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*Bessarabian Jews photographed before being killed by Romanian soldiers.  
The caption reads: "Groups of Jewish Communists from  
Bessarabia under escort."  
Realitatea Ilustrata. Anul XV, no. 756, 23.7. 1941*

THE BEATE KLARSFELD FOUNDATION

DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE  
FATE OF ROMANIAN JEWRY  
DURING THE HOLOCAUST

VOLUME XI

Introduction, Resumé of Documents  
(vol.I-VII)

*This work was completed in the  
month of Heshvan 5747, November 1986  
in Jerusalem,  
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SELECTED AND EDITED BY DR. JEAN ANCEL

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- I. A. Selected Studies on the Jewish Question in Romania  
B. Statistical Data  
C. The Regat and Southern Transylvania, 1940
- II. The Regat and Southern Transylvania 1940–1941
- III. The Regat and Southern Transylvania 1941–1942
- IV. The Regat and Southern Transylvania 1942–1944
- V. Bessarabia Bukovina Transnistria: Extermination and Survival
- VI. War Crimes Trials
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- IX. Romanian – German Relations
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- XI. Introduction, Resumé of Documents, (Vol. I–VII)
- XII. Resumé of Documents, (Vol. VIII–X), Indices

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Translations of the resumé of the documents in Vol. VII-X: Zoia Both.  
Index: Dr. Leon Volovici.

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#### P R E F A C E

One of the essential tasks of our generation of Jewish historians is to compile the basic documentation concerning the genocide which felled the Jewish people between 1939-1945. This mission is difficult as the documentation is often dispersed and sometimes inaccessible; but this mission is imperious as the history of the tragic events must be written with the greatest possible precision. Sentimentality and imprecision must be excluded from our work; future generations will be severe in judging our errors; their emotions will depend on the quality and exactitude of our work.

Within the framework of the Beate Klarsfeld Foundation, I was able to undertake this work as concerned France : in 1979 I published eleven volumes of photocopies of the principal documents of the German authorities concerning the Final Solution in France. In 1983 and 1985, in the two volumes of "Vichy-Auschwitz, the role of Vichy in the Final Solution to the Jewish Question in France," I published the principal official French documents on this subject. With the cooperation of the Belgian historian Maxime Steinberg, I prepared the same work in 1980 as concerns the Final Solution in Belgium.

I cite the example of France to give an idea of what this documentary research effort may represent for each country. On the German side, the documents of the Final Solution in France stem from the Ministry for Foreign Affairs in Berlin, the German Embassy in Paris, and the Consulate at Vichy. To this must be added those of the Military Administration in France and especially the archives of the Department for Jewish Affairs of the Gestapo in France, as well as those of the same section of the RSHA in Berlin. The anti-Jewish sections of the twenty-odd regional

SIPO-SD's (security police of the German state security) in France, as well as the documents of the civil and military Italian authorities concerning their relations with the Germans and with Vichy in Jewish matters, especially in their zone of occupation in France, must not be overlooked.

On the French side, the documents originate from the Cabinet Council at Vichy; the office of the General Commissioner for Jewish Questions; the Secretary-General for the Police at Vichy and his representatives in the Occupied Zone; the sections for Jewish Questions of each of 90 French prefectures; from an equal number of police superintendencies and from the Police Prefecture in Paris; from the administrations of scores of concentration camps in the two zones.

On the Jewish side, the documents originate from the archives of the General Union of the Israelites of France, as well as several other Jewish organizations, and include testimonies; millions of pieces of paper are dispersed in multiple archives, especially in France, Germany, the United States, and Israel.

My undertakings, as concerns France and Belgium, owe their existence to our will -- mine and that of Beate -- to document the events in those two countries and thus to render exemplary the trials in Cologne and Kiel, where the principal executors of the Final Solution were brought to justice in Paris and Brussels.

In our mind's eye, historical memory has always been linked to efforts towards justice. It was also at the trial of Gustav Richter, RSHA representative to Bucharest, that I met Dr. Jean Ancel. We were the only two Jewish experts at that trial. At that time, I became aware that the fate of the Jews of Romania was another insufficient and inexact chapter in the great book of Holocaust history: the majority of the Jews of the Old Kingdom had survived thanks to the Romanians and Marshal Antonescu,

while the Jews of Bessarabia and Bukovina, massacred by the Romanians, could no longer accuse their henchmen. Basic and patient labor was necessary in order to reestablish the facts. Historian at Yad Vashem, Dr. Jean Ancel, having received his historical formation in Romania and Israel, and made his Aliyah to Israel, was the man for this work on Romania, as I had been for France.

Beate and I asked him to attack the problem of gathering and publishing the basic documentation, as well as the actual writing the history of the Jews of Romania during the Holocaust, based on the documentary sources which would finally be brought to light.

Dr. Jean Ancel has acquitted his mission honorably, due to the documentation which he had never ceased to gather, the materials held at Yad Vashem, and in other archives in Israel, as well as various sources in Romania proper where he travelled several times within the framework of his tasks as an archivist and historian, and finally in Paris, where he found crucial original materials of Antonescu and his Cabinet and which he was able to procure for the Yad Vashem archives. The scope of the undertaking grew as supplementary materials became available, and finally reached ten volumes of documents (some 7,000 pages), to which an eleventh volume is added, an instrument permitting efficient usage of the 10 preceding volumes. Each set of eleven volumes is sent free of charge by the Foundation, with the aid of various donors, to the one hundred major libraries and historical research centers the world over, thus enabling students and historians to benefit from an exceptional documentation on the Final Solution in Romania.

What was done for Romania or France must be systematically undertaken for each of the countries in which the Final Solution was implemented. The subject is all too important for the Jewish people, confronted as they are by historical revisionists. Not only must we write precisely, but we must also prove that our writing is based on documents which



cannot be false, by publishing the facsimiles of the documents and indicating the precise sources of the originals.

The conscientious historian consulting them may have the privilege of travelling from one archival center to another, but the reader cannot avail himself of this facility. Thus he is obliged to take the historian's word. I myself bear in mind the qualified reader to whom this documentary series is addressed, the man who wishes to write, tomorrow or in the 25th century, on the subject of the Holocaust and wishes to know if the history books on the Holocaust are exact or erroneous. It is this reader who contributes and will continue to contribute, to forming public opinion on the Holocaust and who will read those books on the Holocaust, all the while consulting systematically the documentary collections, such as those already existing on Romania and France.

A twelfth volume was to be published by the Foundation : written by Dr. Jean Ancel, it was to be a history of the Jews of Romania during the Holocaust. Confronted by the scope and seriousness of our undertaking, which was on the brink of realization, Yad Vashem, which is currently preparing a series of volumes on the Shoah in each of the countries in which it took place, proposed that Dr. Ancel write the history within the framework of this important publication, rather than for our Foundation. We immediately accepted this proposition which crowns the success of our documentary series and shows the esteem in which Yad Vashem holds the work of Dr. Jean Ancel.

Thus the cooperation of our Foundation with Yad Vashem, to which we have directly remitted, and will continue to remit, important original documents such as the Auschwitz Album. For us, Yad Vashem must be the repository for all documentation concerning the Holocaust, and we consider it our obligation to assist them in this undertaking.

#### FOREWORD

In 1978, Editura Politica of Bucharest released a volume entitled Zile insingerate la Iasi ("Bloodthirsty Days in Iassy"), June 28-30, 1941, by Aurel Karetki and Maria Covaci, with a foreword by Nicolae Minei. Since Romanian historians rarely broach questions concerning the fate of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust period, and since Iassy is my native town, and I regard myself as a survivor of the horrendous pogrom that swallowed up 27 of my close relatives, the book was of great interest to me. It made me aware of the danger of the "reevaluation of the old fascist regimes," as the Romanian philosopher Prof. O. Trasnea dubs revisionism-- the neo-fascist phenomenon, referring as he does to Western Europe, the United States, and Canada. Yet, a careful analysis shows that reference could also be made to a group of Romanian journalists. The Karetki-Covaci book wishes to :

rehabilitate personalities of the old fascist regimes and certain organizations of the fascist states, and to deny -- by resorting to juridical subterfuges -- the crimes and horrors implemented by the Nazis ... Further indirect legitimization of the old fascism considers as an absolute necessity the negation of the so-called 'hypothetical' culpability of the old generation ...<sup>1</sup>

By approaching, albeit late, the Jewish question in Romania during the Holocaust, the principal undertaking of Romanian historic

<sup>1</sup> O. Trasnea : "Ideologia neo-fascista -- o ideologie profund reactionara a cultului fortei, discriminarii si inegalitatii," ("The Neo-Fascist Ideology -- a Deeply Reactionary Ideology of the Cult of Power, Discrimination and Inequality"), Scinteia, 21.VI.1968.

graphy was, to date, aside from the dissolution of the myths concerning the culpability of the old generation, to

publish pseudo-scientific works in an attempt to deny the genocide committed by the Nazi regime, and to absolve the implicated persons and institutions...

O. Traian's article refers indirectly to another aspect of the neo-fascist trend in Europe: the attempt to "reconsider" the Antonescu regime, an attempt that would be justified only were it to point to the crimes committed by that regime, as well as their underlying causes.

Most certainly, Antonescu's Romania cannot be totally identified with Nazi Germany, and even the dictator himself kept his distance under certain circumstances, mainly with regard to the Jewish question and, after having accepted a proposed plan for a Final Solution, sought his own way that actually permitted the salvation of the Jews in the Old Kingdom (the Regat) and Southern Transylvania. Yet, the very same dictator had issued orders to shoot Jews in Bessarabia and Bukovina, and to deport the survivors of those two regions to the extermination camps of Transnistria.

Romanian historiography prior to 1978 refuses categorically to broach the subject or study its evolution during the national-legionary fascist regime (September 6, 1940--January 23, 1941) and later during the pro-fascist Antonescu regime (January 24, 1941--August 23, 1944). This, as well as the blatant denial of the crimes committed by Romanians and Romanian authorities (army, police, gendarmerie, civilian authorities, etc.) against their Jewish co-citizens was characteristic of the trials of Romanian war criminals between 1945-1948, and the short period to follow. But even this period itself is not uniform, as we will prove later. The official policy of ignoring the fate of the Jewish population and the crimes

committed against it from 1940 has been facilitated by the confusion dominating the historians of Western Europe with regard to Romania's borders from 1940-1944. It is this very confusion which permitted those who dictate the ideology and attitude towards the Holocaust in Romania to maintain that

"In Romania, there has been no Holocaust since, with very few and insignificant exceptions, the executioners bearing the swastika did not find either good will or support in Romania and were even opposed in their attempts to recruit either individual or official local collaborators to organize deportations and other actions leading to genocide. With determined coherence and daring vigor, the militant humanism of the Romanian people, thwarted one after the other the Hitlerite plans for massive extermination of Jews in our country ... And thus, of all the countries under Nazi occupation, Romania emerged with its distinct features as the only one that had known no ghettos, no extermination camps, no deportations to the furnaces of Auschwitz or Maidanek; the only that had offered shelter to the Jews of other countries as well."<sup>2</sup>

The contradiction between the above statements and the reality of the deportation of over 150,000 Romanian Jews implemented on Antonescu's order by the Romanian army, police, and the gendarmerie in Bessarabia, Bukovina and the district of Dorohoi with the manifest goal of exterminating them, is resolved in a footnote to the mentioned "Foreword," where the blame is placed (as it is in the case of the Jassy pogrom) on the "Nazis and Hitlerite troops" -- a generic and nebulous designation.

<sup>2</sup> N. Minei, in: A. Karetcki, M. Covaci, *op.cit.*, pp. 21-22; 24-25.

The deportations across the Dniester, carried out by Antonescu's authorities, did not aim (either overtly or covertly) at the extermination of those implied. The death of a certain number of them was caused by three principal factors : the abuses committed by certain representatives of the regime who embezzled funds allotted for food; the criminal excesses of certain degenerate elements among the guards and supervisors; the intervention of the Nazi assassins organized into Einsatzkommandos that in withdrawing from the Eastern front had forcibly entered the camps, killing the detainees.<sup>3</sup>

This demonstrates how the Romanian historians not only avoided studying the true history of Romanian Jewry, but also -- when mentioning the fate of this population during Antonescu's regime -- deny either directly or indirectly a Holocaust on Romanian territories and obstinately refuse even to employ this term.

The official position of the Party historians is that the Romanian Jews were not subject to a premeditated policy of deportation and extermination; on the contrary, they were saved in great majority due to Antonescu's regime. The ever-present refrain refers to "persevering humanity of the Romanian people." This standpoint -- based on the principle adopted in almost all the communist countries, maintains that "the people is goodhearted" and only certain leaders or elements (in Romania -- the Legionnaires, inevitably) isolated from the immense majority of the nation, joined the "Hitlerites" and the "Nazis" in the few crimes against the Jews (such as the pogroms of Bucharest in January 1941 or of Jassy in June-July 1941, etc., which could not be ignored). This point of view has been cherished

<sup>3</sup> N.Minei, in : A.Karetki, M.Covaci, op.cit., footnote no.25.

throughout the years, to the point of becoming a cliché repeated in every study mentioning the life of the Jewish population of Romania during the Holocaust and Antonescu's rule.

A series of elements indirectly contributed to the obscuring of this question in all its complexities by the great historians of the Holocaust; first -- the numerous and rapid changes in the situation of Romania's borders and the repercussions of these changes on the status of the Jews in certain territories. Further -- the lack of comprehensive works on "classic" Romanian anti-Semitism guided by A.C.Cuza and others, and of serious and intensive research into the specific development of the Romanian national fascist movement, Garda de Fier ("The Iron Guard") in its various designations, led by C.Codreanu, has hindered current scholarship. Third and last -- the absence, to date, of studies with regard to the Antonescu regime and Romanian Jewry, presumably due to the almost total lack of published documentary materials with regard to Romania during World War II and Romanian Jewry from 1939-1945. The present series is intended to complete this lacuna.

Concerning Romania's borders, we should mention here that in the five years' spanning 1940-1944, they suffered seven major alterations, each of which had a serious impact on the fate of the Jews or "the Jewish survivors" in those territories :

1) By the end of June 1940, Romania was forced to cede to the USSR two provinces of ca.50,500 km<sup>2</sup> (comprising some 300,000 Jews) pursuant to the Soviet ultimatum and in conformity with the Molotov-Ribbentrop agreement. Those territories consisted of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, and included a strip of Northern Moldavia -- the Hertza region;

2) Romania was forced to relinquish Northern Transylvania (43,492 km<sup>2</sup> with ca.150,000 Jews) to Hungary by the end of August



1940 in conformity with the Vienna Diktat;

3) In September 1940, Bulgaria annexed Southern Dobruja;

4) In June-August 1941, Romania regained Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, due to the alliance with Nazi Germany and its participation in the anti-Soviet war;

5) In September 1941, Hitler granted Romania authority over a Soviet territory occupied by German and Romanian troops: the South-west Ukrainian territory stretching from the Dniester to the Bug known as Transnistria. Romania was to maintain its authority over this territory until February-March 1944;

6) In March-August 1944, Romania lost Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to the Soviets (and would sign away those territories following the armistice with the Soviet Union and the Treaty of Paris);

7) In April 1945, Romania regained Northern Transylvania.

These multiple territorial alterations within a relatively short time period were often immediately followed by anti-Jewish measures extending to extermination and deportations, causing great difficulties in achieving a verisimile evaluation of the number of Jewish victims. It is also very difficult to delineate the responsibility for the crimes of the Germans and Romanians occupying Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina, or ruling over Transnistria, against the Jews.

Whereas in Bessarabia, Bukovina, and partially in Transnistria as well, the role of the Romanian authorities in shooting and deportation of Jews was overwhelming, we should also point out that -- as is shown in these volumes of documents -- the role of the Romanian authorities, of the Antonescu government and the Romanian people in saving some 300,000 Jews of the Old Kingdom and Southern Transylvania was also crucial. Their attitude had been determined mainly by

national interest, against and in defiance of the pressure exercised by Nazi authorities.

We have briefly exposed herein a series of problems of Romanian historiography and the flagrantly contradictory attitude of the Romanian authorities towards certain categories of Jews, as well as the persistent attempt to minimize Romanian crimes implemented on present-day Romanian territory -- the pogroms of Dorohoi, Galati, Bucharest, and Jassy; the fiercely anti-Semitic policy (which surprisingly did not lead to extermination) in the Old Kingdom and Southern Transylvania; the evacuation from villages and bourgs; the organized and arbitrary plunder; the banishment of the Jews from Romanian society and economic life; the forced-labor camps; the economic spoliation; the rapid pauperization of the Jew and his transformation into a slave deprived of basic rights -- a process in which the Nazi element bore only an indirect influence as it was merely a substantiation of older Romanian anti-Semitic doctrines and plans, dating from the middle of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th. The war and the alliance with Nazi Germany had been regarded by the Romanian rulers as an opportunity to enact the "anti-Semitic dream" -- from persecution to eviction.

On the other hand, we must point out that until late in the seventies, Romanian historians, under the supervision of the ideological leaders of the Communist Party, avoided dealing with Romania's participation in the anti-Soviet war, the alliance with Nazi Germany, the Soviet ultimatum and the loss of the two provinces, and concentrated mainly on two other periods of Romanian history: a) the Vienna Diktat until the takeover by the national-legionary regime, purposely omitting the cession of Bessarabia and Bukovina and its dramatic repercussions on the Romanian state; b) on the other hand, attention



had been paid to the events of August 23, 1944, and the subsequent years, though no complex analysis was offered as to the impact on Romania's economy, finances and development of the Soviet occupation and the reparations paid by the Romanian state to the Soviet Union according to the provisions of the armistice.

It must be said that, since the mid-fifties, the Party and its historians considered it essential to maintain the positive image of the Romanian state and people. Romanian historians were fortunate in that they did not have to face the criticism of their Western colleagues.

On one hand, Romanian historiography condemns all the fascist regimes of Europe including the Romanian one; yet it obstinately avoids pointing to the negative role played by Romania in the war as an ally of Nazi Germany. The few studies that nevertheless mention Romania's participation in the anti-Soviet war underline the few and rare positive aspects in Romania, exacerbating the role and importance of the anti-fascist and anti-dictatorial movements, underscoring the plight of the Romanian people in wartime and its aftermath, and exaggerating the importance of the rather small Communist Party of those days.

In this matter, we must also underline another aspect of the circumvention of the Jewish issue : the almost total absence from textbooks of the plight of the Jewish minority of Romania prior to and during Antonescu's rule. As of the 1950's, the new generations have no possibility to learn of the plight of the Jews from 1938. This has given way to theories, conceptions and opinions tainted by the neo-Nazi hue, i.e., the Jews of Jassy were killed because

they were communists, or because they had signalled to Soviet planes; the Romanian Orthodox Mother Church of Kishinev was set ablaze by Jews in July 1941; the Jews of Romania did not suffer during the war, etc. Such "theories" were easily disseminated, whereas the new generations of historians, in their majority not infested with anti-Semitism, did not realize the serious consequences of such doctrines upon Romanian society.

#### THE HOLOCAUST AND THE TRIALS OF ROMANIAN WAR CRIMINALS

Soon after the dictatorial pro-fascist government of Antonescu was overthrown, numerous Jewish writers published -- for as long as they were permitted to do so -- a multitude of books, memoirs, diaries, articles, etc., with regard to the Holocaust years, concerning all Romanian territories as well as in the camps and ghettos of Transnistria. The Romanian press, and in particular the communist and social-democratic reviews, castigated the Antonescu regime for the horrors it wrought, often contributing valuable information with regard to the mechanisms of persecution and extermination activated by the Romanian government as of September 6, 1940. Under the impression of the horrors gradually uncovered in the trials of Romanian war criminals and in the press, certain Romanian men of letters even attempted to seek explanations for the fascist evolution of Romania, and the anti-Semitic phenomenon in general, and for certain ideological writings which appeared preceding the orientation towards Nazi Germany. Those attempts did not develop into a profound analysis of the Romanian society of the thirties or of the legionary-fascist and Antonescu's dictatorial regimes. The trials of Romanian war criminals, although openly intending to cleanse the society of fascist elements, for reasons we will examine further failed to lead to a radical de-fascization and de-Nazification of Romanian society. Although

Laws 50 and 51 of January 20, 1945 defined precisely the term "war criminal" and the crimes committed against the Jewish population, they failed to include all those journalists, writers, lawyers, and activists of Cuza's party, of the Legionnaire movement, and even of the two "historical" parties (the National Peasant Party and the National Liberal Party led by prestigious Romanian personalities, as I. Maniu and C.I. Bratianu) that had advocated, preached, and disseminated the poison of anti-Semitism. The law denied the right of those abused to be represented in court, and no Jewish organization was permitted to present itself as civil plaintiff. Moreover, the two laws failed to cover a number of crimes committed against the Jews.

The judicial system posed a complicated and delicate problem. Jewish organizations point to a number of judges who had maintained their positions, although during the fascist and Antonescian rule they had sentenced Jews to years of detention for transgression of the anti-Jewish laws (e.g., avoidance of forced labor) and also to certain lawyers who had suggested and prepared anti-Semitic laws and had initiated the exclusion of their Jewish colleagues from the Bar. The Jews were not alone in their fight. The struggle for political power influenced the Romanian Communist Party and the Soviet occupying troops to lead a campaign to "comb fascist elements out of the state administration."<sup>4</sup> Law 461 of September 19, 1944 with regard to the "combing out" action was only applied in isolated and special cases.

<sup>4</sup> Renasterea Noastra, no. 25, 23.II.1945.

The purge that should have removed from their positions clerks, professors, teachers, judges, and lawyers of the fascist times was not immediately implemented. Shortly after the liberation, the Romanian administrative bureaucracy, irrespective of political views, supported the Romanian "historical" parties that opposed the purge and opposed the communists and social-democrats. Although the Petru Groza government initiated a vast "combing out" action, by February 1946 the issue of the fascist elements in the administration had not yet been resolved. One of the leaders of the National Peasant Party, Emil Hatieganu, demanded that any further procrastination in this law be avoided, stating that "one year should have been enough time to 'comb out' of the state administration those responsible for the country's disaster."<sup>5</sup> With regard to the judges, we should mention that only on November 28, 1947, was a law adopted for the reorganization of the judicial system, and it was implemented only on March 1, 1948.

As we have already shown here, the Petru Groza government, the first communist-oriented government formed on March 6, 1945 under pressure by and with the assistance of the Soviet occupying authorities and of Soviet special envoys -- began the purge within the state administration. This purge, initiated under Soviet pressure, at a certain moment interfered with the internal interests of the Romanian Communist Party and its fierce struggle for political power. The Soviet interest<sup>in</sup> chastising those who had committed crimes on former Romanian territories later incited the Soviets to discredit the Romanian authorities, to portray Romanian society and first and foremost, Romanian governmental circles, as fascist and criminal. All these constituted arguments to substantiate morally the annexation of Romanian territories by the USSR, coinciding with the desire of the Romanian Communist Party to eliminate those elements that had,

and still supported, the "historical" parties and the King, as well as the fascist elements that could have altered the image of the new Romania -- so necessary for the recognition of her rights, particularly over Northern Transylvania, at the Peace Conference in Paris.

The Petru Groza government did not have to cope only with problems regarding Romania's past, but also with the rising anti-Semitism that burst forth anew within Romanian society, once again taking on racial forms. The Prime Minister then initiated a "Law Against Racism" that was adopted on August 6, 1945, and regarded by the Jews as bearing major importance. The overwhelming charges and complaints by individual Jews, or formulated in the Jewish press, mainly concerning property, and the desire to take into account traditional public opinion that was to a great extent anti-Semitic, prompted the inclusion in this law of an article prescribing punishment by imprisonment of the suitor in case the judge ruled the evidence and testimonies insufficient, or if these were to prove "false, unsubstantiated, or insincere." The judicial system, that was not yet defascized; the fear of non-condemnation on grounds of "insufficient evidence;" the traditional fear of the Jew in the face of the authorities; the mobility of the Jews following the massive emigration of those years; but most of all the anti-Semitic feelings (and in particular those generated by the struggle for political power between communists and the nationalist forces gathering around the King) deterred many Romanian Jews from presenting their claims.

In 1946, with the approach of the general elections, the Petru Groza government, despite its sincere wish to eliminate the fascist elements, undertook to demonstrate to its political rivals that it

was not pro-Semitic. The social-democrats, partners and allies of the communists, dared speak the truth. On August 30, 1946, Teodor Iordachescu, Secretary General of the Party, explained the paradoxical situation as follows :

The present government in its fight against reactionary forces has taken into account the Jewish problem and will resolve it. It is nonetheless true that the government has not yet done everything, because of the reactionary circles that take advantage of every opportunity to present the government in the eyes of the people as a pro-Semitic one. <sup>6</sup>

Even after the signing of the Peace Treaty in Paris where Romania, according to Article 6, undertook to punish "individuals suspected of war crimes or any other crimes against peace and humanity, and persons who ordered or participated in those crimes," not all war criminals known to the Jewish population of Romania, were punished. The most striking example is that of the assassins responsible for the pogroms at Jassy and Dorohoi, who were still free at that time.

Two of the laws adopted by the Romanian Parliament in the wake of the Peace Conference--Laws 291 of 1947 and 207 of 1948--gave way to the prosecution, among others, of those who "had taken part actively in extremist fascist movements, carrying out their mission, or played a role in oppression and persecution within the state apparatus."

We should nonetheless stress that the adoption of those laws was not prompted by the desire to punish those guilty of crimes against the Jewish population, but by the wish to eliminate those elements that could endanger the new communist regime.

On the other hand, the great majority of trials against Romanian war criminals, for reasons independent of the will of the Communist Party, did not lead to the re-education of the young generation, the defascization of the country and public opinion, nor to the suppression of anti-Semitic myths and the repression of anti-Semitism in all its



facets. At first, Romanian war criminals were court-martialled. However, in the fall and winter of 1944, the fascist elements that had led the anti-Soviet war were still active in the Romanian army. Neither the Jews nor the Communist Party relied on the impartiality of the military judges, especially as they were to judge their own colleagues. Following the Soviet model, it was decided, in agreement with the communist Minister of Justice, Lucretiu Patrascanu, to create a special tribunal for a more efficient prosecution of war criminals. The term People's Tribunal had already appeared in the Romanian press in November 1944, although this institution began its activity only in March 1945, after the Petru Groza government came to power. The newly appointed public prosecutors were charged with the investigation procedures, the gathering of evidence, the assembling of files prepared by the police, and the recording of testimonies.

The People's Tribunal was installed in the building of the Criminal Court of Bucharest, on 29 Regele Ferdinand St. From the outset, the public prosecutors were confronted by a series of difficulties: incomplete files and insufficient evidence, even then when the crimes were widely acknowledged. The crucial problem was the lack of evidence and particularly of reliable witnesses. Many of the Jews who could bring conclusive testimonies against the criminals were reluctant to appear in court. For instance, at the trial of Colonel Zlatescu, the commander of the Tirgu Jiu camp, reputed to have been very harsh, 33 of the 35 witnesses for the prosecution -- most of them Jews -- failed to appear and the trial had to be adjourned.<sup>7</sup> For the same reasons, the courts were unable to judge the criminals responsible for the mass executions of Odessa.<sup>8</sup> The situation became so serious that the Jewish press

<sup>6</sup> *Renasterea Noastra*, no.103, 7.IX.1946.

<sup>7</sup> *Renasterea Noastra*, no.11, 10.XI.1944.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, no.28, 16.III.1945.

launched appeals such as: "Expose the war criminals!" or "A testimony in court is a sacred duty!" or "We must get rid of cowards!"<sup>9</sup> The Jews avoided testifying in front of a court martial and later at the People's Tribunal for several reasons, first of all out of fear, out of the uncertainty of the future and the distrust in the "impartiality" of the Romanian courts. Also, many potential witnesses were deterred by the campaign led by Jewish communist organizations against certain Jewish bourgeois strata and Jewish "reactionaries," but also by renewed anti-Semitism. Other Jews, particularly the former deportees to Transnistria -- who could bring conclusive testimony to indict numerous Romanian criminals and soldiers who had "excelled" in their crimes -- only wished to leave Romania. Many of the displaced persons from Bessarabia and Bukovina were not considered Romanian citizens as a result of the 1938 anti-Semitic law, and thus they did not want to appear in front of any authority whatsoever. Tens of thousands of Jews were literally starving and ragged, thinking only of food. We should also underline that the People's Tribunal and the public prosecutors employed a language and expressions adopted from the Soviets and in accordance with the Romanian Communist Party's guidelines. They talked about Romanian or other "fascists," about the crimes committed by the "fascists" and the "Nazis"; yet the Romanian Jews had suffered from rampant anti-Semitism even before the term "fascist" was outlawed in the international lexicon. "Not every evil came from fascism," wrote a Jewish journalist in February 1946.<sup>10</sup> Many Jews hoped that

<sup>9</sup> *Renasterea Noastra*, no.30, 30.III.1945.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.II.1946.



the People's Tribunal would also deal with the wider question of Romanian anti-Semitism and its disseminators within the Legionnaire movement, and the factors that triggered its popularity among the youth and intelligentsia, and also with those who reaped profits from the persecutions and the racist and anti-Jewish legislation -- but this was not the goal of that Tribunal.

Only part of those guilty of crimes against the Jewish people in Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transnistria were prosecuted, since many had fled to Germany, others had died in war, and still others had disappeared. Yet, after the dissolution of the People's Tribunal it became obvious that it had held fast to one rule: the farther from Romania's borders of 1944 the place of the crime, the more closely the case was examined and the harsher the sentence.<sup>11</sup> The explanation is simple: the Soviet Union demanded the punishment of those guilty of crimes on former Romanian territories, and not even the traditional nationalist circles or the King could oppose this wish. On the other hand, the perpetrators of crimes committed on Romanian territory (excluding Bessarabia and Bukovina), such as the pogroms of Bucharest, Jassy, Sculeni, etc., and the Romanian soldiers who committed crimes in the border territories of Bukovina and Moldavia during the retreat of 1940 were not prosecuted by the People's Tribunal.

We must also note the behavior of the war criminals in court. Apart from Ion Antonescu who had maintained a calm and dignified attitude throughout, those being prosecuted tried to defend themselves

<sup>11</sup> The only exception was that of the trial of the commanders of the Fiergu Jiu detention camp. There, the Romanian communists had been detained during the war, whereas the Jewish communists were deported to the Vapniarka camp in Transnistria.

with the well-known explanation that they obeyed orders.

Thus, General Corneliu Calotescu, Bukovina's governor responsible for the deportation of tens of thousands of Jews and the plundering of their goods "did not know, did not remember, did not do anything" as stated in the Zionist newspaper Renastera Noastra of March 3, May 26, and June 2, 1945. His adjutant, Colonel Stere Marinescu, who had personally led the executions and deportation of Jews in Bukovina, also denied his crimes. Some of the crimes uncovered in front of the People's Tribunal were so heinous that many of the Romanians who did not take part in the war or were not in the areas where those crimes had been committed, could hardly believe they had actually taken place. This was the case of the crimes committed by the civilian and military administration authorities (army and gendarmerie) that murdered tens of thousands of Ukrainian Jews in Odessa and other tens of thousands of both Romanian and Ukrainian Jews in the district of Golta and in the death camps of Bogdanovka, Domanevka and Acmegetka.

The People's Tribunal began its work on May 14, 1945 (see Vol.VI, doc.no.7, pp.57-113). The first trials were those of the governor of Bukovina and his aides, of the commanders of Vapniarka and other war criminals of lower rank who had tortured, raped, murdered and robbed tens of thousands of Jews in Bessarabia, Bukovina, and Transnistria. The trials against those guilty of murder of almost a quarter of a million Jews had revealed that the killing of Jews had not been the result of an initiative taken by some demented anti-Semites, but an official attitude emanating from a general policy aiming -- as stated by the aide of the prefect of Golta, Aristide Padure -- "at solving the Jewish question and culture." That policy (see Vol.VI, doc.7, pp.91-92, 96-97) was carried out by units of the Romanian army, gendarmerie and even by the civilian authorities that administered

Transnistria, Bessarabia and Bukovina, as well as by such special units created after the model of the Nazi *Einsatzgruppen* as "The Special Echelon" of the Special Secret Service. We should also note that many of those guilty of crimes against the Jews had been judged and sentenced in absentia. In the seven months between the overthrow of the Antonescu government and prior to the institution of the special tribunal, hundreds and perhaps thousands of major and minor criminals succeeded in disappearing. This became possible due to the struggle within each of the three governments preceding the Groza epoch with regard to a law for prosecuting the war criminals; Romania's struggle against Nazi Germany and fascist Hungary which cost tens of thousands of Romanian lives; and the administrative chaos generated primarily by the lack of a clear delimitation of competence between the Romanian and the Soviet occupation authorities.

The leaders of the Antonescian regime, ministers, their aides, directors-general and the Marshal himself were brought to trial on April 25, 1946. Four of the heads of this government who had been sentenced to death were executed. Radu Lecca, the Government Commissioner for Jewish Problems, although also sentenced to death, was pardoned and taken out of the convoy on the way to the gallows. The reasons for this last minute decision are not clear to this day. Only Ion Antonescu, Mihai Antonescu, the Minister of Police P.C. Vasiliu and the governor of Transnistria Gheorghe Alexianu were executed. Other sentences of capital punishment were commuted to forced labor for life. The trial and execution of I. Antonescu did not proceed properly. Actually, we may regard his trial as a propagandistic and educational failure. He was tried with great delay, two years after his arrest and after he had been transferred to the Soviet authorities for interrogation. In the meantime, from his arrest until the trial,

many changes had taken place in Romania. It was the turn of the Soviet occupation troops to apply the rule of the victor after their territory had been devastated by the German and Romanian occupation troops. Factories were dismembered and transferred to the USSR; the entire fleet, tools and machines, oil, meat, grain, merchandise and goods were all confiscated -- in addition, Romania paid heavy war reparations. The behavior of the Soviet soldiers was far from virtuous. The economic situation became unbearable and inflation gained such proportions that the Antonescu regime already began to appear in the eyes of many as just a bit better than the darkest period in Romanian history, as it was presented in the left wing press. In addition, two consecutive years of drought brought starvation to Northern and Central Moldavia, striking not only the towns but the villages as well. The struggle for power between the Communist Party, supported by the Soviet occupation troops, and the nationalist forces and the King, had taken serious proportions, leading to violence. This is the atmosphere in which the ex-Marshall was briefly tried and summarily executed. The American Jewish journalist Hal Lehrman, who visited Romania, related the reaction of some of the Romanians whom he met at the trial: "The poor Marshal. After all, he tried to defend us against the Russians."<sup>12</sup>

x x  
x

Instead of prompting a critical introspection by that part of Romanian society which had supported the right-wing extremism, the

<sup>12</sup> H. Lehrman: "Hungary-Romania; Crime and Punishment. Pages from a Correspondent's Notebook." Commentary, October 1946, p. 331.

nationalist and anti-Semitic movements, the final and radical solutions for the problems of the Romanian united territories, and finally the alliance with Nazi Germany -- the trials of the Romanian war criminals, because of the struggle for power and their predictable outcome due to the presence of the Soviet troops in Romania, became a battleground for the two political camps. The Jews, obviously interested in punishing the criminals, were thrown into the communist camp as this was the only force to pursue the same goal. The Jewish minority was on dangerous ground. The Communist Party, which during the interbellum was regarded as an anti-national party (since it supported the relinquishing of Romanian territories and particularly the annexation of Bessarabia by the USSR) and after World War II was bolstered by the Soviet occupation troops, confronted in the political arena the two "historical" parties -- forces representing the traditional Romania and its customs. The chastisement of war criminals therefore received different interpretations in Romanian society according to varied political sympathies. Many regarded this as an anti-national act, an attempt -- by foreign agents and their local aides (some of whom were also "aliens" as Ana Pauker, Vasile Luca, etc.) -- at vengeance against the Romanian military, who spilt their blood for the liberation of the two regions annexed by the Russians and who embodied -- with their deeds of bravery -- the long tradition of opposition to the invaders from the East, keeping alive the Romanian culture and "spirit." In the summer of 1947, the Communist Party dissolved the two "historical" parties and even dared to attempt to prosecute I. Maniu (who died in prison) and his aides. Special stress was placed at this time on the ties between the leaders of the "historical" parties and Antonescu, establishing in the eyes of the public a connection between this trial and the war crimes' trials, thus leading to confusion

confusion and sympathy for the criminals.

The trials of the Romanian war criminals had revived the painful question of the annexation of Bessarabia and Bukovina to the Soviet Union. The People's Tribunal tried to muffle the circumstances that led to the loss of the two provinces -- the Soviet ultimatum of 1940, etc. -- for even the judges found it difficult to deal with Northern Bukovina as Ukrainian, and Bessarabia as a foreign country inhabited by "Moldavians." Thus, instead of analysing the reasons that led Romania to join Nazi Germany, the investigations and the sessions concentrated on accusations regarding preparations for war and the alliance with Hitler, and the crimes committed by the military and civilian administrations, many of them against Jews. During the trial of Antonescu and his closest aides, the racial legislation, the plundering of Jews, their eviction from villages, the special taxes, the pogrom of Jassy, the orders for "purges" in Bessarabia and Bukovina, the executions of the summer of 1941, the deportations of the autumn of 1941, the executions in Odessa, the deportation of the Ukrainian Jews to the death camps of Transnistria -- were major issues in the bill of indictment. The Romanian rulers were not guilty only of crimes against the Jews; but the restrictions imposed by the People's Tribunal. the impossibility of tackling the problem of the loss of Bessarabia and Bukovina, and the Soviet Union's attitude towards Romania following the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact, had transformed, in the eyes of many Romanians, the trial of Antonescu's administrators into just another "Judaic-Communist plot."

The leader of the National-Liberal Party, C.I. Bratianu, a witness for the defence at the trial of the former Foreign Minister in the Goga-Cuza government, Istrate Micescu, a known anti-Semite, declared



that : "The Jews may generate anti-Semitism by their exaggerations."<sup>13</sup>

One of the leaders of the Peasant Party, Ion Mihalache, had publicly requested that the Jews refrain from taking advantage of circumstances that seemed favorable at the time, and from "vengeance through denunciation."<sup>14</sup>

These elements combine to explain why, to date, no study concerning the trials of Romanian war criminals had been published in Romania.

#### THE HOLOCAUST IN JEWISH PUBLICATIONS

The Jewish men of letters were the first to describe the attitude of the fascist Iron Guard and the Antonescu regimes towards the Jews, including -- according to their possibilities -- some documents and testimonies. The first steps in this direction were taken by the Jewish journalist and writer, Marius Micu.<sup>15</sup> His three booklets, published in 1945 : Pogromul de la Iasi ("The Pogrom of Jassy"), Pogromurile din Bucovina si Dorohoi ("The Pogroms of Bukovina and Dorohoi"), and Pogromurile din Basarabia ("The Pogroms of Bessarabia") have, in addition to their literary value, the merit of bringing to bear hundreds of testimonies gathered, noted and personally heard by the writer from survivors of those massacres. Generally speaking, these three booklets contain the history of the extermination of the Jewish

<sup>13</sup> Renasterea Noastra, no.86, 27.IV.1946.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., no.79, 13.VI.1946.

<sup>15</sup> See Bibliography.

population, Pogromurile din Bucovina si Dorohoi having constituted, for a long time, the only reliable source with regard to the small Jewish towns of Bukovina. The author also intended to publish three other studies on the terror in Moldavia and Transylvania, and the labor camps and the detention camps for political prisoners, but the authorities denied him this right. Moreover, the testimonies he gathered, which constitute authentic evidence of the Romanian crimes, were solicited by the People's Tribunal and never restituted.

Another important and unique work is the first collection of documents concerning the fate of the Romanian Jewry in three volumes by Matias Carp, secretary of the Union of Jewish Communities from 1945 to 1948, under the title Cartea Neagra ("The Black Book"). Carp's intention was "in case this be permitted, to release either successively or simultaneously, the other six chapters,"<sup>16</sup> namely:

Chapter II : General oppressive measures.

Chapter III : Evacuations, hostages, camps, the yellow badge.

Chapter IV : Forced labor.

Chapter V : Romanization (of labor, goods, economic establishments).

Chapter VI : Exceptional contributions.

Chapter VII : The Jewish Center of Romania.

He was prevented from completing his work as he wished to broach problems that contradicted the official theory concerning the fate of the Jews on Romanian territory.

For a certain period of time, M.Carp was granted advantages that enabled him to gather an important documentation regarding the trials

<sup>16</sup> M.Carp, op.cit., Vol.II, Bucuresti 1948, p.7.



of war criminals and the wartime activity of the Jewish organizations. As a representative of the Union of Jewish Communities, he attended the trials of the Romanian war criminals, cooperated with the Romanian and Jewish attorneys, the prosecutors and defenders who prepared the trials, and had direct access to Romanian documents used for the preparation of the bills of indictment. He made handwritten and photo-copies of the most important documents; he was perhaps the last Jew permitted to see them. Carp also adopted the attitude of a chronicler aware of his responsibility to posterity, and enjoyed the support of the Jewish leader W. Filderman. Many of Carp's shortcomings (as the stress on Filderman's activity alone, to the exclusion of other Jewish leaders such as Rabbi A. Safran, M. Benvenisti, A. L. Zissu, etc.) were the result of his subordination to Filderman.

For copyright reasons, the collection of documents that we are now releasing does not include documents appearing in the three volumes released by M. Carp (with the single exception of the testimony of the Mayor of Czernowitz, Traian Popovici --see Vol. VIII, doc. no. 418, pp. 461-477.). We have reproduced herein only a small part of type-written copies of his source materials mainly concerning the fate of Bessarabian and Ukrainian Jews.

M. Carp gathered nine files of documents, especially bills of indictment and sentences from the trials of Romanian war criminals that have not been released or become known to date. These documents are to be found in Vol. VI, War Crime Trials. We have also used the documents gathered and copied by Carp with regard to the legionary regime and the beginning of Antonescu's rule that are also included in the nine volumes known as the "Carp Archives." This archive is property of the World Association of the Jews Originating from Bessarabia, that is based in Tel-Aviv, and I was granted access to it through the

good offices of Itzhak Korn, the President of this association, who later donated it to Yad Vashem.

The other publications on the Holocaust in Romania,<sup>17</sup> although important in themselves, have more the value of personal accounts. They are nonetheless relevant as they were released shortly after those painful events and revive a specific image of the epoch and its atmosphere, so necessary for the understanding of other documents.

Unfortunately, the Carp experience was only an isolated episode and the documentation on Romanian Jewry was totally neglected for over fifteen years. Study of Romanian Jewry naturally became centered in Israel, not only because of the emigration of some 300,000 Romanian Jews, but also due to the ban on such study in the academic and research studies in Romania. Yad Vashem gathered a team led by Dr. Theodor Lavi (Loewenstein) and Mrs. Dora Litani (Litman) who prepared Vol. I of the Encyclopaedia of the Jewish Communities, known as Pinkas Ha'kehillot, ("Encyclopedia of the Communities"). This was the first step in gathering documents and assembling collections in Israel with regard to Romanian Jewry. The most important collection is the "W. Filderman Archive," a valuable source of documents regarding the Jewish organizations of Romania; the attitude of the Romanian authorities towards Jews; the harassment, pogroms, evacuations, deportations, etc., and the underground struggle of the Jewish leadership aiming at saving the Jews of the Old Kingdom and Southern Transylvania from extermination.

The second volume of Pinkas Ha'kehillot was prepared by me and for this purpose I collected documents from German, French, English, American, and lately Romanian, archives.

<sup>17</sup> See Bibliography.

The present collection of documents is the result of my meeting in 1980 with the Klarsfelds at the trial of Eichmann's envoy to Romania, Gustav Richter, in Frankenthal, Federal Republic of Germany. The problems that delayed the trial--such as the lack of documentation on Romanian Jewry, the lack of specialists in this domain, the attempts to deny the Holocaust in Romania -- convinced us that the major lacuna to be eliminated first was the lack of available documentation; the release of original documents became therefore an urgent necessity. This task could be properly carried out only by someone of my generation that still had a thorough knowledge of the Romanian language and culture and at the same time had access to Israeli and world archives. Klarsfeld's suggestion was accepted with gratitude and the work done voluntarily and with no remuneration. The collection that was first conceived as one of five volumes grew during the five years of work (1981-1986) to eleven volumes, following the discovery and availability of important documents from American, French, and German archives and also the reception at the Yad Vashem Archives of documents from Israel and abroad. And also, Beate and Serge Klarsfeld accepted my suggestion to include a greater number of documents than initially conceived. However, I should underline that this collection contains only a part of the documentation on Romanian Jewry and Romania that exists at Yad Vashem and a number of archives throughout the world, especially in the United States. In the course of time, as further documentary material becomes available, we hope to add to the series.

THE ROMANIAN JEWS IN ROMANIAN PUBLICATIONS ON WORLD WAR II

As we have shown, the Jewish question was almost totally ignored in Romanian historical writings until the mid-seventies. The few studies and articles on World War II almost completely avoided men-

tioning the evacuations, executions and deportations initiated by the Romanian state. This "ignorance" has evolved throughout the years from silence to the acknowledgment of the problem and then to its minimization and even mystification and, finally, forgery of data and events, as in the case of the book on the pogrom of Jassy mentioned earlier herein. In the few studies on World War II that were released immediately after the war, as for instance in the history textbook for high-schools, edited by Mihail Roller, a party historian (and a Jew), that set forth the guidelines for the Romanian historiography for almost a decade -- the fate of the Jews is resumed in a few lines, whereas the Holocaust as a subject does not exist.<sup>18</sup> Roller's standpoint reflected the Party's guidelines with regard to the attitude towards the Jewish problem. Every historian who published at that time, treated this subject as being of secondary importance, always linking it to the Nazi penetration in Romania and attempting to minimize the importance of the local anti-Semitic trend and the Romanian cooperation in crimes against the Jews.

During the sixties, although the number of studies on the history of Romania between the two world wars and during World War II increased, the chapter concerning Romania's participation in the war with Nazi Germany against the Allies was still very short, and therefore the attention afforded the Jewish question was minor. With only one exception, the articles or the few lines with regard to the Holocaust maintained the line established in the fifties.

Generally speaking, a thorough analysis of the few sentences or notes on this subject reveals certain evolutions in attitude and even a number of innovations. In addition to the recurrent stereotypes of

<sup>18</sup> Istoria R.P.R. Manual pentru invatamintul mediu, ed. M. Roller. Editura de Stat Didactica si Pedagogica, Bucuresti, 1952.

the fifties, with regard to the carriers of anti-Semitic "excesses," it is implied that the Romanians had suffered more because of the crimes committed against the Romanian people by the Nazis. The Nazis were always the initiators of the crimes, the role of the Romanians being always secondary. Little by little, Romanian historians began to approach the taboo -- albeit cautiously: Romania's participation in World War II, although they continued to concentrate on Romania's contribution to the anti-Hitlerite war in the wake of the events of August 23, 1944.<sup>19</sup> The lecture delivered by General Gh. Zaharia at the International Historical Congress of European Resistance in Karlovy-Vary<sup>20</sup> in September 1963 deserves very special consideration from our point of view. Gen. Zaharia, deputy director of the Institute of Historical, Social and Political Studies, a reputed specialist on World War II with a broad general education and access to the main Romanian archives, draws the conclusion that the victims (of fascist terror in Romania from 1940 to 1944) were first the militants of the Communist Party, the notable anti-fascist politicians, and the Jewish population -- the latter especially during the summer of 1941.

The victims of the Legionnaire rebellion, according to Gen. Zaharia, were "374 assassinated citizens ... and 380 seriously wounded."<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> I. Popescu-Puturi, Gh. Zaharia, M. Goldberger, N. N. Constantinescu, N. Copoiu: *La Roumanie pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale. Etude*, Bucharest 1964.

<sup>20</sup> Gh. Zaharia: "Quelques données concernant la terreur fasciste en Roumanie 1940-1944," *ibid.*, pp. 37-57.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>22</sup> Zaharia makes reference to the reports of the Police and the Special Secret Service sent to the Ministry of Interior and I. Antonescu to ascertain the death toll in the Jassy pogrom (see Vol. X, doc. no. 180, p. 473, note no. 29). We should note that Gh. Zaharia maintained the number of 8,000 victims in Jassy despite the pseudo-scientific publications released since (see "6 Septembrie 1940-23 August 1944;

In Jassy

thousands of Jews were pursued on the streets, apprehended in their homes, dragged out of hide-outs and crowded into the precinct courtyard by German military patrols and members of the Iron Guard. Some of those arrested were executed in their very homes or on the way to the police station; others were shot in the courtyard; still others were loaded onto two convoys of carriages known as 'death trains.' During the days of the pogrom (27-30 June 1941) and in the death trains, more than 8,000 people were killed.<sup>22</sup>

This was the first time that Romanian historians unveiled the existence of secret reports estimating the number of Jewish victims in Jassy at 8,000, a number close to the one invoked by the Jewish Community of Jassy: 10-12,000.

Having eliminated the Jews from the territories recovered by Romania (Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina) and avoiding to mention any deportation or extermination there, Zaharia admits that some 38,000 Jews were deported from the district of Dorohoi and from Southern Bukovina, "great number of whom perished."<sup>23</sup> (In 1981 the number of deportees admitted by Romanian historians rose to 43,000.<sup>24</sup>)

Gen. Zaharia's survey constitutes a unique source (see Vol. VIII, doc. no. 7, p. 49) together with the trials of Romanian war criminals (see Vol. V, doc. no. 242, p. 541) with regard to the

Anii cei mai intunecati" ("September 6, 1940 - August 23, 1944; The Darkest Years", in *Magazin Istoric*, anul VIII, 7.VII.1974, p. 26. Karetki and Covaci decrease this number to 3,233 (*op. cit.*, p. 105), whereas N. Minei states in his preface to that book that the number of the Jews killed was 2,000 (p. 16), quoting President Ceausescu as his source.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>24</sup> D. Tutui: "Regimul fortei de munca in Romania in anii razboiului hitlerist 1941-1944" ("The Regime of Forced Labor in Romania During the Hitlerite War Years"), in *Revista de Istorie*, Vol. XXXIV, no. 12, 1981, p. 8.

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deportation and extermination of another category of "Untermenschen," the Romanian gypsies :

...the fascist harassment based on racial discrimination included the deportation of 26,000 gypsies to concentration camps; of this number, 6-8,000 were massacred, whereas over 3,000 died of starvation and cold, and due to inhumane living conditions.<sup>25</sup>

Although Northern Transylvania fell under Hungarian authority as of September 1940, the survey describes the persecutions, deportation and extermination of some 150,000 Jews of that region committed by the Horthy regime.

In 1969, a brief history of Romania was released by a group of major Romanian historians.<sup>26</sup> Although published over one and a half decades after Roller's textbook, it did not introduce new information with regard to the fate of the Jews under the Antonescu rule. It only mentions the pogrom of Jassy where "over two thousand people, most of them Jews, were killed."<sup>27</sup> The mass executions and deportations of Bessarabia and Bukovina are not even mentioned, whereas Transnistria appears as a region of "labor camps" where "many citizens were killed irrespective of their nationality, most of them Jews."<sup>28</sup> The Jews were not mentioned as victims of the pogrom of Bucharest of January

<sup>25</sup> Reference is made to the archives of the Ministry of Interior.

<sup>26</sup> Istoria Romaniei, ed. M. Constantinescu, C. Constantin Daicoviciu, S. Pascu et al. Editura Didactica si Pedagogica, Bucuresti 1969.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 527.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

1941 when the Legionnaires murdered over 120 Jews; yet reference is made to "numerous assassinations committed against the civilian population, officers and soldiers." The photograph taken during the pogrom and reproduced by the authors of this book does not specify that the bodies in the picture were those of Jews killed by Legionnaires.<sup>29</sup>

By the end of the seventies, Romanian historiography had metamorphosized with regard to the Jewish question, due to a party decision to permit and even encourage research into the problematic period.

The first step was made in 1975, and not accidentally, by Marin Preda in his novel Delirul ("Delirium"), Editura Cartea Romaneasca. There the author made an attempt at a partial rehabilitation of the dictator Antonescu -- underlining the circumstances in which the latter had to decide and act, particularly after the loss of Bessarabia and Bukovina to the USSR. The literary form of the book enabled Preda to make representative heroes stand for historical revisions. At the same time, and again not accidentally, the booklet of Karetki and Covaci was released.

The period between 1978 and 1983 saw the formulation of the main principles in approaching the Jewish issue in Romanian publications on the situation of Romanian Jews during World War II :

- 1) To deny the existence of any Romanian premeditated project for "cleansing" Bessarabia and Bukovina of its Jews.
- 2) To absolve as far as possible the Romanian army and authorities, including I. Antonescu, of premeditated crimes against the Jews.
- 3) To show the pogrom of Jassy -- a crime that cannot be ignored --

<sup>29</sup> Istoria Romaniei, p. 530.



as the result of a local conspiracy between the Nazis and decadent elements, particularly Legionnaires (although by that time their party had been disbanded and outlawed), and thus to absolve the central authorities of the thorough preparation of the pogrom, to reduce as far as possible the number of victims. The number of 500 "communist Jews" shot, as announced by I. Antonescu after the pogrom, is the basis for these publications.

4) To avoid the areas of Bessarabia and Bukovina while tackling the Holocaust as they are now outside Romania's borders.

5) To stress the crimes committed by Hungarians against local Jews in Northern Transylvania, although that territory was not under Romanian sovereignty at the time.

6) To underline the tribulations endured by Romanians during the war, leading to the conclusion that the two peoples shared a common fate.

7) To question the legitimacy of the trials of the Romanian war criminals.

An event that took place in 1982 altered the approach to the Jewish issue in Romanian history by Romanian historians. Following two years of negotiations, Yad Vashem, the central Jewish authority for the history of the Holocaust, responsible for the preservation of the memory of the Jews killed by the Nazis and their aides, signed an agreement of scientific cooperation with the Institute for Historical, Social and Political Studies of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party. The annual meetings and the three symposia organized to date by Romanian and Israeli historians fostered a wider understanding on both sides of the tragedy of the Jewish people on one hand

and of the specific fate of the Romanians during World War II on the other. For the first time, Romanian historians lectured exclusively on the fate of the Romanian Jews during the Holocaust (see Vol. X, doc. nos. 181, 182, 183). Although in their greater part these works do not contribute sensational discoveries or thorough analyses of the situation of the Jews in Romanian territories, they indicate nonetheless that Romanian historiography can no longer ignore Romanian-Jewish relations during the war. (This change coincided, accidentally or not, with the release of numerous researches on Romania during the period of collaboration with Nazi Germany, some of them including references to the fate of Jews). These papers were only mimeographed and it is a pity that three years later they have not yet been released in Romanian historical reviews. It is interesting to note the explanation in this matter given by two major researchers of this Institute -- Gh. Zaharia and N. Copoiu :

According to the general conception of the Romanian historiography, the Israelites as well as other nationalities living on Romanian territory were incorporated into the history of the Romanian nation.<sup>30</sup>

The authors of this work do not seem perturbed by the fact that the Romanian Jews were actually banished from Romanian society during Antonescu's rule. On the contrary, they continue to claim that the Romanians shared the fate of the Jews and namely :

<sup>30</sup> Gh. Zaharia, N. Copoiu : "Le Problème de la situation des Juifs de Roumanie pendant les années 1938-1944 dans l'historiographie roumaine, 1983, mimeo., p. 2.

Hitlerite Germany regarded the Romanians and the Jews similarly -- up to a point. Even before members of the Jewish population of Romania fell victims to the Gestapo, the Romanian people had already known such victims. Although the Romanian people, unlike the Jewish population, never faced 'the final solution,' the future designed for it by Hitler was rather gloomy and the Romanian State would have become an agrarian colony of industrialized Germany.<sup>31</sup>

They reach the conclusion that the Romanian Jews had a special situation in Romania, since

the Romanian State, even if allied with Nazi Germany, having to tolerate on its territory German troops and special services, was -- if compared to what happened concurrently in other countries -- 'an oasis' of survival for the Jewish population. It was the only country allied to Hitler where the final solution was placed in jeopardy.<sup>32</sup>

Deliberately ignoring the deportation and shooting of Jews in Bessarabia and Bukovina, the authors also forget Bulgaria, where the Jews were entirely spared. However, this study and those to follow include a few lines that partially admit to the validity of the assertions of Israeli historians as to the death of some 5,000 Jews in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina "during the battles" at the beginning of the war. (The number of the Jews killed at that time actually reaches some 150,000.) They also admit the existence of concentration camps organized by the Romanian authorities in Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina, in which over 40,000 Jews were interned (actually, over 64,000

<sup>31</sup> Gh. Zaharia, N. Copoiu, *op.cit.*, p.3.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, p.5.

in the camps of Bessarabia only, excluding the ghetto of Czernowitz; see Vol.V, doc.no.68, p.74). Further, the two Romanian historians admit to the "organization" on the other side of the Dniester, of camps for the deportees from the Bessarabian and Bukovinian camps, where 118,000 Jews were detained from 1942 to 1943 (the actual number being over 150,000). According to the same source, 50,000 of those Jews survived until September 1, 1943, whereas 68,000 were killed by the "Nazis," exterminated by the "Gestapo," or simply died because of epidemics and the lack of medical and prophylactic aid. (The authors forget to mention the intention of Antonescu's administrators to exterminate Jews through deportation and also in the death camps Bogdanovka, Acmeetka and Domanovka, where the Romanians killed tens of thousands of Romanian and Ukrainian Jews -- see Vol.VI, doc.no.7).

The research presented at the symposium of June 1983 by Calafeteanu and M. Covaci constitutes a further step in acknowledging the Holocaust on Romanian territory.<sup>33</sup> Although the authors did not admit the existence of a premeditated Romanian project to "cleanse the land" of Jews in Bessarabia and Bukovina (see Vol.V, doc.no.2, p.2); although they place principal responsibility with the Nazis and German troops, they nonetheless raise the number of the deportees to Transnistria Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina to 64,176<sup>34</sup> and admit to the existence on that territory, on September 1, 1941, of 103,450-132,137 Jews, thus indirectly increasing the figure of the deportees to Transnistria as well. The novelty resides in the attempt to explain the disappearance of some 150,000 Jews, actually murdered in Bessarabia within two months,

<sup>33</sup> I. Calafeteanu, M. Covaci: "Situation of Jews in Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transnistria from 1941 to 1944," Bucharest, June 1983 (mimeo.)

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p.8.

by claiming that part of them were "deported by the Soviet authorities," "enlisted in the Soviet army " (some 8,000-10,000 Jews), and "retreated together with the Soviet troops." It is also stated in the article that a great number of Jews "died in July-August during military operations, the transportation in convoys, in concentration camps, etc."<sup>35</sup> And finally, the authors admit the deportation of 113,747 Jews to Transnistria, simultaneously increasing the general figure of Jewish victims, approximating the estimates of Jewish historians. They also acknowledge that the death of the deportees was caused by the total indifference of the Antonescian authorities as to their fate, maintaining nonetheless that malnutrition was due "to the abuses perpetrated by some representatives of the authorities who embezzled the funds allotted for the maintenance of the deported Jews."<sup>36</sup> No Jewish source made mention of the existence of such funds allotted by Romanian authorities for the maintenance of Jews. The authors also admit "criminal excesses of guards and supervisory bodies," those "excesses" actually referring to the shooting of Jews. For the first time, they mention the crimes of the local Ukrainian collaborators who served the Germans, yet they never name them as Ukrainians.

Generally speaking, this paper sensitively approaches the varying opinions of the Israeli and Romanian historians with regard to the dimensions of the Holocaust on Romanian territory, although it dares not fully admit the criminal character of the Romanian fascist regime.

The last of the three papers,<sup>37</sup> which is also the most comprehensive

<sup>35</sup> I. Calafeteanu, M. Covaci, *op.cit.*, pp. 8-9.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>37</sup> I. Calafeteanu, A. Simion: "The Situation of the Jews Living Within the Romanian State During the Years of the Military-Fascist Dictatorship," Bucharest, June 1983, mimeo.

one, attempts to tackle in a more open way the Jewish problem during the "military-fascist" dictatorship of Antonescu. We should note here that the Jewish problem permitted the two historians, at least in this study, to review the events that prompted Romania's alliance with Nazi Germany, in an approach closer to historic reality, without paying the usual tribute to these clichés that had marred the freedom of thought of the Romanian historians throughout the previous years. Although the paper approaches exclusively the situation of the Jews who remained after 1940 under Romanian authority within its territorial limits of September 1940, still it includes data and conclusions that a decade or two ago seemed inconceivable. Thus, the authors admit that

the first Jewish victims fell beginning even with the summer of 1940 when the Romanian administration and troops retreated from Bessarabia, Northern Bukovina and the area surrounding these regions.<sup>38</sup>

Although it is never stated who had killed those Jews, this remark acknowledges what Jewish historians asserted long before : that the shooting of Jews in Romania started prior to the alliance with Nazi Germany and the installation of the fascist dictatorship, the Romanian army being used (just as would be the case a year later) to execute the Jews, an outcome of decades of anti-Semitic hatred aroused by instigation and policy of the Romanian governments.

The number of Jewish victims from the summer of 1940 to January 1941 is, according to the two authors, closer to Jewish sources.

<sup>38</sup> I. Calafeteanu, A. Simion, *op.cit.*, p. 3.



The pogrom of Jassy is again pictured as a Nazi action resulting from their project to "solve" the Jewish problem, and the figures are based on Antonescu's communiqué of July 1941 (500 Jews shot) with additional 1,198 and 1,411 Jews asphyxiated in the two death trains, figures that can be neither denied nor concealed. In addition to the Germans, there were also among the killers :

...a number of members of the Iron Guard and other rabble. On the other hand, the inhabitants and authorities of Jassy reacted immediately and in great numbers. At the risk of their lives they toiled to stop disorder, to defend and hide the Jews. The actions of the Romanian local authorities aimed at reducing at least the proportions of the massacres, and they eventually succeeded in saving the lives of many Jews. Their efforts in this direction are mentioned with gratitude in *Revista Culturii Mozaic*...

This unfounded assertion, with no documentary or testimonial support, constitutes nonetheless a step forward if compared to the ideas exposed in *Zile inginerate la Iasi*, that "the local authorities decided to evacuate the Jews in trains in order to ... save them from the Germans' rage."<sup>39</sup>

The study by Calafeteanu and Simion is the first to include a chapter on the "Antisemitic Legislation in Romania," admitting that the legislation first began in the summer of 1940. The authors of the study deemed it sufficient to cite in detail different paragraphs from anti-Semitic laws, giving way to the understanding that many of those laws preserved certain rights for the Jews as "second category" citizens. Actually, the Antonescu regime did not observe

<sup>39</sup> A.Karetki, M.Covaci, *op.cit.*, p.83.

its own laws when it came to the Jews and this had both negative and positive repercussions for the Jewish population. Yet, the Romanian regime and society preserved all the remaining "rights" of the Jews such as forced labor, Romanization, the special taxes, the exclusion from jobs and positions, etc., exploiting them and extorting their last penny. This article is progressive nonetheless, as it admits the existence of problems such as "the regime of compulsory work, the question of Jewish education," etc.

The article comes to conclusions which reflect the ideology of the Romanian political leadership as regards the fate of the Jews under the military-fascist dictatorship, a line which does not always coincide with the historical reality and the documents included in the present series and the testimonies of the contemporaries. It is nevertheless true that the Jews of the Regat and Southern Transylvania, some 300,000 people, had been saved by Antonescu's regime, after it vacillated for months between fulfilling the plans of the Nazis and their rejection. But there is no truth in the assertion that Antonescu's regime "excluded the genocide and contained itself to a moderate anti-Semitism."<sup>40</sup> In the same way, it cannot be affirmed that in Romania "the Nazis could not find many accomplices ready to help them in organizing the deportations and exterminations of the Jews or other such genocidal actions."<sup>41</sup> The Antonescu regime had had its own plans for genocide in Bessarabia and Bukovina and it had

<sup>40</sup> I.Calafeteanu, A.Simion, *op.cit.*, p.519.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p.495. The authors admit only that "...there were some acts of violence in this respect too."

Transnistria, with its camps and ghettos, for extermination by Romanian tactics, without gas chambers, furnaces and selections but with almost the same efficacy. The hundreds of mass graves that spot the fields of that part of the Ukraine, termed by the Romanians as Transnistria, prove this. The crimes were not committed by Romanian individual "accomplices" but by the entire state apparatus : the Romanian army, gendarmerie, police, civilian authorities -- prefectures, city councils, tribunals. The Romanian Marxist philosopher Lucretiu Patrascanu underlined this when he tried to find an answer to the question:

Who is responsible for the anti-Semitic crimes and atrocities ? For years the Romanian public opinion has been poisoned by an infamous anti-Semitic press campaign. The deception, calumny, falsehood and the most outrageous demagoguery were equally of use ... The long and appalling sequence of anti-Semitic atrocities of the last years will remain as a perennial and powerful accusation against the regime that patroned them. From the individual and collective murders committed by Legionnaires a transition was made to systematic, methodic and massive extermination of the Jewish population, to official pogroms carried out by soldiers and the state authorities. They condemned to death through starvation and cold thousands and tens of thousands of men, women, children deported in mid-winter over the Dniester to totally deserted lands. When all /crimes/ done in Moldavia and across the Prut after June 1941 would be known, when the thousands of executions without trial of people whose only crime was to have been born Jewish are revealed, when all these crimes are brought to trial, then not only the men of the dictatorship that ordered them, not only those who committed them, but the regime -- in the name of which they acted -- will have to answer ...

The wave of blood and massacres that flooded the country for the past 2 years as a result of the 'enkindling' of the sense of bestiality of the nation transformed thousands and

thousands of soldiers, gendarmes and civilian clerks into simple and vulgar murderers, arsonists and qualified robbers hounding at a defenceless population. <sup>42</sup>

The Romanian historians and those who set the frames of their researches and expression, find it difficult to admit the dimensions and the premeditated character of the crimes committed against their Jewish co-citizens. This can be also explained by the necessity to concentrate on the tragic history of their country caught between two superpowers, and two neighboring countries that awaited the favorable moment to dismember Romania. Compared to the great injustice done to Romania -- the Soviet ultimatum followed by the loss of Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina that marked the beginning of the country's dismemberment; the Vienna Diktat and the loss of Northern Transylvania; the impossibility of the Western Allies, England and France, to guarantee Romania's independence and territorial integrity; the necessary rapprochement to Nazi Germany in order to avoid sharing Poland's fate, an approach that resulted in the plundering of Romania's riches by the Nazis and its entry, for the first time in its history, into a war of conquest; the fact that it had to pay twice with hundreds of thousands of young lives and natural riches for territories that naturally belonged to Romania; and the loss, for the second time, of Bessarabia and Bukovina -- compared to all these, the Jewish problem appears to the Romanians just another unpleasant reminder of the years of crisis when their national state was threatened by total dismemberment.

<sup>42</sup> L. Patrascanu : Probleme de baza ale Romaniei ("Basic Problems of Romania"), second edition, Bucuresti 1945, pp.209-212.

The Romanian-Jewish experience was not the most painful episode of the Holocaust period. For hundreds of years the Jews coexisted with the Romanian host people, enduring only the anti-Semitic eruptions that were inevitable in Eastern Europe. Until the beginning of the thirties, the autochthon anti-Semitic movements represented only a minor force on the Romanian political stage. The ascension of the Nazis and the concessions made to Germany by the Western powers fuelled a strongly anti-Semitic flame in Romania, giving these movements respectability and the right to claim that they could "master the Jewish problem." The inevitable alliance with Germany gave way to the crimes against the Romanian Jews of Bessarabia, Bukovina and the district of Dorohoi, and also to the implementation of local anti-Semitic projects -- the result of decades of anti-Semitism. Yet, even under those circumstances Romania never reached the final stage, and distinctly replied NO to the request of the Nazis to deliver 300,000 Jews for the furnaces of Belzec. Just as Romanian participation in the destruction of the Jewish people may be considered a black chapter in Romanian history, the rescue of 300,000 Jews represents its most noble page.

Finally : this is a one-man work, thus it bears the qualities and failures of such an undertaking.

Jean Ancel  
Jerusalem, September 25, 1986.

#### SUMMARIES OF THE VOLUMES

##### VOLUME I.

This first volume in a series of eleven constitutes an introduction comprising a documentary chapter on the Holocaust period. In this collection entitled "Selected Studies on the Jewish Question in Romania," several publications were assembled -- articles, fragments of research papers, posters, electoral programs, notes and memoranda comprising the fundamentals of Romanian anti-Semitism from the mid-19th century to the racial theories of the Iron Guard. Without this background material, the murderous explosion of the Holocaust years is incomprehensible. This chapter also includes the programs of the Romanian organizations -- parties and anti-Semitic movements; the most important "works" of the founding father of the Romanian anti-Semitism, A.C.Cuza, as well as the principal points of the platform of C.Codreanu, founder of the Romanian fascist movement, the Iron Guard. With the third part of this volume, "The Regat and Southern Transylvania, 1940," we broach the Holocaust of the Jews of Romania, showing the transformation of Romania into a fascist state along the lines of Nazi Germany, under the Iron Guard, with the Romanian "Führer," Ion Antonescu at its helm. The first racial laws, and documents concerning the evacuation of the Jews from the villages, expulsion of Jewish pupils from the schools, the economic boycotts, are compiled herein.

##### VOLUME II.

Part of the documents selected for this volume have to date never appeared in print. Pillaging, boycott, sequestration, and the murder of Jews prior to the outbreak of the war with the Soviet Union and in its early stages, with the participation of the Romanian army, form



the basis of this volume. The removal of Jews from economic life, confiscation of school and other institutional Jewish buildings, introduction of the wearing of the yellow badge, and the organized pogroms of Jews in Bucharest -- the first to occur in Nazi Europe -- the "dress rehearsal" for the Holocaust of the European Jews.

#### VOLUME III.

This volume deals with the first stages in the extermination of the Jews of Bessarabia and Bukovina by the Romanian authorities in collaboration with the German units (*Einsatzgruppe D*) and follows the metamorphosis in Romanian society, leading to enthusiastic support for the exterminations and deportations. The persistent struggle of the local Jewish leadership, to attempt to prevent the murders and deportations from Bessarabia and Bukovina to the land of exile, Transnistria, or at least, diminish their scope, is also detailed. For the first time, reports from occidental sources on the scope of the exterminations and deportations, as well as those of the French and American ambassadors to Bucharest confirm the crimes against the Jews. One of the most important documents of the period is included herein: Ion Antonescu's justification of the extermination and deportations of the Jews of Bessarabia and Bukovina.

#### VOLUME IV.

Seven hundred and eleven pages, perhaps the most important of the collection, afford the researcher, for the first time, the documentary basis for the understanding of how it came to pass that the Jews of the Old Kingdom and Southern Transylvania were rescued, while their brethren in Bessarabia and Bukovina were murdered. Once again, the persistent struggle of the clandestine Jewish leadership may be followed;

in particular, attempts by W. Filderman and the Chief Rabbi, A. Safran, to avoid the deportations to the extermination camps in Poland, a struggle crowned with success. The background, the special situation of Romania within the Nazi constellation, is also detailed, with special emphasis on the ability of Jewish leaders to transform the question of the fate of the Jews into a strictly Romanian political issue, showing that were the Romanians to agree to exterminate their Jews, they would indeed transform their situation into one of submissiveness, rather than independence. In this volume, German documents of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Berlin and the Nazi Legation in Bucharest abound, describing the German diplomatic efforts to convince the Romanians to surrender the Jews "for resettlement" in the extermination camp of Belzec. This volume also comprises a large number of documents on the ongoing policy of deprivations, requisitions, nationalizations, forced labor, deportations and evacuations within Romania, in no way linked with the plans for extermination.

#### VOLUME V.

This volume is entirely consecrated to the fate of the Jews of Bessarabia and Bukovina -- the extermination by *Einsatzgruppe D* on one hand and on the other, by the army, police, and other Romanian government elements. For the first time, the secret Romanian orders concerning the exterminations, arrests, and creation of ghettos and transit camps and deportation of the survivors to Transnistria -- Southern Ukraine, between the Bug and Dniester rivers, chosen by the Romanians as the land of exile -- are brought to light. The life of the Jews in Transnistria; the death of tens of thousands of them from hunger, cold, and diseases; the thousands of orphaned children resulting from this situation, as well as the "miracle" in the land of exile: the self-help organization

of the deportees who, with the help of their brethren still in Romania proper, succeeded in overcoming, are discussed in these documents. Out of almost 160,000 Jews deported there, almost 50,000 remained alive. In this volume, numerous documents attest to the efforts to effect the return of the deportees -- a partially successful struggle, unique in Nazi Europe.

#### VOLUME VI.

This volume breaches a considerable gap in the research of war crimes perpetrated against the Jews by various branches of the Romanian authorities -- army, police, gendarmerie, local and central administration. For the first time, bills of indictment and sentences from trials against Romanian war criminals have been published -- trials which began in the wake of Romania's capitulation and her alliance with the Allied forces, and continued to 1950. These trials are sometimes the only source of information on the Romanian extermination action against the Jews of Bessarabia and Bukovina, and later in Transnistria.

#### VOLUME VII.

Volume VII represents a comprehensive archive of the "Jewish Center," and contains hitherto entirely unknown documents of this institution which was created by the Romanian government pursuant to the request of the Commissioner for Jewish Problems at the German Legation. This Center was to serve as the "Judenrat" of the Jewish population, and it actually fulfilled, to a certain degree, the expectations of the authorities. Prior to the creation of the "Jewish Center," the "Union of Jewish Communities in Romania," with Dr. Pilderman at its helm, an authentic representative of the Romanian Jews, had been dissolved. The "Center" which came into being in February 1942, with time became an instrument

of the Romanian authorities, used to deprive the Jews of their properties, homes and belongings. But the "Jewish Center" dealt also with activities on behalf of the Jewish deportees, evacuees and those mobilized for forced labor detachments; for example, it attempted to secure the return of orphans from Transnistria. It was a unique institution with no parallel in occupied Europe, as Romania's situation was also a special one. These documents afford, for the first time, the opportunity to penetrate a chapter of Jewish history to date unknown.

#### VOLUME VIII.

The documents of this volume complete the preceding ones, as they concern the situation of the Jews during the last stages of I. Antonescu's regime, proving that the Jewish leadership's efforts to bring back the orphans and part of the deportees from Transnistria, were indeed crowned with success. Also, the Jewish leaders succeeded in organizing illegal emigration to Palestine, and to thwart the plans, conceived in the very last moments, to exterminate the Jewish population in Romania. The documents describe the transformation of the leaders of the fascist regime and within the Romanian public opinion, when the Soviet Army approached Romania's borders.

The second part of the volume presents -- also for the first time -- the anti-Jewish and racial legislation, thus providing future researchers with a full picture of the "Romanian contribution" in this field.

The third, supplementary section ("Addenda") brings very important documents originating from the post-war period, and others which became available too late to be included within the appropriated volume.

#### VOLUME IX.

This volume, entitled "Romanian-German Relations" is composed entirely of original Romanian documents, which for the first time provide Israel

and Romania itself with crucial information. (This theme had not been hitherto treated in Romania.) The publication of such a collection fills an urgent need. Although these documents do not appear to deal directly with the "Jewish problem" and refer to it only occasionally, in fact, after examining them, it becomes possible to answer some of the basic, important questions : e.g., why did the exterminations take place in Bessarabia and Bukovina, and not in the Regat; or why did Antonescu's regime as well as Antonescu himself, oppose surrendering "his" Jews into the hands of the Nazis; and by what means was he able to disobey the Germans' orders.

#### VOLUME X.

In collecting the documentation for this volume, the editor unexpectedly received the assistance of one of the most important Romanian institutes, i.e., the Institute for Research in History and Social-Political Sciences at the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Romania (Institutul de Studii Istorice si Social-Politice de pe langa C.C. al P.C.R.). Due to the working relationship established between the above Institute and Yad Vashem in 1981, the editor was invited to visit Romania repeatedly. When the Institute learned that the present collection was to be published, it agreed to place at the editor's disposal a considerable number of important documents shedding light -- in some cases new light -- on the history of Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust. These documents show that in Romania a new generation of historians has come forth. They attempt to understand the events of the past by flexible thought patterns and a readiness to conceive a true picture of the Jewish tragedy. They naturally expect that the Romanian problem, too, be understood in the light of the burdens that the Romanian state and people suffered during the period.

#### VOLUME XI.

The last volume is to serve mainly those researchers who do not know Romanian, German, and French. Summaries of all the documents are given here in English, some of them extensive and detailed, as well as archival designations. The volume includes a preface by Serge Klarsfeld, a detailed introduction by the editor, as well as an index of persons and places.



# Sources and Abbreviations

YVA

## Yad Vashem Archives

### Record Groups :

- O-3 Testimonies Department of the Yad Vashem Archives, Givatayim (Tel-Aviv)
- O-4 Trials of Nazi War Criminals (evidence and investigative material against Nazi war criminals)
- O-11 Collection of Documents on the Holocaust of Romanian Jewry (includes various files and collections)
- O-33 Collection of various testimonies
- O-51 Nazi Documentation : Files of NS Government and Party officers. RSHA, Gestapo, SD, SS, Reports of the Einsatzgruppen.
- DN see O-51
- M-9 Jewish Historical Documentation Center (S.Wiesenthal Collection)
- M -20 "Relico" (Archives of A.Silberstein), Geneva
- P-6 W.Filderman Archives (Chairman of the Union of Jewish Communities in Romania)
- P-12 Chaim Pazner Archives
- TK-3 Eichmann Trial
- TK-10 Indictments and sentences in the trials of Nazi war criminals

### Other sources

- CA Carp Archives : Nine volumes of documents concerning the Romanian policy of extermination in Bessarabia, Bukovina and Transnistria, which at the time when this series was being compiled were still not catalogued. (Property of the World Union of Bessarabian Jews, now at Yad Vashem Archives, O-11/92-100.)

NO, NOKW, PS: Records from the twenty-five Nuremberg Trials prosecution document series, the NG (Nuremberg Governments Series, the NO (Nuremberg Organizations) Series, the NOKW Nuremberg Armed Forces High Command) Series and PS (Paris-Storey) Series. These records were used by the prosecution staff of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg or the twelve United States Military Tribunals there, and they are part of National Archives Record Group 238, National Archives Collection of World War II, War Crimes Record.

ISISP: Archive of the Institutul de Studii Istorice si Social Politice de pe linia C.C. al P.C.R. (Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party), Bucharest.

Haganah Archives: Military (I.D.F.) and Defence Establishment Archives, Ministry of Defence, Givatayim (Tel-Aviv).

E. English

F. French

G. German

R. Russian

All other documents are in Romanian

UCE Union of Jewish Communities

FUCE Federation of Unions of Jewish Communities

in Pinkas Hakehilot, Encyclopaedia of Jewish Communities  
Rumania Vol.I, Yad Vashem, Jerusalem 1969

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מרכיביו מ. אקדמי

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