

The Holocaust in Ternopil Region

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1. INTRODUCTION

Jews began settling in the Ternopil Region at the end of the 14th century (Buchach). Jews lived in Kremenets starting from the mid-15th century, in Zbarazh from the end of the 15th century, in Teropil, Berezhany, Chortkiv, Terebovlia, and Kopychyntsi from the mid-16th century, in Skalat and Tovste from the beginning of the 17th century, in Zboriv from the mid-17th century, in Borshchiv from the late 17th century, in Hrymailiv from the early 18th century, and in Zalishchyky from the late 18th century.

According to the Austrian census of 1900, the following numbers of Jews were living in individual *uezds*:

<i>Uezd</i>	Total Population	Jewish Population	As a%
Berezhany	95,164	10,900	11.5
Pidhaitsi	88,035	8,200	9.3
Buchach	123,704	16,000	12.9
Chortkiv	71,981	8,200	11.4
Zalishchyky	77,641	9,500	12.2
Borshchiv	109,220	14,300	13.1
Husiatyn	93,854	12,600	13.4
Terebovlia	77,212	8,000	10.4
Skalat	91,763	13,400	14.6
Ternopil	131,632	19,700	15.0
Zbarazh	67,383	5,100	7.5
Zboriv	54,397	6,700	12.4
Total		132,600	

In addition, (according to the Russian census of 1897) another 26,887 lived in what was then the Kremenets *uezd*, which at the time was part of the Volhynian Voivodeship in the Russian empire. Therefore, about 160,000 Jews were living in the territory of the modern-day Ternopil region at the end of the 19th century.

In the first third of the 20th century, the Jewish population of the region shrank due to the emigration of part of the Jews.

The Jewish Population of the Region on the Eve of the War

According to the 1931 census, 110,768 Jews were living in the *powiaty* of Ternopil, Zboriv, Zbarazh, Skalat, Terebovlia, Chortkiv, Borshchiv, Kopychyntsi, Zalishchyky, Berezhany, Pidhaitsi, and Buchach of what was then the Ternopil Voivodeship in Poland, and in the Kremenets *powiat* of what was then the Volhynian Voivodeship, from which the Ternopil region was created in 1939. They were spread over the different *powiaty* in the following manner:

<i>Powiat</i>	Number of Jews
Ternopil (city)	13,999
Ternopil	3,685
Zboriv	4,046 ¹
Zbarazh	3,997
Skalat	8,486
Terebovlia	4,845
Chortkiv	7,845
Borshchiv	9,353
Kopychyntsi	7,291
Zalishchyky	5,965
Berezhany	7,151
Pidhaitsi	4,786
Buchach	10,568
Kremenets	18,751

In mid-1941, with a natural annual growth rate of 9-10 people per 1,000, there were over 125,000 Jews in the region, including 16,700 in the city of Ternopil.

In the second half of June 1941, the Jewish population in the region increased due to the Hungarians deporting several thousand of “their own” Jews to Zalishchyky, Tovste, and Chortkiv districts. Some of them settled there,² while another part were returned by the Germans. In this

connection, in the *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 66 dated August 28, 1941, we can read the following:

*Members of the 10th Hungarian Hunter Battalion have expelled more than 1,000 Hungarian Jews over the Dniester to Galicia. Einsatzunit Tarnapol promptly sent them back.*³

The return of the Jews took place in September 1941, during which the Germans killed part of the Jews while crossing the Dniester in Zalishchyky.⁴

¹ Not including 1,010 Jews in Pomoriany. In 1940 Pomoriany became a district administrative center in the Lviv region.

² For example, about 1,000 Jews settled in Chortkiv. [Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcie Galicja," *Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 3].

³ BArch B 162/436, Bl. 211. English translation from Y. Arad et al., eds., *The Einsatzgruppen reports: Selections from the Dispatches of the Nazi Death Squads' Campaign against the Jews, July 1941- January 1943* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), 112.

⁴ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 210.

2. Killings of Jews in July-December 1941

German troops entering the region was a signal for local anti-Semitic elements to begin pogroms, which the German SiPo and Wehrmacht supported, actively participated in, and in a number of instances instigated. For instance, as early as July 2, 16 Jews were killed and 50 homes were burned down in Zbarazh,¹ and on July 4 another 25 Jews were shot in their homes.² On July 5, 180 Jews were shot by an SS detachment in Ozeriany (Zboriv district)³ and 300-400 (?) Jews were killed in Kremenets on July 3-4.⁴ SS *Obersturmführer* August Häfner from *Sonderkommando* 4a, while at the staff headquarters of the 6th Army in early July 1941 found out

*that according to the army investigation, when the Germans arrived, about 180 murdered Ukrainians and ethnic Germans were discovered in Kremenets that had been cooked to death in boiling water; about 18 were still lying in cauldrons. Since the instigator was a Jewish NKVD commissioner, after the Russians had left the city and before the arrival of the Germans (two to three hours), the local population killed all the Jews they could catch in Kremenets.*⁵

According to the *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 28 dated July 20, 1941:

*About 100-150 Ukrainians were murdered by the Russians in Kremenets. Some of these Ukrainians are said to have been thrown into cauldrons of boiling water. This has been deduced from the fact that the bodies were found without skin when they were exhumed. In retaliation, the Ukrainians killed 130 Jews with sticks.*⁶

On July 4 killings of Jews began in Ternopil. The pogrom in Ternopil was the largest in the region. The city was occupied by German troops on July 2, 1941. The following day a rumor spread across the city that murdered prisoners had been discovered in the prison,⁷ and the Jews had to answer for this. That same evening the Germans gathered members of the Ukrainian nationalist committee and discussed the technical side of the pogrom with them. Farmworkers from neighboring villages started arriving in the city with axes and sacks. On the morning of July 4, anti-Semitically inclined Ukrainian nationalists and German soldiers began removing Jewish men from their homes, killing them on the spot. On July 5, Jewish women were ordered to take the corpses and bury them, and in the afternoon the killings resumed. On the morning of July 6,

notices were papered all over the city stating that killing Jews was prohibited. Many Jews, believing this prohibition, came out of hiding. When they returned home, the Ukrainian nationalists started taking them away again in groups, allegedly to be sent to work, promising that they would be returned in two or three hours. In reality, after finishing their work, these Jews were killed in various places in the city. The nationalists continued taking the Jews to work and then killing them afterward until July 11. In total, about five thousand people were killed in the city over the course of the week, including eight hundred women and children.⁸

On July 4, Wilhelm Redlich (twenty years old in 1941) testified to the following:

... through the window of my apartment I personally saw German SS troops together with the local Ukrainian police leading detained citizens of the local Jewish population down the street, a group of about sixty people with their arms in the air. They were escorted via Zatskerkevná street [...] until the Jewish cemetery. On the way, they beat them on the head with sticks. Whoever had blood trickling out of their heads were killed on Zatskerkevná Dole Street with pistols [...] The rest, who did not die from the beatings, were killed at the Jewish cemetery. I could no longer see what happened to them there. But afterward I heard from David Segal, who had run away and come home at night, and told me that those they had led to the Jewish cemetery were forced to dig pits, and when the pit was ready, they tied some of their hands and also the hands of the two hundred newly arrived Jews, and started torturing them: They cut off their ears, noses, gouged out their eyes, cut off their genitals, and buried them in the pit afterward. Among them was David Segal, who was collecting the corpses on the SS's orders, and secretly escaped through the field planted with wheat. Then David Segal and I hid under the floor of my home. The pogrom lasted seven days. Rumor had it that up to four thousand people were tortured and killed in various ways during this first pogrom.⁹

A German soldier who participated in the pogrom wrote the following to his parents in Vienna on July 6:

Yesterday we and the SS were merciful, for every Jew we found was shot immediately. Today things have changed, for we again found 60 fellow-soldiers mutilated. Now the Jews must carry the dead out of the basement, lay them out nicely, and then they are shown the atrocities. After they have seen the victims, they are killed with clubs and spades. So far, we have sent about 1,000 Jews into the hereafter, but that is far too few for what they have done.¹⁰

The pogrom in the city had clearly been organized by *Sonderkommando 4b* from *Einsatzgruppe C* (then *B*). The advance detachment of this special command unit had already arrived in the city on July 3, while most of the unit arrived on July 4. The *Sonderkommando* was active in the city until July 8, and in that time it shot 127 people (mostly members of the Jewish

intelligentsia), while “parallel to that, liquidation of 600 Jews in the course of the persecutions of Jews as inspired by the Einsatzkommando.”¹¹

The pogrom in Ternopil was described in another document -- *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 24 dated July 16, 1941. In it, among other things, it says:¹²

Einsatzkommando 4b is at work at present in the Tarnopol area. It is planned to have the Kommando proceed to Proskurov. Of the 54 Poles and Jews who had been working as agents for the NKVD, 8 persons, two of them Jewish women, were arrested and executed, the remainder apparently having taken to their heels. At Tarnopol 10 [German] soldiers were also found among the murdered in the prison [...]. Of the Jew assigned to disinter the corpses, about 180 were slain, some in the prison courtyard, some in the streets. Moreover, Jewish residences were destroyed by members of the Waffen-SS with hand grenades, and then set on fire.

On July 5, 830 (?) Jews were killed in Zboriv,¹³ 180 Jews in Skalat on July 6,¹⁴ and about 300 each in Berezhany¹⁵ and Kozova,¹⁶ and 40 in Pidvolochysk.¹⁷

Eyewitness Izak (Isaac) Saiger (forty-one years old in 1941) recounted the following about the pogrom in Zboriv:¹⁸

In July 1941, when they arrived in the town of Zboriv, on the second day [that is, on July 5], German soldiers started conducting raids to catch men [...] All the captured victims were taken to Bazarnaya Street and shot there. The bodies of the people who had been shot [...] were thrown into a large crater made by a German bomb exploding. As a result, on the first day the Germans caught and shot 830 males. All the people that had been shot were thrown into a single pit; the shooting continued from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m., and in the evening they summoned the women and ordered them to cover the corpses with dirt. The woman threw on a bit of dirt and left them like that. On the following day, some citizens, women and children, came to the grave and identified their husbands and fathers. On the third day, the Germans organized the police, which brought in citizens from the villages and ordered them to level the grave. It was then filled with earth and leveled with the surface of the ground.

In addition, the police itself began conducting a raid [...] and captured a hundred people. They were all shot dead without a trial in the police yard and buried in a pit.

Regarding the pogrom in Berezhany, we have the testimony of Dr. Eliezer Shaklai (thirty-eight years old in 1941), who was member of the Jewish council in Berezhany in 1941-42.

According to his testimony:

[...] on a Wednesday in July (apparently on July 2, 1941), German troops entered Berezhany. The Russian troops were surrounded near Berezhany, and the Germans feared these troops would break through in the direction of Berezhany. During street battles in the town, several German soldiers were killed. There were also corpses of horses lying in the streets. This could've been on July 5, 1941. Jewish workers were chosen (possibly by the German Wehrmacht) to remove these corpses and they had to

bury them. From among these Jewish workers, three people were killed at the riding school, since they were purportedly working badly [...]. Two days later, on Sunday, the Germans and Ukrainians brought about thirty Jewish workers (both men and women I believe), who had to dig graves at the Christian cemetery, since dead bodies had been discovered in the prison. They were clearly the Russians' political opponents who had been killed prior to the Russians' departure.¹⁹ It was said that these people had been strangled [...]. After these Jewish workers had dug the graves, they were killed, allegedly out of revenge. I believe that they had been killed with shovels, that's what they say [...]. That same day in the town gardens, 150 to 250 Jews were killed, mostly refugees, after the Ukrainian burgomaster, Babyak, had incited his countrymen to do it. I personally did not see it, but I heard it from other residents and especially from a Jew who took care of the corpses for reasons of faith and told me that he had dug three graves for 40 to fifty bodies each at the Jewish cemetery.²⁰

A pogrom took place in Hrymailiv from July 5 to 7, 1941. Local residents as well as SS soldiers from the "Viking" division participated in it. After the war, Kalman Epstein, an eyewitness to the pogrom, described what he had experienced:²¹

[...]as I've already testified, German troops occupied Hrymailiv on the night from July 4 to 5, 1941. The combat units were already advancing further, when at about 8 a.m. on July 5, 1941, manhunts for Jews began. Right after the Germans arrived, the Ukrainians received weapons. Then the Ukrainians broke into Jewish homes, chased out the people and forced them to walk to a pond near Hrymailiv. During this time, the Germans supported the Ukrainians. Many Jews were already shot on the streets during the roundup. Other Jews were killed by Germans as well as by Ukrainians with their rifle butts. The bodies were at first left to lie in the streets. As has been mentioned, the Jews were forced into the pond. Then they were shot in the pond. Then Jews were brought from Hrymailiv again. The Jews had to put the corpses on carts, drag the carts on their own to the cemetery, dig graves there, put the bodies in and bury them. Then these Jews were also shot and buried by newly arriving Jews. The Jews that had to do the burial, if you can call it that, had to walk barefoot. On the way they were beaten by the Ukrainians and Germans. This pogrom lasted three days. Those burying the people that had been shot were subsequently shot themselves as well [...]. I'd also like to note that during the roundup of the Jews on the first day, the murderers found about twenty devout Jews praying in the synagogue. These praying Jews were also shot in the synagogue. About a hundred people were shot in the pond itself, and there could've been another thirty or so victims in total on the street and the market square. That's why I believe that about 150 victims were killed during this pogrom [...]

Additional information about this pogrom can be found in the witness testimony of Efroin Machka (twenty-nine years old in 1941):²²

[...] on July 4 before the arrival of the German troops, a member of the Ukrainian committee, a former vet[etrinarian] from the town of Hrymailiv, Zenon Fedorovich Paikush, gathered all of the members of the Ukrainian committee in his apartment [...] On the morning of July 5, according to the decision of the Ukrainian committee, all Ukrainian nationalists, of whom there were at least 200 people, and comprised exclusively of young people, reported for a general assembly. The assembly was

intended to be a triumphant welcome for the Germans. During the meeting with the Germans, the Ukrainian committee stirred up the Ukrainian nationalists against the Jewish population, and with assistance from the German troops, on July 5 at 10 a.m. the joint pogrom against the Jews began.

The pogrom against the Jews consisted of the Ukrainian nationalists, the Ukrainian committee, together with the German troops [...] expelling the Jewish population, including women, children, and the elderly, from their apartments, and sending them to two points that had been prepared in advance – the cemetery and by the Hnyla River in the town of Hrymailiv. About 430 people were rounded up in both of these points, including myself. At the cemetery, they forced the Jews to dig pits for themselves, and they were shot afterward. At the river, they brought them right to the river and shot them. While attempting to remove the corpses and bury them at the cemetery, family and friends of the people that had been shot were also killed during burials at the cemetery. And so the atrocities against the Jewish population continued over the course of three days – July 5, 6, and 7. Besides the evil-doing I mentioned, the Jewish synagogue, where at least twenty Jews had hidden to escape persecution, was burned down by Ukrainian nationalists and the German army; the Jews burned to death together with the building. Besides the shootings and killings, at the same time the Ukrainian nationalists and German army were involved in plundering the Jewish population, that is, they stripped clean the apartments where Jews were living and took everything away.

In early June, after the retreat of Soviet troops and before the arrival of the Hungarians – Ukrainian nationalists killed almost all the Jews in the communities of Ulashkivtsi (Chortkiv district), Ozeryany (Skala-Podilska district), Bilobozhnytsya, Koshylivtsi (Tovste district).

In twelve villages in the Bilobozhnytsya district 169 Jews were killed (according to lists of names), specifically:²³

Village name	# of Victims
Bila	9
Dzvyynyach	29
Polivtsi	7
Palashivka	4
Bychkivtsi	11
Dzhurn	5
Dzhurnska Slobidka	4
Rydoduby	5
Khomyakivka	5
Kosiv	68
Skorodyntsi	15
Yahilnytsia Vtoraya	7

For instance, in Bychkivtsi, according to the testimony of survivor Petr Yudinov (forty years old in 1941) from December 30, 1944:

In 1941, under the Soviet regime, I, Yudinov, worked as the secretary of the Bychkivtsi village council, and the chairman was Vasily Mikhailovich Romanov; after the retreat of the Red Army from the village of Bychkivtsi, I and village council chairman Romanov were arrested by the German forces on July 7. Besides us, three Jewish families, eleven people in all, including Israel Grimberg and his wife and two sons, Mendel Shutzman with his wife and two children, and Judah Grimberg with his wife and daughter were arrested. After the arrest, all of us were put in a cold, damp basement. In the same basement, two detainees, citizens Ivan Grigorevich Bilan and Ivan Nikolaevich Stykiv, were also being held; they were both ethnic Poles. All of us in the basement were beaten, beaten by the Ukrainian auxiliary police, they beat us within an inch of our lives, then poured water on us, and beat us again. On July 8, 1941, citizen Bilan was beaten until he lost consciousness, and then before our very eyes, they crucified him on the floor, nailing his hands and feet to the floor, and then they climbed up on the table, and jumped from the table onto Bilan's stomach, which made blood come out of his mouth and nose, and after that they finished him off. They also beat us so badly that we asked them to shoot us.

It was only on the evening of July 9 that they took us out one by one, brought us to a pit that had been dug out in the animal cemetery, finished us off, and threw us into the pit. On that same July 9 at 11 p.m. I too was brought to the dug out pit, where there were already several murdered people. With a blow of a rifle butt to the head I was knocked off my feet into the pit. When I fell into the pit, I felt a terrible pain in my head and grabbed it with my hands. Then a second blow followed. Apparently, that blow was from a shovel, with the edge, and as a result the index finger of my right hand was cut off. After that blow I lost consciousness and only came to at about 2 or 3 a.m. It turned out that when I was thrown into the pit and whacked, they immediately started covering us, including myself, with dirt, but seeing that it was raining hard, they couldn't cover the pit completely. Ten to fifteen centimeters of earth were poured over my head, and about forty on my legs, and seeing that it was raining, the water turned into liquid mud on top of me, and since very little dirt had been poured onto my head, I didn't suffocate and regained consciousness; at night I climbed out of the pit with difficulty and with difficulty I crawled to the collective farm [...], where I lay until morning and consequently stayed alive, while all the other fourteen people, that is, the eleven Jews, two Poles, and the village council chairman had been killed then and buried in two pits.²⁴

In the village of Stara Yahilnytsya, according to the testimony of the chairman of the village council, eyewitness Seliverst Peutsky, from July 11, 1944, even before the arrival of the Germans,

[...] Jews had been shot in their homes by Ukrainian nationalists. The shootings were carried out at night, but who actually shot them, I cannot say. The following people were shot. 1. Izak Sharaga, forty years old, his body was found on the street by the school. 2. Gershko Ashkinaze, forty-four years old, his body was found on the street near Volodimer Sapischyuk's house. 3. Derbir Sharaga, fifty-five years old, he was found murdered in his home. 4. and one old Jew, whose last name I don't know, who lived in the house [...] 5. Izan Olver and his family, consisting of his wife and two children, were found slashed by knives. The bodies of these Jews were buried by the community outside the village in a pasture, whether in a single or several pits, I don't know.²⁵

In the village of Kosiv after the liberation in 1944

On May 17-18, the commission created with the participation of medical experts exhumed two pits, in which up to eighty bodies were discovered – men, women, and children. Documents and eyewitness testimonies from residents of the village of Kosiv confirm that the pits contained bodies of victims who were brutally murdered on July 7-8, 1941 and buried there.

In the course of the investigation it was determined that the individuals who had organized the extermination of the civilian population of the village of Kosiv were members of the OUN.

One of the arrested organizers of the killings, Petr Pavlovich Semtsiv [...], was a member of the OUN starting from September 1940. He was recruited to the organization by a resident of the village of Kosiv, Vasily Pshik, and after the arrest of the latter by Soviet law enforcement agencies, he maintained contact with Ivan Leganchuk [...].

During the occupation of the village of Kosiv by the Germans, Leganchuk and Pismenny formed what was known as the “revolutionary committee,” announced themselves to be public authorities in the village, and having made contact with the leader of the organization in the town of Chortkiv, called for an assembly of the Ukrainian residents of the village of Kosiv. At this assembly, they proclaimed an “independent Ukraine” allied with the Germans, and the Ukrainians were called on to exterminate the Jews, Soviet activists, and Poles.

On the evening of July 7, 1941, a massive extermination of the Jewish population began. In the night of 7-8 July 1941, about twenty-five people were killed in their apartments by bandits. On July 8, 1941, a raid was organized to catch the Jews that were still alive, who were taken to the village board office, and from there, on Semtsiv and Leganchuk’s instructions, groups of four to six people were taken to the stables, where they were killed. On July 8, 1941 fifty people were killed in all.²⁶

One hundred and nine Jews were killed in the villages of Ulashkivtsi, Dolyna, and Svydova (Chortkiv district).²⁷ For instance, in the village of Dolyna, according to the witness testimony of Stefania Lazarchuk (nineteen years old in 1941) from June 6, 1944,

on the night of July 5-6, 1941 [...] the ethnic Ukrainians Tatyana Ilkovna Savkiv, a deputy of the Chortkiv district council, and her ten-year-old daughter Kasimira were shot, Yakov Fedortsev, whose patronymic I don’t know, his wife Matrena and his seven-year-old daughter Slava were slaughtered by the Ukrainian police goons Petr Vivsyanik, whose patronymic I don’t know, and Vladimir, probably Gavrilovich, Fedortsev. And that same night, in citizen Dokhtor’s home these same auxiliary police officers slaughtered the Jewish woman Shemonko and her four-year-old son in the attic, while her twenty-year-old daughter escaped but the police shot her in the leg with a carbine. And on the day of July 6, they shot another thirteen Jews, men and women [...] They were buried in a field about five hundred meters from the village of Dolyna, and Komsomol member Miron Fedortsev was shot and they buried him in the village of Dolyna. Currently, Vladimir Fedortsev is under arrest by the NKVD, and Vivsyanik is in hiding.²⁸

In the village of Ulashkivtsi, according to the witness testimony of Petr Zakrevsky (fifty-four years old in 1941) from June 28, 1944

[...] on July 6, 1941, the Banderites, as they called themselves, appeared and started killing Jews. They went from house to house and shot all the Jews on the spot. Any Jews that tried to escape and was noticed, was killed on the spot on the street, in the garden. The ringleader of this armed band was the former teacher of the Ulashkivtsi village school, Kornil Shevchuk. The armed band included Petr Valeshny and others from the villages of Mylivtsi, Zabolotivka, Sosulivka [...]. Kornil Shevchuk knew all the Jews in the village and pointed out whom to kill. They killed by shooting their rifles. That night seventy-four or seventy-five Jews were killed. These animals completely exterminated five Jewish families: Wolf Golshteyn, Golshteyn, and there were Jewish families from the town of Kolomyia; I don't know their last names. All the murdered Jews were buried in a pit behind the grange in the village of Ulashkivtsi. A week later, Petr Valeshny killed another five Jews that were escaping to the village of Yahilnytsia [...].²⁹

In the village of Svydova

[...] in 1941 Ukrainian nationalists killed [...] fourteen Jews, and their property was looted. They are buried in the cemetery where they used to inter livestock; the location of the grave has not been determined.³⁰

It is likely that at the same time in the same area six Jews from the village of Zalissyia³¹ and twelve Jews (including Roza and Leyka Blum) were killed in the village of Shvaikivtsi.³²

In the village of Perevoloka (Buchach district), teacher Pavel Luchko, who returned to the village from Lviv on June 29, 1941, reported the following:

[...] I found out from people that the OUN district leader, Stepan Soloninka had a list, known as the "Black Sheet," in which twenty-five people were listed – the village's activists who had to be exterminated. That very day before nightfall I went to the armed band's hideout, which was located in citizen Pavel Ivanovich Katriy's barn. There I saw Pavel Lukich Khomut, Ivan Petrovich Solovey, Stepan Soloninka, who are still alive, and others who have been killed. I asked this Stepan Soloninka to let me read this "Black Sheet." At first he refused, but then another teacher, Ivan Fedorovich Konopada³³ arrived, and upon our request, he let us read it. It was within my power to beg them to spare from this terrible death Natalia Fedorovna Zakharchischina, Vasily Ivanovich Luchko, who was later killed by bandits when he returned from Germany, and Nikolai Petrovich Onufriev, who was the chairman of the collective farm in Perevoloka, which they can testify to. When we put more pressure on them, they assured us that the people on the "Black Sheet" would not be killed, just arrested. Reassured by this, I went to wake up the chairman of the collective farm, Nikolai Petrovich Onufriev, and told him to find a good hiding place since he might have trouble, and I personally woke up his neighbor, Ivan Lavrovich Bondar, and went to sleep in his barn. In the morning I went by the church, where these bandits were rounding up people. There I found out about the horrible killing of the activists in the village of Perevoloka. I was not present at the killing of these people and I have witnesses to that.

That same night Vladimir Iosifich Antoniv helped kill the group of detainees in the school; he gathered together a group of bandits, attacked the home of the Jew Samuel Budzanover, killed his wife and two children, and buried them in the garden, while his daughter, Baila was hiding in my home, which I found out about. Ignat Katriy,

Vladimir Antoniv, Dmitry Koshik, Fedor Golod, Nikolai Ednak, Ivan Viktorovich took part in lling in the school [...].

There were twenty-five people listed on the "Black Sheet": [...].

18-22. five people from the family of Budzanover, a poor Jew.

23-25, three members of the family of Mufen, a Jew of average means.³⁴

During an interrogation on February 16, 1947, Luchko made the following clarifications:³⁵

[...] in August 1941 Antoniv told me that in July 1941, when the Red Army retreated and the Soviet regime was no longer present in Perevoloka, he, Antoniv, Dmitry Koshik, and others, whom I don't remember now, attacked the family of the Jew Samuel Budzanover, killing Budzanover, his wife, and sixteen-year-old son. Antoniv said that he broke the window of Budzanover's home, climbed into the house, and the rest entered through the door and killed the family with their axes [...].

I heard that Antoniv participated in the massacre of the leading Soviet officials of the village of Perevoloka in 1941. Then the "Sich" police arrested and killed eight core Soviet officials of the village of Perevoloka in the school: 1. Vladimir Strugmanchuk, the school principal, 2. Vasily Gnitka, the village council chairman, 3. Ilya Maruschak, the foreman of the collective farm, 4. Iva Maksimiv, a member of the village council, 5. Daniil Zakhachishin, a member of the village council, 6. Stepan Petz, the director of the windmill, 7. Dmitry Netiva, a member of the village council, 8. Samuil Nerfen, a Jewish activist.³⁶

During an interrogation on March 21, 1947, Luchko introduced new information about the killings committed by Ukrainian police officers from the village of Perevoloka:³⁷

On July 1941, the head of the OUN, Stepan Soloninka³⁸ and Iosif Kolodiy set up the Ukrainian "Sich" police [...]. On July 5, 1941 the entire police force consisting of thirty people was armed with military rifles as a result of the disarmament and killing of Soviet army fighters [...].

On July 5, 1941, before nightfall all the police headed by Stepan Soloninka and Iosif Kolodiy, including myself, armed with rifles, captured the town of Buchach by force; in a short exchange of gunfire with a Soviet armored vehicle, the police officer Ivan Petrovich Solovey was wounded [...]. The rest of the police continued to remain in the town of Buchach, where they started looting stores and warehouses; they took suits, textiles, and food. At about 10 a.m. on July 6, 1941, German vanguard units entered the town. I, together with the rest of the police, returned to the village of Perevoloka by evening on July 6, 1941 [...]

When the police arrived in he village of Perevoloka, the leaders of the OUN, including powiat OUN leader Lutsev, OUN district leader Stepan Saloninka, and a third person whose name I don't know; a resident of the village of Hryhoriv in Monastyriska district, began organizing the "Sich" Ukrainian police in the villages. They set up the police in the entire northern part of Buchach district and in two villages, Olesha and Hryhoriv in Monastyriska district. After setting up the police in the aforementioned part of the district, the police began arresting and killing Soviet officials. The first group of seven or eight detained Soviet activists arrived in in the village of Perevoloka on July 10, 1941. These activists had been arrested in the following villages: Ozeryany, 2 people³⁹, Hryhoriv, 2 people., Verbyato, 1 person, and other villages. Why did these detainees arrive in our village, Perevoloka? Because the headquarters of the entire police of Buchach district was located in our village. The police held these detainees

in the school building. On the third day, the police shot these activists near Pribedjino forest [...].

On about July 10, 1941, six to seven citizens of Jewish ethnicity were passing through our village. The police arrested these Jews, and shot them that same night [...].

In early August 1941, the German authorities disbanded the Ukrainian police. The police took part of the weapons to the town of Buchach, and hid another part in the village of Perevoloka [...].

Another Jew in the village was killed in late June or early July 1941 by Vasiliy Meush and Nikolai Koshuba; his body was buried by Yuriy Kladochny on their orders.⁴⁰

In the first half of July, killings of Jews by Ukrainian nationalists also took place in Khorostkiv (140 victims),⁴¹ Husiatyn (about 200),⁴² Terebovlia (38),⁴³ and Zaliztsi (36).⁴⁴ Several dozen Jews were killed in Zoloty Potik,⁴⁵ Hrymailiv,⁴⁶ Mykulyntsi,⁴⁷ Skalat,⁴⁸ Pidvolochysk,⁴⁹ Berezhany, Melnytsia-Podilska districts. One hundred and nineteen Jewish men were killed in Pochaiv,⁵⁰ and about 60 in Lanivtsi.⁵¹

In Shumsk, according to the testimony of the former commander of the Ukrainian district police, Sergey Pavlovich, in July 1941:

[...] the German gendarmerie arrived and arrested Yankel Khazen, Manes Fuden, Haim Zhukover, Shuvalov, and two of the Gusyatinsky brothers. Kravchuk, who came with the German gendarmerie, took a cart from the village elder in order to deliver the detainees to Kremenets, and from me he took one police officer, who was assigned by my deputy, Stashiba [...]. The ultimate fate of the people arrested and delivered to Kremenets is unknown to me.⁵²

A resident of Shumsk, fifteen-year-old Ilya Ginzburg reported:

[...] on about the fifth day of the German occupation, I personally saw [commander of the Ukrainian police] Pavlovich together with the police arresting some people who had remained in the occupied territory: the head of the Shumsk district registry office, Yakov Khazen, a deputy of the Ternopil Regional Council of Workers, Haim Leibovich Zhukoer, secretary of the Shumsk village council, Manes Fuden, They were driven under guard to the town of Kremenets and shot [...].⁵³

In July 1941, Ukrainian nationalists with the participation of Pavlovich and his police held their celebrations in the village of Shumsk, summoned the local population from many villages, and with the participation of the priests, they organized a rally at which they proclaimed an "Independent Ukraine." Citizens of Jewish ethnicity were barred by the police from going outside, and any Jews the police found on the street were shot; they even shot from their weapons into the windows of apartments where Jews were living. As a result, during the festivities, the police killed about thirty people. From the victims I remember, Alexey Burman, Abram Zak, Raisa Vilsker, Sherman, I don't know his first name, he worked as a tinsmith, and others.

In the fall of 1941, Pavlovich and his police, assembled the citizens of Jewish ethnicity using their weapons, and forced them to dig out the remains of a Petliurite killed back in 1919. They disinterred his bones, buried him with honors, and built an OUN grave.

Near the aforementioned grave, the Ukrainian nationalists organized a rally of the local Ukrainian population [...] During the rally, the police killed seven Jewish citizens. From the victims, I remember Akerman, whose first name I don't know, a young girl, Haya Tsisin, also a young girl of nineteen, an old man, Nakhman Sosna.⁵⁴

In Vyshnivets, according to the witness testimony of Mikhail Bulchak (twenty years old in 1941):

On the third day after the arrival of the Germans [...] the Ukrainians organized a demonstration with the song "Independent Ukraine Has Not Yet Perished" and the slogan "Death to Moscow" [...]. This organized crowd of Ukrainians headed for the fortress, where the rally was being held. Ukrainian individuals recounted that at the rally they were told to help German troops, in exchange for which the Germans will make Ukraine free. A day before the demonstration, forty people were taken from the Jewish population "for work." They were led into the basement of the NKVD building and shot there. In this shooting the sole participants were the police, consisting of Ukrainians from "Independent Ukraine" – the head of this police was Voloshin [...], his deputy was Yakov Ostrovsky [...]⁵⁵

In June 1941, killings of adult Jews were perpetrated in the village of Stary Vishnivets.

According to the testimony of former police officer Alexander Khomitsky,⁵⁶ in the village

[...] two Germans arrived at night and summoned police commander Bukovsky through the duty police officer. When Bukovsky came to the Germans, they ordered him to take some police with him to escort the Jewish population. Among other police, I also reported to headquarters and was posted by the highway. I, standing on the highway, saw the Germans and the commander leading a Jewish family, the Spiegelmanns, husband and wife, out of their apartment. The commander and other police took them to another house, and I, together with Vitaly Filyk, Kirill Filyk, and two or three other police officers were ordered by the commander to guard the house to prevent the Jews from escaping. I remained on guard duty (it was nighttime), while the group of police went to Jewish apartments and started to bring the Jews they arrested to the house under guard. In total, twelve Jewish individuals were brought to this house. In the morning, when day broke, the Jews were escorted outside the village. Afterward Vitaly Filyk and I were sent by the commander to the village to bring a few villagers with shovels to the place the Jews were being held. When the people were informed by Filyk and I about reporting to the ravine outside the village, we returned together with them to the place the Jews had been escorted to. By the time we arrived, they had already been shot and the only thing left to do was to bury their bodies [...].

Additional information about the murders of Jews in this village can be found in the witness testimony of Nuhim Margulis (fifty-nine years old in 1941):⁵⁷

On July 25, 1942 [the police commander in the village of Stary Vishnivets] N. I. Bukovsky picked up Ketemur Sendor and he was killed at night [...]. Then N. I. Bukovsky killed Yankel Shkurnik in his house [...] I personally talked to Yankel Shkurnik, who lived another few days after being seriously injured. He told me that N.I. Bukovsky came to his place at night, took his suit and other things, and shot him in the stomach [...]. In July 1941, N. I. Bukovsky assembled fourteen Jews from the

village of Vishnivets and handed them over to the Gestapo. They were then taken to the village of Novy Vishnevets and shot. A week later he assembled about forty Jewish men and two Jewish girls and handed them over to the Gestapo. They were sent to the village of Novy Vishnevets and shot. A month later, on August 15, the police of the villages of Novy and Stary Vishnevets assembled 114 Jews from Stary Vishnevets and shot them by the Stary Vishnevets cemetery [...].

In the summer of 1941, in the village of Peredmirka (Lanivtsi district), local Ukrainian nationalists killed seventeen Jews. Village resident Alexander Steshok (thirty-six years old in 1941) witnessed the killing, and testified to the following during an interrogation on June 13, 1944:⁵⁸

I don't remember the month, but it was during harvest time in 41; Zahar, a resident of the village of Peredmirka (the son of Domka Svinskaya), came to my home and called me to the "remiza" (community hall), stating that I was being summoned by the deputy commander of the village police, Andrei Krivuta. When I came to the "remiza," there was a meeting (a village assembly) being held. I thought that I was being summoned to the assembly. Zahar, who had summoned me, went into the office, and I stayed at the assembly. Soon an unfamiliar person, armed with an assault rifle, came out of the office, and turned to a person inside the office and asked, "This one?" And after receiving confirmation in the form of a "yes" response from someone inside, he called me into the office and informed me that there was urgent work for me that day. In answer to my question regarding the kind of work to be done, the stranger stated that a pit for seventeen people had to be dug.

In the "remiza" office, where the stranger took me, there were two people from the village of Velyki Kuskivtsi, Muller and another whose name I don't know, but he had an eye illness, which was why he was called "walleye," residents of the village of Peredmirka: Pavel Androschuk, Ivan (last name and patronymic are known) known on the street as "Djura," Andrei Krivuta, Fyodor Klepach, Zakhar (last name and patronymic unknown), known on the street as "Domka Svinskaya's." "Riguriy" – that was what the person's street nickname was, whose name I don't know. After several discussions about where to dig the pit, I was given Mikhailo, street nickname "Gordun," as a helper, and Zakhar led us to the grove, which is outside the village on the way to Kremenets, about a kilometer from the village. He indicated the spot and we started digging the pit in old covered trenches that had survived from the war in '14-'15, while Zakhar sat near us and urged us on. Some time later, Fyodor and Grigory, whose street nickname is "sweet tooth," Klepach rode up to us on Rovers (bicycles), and scolded us because we were digging slowly. He said that soon they'll be bringing them, but he didn't say whom. It started getting dark.

We hadn't finished digging to the fifth spade's depth, when Zakharko ordered us to "climb out of the pit, they're already bringing them, go hide." Near the pit, there was soon talk; they had brought in Jews living in Zagarina: Azril, aged 50, his wife Genya, 47, Azril's brother Iosif, 30, Abrum Абрам, 40, Abrum's wife, 40, two or three of Abrum's daughters. We could hear how miserable they were: some were begging them to wait before they were slaughtered, let them say a few words – Iosif, his wife begged them not to kill the children, and so on. A few salvos of shots were heard, heart-rending screams, and immediately we heard screams from the grave asking "Where are you, guys? Come here!" – we came up to the grave, where a group of police was standing and discussing whether to cover the grave or bring the

rest, shoot them, and then cover it. It was decided to shoot the rest, then cover it with dirt. At that moment Fyodor Klepach, a resident of Peredmirka, a village police officer, armed with a rifle, looked at me and, asking whether it was actually me, gave me some kind of ripped papers and told me to throw them into the grave, which I did. At the same time Gordun jumped into the pit, stole Azril's boots, which had been shot through twice, and put them on himself. The decision was made not to cover the grave with dirt; the group of police went off somewhere, while two stayed near us; one from the village of Velyki Kuskivtsi, and another from the village of Peredmirka – Ivan, whose street nickname is "Djura," but I don't know the guy from Kuskivtsi's first or last name or patronymic. When we had been digging the pit, we broke the handle of the shovel and now we had nothing to finish the job with. I turned to the police officers who had stayed with us and told them that the handle of the shovel was broken. Then the guy from Kuskivtsi said, "Then you'll finish with your teeth." Ivan ordered me to go to Tonos' farm, who lived near the site of the massacre, and ask for a shovel. At first, when we had initially come to dig the pit, Tonos came up to us and saw that we were preparing something bad. That was why Ivan gave Mikhail a rifle and Mikhail and I went to the farm, asked for the shovel, and Tonos, who didn't ask why we needed a shovel in the middle of the night, gave us one. When we returned to the grave, the remaining police didn't see us. I suggested to Mikhail that we run away, but Mikhail suggested that we lie down in the stumps (a cut down wooded patch). We lay down there. Soon Mikhail said that he saw fire in the village, which meant they were bringing them. Right then we heard two shots coming from the same place; what that meant, I don't know. Soon we heard talking, and then the crowd of people approached and stopped by the grave, that is, on the road about forty meters from the grave. They started searching the Jews and we could hear one of the police officers say that they would wait for Gershko there. Gershko's wife, Beila, thanked them for this. Soon the search was finished and an order was given to move to the right of the road, that is, towards the grave. They led them to the grave, and soon we could hear assault rifle and rifle fire. Then I got up and came over to the group of police; there were Jewish bundles next to them and they were looking through them. I found a couple of loaves of bread, took them, and brought them to the bundle I had hidden from the first group of Jews that had been shot. Right then Dmitry Goroshko bumped into me and said that this bread was poisoned. I took this bread anyway and put it in the bundle [...]. When I returned to the group, they had brought Gershko. From their conversation I identified Andrei Krivuta and they were saying that Akim Vykhovanets brought in Gershko with Krivuta. Gershko said hello to all of us, and I answered his greeting. Right then one of the guys from Kuskivtsi, whose last name was Muller, poked me in the side with his rifle and said, "You're still talking to him" and together with Maksim Korobey they took Gershko, pushed him into the grave, and shot him. After that, we were ordered by someone from the crowd of police to fill the grave. When we started filling it, there were lots of moans groans, etc., coming from it. When we started throwing dirt on the grave and hearing the moans, I turned to the police and said that we can't bury them like this, they were alive. Then we heard voices from the crowd of police, "Finish them off with shovels." It was Fyodor Klepach, one of the guys from Kuskivtsi, and Dmitry Goroshko saying this. We continued filling it with earth. One of the guys from Kuskivtsi and Klepach walked up to the pit again and shot again into the pit with the goners and then left. Meanwhile, deputy police commander Krivuta came up to us and warned us to cover the pit so that it wouldn't be noticeable, that is, to fill it with the dirt that had been removed from the pit, and not to touch anything on the surface around it. Then the whole group left for the village. Fyodor Pasechnik and Zakharko stayed near us. We finished covering the pit and the police remaining with us took us and

led us through the fields; we crossed the river on a boat, and went home to the village. Since Gordun lives on a farm and was afraid to go home in the deep of night, he got a rifle from Pasenchik and each of us went to his home.⁵⁹

In Mykulyntsi, which had been occupied by a sub-unit of the SS “Viking” division on July 5, the Ukrainian police committed a mass killing of Jews on the other side of the “Stromky” river (?)⁶⁰ in a small forest a few days later. According to the witness testimony of Nissan (Anton) Goldshteyn (thirty-three years old in 1941):

The operation was carried out by Ukrainian police, headed by police commander Martenevich and policewoman Sofia Dilniy. Under the leadership of Sofia Dilniy and Martenevich, about sixty Jews (men, woman, as well as an eleven-year-old girl by the name of Donya Goldshteyn and her mother) were forced outside and sent to the police building. On the next day, the Ukrainians led these Jews from the police building, walking four in a row, through the town, closely guarded by local police armed with automatic weapons. They were led in the direction of “Stromek,” which I have already mentioned. They were shot there [...].

As I found out (I heard it from local Jews), this killing was perpetrated on the initiative of the “revolutionary committee,” which included Fidevich, the chair of this committee, Petrusik, the assistant chair of the committee, Sofia Dilniy, a committee member, as well as Martenevich, a committee member. They are responsible for the murder of sixty Jews in “Stromek,” and about fifteen Jews in the park. This occurred several days after the pogrom in “Stromek” [...]. Towards evening, when the Jews were returning from work, the Ukrainian police, under the leadership of Mertenevich and the active policewoman and member of the “revolutionary committee” Dliniy, they detained a group of Jews returning from work. They conducted a quick selection on the spot, as a result of which fifteen Jews were selected. They were led to a nearby park and shot there. Before that, the Jews had been ordered to dig a grave for themselves. Let me clarify: These Jews weren’t shot, but killed with shovels that they used to dig a grave for themselves [...].⁶¹

In Chortkiv the pogrom, according to the testimony of Zonya (Sonya) Berkovich (sixteen years old in 1941), began on the second day after the occupation of the town, on July 7:

[...] the just formed police organized the raid on the Jewish population. That day they captured anyone over the age of fourteen. I was caught during the day not far from my home [...]. Two police officers took me and led me toward the prison; one of them lashed me on the shoulder with a whip. On the way, I ran away from them and hid. When I returned home I found the apartment looted, that is, all our things had been taken away, the dishes broken, the door of the apartment had been broken into. My father and mother weren’t home. The next day I found them at someone else’s home. I don’t know how many people were taken to the prison that day.

Exactly a week later, the police opened fire in the town with their rifles and announced to everyone that the Jews wanted to start a Communist rebellion, and then they began a second pogrom against the Jews [...].⁶²

From the witness testimony of Dina Blyunder (thirty-four years old in 1941):⁶³

On July 14, 1941, the flying (?) Gestapo, which wore metal helmets on their heads with "SS" written on them, arrived in town. That same day they came to our home at 61 Rynok Street, broke the door down with their rifles, and took my husband, Blyunder and our neighbor, Shifnagel. They brought them out onto the street, lined up people two in a row and led them to the post office, where they assembled 325 Jews and photographed them. On the way, the Jews were beaten with rifle butts, and those who attempted to escape were shot [...]. After they had been photographed, all the Jews were taken away to the prison yard, where they were abused in various ways. They were beaten with rifle butts, whipped, forced to crawl around the courtyard on their bellies and eat human blood and dirt, forced to eat glass, and bricks were thrown on them from the third floor. They took herring, dipped it in puddles of human blood, and forced them to eat it. The Gestapo officers got a NKVD uniform, dressed one of the Jews in it, and the police and Gestapo started beating him and beat him to death. Whoever refused to follow their orders, the Gestapo beat them on the spot and shot them. They shot them in such a way that they didn't shoot them dead, but the person was forced to suffer and die slowly. Then they lined up all the Jews in single file and ordered them to walk up and down the prison's stairs. Police and Gestapo were standing on either side of the stairs and they hit the Jews walking between them with their rifle butts, metal clubs, and whips. They led them out of the prison into the yard again, and started abusing them again in various ways. Then those who were strong were forced to dig graves for themselves. Three pits were dug in the prison yard. First they forced them to place all the murdered Jews into the pits. Then they started shooting everyone indiscriminately. Just 16 people were left alive out of 325. When everyone had been shot, these 16 people were forced to put the Jews that had been shot into the graves. The Jews that were still alive begged not to be put in the grave, since they were alive, but the Gestapo made no distinctions, and ordered both the living and the dead to be put inside. Anyone who didn't want to carry out their order, was shot [...]. A friend of my husband's, Veksler, who was among the 16, told me all this. After they had filled in this grave, the Gestapo released all of them from the prison. Veksler came to my house and told me everything that had happened there.

Part of the Jews, mostly from among the intelligentsia and Soviet activists, were exterminated by the SiPo in July. For instance, in Ternopil, the killing of Jews from the intelligentsia was perpetrated by *Sonderkommando 4b*.⁶⁴ According to the testimony of the aforementioned Wilhelm Redlich:

After the pogrom, the German authorities ordered local Jews to deliver forty people from among the intelligentsia. The principal of the Jewish school Gottfried was ordered to do this. He was promised that after he delivering forty members of the intelligentsia, he would be spared while they would form a Jewish council. When Gottfried reported with forty members of the Jewish intelligentsia at 10 Mickiewicz Street, which had been temporarily occupied by the German police, the German SS, together with Ukrainian police, took all forty people to the Jewish cemetery and beat their heads with sticks. They were forced to dig pits. With their arms and legs tied with barbed wire, some had their eyes gouged out, or their fingers and ears cut off. After all this cruelty they were pushed into the pit that had been dug, and covered with dirt. Out of the forty people, two elderly people were spared - Kapan, a teacher at the Kazhemezha [probably Kazimierz] school and Gottfried, the principal of the Jewish

*school. They were told, "We won't kill you, you'll die on your own." After that, Kapan came home and told me about all the abuse [...].*⁶⁵

In the second half of July, the SiPo also exterminated the Jewish intelligentsia and Soviet officials of Jewish ethnicity in Kremenets (about 300 people),⁶⁶ Vyshnivets (40),⁶⁷ Khorostkiv (30),⁶⁸ and Mykulyntsi (18).⁶⁹ In July, Jews were shot for cooperating with the Soviet authorities in Buchach (60 people);⁷⁰ and (about 90 people) in August in Chortkiv,⁷¹ as well as in Monastyriska (7 people).⁷²

The extermination of the intelligentsia was mostly complete by September-October. For instance, about 70 people were shot in Zbarazh on September 6,⁷³ about 600 (?)⁷⁴ in Berezhany and 147⁷⁵ in Khorostkiv on October 1, about 500 (?)⁷⁶ in Kozova, about 200⁷⁷ in Chortkiv, and at the very least 200⁷⁸ in Zboriv on October 16. The Jewish intelligentsia in Pidhaitsi⁷⁹ was also exterminated at the same time.

In Buchach an operation had purportedly been carried out as early as August 26-27. According to the witness testimony of Samuel Gorovets (seventy-three years old in 1941):

*On August 26, 1941 a registration took place in the town of Buchach of people aged eighteen to fifty. During this registration the German authorities, i.e., the Gestapo, identified 600-700 Jews, whom the occupiers detained but then released since they were tradesmen, while the German authorities shot 350 Jewish members of the intelligentsia on August 27, 1941 from 5 to 6 a.m., at Fedor Hill near Buchach. A pit measuring 2 x 20 meters had been dug ahead of time and the Germans buried all 350 people in it. The shooting was supervised by the Gestapo, with practical assistance from the Buchach Ukrainian police. During the shooting the German occupiers ordered the local residents near Fedor Hill to close their windows. During this shooting the German plunderers shot my son [...].*⁸⁰

The operation in Zbarazh was described by eyewitness Zalman Bibershtayn as follows:⁸¹

On September 6, 1941, the Jews began assembling on Zhovtneva square by the town hall, since on September 5, 1941 notices had been posted all over the town (I don't know who did it) stating that all Jewish men had to assemble by the town hall on the morning of September 6. When a crowd of about four hundred people had assembled, two trucks full of SS officers drove up to the town hall, about eight to ten in all. Among them, as I later learned from Zaidenberg (killed in 1943), were Winkler, Reinsch, Riemann, [...]. When they drove up to the town hall, the SS officers jumped out of the truck and together with the Ukrainian police started whipping the Jews [...]. Then the Gestapo began selecting Jews from the crowd and putting them in the truck. Most of the Jews who wound up in the truck were members of the intelligentsia and specialists.

When they had seated about thirty-five people in the truck, I don't remember the exact number, the Gestapo drove them away in the direction of Lubyanky. An hour later, the truck came back and the Gestapo seated thirty-eight people and once again drove them away in the same direction. Soon the Gestapo returned and announced to the assembled Jews that they must pay an indemnity of five hundred thousand zloty, as well as in food, to which the Jews agreed, fearing another pogrom. A group elected from the assembled Jews handled the money and food collection. After the money and food had been collected, the Gestapo loaded it onto the truck and drove it to Ternopil [...].

In September 1941, the Gestapo and Ukrainian police also shot about a hundred Jews from Ternopil. Former police officer Nikolai Morikvas testified to the following during an interrogation:⁸²

In about September 1941, I, together with other police and Germans from the Gestapo, drove out the shooting of the Jewish population in the forest outside the village of Petrykiv, with the Jews brought there by truck from the city of Ternopil. We drove out on a truck to the execution site in advance and dug out old trenches, which we made wider and deeper. Soon afterward the Germans brought the Jews on trucks, and the police were posted around in order to guard the execution site. The Germans led the Jews from the trucks and seated them, and then they would take them a few at a time and lead them to the trenches, where they were shot in the back of the head from pistols [...].

The shooting in Berezhany was also carried out by the Gestapo from Ternopil with assistance from the Ukrainian police. We learned the back story of this operation from the testimony of Eliezer Shaklai, a former Jewish council member in Berezhany:⁸³

On the eve of Yom Kippur 1941 [that is, on September 30, 1941] [...] Kreishauptmann Asbach informed the Jewish council that all male Jews aged eighteen to sixty must report to the market square at 10 a.m. the next day [...]. Since we had a certain suspicion, one of the members of the Jewish council was sent to Kreishauptmann Asbach to ask him whether 1. workers who were at work at the time and 2. doctors had to report as well. For reasons of security, the Jewish council decided that three members of the Jewish council, specifically the teacher Gorovits, the lawyer Grossman, and myself, would not comply with the requirement to report to the market square [...]. A great number of Jewish men gathered on the market square. I cannot tell the number of people assembled with exactitude. About six hundred members of the intelligentsia and tradespeople were selected and imprisoned in the jail. Others were sent home. The chair, Dr. Klarer, and, as far as I remember, his deputy Rus visited Kreishauptmann Asbach. When they returned, they informed us that Asbach demanded three kilograms of gold to release the detainees. We collected the gold. But I no longer know how much was collected. On the following day the gold was handed over to the Kreishauptmann. The detained Jews, however, were not released, and early the next morning they were loaded on trucks and driven away in groups. We were told that the Jews taken away were being sent to work in Germany. However, we soon heard from the local farmworkers that all the Jews taken away were shot outside the village of Rai, three kilometers from the town of Berezhany [...]. At first we didn't

believe it, especially since we seemingly received postcards from the victims from other cities [...]. Later, members of the Jewish council, Dr. Klarer, and Mittelman, using a propitious opportunity – sending a gift – discussed this with deputy Kreishauptmann Krüger. Krüger said that he gave his word as a Prussian officer that these Jews had been sent to Germany and were working there [...].

One of the participants in the shooting, police officer Ivan Dobrovolsky, testified to the following during an interrogation:⁸⁴

[...] police were posted around the execution site, so as to guard this place. The execution site was four kilometers from the town of Berezhany under forest cover, outside the village of Rai, I think. The Germans had brought the Jews on four trucks, over two hundred people had been brought in all. There were old pits there, clearly dating from the last war. The Jews were led out of the trucks and seated near them, then they were forced to stand up in groups of four or five, undress, and walk up to the pit. Near the pit the Germans forced the Jews to kneel, and they were shot from pistols in the back of the head, and the person would fall into the pit [...]. Then the Germans forced us, that is, the police, to cover the pit with dirt. The police together with the Germans loaded the clothing of the people that had been shot into a truck and drove it to Ternopil. In Ternopil, they dropped off the clothes in the Gestapo warehouses [...].

In November about six hundred Jews were shot in Zalishchyky⁸⁵ and at least forty-three in Chortkiv — thirteen Jewish women from Buchach⁸⁶ and thirty from Yahilnytsia.⁸⁷ The operation in Zalishchyky was carried by the Chortkiv SD with assistance from a Schupo team from Vienna, which was headed by Schupo lieutenant Gustav Wüpper)⁸⁸. A member of this team, Josef Pöll, recounted the following about the operation after the war:⁸⁹

On October 7, 1941, I, together with about twenty colleagues, was assigned to a Schupo team in Zalishchyky [...]. The first Jewish operation was conducted on November 18, 1941 in Zalishchyky with the Chortkiv SD. The head of this operation, Obersturmführer Müller (a Reichsdeutsche) cooperated with Hauptmann Wüpper, who gave the Jewish council the task of picking a certain number of Jews with professional tools to clean the barracks outside of town. A few days prior, these Jews had handed over valuable items (objects made out of fur, valuables, money, etc.) to our department in the presence of Obersturmführer Müller and Hauptmann Wüpper. I was a witness to this, since at that very moment I had come into the department to get provisions for the kitchen. The valuable items were taken to the SD by truck to Chortkiv. The Jews were shot by the SD by the Zalishchyky barracks in the presence of Hauptmann Wüpper and Leopold Mitas [...].

Among the victims were Klara Varmbrand's (twenty years old in 1941) parents. According to her testimony (style is preserved):

On November 12, 1941, an order arrived from the Chortkiv district for all Jews living in Zalishchyky district to hand over all their gold, silver, furs, and 20,000 gold rubles.

*If anyone refuses to follow the given order, he will be punished with death. Within a day everything was collected and handed over to the German authorities. On November 13, 1941, an order arrived again to the Jewish council through the local authorities for all Jews aged fourteen and up — women and men aged sixty and up — to assemble by the sheep barns outside the town of Zalizhchyky in order to clean the barracks. Men aged fourteen to sixty were to assemble in the Ukrainian police building for registration. About five hundred people assembled in the sheep barns; they were shot by the Germans from 9 to 10 a.m. over pits that had been dug there. The shooting was supervised by the Gestapo officer Miller, with assistance from German border agents in Zalizhchyky, the German and Ukrainian police [...]. The pits were covered by the Jews themselves, the ones who were spared since they were specialists. All the men assembled in the Ukrainian police building were sent to forced labor camps for Jews in the villages of Stupky and Kamyanky in the Ternopil region [...]*⁹⁰

Additional information about this operation can be found in the witness testimony (style is preserved) of Samuil Weintraub (forty-eight years old in 1941):⁹¹

In October 1941 the Gestapo issued an order for all women aged fifteen and up and men over sixty to report with shovels, pails, and brooms in order to clean the barracks, located outside of the town near the railroad station on October 14 [actually November 14]. Four hundred and fifty people assembled there. In addition, all Jews (there were 150 of them) that had been detained during transit from the city of Chernivtsi to the heart of the USSR had also been assembled beforehand. As a result, there were 600 Jews in the barracks in total.

On October 14, 1941, Miller, the commander of the German Gestapo, gave orders to collect all Jews in the town aged fifteen to sixty and take them to the Ukrainian police station, which was located at the time in the building that then housed the regional branch of the People's Commissariat for State Security, and thus forty-four people were assembled, including myself [...]. From the police building we were led to the barracks at 3 p.m. When we arrived at the barracks, there was no longer anyone there, just shovels, pails, and brooms. Commander Miller ordered us to each take a shovel, and then Miller and twelve police officers took us to the cemetery located in the western part of the town. By the time we arrived, the approximately six hundred Jews that had been assembled in the barracks had all been shot and their bodies were in the pit. Upon our arrival at the cemetery, Gestapo commander Miller told us that all the Soviet dirt was in those pits and ordered us to cover these pits, containing the approximately six hundred bodies of Soviet civilians that had been shot. As a result, we worked there from 3 p.m. to 10 p.m. on October 14, 1941. And anyone who became tired while working was beaten by the German police. After we had completed this "work," we were taken back to the barracks, where we were forced to take the remaining shovels, pails, and brooms and bring them to the German police, where commander Miller said that we would need these things. Then we were released to go home.

On October 15, 1941, the Gestapo gave orders to confiscate all property belonging to all the Jews that had been shot on October 14, 1941.

In Ternopil itself in Janowska forest the Gestapo and Ukrainian police purportedly shot 250-300 Jews in November, and 350-400 Jews in early December.⁹²

The year ended with a mass shooting of Jews in Berezhany on December 18. Dr. Eliezer Shaklai, then a member of the Jewish council in Berezhany, recounted the following about this operation.⁹³

In December 1941, [Kreishauptmann] Asbach ordered the Jewish council to convene and gave them the order to send a thousand old and sick Jews, as well as women and children, to Pidhaisi. They had to report with either five or ten kilograms of baggage. Since the expedition involved an inspection, one or two members of the Jewish council went with presents to deputy Kreishauptmann Krüger and, I suppose, to Asbach as well, in order for them to allow several carts for those unable to walk on their own. A day before the operation, Krüger drove to Pidhaisi, and he ensured that the arriving Jews would be able to find food and shelter there. At least, that's what the Jewish council in Pidhaisi told us. On the the second day of Hanukkah (that is, on December 16, 1941] the selected Jews assembled by the Jewish community house to be transferred. Under the supervision of the German and Ukrainian units (I don't know whether this was a special force, but I believe there were Ukrainian police there) as well as the Jewish police (I'm not sure about this), the Jews were sent in the direction of Pidhaisi, some on foot, others on carts. As we later heard, in Krivulya forest near Lityatin, the Jews had to leave the carts after the column was stopped. They had to undress and were shot. We heard about this right after the operation from the farmworkers that had returned with the carts, who told us that they had heard shots. In addition, there was one Jew (he had been collecting the clothing of the victims and was naked himself), who managed to hide in the shrubbery and thus managed to survive [...]. The number of victims could have been about 800 people. However, this is just an estimate. If on page 3 of the Israeli police report from October 13, 1962 it is specified that 1,000 had to report, 400 were killed, since the majority didn't show up, then this is clearly a misunderstanding on the part of whoever was carrying out the interrogation of the police official. What is correct is the following: the Jewish council had to assemble 1,000 people to be sent away. On the previous evening and also at night, the Jewish police delivered them in groups to the Jewish community house. But during transport, some of the Jews managed to escape. We then estimated that possibly 30 people ran away, while Kreishauptmann Asbach asserted back then that only 630 Jews were taken away, while 370 didn't show up [...]. Asbach's assertions that the Jewish council only assembled 630 Jews, were made several days after the expedition to the chair of the Jewish council, Dr. Klarer. Asbach reproached him for not carrying out his order properly [...]

In total, about 12,000 Jews were exterminated in the region in 1941, including about 9,000 in July.

¹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 4, p. 72 (the Extraordinary State Commission's official report on the town of Zbarazh dated July 7, 1944).

² State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 4, p. 9 (witness testimony of Susi Shpiler from June 3, 1944). According to witness testimony of Shas Rotman from July 6, 1944, twenty-nine Jews were killed in their homes (*Ibid.*, p. 59 and obverse).

³ According to witness testimonies of D. B. Blyaunshtein, N. D. Kokotka, and M.N. Kozovik (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 5, pp. 41 and obverse, 42, 43) the SS detachment captured 180 Jews in the village on July 4, 1941 and shot them on the morning of July 5; another two people were shot on July 7.

⁴ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 6, p. 20 (witness testimony of N. S. Kaner from July 2, 1944), p. 45 and obverse (witness testimony of P. Y. Valberg from July 4, 1944, p. 49 (witness testimony of P. Z. P. Nisenzweig from July 4, 1944); p. 64 (order of the assistant prosecutor of the Ternopil region from September 7, 1944).

⁵ See August Häfner sworn affidavit from November 3, 1947 (NARA M 895, roll 22, frame 27).

⁶ BArch B 162/434, Bl. 236-237. English translation from Y. Arad et al., eds., *The Einsatzgruppen reports: Selections from the Dispatches of the Nazi Death Squads' Campaign against the Jews, July 1941 - January 1943* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), 39.

⁷ According to the "Internal Memorandum on the Evacuation of Prisons in the Ternopil Region," compiled by the head of the prison department of the Directorate of the NKVD, in Ternopil 217 prisoners were released, 560 were killed, and 1,008 were evacuated. [I. Bilas, *Represyivno-karalna systema v Ukraini, 1917-1953: Suspilno-politychnyi ta istoryko-pravovyi analiz*, 2 vols (Kyiv: Kybid and Viisko Ukrainy, 1994), 250].

⁸ Z. Margules, "Moje przeżycia w Tarnopolu podczas wojny," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 36 (1960), 62-67. According to other sources, 4,600-4,700 Jews were killed (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 105, pp. 136, 181, 187 obverse).

⁹ See the interrogation report of witness W. Y. Redlich from June 30, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 105, pp. 116 obverse-117).

¹⁰ Bundesarchiv, RW 4/442a, Bl. 202. English translation from Hamburg Institute for Social Research, ed., *The German Army and Genocide: Crimes against War Prisoners, Jews, and Other Civilians in the East, 1939-1944*, trans. Scott Abbot, (New York: The New Press, 1999), 82.

¹¹ See *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 19 dated July 11, 1941 (BArch B 162/433, Bl. 127). English translation from Y. Arad et al., eds., *The Einsatzgruppen reports: Selections from the Dispatches of the Nazi Death Squads' Campaign against the Jews, July 1941 - January 1943* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), 19.

¹² BArch B 162/434, Bl. 193. English translation from Y. Arad et al., eds., *The Einsatzgruppen reports: Selections from the Dispatches of the Nazi Death Squads' Campaign against the Jews, July 1941—January 1943* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), 32-3.

¹³ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 5, p. 4. According to German sources, "in Zborov, 600 Jews liquidated by the Waffen-SS as a retaliation measure for Soviet atrocities" (*Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 19 dated July 11, 1941, in: BArch B 162/433, Bl. 127). English translation from Y. Arad et al., eds., *The Einsatzgruppen reports: Selections from the Dispatches of the Nazi Death Squads' Campaign against the Jews, July 1941—January 1943* (New York: Holocaust Library, 1989), 19. Here "Waffen-SS" means a unit of the SS "Viking" division.

¹⁴ See the interrogation report of witness I.D. Dlugach from October 12, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 12, p. 92). According to the witness testimony of F. L. Gelpukh from October 12, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 12, p. 94) 450 Jews were killed. According to Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos During the Holocaust*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem 2009), 716, the Germans killed 20 Jews on July 7, 1941, and the "Ukrainian militia" killed 560 Jews on July 8.

¹⁵ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 370, p. 22; Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja Ludnosci Żydowskiej W Dystrykcie Galicja," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 2.

¹⁶ Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 458.

¹⁷ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 9, p. 8.

¹⁸ See the interrogation report of witness I. S. Saiger from October 17, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 5, p. 4 and obverse).

¹⁹ According to the internal memorandum from the head of the NKVD office in Berezhany to the head of the NKVD prison headquarters of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic dated July 8, 1941, 48 unburied corpses remained in the Berezhany prison, and 20 in the basement of the prison administration building, while 40 bodies were thrown into the river under the bridge. The killings were carried out on June 28, 1941 [I. Bilas, *Represyivno-karalna systema v Ukraini, 1917-1953: Suspilno-politychnyi ta istoryko-pravovyi analiz*, 2 vols (Kyiv: Kybid and Viisko Ukrainy, 1994), 248-249].

²⁰ See the interrogation report of witness Dr. Eliezer Shaklai from March 18, 1966 (BArch B 162/19232, Bl. 84-85).

²¹ See the interrogation report of witness Kalman Epstein from December 13, 1965 (BArch B 162/28042).

²² See the interrogation report of witness E. M. Machka from December 27, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 94, pp. 26-27).

²³ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 1, pp. 138-146 and obverse.

²⁴ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 1, pp. 129-130.

²⁵ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 1, pp. 137 and obverse.

²⁶ Report of the head of the counterintelligence department of the People's Commissariat of Defense "Smersh" of the 1st Ukrainian Front dated June 10, 1944 addressed to "the Secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks, Comrade Khrushchev" (Yad Vashem Archive, M 37/170).

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- ²⁷ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107 pp. 57, 85, and 326.
- ²⁸ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 85.
- ²⁹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 58.
- ³⁰ Report of the Chortkiv Municipal Department of the NKGB dated July 1, 1944 to the “Commission for the Investigation of the Atrocities of the German Fascist Invaders during the German Occupation Period” (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 326).
- ³¹ Official report dated June 29, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 317).
- ³² Official report dated June 29, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 320).
- ³³ Konopada was later the head of the SB OUN in Buchach district.
- ³⁴ See “Sobstvennoruchnyye pokazaniya Luchka Pavla Andreyevicha 1912 g. rozhdeniya” [Handwritten testimony of Luchko Pavel Andreevich born in 1912] dated January 17-18, 1947.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, 50 obverse, 51.
- ³⁶ The killing took place on the night between July 1 and 2, 1941 (see the interrogation report of P. A. Luchko from May 4, 1947, *Ibid.*, 77-78 obverse).
- ³⁷ *Ibid.*, 70-73.
- ³⁸ On March 6, 1952, Stepan Soloninka was sentenced to execution by shooting by the Military Tribunal of the Carpathian Military District; the sentence was carried out on July 6, 1952.
- ³⁹ According to the November 19, 1946 witness testimony of Mikhail Gudzinka, a resident of the village of Ozeryany, three activists – director of the District Consumer Union Grinkiv, Secretary of the Village Council Nijinsky, and school principal Shushkevich – were arrested in Ozeryany and sent to the village of Perevoloka, where they were killed (*Ibid.*, 122).
- ⁴⁰ Interrogation report of witness Natalya Maruschak from December 5, 1942 (*Ibid.*, 125).
- ⁴¹ *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 38 from July 30, 1941 (BArch B 162/434, Bl. 110).
- ⁴² Tatiana Berenstein, “Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcje Galicja,” *Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 3.
- ⁴³ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 13, pp. 45, 48 obverse.
- ⁴⁴ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 96, p. 59. The Jews were from the village of Nov. Zalitsi.
- ⁴⁵ In Zoloty Potik, fifty Jews and Poles were shot on July 15, 1941 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 100, p. 20).
- ⁴⁶ In the village of Lezhaniivka, for example, two Jews were killed, four in the village of Paivka, etc. (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 94).
- ⁴⁷ In the village of Velyka Luka, for example, eleven Jews were killed (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 103).
- ⁴⁸ In the village of Khmelyska, for example, six Jews were killed (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 12, p.15), and 8 in the village of Ostapje (*Ibid.*, pp. 58, 62).
- ⁴⁹ In the village of Bohdanivka, for example, eleven Jews were killed (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 9, p.17).
- ⁵⁰ Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos During the Holocaust*, vol. 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem 2009), 603
- ⁵¹ Guy Miron, ed., *The Yad Vashem Encyclopedia of the Ghettos During the Holocaust*, vol. 1 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem 2009), 388
- ⁵² See the testimony of S. A. Pavlovich at the judicial hearing of the Military Tribunal of the Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ternopil Region on September 10, 1948 (case no. 6165 against S. A. Pavlovich, p. 127, in: the Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine for the Ternopil Region, archive no. 5249).
- ⁵³ According to the charging document in the Pavlovich case, which was drafted on August 21, 1948 by the Office of the Ministry of State Security for the Ternopil Region, Shuvalov and two of the Gusyatsky brothers were arrested together with Khazen, Zhulover, and Fulem and sent to Kremenets (Criminal case no. 6165 against Sergei Antonovich Pavlovich, p. 116, in Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine for the Ternopil Region, archive no. 5249).
- ⁵⁴ Interrogation report of witness Ilya Moiseyevich Ginzburg from July 21, 1948 (Criminal case no. 6165 against Sergei Antonovich Pavlovich, p. 67 obverse-70, in Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine for the Ternopil Region, archive no. 5249). In a face-to-face interrogation on the same day, Ginzburg confirmed his testimony and added the following: On the day after the arrival of the Germans, Pavlovich issued an order for all Jews residing on the central streets of Shumsk to move to a designated place on the outskirts of Shumsk, and Pavlovich also ordered all Jews, ranging from children to the elderly, men as well as women, to wear a white armband on their left sleeve (*Ibid.*, 98). Pavlovich maintained that he was the police chief for only four weeks, and had seventeen police officers and another fifteen in nearby villages at his disposal; he denied that there were killings of Jews in Shumsk in July 1941; he did not issue the order on the resettlement of Jews to the outskirts and the wearing of armbands, this order was given by the Germans; he did not participate in any rallies. After he was fired from the police for drunkenness in August 1941, Pavlovich worked as a tax collector starting from October 1941. On September 10, 1948, the Military

Tribunal of the Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ternopil Region sentenced Pavlovich to twenty-five years in a forced labor camp.

⁵⁵ See the interrogation report of M. I. Bulchak from May 11, 1944 (Criminal Case no. 5330 against D.V. Paslavsky, V.G. Shushkevich, P. I. Kachan, D. P. Filik p. 137, in: the Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine for the Ternopil Region, archive no. 31882). See also: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 3, pp. 1, 14 obverse, 32.

⁵⁶ See the testimony of A. V. Khomitsky at the judicial hearing of the Military Tribunal of the Carpathian Military District in Ternopil on October 22, 1954 (case no. 10557 against A. V. Khomitsky, pp. 287-288, in: the Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine for the Ternopil Region, archive no. 27414).

⁵⁷ See the interrogation report of witness N. M. Margulis from June 7, 1944 (case no. 10557 against A. V. Khomitsky, vol. 1, pp. 155-156, in: the Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine for the Ternopil Region, archive no. 27414).

⁵⁸ Case against Boris Saulovich Krivogubets and others, pp. 75-7 (Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine for the Ternopil Region, archive no. 4964).

⁵⁹ On January 5, 1945, the the Military Tribunal of the Troops of the NKVD of the Ternopil Region sentenced police commander Boris Krivogubets, police officers Stepan Tkachuk and Fedor Klepach to execution by shooting; the case against Krivogubets's deputy, Andrei Krivuta, was closed due to his death following his arrest.

⁶⁰ The river Seret flows through Mykulyntsi. It is possible, that the name should be read not as "Stromky" or "Stromek," but rather "Strumok," which means stream.

⁶¹ See the witness testimony of Nissan (Anton) Goldshteyn in Haifa from July 25, 1961 (BArch B 162/3912, Bl. 39-41). According to the witness testimony of Roza Miller from July 6, 1942, thirty Jews were shot and seventeen were killed with shovels in Stromky forest (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 105, pp. 77 obverse-78 obverse).

⁶² See the interrogation report of witness Z. M. Berkovich from June 22, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 8 and obverse).

⁶³ See the interrogation report of witness D. S. Blyunder from June 24, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, pp. 37-38).

⁶⁴ *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 19, 24 and 28.

⁶⁵ See the interrogation report of witness W. Y. Redlich from June 30, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 105, p. 117 and obverse).

⁶⁶ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 6, p.1. On July 23, 1941, the entire Jewish intelligentsia was summoned to report to the Gestapo; some were released following the interrogation, while others were shot. In total, over six hundred people were arrested in Kremenets {R. Kravchenko Berezhnuy, *Moy XX vek (Stop-kadry)* [My 20th Century (Freeze Frames)] (Apatity: self-published, 1998), 44}.

⁶⁷ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 3, p. 14 obverse.

⁶⁸ *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 38.

⁶⁹ Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcje Galicja," *Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 11.

⁷⁰ See the interrogation report of witness D.M. Zeiler from October 11, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 371, p. 6).

⁷¹ Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcje Galicja," *Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 3. Расстрел имел место 25.8.1941 г.

⁷² *Ibid.* The shooting took place on August 10, 1941.

⁷³ Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcje Galicja," *Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 11.

⁷⁴ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 370, p. 22; Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 111.

⁷⁵ Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 230.

⁷⁶ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 487, pp. 4, 6, 10, 16. According to T. Berenstein ["Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcje Galicja," *Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 2], in Kozova four Jews were killed on July 5, 1941 and three hundred in October.

⁷⁷ Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 448. The shooting took place on October 16, 1941 [Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcje Galicja," *Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 3].

⁷⁸ See the verdict of the jury court at the *Landgericht* Stuttgart [district court] from July 15, 1966 in the case against Paul Raebel and nine others (BArch B 162/14207).

⁷⁹ See the interrogation report of witness Sala Pulwer (née Sperber) from October 19, 1967 (BArch B 162/19303, Bl. 693-694).

⁸⁰ See the interrogation report of witness S. M. Gorovets from October 9, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 371, p. 8 obverse). According to David Zeiler's witness testimony, the operation was carried out on July 28-29, 1941; 320 people were shot (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund

7021, catalogue 75, file 371, p. 6 obverse). According to the witness testimony of Ali Yurman, the operation was carried out in October 1941; 450 Jews and 150 Poles, including 5 women, were shot (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 371, p. 11). According to the witness testimony of Abram Eber from August 27, 1941, 442 people were shot. (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 371, p. 4). According to T. Berenstein [“Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcje Galicja,” *Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 3, reference to testimonies no. 196 of Emanuel Krigl, no. 4911 of Roza Brekher, and no. 2086 of S. Rosental), the operation was carried out on September 26, 1941; about 400 people were shot.

⁸¹ See the interrogation report of witness Z. D. Bibershtayn from July 2, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 4, pp. 26-27).

⁸² See the interrogation report of defendant N. O. Morikvas from November 23, 1950 (Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine for the Ternopil Region, archive no. 16889).

⁸³ See the interrogation report of witness Dr. Eliezer Shaklai from March 18, 1966 (BArch B 162/19232, Bl. 86-87).

⁸⁴ See the interrogation report of defendant I. G. Dobrovolsky from November 23, 1950 (Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine for the Ternopil Region, archive no. 16889). During an interrogation on October 20, 1950, Dobrovolsky testified that around three hundred Jews and Poles from the intelligentsia were shot, but during an interrogation on October 25, 1950, the figure he gave was about two hundred Jews and Poles. Starting from July 21, 1941, Dobrovolsky was studying at the police academy in the Zbarazh. On August 15, 1941, the head of the Gestapo arrived in Zbarazh from Ternopil and chose him as well as another fifteen police to be auxiliary police with the Ternopil Gestapo.

⁸⁵ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 75, p. 140 obverse: The date of the shooting was given as a different one, not November 14, 1941 [Tatiana Berenstein, “Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcje Galicja,” *Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 3], but October 14, 1941.

⁸⁶ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 371, p. 11.

⁸⁷ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 76. The Jews had been captured in Yahilnytsia back on August 3, 1941.

⁸⁸ Wüpper committed suicide in prison in 1958.

⁸⁹ Testimony of former police inspector Josef Pöll in Vienna from July 10, 1947 (Landesarchiv Schleswig-Holstein, Abt. 352 Lübeck/1731, Bl. 416+). Leopold Mitas (nicknamed “shooter”), who was mentioned in Pöll’s testimony, stood out with his singular zeal during the shooting. He boasted that he had shot six hundred Jews, but after the war he reduced this number to nineteen [T. Sandkühler, “Endlösung” in Galizien. *Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941-1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), 498, note 126].

⁹⁰ See the interrogation report of witness K. N. Varnbrand from July 9, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 137 and obverse).

⁹¹ See the interrogation report of witness S. Y. Weintraub from July 9, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 140 and obverse).

⁹² See criminal archive file no. 26877 in the case against I. F. Malishevsky and others (Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine for the Ternopil Region).

⁹³ See the interrogation report of witness Dr. Eliezer Schaklai from March 18, 1966 (BArch B 162/19232, Bl. 89-91). According to D. Pohl {*Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941 – 1944. Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* [National Socialist persecution of Jews in East Galicia 1941 - 1944. Organization and Execution of a state mass crime] 2nd ed. (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag 1997), 150} purportedly only around a hundred Jewish refugees from Czechia and Germany were shot. According to the Extraordinary State Commission’s documents, around 600 Jews were shot by the village of Lityatyn (ten kilometers southeast of Berezhany) “in June 1942” (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 370, p. 3: official report dated June 16, 1945). According to the witness testimony of I. L. Tarnavsky from June 15, 1945, “in 1942” by the forest near the village of Lityatyn, about eight Ukrainians spent two days digging a pit twenty-two meters long and two meters wide, in which about six hundred Jews were subsequently shot (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 370, p. 8). According to T. Sandkühler [T. Sandkühler, “Endlösung” in Galizien. *Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz 1941-1944* (Bonn: Dietz, 1996), 260-261] in June 1942 the Ukrainian police shot about 300, and possible, even 600 Jews. T. Sandkühler does not mention the shooting in December 1941. The information regarding the date of the shooting (June 1942) appears to us to be erroneous.

3. The Extermination of the Jews in the Northern Areas of Ternopil Region in 1942

Six northern districts of the region (Kremenets, Pochaiv, Vyshnivets, Lanivtsi, Dederkaly, and Shumsk) became part of the “General District of Volhynia and Podolia” as the *Gebiet* Kremenets on September 1, 1941. According to the 1931 census, there were 18,751 Jews living in these districts, including 7,256 in the town of Kremenets. In mid-1941, with a natural annual population growth rate of 10 people per 1,000, there were 20,000-21,000 Jews living there, with 8,500 in Kremenets. After Germany attacked the USSR, several hundred Jews were evacuated, at least 900 Jews were killed in Kremenets, Vyshnivets, Pochaiv, and Lanivtsi in July 1941, and the remaining Jews were forced into the ghettos created in Kremenets (about 8,000 people),¹ Shumsk (2,500 people),² Vyshnivets (about 5,000),³ Lanivtsi (2,105),⁴ Pochaiv (2,500),⁵ Katerburg (307 people),⁶ and Berezhtsi (238 people)⁷ in March-April 1942. In all, about 20,000 people wound up in the ghettos.

In the course of August 1942, all the ghettos were liquidated. In just August 10-14, the SD team from Rivne with assistance from the German gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police shot 13,802 Jews. The victims are divided as follows among individual communities:⁸

Ghetto	Jews Killed			
	Men	Women	Children	Total
Kremenets and Berezhtsi	2,322	2,925	1,155	6,402
Vyshnivets	600	1,160	909	2,669
Pochaiv	182	374	238	794
Katrynburg	114	112	86	312 ⁹
Shumsk	496	724	572	1,792
Lanivtsi	589	783	461	1,833
6 Ghettos	4,303	6,078	3,421	13,802

An eyewitness to the “Jewish operation” in Kremenets, Roman Kravchenko, who was then sixteen year old, wrote in his journal on August 11, 1942:

I am writing about the events of yesterday. I couldn't do it last night; I couldn't find enough strength in myself to do it. That the Jews planned to protect themselves turned out to be a fairy tale; they went like lambs to the slaughter.

Approximately 5,000 people were shot and killed yesterday.

Outside town there is an old trench, about a mile long. This was a trench of the Yakutsky Regiment that was encamped by Kremenets in the Czarist times. Yesterday's execution was held there.

They began taking people out of the ghetto at approximately 3 a.m. and it lasted until late at night.

The scene is horrible! The ghetto gates were wide open, and a line of the doomed began from there, in rows of two. A truck pulled up, and the line slowly and silently moved onto the truck. The first pairs got down on the bottom of the truck, those following got on top of the first, and so on, in human layers. It was done in total silence: no talking, no screaming, and no crying. The Schutzmannen, who were absolutely drunk, were using rifle butts to hurry people who were late or slow, and used them to ram people who were already at the back of the truck. The truck pulled off, sped up, and left town.

Similar trucks with high-boarded sides returned to town loaded with clothes. A "militiaman" was riding on them, sitting atop the pile of clothes, with a happy look on his face. He was playing with a ladies umbrella. His contented looks could be explained easily: he has pocketful of watches, five pens, and he left a few suits and an astrakhan fur coat on the way here, in a safe place. Moreover, he must have drunk a liter of vodka.

Once outside the town, the truck sped toward the trench. From time to time four Schutzmannen standing in the corners of the back of the truck, swore and hit those who were lying down on their backs with rifle butts. Thus finally they reached the destination. The truck stopped and the doomed people slowly got off it. Taking their clothes off right there, the men and women proceeded to the ditch one by one. The ditch was already filled with bodies of people and chloride lime had been sprinkled on them. Two Gestapo men, naked down to their waists, sat on the top of the mound holding guns in their hands.

People got down into the ditch and laid down on the dead bodies. Gunshots followed. It was all over. Next!

I don't know what a person might feel in his or her last moment; I don't even want to think about it. One could go insane.

There were some who tried to resist, who didn't want to take their clothes off, who didn't want to get down into the ditch. They were executed on the spot and thrown into the pit.

When the pit was filled full, the militia covered the bodies with ground.

The line moved on to another pit; there was plenty of room for everyone. Now one person, naked, set off running across the field. The Gestapo men just sneered, watching him. He crossed some 200 yards when the Gestapo calmly aimed and began shooting at him. A few minutes later his body was thrown into the pit as well.

There was a man who was chewing on a piece of bread while walking to the pit.

The militiamen who were the only witnesses of this horror sobered up after a few minutes there. They were fueled with a new dose of alcohol, once again losing every semblance of a humanity until the next time. [...]

The trucks rolled one after another. It was evening, and they were not as full – women, young girls and children sat at the bottom. One girl smiled a meaningless smile. Another straightened her shawl on her head. In ten minutes you will be killed. Do you understand it? Why don't you fight back? No.

The victims were filled with apathy; all they wanted is for this terror to end soon, as soon as possible. [...]

The fifteen hundred people who were taken the day before yesterday out to Belokrinitsa were also killed. They were killed because they attempted to reach some kind of deal. Setting terms to the superior German race! They were supposed to come out today and work like they would normally do at 7 a.m., and they said that they would do so only if their families were spared and returned to them. That "if" killed them all. Rumor has it that only 250 people survived — those who agreed to work.

The horror comes to an end. One still cannot walk along Shirokaya Street; occasional shots are heard and occasional trucks run outside of the town where the last ones are being executed. They are the last ones who have been hiding in basements hoping to save their lives. They will have one advantage only – their bodies will be buried close to the surface.

Now anarchic robbery is unfolding in the ghetto. The "militia" robs the place along with anybody who is under its protection. In a few days they will start destroying the ghetto. A few months later the place where 7,000 people lived and suffered will be a flat spot.

Yesterday the Jews from Berzhstsy were massacred. Today the Gestapo left for Pochaev and Vishnevets. Today they have the same thing going on as we had yesterday.¹⁰

From his entry from August 14:

From August 10 through today there were no more killings because the main executioners — the Gestapo — were getting around the area.

Last night they were back in town. That's why today was marked with killing another 1,500 people. They had been found over the three days – hiding in cellars and basements. Once the darkness fell on the town, the shooting resumed – these poor people tried to escape under the cover of the night. They shoot everyone. There is a horrid cadaverous stench coming from the dead bodies lying in the center of the town, across from the ghetto. It is horrible. Last night the shooting went on for two hours, non-stop, just like in June last year.

People tell what's going on inside the ghetto. There is a pit dug out. A gendarme standing above it gorges himself on a bun. People come up carrying a stretcher with a wounded person on it. The gendarme continues talking to someone he knows, then he pulls out his gun, and shoots the wounded person in the head. The body is thrown into the pit. Another person is brought on a stretcher and the scene repeats, and so on. What a peaceful scene! Lighters, silver spoons are scattered everywhere on the ground and nobody pays any attention to them. The militia has stolen so much that if they'd wanted to, they just couldn't take any more. That's why now the proclamation is issued that death punishment will follow any new cases of robbery in the ghetto.

Many tried to escape. Today there were three dead bodies lying in the middle of the street and nobody cared to remove them. Some children who saw a woman while she was asleep when hiding in the Jewish cemetery turned her in. How can people stoop so low, especially after they have seen so much blood?

In the second half of August, the German and Ukrainian police shot another three thousand or so Jews in these ghettos that had been hiding. For instance, shootings took place in Kremenets on August 16 and 20,¹¹ with 1,210 Jews (848 women and children and 362 men) shot on August

20.¹² In Zelig Nisentsvaig's testimony (twenty-five years old in 1942) we can find the following description of the events in Kremenets after the operation on August 10:¹³

On Sunday August 9 at 12 a.m. the gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police surrounded the ghetto and opened fire on the homes in the Jewish ghetto, shooting right into the windows. On August 10 at 6 a.m. they had announced that anyone who had a certificate stating that they were a specialist had to assemble by the town gates. There they were lined up four abreast, surrounded them with the Ukrainian police and marched us in a column headed by a German on foot with the rank of Wachtmeister [...] and thus they delivered us to the [translator's note: former shooting range of the Yakutsk] regiment in the village of Bila Krynytsia in Kremenets district.

Once we arrived in Bila Krynytsia, our entire column of 1,200 people was locked in the stable, where there were horses, and they surrounded us with that same Ukrainian police that had been guarding us.

On August 11,¹⁴ the gendarmerie with the police started taking away the remaining people, mostly the elderly, women, and children, on trucks covered with planks on the top in order to fit more people inside to the pit that had been dug near the cotton mill. Three or four Gestapo officers stood nearby [...]. This site was cordoned off by gendarmes and police. And on that day three or four Gestapo officers shot 6,000 people with assault rifles, but they didn't stop there. Towards evening on that same day,¹⁵ Gebietskommissar Miller [Regierungsrat Fritz Miller] and his deputy Winrad [Wingrat], as well as the head of the gendarmerie Jäger¹⁶ and his deputy Safran with the Ukrainian protection police came to us in Bila Krynytsia, divided our group in half and started loading us into trucks, piling people upside down in layers, and eight or ten Schutzmänner sat on top of each truck. In this way they brought the group of 600 people to that same pit, with men and women brought separately. Near the pits, they stripped everyone naked and shot them with an assault rifle in the same way. A great number of naked wounded people, who hadn't been killed completely, ran away from the pit and hid in the villages, but the auxiliary police hunted them down, beat them, etc. [...].

On August 16, that same Gebietskommissar Miller arrived with those same henchmen, selected 200 people from the tailors' crew and 21 specialists, which included myself, and left them onsite, while the rest were loaded onto those same trucks, driven to the pits, and shot in the same manner. The remaining 200 tailors were transferred to the prison in the town of Kremenets, where they were forced to work, while we, the 21 specialists, were left in the village of Bila Krynytsia at the regiment, where we repaired the barracks.

Three weeks after the start of the pogrom [the night of September 2, 1942] the ghetto started burning, and the auxiliary police said that the Jews had started the fire. Then they took 120 people out of the prison and shot them in that same pit,¹⁷ and as for the 21 of us, the German lieutenant told the Gebietskommissar that we were needed for work, and we were spared. After the fire we worked for another three weeks, and on about October 22 or 23 [actually September] 1942, a truck arrived in Bila Krynytsia at 7 a.m.; they loaded everyone into the truck and drove to the prison. During loading, since I was working apart from the others, I decided to run away and hide in the toilet, but I was in a hurry so I forgot my pliers there on top, and that's why the auxiliary police found me there and started beating me with their rifle butts. Afterward, on orders from that same lieutenant, they took me to the prison.

When they brought me to the prison at 3 p.m., there weren't any Jews left; they had all been shot and workers from the prison had already covered the pit with dirt. Five days later they brought the remaining people that had been hiding in the ghetto. They were

the elderly, women, and children. The next day the prison inspector came into the cell and started selecting the specialists he needed, and I once again began to work in the prison, guarded by the Ukrainian police officer Mokritsky [...]. We were there for six weeks. Over that period, two of us starved to death [...]. On Sunday, they selected a group of us to dig a pit. From other cells they selected another Gypsy woman, fifty-five years old, a German man whose last name was Weinberg for converting to Judaism and marrying a Jewish woman, and four partisans to be shot and put them in our cell. On Wednesday night they shot all of them, but I had managed to escape beforehand [...].

[...] with me in the cell there were 24 people in total, including 10 women and children; the rest were men [...].

In Shumsk about three hundred Jews were shot on August 16.¹⁸ About five hundred Jews were killed in Pochaiv,¹⁹ and several hundred in Vyshnivets. The former commander of the Ukrainian police, Yakov Ostrovsky, who participated in the shootings in Vyshnivets, recounted the following about the shootings during an interrogation in 1944:²⁰

During the first operation — in July 1942 — up to three thousand people were shot. They were shot outside the village in a ravine in Starovyshnitsa [actually Staryi Vyshnivets]. They were shot by the Gestapo, who had arrived from Krements; there were five of them and ten gendarmes — Commander Bigalk, a meister, Kurnot, an Oberwachtmeister [...], Winter, an Oberwachtmeister, May, an Oberwachtmeister, Bald, Wachtmeister, all Germans. They all did the shooting themselves, the Gestapo using assault rifles, the gendarmerie using pistols and rifles. The Jews were escorted by forty battalion members,²¹ traitors of the fatherland, who also guarded the ghetto. The shooting procedure: In front of the pit, groups of five victims were stripped, and then they were shot. All valuables were confiscated. On the first day, they shot 2,500 people, and 800 on the second.

The second operation occurred about seven days after the first. Forty battalion members and the Vyshnivets police participated in this operation. Three to four hundred people were shot. All the victims lay down in the pit on their own in groups of five and then they were killed. I personally killed about thirty people in this operation. At the time [names of Ukrainian police] participated in the shooting — they all shot Jews then.

In the third operation, occurring two weeks after the second, about three hundred people were killed. The gendarmerie and Schutzmannshach [actually Schutzmannschaft]— they led everyone to the pit, stripped them, forced them to lie down, and they were shot there. I was present at this operation, but didn't do any shooting, since I guarded the people. The gendarmes did the shooting, the same ones as in the first operation [...].

Before the operation, all the killers got drunk on vodka at the police station.

An eyewitness to the shooting in Vyshnivets, Ilya Moroz (fifty-two years old in 1942) described what he had seen as follows:²²

I don't remember the date in August 1942, the village elder [of Fetkovsty] sent me outside the village to dig a pit. Besides myself, there were other people working and four German soldiers, who indicated the spot where we should dig the pit and the size,

were present. Also present was the district commissioner, captain of the German army Stenger,²³ who supervised and said we had to dig a pit for two hundred people. When the pit was dug, then I saw German soldiers and Ukrainian nationalist police, including police commander Ilya Voloshin and police officer Yakov Yuryevich Kugut. The police, together with the German invaders, brought sixty Jews to be shot. Among them were old people, women, and children aged six to seventeen and older, all residents of the town of Vyshnivets. We, who were digging the pit, were ordered to step away from the shooting site at a distance of fifteen to twenty meters and wait while the Germans and police shoot this group of people, and then we had to bury them. I was also an eyewitness to how they carried out the shooting. When they brought in the group of sixty Jews, who had been ordered to strip naked and in groups of four walked down the ramp into the pit, the German executioner ordered them to lie facedown in the pit, and then the German, sitting above the pit, shot them. The the next four people lay facedown on top of these bodies, and the German shot them. This group included a woman I knew, Belda, who, standing there naked, turned to the German executioner and said, "There is no god, the same fate that befalls us will also come for you." Then the German executioner fired at her from his assault rifle and she fell into the pit. Another young girl I knew who was seventeen years old turned to her mother and said, "Mom, why did you give birth to me?" Right then the German executioner fired at her and she fell into the pit. What's more, entire families that had children went to their deaths in the pit, but every mother took her daughters and lay down with them in the pit, while the fathers took their sons also lay down together with them in the pit, and they were shot at the same time. When the Germans had shot the sixty people, their clothes were loaded on a cart and this clothing was taken to the town of Vyshnivets to the city commissioner Stenger, and we were ordered to bury the corpses and while we were burying the bodies, they were moving and the German executioner walked over the corpses and shot them dead with his revolver [...].

In September-October 1942, several hundred more Jews were shot; they were Jews that, by hiding, had managed to avoid the shooting in August, as well as Jewish workers.

In total, about 17,000-18,000 Jews were exterminated in "Gebiet Kremenets" in 1941-1942.

¹ According to the Extraordinary State Commission's materials, the figure is 13,000. However, considering the number of Jews in Kremenets in 1941, this figure is doubtful.

² State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 15, p. 37 obverse. The ghetto was created on March 12, 1942.

³ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 3, pp. 28, 29, 32. There were 4,200 local Jews in the ghetto as well as Jews from the vicinity (Vyshhorodok, Olyshkivtsi).

⁴ Letter from the Jewish council of Lanivtsi to the head of the Lanivtsi district from July 18, 1942 (State Archive of the Ternopol Region, fund p-195, catalogue 1, file 2, p. 23). There were 593 Jewish children under age fifteen (296 boys and 297 girls), 979 Jews aged fifteen to sixty (465 men and 514 women), 217 Jews over sixty (87 men and 130 women), as well as 316 cripples. There were also Jews from the vicinity (Bilozirka) in the ghetto.

⁵ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 11, pp. 1, 10.

⁶ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 11, pp. 3-6.

⁷ See the interrogation report of the defendant M. N. Tkachuk from May 26, 1944 (BArch B 162/7493).

⁸ See the report from SS-Untersturmführer Sehn from SD Rivne dated August 15, 1942 about "the special treatment of the Jews" [Institute of National Remembrance – Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes against the Polish Nation, Collection of documents of SS and German Police, sygn. 77, k. 2, 3 (henceforth – IPN KŚZ, sygn. 77)].

⁹ According to the Extraordinary State Commission's special report dated October 19, 1944, 307 Jews were shot 1 km southeast of the village of Katerburg on August 10, 1942. (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 2, p. 1).

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- ¹⁰ R. Kravchenko Berezhnoy, *Moy XX vek (Stop-kadry)* [My 20th Century (Freeze Frames)] (Apatity: self-published, 1998), 118-119. English translation based on Roman Kravchenko-Berezhnoy, *Victims, Victors: From Nazi Occupation to the Conquest of Germany as Seen by a Red Army Soldier*, trans. Marina Guba (Bedford, PA: Aperjona Press, 2007), 106-8.
- ¹¹ R. Kravchenko Berezhnoy, *Moy XX vek (Stop-kadry)* [My 20th Century (Freeze Frames)] (Apatity: self-published, 1998), 122, 125.
- ¹² IPN KŚZ, sygn. 77, k. 10.
- ¹³ See the interrogation report of witness Z. P. Nisentsvaig from July 2, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 6, pp. 16-18).
- ¹⁴ According to Zelig Nisentsvaig's testimony from July 4, 1944, this occurred on August 10, 1942 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 6, p. 50).
- ¹⁵ According to Zelig Nisentsvaig's testimony from July 4, 1944, this occurred on August 10, 1942 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 6, p. 50 and obverse).
- ¹⁶ *Gebietsführer* of the gendarmerie, *Oberleutnant* of the gendarmerie Fritz Jäger was killed on April 9, 1943.
- ¹⁷ According to Roman Kravchenko's journal, on the night of September 2, Jews hiding in the ghetto set fire to it in order to facilitate their escape. The German gendarmerie and the Ukrainian police managed to capture about 300 Jews, which were executed immediately {R. Kravchenko Berezhnoy, *Moy XX vek (Stop-kadry)* [My 20th Century (Freeze Frames)] (Apatity: self-published, 1998), 128-129}.
- ¹⁸ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 15, pp. 24, 42 obverse. The shootings began on August 12, 1942. On that day, 1,650 people were killed, 230 on August 13, and 300 on August 16.
- ¹⁹ See the indictment of the Pochaiv district prosecutor's office dated July 6, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 11, p. 10). They were Jews that had gone into hiding as well as those that had been left to complete roadworks. These Jews are buried in five pits at the Jewish cemetery and in one pit outside of it. Forty-five Jewish workers were shot in October 1942 (see the witness testimony F. K. Lototsky from October 25, 1944, in: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 11, p. 9).
- ²⁰ See the interrogation report of witness Y. Y. Ostrovsky from July 18, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 3, pp. 28-29).
- ²¹ He means the members of the *Schutzmannschaft* Battalion 102.
- ²² See the interrogation report of witness I. P. Moroz from July 5, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 3, pp. 5 obverse-6).
- ²³ Actually, his name is Steiger. Steiger was the district agricultural supervisor (*Kreislandwirtschaftsführer*).

4. The Deportation of Jews to Belzec in 1942

In 1942, the main method of exterminating Jews in the “Galician” part of the region was deporting them to the Belzec extermination camp. From late August to early December, over 40,000 Jews were sent to Belzec, and over 3,000 were killed on the spot in the course of capture. For instance, the operation in Chortkiv, based on a description provided by Enas Frayman (fifty years old in 1942) proceeded as follows:¹

On August 26 at 12 a.m., the ghetto on Glubokaya Street was surrounded by German soldiers, standing at intervals of thirty paces. At that time, there were 6,500 Jews in the ghetto. The ghetto took up all of Glubokaya Street, up to Podolskaya Street. At 1 a.m. on August 27, 1942, German soldiers, the Ukrainian police, and the criminal police began to enter the homes of Jews and drive them out. In homes that were locked, the Germans broke down the doors and dragged the occupants out into the street at gunpoint. The elderly, the sick, children, and those who didn't want to go were shot on the spot. Then the people began to be taken from the ghetto in groups of twelve, to Rynok Street beyond the market, where a Gestapo committee had been set up. The Jews were lined up two in a row before the committee, and a Gestapo officer checked their papers. Those who worked as tailors or shoemakers for the Germans were taken to one side, while the rest were taken in groups of a hundred to the prison. The committee consisted of six people. Three Gestapo officers: Hildemann, the head of the Gestapo and the head of this committee, Kelner [actually, Kurt Köllner, and Brechnaider [actually, Albert Brettschneider], Gestapo employees. Brechnaider had previously worked in NKVD agencies in Lithuania, he then went to the German side and became a Voldeuscher [actually, Volksdeutsche]. He told me this himself when I was making a suit for him. Another three committee members were from the Schupo, whose specific job was the extermination of the Jews. On the way from the ghetto to the committee on Jews, those who couldn't walk were whipped by the Germans and shot on the spot. The entire road was littered with corpses; the street was covered in blood. They led people from the ghetto to the committee until 8 a.m. on August 27, 1941. The Germans brought me before this committee at 4 a.m. On all the streets leading from the prison to the committee on Rynok Street, the Ukrainian and German police were standing thirty paces apart. In addition, special SS detachments, which was whipping passing Jews, also patrolled the streets. Twelve SS officers, who whipped or beat the Jews entering the prison with whips, metal clubs, and rifle butts, stood in front of the prison entrance. The people walking were beaten up and bloodied. The streets leading from the prison to the market were littered with the bodies of Jews, puddles of blood were visible on the streets. They led the Jews from the commission to the prison until 8 a.m. [...]. I remember two incidents [of Jews being tortured]; they were both at the market during the operation. A mother was holding a three-year-old child in her arms. A Gestapo officer walked up to her and asked, “Is this your child?” She answered, “Yes, he's mine.” He said, “This child doesn't look Jewish.” She answered, “It's my child.” I found out that it was a Jewish woman by the name of Fasler. Then the Gestapo officer

Rosenhof took out his revolver and shot the child in his mother's arms. A resident of the town of Chortkiv, Wolf, who worked in the Kripo, was with the Gestapo officer. The second incident was by the pharmacy on Rynok Street. The mother was holding two children in her arms – one aged two and the other aged six. The two-year-old was crying loudly. Then Gestapo officer Kimper [actually, Konrad Rimpler], a German from Bavaria, came up to her and ripped the child out of the mother's arms. He grabbed him by the legs and hit him against the wall twice. The child's head turned into a shapeless mass, and he threw the child on the ground. The mother, seeing this, started screaming and crying. Then the Gestapo officer started whipping her six-year-old daughter on the head, he split both their heads, and they both fell to the ground. From among all the Jewish artisans, the Germans gathered 200 people. At first they were all near the market, and then they were released at 10 a.m. to go home. Out of the 6,500 Jewish ghetto inmates, the Germans brought some 2,120 to the prison, while 350 people were murdered in their homes, on the way from the ghetto to the committee, and en route from the committee to the prison. The rest managed to hide and escape. At 1 p.m. on August 27, they assembled groups of 400-500 Jews from the prison. There were five groups in all. They were taken to Chortkiv station. They put 120 people in each train car, and from the station they sent them to the town of Belzec (outside of Rava-Ruska) [...].

On August 31, the first “transport operation” was carried out in Ternopil:

[...] at the direction the commander of the SiPo and SD [the head of the Gestapo in Ternopil], Müller issued an operation order and personally supervised the operation. Due to its scale, which surpassed all previous expectations, the Jewish population called it the “big operation” or the “stamp operation” since the required stamp in employee identification papers served as a protective sign. At dawn, Orpo, Schupo, gendarmerie, and Ukrainian police teams surrounded the ghetto at lightning speed, while other teams of these formations together with Ternopil Aussendienststelle employees started removing sleepy residents from their apartments and rounding them up at the Round Square (market) and the former livestock market. Both places were located in the ghetto that had been created after the German occupation and had been designated as collection points. Many hours passed until the required number of people were captured, especially since the Jewish population, who was suspicious and even knew about their fate from rumors that had come through about previous such events in Lviv, sought salvation in hiding places. Müller angrily insisted on speeding up the roundup at the collection points. His subordinates, armed with pistols and lashes, were intolerably cruel to their victims. With blows and shots they forced victims, regardless of the state they were in, to immediately leave their apartments. Those whose physical state did not allow them to move quickly, had to contend with the fact that they could be carelessly shot by the police. The corresponding instructions had clearly been given to agency employees even before Müller assumed command. For instance, Hermann, who participated in the operation throughout its duration, had already shot an old Jewish woman in the morning, since she, despite repeated lashings, was taking too long to get ready and with difficulty (it is entirely possible that he was ordered to shoot her by his superior after seeing that Hermann's attempts to hurry her were not very successful).

At the collection points the victims had to squat for hours in the August heat. If any movement was noticed, the guards mercilessly applied the lash, batons, and even firearms. They forced the people to crowd even closer together using the same means so that space could be made for new victims. On top of all the people's suffering, they

were also subject to agonizing thirst, especially the children. But no one could help them, since Müller, despite the people's pleas, prohibited anyone from supplying them with anything.

When the transfer to the train station began at midday and continued until evening, many dead bodies remained at the collection points. Most of them had been shot by the guards. The Jews were sent in groups on foot or on trucks to the station. There, the cruelty continued. They were shot at and beaten. A baby was left lying in a truck bed, on which women and children were delivered to the station. Müller kicked him off onto the road like a ball, and chased away a compassionate Jewish woman who wanted to take the child with lashings. The child was left to lie helplessly on the road. He obviously died there. Using cruelty, they managed to crowd in a hundred or more people in each cattle car. Since no more space could be freed, the bodies of people who had been shot or lost consciousness were thrown into cars on top of the mass of people already crowded together inside, and then the sliding doors were shut tightly. In terrible conditions, the victims, who had still not been given anything to eat, were left in almost unventilated cattle cars that had been heated intensely by the sun. Only after a prolonged wait at the station, the last painful chapter of their lives began. After a trip that lasted an entire day, they arrived at the Belzec extermination camp, in whose gas chambers they died. Only a few, who had managed to escape on the way, and some young men, who had been selected in Lviv for the forced labor camp on Janowska Street, survived the operation, which cost the lives of at least 1,500 Jewish men, women, and children from Ternopil.²

The following table provides more detailed information about the deportations:³

#, sequentially	Date	Origin	How Many	Killed on the Spot
1.	Aug. 27	Chortkiv	2,120	350
		Yahilnytsia	550	65
		Tovste	300	
			2,970	
2.	Aug. 31	Ternopil	2,600	?
		Mykulyntsi	1,200	80
		Zbarazh	560	?
		Skalat	400	?
		Strusiv	646	20
			5,400	
3.	Sept. 21	Pidhaitsi	1,000	50
		Berezhany	1,000	?
		Kozova	1,000	?
		Naraiv	1,000	?
			4,000	
4.	Sept. 26	Ozeryany	813	130
		Skala-Podilska	1,625	30
		Korolivka	700	?
		Melnytsia-Podilska	1,000	?
		Borshchiv	800	200?
			4,938	

5.	Sept. 30	Kopychyntsi	over 1,000	over 50
		Khorostkiv	1,200	?
		Zbarazh	260	?
		Ternopil	750	?
		Zboriv	over 600	?
		Kozliv	About 1,000	?
		Probizhna	1,000?	
6.	Oct. 5		About 5,800	
		Tovste	1,000	120
		Yahilnytsia	500	30
		Chortkiv	500	?
		Buchach	1,500	500
		Monastyryska	About 2,000?	?
		Ternopil	500?	
7.	Oct 21		6,000	
		Zbarazh	1,000	130
8.	Oct. 30	Skalat	About 3,000	153
		Pidhaitsi	1,200	?
9.	Nov. 9			
		Zbarazh	Over 1,000	?
		Skalat	About 1,000	200
		Ternopil	over 800	?
		Terebovlia	1,091	109
10.	Nov. 27		About 4,000	
		Buchach	1,600	250
11.	Dec. 4	Berezhany	About 1,200	?
11 trains			Over 40,000	About 4,000 (?)

In addition, over a thousand more Jews fell victim to the “Jewish operations” in the first half of the year. For instance, on March 23, 1942, about 700 Jews who were unfit for work were shot in Ternopil. The Gestapo first demanded that the Jewish council hand over 3,000 Jews, but then agreed to 700 when given a bribe, but in reality 600 people were shot.⁴ In the verdict of the Stuttgart jury court at the *Landgericht* Stuttgart [district court] from July 15, 1966, the following description of the operation is given:⁵

The first operation carried out according to plan against the initial 17,000 Jews in Ternopil – of which around 12,000 had survived the first pogroms and shootings – took place on March 23 or 25. It was carried out like everywhere else, first targeting the old, the weak, the sick, and orphans. Müller, who by then had already been the head of the agency [the SiPo and SD] for several months, gave orders in part to carry out the operation on the basis of a previous order from the SiPo and SD commander in Lviv. Due to the frozen ground, digging the pits for the shootings in Janowska forest, which was several kilometers outside of Ternopil, had taken place even before Müller demanded a list from the Jewish council of at least five hundred people receiving social assistance. At the time, they were still attempting to fool the Jewish population by telling them that they were really only planning to resettle them. Admittedly, doubts and concerns were raised, but the majority believed them all the same [...]. On the day of the operation, agency employees, backed up by members of the Jewish council and the Ukrainian police, assembled the people in Ternopil's old synagogue according to the list provided by the Jewish council. Across from it was an orphanage. Its children were added to the victims being loaded onto trucks. The old and sick as well as children had a hard time getting into the trucks, which apparently had been allocated by a German road building company located in Ternopil. The desired state of haste was achieved with blows. Then the people crowded into the truck bed were covered with a tarp so that the sight of these helpless, unfortunate people did not attract attention. The column of trucks headed for the pits in Janowska forest, where agency employees killed at least five hundred people with a bullet to the back of the head. During the operation, Müller checked on its progress from time to time. He entrusted his deputy, SS-Untersturmführer Lex, who, unlike himself, had acquired practical experience in previous operations, with direct supervision over the operation.

From late May to late June, about 110 to 115 Jews were killed at the Jewish cemetery in Chortkiv. An eyewitness to these shootings, Ivan Aleksa (fifty-five years old in 1942), the watchman at the Ukrainian-Polish cemetery, described what he saw as follows (style is preserved):⁶

Sometime around late May 1942, a group of about twenty Jews were escorted on foot from the prison to the Jewish cemetery in the town of Chortkiv. They were shot at a pit at the cemetery. These twenty people were buried in a single mass grave. As usual, the pit had been dug several days before the people arrived at the cemetery. That first time, the above-mentioned group was guarded by eight people, two of them walking in front of the group, two following behind, and two pairs of guards with assault rifles walking on either side. The pit was dug by people held under guard at the prison, and, after the killing, prisoners brought in by the Gestapo after the shooting also covered the grave of the slaughtered victims with dirt.

Seven to ten days after the first massacre, the German Gestapo and the Ukrainian police brought a vehicle loaded with about ten people to the cemetery. These people arrived in a covered truck; they were unloaded from the vehicle near the Ukrainian and Polish cemetery and escorted to the Jewish cemetery, where all of them were positioned at the pit and shot with assault rifles. The shooting was carried out by the escort guards themselves, both Germans and Ukrainians. That said, I didn't see the process of the shooting itself, since the cemetery was surrounded by a high fence.

Seven to ten days after the second event, the German Gestapo and Ukrainian police brought in another group of people in a small vehicle, I cannot say exactly how many

there were. They were unloaded near the Ukrainian and Polish cemetery and taken to the Jewish cemetery, where the escort guards themselves shot all the people. Afterward, they brought in detainees from the prison and forced them to shovel dirt over the pit.

Two weeks later, a pit – four meters wide, twelve meters long, and about two meters deep – was dug at the Jewish cemetery. The Gestapo and Ukrainian police brought Jews with small children to the pit in the same vehicle, which made six trips. Each time, the vehicle would bring ten to twelve people; they would be unloaded, taken to the pit, and shot dead. Subsequently, some of the Gestapo and Ukrainian police stayed at the cemetery, while others would leave to fetch the Jewish people. They also brought ten to twelve people, shot them themselves, and went back to the prison to fetch more victims. As far as I can recall, this fourth incident claimed the lives of some seventy people, who died at the hands of the Gestapo and the Ukrainian police, who used assault rifles. After the shooting of the above-mentioned number of people, dirt was shoveled on the pit by detainees that had been brought from the prison [...]. Consequently, the German Gestapo and the Ukrainian police murdered about 110 to 115 people at the Jewish cemetery [...].

In Ternopil itself, fifty Jews that had been arrested during the manhunt for workers, but were deemed “unfit,” were shot on July 15.⁷

In total, in the “Galician” part of the region, about 45,000 Jews were exterminated in 1942.

¹ See the interrogation report of witness E. H. Freiman from June 23, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, pp. 21-23).

² See the verdict of the jury court at the *Landgericht* Stuttgart from July 15, 1966 in the case against Paul Raebel and nine others (BArch B 162/14207, Bl. 77-79).

³ A. Kruglov, “Deportacja ludności żydowskiej z dystryktu Galicja do obozu zagłady w Belżcu w 1942 r.,” *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 3 (1989): 102-107. Convoy #2: the convoy also included Jews from Zolochiv, Olesko, and Sasiv in the Lviv region. Convoy #3: the convoy also included Jews from Rohatyn, Burshtyn, Bukachivtsi, and Bilshivtsi in the Ivano-Frankivsk region. Convoy #6: according to other sources, eight hundred Jews were deported from Monastyryska [Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 312]. Convoy #8: according to the Extraordinary State Commission’s materials, about three thousand Jews were deported from Pidhaitsi.

⁴ See the interrogation report of witness E. A. Sigal from July 1, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 105, p. 83 obverse-84). According to other sources, (*Ibid.*, 136) 630 people were shot, including 150 children.

⁵ See the verdict of the jury court at the *Landgericht* Stuttgart from July 15, 1966 in the case against Paul Raebel and nine others (BArch B 162/14207, Bl. 76-77).

⁶ See the interrogation report of witness I. I. Aleksa from June 23, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 80 obverse).

⁷ D. Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941 – 1944. Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* [National Socialist persecution of Jews in East Galicia 1941 - 1944. Organization and Execution of a state mass crime] 2nd ed. (München: R. Oldenbourg Verlag 1997), 198.

5. The Liquidation of Ghettos in 1943

The first ghetto in the region had been created on September 25, 1941 in Ternopil.¹ On April 1, 1942, a Jewish residential quarter was set up in Chortkiv,² which was transformed into a ghetto in June.³ On orders from Krüger, the former *Höherer SS-und Polizeiführer* in the “Polish *Generalgouvernement*,” from November 10, 1942, starting from December 1, ghettos were also established in areas where Jews were concentrated,⁴ specifically:

Ghetto Location	Number of Jews in December 1942	Districts Where the Jews Originated
Buchach	5,200	Monastyriska Koropets Zoloty Potik Buchach
Borshchiv	4,000	Skala-Podilska Melnytsia-Podilska Borshchiv
Kopychyntsi	5,300	Husiatyn Probizhna Kopychyntsi
Zboriv	3,000	Zboriv Zaliztsi
Zbarazh	2,000	
Berezhany	2,000	
Pidhaitsi	2,500	Pidhaitsi
Skalat	1,200	Hrymailiv Pidvolochysk Skalat
Terebovlia	2,400	Strusiv Budaniv Mykulyntsi
Tovste	4,500	Zalishchyky Chortkiv
Kozova	2,200	

In addition, over three 3,000 Jews were interned in the Ternopil ghetto, and 2,500 in the Chortkiv ghetto. In total, there were 40,000 Jews in the 13 ghettos.

As of March 1, 1943, according to German official figures, there were about 27,000 Jews living in the region. These Jews were distributed over the former Polish *powiaty* in the following manner:⁵:

<i>Powiat</i>	<i>Gmina</i>	Number of Jews
City of Ternopil		4,842
Ternopil	Velyka Berezovytsia ⁶ Velyki Birky Velykyi Hlybochok Mykulyntsi	135 618 190 1
Zboriv	Zboriv Ozerna	2,156 210
Zbarazh	Zbarazh Roznoshyntsi Dobrovody	1,308 12 1
Skalat	Skalat Bohdanivka ⁷ Staryi Skalat Kachanivka Krasne	711 753 10 4 1
Terebovlia	Terebovlia Budaniv Darakhiv Ilavche Loshniv Mshanets Terebovlia <i>gmina</i>	1,647 9 2 3 9 8 5
Chortkiv	Chortkiv Yahilnytsia Ulashkivtsi	820 4 3
Borshchiv	Borshchiv Bilche-Zolote Dzvynyachka Ozeriany Korolivka Verkhneye Kryvche Melnytsia Skala-Podilska	1,613 28 3 22 114 45 35 120
Kopychyntsi	Kopychyntsi Khorostkiv Husiatyn Probizhna Vasylkivtsi	1934 21 26 14 2

	Kopychyntsi <i>gmina</i>	7
Zalishchyky	Zalishchyky	30
	Tovste	1,901
	Torske	11
	Zalishchyky <i>gmina</i>	2
Berezhany	Berezhany	1,799
	Budyviv	3
	Kozova	1291
	Naraiv	62
	Mala Plavucha	2
Pidhaitsi	Pidhaitsi	1,679
Buchach	Buchach	2,514
	Barysh	6
	Buchach <i>gmina</i>	12
	Yazlovets	9
	Koropets	6
	Monastyryska	13
	Stari Petlykivtsi	3
	Ustyia-Zelene	16
		26,805

In February-June 1943, all the ghettos were liquidated: About 37,000 Jews, including over 11,000 in April and over 19,000 in June, were shot. The following table gives an idea of the pace of liquidation:

Ghetto	Shooting Date	Number Killed
Buchach	Feb 2	2,400 ⁸
Tovste	Feb 12	40 ⁹
Borshchiv	March 13	400 ¹⁰
Ternopil	March	Several hundreds ¹¹
Berezhany	April 2	300 ¹²
Terebovlia	April 7	1,100 ¹³
Zbarazh	April 7	1,000 ¹⁴
Skalat	April 7	700 ¹⁵
Ternopil	April 8	about 1,000 ¹⁶
Zboriv	April 9	2,300 ¹⁷
Kozova	April 9	100 ¹⁸
Buchach	April 13	1,250 ¹⁹
Kopychyntsi	April 15	500 ²⁰
Buchach	April 16	100 ²¹
Kozova	April 17	1,200 ²²
Borshchiv	April 19	800 ²³
Ternopil	April 26	700 ²⁴
Ternopil	May 4	Several hundred ²⁵

Tovste	May 27	3,100 ²⁶
Terebovlia	June 3	845 ²⁷
Kopychyntsi	June 3	about 2,000 ²⁸
Zboriv	June 5	Several hundred ²⁹
Borshchiv	June 5	700 ³⁰
Kopychyntsi	June 6	about 1,000 ³¹
Tovste	June 6	1,000 ³²
Pidhaitsi	June 7	1,200 ³³
Skalat	June 9	500 ³⁴
Zbarazh	June 9	550 ³⁵
Borshchiv	June 9	1,800 ³⁶
Kopychyntsi	June 10	about 1,000 ³⁷
Buchach	June 11	500 ³⁸
Berezhany	June 12	1,500 ³⁹
Kozova	June 12	1000 ⁴⁰
Kopychyntsi	June 12	400 ⁴¹
Pidhaitsi	June 16	750 ⁴²
Chortkiv	June 16-18	2,000? ⁴³
Ternopil	June 18	about 500 ⁴⁴
Kopychyntsi	June 18	400 ⁴⁵
Zbarazh	June 19	150 ⁴⁶
Buchach	June 26	1,000 ⁴⁷

An eyewitness to the shooting of Jews in Skalat, Yakov Perlmutter (forty years old in 1943), described what he had seen in the following manner:⁴⁸

In June 1943 I was in the forced labor camp in the town of Skalat. Besides myself, there were another twenty-one people – only men – in the camp. [...] on the first day of the Jewish Shavuot holiday in June [that is, on June 9] at 8 a.m. the head of the Gestapo from Ternopil, Herman Miller, arrived in the camp and led us to work. We were led by the Germans Miller and Hefnar 3 km northeast of the town of Skalat. In the valley we were ordered to dig a pit, 10 meters long, 5 meters wide, and 2.5 meters deep. There were already three pits filled with murdered people, covered with earth, before we arrived. We were given an order to dig this pit before 12 p.m. We were urged to work faster, we were beaten, one person was shot by the German Lex, the head of the Ternopil Gestapo right there on the work site. At about 3 p.m. Moscow time, they brought five hundred people, including the elderly, women, and children, from Skalat. When the column of people was a hundred meters from us, all twenty-two of us that had been digging were ordered to climb out of the pit and step away to a distance of twenty to twenty-five meters from the pit and to lie facedown with our heads in the opposite direction from the pit. Anyone who tried to raise his head and look at the events taking place there was shot. All five hundred people were forced to undress and whoever resisted was beaten severely with rods and rifle butts. The screams of the women and children were horrific and heart-rending. Accompanying this crowd were 100 to 120 Germans and their accomplices from the Ukrainian police, armed with rifles, assault rifles, and machine guns. In groups of one to six people, the victims were positioned by the pit and were then shot with rifles or assault rifles. Children were thrown into the pit alive. All the while the Germans were laughing, yelling “hurray,” and applauding. All the people that had been shot were thrown haphazardly into one

pit. After the Germans had finished shooting the civilian crowd, we were given the order to stand up and “put the pit in order” since in one place there was a pile of corpses, and in another place there were depressions, that is, we had to level the pit. The pit was still alive, people were moaning and stirring; there were friends and family inside. We were ordered to get down into the pit and to level out the surface. Anyone who didn’t want to climb into the pit was beaten. Since there were people stirring in the pit, the Germans ordered us to stand in another corner of the pit, and they started shooting right into the pit. When we carried, or rather dragged bodies from one place to another (in the same pit), the bodies were warm; many were still alive. Then several carts from Skalat brought about thirty corpses. We were ordered to put these corpses on top in the pit and shovel dirt over it, to level the pit with dirt [...]. After this operation, I escaped from the camp and that’s why I stayed alive, while the other people in the camp were shot three weeks later [...].

The Ukrainian fire brigade was enlisted to participate in the operations in Berezhany in the summer and fall of 1943. For instance, a former member of the brigade, Nikita Kordiyako (thirty-two years old in 1943), testified to the following during an interrogation as a defendant on April 16, 1948:⁴⁹

In 1943, German law enforcement carried out operations targeting Soviet citizens of Jewish ethnicity all over Berezhany district, as well as in the town of Berezhany itself. Employees of the Berezhany municipal fire brigade were enlisted for these operations carried out by German law enforcement. On instructions from the Gestapo instructions, they drove to buildings where citizens of Jewish ethnicity were hiding from German persecution in basements, and if the former, when ordered to by the Germans, refused to come out of the basements, employees of the fire brigade would fill the basement with water, which would force them to either drown in the basement or come out to be taken by the Gestapo.

For instance, in the summer of 1943 [...] our fire brigade was summoned by the Gestapo purportedly to put out a fire in the center of town. When the fire brigade arrived at Rynok Square, the Gestapo ordered them to flood a basement in which families of citizens of Jewish ethnicity were hiding from the Germans. Five or six citizens of Jewish ethnicity, including a half dead women that was carried out and two children, came out of the basement that had been flooded with water by employees of the fire brigade [...].

In addition, a bit later employees of the fire brigade also helped the Gestapo to escort all the citizens of Jewish ethnicity that had been captured during raids from the prison to the cemetery to be shot. The escort of Soviet citizens to the shooting site was done by employees of the fire brigade with the aid of a rope that was wound around the column of people being escorted to the cemetery, where the Germans shot the latter [...].

In autumn 1943, fourteen-year-old Ostap Nasypanny, who was returning from school, saw

[...] employees of the fire brigade, Turchin, Kordiyako, Fyodor and Iosif Goronina, and another three or four people [...], after tying a group of Jews with rope,

accompanying them to the cemetery, where the shooting of the Jews was carried out. Gestapo employees headed by a Gestapo officer from Ternopil whose last name was Hermann, walked behind this column of Jews, who were shot right on the street if they couldn't walk due to exhaustion. When they got to Kachurivka Street, the fire fighters turned the column of Jews towards the cemetery onto Kachurivka street, and tying the column of Jews with a rope, thus prevented them from stretching out the column as well as from escaping. This fact made an impression on me because, before my very eyes, a woman with her two children was shot on Krasnoarmeyskaya Street, and on Kachurivka street, five men were shot [...].

In the summer of 1943 I was walking to the market. Passing through Rynok Square [...], at a building located in front of the town hall (military barracks), I saw employees of the fire brigade Turchin, Kordiyako, Fyodor and Iosif Goronina, and another two or three that I didn't know filling the basement where Jews were hiding in a bolthole with water. Turchin was holding the metal end of the hose and directing the water through an opening made by the fire fighters, while Kordiyako and Fyodor and Iosif Goronina were standing by the spot the water was being directed into the basement and watched to ensure the water was being directed correctly. Two fire fighters I didn't know were standing by the pipe of the municipal water supply system. Stopping among other people watching, I did the same. After the hideout was flooded with water I saw a man and a woman being dragged out from their hideout alive and I saw a woman and two children aged between three and six, who were dragged out dead, obviously the latter having drowned in the hideout [...].⁵⁰

In the summer of 1943, Ilya Pidoyma witnessed how Germans were “smoking out” Jews from the basement of attorney Wilner’s home on Rynok Square:

The building where the attorney Wilner lived was surrounded by the Germans at approximately 12 p.m.. The Wilner family consisting of himself, his wife, and two daughters, as well as three or four people of Jewish ethnicity who were living in his home, hid in the basement of his house and didn't want to come out to be taken by the Germans [...]. Wilner and the Jews hiding there were shooting at the Germans from the third section of the basement, where they were located, and the latter couldn't capture them or throw grenades at them. After the grenades thrown by the Germans didn't manage to inflict any harm on Wilner and the Jews hiding with him, the Germans called in the fire brigade, among whom I recognized Iosif Goronina, Nikita Kordiyako from the window of my apartment [...]. When they arrived at Wilner's building with a firehose, Kordiyako stretched out the hose to the hydrant. Iosif Goronina connected it to the hydrant and pressurized water was directed into the basement where attorney Wilner was hiding with his family and neighbors. Water was poured into the basement for half an hour under high pressure, and as a result the entire basement was flooded, and Wilner, together with his family and three or four neighbors, drowned and their bodies floated up on the water. The firefighters removed the floating bodies of Wilner and the other Jews hiding with him with hooks; seven people drowned in all. I remember well how the Germans finished off attorney Wilner with a pistol since there was a little bit of life left in him, while the other bodies removed from the water were dead [...].⁵¹

After the districts had been cleared and the ghettos liquidated in various communities in the region, shootings of Jews that had been hiding took place. For instance, in the area of Skala-

Podilska, at least 368 Jews were killed from late June 1943 to March 1944.⁵² For example, on December 16, 1943, the Ukrainian police from Skala-Podilska shot Rosa Shtak, and they subsequently killed another fifteen Jews, who had been hiding in a bunker, in a nearby forest; on the night of March 2, 1943, they shot another three Jews at the cemetery.⁵³ In early February 1944, in the village of Medvedivtsi (Buchach district) the Ukrainian police shot five Jews that village resident Pavel Lichnar had been hiding in his home; another twelve Jews were shot at the same time by the brothers Nikolai and Pavel Kogut; interestingly, Nikolai Kogut had at first hidden these Jews at his place.⁵⁴

In 1943-1944, 114 Jews were killed in Melnytsia-Podilska,⁵⁵ and at least 32 in Skalat district;⁵⁶ 134 were killed in Strusiv district in July-December 1943.⁵⁷ In the village of Ustechko (Zalishchyky district), about 30 people were killed in 1943-1944,⁵⁸ at least 46 in Zaliztsi in late 1942 and 1943,⁵⁹ 21 in Kozliv district in 1943,⁶⁰ and at least 65 Jews in Zoloty Potik district in the villages of Yazlovets, Mali Zalishchyky, Sokoliv, Brovari, Novosilka, and Kostilnyky from March 1943 to January 1944.⁶¹ In total, among Jews in hiding, at least 1,000 people were killed.

¹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 105, p. 5.

² State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 14, p. 10 obverse; file 107, p. 5.

³ Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcie Galicja," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): 18.

⁴ The concentration took place in October 1942.

⁵ G. Hryciuk, "Liczebność i rozmieszczenie ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja w marcu 1943 r" [Number and distribution of the Jewish population in the Galicia district in March 1943], in *Świat niepożegnany. Żydzi na dawnych ziemiach wschodnich Rzeczypospolitej w XVIII-XX wieku*. [A world we bade no farewell: Jews in the Eastern Territories of the Polish Republic from 18th to 20th century], ed. Krzysztof Jasiewicz. (Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 2004), 157-159.

⁶ The *gmina* included the villages of Velyka Berezovytsia, Butsniv, Ostriv, and Petrykiv. There was a labor camp in Ostriv.

⁷ The camp in Kamyanky is referred to here.

⁸ See the interrogation report of witness Abram Eber from October 10, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 371, p. 5). Among the victims were 1,100 men, 700 women, and 400 children under age fifteen, and the elderly. According to other sources, there were 2,000 victims [Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 88] или 1300 [Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcie Galicja," *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 3].

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 106.

¹¹ Verdict of the jury court at the *Landgericht* Stuttgart from July 15, 1966 in the case against Raebel and nine others (BArch B 162/14207).

¹² State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 370, p. 22. According to other sources, there were 200 victims.

- ¹³ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 13, p. 6. According to other sources, there were 950 victims (*Ibid.*, file 105, p. 138).
- ¹⁴ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 374. According to Littner's testimony, 1,098 people were shot, including 48 Jewish police officers headed by the commander of the Jewish police, Shternberg (Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw, account no. 350).
- ¹⁵ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 12, p. 93.
- ¹⁶ Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 250.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 205.
- ¹⁸ Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcie Galicja," *Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 2.
- ¹⁹ See the interrogation record of witness Abram Eber from October 10, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 371, p. 5).
- ²⁰ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 194 obverse.
- ²¹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 371, p. 5.
- ²² State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 487, p. 14.
- ²³ Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 106.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*, 250.
- ²⁵ Verdict of the jury court at the *Landgericht* Stuttgart from July 15, 1966 in the case against Raebel and nine others (BArch B 162/14207).
- ²⁶ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 181.
- ²⁷ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 13, p. 6.
- ²⁸ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 194 obverse.
- ²⁹ Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 205.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, 106.
- ³¹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 194 obverse.
- ³² State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 181.
- ³³ Official report dated October 10, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 10, p. 1). The victims are buried in two pits: There are 1,080 in one, and 120 in the other. According to the witness testimony of H. Y. Rossman from October 20, 1944, Jewish policemen and young girls, who had been raped before being executed, are buried in the second pit (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 10, p. 6 obverse). According to her testimony, the shooting occurred on Sunday June 6, 1943. See also: Verdict of the LG Hamburg (90) 4/75 / J. Nowotsch dated May 17, 1976, in F. Rüter and Dick W. De Mildt, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*. [Justice and Nazi crimes], vol. 41 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), # 832; BArch B 162/14570.
- ³⁴ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 12, p. 93.
- ³⁵ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 374. According to other sources, there were 450 victims (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 4, p. 41).
- ³⁶ Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 106.
- ³⁷ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 194 obverse.
- ³⁸ See the interrogation record of witness Abram Eber from October 10, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 371, p. 5 obverse). Among the victims were 225 men, 160 women, 45 children, and 40 old people.
- ³⁹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 370, p. 22. For more details, see: Verdict of the LG Hamburg (90) 4/75 / J. Nowotsch dated May 17, 1976, in F. Rüter and Dick W. De Mildt, eds., *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen*. [Justice and Nazi crimes], vol. 41 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2009), # 832; BArch B 162/14570.
- ⁴⁰ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 487, p. 14.
- ⁴¹ Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 488.
- ⁴² Official report from October 25, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 10, p. 1).
- ⁴³ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, pp. 23, 24.
- ⁴⁴ Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 250.
- ⁴⁵ Danuta Dabrowska et al., eds., *Pinkas ha-kehilot. Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities: Poland*, Vol. 2, Eastern Galicia (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 1980), 488. On June 29, 1943 in Kopychyntsi in one building 60 Jews beat up and disarmed 2 Ukrainian police officers and then fought a battle with 15 German police officers over the course of two hours; 56 Jews were killed and 4 managed to escape (see the interrogation record of witness Ali Yurman, in: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 371, p. 12).

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- ⁴⁶ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 4, p. 60 obverse. These Jews were captured in the forest seven kilometers from the town.
- ⁴⁷ See the interrogation record of witness Abram Eber from October 10, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 371, p. 5 obverse). Among the victims were 600 men, 320 women, and 80 children.
- ⁴⁸ See the interrogation record of witness Y. M. Perlmutter from October 16, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 12, p. 91 and obverse).
- ⁴⁹ Case no. 381 against N. N. Kordiyako, V. P. Gnativ, V. A. Turchin, I. I. Goronina, and F. I. Goronina, pp. 23-24 (Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine for the Ternopil Region, archive no. 272997).
- ⁵⁰ Interrogation record of witness Ostap Nasypanny from January 1, 1948 (*Ibid.*, 29-31).
- ⁵¹ Interrogation record of witness Ilya Antonovich Pidoyma from March 7, 1948 (*Ibid.*, 86-88).
- ⁵² State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 492, p. 19.
- ⁵³ See the charging document of the NKVD Office for the Ternopil Region dated August 1, 1944 in the case against Y. V. Melnichenko (Archive of the Security Services of Ukraine for the Ternopil Region, archive no. 19710).
- ⁵⁴ See the interrogation record of witnesses Y. A. Babak and P. L. Lichnar from October 10, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 371, pp. 103, 104).
- ⁵⁵ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 7, pp. 5-7, 19.
- ⁵⁶ Including twenty-five in the village of Khmelyska (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 7, p. 15) and seven in the village of Zarubyntsi (*Ibid.*, p. 96).
- ⁵⁷ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 104, p. 3 obverse.
- ⁵⁸ See the interrogation record of witness B. M. Moscovich from July 14, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 182 obverse).
- ⁵⁹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 96, p. 59.
- ⁶⁰ Including six Jews in Kozliv on May 10, 1943 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 101, p. 43), six in the village of Zaboiky on November 15, 1943 (*Ibid.*, p. 3 obverse), and nine in the village of Pochapyntsi on July 7, 1943 (*Ibid.*, p. 58: They were killed in Ternopil).
- ⁶¹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 100, pp. 4 obverse (Kostilnyky), 11 and 16 (Sokoliv), 12-14 (Mali Zalishchyky), 40 (Novosilka).

6. The Liquidation of Labor Camps in 1943

Forced labor camps, whose inmates were used for roadworks on the Zboriv-Ternopil route and partly in quarries, were set up in the region the fall of 1941. For instance, in the second half of October, camps were created in the village of Kamianky¹ in Pidvolochysk district, in Zboriv,² Ozeriany³ in Zboriv district, and in the village of Maksymivka in Zbarazh district,⁴ and a month later in Velyki Birky, Velykyi Hlybochok, in the village of Stupky⁵ in Velyki Birky district, and in the village of Vikno in Hrymailiv district. In late 1941 there were about three thousand Jews in these camps, brought from various communities in the region (Hrymailiv, Skalat, Zbarazh, Kozova, Terebovlia, Chotkiv, Khorostkiv, Skala-Podilska, Pidhaitsi, Tovste, Ternopil, Budaniv, etc.). In November 1942, camps in Ternopil, Chystyliv (six kilometers north of Ternopil), and Chortkiv were added to the list.

In mid-1943, due to the risk of partisans releasing the inmates, the camps were liquidated.

The following table gives an idea of the pace of liquidation:

Camp	Date of Liquidation	Number killed
Chortkiv	June 23, 1943	497 ⁶
Skalat	June 29, 1943	100 ⁷
Pidvolochysk	June 30, 1943	about 600 ⁸
Velyki Birky	July 10, 1943	about 800 ⁹
Kamianky	July 10, 1943	1,020 ¹⁰
Zboriv	July 23, 1943	about 500 ¹¹
Ozeriany	July 23, 1943	260 ¹²
Oliiv	July 23, 1943	38 ¹³
Velykyi Hlybochok	July 23, 1943	about 640 ¹⁴
Ternopil	July 23, 1943	about 1,500 ¹⁵
Novosilka	July 28, 1943	about 100 ¹⁶
Ternopil	July 31, 1943	300? ¹⁷

In total, some 6,300 Jews were killed in the camps in June-July 1943.

A witness to the shooting of Jews in the Velyki Birky camp, a guard at Velyki Birky station, Petr Kovalchyuk (forty-eight years old in 1943), described what he had seen as follows:¹⁸

In July 1943, I don't remember the exact date, on Saturday just before Sunday [that is, on July 10] I was on duty guarding railroad instruments. Near the camp at night at about 10 p.m. I saw eight to ten vehicles with German soldiers pull up to the camp. The arriving soldiers cordoned off the camp and expelled all the Jews from the barracks onto the yard on the camp grounds and forced everyone to lie facedown. When everyone lay down, the German soldiers would pick out six people from among the people on the ground, lined them up in a column, and one by one they led them into the barracks and shot them. This scene continued for an hour until there were no Jews left in the entire camp. Afterward, the Germans sent a cart to the instrument depot, which I was guarding, to take two barrels of tar, which they poured over the corpses and then set on fire. When the barracks with the bodies were burning, I observed that some of the Jews who were alive or slightly wounded started running out of the burning barracks, but they were shot by the guards with machine guns.

An eyewitness to the shooting of Jews from the Velykyi Hlybochok camp, Vladimir Semenach (thirty-four years old in 1943). He saw

[...] the Germans forcing the Jews out of the camp to the Seret River – it was about 11 a.m.-12 p.m., the number of Jews was about six hundred people. After bringing the Jews down the hillside to the Seret River. The Germans started shooting at them. The Jews started screaming and running away. The Germans started shooting them with assault rifles wherever they were. Seeing this barbaric scene, we started dispersing and going wherever each of us saw fit. Meanwhile, the Germans, surrounding the center of the town, started capturing people at gunpoint to collect the dead bodies [...]. The Germans brought us to the murder victims under escort, forced us to collect the dead bodies, carry them to the pits, and the corpses were piled into the pit: a row of corpses, a row of logs. After the corpses had been piled up, the head of the Gestapo [...] gave the order to pour two barrels of oil with gasoline on the bodies. The corpses burned like this for three days.

While I and others were working at gunpoint, I personally saw the following: After the shooting of the column of Jews, about six hundred people, they brought in another thirty Jews; they were the intelligentsia. The Gestapo seated them about thirty to forty meters from the pit, ordered them all to remove their outer clothing, and the Gestapo officer [...] called them in one at a time, seated them over the pit, put his foot on the Jew's shoulder, and shot them from his assault rifle. He shot them all himself [...]. The others and I spent about two hours doing this job, then we were released, but the cart drivers weren't. They were forced to haul logs, oil, and tar.¹⁹

Besides the Jews employed for roadworks, in 1942-1943, Jewish women from Tovste, Chorkiv, and Ternopil were massively used in the region to grow Russian dandelion (*Taraxacum kok-saghyz*), a rubber substitute, which in wartime was considered to be a strategic natural resource. The work was organized by the Wehrmacht. The directorate in Yahilnytsia was in charge. The divisions reported to it, and the agricultural estates to the divisions. For example, the division in Tovste was in charge of seven agricultural estates. In total, in the area of Chortkiv-Tovste had over twenty estates,²⁰ and about 3,000 Jewish women worked on them in the 1942 season. In May

1943, a new season began on the kok-saghyz plantation; soon it was unexpectedly interrupted by shootings of the Jewish women. In addition, purportedly in early June part of the Jews in the *folwark* Elżbiecin. (Travne) were shot. German and Ukrainian police from Chortkiv surrounded the field where the Jews were working and opened fire on them. About ten Jews were killed on the spot, and about thirty men and women were captured and placed in a barn near the silage pit. Then children that had been captured in nearby homes were brought to the barn. After the Jews had been collected, they were forced to undress and hand over valuables. Then in groups of five people they were led to the silage pit and killed with a bullet to the back of the head.²¹ On June 24-26, about 950 people were killed on estates in the vicinity of Tovste: 435 people in Svydova,²² about 200 in Holovchyntsi,²³ about 100 in Rozhanivka,²⁴ about 180 in Kozia Gora,²⁵ 25 in Lysivtsi,²⁶ and 13 in Shypivtsi.²⁷ On July 18-20 about 400 Jewish women in estates in the vicinity Chortkiv were murdered: 230 in Yahilnytsia and Nahirianka,²⁸ 75 in Shulhanivka,²⁹ 50 in Mylivtsi,³⁰ as well as about 300 in Kopychyntsi.³¹ On August 14, 360 Jews were shot in Borshchiv,³² 32 in Mukhavka on August 20,³³ and 70 in Travne (*folwark* Elżbiecin)³⁴ on September 6.³⁵ Some of the Jewish women managed to escape since they were not guarded properly. For example, at the Lysivtsi estate, once they received news of the police's imminent arrival, almost all the Jewish women ran away.

A resident of the village of Shulhanivka, Zakhar Garasimov (forty-four years old in 1943), who was an eyewitness to the operation in the camp, described it as follows:³⁶

On July 20, 1943 an operation targeting Jews was carried out in the camp. At the time of the operation, there were about 120 people in the camp [...] At about 7-8 p.m. a truck containing 15 police and 3 German Gestapo officers drove up to the folwark. They surrounded the camp and started leading out the Jews onto the field. Some of the Jews made a run for it. During their escape, several people were killed. Out of 120 people, about 50 made a run for it. When the Jews had been taken outside, they were ordered to strip naked and lie facedown on the ground in a row by the wall. When everyone was lying down down, a portly blond German of average height took an assault rifle and started shooting as he walked along the row of Jews on the ground. He fired single shots to the head. When all of them had been shot, the Germans and police left. The clothing was put on a cart and driven away. The owner/ of the folwark, Shimansky, ordered a grave to be dug and the Jews to be buried. The folwark workers and residents of the village of Nahirianka dug the grave. The grave digging was completed on the following day. The Jews lay unburied on the ground all night [...].

The next day, Ilko Tretyak, a resident of the village of Shulhanivka placed all the Jews in a row in the pit and the pit was filled with dirt. Sixty-five people were buried in total [...].

The estates losing workers at the height of the agricultural season caused a vehement protest from the Wehrmacht, which ultimately received an authorization to continue using Jewish women. Part of the runaway Jewish women returned to the estates. They were Jewish women who had not found a reliable hiding place nor help. The majority of these women were killed by the Germans after the end of the season. For instance, in late October about 30 people were killed in Sosulivka³⁷ and 38 in the small village of Karolivka;³⁸ on November 15 about 100 Jews women from Kopychyntsi were driven to Chortkiv to be executed,³⁹ and on November 30, 219 Jewish women were shot all at once in 7 estates in the vicinity of Chortkiv: 24 in Yahilnytsia,⁴⁰ 24 in Morelyuvka,⁴¹ 44 in Ulashkivtsi,⁴² 15 in Mukhavka,⁴³, about 60 in B Rosokhach,⁴⁴ 22 in Mylivtsi,⁴⁵ and 30 in Nahirianka⁴⁶. In the winter of 1943-1944, several hundred Jewish women were still interned in estates in the vicinity of Tovste. In February 1944, 43 of them were shot in Holovchyntsi⁴⁷ and 13 in Mylivtsi in March.⁴⁸ In early 1944, there were about 450 Jews in Tovste itself,⁴⁹ the majority of whom died in the spring of 1944 during military operations.⁵⁰

In total, about 3,000 people were exterminated in agricultural estates in the Chortkiv-Tovste area in 1943-1944.

¹ The camp was created on October 17, 1941, had divisions in the village of Novosilka near Skalat (starting in January 1942), the village of Romanove Selo, fifteen kilometers southeast of Zbarazh (starting from May 1942), Pidvolochysk (starting from September 1942), and in Skalat (from the fall of 1942).

² Starting from November 1942, the camp had divisions in Zalitsi and Oliiv.

³ Starting from November 1942, the camp had a division in the village of Zahreblya near Ternopil.

⁴ The camp was located twelve kilometers southeast of Zbarazh. It was created on October 17, 1941, when Jewish men were brought to the village from Skalat and Zbarazh.

⁵ In November 1942, the inmates were transferred to Velyki Birky.

⁶ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 79. Sixty-three Jews were sent to the Hlybochok camp (ten kilometers west of Borshchiv).

⁷ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 12, p. 93 (testimony of witness Ida Dlugach from October 12, 1944). On July 8, 1943, in Skalat the partisans liberated several hundred inmates, of which the Germans later captured about 150 and sent them to work in the village of Novosilka.

⁸ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 9, p. 44.

⁹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 108, pp. 3,7; file 107, p. 197.

¹⁰ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 9, pp. 1,138. Among the people that had been shot were the remaining Jews from Pidvolochysk and inmates from the camp in the village of Romanove Selo.

¹¹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 5, p. 12.

¹² Verdict of the jury court at the *Landgericht* Stuttgart from July 15, 1966 in the case against Paul Raebel and nine others.

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- ¹³ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 96, pp. 60, 62.
- ¹⁴ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 372, p. 2.
- ¹⁵ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 105, pp. 134, 202. About a hundred people were deported to Lviv.
- ¹⁶ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 94, pp. 2,5; Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw, account no. 1486.
- ¹⁷ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 105, pp. 134, 202.
- ¹⁸ See the interrogation record of witness P. I. Kovalchuk from October 14, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 109, p. 6 and obverse).
- ¹⁹ See the interrogation record of witness of V. N. Semenach from August 10, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 372, p. 5). Style is preserved.
- ²⁰ In Chortkiv district -- Svydova, Shulhanivka, Nahiranka, Mylivtsi, Yahilnytsia, Mukhavka, Sosulivka, Morelyuvka, Ulashkiivtsi, Rosokhach, Travne (*folwark* Elżbiecin), Korolivka; in Tovste district -- Lysivtsi, Shypivtsi, Holovchyntsi, Rozhanivka, Kozia Gora.
- ²¹ See also: witness testimony of Vladimir Iosifovich Petrushin from June 1, 1944; official report compiled by military unit representatives dated June 1, 1944 (Central Archives of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, fund 236, catalogue 2675, file 134, p. 236 and obverse).
- ²² State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, pp. 30, 326. Including 85 from Mukhavka, 55 from Morelyuvka, and 12 from Buchach. Five Jewish women were killed on the spot in Mukhavka.
- ²³ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, pp. 156,166 obverse.
- ²⁴ *Ibid.*
- ²⁵ *Ibid.*
- ²⁶ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, pp. 30, 326. Including 85 from Mukhavka, 55 from Morelyuvka, and 12 from Buchach. Five Jewish women were killed on the spot in Mukhavka.
- ²⁷ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, pp. 156,166 obverse.
- ²⁸ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, pp. 70,71 (73 in Yahilnytsia, and 160 in Nahiranka).
- ²⁹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 85. According to other sources, 85 (p. 12 and obverse) or 65 (p. 325). The shooting purportedly took place on July 17, 1943.
- ³⁰ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, pp. 63-65.
- ³¹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 194 obverse.
- ³² Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja Ludnosci Zydowskiej W Dystrykcie Galicja," *Biuletyn Zydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego*, no. 61 (1967): table 3.
- ³³ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 97.
- ³⁴ See the witness testimony of Vladimir Iosifovich Petrushin from June 1, 1944; official report compiled by military unit representatives dated June 1, 1944 (Central Archives of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, fund 236, catalogue 2675, file 134, p. 236 and obverse).
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, p.12.
- ³⁶ See the interrogation report of witness Z. I. Garasimov from June 29, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 87 and obverse).
- ³⁷ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 109.
- ³⁸ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 56 and obverse.
- ³⁹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 194 obverse.
- ⁴⁰ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 92 obverse. They were killed in Chortkiv.
- ⁴¹ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 12 and obverse.
- ⁴² State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 54.
- ⁴³ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 97.
- ⁴⁴ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 107 and obverse.
- ⁴⁵ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, pp. 63-65.
- ⁴⁶ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 324. They were killed in Chortkiv.
- ⁴⁷ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, p. 169 and obverse.
- ⁴⁸ State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 107, pp. 63-65.
- ⁴⁹ Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute, Warsaw, account no. 3887.
- ⁵⁰ From March 24 to April 13, 1944 the town was in an active combat zone and changed hands several times.

7. The Total Number of Jews Killed

In total, approximately 130,000 Jews were exterminated in the region in 1941-1944,

including:

Executed by shooting in 1941	12,500
Deported to Belzec in 1942	Over 40,000
Killed on the spot in 1942	About 5,000
Shot during the liquidation of ghettos in the northern part of the region in August-October 1942	About 18,000
Shot during the liquidation of ghettos in February to June 1943	About 37,000
Killed in labor camps in 1943	6,300
Killed in agricultural estates in 1943	About 3,000
Died in ghettos and camps in 1941-1943	5,000
Jews in hiding killed	Over 1,000

Proportion of Jews Among the Exterminated Civilian Population Ternopil Region (Based on the Extraordinary State Commission's Reports)

District	Total Murdered Civilians	Including Jews	Proportion of Jews (%)
Lanivtsi	2,535 ⁱ	2,143	85
Velyki Birky	2,199	2,000 ⁱⁱ	91
Kozliv	255	21 ⁱⁱⁱ	8
Zoloty Potik	170	100	59
Hrymailiv	2,550	2,456 ^{iv}	96
Velykyi Hlybochok	5,000	5,000 ^v	100
Buchach	13,670	13,670 ^{vi}	100
Budaniv	1,200	1,107 ^{vii}	92
Borshchiv	4,557	4,557 ^{viii}	100
Zaliztsi	1482	1,120 ^{ix}	80
Husiatyn	2	-	-
Strusiv	1,169	Over 1,000 ^x	85
Mykulyntsi	1,855	1,800 ^{xi}	97
Pidhaitsi	2,250	2,250 ^{xii}	100
Skalat	6,204	62,04? ^{xiii}	100
Melnysia-Podilska	119	114	96
Kozova	9,455	9,400 ^{xiv}	99
Probizhna	-	-	-
Skala-Podilska	2,351	2,351? ^{xv}	100
Novosilka	-	-	-
Pidvolochysk	1,691	1,691?	100

Terebovlia	3,097	Over 3,000 ^{xvi}	99
Berezhany	16,600	16,600 ^{xvii}	100
Zboriv	10,000	10,000	100
Zbarazh	4,500	4,500 ^{xviii}	100
Chortkiv	13,000	13,000 ^{xix}	100
Kopychyntsi	8,000	8,000 ^{xx}	100
Tovste	About 6,000	About 6,000 ^{xxi}	100
Zalishchyky	1,500	1,500	100
Pochaiv	2,500	2,500	100
Bilobozhnytysya	367	180	49
Velyki Dederkaly	307 ^{xxii}	307	100
Vyshnivets	6,000	6,000	100
Shumsk	2,732	2,432	89
Kremenets (town)	13,000	12,400	95
Ternopol (city)	20,000	19,000?	95
Total	166,317	162,403^{xxiii}	98

ⁱ The twenty-two Ukrainians murdered in Shpykolosy on July 14, 1943 are not included.

ⁱⁱ These Jews (the number of victims is inflated) died in the camps in Stupky and Velyki Birky.

ⁱⁱⁱ These were Jews that were killed on the spot. The majority of Jews were deported to Ternopil.

^{iv} In June 1941, 450 Jews were killed and the remaining Jews were relocated to Skalat and killed there.

^v These are Jews that died in the camp in Velykyi Hlybochok (the number of victims is inflated).

^{vi} In addition, 3,100 Jews were deported to the Belzec extermination camp.

^{vii} The Jews were relocated to Terebovlia.

^{viii} The Jews were buried in fifteen pits at the Jewish cemetery.

^{ix} Including a thousand Jews that were relocated to Zboriv in October 1942.

^x Including 968 Jews that were deported to Terebovlia and Belzec.

^{xi} Including 1,789 Jews that were relocated to Ternopil in August 1942.

^{xii} In addition, about 5,000 Jews were deported to Belzec.

^{xiii} In addition, about 4,400 Jews were deported to Belzec and several hundred to *Judenlager* camps.

^{xiv} Including 1,600 Jews in Belzec and 2,000 in *Judenlager* camps; 5,800 were shot, including 4,880 in Kozova (the number of victims is inflated).

^{xv} In addition, 3,002 Jews were deported to Belzec.

^{xvi} In addition, 1,500 (or 1,300, or 1,400, or 1,091) Jews were deported to Belzec.

^{xvii} According to other sources (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 370, p. 22), 4,300 Jews were shot, 2,400 Jews were sent to Belzec, and 2,000 Jews to the camps (the number of victims is inflated).

^{xviii} Including 2,800 Jews that were deported to Belzec.

^{xix} Including 5,000 (?) Jews that were deported to Belzec (the number of victims is inflated).

^{xx} Including 2,200 Jews that were deported to Belzec.

^{xxi} Including 1,300 Jews that were deported to Belzec.

^{xxii} The 16 Ukrainians killed in the village of Ivankivtsi (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 75, file 75, pp. 162-164) are not included in this figure.

^{xxiii} **The number of victims is inflated.**

8. Rescues of Jews

A unique case of survival of Jews hiding from their murderers took place in Borshchiv district. In October 1942, about seventy Jews from the villages of Korolivka and Strilkivtsi (six kilometers southwest of Borshchiv) found refuge in Vertebe cave. This cave, however, turned out to be unsuitable for a long-term stay. First, there was practically no water there, and second, the place was too well-known. Very soon, German and Ukrainian police paid a visit to the cave. As a result of the raid, several people were killed on the spot and many were captured. Before leaving, the police blew up the entrance to the cave, thus burying the people remaining inside alive. But thirty-eight people (five families) miraculously managed to climb out of the rubble. A local forest ranger, Munko Lyubodzin, suggested they move to another cave – Popova Yama. The refugees spent over 340 days in this massive cave with a source of clean water, natural ventilation, separate “chambers” for the kitchen and bedrooms, as well as endless labyrinthine, convoluted passageways. The temperature under the vaults of the cave, submerged in impenetrable darkness, remained a constant ten degrees, but not one of the thirty-eight inhabitants ever got sick. They used medicine bottles filled with kerosene as improvised flashlights. The cave’s denizens slept for fifteen to twenty hours (sometimes more) a day, thereby conserving energy that was necessary for reprovisioning food supplies. The men had to regularly climb outside at night – they carried out raids on fields to get potatoes, beets, and wheat, gathered nuts, berries, and mushrooms in the forest, bought or traded for grain from friends, and also stocked up on firewood for heating. They milled flour using a grindstone and a mill made

out of stones. On April 12, 1944 the forest ranger threw a bottle into the cave with a note inside – and so the inhabitants of Popova Yama found out that the Germans had retreated. In total, these people, including children and old people aged two to seventy-six, spent 511 days under ground (of them 342 days in Popova Yama), and unknowingly beat all conceivable records of survival in similar conditions (the official record had been 205 days).¹

¹ For more details, see Peter Lane Taylor and Christos Nicola, *The Secret of Priest's Grotto: A Holocaust Survival Story* (Minneapolis: Kar-Ben Publishing, 2007). In 2012 the director Janet Tobias (USA) made the documentary film *No Place on Earth* about the story of survival of the Jews in Popova Yama.