

## **“Shoah Atrocities Map – Ukraine” Atlas**

## **“Maps of Holocaust Execution Sites in Ukraine” Atlas**

### **Alexander Kruglov “The Holocaust in the Zhytomyr Region”**

#### **Overview**

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## ZHYTOMYR REGION



### 1. JEWS IN THE ZHYTOMYR REGION

The first mention of Jews in the Zhytomyr region was in 965 A.D. (Korosten), but Jews began settling in the modern-day Zhytomyr region mainly in the 16<sup>th</sup> century (Korosten, Berdychiv, Pavoloch). In the 17<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, Jewish communities were

established in many towns and villages. Jews began settling in Zhytomyr itself starting from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century (officially, they were banned from residing in the town until 1792).

Some of these Jewish communities were destroyed during the pogroms of 1648 – the Jews were either all killed or escaped, but some time later the communities were rebuilt. Killings of Jews once again became widespread in the 18<sup>th</sup> century during what was known as the Haydamak movement. For example, in 1736 the Haydamaks killed most of Povoloch's Jews.

Starting from 1802, the territory of the Zhytomyr region was included in the Jewish Pale of Settlement, which existed officially until 1917 (in practice, until 1915).

According to the 1897 census, 244,140 Jews lived on the territory of the present-day Zhytomyr region.

#### 1897 Census

<i>Uyezd</i>	Total Population	Jewish Population	%
Zhytomyr ( <i>uezd</i> )	433,859	61,963	14.28
Zhytomyr (town)	65,895	30,572	46.4
Rural population	367,964	31,391	8.53
Novohrad-Volynskyi ( <i>uezd</i> )	348,950	54,549	15.63
Novohrad-Volynskyi (town)	16,904	9,363	55.39
Rural population	332,046	45,186	13.61
Ovruch ( <i>uezd</i> )	205,390	21,851	10.64
Ovruch (town)	7,393	3,441	46.54
Rural population	197,997	18,410	9.3
Berdychiv ( <i>uezd</i> )	279,695	64,505	23.06
Berdychiv (town)	53,351	41,125	77.08
Rural population	226,344	23,380	10.33
Radomyshl ( <i>uezd</i> )	315,629	41,272	13.08
Radomyshl (town)	10,906	7,468	68.48
Rural population	304,723	33,804	11.09

From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, part of the Jews emigrated to the United States, Western Europe, Australia, Argentina, and Palestine, and that is why there was a persistent decline in the local Jewish population. For instance, in Berdychiv the number of Jews decreased by about thirty thousand from 1892 to 1920; in Zhytomyr the Jewish population declined by about ten thousand from 1910 to 1923.

## The Jewish Population in the Region on the Eve of WWII

According to the 1939 census, there were 125,007 Jews<sup>1</sup> in the region. Over 100,000 of them were concentrated in twenty-nine towns and cities, including 29,053 in Zhytomyr and 23,266 in Berdychiv. The Jewish population was distributed among districts and individual urban and rural settlements in the following manner:<sup>2</sup>

TABLE 1-1

Andrushivka district, including:	1,681
Andrushivka	658
Chervone	411
Bazar district, including:	573
Bazar	443
Baranivka district, including:	2,565
Baranivka	1,447
Pervomaisk	279
Barashi district, including:	869
Barashi	320
Berdychiv district	217
Brusyliv district, including:	192
Brusyliv	171
Volodarsk-Volynskyi district, including:	1,431
Volodarsk-Volynskyi	988
Vchoraishe district, including:	625
Vchoraishe	494
Horodnytsia district, including:	1,655
Horodnytsia	1,212
Bronytska Huta	166
Dzerzhynsk district, including:	2,908
Dzerzhynsk (Romaniv)	1,720
Dovbysh district, including:	
Dovbysh	513
Bykivka	151
Kamianyi Brid	857
Yemilchyn district, including:	1,552
Yemilchyn	1,115
Zhytomyr district	542
Kornyn district	210
Korosten district, including:	12,203
Korosten	10,991
Korostyshiv district, including:	2,253
Korostyshiv	2,170
Krasnoarmeysk district, including:	1,013
Krasnoarmeysk	523
Luhyn district, including:	2,071

Luhyny	1,622
Liubar district, including:	2,399
Liubar	1,857
Malyn district, including:	3,833
Malyn	3,607
Narodychi district, including:	1,439
Narodychi	1,233
Novohrad-Volynskyi district, including:	7,246
Novohrad-Volynskyi (Zviahel)	6,839
Ovruch district, including:	4,295
Ovruch	3,862
Olevsk district, including:	3,724
Olevsk	2,858
Popilnia district, including:	904
Popilnia	129
Pavoloch	630
Potiivka district	178
Radomyshl district, including:	2,477
Radomyshl	2,348
Ruzhyn district, including:	2,056
Ruzhyn	1,08
Bilylivka	633
Slovechne district, including:	1,382
Slovechne	879
Troyaniv district, including:	850
Troyaniv	581
Chopovychi district, including:	1,178
Chopovychi	673
Cherniakhiv district, including:	1,710
Cherniakhiv	1482
Chudniv district, including:	3,209
Chudniv	2,506
Yanushpil district, including:	963
Yanushpil	721
Yarun district, including:	656
Yarun	386
Other urban settlements (3)	108

<sup>1</sup> Y. A. Poliakov et al., eds., *Vsesoyuznaya perepis' naseleniya 1939 goda. Osnovnyye itogi* [All-Union population census of 1939. Main results], (Moscow: Nauka, 1992), 68.

<sup>2</sup> M. Altshuler, ed., *Distribution of the Jewish Population of the USSR 1939*. (Jerusalem: Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1993), 22-23, 51-53.

## 2. German Occupation Authorities

The region came under occupation by German troops mainly during June-August 1941, including Yemilchyn on July 2, Novohrad-Volynskyi on July 6, Zhytomyr and Radomyshl on July 9, Berdychiv and Chudniv on July 8, Ruzhyn on July 16, Malyn on July 22, Olevsk on August 5, Korosten on August 7, Volodarsk-Volynskyi on August 12, Ovruch and Narodychi on August 22.

In July-October 1941, the districts in the region were governed by military commandants, and starting from October 20, 1941 they were replaced by the civilian administration. The region was divided into eleven *Gebiete*, which were part of the “General District of Zhytomyr” [headed by *Generalkommissar Regierungpräsident* Kurt Klemm (from September 1942 by *SS-Brigadeführer* and Deputy *Gauleiter* of Westmark Ernst Ludwig Leyse), the SS and Police Leader was *SS-Oberführer* Otto Hellwig, the commander of the Order Police was Lt. Colonel of the gendarmerie Gotthilf Oemler]. The *Gebeite* were formed from the following districts:

<i>Gebiet</i>	Districts in the <i>Gebiet</i>	<i>Gebietskommissar</i>	<i>Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer</i>
The town of Zhythomyr		Commissioner Fritz Magass ( <i>Stadtkommissar</i> )	<i>Hauptmann</i> of the <i>Schutzpolizei</i> Guido Netzbandt (commander of the <i>Schutzpolizei</i> )
Ovruch	Bazar, Narodychi, Ovruch	<i>Regierungsrat</i> Alfred Wenzel	Gendarmerie Lieutenant Wilhelm Springer
Olevsk	Luhyny, Olevsk, Slovechne	<i>Gemeinschaftsführer</i> Packheiser	Gendarmerie Lieutenant Wilhelm Petermann
Korosten	Volodarsk-Volynskyi, Korosten, Chopovychi	<i>Regierungsassessor</i> Hans Helsing (until November 1942), <i>Regierungsrat</i> Paul Kamm	Gendarmerie Lieutenant Berthold Fritsche (Until 1/4/1942), Gendarmerie Lieutenant

			Hermann Spoerhase
Radomyshl	Malyn, Potiivka, Radomyshl	<i>Gau-Hauptstellenleiter</i> Herman Drexel	Gendarmerie Lieutenant Franz Oschabnig
Korostyshiv	Brusyliv, Kornyn, Korostyshiv	<i>Gau-Hauptstellenleiter</i> Alois Dankbar	Gendarmerie Lieutenant Artur Burow
Ruzhyn	Ruzhyn, Vchoraishe, Popilnia	<i>Regierungsassessor</i> Helmut Gangloff	Gendarmerie Lieutenant Gustav Dutkowski
Berdychiv	Berdychiv, Yanushpil, Andrushivka	<i>Regierungsrat</i> Erwin Göllner	Gendarmerie Lieutenant Karl Kurzhals (until August 1942), Gendarmerie Lieutenant Otto Reichhardt
Zhytomyr	Zhytomyr, Cherniakhiv, Troyaniv	<i>Regierungsrat</i> Paul Kamm	Gendarmerie Lieutenant Sterck
Chudniv	Chudniv, Liubar, Dzerzhynsk	<i>“Hitlerjugend” Oberstammführer</i> Dr. Paul Blümel	<i>Meister der Gendarmerie</i> Karl Malich (until May 1942), Gendarmerie Lieutenant Robert Mattea- Hisch (from June 1942)
Novohrad-Volynskyi	Baranivka, Yarus, Dovbysh, Chervonoarmiisk, Novohrad-Volynskyi	<i>Regierungsassessor</i> Dr. Hans Schmidt	Gendarmerie Lieutenant Heinrich Lachner
Yemilchyn	Yemilchyn, Barashi, Horodnytsia	<i>Kreisobmann</i> of the DAF Dau	Gendarmerie Lieutenant Georg Röder

The extermination of the Jewish population was perpetrated by the Security Police (SiPo) and SD, which reported to the commander of the SiPo and SD in the “General District of Zhytomyr,” *SS-Sturmbannführer* Franz Ratzesberger. In the region, the SiPo police stations in Berdychiv and Ovruch were under his command.

The German gendarmerie (the commander of the gendarmerie in the “General District of Zhytomyr” was Senior Lieutenant of the gendarmerie Hans Leberecht von Bredow) and the Ukrainian auxiliary police under its command actively participated in the extermination of the Jews. There was a *Gendarmerie-Gebietsführer* in each *Gebiet* center and gendarmerie stations in every district center; the local Ukrainian police, in turn, reported to these stations.



### 3. Killings of Jews in July 1941

The first shootings of Jews in the region took place on July 19. On that day a hundred Jews were shot in Zhytomyr.<sup>1</sup>

On July 19, 1941, shootings of Jews also took place in Baranivka – seventy-four victims<sup>2</sup> – and in the town of Horodnytsia – twenty-one victims.<sup>3</sup> At about the same time, seventy Jews were shot in Korostyshiv (captured by the Germans on July 9, 1941) as revenge for the killing of two soldiers; the shooting was probably carried out by the soldiers in the tank repair unit.<sup>4</sup>

In Ruzhyn on July 19,

*The Germans gathered fifteen Jews, brought them to the Lenin memorial, and while beating them, forced them to sing revolutionary songs and dance around the memorial. Then, handing them shovels and pickaxes, forced them, under blows, to tear down the monument. When the monument had been destroyed, the Jews were once again forced with beatings to sing and dance around the monument. All this was filmed. Afterward, they were dispersed.*

*On July 20, 1941, forty-five Jews were captured in apartments and on the street, and were then forced to walk to the river to the site of the “Noviy Mir” collective farm, where they were beaten with bayonets and rifle butts. They were herded into the water and forced to dance. Then the tormented people, who had been taken to the stables, were made to stand facing the wall and searched. After the search, they were led to the foot of the mountain, handed shovels, and ordered to dig graves. Next to the graves, they interrogated them, ostensibly to identify the guilty parties responsible for the shooting of the Germans. They did not find the guilty parties, and all the wretched people were forced into the attic of the stables. The next day all forty-five people were ordered to hand over their valuables: cameras, radios, watches, and they were given half an hour to do it.<sup>5</sup>*

In the second half of July, *Sonderkommando* 4a perpetrated several other executions of Jews in Zhytomyr. In total, in Zhytomyr, as is evident from the *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* dispatch no. 37 dated July 29, 1941:

*In Zhitomir itself, Gruppenstab [group staff] and advance Kommando of EK 4a have to date, shot all approximately 400 Jews, Communists, and informants for the NKVD.<sup>6</sup>*

Another several hundred Jews were shot in Zhytomyr in late July, probably by the 1<sup>st</sup> Company of Reserve Police Battalion 45, which was stationed there. A witness to the mass shooting was the commander of Infantry Regiment 528, Major Rösler, who in a staff report dated

January 3, 1942 addressed to the deputy commander of the IX Army Corps, described what he had seen in the following manner:

*At the end of July 1941 Infantry Regiment 528 was on its way to Zhitomir from the west, where it was to move into resting quarters. At the time I was regiment commander. On the afternoon of the day we arrived I was taking up my staff quarters with my staff when we heard rifle salvos at regular intervals, followed after some time by pistol fire. The shots were not coming from far away. I decided to go and look into this matter and so together with the Adjutant and the Ordonnanzoffizier (Lieutenant von Bassewitz and Second Lieutenant Müller-Brodman) set off in the direction of the rifle fire to find out what was happening. We soon realized that a cruel spectacle was taking place out there for after a while we saw numerous soldiers and civilians pouring on to an embankment in front of us, behind which, as we were informed, executions were being carried out at regular intervals. We were not able to see over the embankment; however, at intervals we kept hearing the sound of a whistle, followed by a ten-volley rifle salvo, followed after a while by pistol shots.*

*When we finally climbed on to the embankment we were completely unprepared for what we saw. We were confronted by a scene that was so abominable and cruel that we were utterly shattered and horrified. In the earth was a pit about seven to eight meters long and perhaps four meters wide. The earth that had been dug out was piled up on one side of it. This pile of earth and the wall of the pit were stained red by streams of blood. The pit itself was filled with innumerable human bodies of all types, both male and female. It was hard to make out all the bodies clearly, so it was not possible to estimate how deep the pit was. Behind the piles of earth dug from it stood a squad of police under the command of a police officer. There were traces of blood on their uniforms. In a wide circle around the pit stood scores of soldiers from the troop detachments stationed there, some of them in bathing trunks, watching the proceedings. There were also an equal number of civilians, including women and children. By going up very close to the pit I saw something that to this day I can never forget. Among the bodies in the pit lay an old man with a white beard, who still had a small walking-stick hanging over his left arm. It was clear that the old man was still alive as he was panting from breath and so I asked one of the policemen to kill him once and for all, to which he replied in a jocular fashion, "I've already shot him seven times in the belly, don't worry, he'll snuff it soon enough."*

*In the pit the dead were not laid out in any orderly way but were left where they happened to land after being shot down from the top of the pit. All these people were first shot in the neck and then finished off with pistol shots from above.<sup>7</sup>*

Sonderkommando 4a shot 148 Jews in Berdychiv,<sup>8</sup> 22<sup>9</sup> in Troyaniv, 40<sup>10</sup> in Korostyshiv, and 110<sup>11</sup> in Cherniakhiv. Einsatzkommando V, which replaced a platoon of Sonderkommando 4a in Berdychiv, shot another 74 Jews<sup>12</sup> in the town, and an additional 24<sup>13</sup> in Myropil.

Mass killings of Jews also occurred in Novohrad-Volynskyi (Zviahel). "According to a report of EK 4a," we read in the *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* dispatch no. 38 dated July 30, 1941, "constant sabotage activity is going on in Zviahel (Novograd-Volynskiy). The German Army now drives all the civilians together and, as retaliatory measures, carries out executions."<sup>14</sup>

The Wehrmacht also participated in the extermination of Jews in other communities in the region. For instance, in Berdychiv, a platoon of the combat engineering battalion of the SS Division “Wiking” shot around 850 Jews.<sup>15</sup> In Baranivka, approximately another hundred Jews were shot by the 8<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment of the 1st SS Infantry Brigade at the end of the month. On July 28-30, 1941, this brigade was carrying out a mopping-up operation “in the area of Zviahel, Sluch Valley, Nov. Mirpopol, Shepetovka, Zaslav, Orstrog, Horyn Valley and Hoszcsa.”<sup>16</sup> Baranivka is also part of this area, and around this time Jews from there were taken away on three trucks in the direction of Poninka and shot there.<sup>17</sup>

In total, around three thousand Jews were exterminated in the region in July.

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<sup>1</sup> Notice in the newspaper *Ukrayins'ke slovo* [Ukrainian Word], no. 1 (from August 3, 1941), signed by the corps commander (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 69, file 294, p. 116).

<sup>2</sup> Report of the district commission dated January 10, 1944 {*Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty* [Atrocities of the German-Fascist invaders. Documents], no. 13, (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1945), 50}.

<sup>3</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 290, pp. 80 obverse-83. The occupiers forced several hundred local residents to watch the shooting (YIU, no. 1657U).

<sup>4</sup> See the testimony of Gustav Kirschbaum, a former soldier in the field railway workshops (*Feldeisenbahnwerkstätten-Abteilung 6*) from January 29, 1953 (BArch B 162/7326, Bl. 271-272).

<sup>5</sup> See the report compiled by the residents of the village and the military unit representative (Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, fund 236, catalogue 2675, file 134, p. 48).

<sup>6</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 37 dated July 29, 1941. 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), 56. In the course of one operation, the team shot 187 Russians and Jews (*Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 30 dated July 22, 1941), in the course of another – 180 Communists and Jews (*Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 38 dated July 30, 1941), in the course of a third – 41 people (*Ibid.*).

<sup>7</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 149, file 89, pp. 52-53 English translation from Ernest Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Riess, eds., *The Good Old Days: The Holocaust as Seen by its Perpetrators and Bystanders*, trans. Deborah Burnstone (New York: The Free Press, 1991), 117-119.

<sup>8</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 38 dated July 30, 1941.

<sup>9</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 47 dated August 9, 1941.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* See also YIU, no. 1740U.

<sup>11</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 47 dated August 9, 1941.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> According to the Extraordinary State Commission's materials, about a thousand Jews were shot in three places in the town in late July to early August 1941 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 305, pp.3 with obverse, 5). 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), 59.

<sup>15</sup> See the testimony of Isenmann, a former *SS-Rottenführer*, at a trial in Kiev in January 1995. (Leonid Abramenko, ed., *Kyivskiy protses: Dokumenty ta materialy* [The Kiev trial: Documents and materials] (Kyiv: Lybid, 1995), C. 51).

<sup>16</sup> See the report of former Higher SS and and Police Leader SS-Obergruppenführer Jeckeln dated August 1, 1941 {BArch, RH 20-6/111, Bl. 132-135; Bert Hoppe and Hildrun Glass, eds., *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933-1945: Bd. 7: Sowjetunion mit annektierten Gebieten I. Besetzte sowjetische Gebiete unter deutscher Militärverwaltung, Baltikum und Transnistrien* [The persecution and murder of European Jews by Nazi Germany 1933-1945: Vol. 7: Soviet Union with annexed territories I. Occupied Soviet territories under German military administration, the Baltic States and Transnistria] (München: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2011), 223-225). English translation from *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuremberg Military Tribunal*, vol. 11 (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1951), 634.

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<sup>17</sup> See the report dated January 10, 1944 {*Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty* [Atrocities of the German-Fascist invaders. Documents], no. 13, (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1945), 50}.

#### 4. Killings of Jews in August 1941

In August over ten thousand more Jews were killed in the region, with about six thousand shot by the SiPo, mainly by *Sonderkommando* 4a. On August 7, in Zhytomyr this squad publicly hanged two Jewish judges – Moshe Kogan and Wolf Kieper, who were accused of working for the Cheka and murdering “1,350 ethnic Germans and Ukrainians,”<sup>1</sup> and shot 402 Jews, and, what is more, the report on this operation called it “exemplary.”<sup>2</sup> An officer in the unit, SS-*Obersturmbannführer* August Häfner, who was present during this “exemplary” shooting, recalled the following after the war:

*When I returned from a courier trip, I heard about the hanging. It might've been three or four days prior to it. They said that they'd caught a big fish, a people's judge, who had many Ukrainian deaths on his conscience. As far as I remember, I returned from the courier trip early in the morning and wanted to go somewhere with the new mail delivery. Blobel informed me that there would be a shooting. He also told me that many officers would be present from the command staff of the 6<sup>th</sup> Army and I had to take care of them. I no longer know whether I drove there with Blobel or in my own vehicle. I came to the square that was known as the market square. The Wehrmacht officers, soldiers, and people arrived in order. The people stood crowded together. The gallows were so high that a truck could drive underneath. In front of a large number of spectators, I saw a big group of people that I could identify as Jews, since most of them were wearing caftans. But there were also people wearing western clothes. My impression was that they were mostly Jews. I don't remember any more that announcements had been made with loudspeakers and posters.*

*[...] Both of the condemned men were standing on a truck. Then a noose was thrown around their necks, and the driver of the truck was ordered to drive forward [...] Soon both people died from asphyxiation. Then I came up to Blobel and said that we could now return to our quarters, to which his response was, “No. there are Jews here that will now be shot. You take care of the gentlemen from the Wehrmacht.” I asked why the people had to be shot. He said tersely, “The people will be shot – that's the end of it!” He ordered them to be put in trucks. I saw that a series of trucks had driven up. The trucks had SS insignia on them. We drove outside of the town. I don't know how long we drove. We stopped and went on foot over slightly hilly ground to an area with shrubbery. A pit had already been dug there. I saw that that the trucks drove up along the road as close as possible to the pit. SS soldiers led the people to the pit. They were standing facing the shooters. The shooters themselves were standing a relatively short distance from the victims. This distance couldn't possibly have been more than five meters, and was probably even less. The execution was carried out by a company of SS troops. I cannot say which platoon it was or how many people were involved. [Company commander] *Obersturmführer* Grafhorst was personally in command. Blobel was in charge of the entire operation. Grafhorst ordered one of the NCOs to give the “fire” command. I, together with other Wehrmacht officers, was standing three or four meters from the chain of shooters. People fell backwards into the pit. After the first two groups had been shot, Grafhorst or the NCO determined that some of the victims in the pit were still moving, that is, they weren't dead. Then I got*

*involved. I walked over to the pit and checked to see if this was the case. This was because of what we had experienced in Lutsk, where every two or three meters a person was lying on the ground who wasn't dead, but heavily wounded and trying to crawl out. I considered it my duty as an officer to do something. I would've done the same thing today. I couldn't prevent the shooting itself. But I had to take steps to ensure that people inside the pit wouldn't be subjected to a horrific death by suffocation. I took action. I discussed this with Blobel, Grafhorst, and the NCO. The first rounds that were shot were aimed at the heart. I tried to find a method that would result in immediate death. As a result, Grafhorst ordered his shooters to aim for the head, above the nose. But since the shooters were standing three to five meters from the victims, the shooters and victims had to look each other in the eye. It's impossible to imagine what this entailed. For the victims as well as for the shooters this was horrific. This resulted in some shooters missing their marks and the victims continued standing there. For others, the bullets demolished half their skull. This was a horrific sight. Skull fragments flew backwards over the shooters. A piece of brain hit me in the face. I turned around and saw that the SS officer standing behind me also got hit in the face with a piece of someone's head. As far as I remember this was Mr. Janssen. Something had to be done. I demanded, after Blobel didn't do what he had to, that the shooting method be changed once again. This was motivated by my internal conviction, since I asked myself: "Are these Jews to blame, these four hundred people to blame? After all, they're innocent," while I assumed that two people had been found guilty prior to this. This led to another meeting. Then I saw that Jews had arrived who were covered in blood since they had been subjected to abuse. I saw that soldiers were beating these Jews. I immediately intervened to stop this [...].<sup>3</sup>*

On August 5 *Sonderkommando* 4a carried out an operation in Radomyshl. Detailed information about this operation is contained in *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 58:<sup>4</sup>

*Following an urgent call for help from the local commander of Radomyshl, a sub-unit and part of a Waffen-SS platoon moved in and immediately found unbearable conditions. The newly established mayor was unmasked as an informer for the NKVD and CP member since 1925. It was proven that until recently he had contact with Communist bands. His deputy was a Bolshevik as well. Furthermore, a citizen was discovered who caused the deportation of ethnic Germans and Ukrainian families. Finally, also Jews were arrested who openly opposed the German Military, refusing to work for the OT, etc. In the course of these actions, nine out of 113 persons arrested were shot.*

On August 6, 110 Jews and 3 Ukrainians were shot, and on August 8 a new operation was carried out in the town. *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 59 from August 21, 1941 recounts the following information about these operations:

*Similar facts relating to the behavior of the Jews could also be established in Radomyshl, where a part of a platoon of an Einsatzkommando had regularly been active. During a search action, once again many Jews were discovered who had been influential partners in the deportation of Ukrainians and ethnic German families to Siberia. Here, as in Staro-Konstantinov, Jews also refused to perform jobs assigned to them by the local military commander. Furthermore, a Ukrainian was detected who had intended to blow up the big bridge leading to Radomyshl. Another Ukrainian who*

*was a co-worker of the NKVD denounced six families and was instrumental in their deportation to Siberia. In the course of this and later actions, a total of 276 Jews, Communist officials, saboteurs, Komsomol members and Communist agitators were finished off.*

At the end of the month the squad shot another 266 Jews<sup>5</sup> in Zhytomyr, 44 Jews<sup>6</sup> were killed in the course of two operations in Cherniakhiv, 451<sup>7</sup> Jews were killed in Korosten in the course of three operations, and 26 Jews<sup>8</sup> were murdered in Rudnya and Troyaniv.

In Narodychi, 268 “terrorists”<sup>9</sup> were shot at the end of the month. S. Friedman, who had survived the shooting in Narodychi, recalled the following after the war:

*On August 28, 1941, the Germans, together with their accomplices – local Ukrainian nationalists, who showed them where the Jews lived, started expelling the Jews from their homes into the streets, with infants left in the care of old people on their own. Even now, I can still hear the screams of mothers parting with their babies. All the Jews were rounded up in the village clubhouse – the House of Culture; on the way the Ukrainian nationalists and Germans beat the old people, women, and children with sticks. In the House of Culture they organized a registration, registered everyone, and placed the men separately, the women separately, and the children separately. At 10 a.m. they led out about fifty men with shovels from the clubhouse and drove them away in trucks outside of the town, where they were forced to dig a large pit that was intended for the shooting. After lunch, they first started driving the men, and then the women from the clubhouse. While they were being loaded into trucks, the people were brutally beaten with sticks. Rain started to fall in the afternoon. At that time they started loading the children into the trucks. I was also pushed into a truck. It started raining harder, it was a real downpour, and we, the children, were taken back inside. And when the rain stopped, we were again taken to the trucks. But right then, the execution squad returned, and the drenched murderers decided to dry out. We were returned to the clubhouse, and a few hours later they just released us from the clubhouse. That terrible day 500 Jews were shot. I lost my family. My mother had been shot. Only infirm old people, a few women, children – 250 people in all – were left alive.<sup>10</sup>*

In all likelihood *Sonderkommando* 4a also shot 670 Jews in Malyn,<sup>11</sup> 35 Jewish men in the village of Kodnya in Troyaniv district,<sup>12</sup> 74 Jews in the village of Meleni in Chopovychi district,<sup>13</sup> 19 Jews in the village of Khodorkiv in Kornyn district,<sup>14</sup> and about 2,000(?) Jews in Korostyshiv.<sup>15</sup>

During the first half of the month, *Einsatzkommando* 5, which had been in Berdychiv until August 26, shot 15 Jews in Yanushpil,<sup>16</sup> several Jews in Vchoraishe,<sup>17</sup> as well as 161 “Jews, Communists, looters” in Zviahel.<sup>18</sup>

Over a thousand Jews were shot in the region in August by SS troops, and specifically the 1<sup>st</sup> SS Infantry Brigade consisting of SS Infantry Regiments 8 and 10.<sup>19</sup> For instance, on August



7-9, Regiment 10 was clearing parts of Cherniakhiv and Volodarsk-Volynskyi districts west of the Zhytomyr-Korosten road from “scattered troops and armed bands” and shot 339 Jews in the process, including 232 Jews in Cherniakhiv on August 8. For example, in the 1<sup>st</sup> SS Infantry Brigade report dated August 10, 1941, we can read the following:<sup>20</sup>

*Mission of SS Infantry Regiment 10:*

*SS Infantry Regiment 10 is to mop up scattered troops and armed bands in the Cherniakhiv – Fasova – Budo – Ryzhany – Dvoryshche area, as well as to the southwest. Starting from August 10, 1941: to mop up scattered and armed bands in the forested area south of Karosten around Turchynka – Meleni/Slobichi – Ushomyr – Kraivshchyna.*

*Mopping-up operation by the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of SS Infantry Regiment 10 in the Fasova – Nebizh – Ryzhany – Budo-Ryzhany – Khoroshiv (excl.) – Lyznyk (excl.) – Toporyshche area.*

*Beginning: August 7, 1941 End: August 8, 1941*

*Mopping-up operation by the 2nd Battalion of SS Infantry Regiment 10 on August 7, 1941 in Kol. Fedorivka – 15 kilometers southwest of Cherniakhiv.*

*Beginning: August 7, 1941 3 p.m. End: August 8, 1941 2 p.m.*

*Result: the former mayor of Fedorivka (a Bolshevik) was shot.*

*Mopping-up operation by the 2nd Battalion of SS Infantry Regiment 10 in Styrti, 8 kilometers northeast of Cherniakhiv*

*Beginning: August 8, 1941 2 p.m. End: August 8, 1941 7 p.m.*

*Result: Nothing significant to report.*

*Mopping-up operation by the 2nd Battalion of SS Infantry Regiment 10 (8<sup>th</sup> Company) in Divochky and Osnyky.*

*Beginning: August 8, 1941 2 p.m. End: August 8, 1941 7 p.m.*

*Result: Nothing significant to report.*

*Mopping-up operation by the 3rd Battalion of SS Infantry Regiment 10 in the Toporyshche – Terintsy – Dvoryshche – Cherniakhiv area.*

*Beginning: August 7, 1941 10 a.m. End: August 7, 1941 6 p.m.*

*Result: The III/375<sup>21</sup> is located in Khoroshiv and it had already cleansed the area eight days ago, Jews and Bolsheviks were shot.*

*Reconnaissance by the 11<sup>th</sup> Company of SS Infantry Regiment 10 from Toporyshche – Borova – Rudnya – Brazhenka – Vydybor – Zhadky – Selets to Toporyshche*

*Beginning: August 8, 1941 10 a.m. End: August 8, 1941 5 p.m.*

*Result: Bolsheviks, civil servants, and Jews are not present.*

*Mopping-up operation by the regimental troops of SS Infantry Regiment 10 in Cherniakhiv.*

*Beginning: August 7, 1941 3 p.m. End: August 8, 1941 11 a.m.*

*Results: 232 Jews, who were providing assistance to Bolshevik armed bands, 17 Russian plain clothes soldiers, who were in the forests and fields during the day and came into the villages at night and disturbed the locals, were shot.*

*Mopping-up operation by the 2nd Battalion of SS Infantry Regiment 10 on August 7, 1941 in Kol. Fedorivka, 15 kilometers southwest of Cherniakhiv.*

*Beginning: August 7, 1941 3 p.m. End: August 8, 1941 2 p.m.*

*Result: 5 Bolshevik agitators were shot.*

*Mopping-up operation by the 3rd Battalion of SS Infantry Regiment 10 in the Toporyshche – Terintsy– Dvoryshche – Cherniakhiv area.*

*Beginning: August 7, 1941 10 a.m. End: August 7, 1941 6 p.m.*



*Result: The area has been pacified, there are no Jews or Bolsheviks.*

*Executed: 9 Bolshevik Jews in Mal. Horoshki.*

*Prisoners: 21 Bolshevik soldiers delivered to the collection point for prisoners on August 9, 1941 at 7:30 a.m.*

*Reconnaissance by the 1<sup>st</sup> Battalion of SS Infantry Regiment 10 in the forest north of the Fasova-Ksaveriv road.*

*Beginning: August 9, 1941 at 6 a.m. End: August 9, 1941 7 p.m.*

*Result: The operation in the communities of Kamyanyi Brid, Rosivka, K. Yanivka, Zarubynka, Kraivshchyna, the village of Andriivka, the village of Ostron as well as reconnaissance in Kovali, Shershni, Zabrane, Rudnya, Huta-Dobryn resulted in the capture of 8 Ukrainian and Russian defectors. 3 Bolshevik Jews were shot [...]*

*Mopping-up operation by the 2nd Battalion of the SS Infantry Regiment 10 in the Cherniakhiv – Zhytomyr – K. Bolyarka – Vilska area.*

*Beginning: August 9, 1941 3:15 p.m. End: August 9, 1941 6:10 p.m.*

*Result: 59 Jews were executed, 8 Russians were taken prisoner. The search for weapons was unsuccessful.*

*Reconnaissance by the 3rd Battalion of 10<sup>th</sup> SS p.p from Khoroshiv in a westerly direction.*

*Beginning: August 9, 1941 6:00 p.m. End: August 9, 1941 7:30 p.m.*

*Result: The roads leading west from Khoroshiv are bad, it is only possible to travel in a passenger car, a truck won't pass.*

*The Dashynka – Sl. Kurhany – Kol. Chovnova – Kol. Ostrivka line has been reached.*

*The enemy was not present in these communities. 36 Bolshevik Jews were shot in these communities.*

The shootings in Cherniakhiv in late July and early August 1941 were done on the outskirts of the town – behind the railroad embankment not far from the railroad crossing. As is evident from the judgement of the Zhytomyr Regional Court from March 15, 1974 in the case against former police officers of the Cherniakhiv district police:

*One day in late July 1941, in the first half of the day, the defendants Shlapak, Darnapuk, and Weiss, together with other police, brought a group of forty to fifty people that included the elderly and children to the designated place, where pits had already been dug. On the order of the German SS officer, which Weiss translated into Russian, the victims were placed in groups of ten to fifteen people along the pits and were then shot in the back.*

*During the second half of that same day, Weiss, Shlapak, and Darnapuk, among other police, escorted another group of civilians consisting of about fifty people. They were also shot in the same way [...]*

*Some time later, in August 1941, a new group of civilians of over 150 people were brought in trucks to the same place behind the railroad embankment. With the participation of Shlapak, Darnapuk, and Weiss, they were also shot dead.*

*Darnapuk did not plead guilty to the shootings, stating that he was only at the execution site once, and he went there in order to summon the former head of the district government, Pivovar.*

*Shlapak nevertheless stated that, just like he himself, Darnyuk and Weiss personally shot the victims. They did it when the officer waved his flag and Weiss, who was also playing the role of an interpreter there, gave the command. He declared that*

*he and Darnapuk personally shot a total of at least sixteen people each, and Weiss shot about eight.*<sup>22</sup>

The reason SS troops were sent to the Volodarsk-Volynskyi district were events that had occurred in the town in very early August. On August 1, 1941, thirteen people (probably Jews) were shot, another seventy detainees were supposed to be shot on August 2, but on that date a Red Army reconnaissance unit infiltrated the town (the front lines were eighteen kilometers from the town at the time) and freed the detainees. Seven hundred and fifty residents (mostly Jews) left town together with the Red Army reconnaissance unit to cross enemy lines, and then headed in the direction of Korosten. On August 4, the Red Army reconnaissance unit infiltrated Volodarsk-Volynskyi for the second time, killing fourteen Germans.<sup>23</sup> The fallen Germans were likely soldiers from the 3<sup>rd</sup> Battalion of the 375<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment of the 454th Security Division; this battalion was carrying out a “cleansing” operation of the Volodarsk-Volynskyi district (Khoroshiv).<sup>24</sup>

On August 10-16, the 10th Regiment was clearing the area south of Korosten from “scattered troops and armed bands,” shooting all the Jewish men in Ushomyr<sup>25</sup> in the process. From August 16 they moved on to the area south of the Zviahel-Korosten road, and in the Luhyny area, where the staff headquarters of the 10<sup>th</sup> SS Regiment with the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalions was located starting from August 22, they shot 65 Jews on August 23, 283 Jews on August 24, and 82 Jews on August 25.<sup>26</sup> In addition, 38 Jews<sup>27</sup> were shot in Yemilchyn during this period on orders from brigade commander *SS-Brigadeführer* Richard Herrmann as revenge for the fatal wounding in combat of the commander of the 8<sup>th</sup> SS Regiment, *SS-Standartenführer* Sacks. Starting from August 26, the brigade was clearing the area north of the Korosten-Bilokorovychi road (Luhyny, Slovechne, and Ovruch districts) and shot another 138 Jews<sup>28</sup> before the end of the month. In total, the brigade shot over 1,000 people in the region in the month of August.

Units from Police Regiment South were clearing the territory south of the Zviahel-Zhytomyr in August, and again, as part of the operation, mass shootings of Jews occurred in a number of communities. For instance, on August 24, “Jewish operations” were carried out in

Baranivka and Dubrivka.<sup>29</sup> In Dubrivka the family of a Jewish pharmacist was killed. A witness to the operation, a former *Spiess Spieß* (senior NCO) of the 3<sup>rd</sup> company of Police Battalion 45, Fritz Forberg, described it as follows:<sup>30</sup>

*In Dubrivka, we were garrisoned in an old church. One day company commander Berentsen came to me and showed me a written order from the regiment stating that the family of the Jewish pharmacist of Dubrivka had to be shot. At the time Berentsen was visibly shocked and seemed like a person who did not feel good about this matter. Yet he figured that since it was an order, he couldn't avoid carrying it out. He was also required to send a report confirming that the order had been carried out.*

*B. instructed me to go about finding an appropriate site for the execution and to order a pit to be dug. I presume that Berentsen had already found the site. I appointed a person from each of the first three platoons to dig the pit. Today I no longer remember the last names of these people. They took four local men to help them. From then on, I had nothing more to do with this matter. The evening before I went to the pharmacist's family, which as far as I know, included three girls and one boy, all aged between about eight and fifteen. I wanted to convince these people, at my own risk and peril, to leave the village to escape their planned execution. But the family considered leaving to be futile.*

*The oldest, the approximately fifteen-year-old daughter of the pharmacist, worked in our kitchen. All the subsequent orders were given by company commander Berentsen. As I later learned, Berentsen entrusted the arrest and execution to Meister Bruck, the commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Platoon. The pharmacist's family was arrested. The aforementioned fifteen-year-old daughter was taken from her workplace with the company. The execution site was located near the place where we were stationed. I heard individual gunshots. As far as I know, they were shooting from carbines. During the execution, Berentsen was right on the road that was near the place where the shooting was done. Many civilians had also gathered as spectators. As far as I know, the 3<sup>rd</sup> Platoon was assigned to exterminate the people. The pit was covered by four civilians, who had been enlisted for this task from among the spectators.*

*I dictated the report about carrying out the order to my record clerk, Leibe. Berentsen signed it. The report was sent by courier to the regiment headquarters, which, as far as I know, was located in Zhytomyr at the time.*

*Bruck was known in the company as a Jew hater and I think that was why the company commander entrusted him with this unpleasant task. When the shooting had been done, Bruck came to me and tried to shove his rifle in my hand and suggested I shoot at least once into the pit. But I refused.*

That day 46 Jews were shot in Dermanka (now Durbivka) near Kamianyi Brid.<sup>31</sup> In Kamianyi Brid itself (Dovbysh district) 127 Jewish men had been shot<sup>32</sup> on August 18. On August 25, shootings of Jews were perpetrated in Dzerzhynsk.<sup>33</sup> That same day, the "staff company" of the Higher SS and Police Leader in Russia South shot dead 546 Jews,<sup>34</sup> probably in Berdychiv. To all appearances, units from the Police Regiment South also carried out shootings in Liubar (about 300 Jewish men),<sup>35</sup> Rohachiv in Baraniv district (89 victims on August 19, 1941),<sup>36</sup> Dobvysh (204

people),<sup>37</sup> Sobolivka in Dobvysh district (44 people),<sup>38</sup> Nov. Chudniv (111 people),<sup>39</sup> Pervomaisk (south of Baranivka),<sup>40</sup> Zviahel,<sup>41</sup> Krasnoarmeysk (60-70 people).<sup>42</sup> For instance, according to the Higher SS and Police Leader in Russia South, Police Regiment South shot 914 Jews south of the Zviahel-Zhytomyr road on August 26, 369 Jews on August 27, and 65 Jews on August 29.<sup>43</sup> The Jews (65 people) shot on August 29, 1941 were probably from Krasnoarmeysk (today Pulyny). A group of *Feuerschutzpolizei* “East” from the 2<sup>nd</sup> Battalion of *Feuerschutzpolizei*-Regiment 1 “Sachsen” was in Krasnoarmeysk from August 8 to September 23, 1941. The group was made up of the 5<sup>th</sup> Company of the battalion (the company’s commander became an *Ortskommendant* on August 13, 1941), the 3<sup>rd</sup> Company (only two of the company’s platoons were in Krasnoarmeysk, another platoon was in Zhytomyr), as well as the battalion’s staff company. In Pulyny this group set up the Ukrainian auxiliary police, the ghetto, and, in all likelihood, carried out a shooting of Jewish men in August 1941.<sup>44</sup>

The Wehrmacht also made a “contribution” to the extermination of the Jews in the region, notably the 454<sup>th</sup> Security Division, which was subordinated to the commander of Army Group South Rear Area. Units from this division (the 375<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment, Reserve Police Battalion 82, three secret field police squads) could not restrain themselves from participating in the murder of Jews during the cleansing and pacification of the area. For instance, according to the war diary of the operations section of the division’s staff company, sixty-three Jewish men were shot in the village of Chervone in Andrushivka district.<sup>45</sup> The shooting was carried out by the 1st Company of Reserve Police Battalion 82 (the battalion’s commander was Police Major Rudolf Ebert, the commander of the 1st Company was *Oberleutnant* Johannes Piehl), which “established” that local Jews had participated in the partisan attack on the sugar plant and, using light signals, guided Soviet planes to the German airfield.<sup>46</sup>

Back on August 18-19, part of the Jews in Andrushivka itself (252 victims)<sup>47</sup>, in the village of Stara Kotelnia (40-50 Jewish men),<sup>48</sup> and in the village of Ivnytsya in Andrushivka district (12

victims)<sup>49</sup> had been shot. The Wehrmacht, together with the Ukrainian auxiliary police, shot 53 Jews and 6 Communists in Troyaniv.<sup>50</sup>

Part of the Jews fell victim to pogroms, organized by anti-Semitic local nationalists. For example, in Ovruch, as was written in the newspaper *Nasha Borotba* that was published during the occupation, during the retreat (Ovruch came under occupation by German troops on August 22, 1941)

*the Bolsheviks killed 363 residents. Jews played a major role in the killing. The reaction of the locals to the Reds' desertion is very strong. In the town, all the Jews had been slaughtered, and with the arrival of the Germans, the locals did not want to hide their bodies.*<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Reiss, *The Good Old Days: The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1997), 106–117.

<sup>2</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 58 dated August 20, 1941.

<sup>3</sup> August Häfner's testimony during a trial in Darmstadt on October 24, 1967 (BArch B 162/17908, Bl. 235+).

<sup>4</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 58 dated August 20, 1941. 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), 96.

<sup>5</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 86 dated September 17, 1941.

<sup>6</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 58, no. 60.

<sup>7</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* nos. 59, 80, and 86. During one of the shootings, about a hundred of the town's residents were purportedly present.

<sup>8</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 58 dated August 20, 1941.

<sup>9</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 80 dated September 11, 1941.

<sup>10</sup> S. Friedman, "Rasstrely v Narodichakh" [The shootings in Narodychi], in *Krovotochashchaya pamyat Kholokosta* [The bloody memory of the holocaust], ed. O. Glushkin (Kaliningrad: Regionalnyi. Obshchestvennyi Fond "Shofar," 2001) ([http://palmnicken.ru/mediacorner/00/108\\_16.html](http://palmnicken.ru/mediacorner/00/108_16.html)). See also the testimony of S. Z. Friedman from September 7, 1945 (BArch B 162/7316, Bl. 19-22). According to the testimony of former police officer I. Kostruba from September 13, 1945, about 300 adult Jews were shot. (BArch B 162/7316, Bl. 23-25).

<sup>11</sup> See the testimony of the witness Dr. Efrosinya Kolody: "According to rumors and well as an accidentally overheard conversation at the clinic in Dr. Peleshko's office between the Ukrainian *polizei* Kovalchuk and Tomashik, who said that 670 Jews had been shot by the town of Malyn" (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 303, p. 10). According to the official report dated June 1, 1945, about a thousand Jews were shot in the town in August 1941 (*Ibid.*, p. 3). According to the recollections of a witness questioned by Yahad - in Unum, part of the Jews had been killed on the first day of the Sonderkommando's arrival. (YIU, no. 1621U).

<sup>12</sup> M. Kravchuk, "Trahediya Zhovtoho Yaru" [The Tragedy of Zhovtyi Yar], *Yevreyskiye Vesti*, no. 9-10 (1996). The shooting took place on about August 10, 1941.

<sup>13</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 313, pp. 2, 73, 75. The shooting took place on August 22, 1941.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, file 296, pp. 118, 120 obverse. The shooting took place on August 10, 1941.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, file 299, p. 4. In the case file, 200 was corrected to 2486. The number of victims is clearly inflated. See also YIU, no. 1741U.

<sup>16</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 58 dated August 20, 1941. In late July, seventeen Soviet activists (Neybrut, the procurement officer for the district consumer cooperative, Sigal, the head of canteen, Voloshin, Frenkel, and others) were arrested and shot on the grounds of the sugar factory in Yanushpil [Memorandum Report from the Military Prosecutor of the First Ukrainian Front to the Main Military Prosecutor of the Red Army "On the Fact-Finding Investigation of the Atrocities Perpetrated by the German-Fascist Invaders and their Accomplices over February 1944" (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 64, file 812, p. 172 obverse)].

<sup>17</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 60 dated August 22, 1941. In Vchoraishe, ten to twelve Jews dug a pit for the shooting of the Communists and were then shot together with them. (B. Rabiner, ed., *My rodnom iz getto. Vospominaniya byvshikh uznikov Mogilov-Podolskogo getto* [We are from the ghetto. Memoirs of former prisoners of the Mogilev-Podolsk ghetto] (New York, 1996), 79).

<sup>18</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 60 dated August 22, 1941.

<sup>19</sup> The brigade was active in the territory starting from August 6, 1941.

<sup>20</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> SS Infantry Brigade report dated August 10, 1941 on activity during the period August 6-8, 1941 (Vojenský historický archiv Praha, KdoS RF SS, karton 19, inv. č. 37). See also YIU, no. 246-247U. In Cherniakhiv, after the shooting of the Jewish men, the *Ortskommandantur* purportedly moved the remaining Jewish women and children in a freight car, where they were held for some time before the shooting. [W. Lower, *Nazi Empire-Building and the Holocaust in Ukraine* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 88].

<sup>21</sup> III/375 – The 3rd Battalion of the 375<sup>th</sup> Infantry Regiment of the 213th Security Division.

<sup>22</sup> The judgement of the judicial panel on criminal cases of the Zhytomyr Regional Court from March 15, 1975 in the case against Weiss, Vir, Prischepa, Darnapuk, and Shlapak (the case against R. R. Weiss and others, in: Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region). According to the excavation of human remains, the forensic medical report concluded that, in total, at least 382 people were shot behind the railroad embankment, the bodies of the people that had been shot were buried in nine pits.

<sup>23</sup> See the emergency message of the political department of the 31st Army Corps to the Director of the Main Political Directorate of the Red Army, the Director of the Political Directorate of the Southwest Front, and the Director of the Political Directorate of the 5<sup>th</sup> Army dated August 5, 1941 (Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, fund 32, catalogue 11289, file 83, pp. 353-356). On the shooting of Jews, see also YIU, no. 1746U.

<sup>24</sup> See the 1<sup>st</sup> SS (Mot.) Infantry report dated August 10, 1941 [Fritz Baade et al, eds., *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue. Kriegstagebuch des Kommandostabes RFSS. Tätigkeitsberichte der 1. und 2.SS-Infanterie-Brigade, der 1.SS-Kavallerie-Brigade und von Sonderkommandos der SS* (Vienna and Frankfurt am Main: Europa Verlag, 1965), 103-105]. According to the Extraordinary State Commission's materials, 143 Jews were shot in Volodarsk-Volynskyi during the occupation period. (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 288, pp. 1 obverse, 3). According to the recollections of a local resident, in the first days of the occupation of the village, five Jews had been shot (YIU, no. 1745U).

<sup>25</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 86 dated September 17, 1941. In Ushomyr, which was captured on August 6, 1941, 58 civilians and 283 POWs were shot during the first days of the occupation. {*Istoriya mist i sil URSR. Zhytomyrska oblast*

[The History of Cities and Villages of the Ukrainian SSR. Zhytomyr Region] (Kyiv, 1973), 327}. Some time later, ten or so Jews who had been hiding in the basement of the former hospital were shot (YIU, no. 1628U).

<sup>26</sup> Reports of the 1st SS Infantry Brigade from August 24 and 29, 1941 (*Unsere Ehre heißt Treue*, 114-117, 122-125).

<sup>27</sup> See radiogram of the 1st SS Infantry Brigade dated August 19, 1941 (Vojenský historický archiv Praha, KdoS RF SS, karton 1, inv. č. 2).

<sup>28</sup> 1st SS Infantry Brigade reports from August 29 and September 5, 1941 (*Unsere Ehre heißt Treue*, 122-125, 131-135). Regarding the shooting of Jews in Slovechne, see YIU, no. 1619U.

<sup>29</sup> Telegram no. 160 dated August 25, 1941 from the *Höherer SS-und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd*: During the cleansing operation in Baranivka, Durbrivka, and Izyaslav, 1,342 Jews were shot (Vojenský historický archiv Praha, KdoS RF SS, karton 1, inv. č. 2). The Jews in the village of Serechnya were also shot (YIU, no. 1649U).

<sup>30</sup> See the interrogation report of Fritz Forberg from October 4, 1967 (BArch B 162/6654, Bl. 993-994).

<sup>31</sup> L. Kogan, "Kholokost na Zhytomyrshchynе" [The Holocaust in the Zhytomyr Region], in *Istorychni uroky Holokostu ta mizhnatsional'ni vidnosyny (do 70-richchya pochatku Druhoyi svitovoyi viyny). Materialy mizhnarodnoyi naukovo-praktychnoyi konferentsiyi dlya vykladachiv ta studentiv (Zhytomyr, 23-24 zhovtnya 2009 r.)* [Historical lessons of the Holocaust and interethnic relations (on the 70th anniversary of the beginning of World War II). Proceedings of the international scientific-practical conference for teachers and students] (Zhytomyr, October 23-24, 2009)] (Dnipro: Tkuma, 2010), 333. See also YIU, no. 1650U.

<sup>32</sup> [https://www.yadvashem.org/untoldstories/database/writtenAccounts.asp?cid=1120&site\\_id=1621](https://www.yadvashem.org/untoldstories/database/writtenAccounts.asp?cid=1120&site_id=1621). According to other information (L. Kogan, "Kholokost na Zhytomyrshchynе" [The Holocaust in the Zhytomyr Region], 332), 220 Jews were shot. See also, YIU, no. 1659U. About 10 Jews, who had gone into hiding before the first shooting, were found and killed in the following days, YIU, no. 1661U.

<sup>33</sup> Telegram no. 179 dated August 26, 1941 from the *Höherer SS-und Polizeiführer Russland-Süd*: "Police regiment south shot 549 Jews" (Vojenský historický archiv Praha, KdoS RF SS, karton 1, inv. č. 2). According to the Extraordinary State Commission's materials, 620 Jews (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 291, p. 4: official report dated April 10, 1945) or even 890 (*Ibid.*, p. 87) were shot in Dzerzhynsk on August 25, 1941.

<sup>34</sup> Telegram no. 179 dated August 26, 1941. Starting from August 25, Jeckeln's command headquarters were located in Berdychiv.

<sup>35</sup> Testimony of Yefim Zakharov-Zaidnenberg (born in 1927) {Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my. Svidetel'stva i dokumenty* [Only we have remained alive. Testimonies and Documents] (Kyiv: Zadruga, 1999), 161}. The shooting took place on August 9, 1941 near the village of Yurivka "on the edges of Ladiva Vilshana grove." See also YIU, no. 1709, 1711U.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, 79 (Testimony of Grigory Vainerman). Young men were shot. The number of victims and the date were taken from an interview with the editor in chief of the newspaper *Slovo Polesya*, Anatoly Strelchuk (2015). ([https://www.yadvashem.org/untoldstories/database/writtenAccounts.asp?cid=1132&site\\_id=1641](https://www.yadvashem.org/untoldstories/database/writtenAccounts.asp?cid=1132&site_id=1641)). The Jews were from Rohachiv and surrounding villages (Ostrozhek and others). Along with the Jews, 42-46 POWs and Soviet activists were shot.

<sup>37</sup> See the interrogation report of witness Ludvik Sinitsky from April 24, 1945 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 292, p. 4). Part of the Jews were killed in the town, while the majority was murdered in the forest three kilometers outside the town in the direction of the village of Ivanivka. The list of victims in the town of Dobvysh mentions 204 people, including 17 non-Jews (12 men and 5 women), that is, 197 Jews, including 148 children (p. 7 with obverse).

<sup>38</sup> Report dated April 16, 1945 (*Ibid.*, p. 8). There is a list of victims' names (p. 9 with obverse).

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, file 315, p. 25 with obverse (report from May 23, 1945). Among the victims, there were 83 adults and 28 children (see the list of names of Jewish victims in the report itself.) See also the testimony of witness A. D. Miletskaya (twenty-one years old in 1941): the shooting took place in late September 1941; seventy Jews were shot; "in all, the Germans with the help of the police shot 111 people in the village of Nov. Chudniv (*Ibid.*, p. 26). According to the report of the district commission dated May 12, 1945, 68 Jews were shot in the village of Nov. Chudniv in August 1941 (*Ibid.* p. 3).

<sup>40</sup> L. Kogan, "Kholokost na Zhytomyrshchynе," 333. A group of Jewish men was shot in a location west of the village of Hlybochok (YIU, no. 1651-1652U), while the women and children were sent to Baranivka.

<sup>41</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 305, pp. 5,45.

<sup>42</sup> See the interrogation report of witness Y. T. Voitenko, a former police officer, from March 27, 1980 (BArch B 162/40256, Bl. 111). Jewish men were taken on trucks outside of the village of Yahodynka and shot in a pit near the Jewish cemetery.

<sup>43</sup> Vojenský historický archiv Praha, KdoS RF SS, karton 1, inv. č. 2. On August 29, 1941, Jews (65 people) were shot, in all likelihood in Krasnoarmeysk.

<sup>44</sup> For further details see: Reinhard Steffler, *Die deutsche Feuerwehr und ihre Helfer als Teil der Etappensicherung in der Ukraine 1941 bis 1943* (Dessau: Machtwortverlag, 2017).

<sup>45</sup> War diary of the department of the 1a command staff of the 454th Security Division, note dated August 31, 1941 (BA-MA RH 26-454/5). For further details, see: BG Neubrandenburg, Urteil v. 26.06.1981 (DJuNSV, Lfd. Nr. 1013 Bd. I, S. 346+).

<sup>46</sup> For further details, see: BG Neubrandenburg, Urteil v. 26.06.1981 (DJuNSV, Lfd. Nr. 1013 Bd. I, S. 346+).

<sup>47</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 281, pp. 16, 324 obverse. In Andrushivka, the shooting took place on August 19, 1941.

<sup>48</sup> See the testimony of witness V. G. Feshenko from June 11, 1970 to Soviet investigating authorities (BArch B 162/7330, Bl. 552). See also YIU, no. 1734U.

<sup>49</sup> "Yoskina Valley" in Zhytomyr region: the place where the Ukrainian *polizei* shot Jews. (<https://www.facebook.com/andrushivka/posts/1912437195453222>).

<sup>50</sup> See the OUN report on the Trojaniv district dated August 18, 1941 (State Archive of the Zhytomyr Region, fund 1151, catalogue 1, file 2, p. 68).

<sup>51</sup> Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine, fund 3833, catalogue 1, file 166, p. 47. Purportedly, on August 22, 1941, 500 people were killed, mostly Jews, in Ovruch, on the eastern outskirts of the town. {I. O. Gerasimov, ed., *Knyha Pamyati Ukrayiny. Zhytomyrska oblast* [The Book of Memory of Ukraine. Zhytomyr Region], vol. 8 (Zhytomyr: Lyonok, 1995), 7}.



## 5. Killings of Jews in September 1941

September was the bloodiest month of the entire occupation period. It began with the shooting of Jews in Berdychiv, where on September 4 the staff company of Higher SS and Police Leader in Russia South, *SS-Obergruppenführer* Jeckeln exterminated the Jewish youth, thereby neutralizing those elements that could have offered resistance. We read the following in *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 88 dated September 19, 1941:

*On September 1 and 2, 1941, leaflets and inflammatory pamphlets were distributed by Jews in Berdichev. As the perpetrators could not be found, 1,303 Jews, among them 875 Jewesses over 12 years, were executed by a unit of the Higher SS and Police Leaders.<sup>1</sup>*

At the end of August or the beginning of September 1941

*[...] with the participation of the defendants Shlapak, Darnapuk, and Weiss [former members of the Cherniakhiv district police force], over 150 people of Jewish ethnicity were shot in the ballast quarry near the village of Divochky in Cherniakhiv district. These people were removed from the places where they were kept under arrest and delivered by trucks and on foot to the Horbashi train station on the outskirts of Cherniakhiv, loaded into train cars and delivered using a diesel shunting locomotive to the execution site.*

*The defendants Weiss, Shlapak, and Darnapuk loaded the people into train cars using physical force; at the execution site they handled the unloading and personally participated in the shooting.*

*Weiss personally shot one person, while Shlapak and Darnapuk shot at least five or six people each.*

*During loading at Horbashi train station, he searched everybody, confiscated money and other valuables, which he handed over to the occupation authorities. In all, he collected about thirteen thousand rubles [...]*

*In September 1941, in the village of Vydybor in Cherniakhiv district, the defendants Shlapak and Darnapuk, together with other police, arrested three families of citizens of Jewish citizens consisting of fifteen people, and delivered them to the Cherniakhiv district police building. That same month, these citizens were shot near the pharmacy in the town of Cherniakhiv with the participation of Shlapak and Darnapuk.<sup>2</sup>*

On September 5, all the Jews (136 people) in the village of Pavoloch (Popilnia district) were shot.<sup>3</sup>

On around this date, women and children (about 270 people) were also shot in the town of Kamianyi Brid (Dovbysh district).<sup>4</sup> During the shooting, one of the women allegedly attacked one



of the executioners: She hit him with a rock and then jumped into the rock quarry that was being used as the execution site.<sup>5</sup>

On September 6, *Sonderkommando* 4a carried out a “Jewish operation” in Radomyshl” Members of the squad shot 1,107 adult Jews, while the “Ukrainian militia” shot 561 Jewish children, 1,668 people in all.<sup>6</sup> Jews from the vicinity had been assembled in Radomyshl, and as a result “Jewish homes” were severely overcrowded. According to *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 88 from September 19, 1941:

*On the average, 15 persons lived in one room. Hygienic conditions became intolerable. Every day several Jewish corpses had to be removed from the houses. It was impossible to supply food to the Jews as well as the children. In consequence, there was an ever-increasing danger of epidemics.*

Former police officer Alexander Karbovksy, who participated in the shooting, testified to the following during an interrogation on July 18, 1947:<sup>7</sup>

*[...] after all the detainees had been transferred to the police station courtyard with the help of all police under the leadership of [police chief] Wachholz and German SS troops, removals to the shooting site began. The police station courtyard was heavily guarded by police [...] up to eight trucks, four of which were mobilized from the woolen mill and other businesses and four from the gendarmerie, of which two – from the SS-team – were covered “black crow” prison vehicles, participated in the transfer. Before the Jews were loaded into the trucks, the police searched them, confiscating any valuables and clothing that the detainees still had [...] Right then, Wachholz appointed me and Mikhail Ivanovich Gorbarenko to escort the Jews in one of the trucks to the forest behind the village of Rudnya to be shot [...] Once we arrived at the execution site, the detainees were unloaded from the trucks and placed facedown on the ground in rows. Then we would tell one row to stand up, lead them to the dug out pit, and shoot them while they were standing there. The dead bodies would fall into the pit. After that, we would tell the second row to get up, again lead them to the pit, and shoot them there. I used a rifle, the German SS officers used assault rifles. We, the police, were kneeling ten meters from the pit and fired on Wachholz’s command, aiming for the victims’ backs [...] The Germans were standing behind us and fired their assault rifles, aiming for the head [...] The day after the shooting was my day off. When I came back to the police station two days later, there were only children and several hundred women there, whom they continued to transfer to the execution site that day [...].*

Details about the shooting of the women and children can be found in the testimony of former police officer Vladimir Shunevich:<sup>8</sup>

*[...] on the command of police chief Wachholz, I, together with police officers Ivan Matryshenko, Aleksey Revutsky, and police chief Wachholz, drove to the forest in the direction of the Kelvich hamlet, two to three kilometers from the town of Radomyshl, to the place where the mass shootings of Soviet citizens of Jewish ethnicity were being*

*carried out. Two hundred meters before we reached the execution site, the truck [...] stopped. Police chief Wachholz, who had gotten out of the cab of the truck, ordered us to follow him. After walking two hundred meters, we noticed two trucks, in which women and children were sitting. Gestapo officers and police officer Vladimir Shkidchenko were standing by these trucks. When he got to the trucks, police chief Wachholz ordered myself – Shunevich, Ivan Matruschenko, and Alexey Revitsky to remove the children from the trucks and to seat them on the ground next to these trucks, and to help the women off the trucks and place them facedown next to the children sitting on the ground. All this was done with my own hands and by the police officers I have named [...]*

*After all this, groups of ten to fifteen women were led to the pits, and the Gestapo, who were standing about ten to fifteen meters from the pits, shot them. The Gestapo officers were lined up in two rows. The first row was in kneeling position, and the other was standing, and they shot the women and children in this manner.*

*In addition, besides the Gestapo officers standing with rifles and shooting the women and children, there were other Gestapo officers by the pit. When women with babies approached, these Gestapo officers took the babies and shot them point blank in the head with their pistols to kill the babies, and then threw them into the pits where their dead mothers lay.*

*Children and teenagers, whom we had helped down from the trucks and seated on the ground, that is, groups of five to six children, were taken by police chief Wachholz who came up to them, and ordered them to take each other by the hand, and then led them to the pit, where they were shot by the Gestapo officers. Those children who were small and could not walk up to the pit and stand over the precipice of the pit, were taken by the hand and lifted over the pit, where they were shot with a pistol and also thrown into the pit.*

On September 10, several “Jewish operations” were carried out simultaneously: In Ruzhyn, *Einsatzkommando 5* probably shot dead 750 Jews,<sup>9</sup> while in Chudniv Police Battalion 303 killed about 900 Jews.<sup>10</sup> The battalion was in Chudniv from September 5 to 23, 1941. Major Hannibal, the battalion commander, passed on the order to shoot the adult Jews, which had been given by the regiment, to the commander of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Company, Fritz Falter, who then entrusted the commander of the 4<sup>th</sup> Platoon, Lieutenant Herbert Schulz, with carrying out this order. Some members of the company removed Jews from their homes, others delivered them to the execution site outside of the town (on foot or on trucks), while still others drove on ahead and cordoned off the area. At the execution site, there was a pit that had been dug and a well. The victims had to stand in groups at the edge of the pit facing it, and four or five shooters killed them with a bullet to the back of the head from their pistols. By the well, the victims had to kneel down at the edge of the well facing it, and then they were also killed by a bullet to the back of the head from a pistol.

Otto Schmidt, a former police *Obersekretär* who witnessed the shooting, testified to the following at an interrogation in 1961:<sup>11</sup>

*Three to four hundred Jews were taken on trucks belonging to our battalion to a place outside of the town. A pit about six by four meters in size had been dug on higher ground at the designated site. The Jews were brought there. There, the Jews were shot in their clothing. I was myself an eyewitness to this operation for some time. Since the pit could not fit all the people that had been shot, the remaining Jews were executed in the nearby mine [...] The Jews walked up to the mine one by one and then a shooter killed them with a bullet to the back of the head from his pistol. At the same time he fired, the shooter kicked the victim into the mine with his boot. I don't know the name of the shooter [...] He had to be relieved after a certain number of victims, but contrary to expectations, he insisted on continuing the execution. As far as I know, he purportedly shot three hundred Jews on his own [...]*

*[...] among the Jewish women that were supposed to be shot, was an approximately twenty-two year old woman that informed Schultz, who was directing the execution, that she had a small child. She asked for her life to be spared. Several of the women present confirmed this. I accidentally witnessed and overheard this, and was anxiously watching to see what decision Schultz would make. I tried, in a purely humane way, to influence Schulz so that the young woman would be freed. I said, "Herbert, after all, we have a provision stating that women and teenage girls shouldn't be shot, especially since this young woman has a small child." Schultz responded verbatim, "Nonsense!" This rascal will grow up even without a mother." I personally did not see how this young woman was shot [...]*

That same day 140 Jews in Raihorodok (Yanushpil district),<sup>12</sup> all of Bilylivka's Jews,<sup>13</sup> and about 200 Jews (women, children, and old people) in Troyaniv<sup>14</sup> were shot dead. At about the same time, in Koresten *Sonderkommando* 4a carried out its last "Jewish operation," thus concluding the extermination of Jews in that town. The head of *Sonderkommando* 4a, Paul Blobel, supervised the shooting. In his post-war affidavit dated June 6, 1947, he described this operation in the following manner:<sup>15</sup>

*6. I witnessed several mass executions, and in two cases I was ordered to direct the execution. In August or September 1941 an execution took place near Korosten. 700 to 1,000 men were shot, and Dr. Rasch was present at the execution. I had divided my unit into a number of execution squads of 30 men each. First, the subordinated police of the Ukrainian militia, the population, and the members of the Sonderkommando seized the people, and mass graves were prepared. Out of the total number of the persons designated for the execution, 15 men were led in each case to the brink of the mass grave, where they had to kneel down, their faces turned toward the grave. At that time, clothes and valuables were not yet collected. Later on this was changed. The execution squads were composed of men of the Sonderkommando 4a, the militia, and the police. When the men were ready for the execution, one of my leaders who was in charge of this execution squad gave the order to shoot. Since they were kneeling on the brink of the mass grave, the victims fell, as a rule, at once into the mass grave. I have always used rather large execution squads, since I declined to use men who were*

*specialists for shots in the neck. Each squad shot for about one hour and was then replaced. The persons which still had to be shot were assembled near the place of the execution and were guarded by members of those squads which at that moment did not take part in the executions. I supervised personally the execution which I have described here, and I saw to it that no excesses took place.*

Three thousand two hundred (?) Jews from Novohrad-Volynskyi (Zwiahel) and the vicinity were shot, probably on September 10.<sup>16</sup> This operation was conducted, in all likelihood, by the 3rd company of Police Battalion 45.<sup>17</sup> The remaining Jews in the town (319 people) that had been assembled in the prison were shot by the maintenance platoon of the 1<sup>st</sup> SS Infantry Brigade, which had been in the town since September 12. The platoon commander, *SS-Untersturmführer* Max Täubner, as is indicated in the judgement of the Supreme SS and Police Court in Munich from May 24, 1943:

*learned from the Ukrainian mayor that over 300 Jews were being held in a prison. The mayor asked for authorization to shoot them. The accused heard that the Wehrmacht was issuing Jewesses with certificates [...]. As, in his opinion, the Wehrmacht was too sentimental he decided to carry out the execution with his platoon. Outside the village a grave was dug by the Ukrainian militia by the side of which the Jews – men, women and children – had to kneel. They were then shot at close range in the nape of the neck when the order was given<sup>18</sup>.*

*SS-Scharführer* Ernst Göbel, who was in charge of the shooting, testified to the following during an interrogation on March 25, 1976:

*The victims were shot by the firing-squad with carbines, mostly by shots in the back of the head, for a distance of one metre on my command. Before every salvo, Täubner gave me the order – ‘Get set, fire!’ I just relayed Täubner’s command. The way this happened was that I gave the command ‘Aim! Fire!’ to the members of the firing squad, and then there was a crack of gunfire. Meanwhile Rottenführer Abraham shot the children with a pistol. There were about five of them. These were children whom I would think were aged between two and six years. The way Abraham killed the children was brutal. He got hold of some of the children by the hair, lifted them up from the ground, shot them through the back of their heads and then threw them into the grave. After a while I just could not watch this any more and I told him to stop. What I meant was he should not lift the children up by the hair, he should kill them in a more decent way.<sup>19</sup>*

During the first ten days of September the 1<sup>st</sup> SS Infantry Brigade continued cleansing the area north of the Korosten-Bilokorovychi road and in the process shot at least 88 Jews, including 18 in Ovruch on September 7.<sup>20</sup>

In the beginning of September, part of Myropil's Jews were executed. Police Battalion 303 was in Myropil from the beginning of August until the beginning of September 1941. On September 5, 1941, the battalion left for Chudniv, and from Chudniv it moved on to Kiev on September 23, 1941. Before its departure to Chudniv, the battalion shot at least a hundred Jews in Myropil.<sup>21</sup> It may have happened on September 5, 1941. That day, Police Regiment South shot dead 144 Jews.<sup>22</sup> It is possible that these Jews were executed specifically in Myropil.<sup>23</sup> Hermann Teichert, the former *Spiess Spieß* (senior NCO) of the battalion's 1<sup>st</sup> Company, recounted the following about the events in Myropil:<sup>24</sup>

*In Myropil I installed myself in the home of a Jewish family. The Jews were able to continue living in the same house. Similarly, my company commander, Alterndorf, moved in with a Jewish family. By that time, Alterndorf had returned from a meeting at battalion commander Hannibal's and told me that an order had come in from the regiment that we had to shoot the Jews in Myropil. Hannibal had purportedly announced at this meeting that he would not be carrying out this order since the police battalion was not tasked with shooting civilians. Even then, when we were in Myropil, Alterndorf went to another meeting at the battalion commander's and after his return he informed me that the regiment was requesting a message confirming that the shooting of the Jews had indeed been carried out. If I remember correctly, at the meeting they apparently talked about finding some sort of pretext against the Jews in order to have the right to execute them. But we didn't keep track of this matter any further. Soon we left Myropil.*

The former commander of the 1st Company, Oswald Alterndorf, testified to the following in this regard:<sup>25</sup>

*When we were in Myropil, the company commanders, possibly all officers, were summoned to the battalion commander's. He informed us that he had been given an audacious request for the battalion to carry out an operation against the Jewish population. Hannibal was very resentful about it and said "I'm a soldier. I must have a written order. I haven't received one." Subsequently nothing happened.*

In Myropil many shoemakers and tailors worked for the battalion. The battalion's companies and staff company used them for the battalion's needs – to wash laundry, repair equipment, and other jobs. A former police *Wachtmeister* in the battalion's 3<sup>rd</sup> Company, Otto Panzer, who oversaw the work of the Jewish craftsmen in the company, once heard gunshots in Myropil. The Jews told him that they were shooting their women and children. Panzer's testimony corroborates the testimony of Karl Hols, a former police officer in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Platoon of the 1<sup>st</sup>

Company, who had heard that the Jews, with the exception of artisans, were being shot in Myropil.<sup>26</sup>

In total, over the first ten days of September, over nine thousand Jews were exterminated in the region.

The second third of September began with an operation in Korostyshiv on September 12.<sup>27</sup>

According to a report of *Feldkommandantur* 197 from September 20, 1941:

*it was discovered that Jews in Korostyshiv and Zhytomyr maintained relations with the partisans. In retaliation, sixty Jews were shot in Korostyshiv.*<sup>28</sup>

On September 13-14, Police Battalion 45 shot 1,379 Jews (1,199 locals and 180 refugees) in Liubar.<sup>29</sup> On September 15, this same battalion and the “staff company” of former SS and Police Leader *SS- Obergruppenführer* Friedrich Jeckeln shot about 12,000 Jews in Berdychiv.<sup>30</sup> A description of the preparations and progress of this operation is contained in both the charging documents and judgements in the cases against former members of Police Battalion 45, as well as in witness testimonies – both Ukrainian and German. For instance in the judgement of the jury court of the Landgericht Regensburg from February 14, 1973, the operation is described in the following manner:<sup>31</sup>

*From September 5 to 21, 1945, Police Battalion 45 was stationed in Berdychiv. During this time, one day [battalion commander] Major Besser and regiment commander Rosenbauer were summoned to report to Higher SS and Police Leader Jeckeln, who was also in Berdychiv. He informed them that in the coming days the Jews of Berdychiv were to be shot. The Jews would be summoned to assemble via posters talking about resettlement or being sent to work. The shooting had to be carried out at an airfield near Berdychiv. Police Battalion 45 had to take part in it. Detailed instructions would follow.*

*After that, Major Besser with his company commanders headed to the airfield to inspect it. There he determined that numerous pits had already been dug.*

*Several days after this meeting, Major Besser received an order to present his unit for the Jewish operation on the following day. Major Besser familiarized his company commanders, including the commander of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Company, Hauptmann Berensen, with this order.*

*At the very latest, on the morning of the shooting, Berensen informed the defendant [the company's senior NCO Hauptwachtmeister Forberg] about this order. He discussed the operation with him and ordered him to assign individual platoons for the cordon, transfer, guard duty, and execution of the Jews according to his detailed instructions. The 4<sup>th</sup> Platoon, under the command of Lieutenant Tille, was assigned to be the Sonderkommando, which had to carry out the shooting of the Jews. This was done after talks between the company commander and the platoon commanders.*

*Several members of the 4<sup>th</sup> Platoon, however, were replaced by volunteers from other platoons.*

*The defendant put together the assignments of the four platoons and presented them for approval to the company commander. After obtaining his approval, he announced the company's assignments. He also handled the trucks, food, and ammunition [...] After announcing the assignments, the company set off. While the three first platoons remained in the town, the defendant and his company commander and the fourth platoon drove out to the airfield right away. Meanwhile, part of the Jews in the town had already assembled in places designated by the notices. The assigned teams, including SS teams, searched homes and expelled all the Jews they found inside, including the sick and bed-ridden. Other teams cordoned off the assembly points, and another accompanied the Jews on the way to the airfield and took them there on trucks. The Jews arriving at the airfield assembled once more in a designated place. From there, they were sent to separate pits, where they were shot. They were supposed to lie down on the ground in these pits, and then they were killed with a bullet to the back of the head. When the bottom of the pit became filled with dead bodies, the next victims had to lie down on top of the corpses. The shootings were carried out not just by members of Police Battalion 45, but also by many members of the SS [...]*

*When the defendant together with Hauptmann Berensen arrived at the airfield, the shooting was already in progress. Major Besser and Higher SS and Police Leader Jeckeln were present. Hauptmann Berensen made a report to Major Besser. Then the Higher SS and Police Leader conferred with Hauptmann Berensen and Lieutenant Tille on the side. After that, Lieutenant Tille took his platoon away and distributed his people among the different pits, where they then started doing the shooting. The shooting victims were Jews of various ages and sexes, from babies to old people. In total, Hauptmann Berensen's company shot at least two thousand Jews.*

From the Regensburg prosecutor's charging document dated February 2, 1970:<sup>32</sup>

*The operation that began on the morning of September 12, 1941 [the correct date is September 15, 1941] continued for the entire day. The assigned teams cordoned off the designated streets and squares and, with the help of local police, removed Jewish residents, men, women, and children, including babies and sick people, from their homes, and guarded them in collection points and sent them on foot or on trucks to the execution site [...] At the execution site, the victims were shot by the pits or inside the pits with the participation of execution squads from three companies. After the this slaughter was completed, [...] the police covered the pits with dirt.*

*At the beginning of the execution, the defendant [battalion commander and police major] Besser made a report to HSSPF Jeckeln, who was standing right there. He received an assignment from the latter to send the company or part of the company to the town, take the mentally ill from the hospital, and then deliver them to the execution site, which was then carried out.*

*The defendant [commander of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Company, Oberleutnant of the police] Kreutzer [...] assigned shooters onsite and, at the very beginning, jumped into the pit with them. He ordered the first victims to lie facedown on the ground, and instructed the shooters on what they had to do. He demonstrated it himself by shooting the first victims, at least five men and women, with his own pistol. It was only after this that the shooters began shooting the victims. When the bottom of the pit was covered with dead bodies, the defendant Kreutzer ordered the victims to then lie down on top of the corpses. One young woman came up to Kreutzer and said something like "Jehovah" and spat in front him. The gob of spit landed on his boot. The defendant immediately grabbed this*

*young Jewish woman, put her facedown on the ground, and said, "I'll shoot her dead myself." Then he walked back a few paces, took out his pistol, and shot his victim from a distance of about two meters. Other than that, he oversaw what his people were doing. If a victim was determined to still be alive, he finished her off [...] During this, or perhaps one of the previous operations, he finished off a baby that had still been alive [...]*

A farmworker from the hamlet of Shlemarka, Nikita Doichik, testified to the following when he was questioned as a witness following the liberation of the town:<sup>33</sup>

*[...] My house was located about five meters from the Berdichev-Liubar highway. In August 1941, for almost the entire month, Red Army POWs, guarded by German soldiers were digging two pits north of my home, about two hundred meters from the highway. From my backyard, everything was clearly visible. Two pits had been dug. After the shootings were over, out of curiosity I measured the pits, one of which turned out to be seventy paces in length, and three meters in width. The other pit was square, about five meters long, and as much wide. Before the shootings, while they were finishing the work, and the guards were on a break, I observed the depth of these pits, and they turned out to be up to three to four meters deep. After the pits had been dug, covered trucks started driving up to the highway one day in September 1941, from 7 a.m. to 2 p.m. These trucks stopped near my house, and they started unloading Jews from the town of Berdychiv. Each truck brought in fifteen to twenty people, among them were old people, women, and children. After the people had been unloaded from the trucks, they were herded to the pits, where Germans armed with assault rifles were standing. The trucks arrived under guard, and they herded people to the pits under guard as well. About eight people did the shooting. During the entire day, from 7 a.m. to 2 p.m. I stood in my backyard and observed this scene, since not only was everything clearly visible from my yard, but you could hear everything too. I saw how many people begged not to be shot, and one girl started running around the pit, but they caught her and threw her into the pit. Besides the trucks, people also arrived in columns of two to three hundred people under heavy guard. Among them were people who could not move due to their ill condition. I myself saw how their relatives put these sick people on blankets, on sheets, and several people carried them to the pit. It must be noted that everyone had some belongings with them, and some had suitcases. All the belongings were placed near the pits, and then the shootings took place. Many sick and old people were brought to the pits supported by others. Those individuals who resisted were thrown into the pit alive. I observed cases where a mother was carrying her child in her arms, and they shot her right there with the child in her arms. At the end, columns of young people – boys and girls – started arriving. Almost all of them were crying, screaming, I heard screams begging them not to shoot, that they wanted to live, and given that this category of people resisted the most, they would catch them and throw them in the pit alive [...] Covering the pits with dirt was done by Ukrainian police. After the shootings, there was talk among the villagers. I personally didn't see, but from the accounts of residents of our hamlet I found out that when they started covering the pit with earth, a girl had somehow stayed alive and was lying near the pit. When they discovered that this girl was alive, she begged them not to kill her, then one of the Ukrainian police came up to her and crushed her skull with a blow of his shovel [...]*



On September 19, Sonderkommando 4a shot dead 3,145 Jews in Zhytomyr.<sup>34</sup> In the *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 106 from October 10, 1941, the following is written about the operation in Zhytomyr:

*The Militia headquarters, according to a suggestion of Sonderkommando 4a, arranged a temporary, local concentration of Jews in Zhitomir. This resulted in a quieter atmosphere, for example, in the markets, etc. At the same time, obstinate rumors diminished and it seemed that together with the concentration of the Jews, the Communists, too, lost much ground. However, it became obvious after a few days that concentration of the Jews without building a ghetto did not suffice, and that the old difficulties emerged again after a short while. Complaints about the impertinence of the Jews in their various places of work stemmed from various quarters. It was noted that strong propaganda activity among the Ukrainians, claiming that the Red Army would return very soon into the areas that had been taken away from them, had their origin in the Jewish quarter. The local militia was shot at, at night, and even in the daytime from an ambush. It was also established that Jews exchanged their belongings for money in order to move into the Western Ukraine where a civil administration already exists. All these phenomena could be observed. However, it was possible to get hold of the involved Jews only in the rarest cases, as they had sufficient opportunities to evade arrest. Therefore, a conference was called together with military H.Q. on September 10, 1941. The resulting decision was the final and radical liquidation of the Jews of Zhitomir, since all warnings [threats] and special measures [punishments] had not led to any perceptible change. On September 19, 1941, from 4 o'clock [a.m.], the Jewish quarter was emptied after having been surrounded and closed the previous evening by 60 members of the Ukrainian militia. The transport [deportation] was accomplished in 12 trucks, part of which had been supplied by military headquarters and part by the city administration of Zhitomir. After the transport had been carried out and the necessary preparations made with the help of 150 prisoners, 3,145 Jews were registered and shot [...]*

I.Y. Pressman, who had survived the shooting, later recalled the following:

*We were led to the shooting in a huge column of thousands of people, Jews and non-Jews were herded together. Those who were at the end of their rope and those who simply aroused dislike in the executioners were shot on the way. The road to death stopped near the village of Dobzhik. Right near the road, flush with the forest, the Germans had set up the table, and the doomed victims were led up to it. First names and last names were recorded perfunctorily in a special list. Right there, they confiscated all belongings, forced everyone to take off their clothes. Each seam was carefully examined – they were looking for hidden jewelry. Some were sent to the ravine completely naked. I saw a German was knocking out the teeth of the latest victim who was still alive: He wanted to get his hands on the gold crowns. Not one person of those being led to be shot resisted, nobody asked for protection. Insults, humiliation, and fear made people calm in the face of death. Many regarded death as an escape from inevitable suffering. Groups of people were brought to a pit that had already been dug. The graves had been dug by the prisoners condemned to death that still had strength. People were tied together with chains. Woman with babies in their arms were shaking from cold, and covering their children. They were shooting at adult chest level, and that's why children sometimes fell into the pit when they were only wounded and died an agonizing death being suffocated by the dead bodies falling on top of them. I managed to save myself because the Germans were aiming above my head. They killed*

*my mother and brother. My mother managed to cover me with her body. The Germans paid no attention to those who were still alive. They were covered with dirt. The residents of neighboring villages claim that, for several days after the shooting, the earth, almost liquid from blood, moved in waves at the execution site.<sup>35</sup>*

In the same period, 53 Jews in Old and New Liubar,<sup>36</sup> as well as over 400 Jews from Bazar and Chopovychi districts<sup>37</sup> were shot on the way to Korosten. As far as the latter shootings are concerned, then the *Feldkommandantur* 197 report from September 20, 1941 is clearly talking about them:

*After the Jews in Korosten had for the most part been shot by the SD, in the past few days it has again been determined that Jews in the vicinity of Korosten are very actively working against the German Wehrmacht and are terrorizing the Ukrainian population. For instance, Jews in the vicinity of Korosten have brought together assemblies of Ukrainian farmers [...] Then all the Jews in this area were shot by the SD.<sup>38</sup>*

This operation is also mentioned in the *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 119 from October 20, 1941:

*The local military command in Korosten reported that meetings of farmers in surrounding villages were interrupted or dispersed, and the perpetrators are mainly Jews. In the following action by Sonderkommando 4a, a total of 177 Jews were checked and then executed because it was demonstrated conclusively that they caused a series of unbearable disturbances.*

In total, in the second third of September 1941, over seventeen thousand Jews were exterminated.

In the final third of the month several hundred more Jews were shot, including 274 Jews from Krasnoarmeysk<sup>39</sup> and 157 Jews (29 men, 66 women, and 62 children) from the Myropil cluster of villages (Kamenka, New Myropil, and Old Myropil) in Dzerzhynsk district.<sup>40</sup> The shootings of Jews were carried out directly by local police under German supervision. One of the police officers in Krasnoarmeysk, who guarded the victims at the shooting site, described what he witnessed as follows:<sup>41</sup>

*[...] One September or early October morning in 1941, district police chief Opanaschuk ordered the entire police force of the district police to fall into formation. The police force of the district police consisted of about twenty-five to thirty officers. Then he told us that we, the police, on orders from the commander of the district gendarmerie, have to carry out a shooting of all the inhabitants of the ghetto. In order to prevent the victims from escaping or other undesirable incidents, we had to*

assemble all citizens of Jewish ethnicity in a single place, at the former district police building. To keep the citizens of Jewish ethnicity from figuring out that they would be shot afterward, we, the police, had to announce to the ghetto inhabitants that, in connection with their prospective departure to do farm work, all able-bodied citizens had to put on their nicest clothes, take their money and valuables and follow us to the collection point in the former district police building. We had to tell the citizens of Jewish ethnicity remaining in the ghetto – the elderly, the sick, and women with babies – that the occupation authorities would subsequently send them to Palestine. I – Osipchuk, Fenrikh, and the police officers I indicated above carried out the order and went to the ghetto, where we entered homes and announced the order from the district gendarmerie to the citizens of Jewish ethnicity. Soon after that, all the able-bodied inhabitants of the ghetto were assembled in the former district police building. On Opanaschuk's orders, I, personally, Fenrikh, Kolosovsky, Lebedev, Pavlovsky, and another fifteen police officers guarded the assembled able-bodied citizens of Jewish ethnicity in the building, while other police were ordered to also take all the non-able bodied sick inhabitants of the ghetto and women with babies on carts to this building. Some time later, about ten sick and very old women of Jewish ethnicity, and about five to eight women with babies were delivered on two carts to this building [...] The police, laughing, guarded the victims until morning [...]

The next morning, on Opanaschuk's instructions, all the police received Russian-style riffles and twenty cartridges each [...] Then we all went to the building where the citizens of Jewish ethnicity were being held. From the police on guard duty by the building we found out that the gendarmes had searched the detainees and confiscated their money and valuables. I also noticed three or four gendarmes standing nearby [...] As instructed by the gendarmerie commander, whose orders were interpreted by his interpreter, a local ethnic German, a pair police officers entered the building where the detainees were being held and led all the detainees outside onto the street. It was about 8 o'clock. All the Jews who were able to walk were lined up into a column [...] About ten elderly woman could not stand in the column due to illness or weakness. Then Opanaschuk directed the driver of the district police to bring over a one-and-a-half-ton truck and put all the detainees who were sick or unable to walk in the truck [...] On the gendarmerie commander's order, the police surrounded the citizens of Jewish ethnicity from all sides and, with weapons at the ready, started escorting the victims down the street in the direction of the "Zapovit Ilyicha" collective farm [...] When the column went past a house and there was a citizen in the yard, then the victims said good-bye to everyone. Women and children were crying on the way. Women begged us police and gendarmes to spare their children and not shoot them.

After we passed the collective farm, the police escorted the citizens of Jewish ethnicity further along the field road in the direction of a forested area known as "Lysaya Hill." When we were thirty or forty meters from the aforementioned place, we received instructions from police chief Opanaschuk to stop the column of detainees, and I could discern a freshly dug pit, whose size was approximately ten by eight meters, in an open area about twenty-five to thirty meters from us. I could not see how deep the pit was. From some police officers [...] I found out that this pit had been dug a day or two earlier by POWs [...] The gendarmerie commander with his gendarmes and police chief Opanaschuk walked up to the pit, and after discussing something with the help of the interpreter, they returned to the police guarding the victims. When the victims saw the pit, they started weeping and saying goodbye to each other. Women and children hugged and kissed each other and asked us and the gendarmes to at least let the children live. Police chief Opanaschuk ordered the victims to place their money, valuables, and other things in a specific place and to undress down to their underwear. The citizens of Jewish ethnicity cursed the Fascists and started throwing their things

and valuables in a pile [...] Many victims did not want to undress down to their underwear. Then one of the police [...] on Opanaschuk's orders with assistance from the gendarmes, started ripping off their nice clothing. Then the police chief ordered three or four police officers to cordon off this place at a distance of about forty meters from the pits. The site was not cordoned off from the side of the forest [...] Then the gendarmerie commander ordered Opanaschuk through the interpreter to begin the shooting of the citizens of Jewish ethnicity. Opanaschuk ordered the police officers Albert Fenrikh, Ivan Kolosovsky, Alexey Lebedev, Raymond Pavlovsky, Iosif Merunko, Vasily Kirilyuk, Otto Hermann, and others whose names I no longer remember, about fifteen of them, to each take one victim and shoot them by the pit, while Opanaschuk ordered me and about ten other police officers to guard the remaining victims. Each of the aforementioned police officers [...] pushed a woman and separated her from the crowd of victims, led her away to the edge of the pit, and ordered his victim to stand facing the pit. Then these police officers backed away from their victims to a distance of five to six meters. Each of them stood facing his victim, raised his rifle and on the "Fire!" command from a gendarme, shot his victim in the head or back. After these shots, all the victims fell dead into the pit. The remaining women of various ages and children, whose friends and relatives had been shot before their very eyes, were weeping, tearing their hair out, and begging to be spared. These same police officers brought the next group of approximately fifteen women in the same manner. I noticed that about two women were carrying babies aged about a year old at most. The police [...] placed their victims on the edge of the pit, backed away from them to a distance of six meters and on the "Fire!" command issued by the same gendarme, shot the victims. When the women holding the babies in their arms fell into the pit, the screams of one child could be heard coming from the pit. Then the gendarmerie commander walked over to the pit, firing once or twice into the pit from his pistol, and then the child's screams stopped [...]

After the shooting of the second group of women, the aforementioned police officers came up to the detainees awaiting their fate, and took the next fifteen or so victims, which included three or four children aged six to twelve, led them to the pit and shot them in the same manner [...]

[...] After shooting two or three groups of citizens of Jewish ethnicity, a truck belonging to the district police arrived at the execution site driven by police driver Valutsky [...] In the back of the truck there were about ten sick and very old citizens of Jewish ethnicity. The women of Jewish ethnicity awaiting execution took the sick, old women from the truck and led them to the group of other victims. Those same police officers [...] in about ten to twelve groups, shot about another 150-180 victims in the same manner. At that moment two carts arrived at the execution site [...] the first cart was driven by police officer Voitenko [...] the carts stopped near us and Voitenko came up to us and observed the aforementioned police officers shooting the remaining 60 or so citizens of Jewish ethnicity in about four groups in the same manner. [...] In this way, each of the aforementioned police officers [...] in the course of the execution of about 300 women and children of Jewish ethnicity, shot at least 17-19 people each. I would also like to emphasize that when the police were shooting women who had small children in their arms, they only shot the women holding the children. The children fell into the pit alive with their dead mothers. Then either the gendarmerie commander or one of the gendarmes would walk up to the pit and shoot the crying children in the pit with their pistols or assault rifles.

After the shooting, [...] police chief Opanaschuk, together with the commander of the gendarmerie and the gendarmes, examined all the belongings. They picked out all the valuables and well-preserved clothing and put it aside. Then they ordered the rest of

*the clothes and other things to be loaded into the carts and taken to the police station [...] On the police chief's orders, the dead bodies were buried by POWs [...]*

In all likelihood, eleven Jews in the village of Sokoliv (Krasnoarmeysk district) were also shot in September.<sup>42</sup>

Former police officer Nikolai Rybak (seventeen years old in 1941), who participated in the executions in Myropil, testified to the following during interrogations in 1985-86:

*In autumn 1941, in late September or early October, the Myropil police were shooting citizens of Jewish ethnicity (children, women and men) of various ages at the Myropil municipal park, about one kilometer from the police station. The evening before the shooting a lot of police from neighboring villages (I don't know their last names) arrived at the police station, all armed with rifles. Police commander Haupt ordered all Myropil police and those who had just arrived to spend the night at the police station. The next day, early in the morning [...] I and all the Myropil police at the police station received rifles and ammunition. I received twenty cartridges [...] Then all the police were lined up and police commander Haupt announced to the police standing in formation that today the police would be shooting citizens of Jewish ethnicity. Officer [section commander] Zavalny approached me and said that I and another four or five police officers would be responsible for the cordon along Myropil park near the road leading from the side of the police station in the direction of the village of Kolodiazhne in Dzerzhynsk district. I and another four or five police officers [...] went there and fanned out in the park near the road. We stood about 100 to 150 meters from each other [...] My position was near the large glade [...] As part of our mission, we were to prevent the escape of citizens of Jewish ethnicity while they were being escorted to be executed at Myropil park. About forty to fifty meters from me in the glade, the outline of a large rectangular pit was visible [...] At about 8-9 a.m., twelve to fifteen police officers armed with rifles escorting over one hundred citizens of Jewish ethnicity (children, women, and men) of various ages, walked past me from the direction of the Myropil police station at a distance of about ten meters [...] I saw that some of the women were carrying small children in their arms. Children who were older walked alongside the adults. I saw that many of the citizens of Jewish ethnicity were crying [...] The police halted the citizens of Jewish ethnicity about ten to fifteen meters from the pit [...] <sup>43</sup>*

*Here I want to say that a few minutes before the police brought the citizens of Jewish ethnicity to the execution site on the glade, two German gendarmes I didn't know [...] and the deputy commander of the Myropil police [...] arrived from the direction of the Myropil police station. Some time passed after the police had brought the citizens of Jewish ethnicity to the glade and I saw that Zavalny came up to the pit along with another five or six police officers [...] After that, Zavalny called me over to the pit together with the other police officers [...] that had been posted to the cordon. About eight to ten of us police gathered at the pit. On Zavalny's command, we fell into rank [...] We stood about five meters from the pit. The pit was up to twenty meters long, and up to four meters wide [...] After that the shooting began [...] Now I remember it like a nightmare. I remember that eight to ten citizens of Jewish ethnicity were made to stand on the edge of the pit facing it. I don't remember which of the police led them to the pit. With my own personal participation, three groups of citizens of Jewish ethnicity, with about eight to ten people in each, were shot, that is, three women of Jewish ethnicity [...] were killed by me. It somehow turned out that each time it was a woman standing*

*in front of me at the edge of the pit. They were dressed in summer clothes, since on the day the shooting [...] it was sunny and warm. When I shot my victims with a rifle, I aimed at their backs.*

*After the third group was shot [...] I felt ill, and I don't remember how I wound up in the police dormitory [...] Gunfire in Myropil park ended after lunch, at about 3 p.m.<sup>44</sup>*

In September, shootings of Jews also took place in the village of Vyunky (Dobvysh district) – 27 people,<sup>45</sup> in the village of Novi Velidnyky (Ovruch district),<sup>46</sup> in the village of Kodnya (about 150 women and children)<sup>47</sup> and in the area of Kolodenka station (twenty kilometers south of Novohrad-Volynskyi), where about 250 Jews from the village of Kolodyanka and surrounding villages (Ternivka, Radulyn, Velyka Horbasha and Mala Horbasha) are buried in four pits.<sup>48</sup> Shootings in the area of Kolodenka station were in all likelihood carried out by the 3rd Platoon of the 3rd Company of the 45<sup>th</sup> Reserve Police Battalion, which was deployed at Kolodenka station at the time.<sup>49</sup>

According to a resident of the village of Kodnya, M. Kravchuk:

*[...] [back in August 1941] an SS detachment arrived in Kodnya on motorcycles and a covered truck; they arrested thirty-five Jews aged sixteen to fifty [...] They were taken to Zhovtyi Yar, forced to dig a pit, and they were all shot there [...] In September, in one building the Germans rounded up all of Kodnya's Jews, who had been ordered to take all their valuables with them [...]. The Jews were herded to a synagogue, and there they were put on three trucks [...] The Jews were told they would be taken to the airfield, in order to send them to Palestine. But the poor wretches were herded on foot to Zhovtyi Yar. In the quarry an enormous pit had been dug. All the Jews were stripped, their valuables confiscated, and in groups they were herded to the pit and shot there. Only the teacher Vera Mikhailovna Veksler, whom Elena Fadeyevna Kogut had given her passport to, survived.<sup>50</sup>*

It is possible that approximately another three hundred people from the village of Stara Kotelnia (Andrushivka district) and surrounding villages, who had been delivered to Stara Kotelnia in carts and locked in a barn, were also shot in September. The Jews were taken in groups of thirty to forty people from the barn to the ravine, where several SS officers shot them with assault rifles, while Ukrainian police guarded the execution site.<sup>51</sup>

It is likely that in late September (but possibly in the period of September 1-18) another approximately 500 to 550 Jews were shot in Zhytomyr, and as of October 1, 1941 only 340 Jews (0.9% of the entire population) remained in the town.<sup>52</sup>



In total, about 28,000 Jews were exterminated in the region over the month of September.

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<sup>1</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 88 dated September 19, 1941 and Jeckeln's telegram no. 289 dated September 5, 1941 (Vojenský historický archiv Praha, KdoS RF SS, karton 1, inv. č. 2); M. Christ, *Die Dynamik des Tötens. Die Ermordung der Juden in Berditschew* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlage, 2011), 99-116. 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), 140.

<sup>2</sup> Judgement of the judicial panel on criminal cases of the Zhytomyr Regional Court from March 15, 1974 in the case against Weiss, Vir, Prischepa, Darnapuk, and Shlapak (the case against R. R. Weiss and others, in: Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region). All the defendants were sentenced to death by shooting.

<sup>3</sup> L. Kogan, "Kholokost na Zhytomyrshchynе," 336. See also YIU, no. 1725U.

<sup>4</sup> [https://www.yadvashem.org/untoldstories/database/writtenAccounts.asp?cid=1120&site\\_id=1621](https://www.yadvashem.org/untoldstories/database/writtenAccounts.asp?cid=1120&site_id=1621)

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, Interview with Alla Tkachenko (an employee of the Faience Factory Museum in Kamianyi Brid), who was told this story by her grandmother.

<sup>6</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 88 dated September, 19, 1941. See also YIU, no.1742-1744U.

<sup>7</sup> See the interrogation report of defendant A. K. Karabovksy dated July 18, 1947 (BArch B 162/5684, Bl. 135-136).

<sup>8</sup> See the interrogation report of defendant V. F. Shunevich dated April 22, 1944 (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, investigation file no. 238, vol. 2, archive no. 30106).

<sup>9</sup> See the report compiled by the residents of Ruzhyn and military unit representatives, undated (Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, fund 236, catalogue 2675, file 134, p. 48)

<sup>10</sup> I. Ehrenburg and V. Grossman, eds., *Chornaya Kniga* [The Black Book] (Kiev: M.I.P. "Oberig," 1991), 158. For further details on the operation in Chudniv, see: *Staatsanwaltschaft beim LG Regensburg, Abschlußbericht in der Ermittlungssache gegen Falter Franz u.a. wegen gemeinschaftlicher Beihilfe zum gemeinschaftlichen Mord (NSG)* dated December 6, 1972 (BArch B 162/6681, Bl. 2126-2136); K. Schneider, «Auswärts eingesetzt». *Bremer Polizeibataillone und der Holocaust* (Bremen: Klartext, 2011), 447-453. See also YIU, no. 1721-1724U.

<sup>11</sup> See the interrogation report of witness Otto Schmidt from October 4, 1961 (BArch B 162/6672, Bl. 268-269).

<sup>12</sup> In total, 157 people were killed in Raihorodok (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 317, pp. 33-35 obverse), including specialists and their families in July 1942.

<sup>13</sup> L. Kogan, "Kholokost na Zhytomyrshchynе," 336 (figures from the Ruzhyn district military commissariat). According to L. Kogan, based on "unofficial sources," 850 Jews were purportedly killed; this figure seems significantly inflated to us, given that 633 Jews were living in Bilylivka in 1939. In the village of Verkhivnya in Ruzhyn district, about 10 Jews were killed (L. Kogan, "Kholokost na Zhytomyrshchynе," 336).

<sup>14</sup> See the testimony of witness Bronislava Kononovaya from March 30, 1948 (BArch B 162/7340, Bl. 229-230) and the testimony of witness A. G. Kravets from April 28, 1948 (BArch B 162/7335, Bl. 363). See also YIU, no. 250U. This was the third Jewish operation in Troyaniv. In total, 493 Jews were purportedly killed in Troyaniv in July-September 1941 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 312, p. 2).

<sup>15</sup> *Trials of War Criminals*, vol. IV, p. 212-213 (Nürnb. Dok. NO 3842).

<sup>16</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 305, p. 9. Among the executed victims, there were also probably Jews from surrounding villages: Tesnivka (17), Barvinivka (13), Stara Romanivka (10), Sloboda Chernetska (14) (*Ibid.*, file 305, pp.183,67,163,182).

<sup>17</sup> Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg, memorandum dated March 1, 1973 (BArch B 162/7330, Bl. 577). Purportedly 500-700 Jews were shot.

<sup>18</sup> See the judgement of the Supreme SS and Police Court in Munich from May 24, 1943 in the case against SS-Untersturmführer Max Täubner (BArch B 162/4746, Bl. 292), published in Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Reiss, *The Good Old Days: The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1997), 196.

<sup>19</sup> BArch B162/21234, Bl. 1344, published in Ernst Klee, Willi Dressen, and Volker Reiss, *The Good Old Days: The Holocaust as Seen by Its Perpetrators and Bystanders* (New York: Konecky & Konecky, 1997), 197.

<sup>20</sup> See the 1st SS Infantry Brigade reports from September 5 and 12, 1941. (*Unsere Ehre heißt Treue*, 131-141).

<sup>21</sup> Public prosecutor's office at the Regional Court of Regensburg, partial suspension of the investigation against Rene Rosenbauer and other members of Pol. Btl. 303 dated December 6, 1972 (BArch B 162/6681, Bl. 2052-2054).

<sup>22</sup> See the telegram of the Higher SS and Police Leader Russia-South from 9:50 a.m. September 6, 1941, to the Reichsführer-SS, the head of the Order Police, the head of the Security Police, and the command headquarters of the Reichsführer-SS (Bundesarchiv ZB 6735, Bl. 394). The telegram also mentions the relocation of the battalion to Chudniv.

<sup>23</sup> On the shooting of Jews in Myropil by Police Battalion 303, see also K. Schneider, «Auswärts eingesetzt». *Bremer Polizeibataillone und der Holocaust* (Bremen: Klartext, 2011), 444-447

<sup>24</sup> See the interrogation record of Hermann Teichert from October 11, 1969 (BArch B 162/6674, Bl. 613).

<sup>25</sup> See the interrogation record of Oswald Alterndorf from June 27, 1972 (BArch B 162/6680, Bl. 1986).

<sup>26</sup> Public prosecutor's office at the Regional Court of Regensburg, partial suspension of the investigation against Rene Rosenbauer and other members of Pol. Btl. 303 dated December 6, 1972 (BArch B 162/6681, Bl. 2053).

<sup>27</sup> Project to document and perpetuate the names of Jews who died during the Shoah (Holocaust) in the occupied territories of the former USSR. Zhytomyr region

([http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/ru/remembrance/names/killing\\_sites\\_ukraine.asp?table=ukraine&country=Украина&district=Житомирская](http://www1.yadvashem.org/yv/ru/remembrance/names/killing_sites_ukraine.asp?table=ukraine&country=Украина&district=Житомирская)).

<sup>28</sup> NARA, T 501, roll 34, frame 46. As of October 1, 1941, there were only six Jews left in Korostyshiv (State Archives of Zhytomyr Oblast, fund p-1153, catalogue 1, file 11, p. 113). See also YIU, no. 1739U.

<sup>29</sup> Radiogram no. 94/151 from the Higher SS and Police Leader, Russia South dated 10:20 am, September 14, 1941: "[...] Police Regiment South operations according to military custom [...]"; telegram no. 444 from the former Higher SS and Police Leader, Russia South dated September 7:55 pm, 17, 1941: "Situation report from September 15, 1941 [...] Regiment South, Battalion 45 completed the mopping-up operation in Liubar" (Bundesarchiv ZB 6735, Bl. 375, 373). Report dated May 30, 1945 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 302, p. 7) [there are lists of victims containing the names of 1,199 Jews (pp. 8-25). Among the victims shot dead were 180 Jewish refugees from Polonne (50), Ostropil (73), Hrytsiv (30), Slavuta (27), probably as well as Jews from surrounding villages (24 from Stryzhavka, 12 from Bol. Volytsya)]. According to the report compiled by local residents and military unit representatives, purportedly about 4,500 Jews were shot (Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, fund 236, catalogue 2675, file 134, p. 33). This number of victims seems significantly inflated. See also: Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, 161-163; YIU, no. 1712U.

<sup>30</sup> I. Ehrenburg and V. Grossman, eds., *Chornaya Kniga*, 39; S. Elizavesky, *Berdichevskaya tragediya (dokumentalnoye povestvovaniye)* [Berdychiv tragedy (documentary narrative) (Kyiv: UkrNIINTI, 1991), 30-35; M. Christ, *Die Dynamik des Tötens. Die Ermordung der Juden in Berditschew* (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer Verlage, 2011), 160-198.

<sup>31</sup> LG Regensburg court, judgement from February 14, 1973 (JuNSV, Bd. XL, Lfd. Nr. 823b, S. 553-554).

<sup>32</sup> Indictment, Regensburg public prosecutor's office, dated February 2, 1970 (BArch B 162/6670, Bl. 2032-2033).

<sup>33</sup> See the interrogation report of witness N. M. Doychik from April 11, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 285, pp. 25-26).

<sup>34</sup> *Ereignismeldung UdSSR* no. 106 dated October 7, 1941.

<sup>35</sup> Quoted from L. Kogan, "Kholokost na Zhytomyrshchynе" [The Holocaust in the Zhytomyr Region], in *Istorychni uroky Holokostu ta mizhnatsional'ni vidnosyny (do 70-richchya pochatku Druhoi svitovoyi viyny). Materialy mizhnarodnoyi naukovo-praktychnoyi konferentsiyi dlya vykladachiv ta studentiv (Zhytomyr, 23-24 zhovtnya 2009 r.)* [Historical lessons of the Holocaust and interethnic relations (on the 70th anniversary of the beginning of World War II). Proceedings of the international scientific-practical conference for teachers and students] (Zhytomyr, October 23-24, 2009)] (Dnipro: Tkuma, 2010), 327-328

<sup>36</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 302, pp. 268, 398. According to the report dated May 16, 1945, 274 Jews, including 4 Jews who were hanged after being tortured (eye gouging), were killed in total in Krasnoarmeysk (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 300, p.144); there are lists of victims containing 278 victims (pp. 148-152).

<sup>37</sup> In Bazar district, 190 people were shot: 140 from Bazar and 50 from the village of Ksaveriv (*Ibid.*, file 282, p. 3). About 250 people from Chopovychi district were shot: 165 from Chopovychi, 36 from Skuraty, and 43 from Meleni (*Ibid.*, file 313, pp.7, 32-33, 71-72).

<sup>38</sup> NARA, T 501, roll 34, frame 46.

<sup>39</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 300, p. 146 (testimony of witness Irina Kudrevich from May 25, 1945). According to other sources, {M. Meshok, *Ne zabudu! Ne proshchu! Povest* [I won't forget! I won't forgive. A tale] (Tel Aviv, 2005), 21-23) the ghetto in Krasnoarmeysk was liquidated on December 27, 1941 (even so, it was probably on September 27, 1941). The shooting was done by the old Jewish cemetery near the village of Yahodynka. Among the executed, there were also three Jewish families from the village of Ocheretyanka, who had been placed in the Krasnoarmeysk ghetto in September 1941. According to the documents of the Extraordinary State Commission (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 300, pp. 91-93) three Jews were killed in the Ocheretyanka village council.

<sup>40</sup> See criminal case no. 40 against D. N. Gnatyuk, I. S. Lesko, and N.I. Rybak in 9 volumes (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 32425of); State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 291, pp. 404-405. The shooting took place on September 28, 1941.

<sup>41</sup> See the interrogation report of witness K. P. Osipchuk from April 14, 1980 (BArch B 162/40256, Bl. 134-142).

<sup>42</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 300, p. 112. In this village, 36 people, including 11 Jews, 4 Germans, 1 Russian, and the rest Ukrainians, were shot in 1941.

<sup>43</sup> See the interrogation report of witness N. I. Rybak from September 30, 1985 (criminal case no. 40 against D. N. Gnatyuk, I. S. Lesko, and N.I. Rybak in 9 volumes, vol. 2, pp.88-89, in: Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 32425 OФ).

<sup>44</sup> See the interrogation report of defendant, N. I. Rybak, from August 27, 1986 (criminal case no. 40 against D. N. Gnatyuk, I. S. Lesko, and N.I. Rybak in 9 volumes, vol. 2, pp.156-158, in: Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 32425 OФ).



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<sup>45</sup> Report dated April 18, 1945 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 292, p. 15). There is a list of victims' names (p. 16 and obverse).

<sup>46</sup> According to a witness' recollections, about 40 Jews were shot. (YIU, no. 1620U).

<sup>47</sup> M. Kravchuk, "Trahediya Zhovtoho Yaru" [The Tragedy of Zhovtyi Yar], *Yevreyskiye Vesti*, no. 9-10 (1996). In total, 185 Jews were killed in the village of Kodnya (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 312, p. 24), including 45 men executed in August.

<sup>48</sup> See the report dated May 24, 1944 (Novohrad-Volynskyi Municipal Archive, fund 413, catalogue 1, file 4, p. 8). See also YIU, no. 1646-1647U.

<sup>49</sup> Regensburg public prosecutor's office, memorandum dated November 6, 1969 (BArch B 162/6669, Bl. 1864-1865).

<sup>50</sup> M. Kravchuk, "Trahediya Zhovtoho Yaru" [The Tragedy of Zhovtyi Yar], *Yevreyskiye Vesti*, no. 9-10 (1996), quoted from: L. Kogan, "Kholokost na Zhytomyrshchyne," 328.

<sup>51</sup> See the testimony of witness V.G. Feschenko from June 6, 1970 to Soviet investigating authorities (BArch B 162/7330, Bl. 553). See also YIU, no 1730, 1732U.

<sup>52</sup> According to the local newspaper *Ukrayinske Slovo* (no. 10 from September 4, 1941), 4,079 Jews, who made up 10.2% of the entire population, were registered in Zhytomyr (see the report "Zhytomyr regional commission to assist in establishing and investigating the atrocities of the Nazi invaders" from February 5-10, 1944, in: BArch B 162/7340). On September 19, 1941, 3,145 people were shot, that is, after this operation, over 900 people remained in the ghetto (possibly somewhat less, if there were shootings between September 1 and 18, 1941). On October 5, 1941, the newspaper *Ukrayinske Slovo* (no. 109) reported that, according to the census, there were still 340 Jews (0.9% of the total population) in the town as of October 1, 1941. They were doctors, as well as artisans and skilled workers were placed in the forced labor camp. As a result, it is fair to assume that about 500 Jews were shot in late September 1941. According to the Extraordinary State Commission's materials, 4,000 Jews were shot in the town in September, and 2,000 in October (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 292, pp. 4,6).

## 6. Killings of Jews in October-December 1941

October began with the shooting of Jews from Rohachiv on the first of the month (Yom Kippur); only artisans with their families and small children were spared. The latter were taken by Ukrainian police on carts to the forest and killed there on October 3.<sup>1</sup>

That same month “Jewish operations” were carried out in Zhytomyr (25 Jews from a home for the chronically ill),<sup>2</sup> Dovbysh (230 victims),<sup>3</sup> Dzerzhynsk (341 victims, including 48 men, 170 women, and 123 children),<sup>4</sup> Myropil (94 victims, including 14 men, 31 women, and 49 children),<sup>5</sup> Khodorkiv (168 victims),<sup>6</sup> Brusyliv (59 victims)<sup>7</sup>, Chudniv (500 victims)<sup>8</sup>, and Liubar (about 250 victims)<sup>9</sup>. Former police officer Nikolai Rybak (seventeen years old in 1941), who participated in the shootings in Dzerzhynsk, testified to the following during interrogations in 1985-86:

*Two or three weeks after the shooting of citizens of Jewish ethnicity in Myropil's park, about fifteen to twenty police officers from the Myropil police force [...] arrived in Romaniv (today, the town is called Dzerzhynsk) on horse-drawn carts. Before our departure, all the police received rifles and cartridges [...] That same evening we arrived at the Romaniv police station, where we spent the night. The next day early in the morning we were fed in the cafeteria in the police building. Then all Myropil and Romaniv police were lined up. The Chief of the Romaniv police [...] announced to the police standing in formation that today all the police would participate in a shooting of citizens of Jewish ethnicity who resided in Romaniv. The police were put in groups of five or six [...] The senior officer in my group [...] had a list of citizens of Jewish ethnicity that we had to arrest and bring to the collection point by the building (I don't know what it was before the war) that was inside Romaniv's park. Until about 2 p.m. our group arrested and escorted about thirty citizens of Jewish ethnicity to the collection point in the park [...] At the collection point, several hundred citizens of Jewish ethnicity had been assembled [...] After that, the shooting began [...] It occurred in the following manner. Three to four police officers escorted groups of twenty to forty people [...] to the pit that was located in the park, about eight hundred meters from the collection point [...] ]<sup>10</sup>*

*Together with other police I was escorting the second group of Soviet citizens containing about sixty people (children, women, men) to the execution site. We, the police, lined up these citizens in a column with four to five people abreast, which is why the column turned out to be short [...] We halted the citizens of Jewish ethnicity we had escorted about thirty meters from this pit. I could see that ten to twelve police officers were standing about four or five meters from the pit holding rifles in their hands [...] About ten to twelve citizens of Jewish ethnicity were standing on the edge of the pit facing it. I saw the police officers I've named [...] raising their rifles, aiming at the people standing at the edge of the pit, and firing well-aimed shots at them, and then all ten to twelve citizens [...] fell into the pit. About fifteen meters from the pit, there was another group of about ten to twelve citizens of Jewish ethnicity. After shots were heard, one of the police officers standing four or five meters from the pit turned to them and shouted “Come here.” After that, the ten to twelve people stood at the edge of the pit facing it, while the police [...] raised their rifles again, aimed at the people standing at the edge of the pit, and fired well-aimed shots at them, after which the doomed victims fell into*

*the pit. During this shooting there were no Germans in the clearing [...] After the execution of these citizens of Jewish ethnicity, the police [...] stepped back about thirty to forty meters from the pit, while I [...] and others, ten to twelve people in all, on the command of a police officer I didn't know, formed ranks along the pit [...] That same police officer ordered ten to twelve Soviet citizens from among those we had escorted to the execution site to stand on the edge of the pit. The doomed victims obeyed his order. In front of me, a woman stood facing the pit [...] She was dressed in a navy blue fall coat. Near her on the edge of the pit stood another two women, and further beyond the women, there were men standing. The order came: "Fire!" I raised my rifle, cocked it, aimed at the back of the woman standing in front of me, and fired. After I fired [...] the woman [...] fell into the pit. At the same time, the two other women standing next to my victim fell into the pit with her. When I saw that I had killed the woman, I felt ill and, not asking anyone for permission, I left the execution site [...] At about 5-6 p.m. the Myropil police arrived at the Romaniv police station. Zavalny found me there and asked why I had left the execution site without permission, adding "I don't need these kinds of tricks." I answered that I'd gotten sick and that was why I left to go to the Romaniv district police dormitory [...]"<sup>11</sup>*

In Liubar, according to the testimony of Efim Zaidenberg (fourteen years old in 1941), whose entire family was killed during the operation on September 13, 1941, though he himself managed to save himself then, only to be captured soon afterward and delivered to the Liubar police, where

*[...] there were already about fifty people, who had managed to hide or escape to neighboring villages during the mass shooting of Jews. We were all locked in the Stara Liubar middle school, kept under guard, and taken to do various work. Every day, they found hiding Jews somewhere and placed them with us. We slept on the floor, on rotten straw. They didn't give us any food, the Ukrainian polizei treated us like insects – they beat and killed us for fun. Then we were transferred to the former orphanage and kept us there under guard [...] My father's friend Frid Koltyn (his family was also killed, and he was in the orphanage) took me with him to work, where I worked as an assistant to the hatter. Tailors, shoemakers, and hatters worked in the former military commissariat building, near the big red windmill. They sewed clothing and shoes for the police.*

*We, the children, were sometimes let out, so that we could ask people we knew for some food, but at the same time we were warned that if we didn't return, they would shoot the adults. We lived like this and suffered until late October 1941. In the last days of October, before work ended for the day, the Ukrainian polizei came (they were from Chudniv), and took us all to the orphanage, where they held us prisoner. While taking us there, the Ukrainian polizei kept shooting so as not to let any local residents get close to us. But that evening they didn't shoot us, since they hadn't managed to round up everyone from the various workplaces.*

*In the orphanage, we were housed in several rooms, we slept on the floor on rotten straw. That last evening of our stay there, they rounded us all up in one room, and made us sit on the floor. The drunk Ukrainian polizei tormented us: They beat us, led away teenage girls and young women and raped them. There was a baker by the name of Lyova in the village. Well, a police goon cut off his nose with a razor [...]*

*When night fell (we were on the second floor and there was an open window), I decided to escape [...] I crawled out of the window, slid down the rainwater downpipe and ran*

*away. The Ukrainian polizei didn't notice me. And in the morning, everyone at the orphanage, about 250 people, were shot [...]*<sup>12</sup>

In the village of Stara Chortoryya (Liubar district) twelve Jews (three families) were shot dead.<sup>13</sup> The shooting was carried out by three police officers (Nikolaychuk, Demchyshyn, and Savchuk) from Liubar, who arrested the Jews, led them outside the village to the lake by the village of Mala Derevyhka and shot them there.<sup>14</sup>

On October 24, a "Jewish operation" was carried out in the village of Pyatka (Chudniv district).<sup>15</sup> Former police officer Felix Mostitsky described this operation in the following manner:<sup>16</sup>

*In late October 1941, I don't remember the exact date, at about 11 a.m. German cars and trucks arrived at the village board and village police building (the police and village board were housed in the same building). There were 5 Germans in the first and 50-60 police officers from the Chudniv district police in the second, headed by Police Chief Katyukha, whose first name and patronymic I don't remember. All the arrivals entered the village police building, where I was on duty at the time [...] On instructions from the German and Katyukha, via the aforementioned police officers, the remaining police officers in our village were immediately summoned to appear at the police station [...] As a result, in the police building, there were: 5 Germans, 50-60 officers from the Chudniv police, and the entire police force (15 people) of our village, with the exception of [police chief] Gavrilyuk, 75 people in all. Without waiting for Gavrilyuk to arrive, Katyukha, the chief of the Chudniv police, announced to those present that we had been assembled in order to carry out an operation to arrest the entire Jewish population residing in Pyatka. To do this we had to break up into groups of two or three and immediately go to Jewish apartments, while another part of the police had to go to the fields in order to ensure that the Jews harvesting beets or doing other jobs are arrested as well. All the arrested people, Katyukha continued, must be delivered to the Jewish school, warning us that in the event the Jews tried to escape, be it a woman or even a child, we were obligated to shoot them. On that note, the meeting was closed and all attendees left to carry out the operation. The only people remaining at the police station were the Germans and myself as the duty officer. Ulyan Onischuk and another police officer went to the field to arrest the Jews there, Stepan Lyakhovitsky, Vasily Lyaschuk, and Artem Onischuk were sent to stand watch by the Jewish school, while all the remaining police went around the Jewish apartments. Soon after everyone had left to carry out the operation, Gavrilyuk came to the police station and asked me about the purpose of his summons. I explained it to him, yet he remained in the building with me for about an hour for some reason, and then he went to the village board on some business. At 3-4 p.m. the operation to arrest the Jewish population was completed and all the police taking part in the operation led the arrestees to be executed [...] Katyukha entered the police station to get the Germans, and when the Germans were leaving the building, I was ordered to leave my post and follow the rest of the police to the execution of the Jews. The arrested Jews numbered over 150, and the police escorting them were passing near the police building right then, so I caught up to them easily and joined the rest of the police. The Germans overtook us in the car and they arrived at the execution site first so as to*

check whether or not the pit that the Red Army POWs had been forced to dig was ready. The arrested people were ordered to halt about five hundred meters before the destroyed water mill (on the outskirts of Pyatka village), where on both sides of the road there are high, steep-sided hillocks, and Katyukha ordered them to sit down, warning them that anyone trying to stand up would be immediately shot. After the prisoners had been forced to sit down, Katyukha ordered me, Sergei Bondarenko, and Ivan Pavlovich Bulack to guard the prisoners, while he and the rest of the police took 12 prisoners and led them to the pit located behind the hillock on the left side of the road. Soon we heard a volley of gunshots and the group of police came for another group of prisoners. In this manner they came and took 12 people each time until they had shot all the Jews. On the route leading away from the school, just like on the way from the road to the pit, the prisoners were beaten mercilessly with rifle butts. After the shooting of the first 12 people, there was crying and screaming among the rest of the prisoners, women and children begged me, Bulak, and Bondarenko to let them go (escape), but we didn't release any prisoners. Ulyan Onischuk, Artem Onischuk, Vasily Bondarenko, Pavel Yarosh, Vasily Lyuashuk, and several police officers from Chudnyv led the prisoners from the road to the pit. They all beat the prisoners with their rifle butts. I, together with Ivan Bulak and Sergei Bondarenko participated in the shooting of the last 12 people. The shooting was done in the following manner: The prisoners, which included children and several women, were placed on the edge of the pit, while we, the police, were lined up at a distance of about ten meters from them and on Katyukha's command "Fire!" we shot a volley at the prisoners. After that, in honor of finishing the job, we shot a volley into the air on Katyukha's command and left, while those same seven POWs that had dug the pit were left behind to clear away the bodies. After the shooting, the Germans and the Chudniv police left for Chudniv, while we [...] went to the police station [...] There at the police station we discovered that the butt and hand grip of the assault rifle that Ulyan Olyschuk had taken to the shooting were cracked as a result of being used to beat the prisoners while escorting them to the execution site.<sup>17</sup>

From the testimony of former police officer Ulyan Onischuk:<sup>18</sup>

[...] Many of the police escorting the Jews to be shot were drunk and sang songs. After the shooting of the Jews, Rudolf's detachment left the village, while we, all the police, on Derivitsky and Gavrilyuk's orders, hauled the property of the Jewish families that had been shot to a designated place. Admittedly, part of the cumbersome items, such as, for example, wardrobes and beds, remained in the Jewish apartments and were later sold at low prices to the locals. For example, I also bought a bed and a wardrobe for 800 roubles. While we worked moving the property, David Gavrilyuk, Pavel Yarosh, and village elder Derevitsky took for themselves a record player each from the Jewish apartments. In addition, a week after the shooting, Gavrilyuk moved into the apartment that had belonged to the executed Jew Kuplunovich, taking possession of all the belongings remaining in the apartment [...] I forgot to mention that Rudolf's detachment had taken part of the Jews' belongings away with them in their vehicles [...]

Two or three days after the mass shooting another group of six to eight Jews were shot who had been caught by our police during a man hunt that I didn't participate in [...]<sup>19</sup>

A day after that, Yarosh caught another Jew somewhere or other and shot him himself.

In December 1941, Gavrilyuk organized another raid for the Jews that had been living in the village illegally. The group of Jews caught during the raid [...], escorted

*by police officers Ivan Pavlovich Guzyuk and Yarosh, was sent by Gavriilyuk to the town of Chudniv, where they were also shot [...]*<sup>20</sup>

On about October 28, an SD detachment from *Einsatzkommando 5* shot dead approximately three hundred Jews in Ovruch. A former member of *Ortskommandantur I/318*, Otto Zechner, testified to the following about this shooting:

*[...] Opposite the commandant's office in Ovruch was a barracks camp. At night, members of the SD and the Ukrainian auxiliary police delivered three hundred Jews, including men, women, and children, to this camp and locked them inside. The barracks camp was surrounded by barbed wire. The next day at 6 a.m. (it could've been October 28, 1941) the Jewish prisoners had to line up and then they were forced to walk. Before this, any belongings they had were taken away and then thrown into a pile in the barracks camp. During the forced march, the Jews were once again accompanied by the Ukrainian auxiliary police and members of the SD, who were armed with assault rifles, and they forced the Jews forward by beating them with their rifle butts. Members of the SD were wearing their combat uniforms, but there were also some wearing black uniforms. That same day Hauptmann Piril, a member of the Ortskommandantur, appeared at the my office, his face as pale as a sheet and he was completely shattered. He told me that the Jews were forced to walk two to three kilometers and were shot on the outskirts of the town with assault rifles in a pit measuring twenty by thirty meters, and two to three meters deep. Then chlorinated lime was poured on their bodies. He himself, that is, Hauptmann Piril, oversaw the execution from a short distance. I also remember the date because this was such a horrific event for me that I won't ever forget it. The SD unit that rounded up the Jews came from somewhere else and left immediately after the execution [...]*<sup>21</sup>

It is possible that these victims were the three hundred Jews that had been dispatched to Ovruch from Yelsk (sixty kilometers northeast of Ovruch, in Belarus) back in September 1941.<sup>22</sup>

In late October or early November about a hundred Jews in the village of Barashi were also shot; this was done by three Germans with support from the Ukrainian police from the villages of Barashi and Nepiznanychi.<sup>23</sup> According to the official report dated October 10, 1944, after the district was occupied

*[...] They immediately carried out mass arrests, first and foremost of the Jewish population that had not managed to evacuate, numbering forty-three people. These people were guarded by the police, who brutally tormented them, in particular: During their morning and evening toilet, the Jews were expelled from their cells on their hands and knees and forced to crawl to the lavatory, then to the well in the same way, where they were doused with well water, with four to five buckets of water poured on each person, then some time later they were hitched to a cart, a senior coachman was appointed and given a long whip to spur on the laggards. These carts delivered produce to canteens and snack bars. After the food delivery, the Ukrainian polizei climbed into the carts and forced them to go faster and faster, singing songs directed at the Jews. In addition, when livestock was slaughtered for meat, the Jews were forced [several words*

*are undecipherable] all the inedible innards, but to ensure the contents didn't spill out of it along the way, they put the intestines in the Jews' mouths and forced them to walk along the road like this to the designated place.*

*In November 1941, under the guise of evacuating the Jewish population from the district, all the Jews were taken under guard two kilometers outside the district, where they were all shot and the half dead people were buried in the ground, and then a layer of blood rose to the surface of the earth [...]*<sup>24</sup>

The shooting was done in the Serbinovka area by the village of Symony, three kilometers from the district center.<sup>25</sup> Together with the Barashi Jews, ten Jews brought from the home for the disabled in the village of Kremyanka,<sup>26</sup> fifteen Jews from the village of Novooleksandrivka,<sup>27</sup> and likely twenty-three Jews from the village of Rykhalske<sup>28</sup> were also shot.

November began with the shooting of two thousand Jews in Berdychiv on the third of the month.<sup>29</sup> Walter Schwartz, a former police officer in the 2nd Company of Police Battalion 315 who participated in this shooting, testified to the following during an interrogation on December 25, 1945:

*[...] On about November 27 or 28, 1941 [the correct date is November 3, 1941] on orders from company commander Captain Hiltch,<sup>30</sup> nine police officers from our company were assigned to the operation. I was one of these nine people. We were put in a truck and driven [from Zhytomyr] to the town of Berdychiv. We drove up to a building that looked like a church or a Jewish synagogue. This building was surrounded by a brick wall. Behind the wall, Soviet citizens of Jewish ethnicity had already been assembled. Besides our police, there were SD workers and Ukrainian police. All the people assembled behind the wall were led out onto the street and formed into four or five groups, then lined up in a column and taken outside of the town. Four or five kilometers outside of town, we stopped in a hollow. I was one of the escorts of the third group. When I arrived at the execution site, I saw two or three pits/graves about two to three hundred meters from where we had halted. SD-Hauptsturmführer Müller and an SS-Hauptsturmführer, whose last name I don't know, supervised this entire operation. I only saw Müller and the other officer during this operation and don't have any other information about them at all. Some time later, the people that were to be shot were ordered to undress, in groups of ten. Two rows of Ukrainian police were lined up, going from the place we had stopped to the graves, positioned in such a way that the people who were about to be shot couldn't escape as they walked toward the graves. I was one of the people guarding the column itself. When the first group of Jews had undressed, they were sent to the graves. There, they were forced to enter the grave and lie facedown on the bottom. After that, SD workers shot them with their assault rifles and pistols. When the first group had been shot, the next group of ten people that was to be shot was sent to the grave. This was how the shooting process went. Some time later, Hauptsturmführer Müller walked up to the police in our company and ordered us to go the graves and do the shooting. I didn't have a personal weapon, just a rifle, and that's why Müller gave me his pistol. I took part in the shooting of seven groups and personally shot about twenty people. Then I felt faint, after which Müller sent me back on guard duty. The shooting lasted the entire*



*day. From conversations with friends, I found out that about three thousand people had been shot in all, including women and children [...].*<sup>31</sup>

After this shooting, only 226 Jewish artisans remained in Berdychiv.<sup>32</sup>

In the second half of November the Jews in Olevsk (at least 535 victims),<sup>33</sup> Narodychi (about 250 victims),<sup>34</sup> and the remaining Jews in Bazar (46 people)<sup>35</sup> were exterminated.

The shooting of Jews in Olevsk was done by “Cossacks” from the UPA-Polissian Sich. The minutes of the meeting of the staff office of UPA-Polissian Sich from November 18, 1941 have survived. From them, it is apparent that

*Captain Hitschke of the German SS troops [arrived at staff headquarters from Zhytomyr] and demanded the aid of the Polissian Sich in shooting every last Jew in Olevsk on November 19, 1941. Military commander Sygolenko informed the German commander that our unit had already been disbanded and that was why we have no right to give our Cossacks such orders and, second, our people would be summoned to fight the armed enemy as soldiers, and not to exterminate unarmed women, old people, cripples, and children, regardless of their ethnicity. To this, the SS (Gestapo) captain threatened that measures would be undertaken if the order was not obeyed according to the German statement, since he did not bring his own people from Zhytomyr only because he knew that our garrison was in Olevsk. As a result, for the execution of the Jews, Captain Hitschke mobilized by force two NCOs and 60 demobilized Cossacks of the Polissian Sich, who had to shoot 535 Jews on November 19, 1941, not leaving a single soul alive. The Polissian Sich Council of Officers condemns this as shameful actions.*<sup>36</sup>

The assertion that the Cossacks participated in the killing of Jews under threat and duress raises serious doubts. On the contrary, there are testimonies of surviving Jews stating that even when the Cossacks of the Polissian Sich first arrived in Olevsk, they actively participated in the torture, looting, and killing of Jews. For example, one of the surviving Jews, Tevel Trosman, testified to the following in 1944:

*During the very first days they appeared in Olevsk, the members of the Sich perpetrated unprecedented torture on the Jewish population. As I have already mentioned, I returned to Olevsk with a group of other refugees – up to sixty carts. All of us Jews lived in one place on Komsomolskaya Street. And then, when members of the Sich came in, they gathered 30-40 Jewish men and woman and forced them to walk to the river by the windmill, where they forced them to lie facedown in the mud. One Sich member on horseback commanded “Lie down, get up,” while the Sich group beat people with rifle butts, forcing them to lie down in the mud. I was personally in this group together with my wife. That same Sich member on horseback forced Sich carts driving past to run over the people lying in the water and mud. Several people were crippled as a result. And so we were subjected to gross mockery and abuse in the mud for about half an hour. Then they led the women out first, and each woman coming out*



*was beaten on the shoulders with rifle butts. Then they led the men out. The Sich member on horseback commanded, "Give them three blows with rifle butts" – we were led out with beatings. After that the savage daily harassment of the entire Jewish population began. The entire Jewish population was housed on Komsomolskaya and Oktyabrskaya Streets. Many families lived together in each house. Every half an hour or an hour we felt terror and saw the face of death, since Sich members broke into our homes one after another, on their own or in groups, and did whatever they wanted. For example, they took whatever belongings or clothing they liked. They beat us with rifle butts and whips. Tyranny and lawlessness prevailed; any Sich member could kill any one of us with impunity. Indeed, killings of Jews began in the town. Citizen Zeryuk killed two young men, Munya Shapiro and Gonikman, right in their apartment [...] Then the order came for everyone to assemble by the municipal council for a census. People coming out of their homes were met with beatings. After the census, they gave the order: "Report for work." About three hundred people reported for work. In a designated area of the field near the nursery school, we were forced to tear out grass with our teeth, and pull out plants with our fingers. The work was purposely designed to humiliate us and was senseless and useless. The Sich members, who were housed in the nursery building, mocked the Jews working like that. Again, during this labor, we were beaten mercilessly with rifle butts and lashes.<sup>37</sup>*

The Cossacks also participated in the shooting of Jews without any coercion. The former commander of the village of Barbarovka (Varvarivka), on the outskirts of which the shootings took place, testified to the following in 1944:

*In November 1941, I don't remember the exact date, I was ill in bed, but I saw that already early in the morning at about 7-8 a.m. they were driving about two hundred Jews – men, women, old people, children – with a cordon of Sich members through Barbarovka. This group was accompanied by about forty armed Sich members and four Germans on horseback. Then, for the entire day, they drove groups of twenty to thirty Jews through the village of Barbarovka. They were taken about three hundred meters outside of the village, to what was known as church land on the banks of the Ubort River, and they were shot there. Several times vehicles full of Jews also came through. The drivers of these vehicles were Alexei Pokalchuk and Stepan Isnyuk. I personally saw these two drivers of ours. The people were shot with rifle rounds; these rounds were heard in the village of Barbarovka over the entire day. There were similar shootings going on the following day too. On the first day of the shootings, gendarmes who were Sich members – one in a black sheepskin jacket, he was middle-aged, above average in height – came to me and requested people to bury the bodies. I sent him to the village elder, Opanas Lukaschuk (he is no longer alive, he was killed on the front lines). I don't know how many people he assigned to bury the bodies or who exactly they were. On the next day, the same gendarme came to me again and requested people, and also forced me to personally go to the place where they were shooting the Jewish population. I went to the execution site. While I was there, they brought a truck full of Jewish people, about twenty of them; the Sich members stripped them, leaving them only in their underwear. They shot them by the edge of the pit, so that people fell into the pit right away; some of them might've still been alive. The shooting was done with rifles. The Sich shooters lined up in a row, about one Sich member per victim, and shot them from a distance of up to ten meters. Two large pits were dug in all; they were next to each other with a gap of two meters between them. These pits were heaped with dead bodies from the day before and were only slightly covered with dirt. I stood*

*to the side of these pits, in the pine forest. The gendarme shouted at me, “Why are you hiding, what if you have to shoot?” All the belongings confiscated from the Jews were loaded into trucks by the Sich members and taken to the town of Olevsk. That day, several citizens from our village were working to cover over the graves with dirt, including Mikhal Bedyuk and Pavel Andreychuk. Both of them are now in the Red Army. In the evening, when Mikhal Bedyuk returned, he told us what terrible work it was covering over the bodies with dirt. He said that sometimes he found people that hadn’t been killed, for example, there was one child who was still alive. The Germans had thrown him into the pit alive and they had to finish him off with shovels. He was about four years old. Then three or four days later they brought another eighteen Jews that they had caught hiding in various places and they also killed them in the same place on church land.<sup>38</sup>*

At the end of November, “Jewish operations” were carried out in the village of Nova Chortoryya<sup>39</sup> and again in Liubar, where Jews from all over the district had been rounded up. Konstantin Mysechko, a former police officer in the Liubar district police who participated in these operations, testified to the following during an interrogation on January 16, 1944:<sup>40</sup>

*With German troops occupying Zhytomyr region, in August or September of 1941, I don’t remember the date, I voluntarily enlisted with the German-Fascist regime as a police officer in the village of Liubar, Zhytomyr region.<sup>41</sup> I worked for about two months as a police officer [...]*

*In August or September of 1941,<sup>42</sup> I don’t remember the date, Kulchitsky, the chief of the Liubar police and his assistant Demchishin assembled members of the Liubar police force Leontiy Sukach, Nikita Belenky, Mashtaler, and myself, Mysechko, and we went to the village of Nova Chortoryya. When we arrived in Nova Chortoryya, we stopped by the former store, where over a hundred Soviet Jewish citizens were being held [...] All the Jews had been captured by the Chudniv gendarmes and police in the village of Nova Chortoryya during a raid and placed in the store. I, Mysechko, Leontiy Sukach, Nikita Belenky, and Mashtaler were assigned to guard the Jews in the store by the German from the Chudniv gendarmes (I don’t know his title). At the same time, the Chudniv gendarmerie and police, in which Kulchitsky and Demchishin participated, carried out the shooting of the Jews. About five officers from the Chudniv gendarmes took groups of ten Jews out of the store and led them to the execution site. The shooting was done in a destroyed bunker behind Nova Chortoryya’s medical vocational school. We stayed for about five hours in Nova Chortoryya. When the shooting of all the Jews was completed, we returned to the village of Liubar, while the Chudniv gendarmes and police remained in the village of Nova Chortoryya.*

*In addition, during my service with the Liubar police, on instructions from Liubar police chief Kulchitsky and his assistant Demchishin, the Liubar police conducted raids to catch Jews in villages in Liubar district. In all, about 450 people were caught over the course of two weeks in villages in the district. From the village of Ivankovychi [Ivankivtsi], I personally captured [...] three Jews, whose last names I don’t know, and delivered them to the Liubar police station.<sup>43</sup> All the Jews we collected were held under guard in the orphanage in Liubar and were subsequently shot. Their shooting took place under the following circumstances:*

*A day before the shooting of the Jews in Nova Chortoryya by the gendarmes and police, or a day later, when they were shooting Jews in Nova Chortoryya, – about forty people from the gendarmes and police from the town of Chudniv arrived on two trucks in the*

village of Liubar. At that time, the police – I, Mysechko, Mashtaler, Sukach, Brotun, Maksimets, and Sokolyuk – were guarding the Jews in the orphanage in Liubar. One vehicle with police drove two kilometers west of Liubar (a square that had been forest land before), a place where there was a ditch. Part of the police from the gendarmerie took away the Jewish men from the orphanage (about sixty people) and brought them to the ditch. An hour or two later the police returned from the field and they led all the Jews that had been under guard at the orphanage to the field outside the village of Liubar. To strengthen security for the Jews while they were being accompanied there, Liubar police chief Kulchitsky assigned additional police officers – Gerasimchuk, Shimko, and Gubarets, not counting those who had been guarding the Jews at the orphanage until the Chudniv gendarmes and police arrived in Liubar. Police chief Kulchitsky and his assistant Demchishin also accompanied the Jews to the execution site.

The Chudniv gendarmes and police shot the Jews, with the Liubar police chief Kulchitsky and his assistant Demchishin also taking part in the shooting with them. At that time, I and other police from the village of Liubar – Mashtaler [...], Leontiy Sukach [...], Grigory Brotun [...], Maksimets [...], Ivan Antonovich Sokolyuk, Trofim Gerasimchuk [...], Ivan Emelyanovich Shimko – were guarding the Jews two to three hundred meters from the place where they were being shot in groups. After the shooting of the Jews (women and children) was completed, the Liubar police that were there, including myself, together with the remaining sixty Jews (men), buried the Jews that had been shot in the ditch, and after that these sixty people were shot in the same place.

Sofia Shterenburg (thirty-one years old in 1941), who had survived the shooting of 207 Jews (44 men, 75 women, and 88 children) in the village of Nova Chortoryya on November 27, 1941,<sup>44</sup> testified to the following when questioned as a witness on May 23, 1945:<sup>45</sup>

*[...] During the campaign of terror that began at 2 a.m. on November 27, I, together with my four-year-old son and my brother-in-law Naum Iosifovich Vorona, concealed ourselves in a hiding place in my home that had been prepared in advance. We stayed there for five days. After it became impossible to stay any longer, my son, my brother-in-law, and I left and lived illegally in the Polonne district. Then I went west to the town of Ostroh, in the Brody hamlets. I lived there as a Ukrainian until our troops arrived. During my stay, that is, while we were hiding in Nova Chortoryya, I heard crying, screaming, and gunshots. I didn't see anything since I didn't go outside. But from other people's accounts I know that the following people showed themselves to be active and eager servants of the Germans: Grigory Zhovtun, who slaughtered 70 Jews and went to Germany but his wife lives here in the village, Makar Osadchuk – during the occupation he was the head of the technical school, he turned over Shneiburg and took lots of bribes from Jews that were later shot [...] In the village, 216 Jews were shot<sup>46</sup> and they're buried in the park in the "spot" all together.*

Additional information about the shootings in Liubar is contained in the testimony of former senior police officer Vasily Lipinsky from January 19, 1944:<sup>47</sup>

*Since I was living in territory occupied by the Germans, on October 30, 1941, I voluntarily enlisted with the German occupiers to serve in the Liubar district police as a police officer, a position in which I served until May 30, 1943.*

*In November 1941, I don't remember the exact date, the Liubar police arrested four hundred completely innocent Jews from all over Liubar district [...] all of them were imprisoned under guard in the orphanage in the village of Liubar. When every last Jew in Liubar district had been arrested, then all the Jews were lined up and led to be shot in an area known as Peschany, which is two kilometers from Liubar. When they were brought to the pit that had been dug, then all the Jews were stripped and shot. To assist the Liubar police in the arrest and shooting, SS officers from Berdychiv and Zhytomyr came in two trucks. In addition, the Chudniv police came in one truck, headed by its chief [...], numbering thirty-three police officers [...]*

*[...] when they were shooting Jews, as I've stated earlier, Liubar police chief Kulchitsky [...], his deputy Petr Demtsishin [...], Liubar police officer Ivan Savchuk [...]. the secretary of the Liubar police Grigory Stepanishin [...] participated in the shooting of the Jews. In addition, the entire police force of Chudniv district, headed by their chief and numbering thirty-three people, as well as the SS-officers that came from Berdychiv and Zhytomir, also participated in the shooting [...] Liubar police officer Sergei Gubarets took part in the shooting at the time [...] When they had all returned from the shooting, police chief Kulchitsky and his deputy Demtsishin started making fun of Sergei Gubarets. When firing at the Jews, he had turned his head away in the opposite direction [...]*

*[Interrogation dated January 20, 1944]<sup>48</sup>*

*In the month of November 1941, I don't remember the date, soon after the wholesale execution of the Jewish population, a man and woman who had been hiding, I don't know their names but they were Jewish, were arrested. When I was on duty, the guard commander, police secretary Grigory Stepanishin, and police officer Savchuk shot them sixty meters from the police building in the evening. About three days later, once again while I was on duty, these same individuals shot Jews in the same place – two women and one men – whom they led to be shot together, and not one by one [...]*

*In the winter of 1942, I was the officer on duty at the Liubar police station. In the evening, police officer Ivan Savchuk, whose patronymic I don't know, arrived and reported to me that he had gone to the village of Mala Derevyhka to arrest one family, but he didn't bring the family to the station, and shot them in the village instead. I told Savchuk to go and report this to Police Chief Kulchinsky, which he did. Afterward, Kulchinsky sent me to Mala Derevyhka to bury the people that had been shot. I came to a place where, on the outskirts of the village of Mala Derevyhka, I discovered a woman with her mother and her two children, a girl of about twelve and a boy of five or six, that had been shot. I ordered the village elder to immediately bury them, which he did. I checked afterward and when I verified that they had indeed been buried, I returned and reported to Kulchinsky that the order had been carried out.*

According to the January 17, 1944 testimony of Ivan Datsko, who had been under guard at the Liubar police station starting from October 10, 1941 for a period of five weeks, that is, until about November 20, 1941, while in detention

*[...] a wholesale arrest of Jews all over Liubar district was being carried out. To assist the Liubar police, the Chudniv police arrived [...], but as soon as the Chudniv police arrived, they started doing guard duty, while the Liubar police together with the Germans made arrests and shot the Jews. I personally saw Lipinsky and other police taking the detained Jews out of their cells, seating them in covered trucks, and taking them to be shot in the forest in an area called Pischany. In this way, they spent the whole*

*day driving Jews on four trucks to the shooting. From my cell, they shot forty-five men, women, and children, and from the second cell they also took up to ninety-five people. After the mass shooting was over, the Liubar police started seeking out anyone from the Jewish population who could've been hiding. They arrested and shot them.*

*Before my five weeks at the Liubar police station in 1941 were up, in the cell where I was held, there was a seven or eight-year-old Jewish girl [...] At about 6 p.m. this girl was first brought there by police officer Lipinsky. That same Lipinsky took the girl out of the cell. In the morning I found out that they had shot this girl.<sup>49</sup>*

In the fall of 1941, several groups of Jews were also shot in Radomyshl. Former police officer Alexei Shkidchenko testified to the following during an interrogation on April 29, 1944:<sup>50</sup>

*In mid-September 1941 [...] half a kilometer from the village of Kelvich I personally and other police who were with me [...] took part in the shooting of people, that is, we shot the people that were supposed to be shot, and the order for the shooting was given by Dmitry Karpenko [...] I remember exactly that seventeen people had been shot by us that time [...] I personally shot four people then [...] I recall that among the people we shot, who then fell into the pit that had been dug, there were several who hadn't been killed, I don't remember the exact number of people who weren't dead now, but Karpenko finished them off with a Russian-style pistol in our presence [...]*

*In approximately the first days of October 1941, in the forest that was located near the hamlet of Kelvich, about two to three kilometers from the town of Radomyshl, between 12 and 3 p.m., I, as part of a group of police [...] participated in the shooting of a group of children who were brought in a vehicle to the execution site. There were five of them, three girls and two boys aged thirteen to fifteen. These children were brought from the children's commune; they were all of Jewish ethnicity [...] When the vehicle full of children arrived, they were removed from it, and then they were brought to the pit and shot. The Germans shot the children. Before the shooting, some of them were crying and asking us not to shoot them, since they weren't Jewish, but Russian [...]*

*[...] In the last days of October 1941, I participated in the shooting of six women over age fifty, of Jewish ethnicity. This shooting took place in the forest outside the hamlet of Kelvich [...] we also buried the bodies of the people we had shot in the pit. I have a hard time coming up with the number of people I personally killed, since we all fired simultaneously.*

*A second shooting occurred about seven or eight days later, that same month in October 1941, in the same place. That time about ten to twelve women who were ethnically Jewish were shot. They had been delivered to the town of Radomyshl from the village of Bila Krynytsia [...]*

From the testimony of former police officer Alexander Podlesny:<sup>51</sup>

*That first time, I participated directly in the shooting of sixteen men of Jewish ethnicity that had been brought from Malyn and Potiivka districts. The shooting took place in the first half of November 1941, outside of the hamlet of Kelvich [...] The second case of my participating in a shooting took place on the same day towards evening in that same spot. A vehicle brought thirteen people, also men, to the execution site [...]*

From the testimony of former police officer Ilya Komarchuk:<sup>52</sup>

*Soon after I joined the police (I don't remember the exact date), German gendarmes together with Police Chief Wachholz lined up the police and selected six to seven*

*people from them [...] After the selection had taken place, together with the gendarmes, we got into a vehicle and drove to the forest located one kilometer from the Radomyshl-Zhytomyr highway to a place that wasn't far from the house of a forest ranger by the name of Pushkar. After we arrived, we got out and about fifteen minutes later another truck arrived carrying twenty to twenty-five detained men, women, and children of Jewish ethnicity. It must be said that immediately after we arrived at the place [...] one of the Germans told us that we would be carrying out a shooting of individuals of Jewish ethnicity. There were no protests or refusals to carry out the shooting on the part of the police. This time, pits for the people to be executed had been dug by POWs working for the Radomyshl police. Once the second truck arrived, the Germans started leading away the detainees in groups of three or four people, and we started shooting them with rifles from a distance of about ten meters. The people to be shot were made to kneel in front of the pit. I personally shot about four people, men and women, on this occasion [...]*

*In about November 1941, a week after the first shooting [...] I also took part in a shooting of Soviet citizens that occurred in the very same spot [...] That time, soon after our arrival, a vehicle carrying the detainees, numbering fifteen to twenty people, also drove up to the execution site. The people delivered to be shot included men, women, and children. The arriving vehicle stopped near the execution site, and the Germans, selecting several men, forced them to dig a grave for the entire group. We, that is, the police, were guarding the detainees at the time. After the grave had been dug, the gendarmes started taking away and leading the people to be shot to the pit in small groups of three to five people and made them kneel, while we [...] shot them. Like in the first case, the children were shot after the adults had been executed. The children were shot by the Germans themselves, who led the children one by one to the pit (rather, they carried them in their arms and shot them with a pistol, holding the child with one arm). The children were aged one and up [...]*

*The third case of the shooting of Soviet citizens [...] occurred in the same place about two weeks after the second case, also in November 1941. That time we also shot fifteen to eighteen people [...]*

In December only one operation took place: on the seventh of the month in Dzerzhynsk 168 Jews were shot from among the artisans and their families that had been left in the town.<sup>53</sup>

In total, over three thousand Jews were exterminated in the region in October and approximately the same number in November.

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<sup>1</sup> Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, 80. 20-25: Families of tradesmen/artisans were taken to a labor camp in Novohrad-Volynskyi in November 1941.

<sup>2</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 294, p. 34. The shooting took place on October 11, 1941.

<sup>3</sup> Report dated April 24, 1945 (*Ibid.*, file 292, p. 3). The Jews were from surrounding villages. See also YIU, no. 90U.

<sup>4</sup> See the criminal indictment in criminal case no. 40 against D. N. Gnatyuk, I. S. Lesko, and N.I. Rybak from December 1, 1986 (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 32425, vol. 9). This number of bodies was determined in 1986 during the excavation of human remains from two pits, where victims had been buried. According to the Extraordinary State Commission's documents (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 291, p. 88), the shooting took place on October 23, 1941; the number of victims totaled 850 people. See also YIU, no. 253-255U.

<sup>5</sup> See the criminal indictment in criminal case no. 40 against D. N. Gnatyuk, I. S. Lesko, and N.I. Rybak from December 1, 1986 (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 32425, vol. 9). The shooting took place in early October 1941.

<sup>6</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 296, pp. 116, 118. The shooting took place on October 15, 1941. See also YIU, no. 1728U.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid., file 287, pp. 4, 5 obverse. The shootings took place on October 9-25, 1941. As of October 1, 1941, there was only one Jewish woman registered in Brusyliv (State Archives of Zhytomyr Oblast, fund p-1153, catalogue 1, file 11, p. 46).

<sup>8</sup> See the report of the head of the OUN in Chudniv (Divak): "On October 16, 1941, all Jews, regardless of age, were shot on orders from the German military commander in Berdychiv. The execution was carried out by Ukrainian police from the town of Divak. Five hundred Jews were shot. State Archives of Zhytomyr Oblast, fund 1151, catalogue 1, file 2). See also YIU, no. 1721-1724U.

<sup>9</sup> Testimony of Yefim Zakharov-Zaidnenberg (born in 1927) (Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, 163-164).

<sup>10</sup> See the interrogation report of witness N. I. Rybak from September 30, 1985 (criminal case no. 40 against D. N. Gnatyuk, I. S. Lesko, and N.I. Rybak in 9 volumes, volume 2, pp. 94-95, in: Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 32425 ОФ).

<sup>11</sup> See the interrogation report of defendant N. I. Rybak from July 31, 1986 (criminal case no. 40 against D. N. Gnatyuk, I. S. Lesko, and N.I. Rybak in 9 volumes, volume 2, pp. 137-141, in: Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 32425 ОФ).

<sup>12</sup> Boris Zabarko, ed., *Zhivymi ostalis' tol'ko my*, 162-164. According to the report compiled by the residents of Liubar and military unit representatives dated January 13, 1944 (Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, fund 236, catalogue 2675, file 134, p. 39), the shooting occurred on October 29, 1941.

<sup>13</sup> As of October 1, 1941, there were 12 Jews (6 men and 6 women) living in the village. (State Archives of Zhytomyr Oblast, fund p-1426, catalogue 21, file 1c. p. 38).

<sup>14</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 302, pp. 169 (report dated April 28, 1945), 171 and obverse (testimony of witness A. F. Kirichek from May 15, 1945).

<sup>15</sup> S. Shveybish, "Pyatka" in *Kholokost na territorii SSSR. Entsiklopediya* [The Holocaust on the Territory of the USSR. An Encyclopedia], ed. I. A. Altman (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2009), 829; see also YIU, no. 1717-1720U.

<sup>16</sup> See the interrogation report of defendant F. I. Mostitsky from February 10, 1944 (USHMM RG-31.018M.0008.00000296-300).

<sup>17</sup> During the trial, on June 12, 1944, Mostitsky stated that he did not participate in the killing of Jews since he was on duty all day at the police station and his testimony during the preliminary investigation was untrue (USHMM RG-31.018M.0008.00000440). On June 13, 1944, Mostitsky was sentenced to twenty years of hard labor.

<sup>18</sup> See the interrogation record of defendant U. N. Onischuk from February 7, 1944 (USHMM RG-31.018M.0008.00000346+). On June 13, 1944, Onischuk was sentenced to twenty years of hard labor.

<sup>19</sup> According to the testimony of witness Mikhail Kapsan from January 23, 1944, police officers Alexei Bondarenko and Pavel Yarosh shot another six Jews on October 25, 1941 and about another thirty Jews were taken to Chudniv and shot there on about October 30, 1941. (USHMM RG-31.018M.0008.00000387-8).

<sup>20</sup> During the trial, on June 12, 1944, Onischuk testified that in February 1942 the district police together with the village police arrested twelve Jewish women in the village who were then shot outside the village (USHMM RG-31.018M.0008.00000438).

<sup>21</sup> See the interrogation record of Otto Zechner from September 23, 1969 (BArch B 162/1066, Bl. 3882-3883). See also the testimony of Franz Goller (BArch B162/9162, Bl. 45). According to other sources, about five hundred Jews from the ghetto were shot. An SD detachment (five or six people), several officers from the *Feldgendarmarie* of the *Ortskommendatur*, and the Ukrainian auxiliary police participated in the shooting (BArch B 162/7313, Bl. 654).

<sup>22</sup> See the witness testimonies of Yelsk residents F. M. Kurlenko and F. C. Berlyak from January 18, 1968 (BArch B 162/7302, Bl. 160, 161).

<sup>23</sup> BArch B 162/7361, Bl. 39-45. See also YIU, no. 1637U.

<sup>24</sup> Report dated October 13, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 284, p. 3 and obverse). There are lists of victims containing the names of thirty-seven Jews (p. 63).

<sup>25</sup> Testimony of witness Onufry Borovich from April 24, 1945 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 284, p. 61).

<sup>26</sup> Testimony of witness Fyodor Prus from April 17, 1945 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 284, p. 125).

<sup>27</sup> Testimony of witness Franz Kotvitsky from April 26, 1945 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 284, p. 132).

<sup>28</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 284, pp. 152, 155 (lists of names).

<sup>29</sup> I. Ehrenburg and V. Grossman, eds., *Chornaya Kniga*, 41-42. See also YIU, no. 251U.

<sup>30</sup> The correct name is Walter Hilscher.

<sup>31</sup> BArch B 162/9887, Bl. 1093-1094.

<sup>32</sup> See the dispatch dated December 9, 1941 from *Sonderführer* E. Kumming to the department of "Foreign Parties East (Iic)" of the supreme high command of the ground forces [*Sonderführer* (B)], E. Kumming, an Abt. Frd. Heere Ost (II c), vom 9.12.41, in: NARA T 1021, roll 18).

<sup>33</sup> For further details see: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 149, file 31. There is also evidence of a shooting of two Jewish families in the village of Zamyslovychi in Olevsk district, YIU, no. 244U.



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- <sup>34</sup> S. Friedman, "Rasstrely v Narodichakh" [The shootings in Narodychi], in *Krovotochashchaya pamyat Kholokosta* [The bloody memory of the holocaust], ed. O. Glushkin (Kaliningrad: Regionalnyi. Obshchestvennyi Fond "Shofar," 2001) ([http://palmnicken.ru/mediacorner/00/108\\_16.html](http://palmnicken.ru/mediacorner/00/108_16.html)). The shooting took place on November 16, 1941. As of October 1, 1941, 137 Jews were registered in the town of Narodychi, and 169 Jews in other villages in the district (State Archives of Zhytomyr Oblast, fund p-1153, catalogue 1, file 11. p. 146).
- <sup>35</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 282, p. 4. The shootings took place on November 21 and 26, 1941.
- <sup>36</sup> State Archives of Rivne Oblast, fund p-30, catalogue 2, file 112, pp. 9-10.
- <sup>37</sup> See the interrogation report of witness Tevel Trosman from March 14, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 149, file 31, pp. 83-84).
- <sup>38</sup> See the interrogation report of witness Ivan Rabush from March 15, 1944 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 149, file 31, pp. 95-96). See also YIU, no. 1632U.
- <sup>39</sup> As of October 10, 1941, there were 227 Jews (99 men and 128 women) residing in the village (State Archives of Zhytomyr Oblast, fund p-1426, catalogue 21, file 1c. pp. 27, 71).
- <sup>40</sup> Investigation file no. 2 on charges against Vasily Adamovich Lipinsky, Konstantin Nikolayevich Misechko, and Leontiy Korneyevich Bolozhinsky, pp. 18-19 (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 30087-оф). On February 4, 1944, the field court martial of the 121<sup>st</sup> Rifle Division sentenced Lipinsky and Misechko to death by hanging and Bolozhinsky to fifteen years of hard labor in an open court hearing at the division command post.
- <sup>41</sup> According to the criminal indictment and judgment in the case against Lipinsky, Misechko, and Bolozhinsky, Misechko joined the Liubar police in September 1941 and served for two months there.
- <sup>42</sup> It is actually October or November 1941.
- <sup>43</sup> According to the testimony of witness Kirill Chernysh from May 29, 1945, police officer Misechko killed four Jews in a yard in the village of Ivankivtsi (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 302, pp. 59, 60).
- <sup>44</sup> Report dated May 23, 1945 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 302, p. 140).
- <sup>45</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 302, p. 141 and obverse.
- <sup>46</sup> This is the total number of victims for the village over the period 1941-1944: 207 Jews, 6 non-Jews, and 3 people who had died from bombing and shelling.
- <sup>47</sup> Investigation file no. 2 on charges against Vasily Adamovich Lipinsky, Konstantin Nikolayevich Misechko, and Leontiy Korneyevich Bolozhinsky, pp. 5-6 (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 30087-оф).
- <sup>48</sup> Ibid., p. 7 and obverse.
- <sup>49</sup> Investigation file no. 2 on charges against Vasily Adamovich Lipinsky, Konstantin Nikolayevich Misechko, and Leontiy Korneyevich Bolozhinsky, pp. 37 and obverse (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 30087-оф).
- <sup>50</sup> See the interrogation report of defendant A. P. Shkidchenko from April 29, 1944 (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, investigation file no. 238, vol. 1, pp. 225 obverse – 226 obverse).
- <sup>51</sup> See the interrogation report of defendant A. P. Podlesnoy from May 18, 1944 (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, investigation file no. 238, vol. 1, p. 170).
- <sup>52</sup> See the interrogation report of defendant I. A. Komarchuk from March 3 and 15, 1944 (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, investigation file no. 238, vol. 1, pp. 247 obverse -249 obverse).
- <sup>53</sup> Garry Feldman, ed., *Zabveniyu ne podlezhit. Sbornik materialov o Kholokoste, perezhitom moimi zemlyakami* [Never to be forgotten. Collection of materials about the Holocaust experienced by my countrymen] (Zhytomyr: Polissya, 2000), 35.



## 7. The Killings of Jews in 1942-1943

At the end of 1941, the region had been practically cleansed of Jews. At the beginning of 1942, there were Jews left only in seven districts (Baranivka, Dzerzhynsk, Andrushivka, Yanushpil, Yarun, Ruzhyn, Vchoraishe, and Luhyny), as well as in the towns of Zhytomyr and Berdychiv. Jews in ghettos and camps were constantly subjected to torture by the Ukrainian auxiliary police. The testimony of V. Schneiderman, who was in the Yarun ghetto, can serve as an illustration:

*In 1942, I was working with Motya Knyazher and his mother, a local polizei called them into the dining room and started beating them. I saw this myself. Once I came back from working in the forest, this same polizei came to our place and started beating me with a log because I came home early. That year a group of local polizei came to the apartment of Misharn Khodirker, he was a shoemaker; they dragged him out into the yard, started beating him and killed him, and then they started raping the young girls Nyukhanka and Tsunya and the teacher Genya Sukner. These people were shot by the Gestapo. Then the Ukrainian polizei announced that if the Jews didn't give them everything they had, they'd kill them, like they did Khodirker. These same polizei came the following night to Birosh Barakhman's in order to rape his daughter Genya, but the father protected his daughter. Then they beat the father and mother, the father's ears and mouth were bleeding, yet they managed to run away from the apartment. An eighty-year-old old lady was left behind. The polizei started beating her, broke her right hand, smashed her head, gouged out her eye, and she died. I saw this through my window; I was living on the other side of the wall from the Barakhmans. The same polizei beat Kachkovsky, after summoning him to the police station, and then, together with other polizei, they brought him back to his apartment and Kachkovsky showed them where his things were buried. Then the polizei gave him a spade, hit him twice on the head with a stick, and ordered him to dig up his things, "And you said you didn't have anything." When his belongings had been dug up, the polizei folded a winter coat, a fall coat, black fabric, and other things in a bag and took them to the police station. I saw this myself. In January 1942 three local polizei came to Abrum Tovbin's apartment, dragged the young girl Genya Tovbin out of bed, took her outside in the freezing cold, led her to an empty house, and raped her. The next day I went to citizen Tovbin's home and asked why had they been beaten up, and he said the Ukrainian polizei did it. The Tovbin family was shot by a death squad in Yarun in 1942. In January 1942, three local polizei came to Khana Kiperman's apartment and took her. I saw from my window how they were leading her away, holding weapons in their hands. And in the morning I got up and followed their tracks in the direction they had taken Khana, and noticed that the tracks led to the river, that they dragged her to the ice hole to drown her, and on the tracks and near the ice hole there was a lot of blood. That year I heard from people that Khana's eyeless corpse had washed up on the surface by the spring waters; Numa Shlaen buried her. The police goons took all the Jews' belongings to their homes. Part of them they gave out to women, and the rest they drank away. In 1942 the Yarun police assembled the entire Jewish population. The men were sent to work in Zhytomyr, and they killed the women. The men who had been taken to Zhytomyr are no longer alive. When I was*

*being driven to be shot, I jumped out of the vehicle on the way, and went to Western Ukraine from Zhytomyr.<sup>1</sup>*

During the first half of 1942, the Jews still remaining in the region were almost completely exterminated. For instance, on January 6, 594 Jews that had been collected in the villages of Baraniv district were shot.<sup>2</sup> In February 1942, the Jews in Myropil (116 specialists and their families, including 97 men, 17 women, and 11 children)<sup>3</sup> and Pechanivka (31 people) in Dzerzhynsk district<sup>4</sup> were killed. The shootings were carried out by Ukrainian policemen. Among those who had executed Jews in Myropil was Dmitry Gnatyuk, who testified to the following during an interrogation in 1986:<sup>5</sup>

*[...] That day, sometime after lunch, on Zavalny's orders, over ten Myropil police officers [...], armed with rifles, went to the town to arrest citizens of Jewish ethnicity – specialists and members of their families [...] When we arrived in the town center, Zavalny ordered me stand in the cordon near the church, while the other police went to arrest citizens of Jewish ethnicity. Some time later [...] over a hundred Soviet citizen specialists of Jewish ethnicity – tailors, shoemakers, and members of their families – had been assembled on the square [...] The detainees [...] were lined up in a column and we, the police, led them to the park [...] The citizens of Jewish ethnicity were escorted to to the pit in Myropil's park, where builders used to slake lime before the WWII [...] The column halted about fifteen meters from the pit. On Zavalny's command the citizens of Jewish ethnicity stripped to their undergarments. After that, from among the police, Zavalny [...] nominated me [...] and others [...] about six to eight people, and said that the nominated police officers would be shooting people. On Zavalny's orders we walked up to the pit and lined up in a row about four meters from it. It's hard to say how big the pit was. Standing near the pit, I saw that a wooden gangway was lying across the middle of the pit. After we had lined up in a row, the shooting began [...] Citizens of Jewish ethnicity in groups of about six to eight people would walk forward and stand on the wooden gangway, and we, the police, on Zavalny's command would fire well-aimed shots from our rifles at the victims, who fell into the pit after our shots. With my participation, three groups were shot at the time [...] I personally killed three men on that occasion [...] After shooting the third group of doomed victims, I started feeling ill from the sight of the people we had shot and I left the execution site without permission and went to the police station [...]*

In March, 150-180 Jews were shot in the village of Hardyshivka in Andrushivka district.<sup>6</sup> At the end of April – over 250 Jews from Andrushivka,<sup>7</sup> about 200 Jews from the village of Chervone (Andrushivka district)<sup>8</sup> and the Jewish spouses in mixed marriages in

Berdychiv (about 70 people),<sup>9</sup> and in May – the Jews in Yarun (281 people),<sup>10</sup> Yanushpil (811 people) and in “Ruzhyn” (606 people)<sup>11</sup> were all killed.

In Yarun, according to the testimony of witness Anatoly Kachkovsky (forty-six years old in 1942) from 1945:<sup>12</sup>

*[...] with the help of a raid by the Yarun district police on May 5, 1942 at 3 a.m., Yarun residents of Jewish ethnicity were rounded in a club in the village of Yarun, where they stayed until 12 p.m. on May 5, 1942. They were divided into separate groups of men, women, and young women and girls aged twelve to thirty and were taken in groups to be shot on the territory of the village of Yurkivshchyna. The shooting was done between 12 and 2 p.m. on May 5, 1942. Over the course of two hours, 580 people of Jewish and Ukrainian ethnicity were shot in total. The shooting was done with assault rifles and machine guns, and children and young women were buried alive.*

On May 29, 1942, during the operation in Yanushpil 811 people were shot, including 67 men, 432 women, and 312 children under sixteen (including 150 under age seven).<sup>13</sup> Former police officer in the Yanushpil district police, the defendant Filipp Kharchyuk, described the operation in Yanushpil as follows on May 22, 1953:<sup>14</sup>

*Soon after the shooting of the Communists, in about early May 1942, the Germans sent the chief of the Yanushpil district police, Ivan Gudym,<sup>15</sup> to a special police school in Vinnitsya for training. To replace Gudym, they appointed Anatoly Melnik, who had previously worked as a detective then secretary of the district police, as the chief of the Yanushpil district police.*

*In about the same period of time, the chief of the Yanushpil district gendarmerie, Kuhrt,<sup>16</sup> was promoted to work at the Berdychiv gendarmerie, and to replace him, some German officer, whose name I don't recall, became the chief of the gendarmerie instead [...]*

*I don't remember the date, but it was in May 1942, when I was in the pantry early in the morning as usual, issuing food to the cook Mikhail Bogatyuk for the preparation of the police's meals in the kitchen. At that time, the chief of the district police, Anatoly Melnik, entered the pantry holding my rifle, which had been at the police dormitory where I lived, and, handing me the rifle, said that I should finish up my work as soon as possible since he needed me. I finished handing over the food, and walked out with Melnik into the courtyard where he told me that he's appointing me to the guard detail for the arrested Jews. Right then he warned me that the neighborhood where the Jews lived was already cordoned off with a tight ring of our police in order to prevent any of the Jews from escaping. Melnik placed me in my position and ordered me to ensure that not a single Jew escaped the cordon from the territory assigned to me, and when something else needed to be done, he would then give new instructions. I guarded my territory, and not a single Jew even attempted to escape from it since it was in the center of Yanushpil on the main street.*

*It must be said that all the Jews from the Yanushpil district had been forced to settle in a specially designated quarter in the village of Yanushpil itself long before May 1942. Therefore, a sort of "ghetto" was created for them, and they lived there without guards, but the police and gendarmes kept an eye on this "ghetto." And then early in the morning, while the Jews were still asleep, the Jewish quarter was cordoned off and I – police officer Kharchuk – was in this cordon with a rifle in my hands. Our police went around the Jewish homes and expelled each and every Jew onto the street and delivered them under escort to their collection point – on the square by the District Consumers' Union they rounded up all the Jews without exception – men, women, and children, from five to six hundred people in total. All the Jews' property remained in the homes where they lived, since they weren't allowed to take anything with them; they were rounded up with only the clothes on their backs.*

*The rounded up Jews under police guard, which included me – Kharchuk – were led into the yard of the police and gendarmerie station and there the detainees were seated on the ground to wait for something or other. There were many detainees, that's why almost the entire police force was involved in guarding them, with the exception of three or four police officers who were posted to the prison and the district police building.*

*At about 2 p.m. about twenty to twenty-five SS officers in black uniforms armed with assault rifles drove up on two trucks from Berdychiv to the same place, that is, the yard of the district police station. Based on later events, it became clear that our gendarme and police leadership was waiting for the arrival of these executioners. A short time after the arrival of the SS officers, our local gendarmes, Melnik, and the SS commander came out of the district police building. Melnik commanded the detainees to stand up, and the SS officers together with us, the police, lined the Jews up in a column and led them like this, under police and SS escort, from the yard through the village, and further into the forest located one to one and a half kilometers from Yanushpil. Along with other escort guards, I – Kharchuk – holding a rifle in my hands, escorted the detainees the entire way.*

*In the forest an enormous pit had been dug and then it became clear to everyone that the Jews had been brought here to be executed.*

*About thirty meters from the pit that had been dug, the doomed victims were halted, ordered to sit on the ground, which they did.*

*Despite the fact that the pit was near the place they were holding the Jews under guard, there was shrubbery that prevented them from seeing the preparations being made for the shooting. I stood near the doomed victims, guarding them to prevent any of them from escaping.*

*When the preparations were complete, one Jew – the village elder of the "ghetto" – on orders from the gendarme and SS leaders, started sending the doomed victims in pairs to the pit from the crowd of detainees, in order. There were only about five SS officers left in the cordon ring with the police, since the rest were by the pit with our gendarmes.*

*Near the pit, the Jews stripped naked [...], they threw their clothing in a pile, and several SS officers shot them with single shots from their assault rifles. Their bodies fell into the pit on their own, and the Germans pushed some that remained on the edge of the pit inside – into the common grave. Only the SS officers shot the Jews, while our entire police force guarded the doomed victims before their deaths.*

*By about 5-6 p.m. the massacre of innocent people was over [...] The last person to be shot was the village elder of the ghetto, who had obediently carried out the*

*orders of the SS leadership. One of our police officers, on Melnik's instructions, threw dirt on the bodies piled up in the pit, and on that note it was all over.*

*After the end of the shooting, on Melnik's order all the police returned to Yanushpil and went to have lunch in the canteen. The SS officers immediately left for Berdychiv. In the evening, the clothing of the executed people was loaded into a cart and brought to the district police's storeroom; and I don't know where they took it later [...]*

*There were no such cases [resistance]. The Jews saw that resistance was futile, and that's why they walked to the pit on their own, and that was where the Germans shot them. The order of the people going to the pit was determined by the Jewish village elder of the ghetto, who was shot last.*

*I must say that when the detainees were brought to the forest and saw the huge grave that had been dug for them, at first they were stupefied with horror. With the first shootings, people started screaming, crying, heart-rending wails rang out, but they nevertheless walked up to the pit and their lives ended there [...]*

*By the pit all the doomed victims stripped naked, at the request of the SS officers they threw their clothing in one pile. Valuables, watches, rings, and other items were confiscated by the Germans right there, and only after this was done were they shot.*

Former police officer Alexander Stepanets offers a contrasting description of the circumstances surrounding the shooting of the Jews. During questioning as a witness on September 9, 1987, he testified to the following:<sup>17</sup>

*[...] There were over thirty police officers serving in the Yanushpil district police. Among them, I remember there was Anatoly Melnik (detective), Gudym (police chief), Vladimir Mischenko, Vladimir Naidyuk (from the village of Ozadivka), Petr Zhavruk, Kostantin Shimanovich, and Avram Tkachuk (both from the village of Stetkivtsi), Vasily Viletsky, Grabovsky, Stepan Kovenya, and Yakopchuk<sup>18</sup> (both from the village of Mala Volytsya), Ivan Kandyba, Hans Kampf (the district police interpreter), Hermann Yakuzinsky (also an interpreter), Shepentyuk (from the village of Andriyashivka), Filip Kharchuk (he was the squad commander), Vasily Lokaichuk, and others [...]*

*At about the end of May 1942 [...] on the outskirts of the village, not far from the forested area, the police shot several hundred people – citizens of Jewish ethnicity [...] The night before the shooting, all the Yanushpil police were staying in the barracks, and the next morning, all the police, including myself – Stepanets – received weapons and live ammunition. After that, on Gudym's orders, we, the police, started arresting the Jewish population and bringing them to the general assembly point in the center of the village. The arrests stopped sometime before lunch [...] On Gudym's orders the police lined up the citizens of Jewish ethnicity in a column, and then, after surrounding the detainees from all sides, began escorting them to the execution site, to the pit that had been dug three or four days prior. This pit was dug by Red Army POWs, of whom there were seven or eight. During the course of about three days, the police led the POWs, who were in cells for prisoners, outside the village to a small clearing that was surrounded by forest on two sides and shrubbery on the other two. I, together with two police officers (I don't remember their last names) also had to escort the POWs (I don't know what happened to them) and guard them while they were digging the large pit. I*

*remember that the pit was twenty meters long, up to four meters wide, and about two meters wide. This pit was about two kilometers from the center of the village. When the police [...], there were over twenty of us, were escorting the citizens of Jewish ethnicity to the execution site, many of them were crying, especially the children [...] Together with the police, there were also seven or eight German gendarmes, who had come from the town of Berdychiv, escorting the citizens of Jewish ethnicity. I didn't know them. One of the gendarmes was leading a German shepherd.*

*The police and Germans escorted the detainees to the clearing where the pit had been dug that I've already talked about. The column was halted about fifteen meters from the pit. On Gudym's command, all the detainees sat on the ground. After that, Gudym nominated about ten police officers who had to shoot the citizens of Jewish ethnicity. I remember that among them there were: Kampf, Naidyuk, Yakuzinsky, Konstantin Shimanovich, Vasily Lokaichuk, Kharchuk, and others [...] The police officers Gudym had nominated lined up in a row about four or five meters from the pit. The rest of the police stood in the cordon in order to prevent the detainees from escaping. I stood between the bushes and from a distance of about thirty meters observed everything happening on the small clearing.*

*As I recall, two police officers (I don't remember their names) walked up to the citizens of Jewish ethnicity sitting on the ground, and chose about ten detainees from the seated people. Those ten stood up, stripped to their undergarments, throwing their clothing on the ground, and after that the police escorted the detainees to the pit, placed them on its edge facing it, and the police officers standing in a row four or five meters from the pit [...] raised their rifles, aimed, and fired into the backs or heads of the doomed victims standing on the edge of the pit, who fell into the pit after the shots. Another four or five groups of doomed people, with about ten people in each, were shot in an analogous manner [...] After that, Gudym walked up to me and ordered me to go to the village to guard the homes of the citizens of Jewish ethnicity so that the locals wouldn't loot their property, which is what I did [...]*

Fifteen-year-old Bronislav Olshansky, an accidental witness to the shooting, also testified during questioning on November 24, 1988 that it was not the Germans who shot the Jews on May 29, 1942, but local police:<sup>19</sup>

*[...] That day, as we usually did in the morning, together with my friend Vladimir Levshun, we were letting the cows graze in the pine forest that grew near the former nursery garden on the outskirts of the village of Yanushpil. On the grounds of the nursery there were only bushes growing at the time, and there was also a clearing there – the former berry plantation. I knew that about three days before the events I'm recounting, the police and Germans had brought in POWs to this clearing, where they were forced to dig a large pit. This pit measured about eighteen meters in length, three to four meters in width, and was up to two meters deep. Finding ourselves with our cows in the pine forest, at about 11 a.m. we heard people screaming and crying loudly from the direction of the road leading out of the village of Yanushpil. When we looked there, we saw that the police and Germans were escorting a large group of people along the road in the direction of the nursery. The people walked under the guard of the police and Germans in a long column.*

*They were all led into the nursery and forced to sit on the ground near the dug out pit on the clearing. Soon from the direction of the clearing I could hear gunshots. I and Vladimir Levshun decided to see what was happening in the clearing, but we couldn't see well behind the bushes, and that's why we climbed one of the tall pine trees growing near the nursery. I remember well that when I had climbed to a height of about four meters, I saw a horrible scene opening before my eyes. I saw two police officers, whose last names I no longer remember now, forcing the Soviet citizens of Jewish ethnicity sitting on the ground to strip to their undergarments, then leading them ten people at a time to the pit and placing them on the edge facing it. Behind these people, about five meters from them, police officers Kampf, Yakovchuk, Ryzhuk, Petruk, Zhavruk, Naidyuk, Shimanovich, and some others, whose last names I don't remember stood in a row. There were about ten police officers standing in this row. They were all armed with rifles, and Hans Heinrichovich Kampf with a pistol. When the two police officers, whom I testified about earlier, had placed the group of Jews on the edge of the pit and gotten out of the way, the police officers lined up in a row raised their weapons and shot the doomed victims in the back or the head, and then all the people fell into the pit from the shots. In this way, these same police officers shot another group of people [...] <sup>20</sup> There in the clearing was a group of Germans, about eight of them, but they were standing on the side of the execution site and they themselves, over the period I observed the shooting, didn't directly participate in the execution. Up in the tree, I saw the police officers I've named – Hans Kampf, Shimanovich, Yakovchuk, Zhavruk, Petruk, Naidyuk and others shoot four or five groups of Jews. Watching what was happening in the clearing was horrific, and I, together with Vladimir Levshun, climbed down from the pine tree and went home. The shooting of Soviet citizen Jews in the clearing continued until about 5 p.m., but how exactly it was done later, I didn't see and can't testify about it. I only remember that the police had shot over seven hundred Soviet citizens of Jewish ethnicity on that day. Observing their execution from a tree at a distance of about eighty meters, I saw that the police were shooting mainly women and children, as well as elderly men. Among the doomed victims I saw Sigar and Tsyrulnik, whom I knew but whose first names I no longer remember. Before the day of the shooting all these people were living in the center of the village of Yanushpil, where they had been rounded up by the police. As a local resident, I also know that not long before the shooting the police had sent all the young and strong Jewish men to the town of Berdychiv, where they were also shot [...]*

Dimitry Voznyak, who was the deputy commander of the Ruzyn district police in 1942-1943, testified to the following during an interrogation in 1946:<sup>21</sup>

*[...] During the night between April 30 and May 1 at 12 a.m. we assembled the gendarmes, and I assembled my police force, about thirty people. According to the plan that had been developed, we surrounded the neighborhood in the village of Ruzhyn where the Jews lived, and we rounded up every last one of them, including women and children, in the school. When the roundup was completed at about 4 a.m., we summoned all the specialists, about seventy people, and the rest we led to be shot in the pit that had been dug on the outskirts of the village of Ruzhyn. At a distance of five hundred meters from the pit, we locked the entire crowd in a barn, where they were under heavy police guard. From the barn we led out groups of ten to fifteen people to the pit; near the pit we stripped them naked, then forced them to*



*go down into the pit, and there we shot them. During the shooting, I supervised the police and I personally led ten to fifteen people at a time from the barn to the pit; the shooting was done by the Gestapo officers. The executed people's clothing and all their belongings were handed over to the store in the village of Ruzhyn. During this pogrom, due to the fact that the roundup of the Jews occurred at night, many of them ran off. After that, we built a ghetto for the ones they remained, fenced it off with barbed wire, and they all lived in one place.*

Additional information about the operation in Rhuzyn can be found in the official report compiled after the liberation of the village by locals and military representatives:<sup>22</sup>

*On May 1, 1942 at 4 a.m. the street near the river where the Jews were housed was surrounded by the Gestapo and the police, who forced all the Jews with their families, numbering 560 [people], with beatings to go into the school. From the school, they grabbed children by their arms and legs and threw them like logs into carts and took them to the ditch that had been dug, into which they unloaded them from the cart alive. From among the adults, twenty-seven specialists were released to go home. The remaining Jews were ordered to undress near the pit, after which they were shot and their bodies were thrown into the pit [on top of] children who were still alive. All these atrocities were committed in the course of an hour. This entire massacre was committed by the chief of the gendarmerie and the chief of the [Ukrainian] police Rudenko and his squad of fifty people. The remaining twenty-seven people were ordered to haul the executed people's clothing to a house where the police divided [the clothing] among themselves.*

*The sixty women and children who ran away into the field were caught by the police, who held them in a basement and starved and beat them for two days. Then two of the tradesmen hanged themselves, and the remaining twenty-five wanted to hang themselves as well. In view of this, the police was forced to release their families (sixty people from the basement).*

In the spring of 1942 several hundred Jews were also shot in Luhyny. At first, on a Saturday they were rounded up in a large warehouse near Luhyny station; the shootings, which continued the whole day Sunday as well, began towards evening.<sup>23</sup>

On June 10, "SD Berdychiv" took away another 75 Jewish men<sup>24</sup> from Ruzhyn on three trucks and a new "Jewish operation" was carried out in Vchoraishe at the same time, after which only about 40 tradesmen remained.<sup>25</sup> Finally, on June 15, specialists and their families were shot in Dzerzhynsk (122 people)<sup>26</sup> and on June 16 in Berdychiv (over 400 people) were killed.<sup>27</sup> The same fate befell the several hundred Jewish workers that had been taken from Vinnytsia to Zhytomyr in April 1942 and placed in a forced labor camp.<sup>28</sup> At the very least, some of these workers were used to build Himmler's field command post (*Feldkommandostelle Hegewald*),



which was several kilometers south of the town. In the second half of 1942, the majority of the forced labor camp's inmates were shot. For example, on August 19, 1942, 237 Jewish workers were shot.<sup>29</sup> In late October and in November 1942, about 60 and 300 Jews were shot, respectively. These shootings were carried out by a field gendarmerie company "of the command headquarters of the Reichsführer-SS" (the company commander was SS-*Obersturmführer* Karl Gillner)<sup>30</sup>, which was in Zhytomyr from May to November 1942.

A mass shooting of Jews also took place on October 1, 1942 in Ruzhyn, where the SD from Berdychiv "resettled" 44 Jews.<sup>31</sup>

In total, over five thousand Jews were exterminated in the region in 1942.

The last shootings of Jews occurred in the second half of 1943, and their victims were the highly-qualified specialists and tradesmen that were still alive. For instance, Jewish specialists (35 people working in a tailoring workshop) that had remained in Ruzhyn were shot on May 19, 1943 (15 people) and in the end of July 1943;<sup>32</sup> in Vchoraishe 25 Jewish tradesmen,<sup>33</sup> several dozens of Jews in Berdychiv,<sup>34</sup> and a group of Jewish artisans in Zhytomyr were shot in August 1943.

### **Killings of Foreign Jews**

Along with local Jews, killings of foreign Jews (of Hungarian citizenship) occurred in the region at least in 1943. These Jews wound up on Ukrainian territory as far back as 1942, together with units of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Hungarian Army, to which they were attached as workers. The Hungarian Jews likely wound up in the region in the beginning of 1943, when the rear services of the Hungarian army were garrisoned there, as well as units to fight partisans. Back-breaking labor, meager food, and harsh treatment were the reasons behind the exhaustion, illness, and death of many of the workers. A "hospital" was created for sick Jews in the village of Kupyshche, eleven kilometers northwest of the town of Korosten. It took up several rooms in a brick building. Most of the patients lay in open barns. The grounds were entirely fenced off

with barbed wire. Many patients died from typhus every day; their bodies were stacked like logs by the wall of the neighboring stables. On April 29, 1942, the occupiers decided to resort to drastic measures to get rid of this source of infection. They set fire to one of the barns, in which there were about six hundred people, and shot those trying to save themselves with assault rifles. Nevertheless, a small group of Jews, despite their injuries, managed to break free and lived to tell what happened. When the Minister of Defense at the time, Vilmos Nagy, found out about it, he ordered a special commission to conduct an investigation to identify the guilty parties. But the commission came to the conclusion that “the fire had been inadvertently set by smoking Jews.”<sup>35</sup>

Iosif Grinshteyn, who was in one of the Jewish work crews, recounted the following about this mass killing:<sup>36</sup>

*At the end of 1942 my friends and I were sent to the Eastern front and our treatment got worse. We weren't allowed to live in houses; we only lived in barns, in summer and winter alike. The field gendarmes often conducted body searches, stripped us, and kept us naked in the forty degree freezing cold. Meanwhile they took our clothing. We were fed very badly. For a long time, for example, in the village of Davydky<sup>37</sup> near Korosten, they gave us two kilos of bread, two kilos of potatoes, and twenty decagrams of raw meat for a week. That was the food for one week. The overseers, Hungarian soldiers, even stole from this meager amount. On top of such a meager diet and heavy labor, they also subjected us to all kinds of gymnastics exercises. We worked for fourteen hours every day.*

*They sent us, despite the fact that we didn't realize it, to minefields, where the majority of people died as a result of the mines exploding. That was actually their goal.*

*As a result of insufficient food and unhygienic conditions, a typhus epidemic broke out in the labor camps. They didn't treat the patients, didn't give them medicine, and, as a result, people dropped like flies. In the spring of 1943, they gathered the typhus patients in the village of Doroshichi (near Korosten), where they were put in a barn. There in one barn they put five hundred typhus patients. In April 1943, the Hungarians set fire to this barn at night, and positioned machine guns from four sides so that people would burn to death inside or anyone who attempted to get away would be shot [...]*

According to Peteri Lipot's statement:

*Near Doroshichi (Ukraine) there was a camp in which there were Jewish forced laborers who were ill with typhus. About 3,000 people. Under the leadership of Major Szentleatolnay, early in the morning of April 28, 1942, one barracks, in which there were about 500 Jews, was doused with kerosene, and*

*the doors and windows were nailed shut from outside. Then they set fire to the barracks. As a result, 488 Jews were burned alive and 66 people were wounded with machine gun fire when they attempted to escape from the burning barracks. We were able to determine the names of the dead, but the list was lost in Budapest at the time of the Arrow Cross (Fascist) regime. Currently, additional investigations in Hungary have led to the arrest of the main perpetrator, Major Katolnay.*<sup>38</sup>

Roughly one thousand Hungarian Jews died in the region in 1943.

### **Killings of Jewish POWs**

From September 15, 1941 to November 26, 1943 POW Camp no. 358 (*Kriegsgefangenen-Stammlager* 358) was located on the western outskirts of Zhytomyr (Bohuniya). The POWs in this camp and newly arriving POWs were regularly checked for the presence of Jews and Communists. Identified Jews and Communists were separated from the rest of the POWs and were then shot in the nearby forest by an SD team. According to the testimony of a former driver in the camp, Friedrich Buck, during the first few months of the camp's existence, he had, together with five or six other drivers, driven 1200-1400 Jewish POWs to be shot in the nearby forest.<sup>39</sup>

### **The Total Number of Exterminated Jews**

In total, over 55,000 Jews, including about 24,000 in the towns of Berdychiv and Zhytomyr, were exterminated in the region in 1941-1943.

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<sup>1</sup> Quoted from P. A. Petko, "Dolya simyi v doli derzhavy" [The fate of the family in the fate of the state], in *Istorychni uroky Holokostu ta mizhnatsional'ni vidnosyny (do 70-richchya pochatku Druhoyi svitovoyi viyny). Materialy mizhnarodnoyi naukovo-praktychnoyi konferentsiyi dlya vykladachiv ta studentiv (Zhytomyr, 23-24 zhovtnya 2009 r.)* [Historical lessons of the Holocaust and interethnic relations (on the 70th anniversary of the beginning of World War II). Proceedings of the international scientific-practical conference for teachers and students] (Zhytomyr, October 23-24, 2009)] (Dnipro: Tkuma, 2010), 355-356

<sup>2</sup> Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, fund 236, catalogue 2675, file 134, p. 30; *Zverstva nemetsko-fashistskikh zakhvatchikov: Dokumenty* [Atrocities of the German-Fascist invaders. Documents], no. 13, (Moscow: Voenizdat, 1945), 51. About the shooting in Baranivka, see YIU, no. 1648U.

<sup>3</sup> See the criminal indictment in criminal case no. 40 against D. N. Gnatyuk, I. S. Lesko, and N.I. Rybak from December 1, 1986 (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 32425, vol. 9). According to the Extraordinary State Commission's materials, the shooting took place on February 16, 1942.

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<sup>4</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 291, p.121.

<sup>5</sup> See the interrogation report of the defendant D. N. Gnatyuk from October 16, 1986 (criminal case no. 40 against D. N. Gnatyuk, I. S. Lesko, and N.I. Rybak, in 9 volumes, vol. 3, p. 260-261, in: Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 32425).

<sup>6</sup> See the testimony of the defendant K. D. Dudarenko (a former police officer in the Andrushivka district police) from August 16, 1947 (BArch B 162/7330, Bl. 516-518).

<sup>7</sup> See the testimony of the defendant P. Ptashnik (former commander of the Ukrainian district police in Andrushivka) from February 2, 1944 (BArch B 162/7330, Bl. 523-524); the newspaper *Radyanska Zhytomyrshchyna*, May 15, 1988.

<sup>8</sup> I. A. Altman, ed., *Kholokost na territorii SSSR. Entsiklopediya* [The Holocaust on the Territory of the USSR. An Encyclopedia], (Moscow: ROSSPEN, 2009), 1058

<sup>9</sup> *Chornaya Kniga*, 42,

<sup>10</sup> See the report dated February 12, 1944 (reserve collections of the Yarun Local History Museum. According to other sources (report dated May 26, 1945; statement of Shlaen, Kachkovsky, and Timoschuk, residents of the village of Yarun dated May 26, 1945, in State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 318, pp. 6, 11), 580 people were shot; this figure seems inflated. The shooting took place on May 5, 1942. For further information see: T. A. Petko, "Istoriya zhyttya yevreyiv sela Yarun" [The life story of the Jews of the village of Yarun] in *Materialy mizhnarodnoyi naukovo-praktychnoyi konferentsiyi "Yevreyi v Ukrayini: istoriya i suchasnist'"*: *Zbirnyk naukovykh prats* [Proceedings of the international scientific-practical conference "Jews in Ukraine: history and modernity": Collection of scientific works] (Zhytomyr: Zhytomyr Ivan Franko State University, 2009), 414 – 421 (285 people were shot on May 5, 1942). See also YIU, no. 1641, 1643-1644U.

<sup>11</sup> Report of the General Commissar of Zhytomyr for the month of May, Klemm, dated June 3, 1942 (NARA, Microcopy T-454, roll 22, frame 432). It means "Gebiet Ruzhyn" (Ruzhyn, Vchoraishe, and Popilnia districts). In Ruzhyn, the "Jewish operation" was carried out on May 1, 1942, during which 325 Jews were shot (see the testimony of witness Alexander Kucher from February 23, 1946, in: Criminal case against Rudenko and Voznyak (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 1396). That same day a shooting of Jews was carried out in Vchoraishe (about 300 Jews were killed) (see the transcript of the simultaneous questioning of witness A. F. Smolyansky and the defendant Artur Relginy, the former head of the Ukrainian auxiliary police in Vchoraishe, dated December 30, 1951, in BArch B 162/7328, Bl. 139-140; B. Rabiner, ed., *My rodom iz getto. Vospominaniya byvshikh uznikov Mogilov-Podol'skogo getto* [We are from the ghetto. Memoirs of former prisoners of the Mogilev-Podolsk ghetto] (New York, 1996), 79-81.

<sup>12</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 318, p. 9

<sup>13</sup> See the report on the forensic examination of bone remains in the burial site from September 25, 1987 (Criminal case no. 46 against K. A. Shimanovich, vol. 3, pp. 150-156). According to the Memorandum Report from the Military Prosecutor of the First Ukrainian Front to the Main Military Prosecutor of the Red Army "On the Fact-Finding Investigation of the Atrocities Perpetrated by the German-Fascist Invaders and their Accomplices over February 1944," 680 Jews were shot in Yanushpil (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 64, file 812, pp. 172, 173). See also YIU, no. 252, 1713-1715U.

<sup>14</sup> Case no. 4669 against Filipp Ivanovich Kharchuk, in 2 volumes, vol 1., pp.56-63 (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 15048 of). On January 18, 1954, the military tribunal of the Precarpathian military district sentenced Kharchuk to fifteen years in a corrective labor camp.

<sup>15</sup> On December 17, 1946, the military tribunal of Ministry of Internal Affairs troops in the Zhytomyr region sentenced Ivan Gudym to death by shooting.

<sup>16</sup> He means the *Oberwachtmeister* of the *Schutzpolizei*, Paul Kuhrt.

<sup>17</sup> Criminal case no. 46 against Konstantin Alekseyevich Shimanovich, in 4 volumes, vol. 1, pp. 216, 222-225 (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 32446 of).

<sup>18</sup> The correct name is Ilya Yakovchuk.

<sup>19</sup> Criminal case no. 46 against Konstantin Alekseyevich Shimanovich, in 4 volumes, vol. 3, pp. 21-23 (Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 32446 of).

<sup>20</sup> According to the 1944 testimony of former police officer Petr Kravchuk, "the shooting was carried out in the following manner: we took groups of six detainees, lay them down in the pit while still alive, and then shot them from above with assault rifles, then lay a second row on top of the first, and so on [...]" [Quoted from: Memorandum Report from the Military Prosecutor of the First Ukrainian Front to the Main Military Prosecutor of the Red Army "On the Fact-Finding Investigation of the Atrocities Perpetrated by the German-Fascist Invaders and their Accomplices over February 1944" (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 64, file 812, p. 173)].

<sup>21</sup> See the interrogation report of defendant D. F. Voznyak from February 8, 1946 (Case against I. D. Rudenko and D.F. Voznyak, in: Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no. 1396, pp. 95 obverse, 96).

<sup>22</sup> Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, fund 236, catalogue 2675, file 134, p. 49.

<sup>23</sup> See the testimony of witness Augusta Lechner (née Loos), a civil servant in the Bavarian criminal police, from January 11, 1971 (BArch B 162/7317, Bl. 227-228). According to the Extraordinary State Commission's materials,

735 Jews were shot in Luhyny, based on lists of names, (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 301, pp. 53, 66-76 obverse). In addition, the shootings purportedly took place in 1941. For instance, 51 Jews were shot on August 29, 1941 (*Ibid.*, – p. 55). See also YIU, no. 242U.

<sup>24</sup> See the testimony of witness Yankel Krieger from January 24, 1946, in: Criminal case against Rudenko and Voznyak, beginning: April 25, 1946, end: November 4, 1946, in the Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no 1396. In all likelihood, these Jews were placed in a labor camp in Berdychiv.

<sup>25</sup> B. Rabiner, ed., *My rodomy iz getto*. 79-81. Most of the tradesmen were shot in late August 1943.

<sup>26</sup> State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 291, pp. 60, 88.

<sup>27</sup> *Chornaya Kniga*, 42. Sixty tradesmen were left alive. On the day before the shooting, there were 150 local Jews and over 400 Jews that had been brought from other districts in the camp. According to the Extraordinary State Commission's materials (testimony of Mikhail Pekelis: State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 60, file 285, p. 17 and obverse), there were 320 local Jews and 700 Jews that had been brought from elsewhere.

<sup>28</sup> "Svidetel'stvo Borisa Pritskera" [Testimony of Boris Pritzker] in *Vinnitskaya oblast'. Katastrofa (Shoa) i soprotivleniye. Svidetel'stva yevreyev – uznikov kontslagerey i getto, uchastnikov partizanskogo dvizheniya i podpolnoy borby* [Vinnytsia region. Catastrophe (Shoah) and resistance. Testimonies of Jews – prisoners of concentration camps and ghettos, participants in the partisan movement and underground struggle], eds. I. Malyar and F. Vinokurova (Tel Aviv and Kiev: Beit Lohamei Ha-gettaot, 1994), 105.

<sup>29</sup> A. Kruglov, *Khronika Kholokosta v Ukraine* [Chronicle of the Holocaust in Ukraine] (Dnipro: Tkuma, Zaporizhia: Premier, 2004), 117.

<sup>30</sup> Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg, Final Report dated February 20, 1980 (BArch B 162/40037, Bl. 75-76).

<sup>31</sup> See the report of the *SS-und Polizeigebietsführer* in Ruzhyn for October 1942 dated November 5, 1942 (State Archives of Zhytomyr Oblast, fund 1182, catalogue 1, file 36, pp. 275-278). See also the report compiled by local residents and military unit representatives (Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, fund 236, catalogue 2675, file 134, p. 49).

<sup>32</sup> See the testimony of witness Yankel Krieger from January 24, 1946, in: Criminal case against Rudenko and Voznyak, beginning: April 25, 1946, end: November 4, 1946, in the Directorate of the Security Service of Ukraine Archive for the Zhytomyr Region, archive no 1396. See also the testimony of D. M. Pronitsevaya (Central State Archives of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine, fund 46203, catalogue 3, file 281). According to the report compiled by the local residents and military unit representatives, eleven Jews were killed on May 20, 1943, and seventeen on August 1, 1943 (Central Archive of the Ministry of Defense of the Russian Federation, fund 236, catalogue 2675, file 134, p. 49).

<sup>33</sup> See transcript of the simultaneous questioning of witness M. M. Belopolsky and the defendant A. K. Oksenyuk from June 16, 1948 (BArch B 162/7328, Bl. 138).

<sup>34</sup> *Chornaya Kniga*, 42-43.

<sup>35</sup> According to the telegram from Reichskommissariat Ukraine to the *Ostministerium* dated May 25, 1943, "on April 29, the stables in a collective farm in Kupyshche (*gebiet* Korosten) burned down. Three hundred Hungarian Jews burned to death with it" (NARA, Microcopy T-454, roll 23, frame 402). R. L. Braham, *The Hungarian Labor Service System 1939-1945* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 39; P. Iskorostensky, "Tragediya sela Kupishche" [The tragedy of the village of Kupishe], *Yevreyskiye vesti*, September, 1993 (purportedly even as much as eight hundred Jews burned to death). See also YIU, no. 1631U.

<sup>36</sup> See the interrogation record of witness I. S. Grinshtayn from April 5, 1946 (State Archive of the Russian Federation, fund 7021, catalogue 62, file 3, p. 9).

<sup>37</sup> The village lies fourteen kilometers to the west of Korosten.

<sup>38</sup> Statement by Peteri Lipot from August 7, 1946 r., selected by the head of the Historical Commission, Martin Rosenfeld (Yad Vashem Archives, RG M.1.E, File # 225).

<sup>39</sup> Zentrale Stelle Ludwigsburg, Final Report from February 20, 1980, BArch B 162/40037, S. 83.