

The Soviet "Transfer" of Jews from Chernovtsy Province to Romania, 1945-1946

Introduced and annotated by Mordechai Altshuler

In the first year after World War II, more than 20,000 Jews left Soviet Northern Bukovina for Romania (the majority of them eventually made their way to Palestine). Most publications on this topic connect this emigration with Zionist activity or the disorder that prevailed in the region at that time.¹ However, according to documents published for the first time below, this emigration was organized and carried out by Soviet authorities on the basis of specific, unilateral decisions of the governments of the Soviet Union and Ukraine.

The region of Bukovina (which received its name from the boxwood [*bok*] trees that grew there) is located between the eastern Carpathian Mountains and the upper reaches of the Dniester River. In the tenth and eleventh centuries it was part of Kievan Rus. Thereafter, until 1775, it was part of the Ottoman province of Moldavia. The Jewish population (about which our first information dates from the fourteenth century) had close ties with the main Jewish center of Poland-Lithuania. In 1656, Cossacks from Ukraine invaded the region, with disastrous results for the local Jewish communities. Some of the invaders settled in the northern part of Bukovina, thus enlarging its Slavic population. During the Russo-Turkish War of 1768-1774, Jewish merchants from Galicia settled there. As a result of the treaty of May 7, 1775, Bukovina became part of the Habsburg Empire. Despite restrictions imposed by the authorities, the Jewish population of the region increased:

Jewish Population of Bukovina, 1780-1900

Year	1780	1821	1827	1848	1857	1900
No. of Jews	2,380	6,080	7,830	11,580	29,190	96,000

Thus, over a period of 120 years (1780-1900), the Jewish population of Bukovina increased by approximately a factor of 40; in the second half of the nineteenth century (1857-1900) it increased by a factor of 3.25. The main Jewish immigration came from Slavic lands on the one hand and from Romania and Galicia on the other.

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1. *Pinkas ha-kehilot: Enziklopediya shel ha-yishuvim ha-yehudiyim le-min hivvasedam ve-'ad le'apar sho'at milhemet ha-'olam ha-sheniyah—Romaniya* (Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities from their foundation till after the Holocaust: Romania) (Jerusalem, 1980), Vol. 1, pp. 196-198; Vol. 2, pp. 419-447.

Bukovina was under Habsburg rule for more than 140 years (1775–1918). This factor affected the Jews, many of whom were influenced by German culture. With the rise of nationalism, especially Romanian nationalism, the Habsburgs came to view the Jews as bearers of the German language and German culture on the frontier of their empire. There they were particularly important, since the region was mainly inhabited by Slavs (Ukrainians, Russians, and Poles) in the north and by Romanians and Magyars in the south. The German language brought the Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment movement) from Berlin; as a result, Chernovtsy, the capital of Bukovina, became an important Jewish center in Eastern Europe. The enlightened Jewish intelligentsia took advantage of this situation to gain influential positions in the Jewish community at the expense of more traditional Jews. However, a number of rabbis in Chernovtsy succeeded in reconciling the opposing camps and thus in strengthening the community.

Bukovina was the only region of the Habsburg Empire where Jews were granted equal civil rights and recognition as a national minority; they even held public positions in numerous spheres. At the same time, Galician hasidism gained influence among local Jews; hasidic courts were established in Sadagura and Boian.

From the economic point of view, Bukovina was one of the weakest regions in the Empire. Its economy was mainly agricultural and there were some Jewish farmers and landowners. The majority of factories were really large craftwork shops. Jews played a considerable role in the modernization of industry and the development of railroads. Over time, there was also an increase in the number of Jews in the free professions, and they began to be involved in public life.

During World War I, Bukovina was the site of fighting between the Russian and Austro-Hungarian armies. This caused economic damage to the Jews, among others. With the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918, Bukovina was annexed to Romania. The Jews of Bukovina then joined Romanian Jewish organizations, including the Romanian Zionist movement.

Following the annexation of territories to Romania after World War I, the issue of national minorities, who now constituted one-third of the population, became a focus of public debate. This was paralleled by the rise of Romanian nationalism, particularly strong in the annexed territories, including Bukovina. Within a few years, the nationalist movements became dominant forces in the country. One of their major aims was the repression of national minorities, especially the Jews. A *numerus clausus* for Jews was introduced in many universities, and opportunities in the civil service, the legal profession, the army, etc., were closed to them. This led to disillusionment, particularly among the Jews in Bukovina, who under Austro-Hungarian rule had had broad access to posts in government and public service. In the 1930s, under the influence of Nazi Germany, a series of racial laws were passed that seriously affected Jews in Bukovina (as elsewhere). The 1930 Romanian census counted approximately 93,000 Jews in Bukovina, or 10% of the population.²

2. According to *Pinkas ha-kehillot*, vol. 2, pp. 419 and 442, there is a substantial contradiction in the census as to the number of Jews in Bukovina. In one place it gives the figure of 93,101 Jews; in another, 144,107.

On June 28, 1940, the Red Army entered Northern Bukovina, following a Soviet ultimatum to Romania; the region of half-a-million inhabitants, including about 70,000 Jews, was annexed to the Soviet Ukraine. Officials, landowners, factory owners, and big businessmen fled to Romania along with the retreating Romanian army. A considerable number of Jews from Northern Bukovina who had moved to Romania proper attempted to return home. Within weeks after the annexation of Northern Bukovina to Ukraine, a broad campaign was begun to Ukrainize the region. This included the closing of Jewish philanthropic, educational, and cultural institutions. A series of deportations of political activists, public figures, and members of well-off classes in mid-June 1941 included many Jews.³ At the same time, opportunities to become part of the government apparatus, denied them under Romanian rule, were opened to many Jews.⁴

The authorities and the population in Chernovtsy Province (*oblast'*), as in the USSR as a whole, were caught by surprise by the German attack on the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Only a relatively small number of Jews in the province managed to flee eastward into the Soviet hinterland. With the outbreak of the Soviet-German war, in which Romania became embroiled, the Soviet draft led to the call-up of men from all over the country, including Jews from Northern Bukovina (Chernovtsy Province).

In the wake of the rapid breakdown of Soviet authority in the area and before the return of the Romanian army, gangs of peasants tortured, raped, and murdered Jews. Then the Romanian army, which reoccupied the area, killed hundreds of Jews in revenge for their ostensible "cooperation" with the Soviet regime.⁵ The humiliation, torture, and murder of Jews became common. Furthermore, many Jews from Northern Bukovina were deported to Transnistria;⁶ forced into ghettos and camps there, many of them died from forced labor, hunger, disease, or torture.

On March 29, 1944, the city of Chernovtsy, along with most of the province, was liberated by the Red Army.⁷ With the retreat of the Romanian army, many of the Romanians who had lived in Northern Bukovina before the war, as well as others who had settled there after 1941, fled. The Jews in Northern Bukovina suffered less from the Holocaust than Jews in other areas of Ukraine. However, most of them were hungry, exhausted, and sick, and they welcomed Soviet troops as their saviors.⁸

3. An estimated 4,000 Jews were deported from the city of Chernovtsy (Czernowitz/Cernăuți; today Chernivtsi in Ukraine) alone.
4. Dov Levin, *The Lesser of Two Evils* (Philadelphia, 1995), pp. 37–38; Zvi Yavetz, "Chernovtsy hayehudit ba-shilton ha-sovyeti, 1940–1941" (Jewish Chernovtsy under Soviet rule, 1940–1941), *Shvut* 5 (1977), pp. 109–112.
5. *Pinkas ha-kehillot*, Vol. 1, p. 155.
6. An estimated 4,000–5,000 Jews were deported from Chernovtsy, where most Jews in Bukovina were concentrated, to Transnistria (see *ibid.*, p. 168).
7. According to the census of 1930, the Jewish population of Chernovtsy was 46,000, or approximately 40% of the total.
8. Israel Gutman, ed. in chief, *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust* (New York, 1990). See entries on

A relatively large Jewish population remained in Chernovtsy Province. According to a report of provincial Communist Party secretary I. Zeleniuk, the city of Chernovtsy alone had 17,341 Jews (42% of the city's population) as of April 30, 1944.⁹ The population of the whole province, as reported two months later, was 662,844, with the following ethnic breakdown: Ukrainians—69.5%, Romanians and Moldavians—14.8%, Jews—7.9% (a total of 52,570),¹⁰ Russians—1.2%, and others—6.6%.¹¹ A number of Jews returned to Chernovtsy Province from Transnistria, most of which had already been liberated.¹²

Jews who survived the war in the countryside also moved to the city of Chernovtsy, where they would be safer than in outlying areas. In many villages, Ukrainian groups took up arms against Soviet rule and killed representatives of the new regime. In retaliation, Soviet security units mercilessly executed Ukrainian "rebels" who controlled parts of the countryside. Heads of collective farms and village soviets were sometimes forced to hide for weeks or even months from the Ukrainian fighters, whom the Soviets referred to as "bandits." Males in the country and in the towns also often hid in order to avoid being drafted into the Red Army or for labor in Russia. Mobilizations could turn into arrests, as depicted in one secret Soviet document:

Thus, in the city of Chernovtsy the police carried out nighttime searches during which residents were selected for dispatch to the Donbass. There were cases when people were simply picked up off the streets of the city.¹³

While the authorities suspected Jews who survived the occupation of having collaborated with the enemy,¹⁴ large segments of the population, mainly in the villages,

Bukovina (Vol. 1, pp. 261–263), Chernovtsy (ibid., pp. 287–288), and Transnistria (Vol. 4, pp. 1473–1476)—all written by Jean Ancel. See also E. Grinberg, *Evrei Bukoviny* (The Jews of Bukovina) (Jerusalem, 1997).

9. Tsentral'nii Derzhavnii Arkhiv Gromads'kikh Obednan' Ukrainy (Central State Archive of Public Associations of Ukraine, hereafter TsDAGOU), *f. 1, op. 23, d. 817, p. 4.*
10. Of all communities in Bukovina with at least 50 Jews listed in the Romanian census of 1930, 43 continued to exist after the war in localities annexed to the USSR in 1940. The 1930 census reported a total of 62,613 Jews in Northern Bukovina (which from 1940 on was Chernovtsy Province), 72.8% of them in Chernovtsy. This calculation is based on *Pinkas ha-kehillot*, Vol. 2, pp. 451–524. If we assume that in 1930–1940 the natural increase of the Jews of Northern Bukovina averaged 1.0% annually and that the emigration balance was even, there were 68,900 Jews in Northern Bukovina at the time of its annexation to the Soviet Union. If these figures are correct, 23%–25% of the Jews in Northern Bukovina perished during the Holocaust (there were 68,900 Jews in 1940 and 52,570 on July 15, 1944). See also *Pinkas ha-kehillot*, Vol. 1, pp. 203–205.
11. TsDAGOU, *ibid.*, *d. 1057, p. 117.*
12. The Red Army liberated Odessa on April 10, 1944, Tiraspol on April 12, and Mogilev-Podolsk on June 28.
13. I. Bilas, *Represivno-karal'na sistema v Ukraini, 1917–1953* (The repressive-punitive system in Ukraine, 1917–1953) (Kiev, 1994), Vol. 2, pp. 577–578.
14. Mordechai Altshuler, "Antisemitism in Ukraine toward the End of the Second World War,"

identified the Jews with the Bolsheviks. The latter view, for example, was expressed in a note found on the body of a Soviet activist killed by Ukrainian rebels. The note said: "He sold his brothers for pennies to the Bolshevik-kike KGB. All traitors to the people will die like him. The people's court."¹⁵ Another expression of popular anti-semitism took place in a village where the Soviet authorities came to expropriate the harvest. A mob of 500 people shouted: "The kikes want to send us to Siberia even though we are not guilty of anything. When Romanian rule came in 1941 we did not beat them [the Jews] or slander them."¹⁶

In mid-1944, small groups of Zionists were formed in the city of Chernovtsy and began to operate clandestinely. However, their effect on other Jews was minimal and they made no effort to organize illegal mass emigration to Romania.¹⁷

The relatively large number of Holocaust survivors who had gathered in Chernovtsy Province lacked food, clothing, and shelter. In addition, they suffered from the hostility of the surrounding population and from the suspicion of the local authorities.¹⁸ This is the context in which Shlomo Mikhoels and Shakhne Epshtein of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee appealed, in May 1944, to the Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR for special aid to Holocaust survivors in this region. In response, on June 3, 1944, Minister of Internal Affairs Lavrentii Beria ordered Nikita Khrushchev, then head of the Ukrainian government,

to take the necessary measures to provide wood and the necessities of daily life to Jews in liberated regions who had been subjected to special repression by the German occupiers in concentration camps, ghettos, etc.¹⁹

However, to the best of our knowledge, such aid was not provided. On the contrary, the concern expressed by the central authorities about the Jews of Chernovtsy Province probably increased the unease about the latter on the part of the Ukrainian authorities.

After their liberation, the suffering and exhausted survivors faced a number of new problems. As noted above, the Soviet authorities in Chernovtsy Province began large-scale mobilizations for the Red Army and for labor in Donbass and the Urals. This considerably upset the Jewish population, the majority of whom had only recently been freed from concentration camps and ghettos or had returned

JEE 3(22) (1993), pp. 40–81, especially pp. 70–73.

15. TsDAGOU, *ibid.*, p. 119.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

17. See Sh. Kles, *Be-derekh lo selulah, toledot ha-berihā, 1944–1948* (On an unpaved path, history of the Bricha, 1944–1948) (Jerusalem, 1994), pp. 27–29; *idem*, *Gevulot, mahteret u-verihā* (Borders, underground, and flight) (Jerusalem, 1989), pp. 225–230.

18. Altshuler, "Antisemitism in Ukraine," pp. 40–51.

19. In incomplete and undated form, this document was published in S. Redlich, *War, Holocaust and Stalinism* (Chur, Switzerland, 1995), p. 246. The English translation is taken from this source but checked against the original in Gosudarstvennyi Arkhiv Rossiiskoi Federatsii (State Archive of the Russian Federation, hereafter GARF), *f. R-9401, op. 2, d. 69, p. 299.*

from deportation to Transnistria. Thus, many young Jews tried to make their way to Romania after the drafting of Jews into the army there basically ended.

On August 31, 1944, the Red Army entered Bucharest. On September 12, the National Democratic Bloc²⁰ in Romania signed a cease-fire in Moscow with the Allies, freed all "anti-fascist" prisoners, and canceled all racist legislation. For five months (October 1944-February 1945), there was no real border between the Chernovtsy region of the USSR and Romania. While Soviet authorities were occupied, inter alia, with returning to Romania those Jews who were deported to Transnistria during the occupation,²¹ some Jewish survivors from Northern Bukovina succeeded in reaching Romania. The latter were mainly motivated by one of two goals—to avoid being drafted into the army or for labor in the Soviet interior or to make their way to Palestine. After a new Romanian government headed by Petru Groza (1884-1958) and under the direct control of the Soviet Union was set up on March 6, 1945, however, the international border between Romania and the USSR was reinstated. After that, few Jews undertook the risk of attempting to cross the border illegally.

After these borders were closed, tens of thousands of Jews remained in Chernovtsy Province. Most of them had little sympathy for the Soviet regime and many knew neither Russian nor Ukrainian. Jews who tried to reclaim property stolen from them during the Romanian occupation or to have Ukrainian or Romanian Nazi-collaborators brought to trial were considered troublemakers by the local authorities. Moreover, the Soviet authorities were interested in minimizing their widespread identification with the Jews and wanted to stress the Ukrainian nature of the areas annexed to the republic during World War II and reduce the size of the non-Ukrainian population. This was one of the reasons for the September 9, 1944, agreements between the *Polski Komitet Wyzwolenia Narodnego* (Polish Committee of National Liberation) and the governments of the republics of Belorussia and Ukraine on the exchanges of population. These accords allowed the repatriation from Ukraine and Belorussia to Poland of Poles and Jews who had been Polish citizens before September 17, 1939, and of Ukrainians, Belorussians, and Russians then

20. It included the Communist, Social Democratic, Farmers', and National Liberal Parties.

21. On Jan. 13, 1945, Lavrentii Beria sent a letter to Foreign Minister Viacheslav Molotov which read, in part: "In regard to the issue of the resettlement in Romania of Romanian citizens who are Jewish and at present are residing on the territory of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs, the NKVD of the USSR states the following: During the German-Romanian occupation, a number of ghettos and concentration camps were set up on the territory of Vinnitsa, Kamenets-Podolsk, and Odessa provinces of the Ukrainian SSR where Jews, including those who had formerly lived in Romania, were imprisoned. After the liberation of these provinces by the Red Army, those Jews who were Romanian citizens who had been liberated from the ghettos and camps began to arrive in Chernovtsy Province of the USSR with the intention of returning to Romania. Furthermore, in the border provinces of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs there are now Romanian citizens who are Romanians, Poles, Ukrainians, Moldavians, and Germans, who arrived in these provinces during the occupation. The NKVD of the USSR believes it necessary to resettle in Romania all Romanian citizens (with the exception of the Germans among them) who are now on the territory of the Ukrainian and Moldavian SSRs. It would be useful to carry out their transfer across the border on the basis of lists [of them compiled] by the NKVD of the Moldavian and Ukrainian SSRs . . ." (GARF, *ibid.*, d. 103, p. 14).

living in Poland to Ukraine and Belorussia. On September 22, 1944, a similar agreement was signed with the government of Soviet Lithuania in regard to the region of Vilna, which between the World Wars was part of independent Poland. These repatriation accords related to areas that had been part of independent Poland during the interwar period and had been annexed by the Soviet Union. A similar repatriation was carried out in June 1945, when several thousand Romanians who had been living in Chernovtsy Province were transferred to Romania.

At least partially similar intentions most probably underlay the agreement signed in Moscow on July 6, 1945, between the United People's Government of Poland and the government of the USSR.²² Within this general context, officials in the Ukraine initiated and developed the idea of transferring the Jews of Chernovtsy Province to Romania. Evidently after initially checking out this matter, Khrushchev turned officially to the first deputy premier of the Soviet government, Viacheslav Molotov and to Minister of Internal Affairs Lavrentii Beria. On July 7, 1945, the latter forwarded Khrushchev's letter to Stalin:

In the enclosed letter,²³ Comrade N. S. Khrushchev reported that in June of this year during the period of the expulsion of Romanian citizens to Romania, 5,000 families (a total of 13,590 Jews) who received Soviet citizenship on June 28, 1940, in connection with the annexation of Northern Bukovina to the Ukrainian SSR, requested permission to emigrate for [permanent] residence in Romania. The vast majority of them are merchants, craftsmen, people without definite occupation, etc., who have relatives living in Romania and other states. We believe that Jews who are residents of Northern Bukovina and were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940, and who have requested permission to emigrate to Romania can be allowed to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and emigrate to Romania.²⁴

Molotov and Beria included a draft resolution on the subject. After Stalin approved the draft, it was adopted by the Soviet government on August 8, 1945. The resolution (No. 2026-525ss) stated:

Persons of Jewish nationality who are residents of Northern Bukovina who were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940, according to documents presented by them, shall be allowed to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and emigrate from Chernovtsy Province of the UkSSR to Romania.²⁵

An identical resolution was passed by the Ukrainian government on August 31.

22. The full title of the agreement was, "On the rights of Jews and Poles living in the Soviet Union to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and to be repatriated to Poland and the rights of Russians, Ukrainians, Belorussians, Ruthenians, and Lithuanians residing in Poland to relinquish their Polish citizenship and to be evacuated to the Soviet Union" (*Dokumenty i materialy do Historii Stosunkow Polsko-Radzieckich* [Documents and materials on the History of Polish-Soviet Relations] [Warsaw], Vol. 8, pp. 550-554).

23. I have not been able to locate this letter.

24. GARF, f. R-9401, op. 2, d. 97, p. 47.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 48.

In principle this decision had elements in common with the Soviet approach to repatriation to Poland. There were four significant differences, however:

1. While the decision regarding the return of Jews to Poland was part of a repatriation of Polish citizens, the decision in regard to Northern Bukovina affected only Jews.
2. While many Jews who had come from Poland and lived in the Soviet Union during the war participated in Polish activity (either in connection with the Polish government-in-exile in London or with Polish organizations that were established at the initiative of the USSR or with Soviet help),²⁶ to the best of our knowledge, there were no ties at all between the Jews in Northern Bukovina and any Romanian groups.
3. While the repatriation to Poland involved bilateral agreements on exchanges of populations, this was a unilateral Soviet decision without any formal agreement and, evidently, even without any coordination with the Romanian authorities.
4. While the return of citizens to Poland was referred to in Soviet and Polish documents as "repatriation," the relevant documents in our case used the word *vyezd* ("exit" or "emigration") to Romania and *pereselenie* ("resettlement") in Romania. Local authorities were less diplomatic and often used the term *vydvorenie* ("expulsion" or "kicking out") to refer to the transfer of Jews to Romania. The latter term suggests that the authorities in Chernovtsy Province not only did not raise obstacles before the Jews who wished to leave for Romania but were eager to help them do so.

In September 1945, registration began of Jews in Chernovtsy Province who requested permission to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and emigrate to Romania. Despite their fears about possible consequences of this act, by the end of the year 8,736 Jews had submitted requests. A number of them also sold their property and no longer had jobs. They had been compelled to return their food rationing cards and many of them lacked firewood for the winter. Many of these Jews were forced to sell whatever they could lay their hands on so as not to die of hunger or cold. These desperate people were said to "daily besieging Party and government bodies," demanding to be allowed to leave immediately for Romania. Consequently, the Communist Party secretary of Chernovtsy Province, who did not harbor any particular sympathy for Jews, became one of the main proponents of speeding up the process of transferring the Jews to Romania. However, the Soviet bureaucracy worked slowly.

According to Soviet law, only the presidium of the Supreme Soviet or a coordinating committee authorized by it could approve the relinquishing of Soviet citizenship. Since the Soviet government's decision of August 8, 1945, which granted Jews in Northern Bukovina the right to emigrate to Romania, did not establish the means for this to be carried out, all the files of those Jews who requested to be

26. See Y. Litvak, *Pelitim yehudiyim mi-polin bi-vrit ha-mo'azot, 1939–1946* (Jewish refugees from Poland in the Soviet Union, 1939–1946) (Jerusalem, 1988) (see review in *JJT* 2[9] [1989], pp. 73–77, and the author's response in *ibid.* 3[13] [1990], p. 86.)

allowed to relinquish their Soviet citizenship were transferred to Moscow. Due to its lack of ability to cope with the resulting quantity of documents, the Commissariat of Internal Affairs of the USSR (in a telegram of November 4, 1945) ordered that this material no longer be forwarded to Moscow; the government of Ukraine would have the right to rule on the requests to relinquish Soviet citizenship. In order to simplify and expedite the bureaucratic process the Ukrainian government decided, some time between October 8, 1945, and February 10, 1946, to set up a commission in Chernovtsy, on the model of that established to deal with the repatriation of Polish citizens and to coordinate between the governments of Ukraine and Poland in implementing the Soviet-Polish accords on the exchange of populations. This ad hoc commission was charged with compiling an accurate list of all Jews then living in Chernovtsy Province (Northern Bukovina) and with checking the files of all those who requested to emigrate to Romania. A list of those who wished to relinquish their Soviet citizenship was then to be forwarded to Kiev. The commission was also to be responsible for formal and practical arrangements (permits, means of transportation, etc.) for the emigration of the Jews to Romania.

The Soviet government was totally unconcerned about what Romania might have to say in this matter. This is clearly indicated by the fact that for six months (from August 8, 1945, to February 2, 1946) the Soviet authorities worked on preparations for the emigration of Jews to Romania without any coordination whatsoever with the Romanian authorities. Only in early February 1946 did the Soviet government decide "to coordinate with the government of Romania the procedure, time, and border-crossing points" for evacuating the Jews to Romania.

The practical activity of transferring the Jews began in early February 1946 and ended on April 22. It was conducted like a military operation: a number of trucks were commandeered from factories and an additional 50 from the Carpathian military district. Each rural family was allowed to take two tons of personal possessions; each urban family, one ton. When the operation began, 17,503 Jews over age 18 had requested permission to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and emigrate to Romania; 99.8% (17,461) of these requests were approved. Approximately 6% of the Jews who received permission to emigrate changed their minds and had their Soviet citizenship restored to them. In this operation, 21,155 Jews (including 4,894 children and youth under the age of 18) crossed the border. In addition to this organized emigration, 1,152 Jews who had given up their Soviet citizenship crossed the border on an individual basis during the same period.

In the course of three months (February–April 1946) a total of 22,307 Jews emigrated from Chernovtsy Province to Romania. This figure included 7,133 men, 10,072 women, and 5,102 minors. During this period, the Soviet authorities thus helped 40%–45% of the Jews from Chernovtsy Province emigrate to Romania.

To the best of our knowledge, the reasons that led the Soviet government and Stalin personally to decide in August 1945 on the transfer of thousands of Jews from Chernovtsy Province to Romania were not connected with a change in the negative Soviet attitude toward the Jewish community in Palestine (the *yishuv*). There are also good grounds for assuming that the decision was not motivated by concern for

the suffering of the Jewish population. Rather the decision appears to have been primarily influenced by consideration for the hostility of the local population toward the Jews and the general tendency to Ukrainize areas that had been annexed to the Soviet Union.

DOCUMENTS

[1]²⁷

To Comrade N. S. Khrushchev,²⁸
Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of the UkSSR and
Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine
Kiev, November 16, 1945

Report on the process of implementing the Resolution of the Soviet of People's Commissars (SPC) of the Ukrainian SSR of August 31, 1945 "On the relinquishment of Soviet citizenship by people of Jewish nationality who were Romanian citizens before June 28, 1940"

Resolution #1398-102 of the SPC of the UkSSR of August 31, 1945, charged the organs of the NKVD with compiling files on Jews who were Romanian citizens before June 28, 1940, and who wished to relinquish their Soviet citizenship.

The Resolution dealt with the expulsion (*vydvorenie*—"kicking out") of that category of people [Jews] to Romania, on the condition that the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet approved the relinquishment of their Soviet citizenship.

The said resolution has not been implemented by the organs of the NKVD, in other words, from October 10, 1945, as of the present time not a single person of this category has yet been expelled to Romania. Investigation of the work of the local NKVD organs has revealed that, in accordance with the previous directives of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR, the organs of the NKVD are correctly carrying out the job of compiling files on [those who wish to] relinquish their Soviet citizenship and have taken all measures to expedite the implementation of the Resolution of the SPC of the UkSSR.

In the specified period 8,000 files have been compiled. Two thousand forty-nine of them were sent for approval to the NKVD of the UkSSR on October 9, 1945. However, no decisions have yet been taken.

27. TsDAGOU, *f. 1, op. 23, d. 2620*, pp. 22–24

28. The following is typed on the upper left-hand corner of the document: "[Pass on] To Comrade Riasnyi, November 16, 1945," and the signature—N. Khrushchev.

Vasili Riasnyi (1904–1995) was born in Samarkand and joined the Communist Party in 1922. In 1926 and 1927 he served in the Red Army. In 1945 and 1946 he was People's Commissar of the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR. Later, as an associate of Beria, he was brought to Moscow, where he headed an espionage division. After Beria's imprisonment, Riasnyi was fired.

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Six thousand files that have been compiled and are ready for dispatch are located at the NKVD department of Chernovtsy Province. They have not yet been sent off only because the NKVD of the UkSSR has proposed that all documents in the Romanian language in the files be translated into Russian. No previous order took account of this matter. The completion of this job will delay the processing of the files for one month.

Thus, the NKVD of the UkSSR is responsible for the delay in the implementation of the Resolution of the SPC of the UkSSR about the expulsion of Jews to Romania.

The vast majority of these people who have applied for emigration to Romania have left their jobs, have no ration cards, and lack fuel for the winter. Furthermore, they speculate, buying up industrial goods and food products at the markets, thus sharply raising the market prices for such goods.

In addition to such undesirable phenomena that require the speedy expulsion of this category of people to Romania, one should take into consideration the imminent onset of inclement weather and cold.

This category of people who are to be deported to Romania requires speedy dispatch; they daily besiege Party and government bodies with all kinds of requests connected with their dispatch and thus disrupt normal work.

While reporting to you the matters noted above, I request that you order the NKVD of the UkrSSR to expedite the expulsion of these people who have requested permission to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and emigrate to Romania, either with subsequent approval of their files or by their speedily granting approval of them.

Secretary of the Chernovtsy Province Committee
of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine,
Zeleniuk

[2]²⁹

Top Secret

To the Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine,
Comrade N. S. Khrushchev
November 19, 1945
No. 1537/sk
City of Kiev

In the report sent in your name³⁰ from the Secretary of the Chernovtsy Province Communist Party (B) of Ukraine on November 16, 1945, relating to the

29. TsDAGOU, *f. 1, op. 23, d. 2620*, pp. 25-27.

30. See note 28.

implementation of the SPC UkSSR resolution of August 31, 1945, "On the relinquishment of Soviet citizenship by people of Jewish nationality who were Romanian citizens before June 28, 1940," I hereby report:

Resolution #2026-525ss of the SPC of the USSR of August 8 of this year and Resolution #1398-102 of the SPC of the UkSSR of August 31, 1945, permit people of Jewish nationality who are residing in Northern Bukovina and who did not have Soviet citizenship before June 28, 1940, to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and emigrate from Chernovtsy Province to Romania.

In accord with these resolutions and with directives of the NKVD of the USSR #1/17349 of August 25 of this year and #29/V/8610 of August 29, 1945, we have given orders to the Department of the Police (Militia) of the NKVD of Chernovtsy Province regarding the organization and implementation of work on receiving statements [official documents relating to relinquishing Soviet citizenship] and the compilation of files.

The above-mentioned directives on the process of compiling and presenting the files for approval of a commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR did not deal with the translation of Romanian documents into Russian.

[A total of] 2,049 compiled files, with lists [of names], which arrived on October 9 of this year from the NKVD Administration of Chernovtsy Province were reviewed on October 16 of this year, according to the order of deputy people's commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR Comrade Chernyshov,³¹ and were sent to the Main Administration of the Police to be transferred for review to a commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

Since the issue of relinquishing Soviet citizenship in these cases has not yet been approved by the commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the NKVD of the UkSSR has not been able to undertake any measures to expedite the expulsion to Romania of those people of Jewish nationality dealt with in the relevant resolutions of the SPC of the USSR and of the UkSSR.

Telegram #2650 of the NKVD of the USSR of November 4 of this year proposed halting the dispatch of the said files and lists relating to the relinquishment of Soviet citizenship and emigration to Romania of people of Jewish nationality from Chernovtsy Province to the Main Administration of Police of the NKVD of the USSR, since in the future these lists will have to be sent for approval to the SPC of the UkSSR.

In order to most expeditiously review the files of people of Jewish nationality who were Romanian citizens and wish to relinquish their Soviet citizenship, I [hereby] request that you order that such materials be sent for review to the SPC of the UkSSR or [alternatively] that a commission be established (comprising the deputy head of the NKVD Administration [of the Province], the deputy head of the

31. Vasiliï Chernyshov (1896–1952) was born in Riazan Province. He joined the CP in 1917 and beginning in 1920 worked for the Cheka. In 1924 he became head of the OGPU of the Republic of Kazakhstan and in 1927 he held the same post in the Far Eastern Region. From 1937 to 1952 he was Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR. From 1939 to 1941 he was concurrently head of the GULAG.

Mordechai Altshuler

NKGB Administration, and the procurator of the Province, and headed by the deputy chairman of Chernovtsy Province executive committee) that will be responsible for reviewing these materials.

The establishment of such a commission would significantly expedite the review of materials relating to the relinquishment of Soviet citizenship and the evacuation of that part of the population from the territories of Chernovtsy Province.

Deputy People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of
the UkSSR
<Loburenko >

[3]³²

No. 1415(B)
Top Secret

To the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR,
Comrade V. M. Molotov³³
December 31, 1945

I hereby report that, pursuant to the request of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, on August 8, 1945, the Soviet of People's Commissars (Resolution #2026-525ss) has decided to permit people of Jewish nationality who were residing in Northern Bukovina and who were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940, to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and emigrate from Chernovtsy Province to Romania.

In the period after the adoption of this resolution of the SPC of the USSR, official requests were received from 8,736 people in Chernovtsy Province, of whom 6,236 submitted complete files and are now waiting for a decision regarding approval of their request to relinquish Soviet citizenship. Some of these people have already sold their property and left their jobs in the expectation of speedy permission to emigrate.

The granting of permission to these people to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and emigrate to Romania has been delayed because Resolution #2026-525ss of the SPC of the USSR did not stipulate the procedure for approving the relinquishment of their Soviet citizenship.

The NKVD of the USSR believes that it would be useful by analogy with point 1 of Resolution #2862-829ss of November 10, 1945 (on the evacuation of Poles who were formerly Romanian citizens to Poland from the territory of the UkSSR) to

32. GARF, *f.* R-9401, *op.* 2, *d.* 105, pp. 400-401.

33. Viacheslav Molotov (Skriabin) (1890-1986) joined the CP in 1906. From 1930 to 1941 he was head of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR (i.e., head of the Soviet government); in 1939 he replaced Litvinov as Commissar for Foreign Affairs; from 1941 to 1957 he was first deputy premier of the USSR; and from 1953 to 1956 he was also Minister of Foreign Affairs.

permit the People's Commissariat of the UkSSR to evacuate to Romania people of Jewish nationality who were residing in Northern Bukovina and were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940, and whom SPC of the USSR Resolution #2026-525ss of August 8 permitted to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and emigrate to Romania; to charge the NKID [People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs] to coordinate with the Romanian government the time and places of transit into Romania of the evacuees of Jewish nationality who were former Romanian citizens.

People's Commissar of Internal Affairs
of the USSR
(S. Kruglov)³⁴

[4]³⁵

On Measures to Implement the Resolution of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR on the Process of Resettling in Romania Former Romanian Citizens of Jewish Nationality and Their Relinquishment of Soviet Citizenship

[January 1946]

A Resolution of the SPC of the UkSSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine

In order to implement SPC of the USSR Resolution #2026-525ss of August 8, 1945, on permitting people of Jewish nationality residing in Northern Bukovina who were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940, to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and emigrate from Chernovtsy Province in the UkSSR to Romania, the Soviet of People's Commissars of the UkSSR and the Central Committee of the CP (B) of Ukraine have decided:

1. To permit people of Jewish nationality who are residing in Northern Bukovina and were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940 (according to documents that they have presented), to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and emigrate from Chernovtsy Province in the UkSSR to Romania.
2. To require the Chernovtsy executive committee of the Province soviet of workers' deputies (Comrade Kolikov) and the Province committee of the CP (B) of Ukraine (Comrade Zeleniuk) to establish a special commission of the Province executive committee (comprised of the following: deputy

34. Sergei Kruglov (1907–1977) was born in Kalinin Province. He joined the CP in 1928. From 1938 he worked for Soviet security agencies. In February 1944 Kruglov became the first deputy People's Commissar for State Security. From Dec. 29, 1945, to Mar. 26, 1953, he served as People's Commissar of Internal Affairs. After the death of Stalin, he participated in the plot to overthrow Beria. When the latter was imprisoned, Kruglov again served as Minister of Internal Affairs from June 26, 1953, until January 31, 1956.

35. TsDAGOU, *f. 1, op. 23, d. 2620*, pp. 4–7.

chairman of the executive committee of the Province soviet—chairman; deputy head of the NKVD Administration [of the Province], deputy head of the NKGB Administration, and deputy Province procurator—members). After being approved, the membership of this commission is to be presented to the SPC of the UkSSR by February 10, 1946.

The Commission shall be responsible for:

- a. Compiling an accurate list of people of Jewish nationality who were Romanian citizens before June 28, 1940, and who are now residing in Northern Bukovina;
 - b. Reviewing the requests for relinquishment of Soviet citizenship and for emigration to Romania of former Romanian citizens of Jewish nationality, who fall within the scope of SPC of the USSR Resolution #2026-525ss of August 8, 1945; compiling and approving the lists of such people, and presenting the lists for a final decision by the SPC of the UkSSR;
 - c. Compiling and transferring the documents for evacuation via police bodies;
 - d. Informing in due time those who are to emigrate [literally: “be resettled”] about the dates and process of their emigration from the USSR to Romania;
 - e. Organizing the emigration at [train] stations and the loading and dispatch of the emigrants by train to Romania;
 - f. Presenting appropriate reports on the process of review and approval of lists and the emigration to Romania of people of Jewish nationality.
- 2.³⁶ Require the special commission of the Chernovtsy Province executive committee of the soviet of workers’ deputies to be guided by directive #24567 of the Soviet of People’s Commissars of the USSR of November 22, 1945, in reviewing the requests and lists of people of Jewish nationality who were former Romanian citizens eligible for resettlement in Romania.
 3. Delegate responsibility for the work of the special commission of the Chernovtsy executive committee of the Province soviet of workers’ deputies, as well as the approval of the lists of people eligible for resettlement in Romania, to the already existing commission of the SPC of the UkSSR for the evacuation of Polish citizens, comprised of Comrade V. F. Starchenko³⁷ (chairman of the commission), Comrade B. A. Ivanov (deputy chairman of the commission) and Comrades N. A. Datlov, D. I. Esipenko, I. T. Drof, and P. F. Notsenko.
 4. Approve the form of the evacuation permit (according to the enclosed model) and require People’s Commissar of Internal Affairs of the UkSSR Comrade Riasnyi, to have these permits prepared in sufficient quantity, by February 15, 1946, for those people eligible for evacuation to Romania.

36. Should be “3”; from here on the list is misnumbered in the original.

37. Vasil’ Starchenko (1904–1948). In 1938 he became chairman of the executive committee of the soviet of Kiev Province, and in December 1938 he became deputy head of government of Ukraine; in 1945 he became a corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine.

5. Require People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the UkSSR Comrade Riasnyi, and the Commander of the Carpathian district border forces Comrade Demshak to arrange for the transfer across the border to Romania of those people who have received evacuation permits, according to Resolution #2026-252ss of the SPC of the USSR of August 8, 1945.
6. Require the chairman of the Chernovtsy executive committee of the Province soviet to present to the Soviet of People's Commissars of the UkSSR, by March 1 of this year, preliminary data and, by April 1, 1946, final data—on the number of people approved by the commission for resettlement in Romania, with indications of the areas where the evacuees have been residing, the closest railroad stations for their embarkation, and their intended dates of departure.

[5]³⁸

Top Secret

To the Deputy Chairman of the Soviet of People's Commissars
of the Ukrainian SSR,
Comrade L. R. Korniets³⁹
City of Kiev
January 8, 1946

Resolutions #2026-525ss of the SPC of the USSR of August 8, 1945, and #1398-102ss of the SPC of the UkSSR of August 31, 1945, permit people of Jewish nationality who are residing in Northern Bukovina and who were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940, to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and to emigrate from Chernovtsy Province to Romania after the presentation of their files and lists [of names] for approval of a commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

A telegram of the NKVD of the USSR of November 4, 1945, proposed that files no longer be sent to the commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR since in the future these files will be reviewed and approved by the SPC of the Ukrainian SSR.

Chernovtsy Province reported a total of 11,085 Jews who were formerly Romanian citizens; files were established for 6,000 of them.

38. TsDAGOU, *f. 1, op. 23, d. 2620*, p. 1.

39. Lion Korniets (1901–1969). Beginning in 1933, he was the second secretary of the Communist Party of the Dnepropetrovsk region; in 1938–1939 he was chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine. During the German-Soviet War he was one of the organizers of the partisan movement in Ukraine; in 1943 he received the rank of lieutenant-general. In 1944–1950 he was the first deputy premier of Ukraine, and then, until 1953, deputy premier of Ukraine. After 1953 he held high-ranking national positions relating to food supply and agriculture.

On this basis, I request that the SPC of the Ukrainian SSR establish a special commission of the Chernovtsy Province executive committee to review these files; it will have the same functions as those stipulated by Resolution of the SPC of the Ukrainian SSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine of November 29, 1945, Resolution #901-140ss for a special commission to resettle former Polish citizens of Polish and Jewish nationality in Poland.

I enclose a draft of the [proposed] resolution.⁴⁰

<Diatlov>⁴¹

[6]⁴²

[February 1946]

Draft

“On the evacuation from the territory of Chernovtsy Province of the UkSSR to Romania of people of Jewish nationality who are residing in Northern Bukovina and who were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940”

Pursuant to Resolution #2026-525ss of the Soviet of People’s Commissars of the USSR of August 8, 1945, the Soviet of People’s Commissars of the USSR resolves:

To instruct People’s Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR (Comrade Dekanozov)⁴³ to coordinate with the Romanian government the procedure, time,

40. I have not succeeded in locating this document.

41. Diatlov—deputy people’s commissar of internal affairs (police commissar of the third rank) of the Ukrainian SSR.

42. TsDAGOU, *f. 1, op. 23, d. 2620*, pp. 9–10. This draft was evidently passed as presented by the Soviet government on Feb. 2, 1946. The draft had been sent to the government on Jan. 31, 1946, by Nikita Khrushchev, along with the following letter:

To the Soviet of People’s Commissars of the USSR, Comrade Chadaev
City of Moscow

As a follow-up to SPC USSR Resolution #2026–525ss of August 8, 1945, the Soviet of the People’s Commissars of the UkSSR presents to the Soviet of People’s Commissars of the USSR the draft of the resolution “On the evacuation from the territory of Chernovtsy Province of the UkSSR to Romania of people of Jewish nationality who are residing in Northern Bukovina and who were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940,” with supplements added to the draft of the NKVD of the USSR on this matter.

Chairman of the Soviet of People’s Commissars of the Ukrainian SSR, Khrushchev
(TsDAGOU, *f. 1, op. 23, d. 2620*, p. 8)

43. Vladimir Dekanozov (d. 1953)—During the “Great Terror” Dekanozov was deputy chairman of the Soviet of People’s Commissars (i.e., deputy premier) of Georgia. He was brought to Moscow in 1938 by Lavrentii Beria and made head of the foreign division of secret police (then the GUGB). After the removal of Maxim Litvinov as foreign minister in 1939, Dekanozov was appointed deputy foreign minister. In November 1940 he became Soviet ambassador to Germany. After the war he headed the foreign department of the Ministry of State Security (MGB). After the arrest of Beria, Dekanozov was also arrested and executed.

and border crossing points for people of Jewish nationality who have expressed the desire to be evacuated from the territory of the Ukrainian SSR to Romania, and to inform the Soviet of People's Commissars of the UkSSR and the NKVD of the USSR of the order, time, and points of crossing no later than February 5, 1946.

In accordance with the agreement between the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the USSR and the Romanian government, to instruct the Soviet of the People's Commissariat of the UkSSR (Comrade Khrushchev) to evacuate to Romania people of Jewish nationality who have declared their desire to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and resettle in Romania on the basis of the Resolution of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR of August 8, 1945. For this purpose—to establish a special commission, of the Chernovtsy executive committee of the Province soviet of workers' deputies (comprised of deputy chairman of the executive committee of the Province soviet [chairman of the commission], deputy head of the NKVD Administration [of the Province], deputy head of the NKGB Administration, and deputy Province procurator) that shall be responsible for reviewing the requests [for emigration], approving the lists, and preparing for the evacuation.

The final date for the evacuation is to be April 1, 1946.

To instruct the People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the USSR (Comrade Kruglov) to determine the form of documentation [permit] to be given to those emigrating and to issue instructions to the border forces of the NKVD of the USSR regarding emigration from the territory of the UkSSR to Romania.

To grant those people resettling in Romania the right to take with them property belonging to them of a weight not to exceed 2 tons for a rural family and 1 ton for an urban family, except for objects which are not allowed to be taken out of the USSR.

People with specialized professions are to be permitted to take professional equipment with them.

To require People's Commissar of Transportation (Comrade Kovalev),⁴⁴ in accordance with the request of the Soviet of the People's Commissars of the UkSSR, to provide the required quantity of transport for transporting the evacuees in accordance with the present resolution.

Deputy Chairman of the Soviet of People's
Commissars of the USSR (V. Molotov)
Director of Affairs of the Soviet of People's
Commissars of the USSR
(Ia. Chadaev)

44. Ivan Kovalev (b. 1901) began working in the Commissariat of Transportation in 1935. From 1941 to 1944 he was in charge of transportation for the Red Army. Then, until 1948, he headed the Ministry of Transportation.

[7]⁴⁵

To the Special Section of the Central Committee of the Communist Party
(Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, Comrade Gorokhov
February 6, 1946

I am returning the report of Comrade Zeleniuk about the implementation of the Resolution of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the UkSSR "On the relinquishment of Soviet citizenship by people of Jewish nationality who were Romanian citizens before June 28, 1940," and of the Resolution of the Soviet of People's Commissariat of the UkSSR, along with the report of Comrade Loburenko.⁴⁶

The lack of clarity regarding the basic delay in the implementation of these resolutions relates to the following:

- lack of coordination with the Romanian government;
- the form of the emigration permit—a draft resolution of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR [in this matter] has been prepared (a copy is included).

On February 2, 1946, the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR passed Resolution #276-121ss, which settled all questions connected with the evacuation.

A draft resolution of the CC CP (Bolsheviks) of the Ukraine and of the SPC of the UkSSR was sent to N. S. Khrushchev for his approval.

I consider this issue completely resolved now.

Deputy Head of the Organizational and Instruction Department of the CC CP of Ukraine
<A. Lidin >

[8]⁴⁷

March 1, 1946

To:

The Chernovtsy Province Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine;
The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR (Bolsheviks);
The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine; the Special Section
of the Province Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine

Top Secret
Special File

On the evacuation of people of Jewish nationality from the territory of Chernovtsy Province to Romania

45. TsDAGOU, f. 1, op. 23, d. 2620, p. 17.

46. See Document 2.

47. Copy in the Archives of the Centre for Research and Documentation of East-European Jewry, 1571.

In accordance with Resolution #66/2 [sic] of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the UkSSR and the Central Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine of February 26, 1946, "On the evacuation from the territory of Chernovtsy Province of the Ukrainian SSR to Romania of people of Jewish nationality who are residing in Northern Bukovina and were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940," the Chernovtsy Province Executive Committee and the bureau of the Province Committee of the Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine has decided:

1. To establish a special commission of the Province executive committee to review the requests of people of Jewish nationality who have expressed the desire to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and resettle in Romania. The composition [of the commission] is to be the following:
 - Deputy chairman of the executive committee Comrade N. L. Klitchenko[?]—chairman;
 - Deputy head of the NKVD Administration [of the Province], Comrade Telegin—member of the commission;
 - Deputy head of the NKGB Administration, Comrade Onishchuk—member of the commission;
 - Deputy procurator of the Province Comrade Shmatchenko—member of the commission.
2. The commission shall be responsible for:
 - Compiling an accurate list of people of Jewish nationality who are residing in Northern Bukovina and were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940;
 - Reviewing the requests and approving lists presented by police of people of Jewish nationality who have requested to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and emigrate to Romania;
 - Preparing documents for emigration, in accordance with the procedure set for such documentation by the NKVD of the USSR and distributing these documents via police bodies;
 - Informing evacuees in due time about the dates and procedure of emigration from the USSR to Romania;
 - Drawing up a plan of organization for the dispatch of the evacuees and providing sufficient transport to transfer them.

In dealing with transportation of property of the evacuees and other problems connected with the evacuation, the commission is to be guided in these matters by Resolutions #2026-525ss of August 8, 1945, and #276-121ss of February 2, 1946.⁴⁸

48. See Document 6.

[9]⁴⁹

Top Secret

To the Secretary of the Central Committee of the
Communist Party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, Comrade D. S. Korotchenko
City of Chernovtsy
May 6, 1946

Information about the evacuation from the territory of Chernovtsy Province to Romania of people of Jewish nationality who were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940:

Pursuant to Resolution #276-121ss of the Soviet of People's Commissars of the USSR of February 2, 1946, and Resolution of the SPC of the UkSSR and of the CC CP(B) of UkSSR of February 26, 1946, on measures for the evacuation from the territory of Chernovtsy Province to Romania of people of Jewish nationality who are residents of Northern Bukovina and were not Soviet citizens before June 28, 1940, a special commission of the Province executive committee was established. The deputy chairman of the Province executive committee (chairman [of the commission]), deputy head of the Province administration of the MVD, deputy head of the Province administration of the MGB, and deputy of the procurator of the province are to be responsible for all matters related to the preparation for and practical implementation of the evacuation of those citizens of Jewish nationality who have requested to relinquish their Soviet citizenship.

In order to draw up a precise list of those who have expressed a desire to be evacuated to Romania, to draw up the [appropriate] evacuation documents, and to inform the evacuees in time of the dates and procedure of emigration, a special operational unit [*apparat*] has been set up within the division of visas and registration of foreigners of the Province administration of the MVD, made up of employees of the executive committee and the staff of the Province administration of the MVD.

In order to effect an organized transfer of the evacuees auto-transport from industrial enterprises and 50 vehicles of the Carpathian Military District were utilized. Payment for the transport of the evacuees was made in accordance with current state tariffs.

In accordance with the Resolution of the SPC of the USSR of February 2 of this year, those citizens resettling in Romania were given the right to take with them property of a weight not exceeding two tons per rural family or one ton per urban family, with the exception of any objects forbidden to be taken out of the USSR.

Personal files were compiled and presented for review to the Province commission on evacuation for 17,503 people of Jewish nationality 18 years old and above who live within the territory of Chernovtsy Province and were not Soviet citizens before the unification of Northern Bukovina with Soviet Ukraine and requested to be evacuated to Romania.

49. TsDAGOU, *f. 1, op. 23, d. 2620*, pp. 18-19.

The Soviet "Transfer" of Jews to Romania, 1945-1946

Of the 17,503 requests for evacuation to Romania considered by the commission, 17,461 were approved. The remaining [Soviet] citizens were refused permission to relinquish their Soviet citizenship due to a lack of documents confirming their Romanian citizenship before June 28, 1940.

Upon approval by the commission, 17,461 persons were granted evacuation documents. As of April 22 of this year (the last day of the evacuation), 17,461 people had received permits to cross the border; of these 16,261 [actually] emigrated to Romania. The [total] number of citizens of all ages who emigrated to Romania was 21,155, including 6,571 men, 9,690 women, and 4,894 children.

Furthermore, during this period 1,152 [additional] Romanian citizens (including 562 men, 382 women, and 208 children) were permitted to emigrate to Romania.

Thus, during the whole period of evacuation [a total of] 22,307 Romanian citizens who had been at one time Soviet citizens (including 7,133 men, 10,072 women and 5,102 children) emigrated to Romania.

Of those who requested to relinquish their Soviet citizenship and presented documents in this regard, 1,044 decided not to emigrate to Romania; at the present time all rights of Soviet citizenship have been restored to them.

The evacuation of the Jewish population took place in an organized manner and was completed within the time period set by the Government. There were no complaints from the Romanian authorities.

Secretary of the Chernovtsy Province Committee
of the CP (B) Uk <I. Zeleniuk >