
[911] Zinkevych and Voronyn, (eds.), *Martyrolohiia Ukrainskykh Tserkov*, p. 746.

than the Orthodox Church, Greek Catholic and Protestants and, therefore, did not have an impact locally, the silent position of the Vatican left priests to make individual decisions. In this sense, the Roman Catholic Church's reaction to Jews in Ukraine was based on the local clergy's personal reading of the situation rather than instructions from higher authority. Therefore, some of the Roman Catholic priests, accepting the challenges and perceiving the occupiers as the main enemy, assisted and rescued many Jews, both individuals and groups. At the same time, other Roman Catholic priests remained neutral in relation to the Jews in an attempt not to aggravate relations with the Germans.

Various Protestants Churches, including the Baptists, the Adventists (especially the Seventh Day Adventist Reform Movement which is part of the Sabbatarian Adventist), the Mennonites, the Evangelists were also active in every part of Ukraine. In contrast to the Roman Catholic Church, the Protestant churches were treated well by the occupiers. The German directive on Churches and Religious groups No.2205, which was mentioned earlier, stated that '…different sects (the Baptists, the Mennonites and others) must be treated magnanimously. [If] they are not a screen for NKVD agents, they [different Protestant sects] do not pose any political danger.'[912] During the war the communities of the Protestant Church were revived and new communities were created.[913] For example, the Pentecostal organisation of the Christians of Evangelical Faith, apparently controlled by the Germans, was active and held the Congress named 'Episcopal Church Regional Council for the Christians of Evangelical Faith'[914] in Dnipropetrovsk *oblast,* in the town of Piatykhatky, in 1 November 1942.[915] The outcome of the Congress was the revival of the Christians of Evangelical Faith Union's activity and forming of the leading council.[916] Yet, the Ukrainian historians Dmytro Vedeneiev and Oleksandr Lysenko, with references to multiple Ukrainian archival documents, state that the result of the Congress was the establishment of the All-Ukrainian Union of Christians of Evangelical Faith, and the centres of this Union in the *oblasts*, which started to be organised after the Congress, had the purpose to unite the Union with the Baptists communities.[917] The occupiers' attitude to the Protestants can be explained through their policies towards the *Volksdeutsche* who were

[912] Ibid.
[913] Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair*, p. 239.
[914] in origina; in Russian: *Oblastnoi Sobor Episkopalnoi Tserkvi Khristian Evangelskoi Very*.
[915] Vladimir Franchuk, *Prosila Rossiia Dozhdia u Gospoda* (Kiev, 2002), p. 642; Vedeneiev and Lysenko, 'Relihiini Konfesii Ukrainy', p. 114.
[916] Vladimir Franchuk, *Prosila Rossiia Dozhdia u Gospoda,* pp. 642-643.
[917] Vedeneiev and Lysenko, 'Relihiini Konfesii Ukrainy', p. 114, with references to: TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 5377, ark. 26-27; F. 1, op. 23., spr. 90, ark. 2-5; and cases from the State Archive of SBU.

given rights as ethnic Germans under the Nazi rule. *Volksdeutsche* were recorded separately and provided with a special *Ausweis* (identity document).[918] They were forbidden to marry other than Germans[919] and generally had separate regulations as ethnic Germans.[920] The *Volksdeutsche* in Ukraine mostly belonged to various Protestant denominations and in order to support them, the protestant churches were treated favourably and were not considered as dangerous as the Roman Catholics or Greek Catholics.

This did not prevent an anti-German and anti-Hitler epistle being circulated by the All-Soviet Council of Evangelist Christians and Baptists in June 1942. While Jews were not mentioned explicitly in this appeal, the implication of the murder of the Jews could be read between lines: 'anywhere the German have reached one can find corpses of shot and hanged citizens, the ash of burnt [people] and ruins of blasted houses, there [where Germans have been] – [there is a] deadening desert'. The appeal ended with a call not to transfer their own communities and churches to the Hitlerites.[921] Inspired by their local leaders, the Protestants were actively involved in assisting the Jews: creating networks and assisted them individually. However, there was no centralised help to the Jewish victims and groups and individuals made their own decisions in each particular case.

None of the Churches in Ukraine, including the Greek Catholic, mentioned helping Roma or voiced any concerns about their persecution. This may seem strange as the Roma were religious people and strictly followed traditions and rites. In general, Roma accepted the faith of the communities in which they lived. This faith was closely interlaced with the traditional Roma folk-beliefs, but religion played an important role in their lives.[922] The overwhelming majority of Roma in Ukraine were Christian Orthodox, though in western Ukraine they were probably Greek Catholics, or Roman Catholics if they originated from Poland. Some Roma families that lived in the south of Ukraine (Odessa, Mykolaiv and Kherson areas) were Muslims having accepted the religion of the Crimean Tatars who had spread into this region from the Crimea peninsula. The status of the Roma and their persecution by the German and Romanian occupiers was presumably known by the Churches' leaders and ordinary priests of different congregations. However, no

[918] BA (B), R/94/9.
[919] DADO, F. R-2567, op.1, spr. 1.
[920] See, for instance, documents on treatment of *Volksdeutsche* in the RKU: DADO, F. R-2276, op.1, spr. 1808.
[921] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 369, ark. 2.
[922] See: Lev Tcherenkov and Stephane Laederich, *The Rroma* (Basel, 2004), Chapter 27 'Religion', Chapter 28 'Beliefs'.

documentary evidence of rescues exists, though one cannot exclude the possibility of priests acting as individual to help the Roma.

The Germans seemingly did not know how to treat the Roma because of their religion. The question of the religion(s) to which Roma belonged and the attitude of different churches to the Roma in Germany had been researched by the Germans between 1938 and 1940. The Germans collected information on Roma church attendance and affiliation. They were also interested if the Roma children and Roma *mischlinge* attended the Churches. The Germans found out that the Roma attended the Roman Catholic, Evangelist and other churches in Germany.[923] The Roma, being enmeshed into the societies within which they lived, had the same religious traditions as Germans in Germany. This information was not gathered in Ukraine. Arguably, therefore, none of the churches perceived the danger coming from the Germans to the Roma: settled Roma were always brothers and sisters in faith as well as those who were semi-nomadic. The nomadic Roma did not have a church which they would visit on a regular basis but when on the road, they always sent for priests where there were deaths, births or baptisms. As was discussed in the first chapter, the policy of the occupiers towards the Roma was not dictated from Berlin, but rather was decided locally. Therefore, many Roma were not persecuted until 1942 and priests, apparently, did not differentiate them from Ukrainians. None of the religious organisations called for help for the Roma or created a network of helpers in spite of their brotherhood in faith.

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the reaction of institutions to the fate of Jews and Roma which took place in varying ways. The evidence presented has shown the complications of analysing institutional help. Despite the help given to Jews and Roma by some Soviet partisans and resisters, the decision to help was made by individual leaders, and in the case of partisans, it was not consistent. Help by partisans also can be considered not as assistance to Jews and Roma, but rather as recruiting new fighters, in the case of the Roma if they were quite skilled. From the Roma and Jewish point of view, acceptance by the Soviet partisans could be evaluated as an opportunity for resistance and vengeance rather than as rescue. Allowing the Roma and Jews into the ranks of military detachments such as the

[923] BA (B), R/5101/23849.

Soviet partisans, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and *Armia Krajowa* can hardly be considered as providing institutional help. First, not all military commanders wanted to see Roma and especially Jews among their ranks. Second and the most important, even Jews and Roma who were accepted by national movements and the Soviet partisans, could not be initially saved because they also fought along with others and risked their lives on a par with others. Last but not least, the decision to accept Jews and Roma into military detachments was made at the detachment level, i.e. group of members or in most cases by commanders. The same applies to the Soviet underground: decision to assist Jews (for example by connecting them with the partisans or by providing forged documents) was made by certain individuals. Thus, such cases may be considered as individual or/and collective help rather than institutional. Only the Polish underground *Żegota* rescued Jews by providing them with help at an institutional level, and moreover, it was the only organisation that had been established with the specific purpose of helping Jews.

The Ukrainian nationalist movement had the goal of creating an independent Ukraine and, therefore, helping the Jews presumably occurred in certain cases when acceptance to their ranks and rescuing the Jews could help the Ukrainian nationalists in their fight. Thus, rescuing skilled workers and doctors and providing the Jews with false identity papers seemingly occurred in some cases, though these cases need further confirmation, by evidence. Obviously, the purpose of rescuing does not diminish the fact of rescuing, however, it cannot be considered as an institutional help.

Despite the condemnation of the occupiers by many of the churches, no efforts in institutional rescue of Jews and Roma were made. The only church that acted purposely to rescue the Jews was the Greek Catholic Church. The status and power of the churches provided them with opportunities to make changes in the situation that befell the people in Ukraine. Official statements in favour of helping Jews and Roma could have initiated a strong and a consistent Christian movement to save the lives of victims. However, none of the churches officially took a position in favour of helping Jews and Roma, even though attempts to help the Jews were undertaken by Christian individuals and by some priests – again individually. The exception was only Greek Catholic Church headed by the Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi, who without official declaration organised an institutional help and rescuing Jews. The Christian churches, in their various formations as independent and effectively organised institutions, could have had an influence on the

negative outcomes of the occupiers' policies by rescuing Roma and Jews through organised institutional help and by encouraging Christians to assist Jews and Roma. That was partially done by the Greek Catholic Church: Metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi who, despite his readiness to cooperate with the Germans for the sake of creation of an independent Ukrainian state, acted against the occupiers by using his power, authority and position. Created by Sheptytskyi, a network of Greek Catholics, who rescued Jews and particular Jewish children, operated successfully in western Ukraine. After the war some of the priests were awarded the title of 'The Righteous among the Nations of the World' by Yad Vashem. Among them is the brother of Metropolitan, Klementii Sheptytskyi, Ihumenia Josefa (Olena Viter) and father Marko Stek. The complete indifference to the Roma's fate by all Christian congregations could lead to the hypothesis that the fate of the Roma was not important for Churches despite the fact that the Roma were pious believers. That could mean that the Roma were not perceived as victims or were not accepted by the religious organisations on an equal footing with the non-Roma believers.

Chapter V

Individual and Collective Helping and Rescuing of Jews and Roma

The chapter analyses the help and rescue of Jews and Roma by non-Jews and non-Roma, mainly by people of Ukrainian origin. The occupiers undertook all methods to prevent help being given and were partially successful: for example, the levels of denunciation especially in urban areas were quite high. The chapter contends that in the analysis of rescue attempts by non-Jews and non-Roma, several factors have to be taken into account: the risks of giving assistance; regime differences in the various occupational zones, particularly the Romanian and German zones; the relationship between victims and their helpers before the occupation; and conditions of life of rescuers in both urban and rural areas. Based on multiple case studies across Ukraine, the methods of rescue are identified in the different occupational zones on the one hand, and their application to Jews and Roma on the other. The social origin, occupation and nationality of rescuers and rescued are discussed as well as gender and age as factors in decision-making to help Jews and Roma. The aim of this chapter is to show the complexity of rescue and the importance of specific factors, which include geographical characteristics, the level of risk for helpers, and the employment of different methods of rescue. The analysis aims to show to what extent Ukrainians and other non-Jews and non-Roma helped and rescued Jews and Roma, in which areas of Ukraine help was most prevalent, who the rescuers preferred to save, and what the social background of the rescuers was.

Factors Affecting Help for Jews and Roma

There were several factors that influenced the possibility and decision to help Jews and Roma by non-Jews and non-Roma. The first and very important factor was awareness of the persecution and murder of both groups. Information provided by the Soviet authorities

about the persecution of the Jews and knowledge of the potential victims about their pending annihilation by the German and Romanian occupiers has been already discussed in the first chapter. Nevertheless, the primarily Ukrainian non-Jewish and non-Roma population had other ways to be aware about the mass killings.

Information from the Ukrainian archives shows that neither the German, nor the Romanian occupiers kept deportation, ghettoisation, and annihilation of the Jews a secret. Thus, the main German announcements about restrictions on the Jews, compulsory wearing of the Star of David and the establishment of ghettos were all published in local newspapers in the RKU and were available for everyone to read.[924] The regional newspapers published by the Romanian occupiers contained news about Jews being deported to Transnistria and information about their distribution within that territory.[925] Sometimes the word 'deportation' was substituted with the word 'evacuation'.[926] Special announcements and orders were publicised and distributed in the DG and in the MAZ.[927] All orders and announcements were published in three languages: German, Ukrainian and Russian in the MAZ and the RKU, German, Ukrainian and Polish in the DG, and Romanian, Ukrainian and Russian in Transnistria. This information was therefore widely available. It was also the case that many deportees to Transnistria were driven through Ukrainian towns and villages where the local population knew about the purpose of the deportations. This comes from written sources as well as oral testimonies. In addition, eyewitness accounts provide information about the extermination of the Jews by Romanians and Germans. For example, a Ukrainian woman, who was born and lived in the village of Domanivka[928] (Transnistria), recalled:

> The Jews were driven from Odessa… How many there were: each time 25,000! How many of Jews were driven! And they were placed into the building… a large club[929]

[924] For example, see DAVO, *Vinnytski Visti*, published in the RKU. The announcement about the ghettoisation in the city of Vinnytsia was published on Thursday, 4 December 1941, p. 4.
[925] For example, see DAOO, *Odesskaia Gazeta*, 24 December 1941, p. 5, on creation of the ghetto in the city of Odessa: 12 Monday January 1942, p. 4.
[926] For instance, on deportations of the Jews from Odessa to the village of Berezovka: DAOO, *Odesskaia Gazeta*, 14 January 1942, p. 4.
[927] See, for instance, orders issued in the DG about wearing the bandages in the city of Ternopil in August 1941 and creation the ghettos in the cities of Ternopil, Berezhany and Chortkiv in November 1942: YVA, M.37, file 362, pp. 118-119; for the Jews and creation ghettos in the MAZ, city of Kharkiv in December 1941: YVA, M.40/RCM, file 10, p. 37; city of Zaporizhzhia in November 1941: DADO, F. R- 2311, op. 1, spr. 19, ark. 138.
[928] Domanivka together with the village of Bohdanivka became the largest concentration and killing places in Transnistria.
[929] During the Soviet period main cultural facility in a village/town was called 'club'. People attended cultural events (cinema, dances, concerts etc.), political speeches and meetings have taken place in such clubs. Often

> (…) They [the Jews] were driven into this club. It was winter, there was no heating, they were with their children: poor, without water, without anything. Windows [in the club] were boarded up. (…) The club was crowded and they [occupiers] separated them [Jews]: women with small children were separated and relocated to there, to the sheepfold, and then at night, they [Jews] were shot and that sheepfold was set on fire. Such a fire there was! (…) Generally, a lot of people had been driven [through the village of Domanivka]. They could not all be placed in the club. (…) [Later], we were told that men, Jews, dug out something. We were told that they [Jewish men] dug out silage pits. But it happened that they [killers] drove those Jews and shot them in the pit [which they previously dug].[930]

The account suggests that there were large numbers of deported Jews that could not go unnoticed by the local non-Jewish residents. Moreover, some of the Ukrainian witnesses testified in detail about the extermination of the Jews by the Romanians and the Germans. For instance, a Ukrainian inhabitant of another village, Velyka Bohdanivka (Transnistria), described in detail the Romanians shooting Jews in winter 1941-42: 'When Romanians arrived and conquered us, they started to drive Jews into pigsties because they could not shoot so many immediately. And then, from the pigsties they [the Jews] were driven to be shot in lines, 200-300 men in each.'[931]

Similar information can be found in eyewitness accounts from the German zones. For instance, there is a detailed description of the mass murder of the Jews in the Poltava region in 1941 (MAZ by this time) based on Ukrainian eyewitness accounts.[932] The Soviet interrogations of non-Jews immediately after the end of the war also confirmed that in *RKU*, large sections of society knew about the mass murder of Jews.[933] The Orthodox Church consistory of the town of Krements, Ternopil region (DG), wrote a detailed account on all the restrictions and the killing of Jews during the occupation.[934] Ukrainian Soviet partisan reports of 1941-42 also described the murder of Jews, sometimes coming from the local non-Jewish population and confirming their knowledge about the persecution.[935] Rumours

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administrative councils were located in clubs. Usually, a club was situated in the center of a village/town, constructed with bricks or lumber and decorated inside and outside. The premises had large space, usually with one or two halls.

[930] AYIU, Witness 1265UK.

[931] AYIU, Witness 1262UK.

[932] TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op.3, spr. 297, p.41.

[933] For instance, see about the city of Rivne: TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op.3, spr. 300, p. 5, 8.

[934] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 1062, pp. 87-93.

[935] YVA, M.37, file 565.

about the fate of the Jews were widespread and reached even the remotest villages. Local Ukrainians did not always witness the killing of the Jews with their own eyes but often knew about the fate of the Jews through the stories passed on from others, usually older eyewitnesses, or from the victims or their Ukrainian relatives. A Ukrainian woman who lived in a very small and remote village of Zhovtneve, Odessa *oblast* (Transnistria), was nonetheless aware of the killing of the Jews even if they were not shot in her neighborhood. She testified about Jews being gathered in a barn and kept there.[936]

Information about the killings of Roma was less prevalent. Eyewitnesses to the murder of Jews were much less aware of the deportation and extermination of the Roma. The Roma were seldom mentioned in local newspapers during the occupation, or in the orders issued to the civilian population. Nevertheless, such information existed as rumour and because Roma were killed in many locations, the local non-Roma were presumably aware of their fate. The information about the killing of the Roma in the city of Kyiv (RKU) was reported by the Soviet partisans, however, it is unknown if the partisans saw those killings or received the information indirectly.[937] Sometimes the murder of Roma was witnessed by the Jewish survivors in the MAZ, but it is unknown if the Jews had the opportunity or inclination to spread this information around. For instance, a Jewish man, I. Virozub[938] in the city of Sumy (MAZ) saw a group of Roma who were marched to an execution guarded by Germans and Ukrainians.[939] The same account that described the killing of the Jews in Ternopil area (DG) also gave details of the killing of the Roma in the winter of 1942 which was organised in the same manner as the killing of Jews.[940] In Transnistria, Ukrainian villagers also saw the Roma being driven through their villages. One Ukrainian woman from Domanivka told the following about the Roma:

> Gypsies were driven here. [I know] because we ran to look at [them], somebody told us that the young [kids] danced very well. They were driven here… It seemed to me they were driven to Marynovka, but what was in Marynovka, I do not know. (…) I think once they passed through here. Many of them, very many. They were driven to Marynovka and Karlovka villages.[941]

[936] AYIU, Witness 1248UK.
[937] YVA, M.37, file 565, p. 4.
[938] The first name is unknown.
[939] For instance, YVA, O.33, file 3210, p. 9.
[940] TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op.3, spr. 297, pp. 48-49.
[941] AYIU, Witness 1265UK.

The witness confirmed that the Roma were sent to two villages: Marynovka and Karlovka. The very fact that deportation of the Roma was witnessed and that the witness was aware of the existence of Marynovka and Karlovka (in Ukrainian: Karlivka, the site of two labour camps) removes all suspicions: mass killings of the Roma could not realistically have passed unnoticed by the local Ukrainians. Their awareness of the killing of the Roma was confirmed by some other eyewitnesses: 'Gypsies were all taken. All! (…) All of them died'.[942] In some villages the Roma were driven through localities like the Jews, but not killed in these places. Many villagers used to see the Roma families travelling through their villages from time to time, and could be confused in their assumptions of the fate of the Roma:

> [When asked if Roma were murdered in Zaplazy village (Odessa region)] No, no. Jews and Gypsies were not killed here (…) Jews were here for a couple of nights and then they were taken [somewhere]. Gypsies were here for a while. Gypsies were not driven, Gypsies walked. They were gathered in groups and then they took some food, had a rest and walked to Moldova.[943]

Initially the witness said that the Roma walked freely. Therefore, the Ukrainians did not question, why the Roma were on the move or where they were going. No eyewitness testimonies have been found that mention that somebody saw shooting of Roma or their bodies being found after the executions, although the Ukrainians do refer to shootings: 'Gypsies were driven to the village, and then to the field, they were kept [there] for years! Not for a month. They died there out of starvation, and they were shot there as well.'[944] In contrast, however, the shooting of the Jews or sight of their bodies after an execution was widely reported. The non-Jewish and non-Roma population of the occupied territories was aware of the establishment of the ghettos, the deprivation of Jews' rights and, finally their murder. The locals were probably less aware of the deportations and extermination of the Roma, though information about it could be found.

Besides awareness there was a consideration of another factor in helping the Jews and the Roma which was the occupiers' policy of encouraging the denunciation of the Jews and, presumably also the Roma. The occupiers encouraged the non-Jewish population to hand over the Jews by several methods. One such was inciting hatred against the Jews - all

[942] AYIU, Witness 1258UK.
[943] AYIU, Witness 1249UK.
[944] AYIU, Witness 1264UK.

newspapers were full of antisemitic articles accusing the Jews of oppressing Ukrainians throughout history,[945] and warned about the Jewish menace.[946] Some people, particularly those who suffered from Soviet oppression before the German occupation, willingly helped the occupiers in hunting down the communists and the Jews as elements of the Soviet communist system. Soviet partisan reports stated that janitors, whose property had been taken by the Bolsheviks after the revolution of 1917, were very helpful in handing over the communists in Kyiv.[947] Testimonies of Jewish survivors contain the same information about denunciations of Jews by janitors. A survivor under the Romanian occupation, Sergei S., testified that in the city of Odessa (Transnistria)

> Romanians did not walk around idle but sought out the Jews, the neighbours brought them [the Jews] on a silver platter. The janitors arrived [with Romanians] and showed [flats] where the Jews lived (…) There was no need for any effort [to find the Jews]. There was a boy – a red Jew [in the building where Sergei resided], older than me by two years, with the name Yasha. He was hiding and the janitor denounced him. The policemen arrived, found Yasha in the basement where he was hiding, [they] brought him up to the yard and shot [him].[948]

Urban yardmen and janitors knew the buildings' inhabitants very well and the occupiers also relied on them. Thus, the following announcement in the form of an order was distributed in Kyiv (RKU) since October 1941:

> Within 24 hours all heads of the buildings [yardmen] of the city of Kyiv [must] report to the closest district commissars and team of Ukrainian police of the city of Kyiv [about] all Jews, NKVD members and VKP(b) members who reside in their buildings [which they are responsible for]. … The heads of the buildings [yardmen] and janitors have a right to bring Jews [in original: *Zhydy*] to the Jewish camp which is situated in the POWs camp on the Kerosynna Street.[949]

There were no janitors or yardmen in the villages, but local peasants could potentially denounce their Jewish neighbours. The same applied to the Roma in villages: non-Roma peasants always knew who the Roma residents were and could denounce them. However,

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[945] See, as an example article of Andrii Luhovyi 'Ukrainskyi Narid i Zhydy', in DAVO, *Vinnytski Visti*, 17 September 1941.
[946] See, for instance, DADO, 'Zhydivstvo i Bolshevism', *Dzvin*, 10 March 1943; 'Proty Svitovykh Parazytiv', *Dzvin*, 1 May 1943, 'Yikh Zavzhdy Dobre Znaly. Zhydy v Istorii Narodiv', *Dzvin*, 11 May 1943.
[947] YVA, M.37, file 565, p. 8.
[948] Interview with a Jewish survivor Sergei S., author's personal archive.
[949] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 121, Ark. 7.

no anti-Roma propaganda was published in the local newspapers, the Roma could not be accused of Bolshevism, because majority of them were apolitical and from the peasant class. Only in rare cases did the Roma operate as heads of villages under the Soviet system and were shot when the occupiers arrived, not as Roma but as elements of the Soviet bureaucracy. Such a case can be found in an interview with a settled Roma woman, Ekaterina Fedichkina. A cousin of her father, who was the head of a village council in Poltava *oblast* during the Soviet rule, was shot by the Germans, but not because of his Roma origin.[950] In most of accessed interviews, the Roma survivors stated that the non-Roma population in villages did not denounce them as Roma. Seemingly, local non-Roma did not associate the Roma with being communists or criminals, at least those Roma who were settled or semi-nomadic. Yet, some non-Roma denounced their Roma neighbours because of their troubled relationship. In the city of Artemivsk, Stalino region (MAZ), a non-Roma handed over an old Roma woman to the Germans because they were on bad terms with each other.[951] This was nevertheless a rarity and was found in cities when (mostly nomadic) Roma arrived in the cities' suburb. For instance, a group of 13 Roma was handed over to the Police in the town of Drohobych (DG) in March 1942.[952] However, before that, the Germans had issued an order to find foreign – Hungarian and Romanian – Roma in Drohobych and its vicinity and had received an answer from Ukrainian head of the town that there were no Roma.[953] It is unknown if the town head did not want to denounce the Roma or in fact did not know about them. Finally, the Roma were caught and handed over by someone else. The case also shows that special orders were issued to provide a list of Roma to the Ukrainian authorities in the villages, towns and cities as well as to the chiefs of enterprises and companies. The case of the DG is not unique. The order to gather the Roma and bring them, along with horses and other agricultural equipment, for relocation to another district was also issued in Dnipropetrovsk *oblast* (RKU) and probably in other localities. The document did not say why the Rome were being relocated.[954]

Other sorts of orders - to provide a list of employed Jews - were issued to all institutions in all occupied territories. For instance, in the city of Kharkiv (MAZ), the German occupiers organised a check of all companies' employees in order to identify communists and Jews.[955]

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[950] Interview with Ekaterina Fedichkina, VHA, interview code: 50093.
[951] Interview with Galina Belashenko, VHA, interview code: 49670.
[952] YVA, M.52, file 137, p. 40.
[953] YVA, M.52, file 137, p. 27.
[954] DADO, F. R-2311, op.1. spr. 19, ark. 141.
[955] YVA, M.52, JM/33611, pp. 1366-1395.

In the city of Vinnytsia (RKU) all leaders of institutions, organisations and enterprises had to provide a list of employed Jews within two days after the order was published in a local newspaper. Four copies had to include full names, age, gender, occupation, employee position, home address, and the name and age of all dependents. The Germans explained that the lists were needed for issuing permits for the Jews to work or to pass beyond the ghetto.[956] The same order – to provide the list of all Jews and communists – was also sent to the heads of villages.[957] There was a choice for those who provided the lists: to obey the order or not to denounce the Jews. Similar orders were not found in relation to the Roma, apparently because the occupiers were less interested in the Roma than in the Jews.

Denouncing Jews could be beneficial. Non-Jewish neighbours in the cities looted property after Jews were handed over to the occupiers and were sometimes allowed to occupy the empty flats by the authorities. The cases of looting and expropriation of Jewish property in the cities were quite widespread in all areas of occupied Ukraine. After the Jews were murdered, their non-Jewish neighbours, especially those who were eyewitnesses of murdering the Jews, wrote requests to the occupiers that their living conditions were poor and, therefore, they would like to take a neighbouring former Jewish flat.[958] Germans even distributed announcements in Kyiv (RKU), about restrictions on entering Jewish flats.[959] Non-Jewish neighbours tried to take everything usable from Jewish flats: furniture, clothes, musical instruments and in some cases denounced the Jews just to get possession of their property. For instance, in the town of Sarny in Volhynia (RKU), a Jew, Haim Novak was handed over to the Ukrainian policemen by a peasant who was interested in Novak's boots. Later, the policemen and the peasant both murdered Haim and the peasant gained possession of the boots.[960] When the family of the Jewish survivor Sergei S. was about to move to the ghetto in Odessa (Transnistria), his non-Jewish neighbours stormed into Sergei's apartment and started to plunder in front of the Sergei's family.[961] The very same situation was described by another Jewish survivor from Mariupol (MAZ): non-Jewish

[956] DAVO, *Vinnytski Visti*, 20 November 1941, p. 4; F. R-1311, op.1, spr. 10, ark. 120.
[957] See, for instance, the order for the head of village of Soldatske, Apostolovo district, Dnipropetrovsk region from February 1942: DADO, F. R-2311, op. 2, spr. 1, ark. 450.
[958] See: Yitzhak Arad, 'Plunder of Jewish Property in the Nazi-Occupied Areas of the Soviet Union', in: *Yad Vashem Shoah Resource Center*, available at: https://www.yadvashem.org/articles/academic/plunder-of-jewish-property-in-occupied-areas-of-soviet-union.html (last accessed on 10 September 2019), p. 29; Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union*, pp. 407-408; Anna Wylegała, 'About "Jewish things": Jewish Property in Eastern Galicia during World War II', *Yad Vashem Studies*, 44:2 (2016), pp. 83-119.
[959] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 121, ark. 2.
[960] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 241.
[961] Interview with a Jewish survivor Sergei S., author's personal archive.

neighbours grabbed pillows, blankets, and pots in front of the Jewish family who were about to be taken for execution.[962] Sergei S. from Odessa also testified how one of his Jewish neighbours, an old woman with the second name Litvak, stayed alone in her flat. Her Russian neighbour, a woman with the second name Silkina, wanted to expropriate the Litvak's flat. When Litvak resisted, Silkina told her that her friend, a Romanian officer, said that she would be shot. After those words Litvak committed suicide and her flat was apparently was taken over by Silkina.[963] The situation in some villages of *RKU* was similar. One source contains a complaint from a Jewish woman Klara Ostrovska who resided in the village of Kozynets, Vinnystia *oblast.* Klara complained that she had been forced out of her hut. The resolution dated 28 November 1941 stated that if her possessions were expropriated by individuals without any reason, everything must be returned to Klara.[964] Another source described the case of a Roma man named Petrashko (real name Hryhor Petrenko), who arrived in the town of Khmelnyk (RKU) together with a Roma caravan in August 1941. Petrashko, pretending to be a policeman by wearing the police uniform, robbed the Jews.[965]

There is no information on Roma property being expropriated, though this is unlikely because Roma were frequently poorer than their non-Roma neighbours, particularly those who maintained nomadic and semi-nomadic style of life. Nevertheless, according to some testimonies there were cases of Ukrainian nationalists plundering nomadic Roma property in western Ukraine (DG) looking for the 'Gypsy gold'.[966]

Frequently, money was a decisive factor in negotiating with non-Roma neighbours to prevent denunciation. For example, a settled Roma woman, Galina Belashenko spoke about one of her neighbours who worked as a policeman in the Voroshilovhrad region (MAZ) and who denounced all Jews and Roma. He also plundered clothes from Jews and Roma. According to Galina if 'one pays him then he [a neighbour] did not denounce [you].'[967] There were many blackmailers in the DG, they learned where the Jews were hiding and

[962] The Destruction of the Jews of Mariupol. Diary of Sara Gleykh, in: Joshua Rubenstein, and Ilya Altman, (eds.), *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories* (Bloomington, IN, 2008), p. 216.
[963] Interview with a Jewish survivor Sergei S., author's personal archive.
[964] DAVO, F. R-1311, op.1, spr. 10, ark. 174-175.
[965] DAVO, F. R-1311, op.1, spr. 10, ark. 137.
[966] Interview with Maciej Kolompart, VHA, interview code: 33055.
[967] Interview with Galina Belashenko, VHA, interview code: 49670.

then threatened to denounce them. Blackmailers requested money from the Jews on a regular basis and this was a lucrative business and 'a reward' for silence.[968]

The German occupiers also used rewards to encourage the betrayal of Jews. For instance, in the city of Lviv (DG) the reward for every denounced Jew fluctuated between two litres of vodka and 5,000 zloty to five litres of vodka and 25,000 zloty.[969] In Volhynia the reward could be much humbler: some sugar, tobacco or salt.[970] Sometimes promise of reward was combined with the threat of punishment for helping the Jews. The Jewish survivor testimonies confirm that there were announcements, for instance, in the villages of Rivne oblast (RKU) placed on the church gates and fences about rewarding denunciations with salt, cows or money. The same announcement also warned that entire families would be shot, and their houses burnt if they were caught sheltering or helping Jews.[971] Warnings combining a reward for denunciation the threat of punishment for helping the Jews were also issued in the city of Lviv (DG):

> Warning (…) This order forbids acceptance of Jews to houses and premises where non-Jews are present. That one who consciously provides a shelter for a Jew, provides food or hide a Jew beyond the Jewish place of residency [means ghetto] (…) will be punished by death. (…) this measure applies also to those who know illegal location of a Jew beyond the Jewish place of residency and do not inform the police. It is responsibility of each houseowner, yardmen, entrepreneur, houseowner and enterprise that no shelter would be found for the Jews in the buildings or parts of the buildings which they own. All notifications about illegal residence of the Jews must be immediately sent to the closest police station. If a Jew is arrested owing to these notifications, a reward can be issued for that notification, the size of which will be defined by the chief of SS and police.[972]

Any assistance to the Jews, including sheltering for one or more nights or providing a Jew with food or clothes, was punished by death in all the German-occupied zones – the DG, the MAZ and the RKU. Usually, if found, both the Jew and his/her helper were shot or hanged. Frequently, the entire family was killed if one of the family members helped a Jew,

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[968] Arad, *The Holocaust in the Soviet Union*, p. 426, with a reference to: Philip Friedman, 'The Jews on the Aryan Side', Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora (Lviv), pp. 699–700.
[969] Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti,* p. 437, with a reference to TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 289, ark. 9-10.
[970] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 196.
[971] Zabarko (ed.), *Zhivymi Ostalis Tolko My*, p. 41.
[972] Kovba, *Liudianist u Bezodni Pekla,* p.99, with a reference to DALO, F. 37, Op.4, spr. 29, ark. 15.

particularly in the DG and the MAZ. In the DG, lists of those executed and their crimes were regularly published by the German authorities. In one such document from Drohobych in 1944, among main reasons was assistance to partisans or hiding Jews.[973] In an earlier correspondence between the German Security Police and the mayor of Lviv, a decision was made to confiscate the property of those 'Aryans' who were hiding the Jews, although it is unclear whether the helpers were also shot. [974] A warning in the form of an announcement that any assistance to Jews was published in the town of Stryi (DG) in November 1942: Jews who went outside the ghetto would be punished by death. 'The same punishment applied to those who consciously provide for such Jews a shelter and that means [those] who accept Jews in their own [buildings] beyond the Jewish living space [read ghetto], feeds a Jew or shelters [him].'[975] The very same 'Instruction' was issued in the city of Ternopil (DG) in November 1942.[976] The situation was the same within the RKU from autumn 1941. For instance, order 9 in the town of Cherkassy (published on 10 October 1941) stated that 'those who are found guilty in hiding Jews or in connection to partisans, will be shot immediately without a trial.'[977] The announcement that was distributed in Kyiv in late 1941 along with the one on denunciation of the Jews, contained a warning that the death penalty would be applied for hiding Jews.[978]

It should be noted that exactly same warnings and death penalties applied for helping with food, clothes or sheltering of prisoners of the war or wandering people.[979] The category of 'wandering people' could be applied to the nomadic Roma because no other warnings or instructions towards the Roma were issued in the German occupation zones. There are no archival documents containing warnings about helping the Roma. However, Jewish survivors mentioned in their testimonies that the announcements which contained warnings about capital punishment for 'sheltering Jews, communists and Gypsies' were placed at city gates, for instance in Kharkiv (MAZ).[980]

In the zones occupied by Romanians there were numerous announcements warning the population not to assist Roma and Jews. Non-Jews in the Odessa region were also warned

[973] YVA, M.52, file 156, pp. 2-4.
[974] YVA, M.52, file 304, p. 6.
[975] YVA, M.33, JM/21905, p. 61.
[976] TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 312, ark. 19.
[977] YVA, M.52, file 1, ark. 1.
[978] TsDAHOU, F. 1, op. 23, spr. 121, ark. 7.
[979] TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 312, ark. 8; DADO, F. R-2479, op. 1, spr. 5, ark. 16.
[980] Testimony of Boris Rozen, Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli*, p. 270.

not to help the Jews. In the order that was issued to create the Jewish ghetto, there were also two clauses targeted at non-Jews. Article No.4 obliged non-Jews to inform the police about any Jews who did not move into the ghetto and hid themselves or their Jewish identity. In addition, Article No.6 stated that: '…persons who hide, provide their apartment [for the Jews], or help Jews in any other way to escape their internment in the ghetto, or have knowledge of cases described in Article No.4 without informing the authorities, will be punished by penal servitude (*katorha*) from 3 to 10 years.'[981]

Sometimes a helper could be punished by large fines and if they could not pay, he or she was sent either to penal servitude or to prison.[982] There were many court cases published in Transnistrian newspapers where helpers of Jews and the punishments for such help were made public. The Russian historian Ilya Altman has emphasised that news about court-martials and executions of those who helped the Jews were regularly published in the newspapers under Romanian control in the city of Odessa.[983] The Romanian government published an order in September 1942 to punish the Jews who returned from Transnistria and those who assisted them there or on the way, though the exact punishment was not found in the documents.[984] The same applies to the case of the Roma: the newspapers were full of court orders given *in absentia* for the Roma who had crossed the Transnistrian border without official permission or left areas where the Roma had been assigned to live.[985] Yet, no documents were found about the punishment of those non-Roma who assisted the Roma.

There was a significant difference between helping the Roma and the Jews: officially the punishment applied for helping the Jews regardless but to Roma only in cases where they were partisans or 'wandering people'. However, it can be suggested that helping Roma was considered less dangerous than helping the Jews because restrictions to assist Roma were not promulgated by the occupiers. There was however, no doubt that helping the main targets of the occupiers would end up with a punishment. A significant contrast can be noted in punishments applied for helping the Jews, and presumably Roma, between the territories occupied by Romanians and those occupied by Germans. In German controlled territories the punishment was always death, often without any trial or investigations, whereas in Romanian controlled areas the usual punishment was penal servitude or a large

[981] DAOO, *Odesskaia Gazeta,* 12 January 1942, p. 4.
[982] Ibid. Thursday, 2 April 1942, p. 3.
[983] Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti,* p. 52.
[984] YVA, M.52, file 130, pp. 1778-1880.
[985] See for instance, DAOO, *Molva*, 5 October 1943, p. 3; *Molva*, 10 October 1943, p. 4.

fine. Obviously, penal servitude could also lead to death, but it was not immediate and therefore, there was a better chance of survival. Capital punishment was also applied in Romanian controlled territories, but many interviews suggest that the Romanians willingly took bribes instead of applying official punishments for assistance to Jews and Roma. The 'milder' application of death sentences could be a possible reason for higher number of Jewish and Roma survivors in Romanian occupied Ukraine, and also the larger number of those who were willing to assist the Jews and the Roma.

Denunciation of helpers and receiving a reward for it from the occupiers, and the threatening of helpers occurred frequently in all occupied territories of Ukraine. The head of the village of Stepanivka in Dnipropetrovsk *oblast* (RKU) was accused of not denouncing the Jews: '…four Jews are hiding in your district. You are FULLY RESPONSIBLE for their presence on the territory of your village. The Jews must be caught and sent to the labour camp…'[986] 'Full responsibility' means that the head of the village might be punished by death for hiding or not denouncing the Jews. Some denouncers gathered information from their neighbourhood and then wrote a report with a list of people. Igor Br. (second name is illegible) from the city of Odessa (Transnistria) compiled such a list in November 1941 with their short biography (where they worked, members of their families, home addresses). The list included communists, Poles, and Jews who acquired false passports where they were recorded as Ukrainians. The report starts with the case of Klavdiia Kleiman, a Jewish woman who was the wife of a Ukrainian. Her husband, with the help of several people, including a secondary school teacher, hid her and acquired for her a Ukrainian passport.[987] The denunciation of helpers and receiving a reward was not unique to Ukrainian territories and rewards varied. In the city of Mogilev in Belarus for instance, the reward was five packs of tobacco for one Jew.[988] Also, in neighbouring Belarus, non-Jews acted the same way as in Ukraine – denouncing Jews for rewards or even without recompense. For instance, there were several reports of Belarusians who helped Jews to forge passports and change their nationality to Russian. These cases occurred in the town of Orsha where a man with a second name Bobrov was denounced for forging a passport for a Jew.[989] In another case, a Jewish woman Liusia F. (second name is

[986] DADO, F. R-2311, op.2, spr. 27, ark. 30.
[987] YVA, M.40.MAP, file 152, p.127.
[988] Altman, *Zhertvy Nenavisti,* p. 437, with a reference to RGASPI, F. 69, op.4, d. 14, l. 9.
[989] GAVt, F. 2092, op. 1, d. 1, l. 47.

invisible) was denounced for forging a passport by the head of a village (the name of the village is invisible).[990]

Along with the reward for denunciation and the death penalty for helping the Jews, other factors also influenced people's propensity to help, such as topography, location and climate. As it was discussed in the second chapter, before receiving assistance from non-Jews or non-Roma, Roma and Jews tried to rescue themselves and help each other. The first step, in most cases, was to escape from places of execution, ghettos or labour camps. Escaping from executions could not be planned in advance and was always spontaneous. It meant that the escapee had to know the topography very well, where s/he was going and whom s/he could ask for help. Without such knowledge, finding helpers was much more complicated and in steppe areas such as southern and partially eastern Ukraine, escaping and asking for help from non-Jews or non-Roma was difficult because the terrain did not offer many options to hide. In forested areas or swamps such as western Ukraine, particularly Volhynia, it was easier to survive and also to find helpers such as partisans or peasants. Moreover, western Ukraine did not have well a developed road network, and this made pursuing and guarding the Jews and Roma difficult. Fugitives who knew the area well could find their non-Jewish or non-Roma relatives and ask for help. Where possible an escapee could ask for a minimal help such as food or sometimes an overnight stay in a stranger's yard, but most escapees had to spend most of their time hiding in forests. Escaping from labour camps and ghettos could be planned in advance, with help coming from outside the ghettos and camp areas. Again, travelling at night on familiar terrain was easier and relatively less dangerous. If the landscape had hills and rivers, it could help one to survive by hiding in the bushes, observing people and asking for help. The best situation was if there was river between German and Romanian occupied zones, then escapees could be assisted by travelling from one side to the other.

Location – urban or rural – played a key role in rescue. Thus, if Jews and Roma escaped from execution sites or ghettos situated in urban areas, it was difficult to find helpers. Returning to their former places of residence was extremely dangerous considering the level of denunciation in the cities. Moreover, their property could have already been taken by their neighbours or occupiers and wandering or asking for assistance in urban areas was extremely dangerous: the ghettos were situated usually in non-Jewish districts and the

[990] Ibid., l. 59.

presence of the occupiers was more tangible and visible than it was in rural areas.[991] As Shmuel Spector concluded from the example of Volhynia, more than half of the Jewish population attempted to flee in small towns and about 25% in mid-size towns whereas in large cities the percentage was no more than 10%.[992] The same can be applied to all of occupied Ukraine. Obviously, the percentage of survivors was less, but the proportion could remain the same: the larger the locality was, the harder it was to survive and find non-Jewish helpers. The survival percentage for Roma is assumed to be higher because the overwhelming majority lived in rural areas, many Roma maintained a semi-nomadic lifestyle before the war and therefore, had a good knowledge of the area where they lived and also the roads and neighbouring *oblasts* that they habitually travelled through.

A very important form of rescue was hiding both Jews and Roma who fled from ghettos or executions or sheltering them before they were caught. The conditions discussed for self-rescue in the second chapter, also apply to rescue by non-Jews and non-Roma: sheltering Jews and Roma in rural areas was much easier in terms of finding hiding places such as barns, prepared pits, attics and vaults. There were more possibilities to prepare places for hiding in villages than in urban areas. Moreover, this was more possible if the village was remote from main roads and towns, or if the house where Jews and Roma were sheltered was on the edge of a village near the forests. In such cases there were fewer neighbours to know about what was happening and this in turn decreased the possibility of denunciations. Yet, even in cases of denunciation there was a better opportunity for both victims and rescuers in rural areas to have more time to escape. The potential for denunciation was equally high in villages and in cities. In a rural area, all neighbours usually knew from the beginning or found out within a short period time if one of their number sheltered a Jew or a Roma. Similarly, in high-rise urban buildings, neighbours would know who was hiding a Roma or a Jew. Only in a few cases was such help kept secret. For instance, in the city of Dnipropetrovsk (RKU) where a Ukrainian mother and daughter, Anna Chernova and Nadezhda Chernova, hid Anna's Jewish friend Sevastian Chernikov in their apartment for three months in a large chest.[993] Sheltering Jews in city conditions in Ukraine for a long period was impossible whereas in villages sheltering could extend over the entire occupation.

[991] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 205.
[992] Ibid.
[993] YVA, M. 31.2/8337, case of Anna Chernova and her daughter Nadezhda Chernova.

The climate was another important condition for helping, particularly in cases of sheltering the Jews and Roma. During cold seasons, Ukrainian winters are severe, Jews and Roma could be hidden only in buildings. In warmer weather, Jews and Roma could be sheltered outside, particularly in the countryside. The same applied to food: in warm seasons peasants had more food and could share it with fugitives whereas winter meant potential helpers had less food to offer. From the victim's perspective, the cold season was the time when those who escaped from executions or ghettos needed more help with food as they could scavenge less: in the cold season it was impossible to survive without help from others.

Material circumstances also affected decision-making by non-Jews and non-Roma in rescuing Jews and Roma. If people had no food for themselves and their children, it was less likely that they would help Jews and Roma with food or shelter. To provide a shelter to someone required also feeding the person(s) which in turn that meant expenses for food and faster consumption of what was stored for oneself. The same applied to living conditions: it was difficult to offer a shelter to Jews and Roma if a person lived with a family in small village hut where there was no extra space or in city flats with thin gypsum walls where all sounds and voices could be heard by the neighbours.

The final factor considered here is the physical and emotional state of the rescuers. Sick or disabled people were unlikely to offer help to Jewish and Roma fugitives. Emotions often played a decisive factor in the offer of help, but a psychological analysis of rescuers is no longer possible and does not form part of this research.

Thus, the system of rewards and punishments was very effective in the decision-making to assist the Jews and Roma. Non-Jews and non-Roma were aware of the persecution of their Jewish and Roma neighbours and faced a choice – to act or not to act. If they chose to act and denounce the Jews, they could receive a reward, if the choice was to help Jews and Roma, they and most likely their families could be punished by death, or, by penal servitude and fines, as was frequently the case in Transnistria. Considering the awful living conditions during the occupation, scarcity of food and constant fear of death also affected the choice between helping a Jew or Roma and not to help. Other factors such as geography, climate, urbanisation and material status of the rescuers also affected the decisions to help and rescue. Nonetheless, many non-Jews and non-Roma tried to assist the Jews and Roma in different ways.

Forms of Help and Rescue for Jews and Roma

There were a number of ways of helping and rescuing Jews and Roma by non-Roma and non-Jews. The most widespread was supplying victims with food, clothes and footwear. This type of help can be observed in all occupied zones towards Jews, Roma and POWs. On the one hand, it was the least risky type of helping because it could be done on one-time basis. On the other, it was most necessary type of helping because no one could survive without food and clothes.

Helping Roma with food was repeatedly mentioned in testimonies by Ukrainian peasants and Roma survivors. A semi-nomadic Roma family of Ludwik Dolinski stayed near Lviv (DG) where they survived the occupation. Ludwik recalled how his mother walked from one hut to another asking for food: 'People gave us bread, salt and lard. What people had they gave. We walked, begged and people gave... in this way we survived.'[994] A Ukrainian woman from the village of Kachivka, Mykolaiv *oblast* (Transnistria) recalled how her family brought food to a labour camp where the Roma were imprisoned: 'We arrived and brought food for them [for the Roma] and helped with what we could (…) We brought vegetables and flour and they boiled them [vegetables].'[995] This witness was a Ukrainian woman who spoke about the Roma in a very negative manner, claiming that the Roma did not want to work, they were lazy and therefore they were deported and kept in camps. But when it came to the question of food, it appeared that she helped the Roma with food even though she had a negative attitude towards them. The same pattern appears in other testimonies of Ukrainian villagers with a negative attitude towards the Jews but still helping with food. Arguably, ethnicity and nationality were not important for Ukrainians when others faced death by starvation. In many testimonies one can find the expression 'keep the people, but let them eat', meaning that occupiers could keep the Jews and the Roma in stables and sheepfolds but should not deprive them of food. Apparently, for Ukrainian peasants at that time, the most horrible thing was the absence of food, a consequence of their experiences of the *Holodomor*, the manmade famine inflicted on Ukraine by Stalin in 1932-1933.[996] To suppress peasantry in Ukrainian lands, Joseph Stalin organised a mass Famine. In 1932-1933 the harvest was taken from peasants and stored in barns. Any attempt to get wheat from *kolkhoz* fields were punished immediately by shooting. Many Ukrainian

[994] Interview with Ludwik Dolinski, VHA, interview code: 44108.
[995] AYIU, Witness 1258UK.
[996] For more details, see the historiography in the chapter.

villages disappeared during those two years and every family lost one or more close relatives because of death from starvation. There are volumes of collected testimonies about how people in those villages tried to survive.[997] The *Holodomor* is mentioned in every recollection about the Second World War taken from Ukrainian peasants, usually preceding stories about the hard life and starvation during the Second World War. According to the testimonies, having survived *Holodomor*, depriving people from food was the most terrible of all crimes in eyes of the Ukrainian peasantry. This explanation may be seen as one of the possible reasons for helping the Jews and the Roma who were starving. This theory may help to explain why Ukrainian peasants provided Jews with food despite their own poverty, risking their health and lives.

> Our people brought anything that they had: potatoes and bread, but they [the Romanians] even beat us and prevented us from giving food. And they [the Jews] ran to the fence and asked: 'Give me something, give me something!' But how many of those women arrived [referring to helpers]? One woman brought [food], another one brought [food as well], but they [the Jews] lay there as a swamp[998] [meant: there were a lot of starved Jews].[999]

A Jew, Ruvin Baron, recalled how being deported to Transnistria on his way to Bershad, people threw food into the column of Jews passing by.[1000] The local people in these villages experienced varied conditions during the occupation: some peasants starved and were forced to look for food themselves, whereas others had food to spare, including bread, vegetables and even eggs and/or milk. Therefore, in different localities what people could bring depended on their circumstances: 'They [Jews] ate everything that people brought to them to the stables [where Jews were kept] (…) and they ate… as beasts. Raw pumpkin, beetroot, malay, mamalyga.[1001] It was brought for them, thrown to them there, they ate… We fed them like this…'[1002]

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[997] See documents and testimonies on the official website of *The State Committee of the Ukrainian Archives*, available at: http://www.archives.gov.ua/Sections/Famine/, (last accessed on 07 June 2016). The Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the United Nations, available at: http://un.mfa.gov.ua/ua/documents/holodomor/evidences (last accessed on 05 May 2016).

[998] The witness uses the word 'swamp' in a derogatory way to emphasise that there were a lot of Jews and that they were hungry and dirty.

[999] AYIU, Witness 1255UK.

[1000] Testimony of Ruvin Baron, in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 1, p. 50.

[1001] Malay is a simple cake made out corn flour and water, a very common culinary item in Ukrainian and Moldovan villages. Mămăligă is traditional Romanian and Moldovan porridge, made out of yellow maize flour. It was part of cuisine of southern and western regions of Ukraine.

[1002] AYIU, Witness 1249UK.

Footwear and clothes were particularly important for those Roma and Jews who were deported to Transnistria: bad roads and walking many kilometres required shoes. In the village of Domanivka (Mykolaiv *oblast*), where the Roma were gathered in the local stadium and kept there for a while, one witness testified:

> …it was a deep autumn and it was cold already. Those Gypsies set up a feather bed and a lot of children sat on it. My father took all of them to our house for a night. (…) For that night he repaired their shoes, their hats, jackets. He gave all of them more clothes and in the morning brought all children back [to the place where Roma were kept].[1003]

Except supplying Jews and Roma with food and clothes, sheltering was one of the most effective ways of rescue. As with food, hiding places could be provided on a one-time basis – to let people stay for a night or two. It was not so risky and did not require much effort, in contrast to sheltering fugitives for a long period. Nevertheless, rescuing by sheltering for a long period can be found in testimonies across all of occupied Ukraine. Despite the difficulties, many Ukrainians, Poles and others were ready to provide such help for both Jews and Roma, frequently losing their lives in order to save Jews. To shelter more than one person was extremely difficult, not only because of the risk of denunciation, but also because of circumstances. In most cases, the rescued could not go out from their hiding places, which meant that the rescuers had to feed them and take out their excrements. both acts had to be done in secret so that it was not seen. It required not only physical efforts and psychological preparation to stay alert all the time, but also money to buy extra food. Buying food also had to be secret: no one had to know that the rescuer bought more than what they usually needed. In villages it was easier: people worked in the fields and produced their own food which they could share with those whom they hid. A Roma woman Polina Batikova recalled how she was hidden by non-Roma in the village of Gladkovka, Kherson area (MAZ, later – RKU): 'People hid me, …in their hut. I did not go outside [from the hut] to the street and nobody told [the Germans] that I was a Gypsy'.[1004] A settled Roma Semen Kantemirov recalled how he and his family were saved from the first days when the Roma began to be murdered. A Ukrainian woman named Yulia sheltered this Roma family for three years in her barn and vault in the village of Tiaginka, Kherson area (MAZ, later – RKU). Semen recalled that it was forbidden for him to talk in hiding and

[1003] AYIU, Witness 1265UK.
[1004] Interview with Polina Batikova, VHA, interview code: 49673.

when he was out after the liberation, he was almost blind from sitting in darkness all the time. Yulia's neighbour knew about the Roma family and helped them with food by bringing some hard chuck and baked bread.[1005] Some helpers were murdered for their actions whereas the Jews whom they hid had the luck to survive. For instance, Ukrainian Ivan Barbaruk lived near the town of Kovel in Volhynia (RKU) and hid his Jewish friend Wolf Patoka. In May 1943, some bandits arrived asking Ivan if it was the true that he was hiding Jews. Ivan showed them the house and they could not find anybody. Then, bandits simply shot Ivan near his house. Wolf Patoka managed to survive. Ivan's relatives from the same village were hiding Wolf's sister Chaika and her parents. All of them were discovered in their hiding and murdered.[1006] Maria Belostotskaya and her daughter Nina were arrested and executed by Germans for hiding Jews in the town of Vorzel, near Kyiv (RKU).[1007] In all the occupied areas there were many cases of helpers being executed, often together with Jews whom they hid. However, no case has been found of the execution of non-Roma who hid a Roma.

Another method of rescuing was passive, or probably can be called 'less assertive' rescue, where the helper was involved in rescuing indirectly or without taking further actions. Such methods included giving warnings about the danger of deportations or killings, advice on what to do or where to go to hide, non-denunciation or keeping silence about the origins of Jews and Roma. All these methods were common and can be identified for both Jews and Roma across Ukraine because they were the least risky and did not require much effort.

Active or more assertive methods of helping included changing identity of Jews and Roma by supplying them with false documents identifying them as non-Jews and non-Roma, the adoption of children into families that was usually connected with forging documents for children; bribing the occupiers, issuing baptismal certificates and actual baptisms; providing a job, protection of the Jews and Roma by heads of the village, and transferring the Jews and Roma to less dangerous places, for instance from one occupied zone to another.

Jews and Roma were supplied with various types of documents that included passports, birth certificates, baptismal certificates, and various permissions. Forging documents

[1005] Interview with Semen Kantemirov, VHA, interview code: 49516.
[1006] YVA, M.31.2/12403, case of Ivan Barbaruk.
[1007] YVA, M.31.2/8699, case of Maria Belostotskaya.

included providing Jews with documents of the deceased, of those at the front or missing persons, and transferring one's own documents to Jews. Sometimes the documents were combined as in the case of the rescue of a Jewish doctor, Yakov Shlagin, in the city of Dnipropetrovsk (RKU). The Ukrainian Ivanov family acquired a passport of their neighbour Marusenko who was in the Red Army, but somehow left his passport at home. At night the Ivanov and Domoratski families changed the photo on this passport to Yakov's and supplied Yakov with documents where it was stated that he was Ukrainian. Thanks to this document, Yakov was able to escape and survived even though his documents were checked a couple of times while he was on the road.[1008] A Roma who survived the occupation in the DG said that 'those [fugitives] who could produce false papers [that they were not Roma] - made it. They pretended to be Hungarians or Romanians'.[1009] The Roma family of Siejana Kwiek who survived in the area of Ternopil (DG), acquired documents where it was stated that they were Romanians.[1010] The family of Maciej Kolompart who survived in Lviv area had documents indicating they were Hungarians.[1011] The documents were prepared with the help of a Polish man named Michacz. The settled Roma Pavel Ibragimov's family was Muslim and survived in the city of Mykolaiv (RKU) by acquiring papers showing that they were Tatars. Pavel also had a Jewish grandmother and the family was in extreme danger. Only thanks to those documents did they survive.[1012]

Adopting children into families also required their registration with the authorities and acquisition of documents with non-Roma and non-Jewish nationalities. Officially, adoption could take place in two ways: recording the Roma and the Jews in the papers of rescuers as family members and introducing the children as members of the family. A Roma girl, Galina Ninitsa, was adopted by a Moldovan family that also obtained identity papers for her where she was a Moldovan. The adoptive parents changed Nina's second name into a Moldovan-sounding name.[1013] A Jewish girl, Maia Gorenshtein, was adopted by Ukrainian Mariia Yeremenko who gave Maia her own second name – Yeremenko and changed her first name from Maia to Mariia.[1014] However, forging documents was not easy, and the occupiers, particularly the Germans pursued cases of forgery. For example, in the city of

[1008] Interview with a Ukrainian Vladimir Ivanov, the rescuer and 'Righteous among the Nations of the World' author's personal archive.
[1009] Interview with Maria Kwiatkowska, VHA, interview code: 32103.
[1010] Interview with Siejana Kwiek, VHA, interview code: 32294.
[1011] Interview with Maciej Kolompart, VHA, interview code: 33055.
[1012] Interview with Pavel Ibragimov, VHA, interview code: 49460.
[1013] Interview with Galina Ninitsa, VHA, interview code: 49679.
[1014] Testimoni of Maiia Gorenshtein (Zaslavskaia), in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 1, p. 215.

Chernivtsi (Northern Bukovina), the Jews with forged documents were captured and regularly interrogated.[1015]

Bribing was another effective way for Jews and Roma to survive, especially in Transnistria where Jewish and Roma friends and relatives bribed the occupiers on a regular basis. For instance, Tsylia K. recalled how a Ukrainian woman, whom she called aunt Mariia, often came to the ghetto of Tulchyn, Vinnytsia *oblast* (Transnistria) and brought the family food. For doing this Mariia bribed both Ukrainian policemen and Romanian guards. Later the woman bribed the Romanians and smuggled Tsylia out from the ghetto. Mariia started to call Tsylia Lilia, which sounded more Russian and sheltered her at home.[1016] Bribery as an effective method of self-rescue was just as prevalent among non-Jews and non-Roma as it was for the Roma and Jews doing it for self-preservation.

Rescuing by Christians applies only to Jews because the majority of the Roma in Ukraine were themselves Christians. This form of rescue included actual baptisms of Jews but also just the provision of baptismal certificates. Teaching Christian prayers and rituals were part of this process. A Ukrainian witness from the village of Domanivka, Mykolaiv *oblast* (Transnistria) testified that 'when the War started, the girls [her neighbours] came to us – probably they heard that the Jews were being killed – and asked us to make crosses for them, because if one would wear the cross, s/he would not be killed.'[1017]

Riva M. told the story of her rescue in the city of Vinnytsia (RKU) thanks to learning how to cross herself:

> A German came up to us, put us up against a wall and asked 'Are you Russians? If so – do the sign of the cross!' And we did not even know how to do it. We lived on Jerusalimka[1018], where all Jews lived, we never saw and did not know how to do it; mom could not cross. The German beat us badly and put us back in the building. (…) Mom pulled herself together and decided to go again. (…) So, we went again, all four of us, and a German walked by, asked 'Russian?' – 'Yes.' – 'Come out!' They took us out and put us up against the wall again, and there was a woman who said 'I will show you how to make the sign of the cross. Girl, look, while he is coming, stand together and keep praying so that he'll see you.' When the Germans came and saw that we were

[1015] YVA, M.52, JM/11341; M.52, microfilm 99.2691, M.52, file 32.
[1016] Interview with a Jewish survivor Tsylia K., author's personal archive.
[1017] AYIU, Witness 1265UK.
[1018] Jewish district in Vinnystia.

> all praying, he did not ask anything, he saw that we are Russians, just let us go. But that woman stayed, she saved us by teaching us to cross.[1019]

Sometimes, Jews really were baptised. For instance, when the mother of Zhanna Khv. was arrested as a Jewess in the Mykolaiv area (Transnistria), Zhanna and her sister were immediately baptised.[1020] Some priests baptised the Jews and distributed baptismal certificates widely. For instance, in southern Bessarabia a Romanian priest, Mardare, forged 25 baptismal certificates for the Jews in 1941, and the Romanian authorities started correspondence with higher authorities about this issue in January 1942.[1021] However, baptism or certificates could not always save the Jews and it depended on the credibility of the priest and the particular location. There was a case of the mayor of Ukrainian town Kremenchug, Poltava area (RKU) with the second name Sinitsa-Verkhovskii who from the beginning of the occupation protected the Jews. According to German reports, he forged documents for the Jews, gave them false names and forced a priest, Romanskii, to baptize them and supply them with baptismal certificates in their false Christian and Russian names. Sinitsia-Verkhovskii was executed for this in March 1942.[1022]

Having a job that provided protection from the head of the kolkhoz or village was one of the successful ways for the Roma to survive. They believed that if they had a job they would not be killed. This opinion was based on the negative stereotypes of Ukrainians towards Roma: Roma do not want to work and tried to beg instead of working or even stealing horses.[1023] The story of a Roma family of Paraskoviia (Ana) F., a settled Roma, whose family stayed in the village of Zarya (southern Bessarabia, Izmail district), near the border between contemporary Moldova and Ukraine, recalled:

> Nobody deported our Gypsies, we were few in numbers and we worked, we did not live as tramps, maybe because of this. [...] When Germans came, and they wanted to take us and my father … but to where they would take us? Our chief said: 'I will not give you my Gypsies, because they are working, he works, he does not loaf about, he works and feeds his own family. Why take them [away]?'[1024]

[1019] interview with a Jewish survivor Riva M., author's personal archive.
[1020] Interview with a Jewish survivor Zhanna Khv., author's personal archive.
[1021] YVA, M.52, file 53, pp. 1004-1008.
[1022] Arad (ed.), *Unizhtozhenie Evreev v Gody Nemetskoi Okkupatsii*, p. 138.
[1023] AYIU, Witness 1258UK.
[1024] Interview with a Roma survivor Paraskovya F., authors' personal archive.

Similar, recollections of a Roma Nadezhda R. who survived in the village of Nestirivka near the city of Kamianets-Podilskyi (RKU):

> He [the head of the Village council] sent [us] to weed beetroot and said to my mom: 'Work and save herself in this way' (…) We had a very good the head of the village council. He was Ukrainian. He said [Germans] that there are no Gypsies [in his village]. He was very good person.[1025]

A Roma Mariia Dosaeva from the village of Novi Maiachky in Kherson area (MAZ, later – RKU) recalled: 'I remember my father was blacksmithing day and night. I remember when policemen arrived to take us [to be shot] the *starosta* [head of the village] arrived and said: "First kill all of us then kill them!"'[1026] The family was saved. Mariia hinted that the head of the village liked her father because he was a very talented smith. There were several testimonies about the head of the villages protecting the Roma. For instance, the family of Anna R. from the village of Polanochka, Cherkassy region (RKU), was protected by the head of her village because he was Anna's godfather:

> The Head of Village council was my godfather, he baptised me. He said to my father 'Vladimir, this night you should not be at home, because Germans will come for all of you [Gypsies]. But I told them that I do not have Gypsies in the village.' …my father together with my older brothers ran away, in the forest. My other brother already has been at the War, and I and my little brother hid in the kiln. If the Head of Village council was not my godfather all of us would have been killed.[1027]

The same way of helping sometimes worked for the Jews, however, there is only one known case. An accountant, Zirchenko, who apparently was the head of the kolkhoz in the village of Blagodatnoe, Dnipropetrovsk *oblast* (RKU), employed seven Jewish families (30 people) in his kolkhoz.[1028] Just working in a kolkhoz was not usually enough to save the Jews, and they also needed forged documents or bribed the occupiers. Otherwise, all Jews, even the best specialists, were ultimately shot by the occupiers.

An outstanding way to help was transferring victims from one occupied zone to another. This method was employed in Transnistria. Transfers from the German to the Romanian occupied zone were successfully employed by many Jews. Jewish testimonies describe how

[1025] Interview with a Roma survivor Nadezhda R., authors' personal archive.
[1026] Interview with Mariia Dosaeva, VHA, interview code: 49455.
[1027] Interview with a Roma survivor Anna R., authors' personal archive.
[1028] Grossman and Erenburg, (eds.), *Chernaia Kniga*, p. 364.

they tried to pass into Transnistria from *RKU* because the Romanian regime was 'milder' than the German. Semen D, who was on German side in the town of Bar during the occupation, described in his recollections how he managed to swim across the river Riv which separated *RKU* and Transnistria. Then he recalled how he was surprised that Jews lived there and even could manage to sell things in order to survive. The punishment for helping the Jews in Transnistria, with exception of the city of Odessa, was rarely death. Romanians willingly took bribes and Jews therefore tried to get there. There was a village called Balki populated by Russian Old Believers – close to Bar, but in the Romanian zone. The inhabitants often travel to Odessa where they bought salt and matches and then sold them in the suburbs of Bar. The Old Believers knew all the by-ways and often smuggled Jews from Bar to Transnistria in exchange for money of jewellery.[1029] Another testimony from Bar was given by a Jewish man, Arkadii Sobol. He told the story how couple of Jewish families escaped from the ghetto before the *Aktion* and hid in a house. They did not know what to do and then a Ukrainian or Russian man, who was a friend of Arkadii's father before the war, suggested they should cross the border to Transnistria. All of them, six or seven families, were successfully transferred to the village of Balki, where the man gave them some bread and then disappeared.[1030]

Movement from one occupied zone to another was only possible in one or two places in Mykolaiv *oblast* and Vinnytsia *oblast*. Most of the testimonies relate to the Vinnytsia area, probably because crossing was easier from there. Another reason might be because the guarding of the frontier was less stringent there. It is interesting that such testimonies were found only among the Jews. Apparently, the settled Roma did not move to different occupational zones and their nomadic and semi-nomadic brethren did this anyway as part of their lifestyle. Ostensibly, the fate for the Roma in Transnistria was similar to German occupied zones: none of the testimonies collected from Roma suggested that it was easier to survive in Transnistria.

In the DG there were specialists who smuggled Jews from the 'Jewish side' of the city to the 'Aryan side' or further into Polish territories. This was particularly successful in the city of Lviv. Arriving on the 'Aryan side', Jews tried to hide among their relatives or friends who had 'Aryan' documents – identity papers that recorded them as Polish, Russian,

[1029] Interview with a Jewish Semen D., authors' personal archive; Dodik, *Sudba Malchika iz Rasstreliannogo Getto*, p. 23.
[1030] Ghetto fighters' House Archive, Testimony №9330 of Arkadii Sobol, pp. 4-6.

Ukrainian, or preferably German. Over time, those who managed to reach the 'Aryan side' obtained 'Aryan' documents through relatives and friends, or by bribing Ukrainian policemen and Germans. This type of smuggling was extremely dangerous and had to be expedited by people who had connections with the guards as they and the Jews could be killed on the spot if caught by Germans. Sometimes non-Jews deceived the Jews promising that they were going smuggle them and then robbed them on the way or handed them over to the police. One such case comes from a Ukrainian archive. Teofiia Gandverker had a bad experience when she decided to get herself smuggled from the city of Lviv to Krakov. The reason for such decision was her old mother whom Teofiia hid in a vault of the house and could not keep her longer there:

> When the last *Aktion* was happening before the ghetto organisation, I understood that it is impossible to live further [like this]. I did not have money only some clothes. I was told that there was a man who could transfer us from Lviv to Krakow, where I could find a job. I was told that he brought couple of people from Krakow to Lviv. I did not know that he was a provocateur. He arrived to Lviv with the Jews and he saved them. [In this way] people started to trust him, but in fact he was a provocateur.[1031]

On the way, the man hit Teofiia, took all her clothes and tried to take her to the Gestapo but she was saved thanks to bombing which started and he ran away to save himself.

Paid Help and Rescue

In relation to rescuing, it should be mentioned that many helpers and rescuers acted not because of their benevolence towards the victims but through an opportunity for material gain, by insisting on payment in money jewellery, clothes or household items, Without paying rescuers, Jews and Roma found it hard to find hiding places. A Roma woman, Fenia Remez, told how she arrived at a Ukrainian hut to ask for something. The Ukrainian woman saw that Fenia was very slim and gave her some small pies. Then that woman helped Fenia to organize a horse with a map to travel to Fenia's relatives in Vinnytsia *oblast* (RKU). For that Fenia gave the carter a child's coat as the carter also had a daughter.[1032] It is unknown

[1031] TsDAHOU, F. 166, op. 2, spr. 222, pp. 1-2.
[1032] Interview with Fenia Remez, VHA, interview code: 49357.

if the carter would have taken Fenia without payment or not, but most likely not, and the child's coat was an expensive payment in wartime.

Accepting a payment or even demanding payment for their assistance, non-Jews and non-Roma were still risking their lives. Moreover, the material status of some rescuers could not always allow for supporting an extra person. For instance, in the village of Semenivka, Lviv *oblast* (*Disrikt Galizien*) two policemen discovered the Ukrainian Balicki family – Yosyp, his wife Kateryna and three children Vanda 23 years old, Stanislav 21 years old and Vladyslav 17 years old – who hid two Jewish men, Moses Pasternak and Rubin Pasternak, in the cellar of Balicki's house. For this, the Balicki family received 2,000 *karbovantsiv* (rubles) per month from the Jews.[1033] This happened in 1943 and apparently the family was arrested and executed though the Jews managed to escape. Another story reveals how a Roman Catholic priest and a Polish woman, Paraska Brzesinska, saved a Jewish girl throughout the occupation in Lviv. The Jewish family left a piano as payment which was sold by the priest for a very good price. Apart from the piano, the priest also took a roll of good cloth and a bag with a fur blanket that was extremely expensive at the time. When after the liberation, the mother of the Jewish girl wanted to take her daughter back, the Polish woman Paraska asked her for a couple of thousand zloty because she had fed Jewish girl for three years.[1034] The Roma family of Mieczyslaw Goman recounted being helped by Poles in the city of Lviv and the 'city commander' who allowed the Roma to live there on the edge of the city in former Jewish houses, left empty after the owners were shot. For this, the Roma paid him regularly 'with gold and sofas'.[1035]

Payment was not only in money or valuables. Often the rescued had to pay in other ways once they had exhausted their material assets. One recollection revealed information about sex as a payment for rescue. A Romanian officer saved a girl from the town of Brailiv. The girl had been discovered in the Zhmerynka ghetto and was supposed to be shot with many others but was not. The Romanian officer saved her and often 'visited' her.[1036] The situation was desperate for the girl: either she had to accept these 'visits' or be killed. Other cases demonstrate instances of physical exploitation of the rescued by their rescuers. For instance, two Jewish women, Ninel and her daughter, obtained papers in the name of

[1033] YVA, M.52, file 259.
[1034] Testimonies of Nonna and Vladimir Prihodko, and Anna Zadorozhnia, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli*, pp. 258-265.
[1035] Interview with Mieczyslaw Goman, VHA, interview code: 32796.
[1036] Interview with a Jewish survivor Milia B., author's personal archive.

Zaitseva and worked for a Ukrainian woman, Paraska Babak. Paraska knew that Ninel and her daughter were Jews: 'Paraska tortured her [Ninel] and her daughter and forced them to work from sunrise to sunset. She [Paraska] threatened them that she would hand them over to Gestapo as Jews [if they did not work well].'[1037] As mentioned earlier in a case of Jews rescued by Roma there was evidence about the work which a Jewish girl, Sonia, did for a Roma, Matrena Kirichenko, who saved her. Sonia being 14 years old looked after Matrena's small children.[1038] However, such work can be considered partly as payment as if rescued Jews and Roma could move freely, they always tried to help in the household. Also, Matrena knew about the death penalty for helping Jews as it occurred in Kharkiv *oblast* (MAZ). Therefore, the household help given by the girl did not diminish the risk taken by Matrena for sheltering her, or the underlying good behind the rescue.

Rarely assistance to Jews and Roma was provided on the basis of promises of recompense after the war. Sometimes Jews did not have any money or property but had some expensive things which non-Jews wanted. In such cases, Jews were given shelter after promising to give a precious item to the rescuer once they were safe. Such a situation could be observed in a recollection in which an interviewee asked me (the interviewer) not to record. In this unrecorded case a Jewish lady promised to give a sewing machine after the war to her neighbour in return for shelter. After the agreement she was taken in and hidden in the neighbour's house.

To conclude, paid help often occurred but according to the recollections less often than disinterested help. Even though helpers took money or valuables from the victims, they had to spend money on food, and all the more so if they hid more than one person on a long-term basis. Even if asking for compensations, rescuers still were risking their lives. Only in rare cases did rescuers abuse their guests by forcing them to work or through sexual exploitation.

[1037] TsDAVOVU, F. R-4620, op. 3, spr. 297, p. 43.
[1038] Interview with Matrena Kirichenko, VHA, interview code: 47281.

The Rescued

Analysing the available testimonies and archival documents, it is possible to understand and generalise about which categories of Jews and Roma were rescued and who the rescuers and helpers were. Both rescued and rescuers varied in their age, gender, social status, occupation, location and relationship to each other. For the rescued, being younger played an important role in getting assistance. As was mentioned above, adoption of Jewish children into non-Jewish families was one form of rescue, presenting fewer risks for both the rescued and the rescuers. The younger the child was, the easier it was for him/her to be accepted and adopted. The adoption of babies usually did not provoke questions or special attention from neighbours or the authorities. The appearance of a baby was a natural occurrence, more so if the family already had children. Acceptance of a baby was also psychologically easier for rescuers: adoptive parents could raise a baby as their own child, especially if the biological parents were dead and rescuers did not have their own children. In this case, rescuers protected the baby and looked after him/her as their own. In terms of material condition, it was easier to adopt and look after a baby in villages because of better access to food – something that was more problematic in the cities. Moreover, children eat much less than adults and in wartime each piece of bread was extremely valuable. Many Jewish and Roma testimonies demonstrate the positive attitude to children and willingness of non-Jews and non-Roma to help children. For instance, a Jewish girl, Ludmila Braslavskaia, was just six years old when the occupation started in the Poltava region (RKU) where Ludmila's family lived. When Jews started to be killed, Ludmila's mother decided to give her and her younger brother Marik to distant relatives, probably living in the same or in a neighbouring village, who did not have children. The relatives looked after the children and raised them with their family name, Gurin.[1039] Some rescuers could not pretend that Jewish children whom they rescued were their own, especially with ones older than one year old. In such cases the rescuers presented the children as their nephews or nieces. Such a case occurred in the city of Sumy (MAZ): two non-Jewish (apparently, Russian or Ukrainian) sisters called Potiomkin who did not have their own children saved a Jewish girl, Kira Soloninkina. Kira was 16 years old when the occupation started and was sheltered by the sisters for more than a year. The sisters explained to their neighbours and to the authorities that Kira was their niece.[1040] Where babies were adopted, the neighbours

[1039] Testimony of Liudmila Braslavskaia, in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 1, p. 104.
[1040] Testimony of Kira Soloninkina, in: Zabarko, (ed.), *My Khoteli Zhit,* vol. 2, p. 360.

also tended not to denounce rescuers. In a village of Zaporizhzhia *oblast* (MAZ) a Roma family named Seit Oglu saved one baby from another Roma family and their neighbour, a Ukrainian called Fedor Rudenko, who shared the house with the Oglu family, told them that he would not denounce the family because of the baby.[1041] A Moldovan family in Mykolaiv *oblast* (Transnistria) adopted a Roma girl, Galina Ninitsa, after her Roma mother was killed. The family produced fake documents for her where it was stated that Galina was their daughter and a Moldovan. Galina called them 'parents' in her testimonies.[1042] Generally, the attitude to children was quite different when compared to adults. Almost everybody tried to help children as people would often refer to 'the innocence of children'[1043] and in this regard the Ukrainian territories were no exception. This parallels the narratives elsewhere in Nazi-occupied Europe where children were also seen as a special case and deserving help, even when their parents were not.[1044] The following example confirms that. In the town of Tlumach, Stanislav area (DG) after the Jews had been shot, the Germans left a Ukrainian guard with orders to kill all those in the pit who still showed any signs of life. The guard carried out the order until he saw two little children who had survived and were trying to get out of the pit. The guard let them go uttering that 'he would not shed innocent Jewish blood.[1045]

Gender played a role in determining whether Jews and Roma received help or not. Frequently help was provided to women more willingly than to men. There are several possible explanations for this. First, it was suspicious if an adult man asked for help: the majority of adult males were either in the army fighting against the occupiers, or had been killed by the occupiers as partisans, communists, Jews or Roma. There were also escapee POWs, but civilians and military people usually had contrasting appearances and it was easy to see if a man was an escapee POW or not. Yet, the punishment for sheltering or helping POWs was the same as for the Jews, - death. Second, to assist Jewish women was safer than Jewish men because the latter were circumcised. Where occupiers chose to check, they could always find out if a man was Jewish and in such cases the rescuer was also punished by death. The same applied to children: in Jewish tradition circumcision is followed on the eighth day of birth. In some cases, Jewish men or boys could pretend that

[1041] Interview with Seit Oglu, VHA, interview code: 45509.
[1042] Interview with Galina Ninitsa, VHA, interview code: 49679.
[1043] Moore, *Survivors: Jewish Self-Help and Rescue*, p. 260.
[1044] Ibid., 328. To compare cases of rescue of Jewish children in the Netherlands, Belgium and France, see: Ibid., 260-296, 324-329.
[1045] Shlomo Blond, (ed.), *The Righteous Gentiles* (Tel-Aviv, 1983), pp. 161-162.

they had some sickness and therefore they had been circumcised for medical reasons. If they did not look physically like a Jew (that is no black eyes and black curly hair, and a strait nose) such an explanation might suffice, or if a physician confirmed it. Such a case happened with a medical assistant of Jewish origin called Volynskii, captured by the Wehrmacht near the city of Kharkiv. He was circumcised but a Ukrainian physician who was his friend stated that he was circumcised due to phimosis and in this way Volynskii was saved from immediate execution as a Jew.[1046] In most cases, however, circumcision was a death sentence. Therefore, to shelter girls and women was less risky. In many cases Jewish women asked for help together with their young children and thanks to their children they were helped and sheltered. In the case of the Roma, the situation was the same except for the fact that the Roma boys were not circumcised as the majority of the Roma in Ukraine were Orthodox. The exception was the southern regions of Ukraine where many Roma were Muslims. If a Roma boy or man was circumcised that meant that he was a Muslim and this provided them with an opportunity to pretend being a Crimean Tatar, who could be found not only in Crimea, but also in the Kherson and Mykolaiv regions. Roma women also looked physically like Crimean Tatars and because they were Muslims, they could pretend to have a Crimean Tatar identity.[1047] Therefore, the Crimean Tatar communities could save Roma families by stating that they were not Roma but Crimean Tatars.[1048] Some Jewish POWs also pretended to be Muslims - Crimean Tatars, Uzbeks or Turks if they were circumcised. Pretending to be Crimean Tatar was especially successful if the Jews lived in the same area and could speak a bit of the Crimean Tatar language.[1049]

Jewish men were helped more willingly if they were POWs and could be useful as workers in households. This was particularly true in rural areas. There were several testimonies from Jewish POWs who escaped from the Germans and found shelter in Ukrainian villages. In all such cases the rescuers knew that those whom they saved were former POWs and Jews. This meant that the rescuers were aware of the possible death penalty for helping Jews and POWs. Shelter was provided to a Jewish POW, Mikhail Sharfman, in a village in the Cherkassy area, where two Ukrainian peasant women Pelageia Tsentsura and Anastasiia Ponomarenko healed the wounded Mikhail and hid him in their houses. Both women knew

[1046] Aron Shneyer, *Pariahs Among Pariahs: Soviet-Jewish POWs in German Captivity, 1941–1945* (Jerusalem, 2016), p. 354.
[1047] AYIU, Witness 1672UK.
[1048] Interview with Aleksei Suinov, VHA, interview code: 48384.
[1049] Shneyer Aron, *Pariahs* Among Pariahs: Soviet-Jewish POWs in German Captivity, 1941–1945, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2016, p. 344-345.

that he was a Jew and took the risk despite existence of a German unit in the village. Mikhail mentioned the names of several women villagers who helped him and did not give him away.[1050] Presumably, Roma POWs were also were saved in villages, however, in spite of many testimonies about Roma participation in partisans units, no testimonies about their rescue have come to light. If the Roma had a profession, (especially if they were smiths of any sort, including blacksmiths and tinsmiths, or shoemakers) they were very welcome in every village and *kolkhoz* during the war. In some *kolhozes* before the war, the Soviet authorities gave skilled Roma free huts[1051] for two purposes: to provide specialists in metalworking to *kolkhozes*, and to settle nomadic Roma in certain places. Thanks to this, Roma were known as their 'own' people in many *kolkhozes* and specialists were not denounced to occupiers and even were protected by the heads of said *kolkhozes*.[1052]

Sometimes it was not just individuals but entire Jewish or Roma families was sheltered. For instance, the Suinov family, a settled Roma family, was sheltered in the cellar of a Ukrainian woman in the village of Nikolskoie, Mykolaiv *oblast*. Anna Suinova, her parents and two brothers were hidden there and later were transferred from one Ukrainian and Russian families to another.[1053] The Redlich family consisted of four people and was sheltered by two Ukrainian women, Tetyana and Anna Kontsevich, in their house in the village of Rai, located not far from the town of Berezhany, Ternopil area (DG). Before this, two Poles, Karol and Stanislaw Codogni had helped Redlich's family by supplying them with food for about six months.[1054] Not only families, but also large groups of the Jews could be sheltered, fed and supplied with forged documents. A Ukrainian engineer, Leonid Suvorovskii, saved 22 Jewish families in the city of Odessa (Transnistria). He warned the Jews not to register with the Romanians and then sheltered them in his apartment, where he, with help of his Ukrainian and Russian friends, fabricated documents for them. He supported the Jews by selling his clothes and cigarettes. Finally, he was arrested and sentenced to seven years penal servitude.[1055]

In most cases, rescuers provided long-term help and sheltering to friends, relatives or at least people with whom they were familiar. The same applies for other forms of rescue that

[1050] Shneyer, *Pariahs Among Pariahs*, pp. 384-385, see also other cases on pp. 378-379.
[1051] Interview with Semen Kantemirov, VHA, interview code: 49516.
[1052] Interview with Seit Oglu, VHA, interview code: 45509.
[1053] Iterview with Anna Suinova, VHA, interview code: 49511.
[1054] Yad Vashem, M.31.2/3627, case of Anna Kontsevich.
[1055] Grossman and Erenburg, (eds.), *Chernaia Kniga*, p. 106.

required significant effort such as forging documents. After an analysis of 450 written and oral testimonies, it is clear that in about 90% of the cases, non-Jews and non-Roma rescued Jews and Roma whom they knew personally: their relatives, friends, neighbours, work colleagues or acquaintances. One of the Jewish survivors from the city of Odessa mentioned that 'All Russians and Ukrainians (…) who had Jewish husbands or Jewish relatives tried to help.' Kinship and friendship were very important and usually friends and family did not leave their Jewish relatives without assistance. Roma lived in a closer and more compact clan-like society and rarely had non-Roma relatives. Therefore, long-term assistance was provided to Roma less frequently when compared with the Jews. However, both Roma and Jews received also one-off assistance as strangers, particularly shelter for a night, food and/or clothes. Generally, food was always given even if it was not asked for regardless of whether the Jews and Roma were familiar to helpers or strangers. If Jews and Roma asked for help, assistance was more forthcoming than in cases when rescuers had to undertake the initiative.

The Rescuers

Helpers and rescuers included people of different origins - Romanians, Germans, Moldovans, Poles, Russians, Bulgarian, Crimean Tatars and others, though the largest group of helpers was Ukrainians. Arguably, this was because Ukrainians were in the majority in Ukrainian territories, but the variety of cases demonstrates that Ukrainians were active in helping, particularly in villages in all the occupied zones. Help given by Ukrainians, Moldovans, Poles, and Russians has already been mentioned in this chapter but there were several cases of help given to the Jews and Roma by members of the occupying powers – Romanians and Germans. For instance, a Jewish woman, Zhanna Khv., who survived the Holocaust in Mykolaiv *oblast* (Transnistria), mentioned that Romanian officers came from time to time to her family and brought some food: 'one carried a small pot with soup and the second too. One gives us his pot of soup with beans and then they eat together from one pot [one portion] because there [in Romania] they had children too.'[1056] The same account described help given to Zhanna's mother Khaia by her Bulgarian relatives on her husband's side. The relatives bribed the Romanians and forged documents

[1056] Interview with a Jewish survivor Zhanna Khv., author's personal archive.

for Khaia. Other Bulgarian relatives hid Zhanna in their village house and stated that Zhanna was Bulgarian. Several Roma accounts described Romanians helping them with food. A Roma man, Vladimir Vakulenko, testified how he and other Roma boys went to a Romanian barracks asking for bread and received it. Vladimir recalled that Romanians often fed Roma children in the Mykolaiv and Odessa regions.[1057]

Several Roma recollections mentioned Romanian Queen Elena helping them by stopping the deportations of Roma to Transnistria, though the name of the queen was sometimes recalled as Maria or Kateryna.[1058] This has some basis in fact as the Queen Mother of Romania, Queen Elena made attempts and eventually succeeded in saving the rest of the Roma from deportations.[1059] She also helped to stop deportations of Jews to Transnistria:

> In October 1942, when another group of Jews were about to be deported, one of them, the famous Romanian philologist Barbu Lazareanu, asked a well-known doctor, Victor Gomoiu, for help. The doctor knew Queen Elena and appealed to her… she told her son Mihai, who had succeeded his father as King, that she would leave the country if this new deportation will take place. Mihai secured the Jews' release.[1060]

The story of Dr. Traian Popovici, the Romanian mayor of the city of Chernivtsi (Northern Bukovina), is one of the best-known stories of rescuing great numbers of Jews from shootings and their deportation to Transnistria by Romanians. Dr. Popovici served as the mayor of Chernivtsi from the beginning of the occupation until June 1942, when he was dismissed for his constant resistance to Antonescu's policies towards the Jews. Popovici saved about 20,000 Bukovinian Jews from deportations to Transnistria by protesting to Antonescu that Jewish specialists – such as physicians, engineers, and lawyers as well as retired Jewish officers – should not be deported. Thus, the deportations of those Jews were cancelled in 1941. Popovici sheltered some Jewish families in his own house and issued many *Autorizaţiile* - authorised documents for the Jews to exempt them from deportations.[1061]

Some Germans also helped the Jewish and Roma victims. A secret German report captured by the Soviets showed that some Germans had close Jewish friends and tried to save

[1057] Interview with a Roma survivor Vladimir V. author's personal archive.
[1058] Interview with the Roma survivors Lina P., Yevfrosinya P., and Serafina P., author's personal archive.
[1059] Viorel Achim, 'O Intervenţie a Reginei-Mame Elena Pentru Repatrierea Unei Femei de Origine Romă Deportată în Transnistria', *Holocaust Studii şi Cercetari*, 1:2, (2009), pp. 71-81.
[1060] Gilbert, *The Righteous,* p. 207.
[1061] YVA, M.31.2/499, case of Traian Popovici.

them.[1062] The most famous case was of Herman Fredrich Graebe, who received the nickname 'Moses from Rivne'. A member of Nazi party, Graebe arrived to Rivne region (RKU) to establish companies to construct and repair buildings. Greabe employed about 5,000 Jews in his company, including Jewish women. He personally protected and saved from *Aktionen* several hundred Jews by warning them about upcoming executions and granting them days off so that they could escape and by insisting on the German authorities providing him with documents exempting his workers from round-ups.[1063] Obviously, this case is unusual, but written and oral testimonies reveal information that other Germans helped individual Jews or Jewish families on occasion. For instance, Nechama Vaisman described in her diary how she with her family escaped (in her words 'tried to evacuate') from the town of Bila Tserkva (RKU). The family decided to return to their hometown, Mohyliv-Podilskyi, that was under Romanian rule. On the way, a German officer gave them permission to pass through a certain territory knowing that they were Jews because the Nechama's brother, Lev, talked to him 'in half-German half-Yiddish'.[1064] A very interesting case of a German officer rescuing a Jewish boy from an *Aktion* in Kodyma, Odessa region, was revealed by Shaia Kleiman. His Jewish friend told Shaia that the officer sent him to fill water in buckets from the well. His friend did what he was asked and returned, then that German spilled all the water and sent him again. He repeated three times until Shaia's friend realised that the German wanted him to escape from the *Aktion*. In this way, the German saved his life.[1065] Roma seldom described cases of help from Germans save for the provision of some food. There was a case when the German officer returned a cow to a Roma family after a request from a girl from the family and even provided a document that nobody should take anything from that family. This happened in a village of Poltava area.[1066] A German businessman Ekkehard Bingel became friends with a Jewish man, Yakov Stein, and when the latter was denounced, Bingel bribed the Germans and released Yakov. During the occupation Ekkehard helped Yakov. Later Yakov was denounced again and the Germans discovered he was circumcised. Yakov was sent to Syrets camp for POWs from where he was later able to escape.[1067]

[1062] TsDAHOU, F. 70, op.1, spr. 114, ark. 24-25.
[1063] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, pp. 253-255; Huneke, *The Moses of Rovno,* particularly pp. 50-64.
[1064] Testimony of Nechama (Niusia) Vaisman, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli*, p. 92.
[1065] *Vestnik: Liudi Ostaiutsia Liudmi: Svidetelsvta Ochevidtsev*, vol. 3. (Chernivtsi,1994), pp. 87-88.
[1066] Interview with Ekaterina Fedichkina, VHA, interview code: 50093.
[1067] YVA, M.31.2/12212, case of Bronislava Adamchuk.

Help from *Volksdeutsche* was more prevalent for both Roma and Jews. In many cases *Volksdeutsche* had lived together with their Jewish and Roma neighbours before the war and did not perceive them as enemies. For example, Nina Shvets' family was a settled Roma family that lived in the Odessa region where colonies of *Volksdeutsche* also resided. Nina recalled that everybody in the neighbourhood knew the German language, including her family who also spoke, Romanes, Ukrainian and Russian. When the persecution of the Roma started, an old *Volksdeutsche* woman sheltered Nina's family. Nina's mother was pregnant around that time and the woman helped her to give birth and kept hosting the family with their new baby. From Nina's words, the woman knew Nina's mother well before the war. Also, Nina stated that her father was not shot by Germans because he was a very skilled shoe-maker and entire village knew him as a skilled artisan.[1068] *Volksdeutsche* also helped their Jewish friends: a *Volksdeutsche* named Waldek warned a Jewish family from the town of Bar, Vinnytsia *oblast* (RKU) about each *Aktion* so that they would have time to hide or escape.[1069]

In terms of age there was no difference among the rescuers: assistance could be provided by elderly people, adults and young children. Usually, elderly lonely people were most ready to rescue Jews and Roma because they were less challenged by the thought of death and did not have much to lose. Such people usually sheltered the Jews and sometimes Roma in their houses, huts or flats and supplied the persecuted with food and clothes. Children helped while their parents helped: it was impossible to keep help a secret without the children knowing, therefore, if one person decided to help, the entire family participated in rescuing and therefore, the entire family risked getting punished. The gender factor did not play a significant role either: male and female were equally ready to help. Although, women arguably helped more just because the first contact persecuted Jews and Roma usually had was with women: males were mostly at the front or in partisan detachments.

Attempts to assist the persecuted were made by people from every background. Among them were Ukrainian nationalists and Ukrainian policemen who otherwise collaborated with the occupiers. The example of a Ukrainian nationalist and member of the OUN, Fedir Vovk, demonstrates the individual characteristics of saviours. According to the testimonies of Jewish survivor Sarra Bakst, all Jews in the town of Nikopol, Dnipropetrovsk *oblast*

[1068] Interview with Nina Shvets, VHA, interview code: 49704.
[1069] Interview with a Jewish survivor Semen D., author's personal archive.

(RKU) were gathered and put into trucks and later taken to the edge of the town and shot. When Germans and Ukrainian policemen arrived to take Sarra's family, she was very slow and did not want to sit in the truck. Then the German who led the *Aktion* waved her and her family away and did not insist that they got in truck, leaving them in yard of the house. A translator was passing by and told them to go out, then he asked a guard to let the family leave. Sarra, her husband and two young sons then hid in the ruins of a building. Sarra's husband looked for an opportunity to save the family and met Fedir Vovk who worked with Sarra before the war: Sarra worked as a teacher in secondary school where Fedir was a director. Fedir and his wife Yelizaveta Shkandel immediately helped the family: they took one of Sarra's sons to their house and hid him, arranged forged documents for the rest of the family and organised the transfer of the family to a village near Kyrovohrad *oblast*. In that village another rescuer family hid Sarra's family. Meanwhile Sarra's mother was supplied by another of Sarra's colleagues, a teacher Aleksandra Doroshenko with forged documents. Sarra's mother was transferred to the village of Varvarovka, Dnipropetrovsk *oblast*, and sheltered there under the protection of another Ukrainian Vladimir Brynza. Sarra's mother worked there as a cleaning lady in a secondary school where Brynza was the director and he hid her under another identity. Vladimir's sister sheltered one of Sarra's nephew.[1070] This case shows all the complexities of rescue. In helping to one Jewish family at least 11 people were involved, including a German who decided to save the family by not taking them to the execution site, a translator who did not denounce them and helped them to escape, and drivers who agreed to transport members of the family to different villages. Needless to say, most rescuers had to act carefully in order not to be denounced and organised their networks only among people whom they trusted. This case illustrates that help occurred at the hands of people of different backgrounds: national - Ukrainians and Germans, political – Nazi and Ukrainian nationalists, members of the OUN, occupational – teachers, drivers, and a translator. There were many of such examples across Ukraine when people collectively tried to rescue one or more Jews.

Some Ukrainian policemen while being collaborators and even denouncing Jews and Roma, helped some of the victims. Many Roma testimonies mention policemen in their villages helping them. A Roma, Seit Oglu, mentioned that a policeman, Mishka Beletskii, did not denounce the Roma family and when Seit's family hid another Roma family from a neighbouring village, the policemen warned them about the arrival of Germans looking

[1070] YVA, M.31.2/8152, case of Fedir (Fedor) Vovk.

for Roma in the village.[1071] A settled Roma Lidiia Barieva testified that a Ukrainian policeman in her village of Malaia Blagoveshchenka, Mykolaiv *oblast*, always protected her family. When the family was afraid of the shootings, the policeman told Liddiia's father: 'Do not be afraid Petro, I am for you [meaning I am in support].'[1072] Ukrainian witnesses also recalled how Ukrainian policemen from their villages allowed Ukrainians to enter the stables where the Jews were kept in Transnistria and carried in food to the Jews.[1073] A Jew, Yakov Rudiuk, recalled how after the Soviets arrived in Poland, his family was deported to western Ukraine to the town of Dzerzhynsk, Zhytomyr *oblast* (RKU). During the occupation Rudiuk's family was sheltered in a house belonging to a Ukrainian policeman. Later another policeman, Tkachuk, and his wife fed and sheltered Yakov and his sister Genia. They also organised shelter for two Jewish orphans of 10 and 11 years old with their friends, who also were policemen.[1074] Assistance by policemen was not a widespread phenomenon: in most cases Ukrainians and people of other nationalities became policemen to ensure some benefits from the occupiers and risking their lives to help Jews and Roma was contradictory. However, assistance by Ukrainian policemen was confirmed in at least in two occupied zones – Transnistria and *RKU* in the testimonies of Ukrainians as well as Roma and Jews.

A special category of rescuers were priests. The case of institutional rescuing of Jews by the Greek Catholic Church, the personality of the metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi and helping by his brother Clementii Sheptytskyi was analysed in the fourth chapter. However, other than institutional help provided the Jews by the Greek Catholic church, there were also individual assistance by priests of Orthodox, Protestant and Roman Catholic churches who also tried to help Jews. One of the most significant cases of rescuing a group of Jews from shooting in Babi Yar was the case of an Orthodox priest from Kyiv, Aleksei Glagolev. Aleksei's father, Professor Aleksandr Glagolev, taught Jewish Studies in Kyiv's seminary for Orthodox priests.[1075] He was famous for having testified in the Beilis trial. A Jew Menachem Beilis was accused in killing of Russian babies and using their blood for ritual purposes. The trial took place in Kyiv in 1911-1913. Aleksandr Glagolev was a witness for the defence and thanks to him Beilis was acquitted and anti-Jewish pogroms in Kyiv

[1071] Interview with Seit Oglu USC, VHA, interview code: 45509.
[1072] Interview with Lidiia Barieva, VHA, interview code: 49369.
[1073] AYIU, Witness 1255UK.
[1074] Testimony of Yakov Ridiuk, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli*, p. 290, 294-295.
[1075] In the case it is written that Aleksandr was a rector of Kyiv Mohyla Academy.

indirectly prevented. Aleksei Glagolev served as a priest at the Pokrov Church located in a historical district of Kyiv, Podil. During the occupation he, wife Tatiana, daughter Palian Magdalina and son Nikolai helped and rescued seven Jews. Some of the Jews were provided with baptismal certificates, others were sheltered in his house. His wife Tatiana gave her own birth certificate and forged a photo for a Jewish woman called Izabella Mirkina.[1076] Thus the family of a Russian Orthodox priest participated in rescuing of the Jews in Kyiv. A Polish Catholic priest with the surname Sirkiewicz, together with a notary, distributed baptismal certificates to the Jews in the city of Rivne.[1077] In Odessa, Orthodox priests saved some Jews. The priest allowed a Jewish man to help him with the sermon.[1078] Members of protestant churches – Baptists and Seventh-Day-Adventists - often assisted the Jews in western Ukraine. Some of them sheltered and fed Jews in the city of Lutsk, Volhynia, and even created a network to transfer Jews from one Baptist family to another.[1079] The Sabbatarian family of Leon Biletskiy rescued, together with his family, 24 Jews who escaped from the ghetto of Pidhaytsi, Ternopil *oblast* (DG). Leon worked as a forester and knew the area very well. After the Jews arrived at his hut and asked for help, he took them to the forest where he built a bunker. His family supplied these Jews with food. Later, when the bunker was discovered by the locals, he rebuilt it in another location. He later had to relocate it a third time. While building new bunkers Leon brought Jews for one or two nights to his home. All these Jews survived until the liberation.[1080] Apparently Adventists and Baptists rescued Jews for religious reasons: they found their faith very close to the Jewish tradition and considered saving Jews as their debt.[1081]

It is interesting to note that neither Roma recollections nor archival sources contain any information about assistance to Roma by priests. Obviously, the majority of the Roma did not need baptismal certificates or documentation because they were Christians: the Roma were mainly Christian Orthodox in Ukraine and were indeed religious. However, it seems that priests did not try to shelter Roma despite religious brotherhood. In contrast to

[1076] YVA, M.31.2/4998, case of Alexei Glagolev.
[1077] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 248.
[1078] Testimony of Semen Zeltser, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli*, p. 168.
[1079] Paldiel (ed.), *The Path of the Righteous,* pp. 267-277.
[1080] Yad Vashem, M.31.2/4474, case of Leon Biletskiy.
[1081] Such an explanation can be concluded from the story of Baptist network in Volhynia: Paldiel (ed.), *The Path of the Righteous,* pp. 267-277.

Christian priests, imams protected those Roma who were Muslims: mostly in Crimea but also partially in Kherson, Mykolaiv and Odessa regions.[1082]

One of the forms of collective help was provided by whole villages. Shmuel Spector described Czech, Polish and Ukrainian villages in Volhynia (RKU) where the entire population assisted the Jews. From the start of the occupation in the village of Datyn, situated near the town of Kovel where mostly Ukrainians lived, ten Jewish families resided. All ten families survived thanks to the collective efforts of its villagers: they built two bunkers for the Jewish civilians and fighters where they survived the occupation.[1083] Some of the Czech villages situated near the city of Lutsk provided help to Jews from the introduction of the first restrictions and ghettoisation. These villages, amongst them the village of Novino, rescued between 30 and 60 Jews each. Czech villages such as Kordyban, near the town of Dubno, and Czech Kvasilov, near the city of Rivne, also saved scores of Jews each. The German occupiers burnt the entire Czech village of Malin near Lutsk for rescue efforts directed towards saving the Jews.[1084] The testimonies of both Roma and Jews reveal information about help from entire villages. Mostly this help was in the form of silence about Jewish and Roma origins and silence about Jews in hiding. For example, a Ukrainian woman from the village of Zhovtneve, Odessa *oblast* (Transnistria) managed to take away a Jewish boy and successfully sheltered him for the rest of the war.[1085] The uniqueness of this case is that the entire village knew that she and her mother kept the Jewish boy, but nobody informed the Romanian authorities:

> There was in our village [a principle] that nobody gave each other away. I brought that boy, and everybody knew that, and nobody said anything because they were afraid: at that time people were shot for this [sheltering the Jews], do you understand? For one [Jew] an entire family could die! (…) Another woman took a girl. I do not know how she could do it. She said that she had lived with a Jewish man, but this girl belonged only to her [implying that her Jewish partner was not the father]. She walked everywhere with this girl and cared for her! Do you understand?! The war finished and [real] father [of this girl] arrived and took her.[1086]

[1082] Interview with Aleksei Suinov, VHA, interview code: 48384.
[1083] Spector, *The Holocaust of Volhynian Jews*, p. 303.
[1084] Ibid., pp. 252-253.
[1085] AYIU, Witness 1248UK.
[1086] AYIU, Witness 1248UK.

This testimony was given by a witness who was thirteen or fourteen years old at the beginning of the war, but she was, nevertheless, involved in rescue. According to her recollections, other people from the same village also hid and saved Jewish children. It meant that all of them were involved in a common activity that created a sense of collective responsibility. In the case of Zhovtneve, the desire to help the Jews seems to have been exceptionally strong. The Roma family of Ivan Lymarenko was the only Roma family in the village of Netria, Kyiv *oblast* (RKU) and no one denounced them. Moreover, villagers hid the younger brother of Ivan because he looked like a Roma.[1087] Again, collective efforts succeeded rescuing an entire family. Anna Suinova from the village of Nikolskoe, Kherson area (MAZ, later – RKU) testified that her family was the only Roma family in the village. Moreover, their family was Muslim, whereas the village was probably overwhelmingly Orthodox because Anna recalled a big church in the middle of the village. Nevertheless, the entire family which included Anna, her two brothers and her parents were sheltered in the village and the children were transferred from one family to another. Thus, many villagers participated in rescuing the Roma and nobody denounced the family or their rescuers.[1088]

Ukrainian recollections explained how some small villages helped Jews and Roma with food in Transnistria. Ukrainians from the Odessa region heard that the Jews were being kept in their neighbourhood and arrived to bring food for them. Doing this required a lot of effort, particularly during the winter when frost and snow made travelling difficult and distances were often substantial. For example, one witness testified that the distance between her village and the village where the Jews were being kept was about eight kilometres.[1089] There was neither transportation, nor proper roads. People had to prepare food in advance, to have a horse and a sleigh and find time to make the journey. Such travel was not only difficult, but also quite dangerous because of the restrictions on movement imposed by the occupying regime. Moreover, the prohibitions on helping the Jews meant that helpers could be shot on the spot or punished with large fines and/or penal servitude. Yet some people were nevertheless prepared to ignore all the dangers. A Ukrainian woman from the village of Zhovtneve testified:

[1087] Interview with Ivan Lymarenko, VHA, interview code: 49340.
[1088] Interview with Anna Suinova, VHA, interview code: 49511.
[1089] AYIU, Witness 1248UK.

> Our people only arrived to bring food to Jews, but not every day. We had to find time [to bring food for the Jews]! Three or four women gathered and were going together. We arrived on sleighs; it was winter! If you would see what was going on there! [almost crying] …we ran, threw food [to the barn where Jews were kept]. And I could not throw so far, I was little. And one woman [a Ukrainian, from that group] wanted to put this piece underneath the fence and our parasite [Ukrainian *polizei*] beat her hands with a stick! We screamed so much, we cried! (…) I asked my mother if I could go there to bring potatoes when she was sick and could not go. Then we baked *malay;* because we did not have bread, we baked *malay* from corn flour to throw them to the Jews.[1090]

Another witness from the village of Hvozdavka-2 where Jews were kept in stables, when asked if he or his family personally provided food for the Jews, recalled:

> Mother gave bread. In general, everybody, not only my mother, all our Hvozdavka-2 [village] people fed [the Jews] a lot… we brought potatoes even boiled (…) [When asked if they could see the camp where the Jews were kept]: We saw through the fence… Romanians had sticks and beat them [the Jews] …and they also beat us, asking: 'Why did you come here?' Even from other villages, eight kilometres from here, people brought food on sleighs. They heard that here was a camp – and brought food.[1091]

Bessarabian Roma recalled how people from a couple of villages met them during their deportation to Transnistria and helped them with food. It happened mostly in the Odessa *oblast*.[1092] Even though the Roma offered money for food, villagers refused to take it.

The entire village of Boian, Chernivtsi *oblast* (Northern Bukovina) sent a request to the Romanian authorities to return their Jewish residents who were deported to Transnistria.[1093] Unfortunately, the answer was not recorded though this collective rescue attempt and the responsibility of the entire village demonstrates the active position of villagers and consideration of their Jewish residents not as 'strangers'. A Jew, Yakov Rudiuk, recalled how the entire village of Velykyi Bratalov, Zhytomyr *oblast* (RKU) sheltered and fed him and his younger sister: 'people told us in the first days of our stay [that] you do not need to be afraid, nobody here will denounce you'.[1094] Nechama Vaisman recalled how villagers

[1090] AYIU, Witness 1248UK.
[1091] AYIU, Witness 1255UK.
[1092] Interview with Georgii Radukan, VHA, interview code: 36542.
[1093] YVA, M.41. GACO, see also M.52, JM/11348.
[1094] Testimony of Yakov Rudiuk, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli*, p. 297.

arrived and brought milk, bread, eggs and put her to sleep on straw in one of the stables. It happened in the village of Pylypy where Russian Old Believers resided, probably Vinnytsia *oblast* (RKU).[1095]

Thus, collective and individual efforts existed to rescue Jewish and Roma families. Rescuers were all non-Roma and non-Jews and ranged in age because often entire families took part in rescuing one or more Jews and Roma. The rescuers had different occupations and backgrounds: they were doctors and teachers, accountants and engineers, workers and peasants, Christian Orthodox and Roman Catholic priests, Protestants, Muslims and Russian Old Believers.

Conclusion

The Ukrainians' knowledge about the persecutions of the Roma and the Jews seems to have played a key role in their decisions to provide help. Despite measures undertaken by the occupiers to create animosity towards the Roma and particularly the Jews by publishing antisemitic articles, elements of the population still tried to help the Jews and Roma. Even though there were many who denounced the Jews and Roma in return for benefit(s) from the occupiers, many non-Jews and non-Roma did not denounce and even assisted the victims despite the threat of punishment. The death penalty for both the rescued and the rescuers together with their families was practiced by the occupiers in all zones. However, in Transnistria, according to court proceedings published in regional newspapers, the punishment for helping the Jews was usually limited to a large fine and/or a penal servitude for up to ten years and the death penalty was rarely invoked. This can be a possible explanation for the greater incidence of help by non-Jews and non-Roma in Transnistria. Statistical analysis of cases of rescue is impossible, but roughly 50% of recorded cases of rescue occurred in the zone under the Romanian rule. It is very complicated to evaluate such cases in the MAZ because documents and testimonies are less prevalent in that area. The punishments for helping the Jews and the Roma seem to have been an important factor in influencing decision-making among Ukrainians. There was no information found on punishments for helping the Roma, ostensibly because such cases were rare and did not come to the notice of the Romanian authorities. This is in stark contrast to the RKU, the

[1095] Testimony of Nechama (Niusia) Vaisman, in: Gologorskii, et al. (eds.), *Poslednie Svideteli*, p. 92.

DG and the MAZ which were under German control, where the punishment for helping the Jews was almost invariably a death sentence for a helper but also for his/her entire family including any children.

The ways and methods of rescuing were similar for all occupied zones, with some exceptions as, for instance transferring from German occupied zone to Romanian or transferring from the 'Jewish side' to the 'Aryan' in the DG. The same methods of rescue applied for both Jews and Roma, but with some exceptions. One of the ways to rescue for Roma was to be employed in a *kolkhoz* in villages. This would not be any help for the Jews because all of them would be murdered anyway. On the contrary, Jews could be saved though the practice of Christian rituals and baptism, whereas for Roma this did not work. The main and most widespread way of helping was in supplying food. Another very common and, probably, the riskiest, yet the most successful way of rescuing, was in sheltering on a long-term basis. Jews and Roma were sheltered individually, by families and by groups of several families. Often rescuers lost their lives for sheltering the Jews. Generally, each case involved couple of methods for rescue and only their combination could lead to a successful result. If the rescued could provide payment for the assistance by non-Jews and non-Roma, arguably, their chances of being helped would be increased, though the majority of cases demonstrate selfless help to the victims.

Rescued Jews and Roma were representatives of all strata of the society. One of the important factors for rescue was familiarity with the victims: relatives, friends and acquaintances were seemingly saved more often than strangers. A special category of rescuers were children that were sheltered and adopted by families. Gender played a significant role in saving of the Jews: helping men and boys were more complicated than girls because of the Jewish tradition of circumcision. In case of Roma that factor did not apply.

Apparently, having a specific national origin did not play any significant role in defining rescuers: people of all origins were represented in helping Roma and Jews, especially if Jews and Roma were their friends or relatives. What was critically important in deciding help were human characteristics, pre-war relationship with the victims, and conditions during the occupation. The gender, age and occupation of rescuers did not have any pattern: all strata of the society were involved in helping Jews and Roma. Helping occurred more in villages than in urban areas due to better conditions for survival and collectivism there,

whereas in the cities, individualism prevailed that turned into selfishness and the pursuit of gain. Therefore, cases of denunciation of the Jews occurred more in big cities as the denouncers could then seek to expropriate Jewish property. To sum up, rescuing of Jews and Roma by non-Jews and non-Roma occurred much more often than it was previously considered by the existing historiography.

Conclusions

This dissertation examined an important topic in Holocaust Studies – the rescuing of Jews and Roma during the occupation of Ukraine in 1941-1944 and included two major aspects: the self-rescue of Jews and Roma and rescuing of Jews and Roma by non-Jews and non-Roma. The main finding of this research suggests that the decision-making and role undertaken by individuals, as well as conditions of life under the occupation and circumstances in which Jews and Roma as well as non-Jews and non-Roma found themselves, mainly determined the actions of both the rescued and the rescuers. The analyses of various cases of self-rescue and rescue, based on archival and oral sources, reveals that assistance and rescuing Jews and Roma by non-Jews and non-Roma occurred in all the occupied zones in Ukraine and to a much larger extent than has been suggested in earlier scholarship. Thus, this research challenge and to a certain extent counter-argues the strand of argument in historiography that Ukrainians were mainly collaborators of the German occupiers by showing that rescuing of the Jews and Roma occurred in all locations and in different forms. The research also demonstrates the importance of Roma and Jewish self-rescue and the proactive attitudes of victims in Ukraine – something that was also underestimated in earlier historiography.

The first chapter described the life of the population of Ukraine on the eve of the occupation until June 1941. This analysis of conditions paved the way for an understanding of the structure of society, in terms of nationalities, languages, religions, gender and urbanisation. The lands mostly inhabited by Ukrainians, which were the main focus of this research, were separated between the Soviet Union, Poland and Romania. This separation determined aspects of lifestyle and inter-ethnic relations which culminated in a refugee crisis after the Soviet invasion of Poland and Romania in 1939-1940. Also, by bringing Soviet policies, which eventually undermined their legitimacy on incorporated territories of Eastern Galicia, Volhynia, Northern Bukovina and southern part of Bessarabia, one can build on the argument that this brought forward negative reaction of Ukrainians to the suppressive and repressive Soviet system. Later, this hatred of the Soviets manifested itself in Ukrainians fighting against them in collaboration with the occupiers. Also, the analysis of free and forced population movements, including masses of Ukrainians, Poles and Jews across the Soviet border explained the chaos at the borders and brought a better picture of

the numbers of Jews and Roma who appeared on the territory of the Soviet Ukraine in 1939-1941. Deeper study of the identities of Jews, Roma and Ukrainians in Soviet Ukraine as well as interwar Antisemitism and Antigypsyism, helps to comprehend the inter-ethnic relations between these groups on the eve of the German invasion which, in turn, provides the basis for understanding the background of the rescue of Jews and Roma. The investigation of the awareness of Jews and Roma about the German persecutions and the question of the Soviet policy towards evacuation clarified why Jews and Roma were not evacuated and remained on German and later Romanian occupied territories. Analysing all these aspects, one can observe how life before the German invasion of the Soviet Ukraine impacted the nature of relationship between different groups within the population. The short investigation of the policies of occupiers in Ukrainian territories and administrative division of these territories showed the level of danger in which the main victims of the regime – Jews and Roma – found themselves and the similarities in their fates.

The second chapter evaluated diverse forms of Roma and Jewish self-rescue. The chapter emphasised that Jews and Roma, initially tried to save their own lives as individuals and helped each other collectively. The first attempt by both groups of victims was not to seek help from outside, but to expedite their own self-rescue that highlights the impact of a human agency. Collectively Jews constructed bunkers and other secret places for hiding and tried to protect themselves by forging documents and bribing the occupiers. The Roma appeared more assertive in their self-rescuing than the Jews through exercising skills acquired by virtue of their lifestyle. This occurred because of three main reasons. First, the extermination of Roma started later than that of the Jews. Second, the level of persecution of Roma (from confinement to deportations and shooting) very much depended on local administrations and zones of occupation, whereas Jews were always slated for extermination. Third, some Roma had very close family connections (even with distant relatives) and they sought solutions to their predicament together. Although escape was the main and easiest way to self-rescue, often other means of self-help were combined for successful results. Special cases for self-help, such as writing petitions to the Romanian authorities and sending monetary help to the ghettos for deportees in Transnistria can be found in archival documents. The individual and collective forms of self-rescue were analysed from the perspective of a scale of ‘less assertive’ and ‘more assertive’ self-help. The reliance of the Roma and the Jews on their own efforts rather than on circumstances or receiving help from non-Roma and non-Jews, reflects the victims’ active participation in

determining their own fate and making their own decisions, not only for individual but also for collective survival. A new finding here in this chapter was revealed in the cases of Roma who, while being victims of the Nazi regime, helped and rescued Jews. Thus Jewish-Roma relations during the Holocaust in Ukraine were considered for the first time from the perspective of helping each other rather than merely in terms of the similarities of their respective persecution.

The third chapter aimed to bring attention to controversial and exceptional cases of self-rescue. Some of them have been widely discussed in Western historiography, for instance the cases of *Judenrate.* However, help from *Judenrate* and mayors of 'Gypsy' villages has not been examined in Ukraine. Research of these cases demonstrated more substantial efforts by Jewish Councils towards rescuing the Jews than had previously been credited. The cases of the Roma villages applied only to Transnistria and were exceptional, though they also show the more assertive position taken by Roma elders. The analysis looked at whether Jewish armed units or family camps in forests could be considered as self-rescue, and drew the conclusion that it was primarily a form of resistance to the occupiers as the Jews were at risk of death on daily basis. The chapter also investigated the controversial and less well-known cases of self-rescue by Jews and Roma as *Ostarbeiter* and in collaboration with the occupiers. Aiming to display 'the dark side' of self-rescue, which is omitted from research of the Holocaust in Ukraine, the findings of the chapter showed that either willingly or unwillingly, Jews and Roma explored any possible way for their own survival.

The fourth chapter discussed institutional assistance by examining the controversial issues of help given to Roma and Jews by Soviet partisans, Polish and Ukrainian nationalist movements and churches as institutions. Careful analysis of those questions concluded that the Soviet partisans had a very mixed attitude towards the Jews and Antisemitic views often precluded offers of help. An opposite attitude was shown by the partisans towards Roma who were willingly were accepted into their detachments. Nevertheless, being in a partisan unit did not mean rescue but rather resistance though chances for survival were slightly increased due to the collective efforts in fighting and the possession of weapons. The Polish national movement and particularly the Polish organisation *Żegota* were very active in saving the Jews in western Ukraine. The findings on the question of Ukrainian nationalists in relation to the Jews suggested that in some cases OUN helped the Jews but not Roma. Seemingly, it was dependent on the individual initiatives of some detachment leaders or

based on acquiring specific skills which Jews possessed such as shoemaking and medicine. Finally, the chapter explored help given to Jews and Roma by the churches as official institutions. The main finding is that none of the Christian denominations took an official position to protect the Jews and Roma. Only the Greek Catholic Church created a network and systematically rescued Jewish children and adults including rabbis. This became possible only due to the authority and efforts of metropolitan Andrei Sheptytskyi and the implementation of rescue by monks and nuns in monasteries under the leadership of Andrei's brother Clementii Sheptytskyi. Further research also revealed the rescue of Jews by a nun and a member of OUN, Olena Witer, who personally hid tens of children in a monastery. Another interesting finding of this chapter is that none of the Christian churches protected Roma or at least there was no such information found either in oral testimonies or in archival sources. Thus, institutional help was provided mostly to Jews, but it was highly dependent on the attitudes and authority of the institutions' leaders.

The fifth chapter examined individual and collective cases of helping and rescuing Roma and Jews by non-Roma and non-Jews. The examination suggests that the social background of rescuers did not play a significant role and that people of different national origins, occupation, age and social strata were actively involved in rescuing both Jews and Roma. Apparently, Ukrainians constituted the largest number of helpers – as they were the majority population, though other nationalities, including Poles, Czechs, Moldovans, Romanians, Russians, *Volksdeutsche,* and Crimean Tatars. Despite the efforts of occupiers to encourage all to betray their Jewish and Roma neighbours and the punishments enforced for providing help, rescuers kept on assisting the Jews and Roma widely. How punishments for helping the Jews were imposed seemed to determine the decisions to help Jews: many rescuers in German occupied zones were executed, whereas in the Romanian zone the main punishment was rarely death, but mostly a large fine and penal servitude (*katorha*). Thus, the nature of the administration was an important factor in determining the extent and form of rescue. Rescuers employed various methods, including transferring victims from the German to the Romanian occupied zones. Not all rescuers acted selfless: often the rescued had to pay their rescuers with money or other valuables. In some cases, labour or sexual exploitation served as a payment. Roma and Jews received help mostly from villagers where conditions facilitated rescue. Frequently, entire villages of Ukrainians, Poles, and Czechs were involved in rescuing at different levels: this included keeping silence about Roma or Jewish identities, sheltering for a long period, forging documents and bribing the

occupiers. Supplying Roma and Jews with food was the most widespread form of help: even those who held negative view of and fostered negative attitudes towards the victims, largely due to stereotypes, still helped the victims with food. Assistance was provided both on a short and a long-term basis. The most successful form of help, from the perspective of a victim, was sheltering for a long period. In most cases several forms of help, sometimes combined with self-help, were employed. Roma and Jewish children, especially Jewish girls, were mainly assisted by non-Jews and non-Roma due to less risk of being discovered by the occupiers. The Jews and Roma were rescued by families and by individuals. One of the main conditions for rescue was some form of previous relationship between Jews and non-Jews, and Roma and non-Roma: help was more willingly provided to relatives, friends, colleagues and acquaintances. Jewish and Roma strangers also were assisted but mainly on a short-term basis. Cases of rescuing occurred at all times between the first days of occupation and liberation by the Red Army.

Help or self-help did not always lead to rescue or self-rescue. At a certain moment any help could be considered as a rescue, however, from long term perspective rescuing could be considered as successful if victims survived through the entire occupation. Unfortunately, statistical information on cases of rescue in Ukraine cannot be provided. Even though Yad Vashem has statistics on rescuers who received the title 'Righteous Among the Nations of the World', they do not include all rescuers. In fact, there were many more cases of rescue or help according to written and oral recollections. It is impossible to reconstruct and record all cases of rescue for several reasons: in many cases rescuers were executed together with those whom they helped; many of the rescued did not (and do not) remember all the people who assisted them in their survival; and there were no special projects or institutions that gathered such information in Ukraine before the end of the 1990s. The small percentage of interviews undertaken by researchers 'does not constitute a statistical random sample, as such a sample for rescuers is impossible to obtain'.[1096]

This research demonstrates that Ukrainian and other non-Jews and non-Roma rescuers valued human life despite the risks presented by circumstances. Therefore, non-Jews and non-Roma, who also had hard living conditions, assisted Jews and Roma even at the cost of their own lives and lives of their families. The rescuers in Ukraine were not a marginal

[1096] Gushee, *The Righteous Gentiles*, p. 115.

or discrete group in the way that sociologists have argued in relation to Poland.[1097] In contrast, rescuers in Ukraine comprised of a significantly larger segment of the society in all its strata. This argument is supported by the cases of collective help when several families or even entire villages were involved in rescuing Jews and Roma both in less assertive and more assertive ways. Obviously, helping or not helping was a personal choice of every non-Jew and non-Roma and depended on the relationship with the victim, the risk involved, personal circumstances and the material conditions of the helper. All these factors can be seen as interconnected in the wide variety of case studies across almost entire occupied territory of Ukraine that show a humane attitude to Nazi victims from large populations in rural areas. Taking into account that by the time of the occupation the majority of the Ukrainian population was rural suggests that instances of assistance to Jews and Roma were most likely of the same order as instances of collaboration.

There are similarities and differences in the fate of Jews and Roma during the Holocaust in terms of forms of persecution and their survival. Besides, the pre-war life of Jews and Roma and the attitude of Ukrainians towards them also can be drawn in comparison. To emphasise differences, an attention must be paid to the numbers of Jewish and Roma population on the eve of the German invasion. Thus, Ukrainians, being a titular nation, followed in numbers by Russians and Jews. The latter were the third largest ethnic group in the Soviet Ukraine and consisted slightly more than 5% of the entire population of the Soviet Ukraine, whereas the Roma consisted less than 0.1% of the Soviet Ukraine's population. Due to larger proportion of Jewish pre-war population in comparison with the Roma population, the number of Jewish victims was subsequently much higher than the number of Roma victims. The same reason of lower number of the Roma population may possibly explain the fact that the non-Roma population, mainly Ukrainians, were less aware about the persecution of the Roma in comparison to the persecution of the Jews, even after mass deportations and killings of both group of victims have begun. Along with this reason, less awareness of non-Roma population about the persecution of Roma was a result of lacking information about the annihilation of Roma, except for eyewitness accounts which could be spread in a way of rumors. Information about the extermination of Jews was also limited but still leaked through newspapers and underground reports. Moreover, the occupiers did not keep any measures against the Jews in occupied Ukraine in secret such as their orders to wear a David star, limitation of Jews in their rights, and ghettoisation whereas similar

[1097] See, for instance, Tec, *When Light Pierced*.

information about the Roma was not publicised by the occupiers. Besides, there were calls in all occupied territory of Ukraine for denunciation of the Jews for renumeration whereas similar calls towards denunciation of the Roma were not found so far. In addition, even though Ukrainians mention in their testimonies that the Roma were shot, there is no eyewitness account found that would confirm seeing those shootings the Roma.

There are other significant differences in the fates of Roma and Jews in occupied Ukraine. For instance, to identify Roma using their official documents in which Roma were recorded with regular Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Crimean Tatar and etc. names was much more difficult for the occupiers than to identify Jews, many of whom were recorded in official documents with their Jewish first and second names. Moreover, in terms of nationality, Roma often were recorded as non-Roma – Moldovan, Ukrainian, Romanian, Hungarian and etc., whereas Jews in most cases were recorded as Jews. Regarding self-rescue, both Roma and Jews tried to flee individually and collectively to self-rescue, though seemingly, to escape for Roma, particularly for nomadic and semi-nomadic, was easier than for the Jews. It may be explained by several factors: those Roma who were accustomed to nomadise used to change their location and adapt to harsh conditions of life from their childhood; Roma better knew roads and had better skills to survive than the Jews who spent all their life in one place be it city or shtetl. Seemingly, Roma were engaged in self-help more than the Jews that can be explained by the Roma collective style of life – particularly this was the case with semi-nomadic and nomadic Roma. Also, Roma had better chance to survive than Jews due to reasons already listed in the conclusion of the second chapter.

Considering helping and rescuing Roma by non-Roma, there are also differences in assisting and rescuing Jews by non-Jews. At the time when helping Jews was officially restricted and punished (capital punishment in German-ruled zones and death or penal servitude and large fine in Romanian-ruled zone), there was no archival documents containing a written restriction to help Roma. At least, any declaration of a punishment for helping particularly Roma have not been found yet. In practice, while helping Jews was cruelly punished by the occupiers and shown through archival material, documents about punishment implemented for helping Roma has not been found, although this does not exclude any application of such punishment in certain localities. Despite these circumstances, none of the Christian religious institution initiated rescuing or released an official call for helping Roma, even though majority of Ukrainian Roma were Christians. Thus, total ignorance of the Roma by Christian religious entities in occupied Ukraine is

inexplicable. Probably, some documents will be discovered later in the archives of those religious institutions. Regarding Islamic organisations, there is no information found about their attitude towards Roma on official level, though there are facts of helping those Roma who were Muslims by certain imams, mostly in Crimea, but also in southern part of occupied Ukrainian mainland. To understand, if such help was an official policy of Islamic entities in Ukraine or was it a personal decision of certain imams, require further research in particular Islamic communities in Ukraine.

To highlight the similarities in the fate of Jews and Roma in occupied Ukraine, it should be noted that self-rescue of both Roma and Jews occurred with the same survival methods: escaping, hiding, entering partisan units, sharing food and etc. The information about persecution and murdering came to both groups of victims mostly through the word of mouth on the very eve or after the first killings of them by the occupiers. Those Jews and Roma who were in the Communist Party had a better chance to be evacuated and save their lives, though most of the Roma were apolitical, and therefore, were not considered by the Soviet state as subjected to evacuation. Jews as well as sedentary Roma found themselves exactly in the same situation: they did not know what to do, and how and where to escape and hid themselves. Similarity in behaviour and decision-making of sedentary Roma and Jews were found throughout all paths to self-rescue. The case of the Roma villages illustrates that the Roma leaders tried to help their communities in a similar fashion to *Judenräte* with a contrast that the Roma leaders had less capacity and the Roma villages were not created and structured to the same extent as ghettos were.

Both Jews and Roma joined the partisan movement or tried to create their own partisan units. The frequency of joining partisans was high for Roma as well as Jews. However, partisans accepted the Roma more willingly than the Jews because of two major reasons: Antisemitism among the Soviet partisans and relying on the Roma skills such as knowledge of paths. Besides, negative stereotypes about the Roma as horse thieves, fate-telling and begging turn out to be positive for Roma in the wartime: the Roma could easily spy among the enemies while pretending to fate-tell or looking after the horses. Same factors applied not only for Roma men but for Roma women as well. Nevertheless, the role of Jews in partisan and underground movement cannot be diminished, moreover for many Jews joining the partisans was the only way for probable self-rescue.

The ‘dark side’ of self-rescue – collaboration of Roma and Jews with the occupiers had, in most cases, an unwilling character. Also, Jewish and Roma collaborators lacked comprehension of their actions which could be defined as collaboration: they just tried to save their lives and lives of their relatives in all possible ways.

Rescuing of Roma and Jews by Ukrainians and others demonstrates also similarity in most cases in terms of approach by the rescuers, methods of rescue and circumstances of rescuing as it is illustrated in the fourth and fifth chapters. For both the Jews and the Roma, acquaintance, friendship or kinship with potential rescuers played a crucial role because majority of analysed cases of rescue were depended on personal acquaintance of a victim and a rescuer being relatives, friends, colleagues or neighbours with each other. Another similarity that united the fate of Jews and Roma during the Holocaust in Ukraine was Antisemitism and Antigypsyism among Ukrainians and others who lived on Ukrainian territories that particularly was evoked in the interwar period. This tradition along with renumerations from occupiers led to denunciation of Jews and Roma and acting Ukrainians, amongst others, not only as rescuers or bystanders but as collaborators too.

Generally, survival conditions and possibilities of self-rescuing and rescuing for Roma and Jews in the German occupied zones (MAZ, RKU, and DG) were seemingly similar: in many cases it depended on local administration in certain localities, circumstances and activeness of victims themselves. The role of individuals – helpers and rescuers – should not be neglected: many non-Jews and non-Roma were involved in helping provided on long- or short-term basis. Ukrainians, particularly in villages, along with Poles, Russians, Crimean Tatars and others, tried to help Jews and Roma as they could, mainly with food or/and sheltering. Some of rescuers were engaged in several cases of rescuing or helped several people of Jewish and/or Roma. It should be emphasised that in spite of persecution, various Roma also helped Jews with food or sheltering.

The survival conditions in Transnistria, under the Romanian occupation, were better than the German-ruled Ukraine for both Jews and Roma: on the one hand, the punishment for helping Jews and Roma was rarely a death, and, on the other hand, Romanians willingly accepted bribes as it can be observed in the victims’ various eyewitness accounts. Thus, in terms of rescuing, Transnistria was a better place for survival for many Jews and Roma. Nevertheless, the deportations to Transnistria and self-rescue or rescue during the deportations seemed to be different for Jews and for Roma. According to the testimonies

of Ukrainians and comparison of Roma and Jewish narrations about the deportations, Roma had less chance to be rescued or self-rescued during the deportations than the Jews. The possible explanation is that the Roma were poorer than the Jews and could not bribe Romanians to the same extent as Jews could. The treatment of the Roma was much worse during the deportations than that of the Jews which can be explained by Romanian Antigypsyism and Antonescu policy towards the Roma. Finally, the local non-Roma seeing deported Roma not always could understand that this is a deportation rather than nomadisism of the Roma to which they were acquainted. Apparently, the Roma deported to Transnistria from Romania and Moldova did not know well the landscape and could not escape and/or hide. Thus, unlike the Jews, for the Roma it was equally difficult to survive in Transnistria and in the German occupied Ukraine.

The comparison of self-rescue and rescue of Jews and Roma in occupied Ukraine reveals strong similarities in the fate of Roma and Jewish victims though some differences are also evident in examples in this dissertation. This means that the history of survival of Roma and Jews in Ukraine during the Holocaust has a greater potential for comparison and highlights more similarities than previously credited. In addition, an analysis of interaction between Jews and Roma during the Holocaust shows how a better understanding of inter-ethnic relations in Ukraine can answer new questions regarding rescuing Jews and Roma by Ukrainians and others. Thus, the findings of the dissertation contribute not only to the topic of rescuing in Holocaust Studies but pave the way for new notion of inter-ethnic relations in Ukraine on the eve and during the Second World War.

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Anna R., a Roma survivor (audio record).

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Bella M., a Jewish survivor (audio record).

Berta B., a Jewish survivor (audio record).

Izabella Yelnikova, a Ukrainian, former *Ostarbeiter* (notes taken).

Kateryna S., a Roma survivor (audio record).

Lina P., a Roma survivor (audio record).

Milia B., a Jewish survivor (audio record).

Moshe F., a Jewish survivor (audio record).

Nadezhda R., a Roma survivor (audio record).

Paraskoviia F., a Roma survivor (audio record).

Piotr D., a Roma survivor (audio record).

Riva M., a Jewish survivor (audio record).

Robin G., a Jewish survivor (audio record).

Semen D., a Jewish survivor (audio record).

Serafina P., a Roma survivor (audio record).

Sergei S., a Jewish survivor (audio record).

Sima M., Jewish survivor (audio record).

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