

The Bloody Encounter

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This is the story of the historical relationship between the Jews and Ukrainian Christians in the region of eastern Galicia now called Western Ukraine. The genocidal crimes committed by the Ukrainians against their Jewish neighbors during this 900 year period is not often written about. The bloody encounter goes back at least to the Bogdan Chelmielnicki massacres of 1648-49 when 300 Jewish communities were destroyed and 100,000 Jews were killed.

In 1772 Eastern Galicia was annexed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the partition of Poland. The Poles and Ukrainians struggled for dominance and both groups hated the Jews. Massacres continued in 1734, 1750, 1768 by the Ukrainian Haidemack Paramilitary group against the Jews.

In 1848 Jews were permitted to attend university and work in Govt. but with the death of Josef Pilsudski, a Numerus Clausus was introduced in the Universities and Jews were removed from Civil Service.

From 1919-1920, the Ukrainian hero Simon Petlura led the Ukrainians against the Red Army. Defeated and in retreat, the Ukrainians murdered 60,000 and wounded another 70,000 Jews.

The Russians and Germans divided Poland in 1939 and Eastern Galicia was on the Russian side. The Germans broke the pact in June 1941 and the Russians retreated killing all political prisoners in the jails before they left. The Germans used these corpses as propaganda against the Bolsheviks and as an excuse to persecute and murder the Jews. As the Germans entered, they were hailed with welcome banners reading "Long live STEFAN BANDERA" and "Long live Hitler".

The fate of six Jewish Communities during this time is described in the manuscript. These are: Lvov, Tarnopol, Stanislawow, Skalat, Grzymalow, and Zloczow.

Lvov- The Germans and Ukrainians forced the Jews to unearth the bodies of the political prisoners executed en masse by the Russians. The Jews were beaten, and tortured to death while forced to do this horrible macabre work. The justification for this inhumane treatment was the lie that the Jews aided and abetted the Communists. The Germans made propaganda films of this event and the unearthed bodies.

Grzymalow- The town council denounced the Jews of the town as Communists and signed a document to that effect. The Nazis were overjoyed because they were under orders to execute all Communists. This made the killings "legal" and the responsibility of the Ukrainians of the town. These Ukrainians met before the Germans arrived and decided on the Jews' fate while telling their Jewish neighbors to stay calm and not worry. This was simply a conspiracy by the Ukrainians to murder their Jewish neighbors and steal their property. This was then carried out with coldblooded brutality by these Ukrainians. This was my birthplace and home of my family and their grave.

David Kahana

THE BLOODY ENCOUNTER

Between the Jews of Lvov and Eastern Galicia and the Germans and their
Ukrainian Collaborators During the Initial Holocaust Period

FOREWORD

This work adds yet another stratum to existing research on the fate of the Jews in Eastern Galicia during World War II. Since the end of the war this has been the subject of an uninterrupted flow of memoirs, articles and historical research. Pride of place belongs to the memoir writers, survivors who forcefully and painfully recorded their experiences and impressions, opening a window through which we can glimpse the unimaginable world of torture, abuse and murder which they experienced.

With the passage of time, the number of memoir writers inevitably decreases, making it incumbent upon us to publicize these works as widely as possible. In The Bloody Encounter the author describes in great detail the mass murder of the Jews of Lvov and Eastern Galicia perpetrated by the Germans and Ukrainians. The work includes excerpts from memoirs, original and authentic eyewitness accounts of the first days of German occupation, and accounts by German and Ukrainian participants in actions which were not spontaneous, but rather carefully organized by the Germans and carried out by them and the Ukrainian nationalists. The German accounts were related, through the perspective of time, by witnesses in a trial in a German court.

Among the vast quantity of material which Rabbi Kahana collected over a period of years are eyewitness accounts from numerous Jewish settlements in Eastern Galicia. We have chosen to relate the story of six communities--Lvov, Ternopol, Stanislawow, Skalat, Grzymalow and Zloczow--which typify the torment, treachery and murder imposed on the

Jewish communities by their neighbors, the Ukrainians. The sources, translated into Hebrew by Rabbi Kahana from Yiddish, Polish and German, are here edited and published as an historical summary about each of the communities.

The writing itself was fraught with painful conflicts. Is it right to limit oneself to recounting the history of only six communities? What of the other towns and villages of Eastern Galicia whose suffering and destiny were no less painful? In his introduction Rabbi Kahana stresses the need to continue to investigate and publish the story of each community. We must not allow even the smallest village to sink into oblivion, for each revelation is a national and educational statement.

My thanks to Rabbi David Kahana for allowing me the privilege of ^{transcribing} ~~transcribing~~ and editing this work.

Bella Guterman, M.A.

INTRODUCTION

I owe a sacred debt to the region known as Eastern Galicia. I was born and educated until the age of sixteen in one of its obscure corners in a village called Grzymalow, known by the Jews as Harymalow. I spent my youth in a number of Jewish communities in Eastern Galicia and the landscape, people, way of life and centers of Torah and learning stand before my eyes, engraved upon my heart to this very day. All were destroyed when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941. Today that part of Poland now referred to as Western Ukraine appears to have been forgotten. Since the end of World War II there has been an overwhelming flow of memoirs about the destruction of Polish Jewry but that of Eastern Galicia has been grossly neglected. The major factor in this horrible destruction--the participation of the Ukrainian population--is seldom mentioned. Poland, Hungary and Western Europe feature prominently in many books and memoirs dealing with the significance of the Holocaust; but Eastern Galicia appears to be out of bounds, except for a small number of memoirs and articles. There is, of course, another important factor--forgetfulness. We need memorial monuments, documentation and authentic eyewitness accounts precisely because people inevitably forget. An additional dangerous phenomenon is the Holocaust denial propagated by academicians, historians and scholars who preach their opinions at universities and shamelessly disseminate the antisemitic poison: "The Holocaust never happened. It is only a Jewish invention."

This was the reality which confronted me when I decided to collect memoirs and eyewitness accounts of the shocking atrocities suffered by

the Jewish communities in Eastern Galicia at the hands of the Nazis and their Ukrainian collaborators. It is not easy for me to record these events. To describe the atrocities I must also consider the overall relations between the Jews and Ukrainians.

The Jews of Galicia never had any territorial claims. Under Polish rule the Ukrainians suffered as a minority almost to the same extent as the Jews, a fact which drew the two groups together in their common struggle for minority rights and continued national survival. On many occasions Ukrainian national leaders expressed their regard for the Jews. In the elections to the Polish Sejm Jews and Ukrainians even appeared on the same list and in several places the Ukrainian press urged its readers to vote for the Jewish lists.

Who could have imagined that those very same Ukrainians would behave with such beastly cruelty towards the Jews--their neighbors for centuries? Their depraved behavior was led not by individual Ukrainians but by fascist terror groups belonging to UNDO (the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance), which organized the first pogroms in the towns and villages of Eastern Galicia, sweeping the mass Ukrainian population with them in the great blood bath. With the exception of a few members of the older generation who observed but dissociated themselves from the massacres perpetrated by their children, the entire Ukrainian population bears the responsibility for its part in the annihilation of the Jews of Galicia. Unquestionable facts, documents, and eyewitness accounts indicate that a large number of Ukrainians were the hangmen of Jews who had for centuries been their neighbors.

I observed the Ukrainian people, their hatred, the atrocities of their police, and the collaboration of a considerable number of their intelligensia with the Germans, while I myself fled like a hunted animal in the forest, finding refuge in the palace of Andrei Sheptytsky, the Ukrainian metropolitan of the Greek Catholic Uniate church in Lvov. Together with my family and many other Jews, including many children, I found asylum with Sheptytsky and his colleagues, the priests and heads of monasteries.

In describing the massacres carried out by the Germans and their loyal Ukrainian helpers in Eastern Galicia in June-July 1941 one must comment upon the historical relationship between the Ukrainians and Jews, for throughout their common history, every Ukrainian nationalist movement, whether against Poland or Russia, inevitably brought in its wake the blood-letting and massacre of Jews. It is almost three hundred years since the revolt led by Bogdan Chmielnicki (1595-1657) resulted in what became known as gezerot tah ve-tat, the Chmielnicki Massacres of 1648-49, during which some 300 Jewish communities are estimated to have been destroyed and some 100,000 Jews killed. In 1919 and 1920 Ukrainian army forces, retreating before the Red Army and led by Simon Petliura (1879-1926) perpetrated mass killings of Jews in Ukrainian towns and villages. In over a thousand pogroms some 60,000 Jews were killed and 70,000 wounded. The same happened in the summer of 1941. No sooner had the Soviet army retreated from Eastern Galicia than the Ukrainian peasants launched a brutal murderous attack on the Jews in the villages, towns and cities of the area. Usually these mobs were inspired by a few SS men who knew how to exploit and direct the

blind hatred of the Ukrainian peasants against the Jews.

Rabbi David Kahana

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RELATIONS BETWEEN MINORITIES IN EASTERN GALICIA

Relations between the Jews, Poles and Ukrainians in Eastern Galicia, always colored by religious tension, were further exacerbated in the 17th century by sharp economic and social dissonances.

In the conflict between the Ukrainian peasants and the Polish landlords the major casualties were the Jewish agents and property managers who acted as leesees and tax farmers. A hatred which grew out of debilitating poverty found expression in many aspects of daily life, reaching its apogee in the gezerot tah ve-tat (1648-49), the Haidamack (paramilitary bands in the Ukraine) massacres of 1734, 1750 and 1768 and the Petliura pogroms of 1919-20.

In the first partition of Poland in 1772 Eastern Galicia was annexed to the Austro-Hungarian Empire where the Jews were treated in a spirit of enlightened absolutism. Nevertheless, they were still harassed by a continuous stream of edicts intended both to transform them into more "useful" subjects and to exploit them economically. The annexation did however open the door to a rich world of culture in which the Jews were able to play an active role after the "Era of Freedom" of 1848. The emancipation enabled the Jews of Eastern Galicia to attend educational institutions, to be employed in government offices and to improve their economic situation. From 1867 the number of Jewish estate owners or leesees increased, as did the number of Jewish farmers, reaching a total of about 20,000 people.

With the weakening of the Austro-Hungarian Empire at the end of the

19th century, there was an increased "Polanization" in Eastern Galicia and the Jewish intelligensia tended to switch to Polish culture. Jewish-Ukrainian relations were friendly so long as there was no social or political tension, but such tension between Poles and Ukrainians grew with the onset of World War I. On June 23, 1917 a National Ukrainian Council (Rada) proclaimed the establishment of an autonomous Ukrainian republic while the Poles announced their intention of claiming sovereignty over Eastern Galicia. The Jews found themselves caught between the two conflicting parties. Despite declarations of neutrality by the Jewish councils established in many towns, they could not prevent the attacks from other minority populations. On January 22, 1918 the Rada proclaimed a "free and sovereign" Ukrainian republic and on February 9, 1918 the Central Powers concluded a separate peace with this republic. On January 22, 1919 the Ukrainian government proclaimed the union of the two Ukraines but by May 1919 the Poles had occupied the whole of Eastern Galicia while their military forces enacted their wrath upon the Jews, killing hundreds in Lvov and its environs. By December 20 the whole of the Ukraine was in the hands of the Red Army. In the ensuing struggles between the various belligerent forces and the resulting chaos, all parties seized the opportunity to settle scores with the Jews.

The battles which raged between the Polish and Russian armies during 1919 and 1920 culminated in an armistice signed on October 12, 1920 and the Peace Treaty of Riga of March 18, 1921 whereby Poland retained, among other areas, the whole of Galicia.

While the Allied Powers at the Paris Peace Conference compelled

Poland to sign a Minority Treaty which was ratified by Poland on November 11, 1921, de facto implementation of the treaty fell far short of its promise.

The ethnic composition of Eastern Galicia in 1923 was:

Ukrainians	62 %
Poles	26 %
Jews	10 %
Germans	1 %
Russians	1 %

Total	100 %

Lvov had a large concentration of Jews and Poles--thirty percent for each group--which was proportionally much higher than their numbers in the general population. However the Jews of Lvov were superior to their neighbors politically, socially, economically and culturally as a result of having been exposed to Austrian culture.

The Polish government inaugurated a policy of expunging the national characteristics of the minorities while imposing Polish nationalism upon them. The government sought to reduce the number of non-Polish representatives in the Sejm and to deny the Ukrainians their right to a nationalist education by making it difficult for them to study and to become teachers in institutions of higher learning.

The Jews were the object of similar discrimination. Polish

antisemitism and the orientation towards Germany increased considerably after the death of Jozef Pilsudski in 1935. A numerus clausus was introduced in the universities and Jews were dismissed from the civil service--acts that created much anxiety among the Jews and caused them to withdraw, for fear of the impending disaster. In contrast, Ukrainians revived the underground nationalist movement OUN (Orhanizatsyia Ukrainskykh Nationalistiv; "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists") whose goal was to establish an independent Ukrainian state. In their efforts to achieve this aim they engaged in political terror and assassination of Polish leaders, among them the minister of interior, Bronislaw Pieracki.

The German army invaded Poland on September 1, 1939 and by September 10 its units were already in Eastern Galicia. Soviet troops invaded Poland on September 17 and met the Germans at Brest-Litovsk. By September 29 the partition of Poland between Germany and the Soviet Union was completed. This partition was a result of the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact (also known as the Nazi-Soviet Pact and the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact) signed on August 23, 1939. In a secret protocol to the Pact the two countries divided Poland between them by a line consisting of the Narew, Vistula and San rivers placing the Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia) under Soviet control. In the interim period between September 1 and 29 both Germans and Poles harassed the Jews and plundered their property.

The Ukrainian nationalists saw the annexation of Eastern Galicia to the Ukraine under Soviet control as a national disaster[1] and were angry with the Germans for not retaining these territories. For their

part, the Jews, who had suffered at the hands of both the Poles and the Germans, received the Soviets with mixed feelings which ranged from fear of communism to relief at being freed from German occupation. The fears were well founded for it was clear to all that the Soviet occupation would bring harsh restrictions in its wake.. Except for a small number of Communist supporters and fellow travellers, the population was destined to suffer from a rapid and cruel process of confiscations, imprisonments and widespread deportations to the Soviet hinterland. This particularly affected all former civil servants of the Polish regime, army and police personnel and other Polish citizens, mostly Jews, who fled from the German conquered areas. None of the national minorities escaped this process because the Sovietization policy was aimed at eradicating nationalistic manifestations. Party activists were arrested, political parties outlawed, the intelligensia persecuted and private property expropriated. The Soviet regime attempted to propitiate the Ukrainians by declaring Ukrainian as the official language in all government and public institutions.

The German invasion of the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941 precipitated a new wave of arrests by the Soviet authorities against members of the OUN who had declared an open revolt against the Soviets. In Lvov, members of OUN took up positions on the rooftops and sniped at the confused retreating Soviet soldiers who, in the process, abandoned considerable amounts of arms and ammunition.

The Soviet evacuation of Lvov took five days against a backdrop of German artillery barrage and shelling. Emboldened Ukrainians attacked lone Soviet soldiers, stole abandoned ammunition and accompanied the

retreating Soviet army with sarcastic shouts of derision while excitedly preparing to welcome the advancing Germans. Meanwhile they looted shops and warehouses, robbed banks and took all they could lay their hands on. The first German soldiers who entered the city found a sympathetic and excited crowd awaiting them. The walls of houses had placards welcoming the German army which had come to free the population from the Soviets and the Jews and ending with a call to "beat the Jews and communists. Long live Stefan Bandera [Ukrainian nationalist leader; 1909-1959]. Long live Adolf Hitler." [2]

THE GERMAN CONQUEST AND THE ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH AN INDEPENDENT-
UKRAINIAN STATE

Ukrainian hopes for achieving national independence, unabated from the day of the hetman (leader) Simon Petliura, simmered beneath the surface, finding expression in sudden outbursts against the Jews, who were the victims of continued Ukrainian frustration. Basing their plans on this intense Ukrainian desire for independence, the Germans established ties with Ukrainian nationalists as with other ethnic minorities. Their strategy was to offer the Ukrainian leaders political asylum and supply them with military equipment and training. The members of the UNC (the Ukrainian National Council) led by Demitro Levytsky saw themselves as the direct heirs of Petliura and felt entitled to full German support. They were opposed by the OUN, led by Andrei Melnyk, manager of the estates of metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky, who felt that the UNC was too moderate and conservative. The UNDO (Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance Party) was even more moderate, their slogans were insufficiently convincing for the Ukrainian nationalists, and in consequence their influence waned.

Within the OUN there was a fierce factional struggle, with a radical group led by Stefan Bandera challenging Melnyk's leadership. At the party's national conference in Krakow on February 10, 1940 the majority led by Bandera split the organization, forming the revolutionary OUN (OUN-R) or the Bandera OUN (OUN-B) while those who remained loyal to Melnyk formed the OUN-Melnyk. The Germans maintained good relations with both factions while at the same time encouraging rivalry between them in order to exploit the Ukrainians for their own aims. Bandera

helped the Germans to set up two Ukrainian battalions, Nachtigall (consisting entirely of men loyal to Bandera) and Roland, which were formed in May 1941 and participated in the invasion of Eastern Galicia in June 1941.

When the last Soviet unit evacuated Lvov on July 28, 1941, the Ukrainian populace emerged to greet their German allies with wreaths of flowers and Ukrainian flags flying from the rooftops. The Ukrainians felt that they were now about to realize their dream of throwing off the yoke of Soviet rule and beginning the process of establishing an independent state. There were probably good grounds for this feeling, since the German invasion was preceded by intense political activity. On June 22, 1941 in Krakow Bandera declared the establishment of a National Ukrainian Committee and sent his representative to Lvov, to announce the establishment of an independent Ukrainian government on June 30, 1941 headed by his colleague Jaroslav Stetsko. Placards of congratulations posted in the city also contained the message that "the Jews of the Soviet Union are the most loyal buttress of the Bolshevik regime and the vanguard of Moscovite imperialism in the Ukraine. The Bolshevik government in Moscow exploits the anti-Jewish feelings of the Ukrainian populace in order to distract them from the real cause of their troubles and in time of riots direct them to pogroms against the Jews. The OUN sees the Jews as the prop of the Bolshevik regime in Moscow but at the same time points out to the Ukrainian masses that Moscow is the major enemy." [3]

The placards were accompanied by an appeal from the leaders Bandera, Melnyk and Stetsko to convene a constituent assembly which would

declare the establishment of an independent Ukrainian republic. Dr. Hrynioch, the chaplain of the Nachtigall battalion, participated in this assembly (according to his account) without the permission of his superiors.[4]

Although the Ukrainian metropolitan Andrei Sheptytsky was, for a short while, taken by the idea of Ukrainian independence under German patronage and pronounced his blessings, he soon recognized the German cruelty and, realizing how this was corrupting his people, had the courage to issue an appeal to prevent bloodshed. He himself turned the student's monastery into a haven for Jewish children, to save them from extermination.[5]

Concurrently with the declaration of independence, the Ukrainians set about establishing a national militia. Donning armbands of yellow and blue, the Ukrainian national colors, and wearing Mazepa hats (as worn by Ukrainian Cossacks) young nationalists and veteran Ukrainian police took over the police stations in the city while their leaders seized the municipal offices. Colored flags flew on the tower of the municipality and from government offices, the symbol of the three-pronged pitchfork appearing proudly alongside the swastika, and Ukrainian was decreed the official language together with German. However the outstanding achievement was the appointment of Stetsko as head of the state and Dr. Jerzy Polanskyj as mayor of Lvov. The latter was allowed to sign a number of insignificant decrees whose chief purpose was to affirm his title and function.

But the euphoria was short lived. After exploiting the Ukrainian

nationalists for their own purposes the Germans saw them as a superfluous millstone which deserved only a lowly place in the new world order which they intended to lead. Hans Frank [7] governor-general of the Generalgouvernement said "I see the solution for the Ukrainian problem in that they, like the Poles, will be at our disposal as cheap labor in the future." The Germans soon removed Ukrainian volunteers from the area, sending them to the distant eastern front. Their leaders were arrested and deposed while others like Dr. Polanskyj secretly slipped away. Stetsko was arrested on July 12, 1941 and Bandera on September 15, 1941 when he was placed under administrative detention in the Sachsenhausen camp. In Eastern Galicia the Germans installed a civil administration in August 1941. Andrei Melnyk's attempt to recapture a central place in the Ukrainian national movement was pathetic. On July 7, 1941 he sent a renewed pledge of allegiance to Hitler and asked that he be given "the honor and permission to march shoulder to shoulder with our liberating army, the German Wehrmacht." [8] In the end he suffered the same fate as his compatriots: arrested in 1943, he was imprisoned with his bitter enemy. What remained was the Ukrainian militia composed of OUN volunteers who were put under the command of the SS. The Ukrainian militia units were disbanded and replaced by the Ukrainische Hilfspolizei (Ukrainian Auxiliary Police) under German command.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE UKRAINIAN COLLABORATORS TOWARDS THE JEWS

With the completion of the German conquest in June 1941, Eastern Galicia remained under military administration until August 1. The area was under the direct command of German army units, some parts of the Stanislawow district being held by the Hungarian army units who fought shoulder to shoulder with the Germans.

This period was characterized by a wave of pogroms against the Jews, perpetuated by the local Ukrainian population assisted by German soldiers and some of the antisemitic Polish population. For a short while these were also joined by the Nachtigall and Roland battalions and the newly formed Ukrainian Auxiliary Police. The anti-Jewish behavior of these elements was predictable but the collaboration of Ukrainians, who in the past had shown no overt signs of antisemitism and maintained good relations with the Jews, was unexpected. Now they went out of their way to display their hatred. But they also had an ulterior motive: this was an opportunity to make a quick and easy profit by stealing Jewish property and taking over jobs and positions of power which they claimed were held by the Jews. They used the "Judeo-Bolshevisim" slogan as a complement to the Nazi racial theories. The major inciting element centered on the accusation that the Jews had handed over Ukrainian leaders and fighters to the Soviet NKVD and even participated in their execution in the jails shortly before the retreat of the Soviet troops. This accusation, encouraged and amplified by the Germans both overtly and covertly, finally found expression in sensational reports published in the Ukrainian newspapers and in the local nationalist committee pamphlets. The Germans were delighted at

this turn of events for it enabled their propaganda to show that it was the anger of the local population which led to the subsequent pogroms. The Ukrainian publications deliberately ignored the fact that Jewish Zionists were among the prisoners and Bundists and members of youth movements were among the victims. There was even an instance of the German military censor's failure to catch a slip of the pen by a German correspondent whose report stressed how difficult it was to identify the bodies because they were in an advanced stage of decomposition and many were burned.[9] However on July 9 a correction was published which stated that "not a single Jew was found among the victims"[10] and if identifiable Jewish bodies were found they were quickly removed from the site.

The prison horror photos which were cleverly staged and speedily distributed by the Germans aroused the Ukrainian population to a murderous license against the Jews, setting off a chain of pogroms in the whole of Eastern Galicia. I will single out six places which illustrate the terror and suffering inflicted upon the Jews. In all the places in Eastern Galicia, concurrently with the advance of German army units, the Ukrainians abducted Jews in the streets, dragging them to the jails where they were forced to wash the decomposed and burned bodies, collect and then bury them--all the while being being kicked and beaten until they bled. These incidents were supervised by German officers and soldiers who recorded the events in writing and photographs while reiterating antisemitic slogans. This encouragement led a number of Ukrainian peasants to erect a concentration camp and imprison one hundred Jewish residents of the town. The Germans disapproved of their excessive zeal and quickly dismantled the

camp.[11] This special case does not in any way detract from the numerous instances of active collaboration with the Germans. Some of the pogroms, as we shall see later, were supervised by the local Ukrainian intelligentsia.

In Stanislawow the pogrom was organized by a professor in the local teachers seminar. In Ternopol the Germans enlisted the aid of the local pharmacist and a teacher in planning the pogrom. In Zloczow the daughter of the local lawyer delivered an inflammatory speech against the Jews while in Skalat a priest and a judge participated in a municipal delegation to the Germans in order to present an anti-Jewish petition. These initiatives did not preclude private acts of handing over Jews to the Germans for the sake of paltry rewards such as a few liters of spirits or a few kilos of sugar, salt and sometimes cigarettes or a small sum of money.

Against this background of enthusiastic collaboration there were a number of Ukrainian committees who were conspicuous in exercising a degree of moderation and even helping Jews. The Aid Committee (Towarzystwo Pomocy Ubogim) established in Lvov as a branch of the Central Committee initiated the founding of a joint coordinating body, the Prisoners' Aid Committee (Towarzystwo Pomocy Uwiezionym) headed by the lawyer Kost-Pankiewski and his assistant, Kazimiera Bartel, the widow of Kazimierz Bartel, former prime minister of Poland whose murder by the Germans will be described later, and Dr. Max Schaff, a member of the Jewish Aid Committee (Yiddisher Volkskomitet) The coordinating committee provided food supplements, medication and clothing for all the prisoners. When the Germans issued an ordinance establishing the

Jewish district in Lvov the committee sent them a memorandum requesting that they cancel the decree.

The participation of Ukrainian and para-military forces in the murder of Jews is yet another tale of persecution and bloodshed. The Ukrainian Auxiliary Police which replaced the Ukrainian militia were delegated by the Germans to deal with the base and "dirty work" related to the extermination of the Jews. They were not aware of being used by the Germans. Furthermore, the Germans were at first interested in presenting the pogroms and killings as the work of local inhabitants and thus be absolved of any responsibility or blame. They succeeded in this endeavor in the pogrom known as Petliura Days which took place in Lvov on July 25 through 27, 1941 during which the Ukrainian nationalists, police and peasants beat, robbed and murdered over two thousand Jews. As time passed the tasks of the Auxiliary Police were extended to include guarding the ghettos during Aktionen, escorting the deportees to the collection points and to the actual killing. Copies have been published [12] of reports submitted by Ukrainian police in Lvov in which they tell of locating, rounding up and executing the Jews of the city and cite the number of bullets they used for shooting them. After the Wannsee Conference on January 20, 1942 at which the implementation of the "Final Solution" was discussed, the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police were also assigned to guard work in the concentration camps and participated in Aktionen within the camps.

What was the source of this intense hatred of one persecuted minority by another? Many explanations have been proffered, based on solid intellectual reasoning. Perhaps it would be worthwhile examining

the implicit and explicit messages of a Ukrainian railway clerk from the town of Stry in order to appreciate how intense these feeling of hatred were:

"For Hundreds of years you sucked our blood. The Ukrainian peasant sold you fat fowls and ducks while he made do with the black bread which the Jew sold him. The Jew also lived in luxury. All your town houses were built by Ukrainian hands (miasto nasze, domi waszi). We were always your servants, doorkeepers, shoe-shine boys, cesspool cleaners. You wore the most expensive clothes and lived in the most beautiful apartments. You ate our bread and drank our water. Now the time has come to settle the account. You will pay with your lives. Now your end is in sight--the day we have so long hoped for!" [13]

NOTES

1. Eliyahu Jonas, On The Edge of the Pit (Jerusalem 1957),13. (Hebrew)
2. Eliyahu Jonas, The Jews of Lvov and their Relations with the Poles and Ukrainians During World War II and the Holocaust (Hebrew)
3. Philip Friedman, "Ukrainian-Jewish Relations During the Nazi Occupation," (Ada J. Friedman, ed.) Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust (Philadelphia 1980):176-208.
4. Protocol of the Nachtigall Trial, 8JS, 344/59.
5. David Kahana, Lvov Ghetto Diary (Massachusetts 1990)page 121.
6. A hat worn by Ukrainian Cossacks. Named after Ivan Mazepa (1644-1709) who initially collaborated with Peter I in his wars against the Swedes and hoped to establish a Ukrainian state.
7. Eliyahu Jonas, Note 2, page 57.
8. Joseph L. Tenenbaum, Race and Reich: The Story of the Epoch (New York 1956).
9. Volkscher Beobachter, "Die Blutholle von Lemberg, "July 6, 1941.
10. Friedman, Note 3.

11. Friedman, Note 3.

12. M. Hanusiak, Lest We Forget

13. Yona Friedal, "Holocaust Period," Stry Memorial Book (Tel Aviv 1962): 169-186. (Hebrew)

THE BLOODY ENCOUNTER IN LVOV

The German army occupied Lvov on June 30, 1941 and the pogroms began on the very same day. During the first days of the occupation the Ukrainian partners in the killings were members of the Ukrainian military units which worked in full coordination with Einsatzgruppe C, one of the four German mobile killing units operating in German-occupied territories.

Einsatzgruppe C in Lvov

On the eve of the invasion of Poland in September 1939 six Einsatzgruppen were organized, their operations ending in November of that year. Four Einsatzgruppen were reestablished as A, B, C and D in May 1941 in preparation for the invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941. The manpower was drawn from the Sipo-Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police), Kripo-Kriminalpolizei (Criminal Police) and the SD-Sicherheitsdienst der SS (the Security Service of the SS). Each Einsatzgruppe was assigned a geographical area on the eastern front.

Einsatzgruppe A commanded by Dr. Franz Walter Stahlecker operated in the Baltic states. Einsatzgruppe B commanded by Arthur Nebe operated in Belorussia. Einsatzgruppe C commanded by Dr. Emil Otto Rasch operated in southern and central Ukraine. Einsatzgruppe D commanded by Professor Otto Ohlendorf operated in southern Ukraine, Crimea and Ciscaucasia.

Einsatzgruppe C, like most Einsatzgruppen, was composed of four

subunits, each of company strength, called Einsatzkommandos and Sonderkommandos. Sonderkommando 4a was commanded by Paul Blobel; Sonderkommando 4b by Günther Herrmann; Einsatzkommando 5 by Erwin Schulz and Einsatzkommando 6 by Dr. Erhard Kröger.

On July 1, 1941 at 5 a.m. the command unit of Einsatzgruppe C made its way through Lvov, stopping at the building which served the management of the city's electric corporation and which was later used as the offices of the NKVD (the Soviet political police). Here Einsatzgruppe C established its headquarters. During that day the four Sonderkommando and Einsatzkommando units arrived. They numbered some 200 men--some of the manpower being drawn from the SD, police and Waffen SS (the armed units of the SS and Police); a unit of volksdeutsche (ethnic Germans) and Ukrainians were attached inter alia to act as interpreters. The commander Dr. Rasch immediately published a proclamation in the name of the Führer ordering reprisals against the Jews of Lvov and members of the communist party. The Ukrainian militia rounded up thousands of Jews and known communist sympathizers, some of whom were released. The rest were imprisoned until July 5, when they were taken by trucks to the forests of Winniki and Bilohorski and shot. The commanding officers of the Einsatz and Sonderkommando units took part in the killing under specific orders from Rasch. This Aktion is described in detail by Erwin Schulz, the commander of Einsatzkommando 5 in his testimony at the Subsequent Nuremberg Proceedings, Trial 9, The Einsatzgruppen Case (July 3, 1947--April 10, 1948).

"On June 23, 1941, Einsatzgruppe C with its four subunits Sonderkommando 4a and 4b and Einsatzkommando 5 and 6 advanced toward

the city of Gliwice on the way to Lvov. At the beginning of July we reached Lvov and received information that a number of the city's citizens had been killed before the Soviet troops retreated. The commander of Einsatzgruppe C, Dr. Rasch, informed us that Jews of Lvov holding official positions had participated in the killing. The military command had already organized the local Ukrainian militia and Dr. Rasch, who worked in close collaboration with the militia, ordered the Sonderkommando to assist them. Those [Jews] who took part in the abovementioned killing and those suspected of participating were imprisoned on the same day. In addition, Schöngarth's special unit was transferred from Krakow to Lvov." [3]

The Nachtigall Battalion in Lvov

The Germans were well aware that the Ukraine had always been a fertile ground for antisemitism. On the eve of World War II Wilhelm Canaris, chief of the Abwehr (the intelligence department of the Armed Forces High Command) planned to establish a sabotage regiment which he called Bergbauern Hilfe, later renamed Brandenburg 800. The unit was intended to sabotage transportation behind the front lines and Canaris described its goal thus:

"I must reach a general agreement with the Ukrainians so that when the opportunity arises Melnyk's OUN can stage a revolution whose purpose is to exterminate the Jews and the Poles." [4]

Because of the split in the Ukrainian national movement, two separate battalions were established and in due course the Nachtigall did move into the Ukraine. The battalion was composed of 300 Ukrainian soldiers

all of whose officers were from the Germany army, mostly from the Lehrregiment Brandenburg which was subordinate to Section 2 of the counterespionage department. The regimental commander was Friedrich Wilhelm Heinz, a journalist by profession. The officers were Dr. Albrecht Herzner and Professor Theodor Oberländer who served as the liaison officer between the regiment and the counterespionage department and was Canaris' personal representative to the Ukrainians. Walter Mayer, an evangelical priest, was the regiment's paymaster and Dr. Johann Hrynioch, a Ukrainian, served as its chaplain. Professor Hans Koch together with Second Lieutenant Baron Voelkersam came to Lvov with the special assignment of establishing contacts with the leaders of the Ukrainian liberation movements.[5]

The Nachtigall battalion was composed of three companies, each with a German officer as its commander. Every company had three platoons, one composed entirely of Germans and the others of Ukrainians. The commander of the first company was Second Lieutenant Friedrich Middelhaue, of the second company, First Lieutenant Count Thun, who was later replaced,[6] and of the third company Second Lieutenant Schüler. The battalion's soldiers wore German army uniforms without insignia of rank and with epaulettes of blue and yellow, the Ukrainian national colors. Among the Ukrainians serving in the battalion were intellectuals, many members of the liberal professions and former officers in the Polish army.

Nachtigall's tasks, as defined at the outbreak of the war, included carrying out propaganda among Ukrainians and using their knowledge of the local terrain and language to assist the Germans in locating and

capturing important strategic sites.

On June 22, 1941 when the Germans invaded the Soviet Union the Nachtigall battalion was under orders from the counterespionage department and was seconded to the first Lehrregiment Brandenburg and the first Bergbauren brigade. They were assigned an area which was a line running along the San river up to Lvov. The battalion did not engage in battle during the German invasion but was held in reserve because it was only partially mechanized and equipped with light weapons.

In the early hours of June 30, 1941 the battalion entered the outskirts of the northwestern part of Lvov and camped there until July 6. They then entered the market, stopping before the city hall where they stationed a heavy guard and raised the yellow and blue Ukrainian flag alongside the German flag on the building's tower. From there they speedily joined their comrades who had broken into the city jails to meet the Germans who were ready to begin the pogrom.

The Incident of the Jails

The Soviet authorities kept their political prisoners in three jails. The municipal jail Kazimierowska-Brygidki Street, a temporary NKVD jail on Leckie Street and the military jail on Zamarstynowska Street. As a result of the Soviet's mass arrests all three were overflowing with prisoners. Each cell held about 60 people and the crowding was unbearable. The prisoners' despair had driven them to attempt a revolt. After a few days of being denied food many had tried

to escape but had been caught and punished. They were then taken to the walls of the jails' chapels and shot. With the impending German threat, the execution process was accelerated, the warders using automatic weapons and throwing grenades into the cells.[7] When the Soviet forces began their hurried retreat the NKVD commander gave orders to kill all the prisoners, since it was clear that they could not be moved across the border. These killings began on the evening of July 22, when the Soviets took prisoners to the jail courtyards to be shot and buried on the spot. Others were shot in the basements of the buildings and their bodies burned. After completing the massacre the warders and the last of the Soviet soldiers fled to the east. In performing these inhuman acts the warders neither distinguished between political and criminal prisoners nor heeded their ethnic or national backgrounds. All became victims.

On June 28 the families of the prisoners began streaming to the jails. The one on Brygidki Street had been set on fire by the Soviets shortly before their retreat and the citizens hastened to extinguish the flames, trying to reach the basements. They managed to remove some of the bodies to the courtyard and identify them. Among those rushing to the jails was Witkowicz a Jew whose brother was a prisoner in the municipal jail and who was therefore a witness to the events.[8]

Buchner, a first corporal in the 98th regiment of the Bergbauern brigade who witnessed the events of June 30, 1941 which took place in front of the municipal jail described them in his diary:
"Masses of people milled in the streets and spontaneously formed groups which ran off searching for spies, traitors and informers who had or

were assumed to have handed over the murdered prisoners to the Soviet authorities as enemies of the state. During the angry outbursts of the frenzied crowd there were no people in uniform to be seen and as far as I could see no one had firearms. The streets were packed with people and so I could not pay attention to details, but I did see some groups of people entering houses and I heard cries for help from various places.

On my way to the battalion I again passed the municipal jail and saw at the gate two rows of men and women. With sticks, branches and fists they were beating bloodied and tattered people who were being pushed through the gauntlet and gate into the broad jail courtyard. There these unfortunate people were forced to sit with their hands above their heads.

I myself did not enter that jail or its courtyard again and I don't know what happened to the people taken there. I later learned that they were taken to remove and bury the dead from the jail."[9]

On June 29 the first German units arrived, the first to enter being the soldiers of the first Bergbauern brigade, an artillery regiment, an advanced party of an infantry regiment, a sharpshooting battalion, a commando unit and the Nachtigall battalion. When the Nachtigall battalion was at the outskirts of the city they heard from their Ukrainian compatriots of the discovery of the mass graves and hurried to the jails hoping to take maximum advantage of the propaganda and media coup which had come their way. One can imagine that Oberlander and his subordinates who were responsible for propaganda activities

were among the first to realize what a scoop they had chanced upon.

The bodies, which were in a state of decomposition and unidentifiable, were collected in the courtyards of the jails so that families could search out and try to identify relatives. At a later stage the bodies were buried in mass graves. The hygienic situation in the jail basements was so critical that, unable to approach the doorways, German soldiers fumigated and sealed the rooms, wearing masks to protect themselves from the abominable smell. There is no exact figure for the number of people murdered but the estimate is about three thousand, including four captured German pilots. Many of the soldiers who participated in uncovering the graves photographed what they saw and even wrote about the events to their relatives.

The German command rapidly exploited the propoganda scoop. Representatives of German and international newspapers were invited to visit the site and were given an opportunity to scrutinize it at close quarters. A Swedish newspaper published a number of reports by a journalist who witnessed the disenternment of the bodies and there were also reports in American and Swiss newspapers. A film made by a German military correspondent was distributed to both the front lines and the rear for propoganda purposes.

The Ukrainians, incensed to a point of fury, readily blamed the Jews, who were now helpless, battered and stricken by the Soviet authorities, lacking institutions and leadership, and unheeded by an indifferent world. Full blame was laid on the Jews, though there were many Jewish victims among the dead.[10]

Once again there were organized violent riots. Ukrainians in makeshift uniforms, civilians, police and German soldiers burst into homes and abducted the Jewish residents. Jewish passersby were taken from the streets to the jails where they were forced to remove and bury the bodies and clean the area. Jewish survivors related how the Germans and Ukrainians forced them to do this work while beating, abusing and killing them. Anger and violence reigned supreme in the city. The sight of groups of Jews being led through the streets by Ukrainian civilians, men being chased by youngsters wearing arm bands and groups of beaten Jews collected in the courtyards of buildings left a deep impression upon the survivors' description of the events as well as in the reports by German soldiers. Lieutenant Steinberg of the infantry regiment assigned to patrol the city testified that around the Brygidki jail the Jews were beaten by youths armed with sticks and shovels while German soldiers stood by without intervening.[11]

The pogrom, which continued during the afternoon hours, stopped suddenly at four p.m. as if a mysterious hand had given the order to ring down the curtain on the play. Most of the abducted were given a last beating and released, leaving behind many of their dead compatriots and family. Wounded and stunned, they hurried home while panic spread in the Jewish district.

The Murder of the Polish Professors

On the night between July 3 and July 4 a Sonderkommando unit moved about the city with lists containing the names and addresses of Polish

professors and the intellectual elite of the city, locating and arresting them. Among those arrested were well known personalities such as Kazimierz Bartel, a former prime minister of Poland, the writer Boy Zelenski, professors from the technical college, the rector of Lvov University and others. This was a deliberate step to eliminate the intellectual circle of Lvov which was mainly Polish and one can assume the Ukrainian nationalists had a hand in drawing up the list, since removal of the Polish elite and the dePolanization of Galicia were declared goals of the nationalists.

Those who carried out the arrests were members of a special secret unit dressed in German uniforms and called the "Galicia Task Force" under the command of an SS officer Schöngarth. The operation was so secret and so accurate that it may well be linked to the activities of Theodor Oberländer, Canaris' representative, who headed a combined unit which, in addition to the Nachtigall battalion included a secret company of field security police and a squad of counterespionage men who dealt with the political aspects of local activity. It is highly likely that the execution lists were prepared by Oberlander's people who, as part of their activities, were interested in eliminating potentially critical and oppositionary elements. According to later court testimonies the unit was billeted apart from the other units, in the Abramowitz student hostel of the technical college. They wore uniforms and employed Jewish youths at works near the water pump. In an adjacent technicians' hostel building was another German unit.

The professors were immediately taken in groups to the outskirts of the city and shot. According to the condition of the bodies it seems

that they were severely battered before being killed. Thirty-eight of them were buried on the site where they were shot.[12] The only one who was not killed at that time was Professor Bartel, whose widow conjectured in her testimony at Oberlander's trial that the Germans postponed his execution for propaganda purposes. However, two weeks later, on July 22, he too was killed. Professor Maurycy Allerhand, one of the leaders of the Jewish community and an internationally famous jurist, was saved from a similar fate because he was taken by a German officer to the SS headquarters on Pelczynska Street and extensively interrogated. From the interrogation Professor Allerhand gathered, as he recorded in his diary, that the German officer was very knowledgeable and knew the identity of all the city's notables.[13]

The Participation of the Nachtigall Battalion in the Murder of Lvov's Jews

In a few dry sentences which complete the protocol of the court in Bonn from August 1960 the judge dismisses the charges against the accused because of inadequate evidence presented by the prosecution. The court chose its words carefully, citing harrowing descriptions of torment and murder but nevertheless totally rejecting all evidence submitted by Poland and the Soviet Union and also casting doubt on the reliability and accuracy of the Jewish survivors' testimonies.

But for the reader of the trial protocol an entirely different picture emerges. Innumerable questions arise which counter the judge's self confidence and one wonders how the court could so totally ignore the evidence. The description of the events in every one of the Lvov jails clearly illustrated the involvement of the men of the Nachtigall

battalion. Supporting evidence for this contention can be found in the testimony of an observer whose credibility cannot be doubted, Dr. Otto Korfes, the commander of an infantry division.[14]

Major Friedrich Heinz the Nachtigall battalion commander and his subordinates, the three German company commanders stood trial for murder in the German court. A long list of witnesses from the first and third Nachtigall companies came to testify on their behalf but no one from the second company, of which it was noted in the protocol, almost as an afterthought, that these men could not be located. In face of the fact that so many witnesses came from the other companies their absence will prove to be significant.

From the testimonies of the Nachtigall soldiers a central theme emerges, one which they all took pains to emphasize and which was accepted by the court i.e. that the battalion engaged only in military operations and routine political and propaganda activities, refraining from any deviant activity against the Jews in Lvov or elsewhere. According to the testimonies the first company received an order, before entering Lvov, to occupy the metropolitan's palace. At 7 a.m. the company commander Friedrich Middelhaue together with Dr. Theodor Oberländer and the battalion chaplain Johan Hrynioch arrived at the palace, which they occupied, leaving a guard contingent and then moving on to their quarters in a hotel in the center of the city. Here they remained for two days engaging in routine activities such as cleaning, maintenance and repair of weapons. They claimed that they remained in the city for an additional period because their transport vehicles had not arrived on time. They were forced to leave the hotel and move to

the German gymnasium in the city where they remained until July 6 engaging in routine activities.[15]

The third company, commanded by Lieutenant Schüler, was ordered to occupy the municipality building, according to the testimony of sergeant Brigman, one of the platoon commanders. He testified that after occupying the building the three platoons did not engage in any irregular activity but were assigned to guarding warehouses and other routine matters. He then added that his Ukrainian soldiers, residents of Lvov, i.e. two of his three platoons, received special leave. There is no doubt that this leave enabled the Ukrainians to join their compatriots and play an active role in the killings.

The second company is conspicuous in its activities and in the court's attitude towards it. Of the three companies this was the only one for which not a single member appeared in court to deny the accusations against the company. Furthermore it was the only company of which the commander's name was unknown and the court did not trouble to investigate the matter too deeply. Even Dr. Oberlander, in his testimony, could not hide the fact that this company, to which he was seconded, had a specific and different assignment from that of the other two companies. The second company was ordered to go to the municipal jails and free the Ukrainians imprisoned there.[16] It is important to emphasize that the order given did not specify any particular jail but rather all the jails in the city and the attempt by the court to limit the company's activities to the NKVD jail on Lackie Street is but a feeble attempt to confine the brutality to one place and make it appear as an isolated spontaneous occurrence. It is

unlikely that the company behaved differently in the various jails since Ukrainian prisoners had been murdered by the Soviets in all of them. The soldiers of the second company, together with their Ukrainian comrades from the first and third companies, who had in the meanwhile completed their other duties, actively participated in the killings and were anxious to join their compatriots, the Ukrainian civilians, in the massacre. It is important to add that among those entering the city on the morning of July 1 was the command staff of Dr. Rasch's Einsatzgruppe C, which included a number of Ukrainian interpreters. It is quite possible that they too were among the rioters.

In the NKVD jail courtyard on Lackie Street many Jews were forced to remove the dead bodies of prisoners from the pits and load them on wagons. These abducted Jews had been brought to the jail by the Ukrainian police. At the gate they were turned over to a group of about 40 to 50 soldiers dressed in grey uniforms, wearing helmets and armed with carbine rifles who spoke to each other in fluent Ukrainian. According to the impressions of all the witnesses, these were clearly Ukrainians serving in the German unit. Leading the kidnapped victims to the courtyard they ordered the Jews to start digging, from time to time driving them on and beating them. When the Jews had completed the work, they were forced to run around the courtyard with their hands on their heads while the soldiers tripped them up and beat them. By the end of this incident many of the Jews lay dead or wounded. Suddenly an order was issued by the commander of the unit (which the German court in Bonn assumed to be the anonymous commander of the second platoon): "Antreten zum spiebrutenlaufen" ("prepare for running the gauntlet").

Upon hearing this command in German the Ukrainian soldiers lined up in two rows facing each other with bayonets on their rifles and the Jews were forced to run the gauntlet, being beaten and stabbed while the German officers looked on.

Abraham Goldberg's testimony at the trial was accepted as reliable and accurate by the court.

"We were led to an inner courtyard in the NKVD building where there were already a large number of Jews engaged in removing bodies from a pit and loading them onto wagons. I repeat, once again, that at the entrance to the NKVD building we were handed over to a group of soldiers by the Ukrainian auxiliary police. This group was the size of a platoon (40 to 50 people). These soldiers wore grey German uniforms with helmets and carbine rifles. From the orders they gave I could immediately tell that they were not German soldiers but rather Ukrainians who amongst themselves and to us spoke only fluent Ukrainian. I did not notice who commanded this unit because while we were being led to the jail courtyard the removal of the bodies had been completed and we were merely attached to the workers who were already there. While we were working, the Ukrainian soldiers in German uniforms spurred us, beating us with their rifles butts and kicking us. When we finished removing the mound of bodies they forced us to run around the inner courtyard with our hands on our heads. Both older men from other districts and young were among the Jews who were forced to remove the bodies. Some of them collapsed while running and were left lying. During the run--or it could have been after it--I heard the German command "Beating gauntlet!" or "Line up for the beating gauntlet!" To the best of my recollection the order came from a group

of German soldiers who all the while stood as observers alongside the pit holding the bodies. It was a group of five or six people. They were definitely officers because I recognized officers' uniforms from the time I was in Germany. Today I can no longer say with certainty to which corps these officers belonged. I was not able to observe this accurately because the Ukrainians harassed us to work without stop. For this reason I cannot say which of the officers gave this order.

Upon hearing the order the Ukrainian soldiers lined up in two facing rows with fixed bayonets. The Jews in the courtyard were forced to run between the row of soldiers who then beat them and stabbed them with their bayonets. By pure chance, I was not among the first to be forced to run this gauntlet. The first group of Jews who ran the gauntlet were almost bayoneted to death. The next group had to step on their dead bodies. When my turn came I instinctively fell at the beginning of the gauntlet and played dead. Others who came after me fell dead upon me. I have no idea how long this gauntlet run took. All the while I was fully conscious but continued to play dead. Finally, other Jews, who had in the meanwhile been assembled in the jail courtyard loaded the dead and the wounded who were strewn on the ground onto wagons and removed them from the courtyard. The Jews who loaded me saw that I was alive but did not permit the guards to see this. After the wagons left the jail and night fell I slipped off my wagon which was unguarded, and crept home." [17]

At the Brygidki municipal jail on Kazimierowska Street more than one thousand Jews were assembled to remove the bodies from the dungeons.

At the lowest level of the dungeons there was another group of Jews who

collected the bodies and then transferred them to a large pit which had been dug in the courtyard. This was hard work because the bodies were in a state of advanced decomposition. Among them were bodies of Jewish prisoners.

This group of Jews was guarded by about 30 helmeted soldiers dressed in grey field uniforms with Ukrainian national epaulettes. They wore gas masks and at one point one of the soldiers removed his mask to scold the Jews in Ukrainian "See what you've done!" The witness also noticed German soldiers from the Bergbauern Brigade with the edelweiss flower insignia on their uniforms and military police who watched the proceedings. In the afternoon the jail gates were opened and civilians were invited to enter the courtyard to identify their relatives. This was the sign for an additional round of beatings. Suddenly a group of six men dressed in uniforms and helmets appeared, including a senior officer wearing an officer's cap. He walked up and down the line of bodies stopping for a moment and then, turning to the frightened Jews, scolded them in German: Wegen euch eine ganze welt blutet... ("It is because of you that a whole world is bleeding. Innumerable soldiers are killed because of the Jewish desire for war.") [18] Though the identity of the officer is not known, the gist and subject of his interjection hint at an officer well trained in propaganda and Theodor Oberlander fits that description.

In the afternoon a small group of Jews who had stood for hours facing the wall of the jail building were brought to the center of the courtyard. They were taken to the pit, where some were immediately shot. These Jews were well known public figures, acadamecians and journalists, among them Yehezkel Levin, rabbi of the progressive

community. Among those killed was the journalist Henryk Hseles one of the editors of the Polish language Jewish daily newspaper Chwilla. Rabbi Levin's death was a particularly cruel one. Eliyahu Jonas was with him during his final moments:

"...I particularly remember him. Of medium height with a small beard on his noble face. When they put him amongst us he lost his tranquility on seeing our battered faces and filthy bloodied clothes. He stood next to me. I was wearing summer clothes with rolled up sleeves. The rabbi grabbed my hand as if he were trying to use me to gather some strength. Suddenly some Germans came up to him and one of them shouted 'Bring the barber!' Before I had understood the meaning of his order, two soldiers grabbed the rabbi while the third started to pluck his beard with his hand, just as one plucks the feathers of a slaughtered chicken. For a few seconds the rabbi was able to control himself but then he let out a howl. They tortured him and he held my hand so hard that it was impossible to pull him away. A tremendous strength overcame him and I could not help feeling that in some small way I was helping him as he screamed. Finally he collapsed, fell silent and released my hand." [18]

Similar scenes took place in the military jail on Zamarstynow Street where of Ukrainian civilians arrived on June 30. With sticks and tools in their hands, they formed gauntlets through which groups of Jews who had filled the courtyard were forced to run. Inside the courtyard another gauntlet was formed, with uniformed men joining the civilians. By the afternoon there were scores of victims strewn in the courtyard and the walls of the jail building were splattered with blood. In her testimony a woman survivor called Feinsilver described what she saw on the morning of June 30, 1941: " I saw how they pushed men and women

through the entrance gates of the building between a gauntlet of men and women who beat them with various tools. Again in the inner courtyard another gauntlet was formed composed of uniformed men and civilians who beat the unfortunate people pushed between their rows. For more than an hour I watched what was happening, during which time they unceasingly drove new arrivals through the gates and then to the courtyard where they tormented them. It was most horrible to hear the screams of these tormented people. Meanwhile the number who were pushed into the courtyard grew to several hundred. I also noticed that soldiers were filming these events. In the afternoon I went up to a room in the attic to observe what was happening and I saw that a large number of the people who had been pushed into the courtyard were already lying on the ground.

I could also discern that some had their clothes torn from their bodies. I could see the victims' blood on the jail walls and the ground was red with the blood that had been spilled." [19]

The End of Lvov Jewry

After the horror of the first days of occupation the Germans initiated an economic operation against the Jews and expropriated their property. When they had finished impoverishing the Jews, abducting them for forced labor and starving them they found time to imprison them in a separate district and simultaneously implement the first Aktion called the "evacuation operation." The deportation and death transport activities in Lvov began in March 1942 and from that date on, under the real threat of the Belzec and Janowska camps, the Jews of Lvov were tossed from Aktion to Aktion, fighting a cruel and debilitating battle for survival, confronting a confused and misguided Judenrat which was forced to comply with German orders and fulfill the death quotas.

In August 1942 a large Aktion was implemented in Lvov. More than 50,000 Jews were sent to their death and upon completion of that Aktion the remaining Jews were imprisoned in a cramped ghetto which soon became a gulag.

In mid-1943 those still alive became resolute. Realizing that there was no chance whatever of rescue and seeing the mounds of smoldering ash and mass graves, they organized a hurried uprising. Such revolts were few and feeble but the Germans were surprised. In June 1943 the Lvov ghetto was destroyed.

NOTES

1. William L. Shirer, The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich (London 1960).
2. Twenty-three Einsatzgruppen officers were tried at the Subsequent Nuremberg Proceedings, held between July 3, 1947 and April 10, 1948. Fourteen were sentenced to death but only four were executed at the Landsberg prison in July 1951. The others had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment or reduced to periods ranging from eight to twenty years.
3. Philip Friedman, Roads to Extinction: Essays on the Holocaust (Ada J. Friedman, ed.), (Philadelphia 1980).
4. Joseph L. Tenenbaum, The Kingdom of Racism and Evil (Jerusalem 1961). (Hebrew)
5. Albrecht Herzner died of wounds in September 1942; Hans Koch was brought to trial in 1960 and Baron Voelkersam was killed during the war.

6. The protocol of the Nachtigall Trial states that the name of the second commander of the second Nachtigall company was not known.

7. Testimony of Moritz Greenbart at the Nachtigall Trial, B1, 176 FFD and that of the Pole Borys Lewicki in the journal Kultura No.1, 1960 which appeared in Paris.

8. See the Nachtigall Trial protocol.

9. Ibid.

10. The body of Leon Weinstock, former editor of the Zionist newspaper Chwilla and the director of the community's social services department was found in the military jail on Zamarstynow Street. See Tadeusz Zaderecki, When the Swastika Ruled in Lvov (Jerusalem 1982), 19.

(Hebrew)

11. Abraham Goldberg, Days Scorched By Fire (Bella Gutterman, ed.), (Tel Aviv 1987). (Hebrew); Eliyahu Jonas, On the Edge of the Pit (Jerusalem 1957). (Hebrew)

12. This matter was raised at the {Nuremberg Trials} and can be found in volume 4, pp. 243-245.

13. See the diary of professor Allerhand "Lvov file" Tel Aviv University archive T-32.

14. His testimony now follows.

15. See Nachtigall Trial protocol.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Eliyahu Jonas, op. cit. p. 22 and his testimony in court; Yitzchak Levin, I Emigrated to Palestine from La Spezia (Tel Aviv 1947).

(Hebrew)

19. Protocol of the Nachtigall Trial.

TERNOPOL-- JOURNEY INTO THE ABYSS OF NIGHT

Jews resided in the city of Ternopol from its foundation in 1540. Its fame in the Jewish circles of Eastern Galicia stemmed from its especially large number of intellectuals.

When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union Ternopol had a Jewish population of about 17,000 of whom very few managed to flee eastward. On July 2, 1941 the Germans entered the city and two days later initiated a series of pogroms which lasted from the fourth to the eleventh of July.

With the aid of the Ukrainian police the Germans began an operation to locate and kill Jews in the courtyards of their homes. Others were abducted in the streets, assembled in public places and shot. The central site chosen for these executions was the courtyard of the Reb Yankel's Klaus synagogue, which was itself burned to the ground.

The method employed to kill the Jews was similar to that in Lvov. Upon entering the city the Germans hurried to the jail on Mickiewicz Street where they found the familiar sight of the bodies of prisoners executed by the panicking Soviets before their retreat. Though Jews were also among the executed, this did not deter the Germans and Ukrainians from their plans. Hundreds of Jews were brought to the jail courtyard, forced to kiss the bodies, wash them and drink the washing water before they were tortured and killed. Their bodies were buried by other abducted Jews in mass graves in the two Jewish cemeteries. Those responsible for this pogrom were Ukrainian police and civilians,

who, armed with shovels, axes and sticks broke into Jewish homes, beating, destroying and looting. About five thousand Jews died in this pogrom. Here too the Germans hastened to eliminate the outstanding Jewish community leaders. A Jewish community without leadership disintegrates more quickly into confusion and helplessness, which was the German's interim objective prior to the final extermination. The Germans, under false pretenses, invited seventy Jewish community leaders and intellectuals to a meeting at Swietojanska Street with a group of German officers. Three older men including the teacher Mirek Gotfrid were separated from the rest who were then loaded on vehicles, driven to a city suburb and killed. The Germans immediately issued a series of anti-Jewish decrees regarding the expropriation of property, cuts in food rations, evacuations of homes and payment of fines. The Jews of Ternopol now found themselves in the midst of a nightmare, one which the writer Nahman Blitz vividly described.[1]

"It was summer, July 7, 1941. Three of us were on the road, [Alter] Kacyzna, [Yankel] Szudrich and myself.[2] We walked eastward. We wanted, at all costs, to break through the ever tightening ring of the German army which was closing in on all sides of Ternopol. For many days we walked towards the city hoping still to find a Soviet army unit and be able to save our lives.

...From hour to hour our numbers dwindled and one day we found ourselves left with just a few people, among them the poet Jezry Lec and his wife, who both got lost and rejoined us. Often we didn't even rest at night for fear that a slight delay might result in our being caught by the Germans... Well, there was no place for further

illusions. The sound of artillery fire which we had heard for some time grew louder. We knew that the fate of Ternopol was sealed and with it our fate as well.

...Covered in a cloud of smoke, Ternopol was in flames.

...Like thieves we slunk through the side alleys to circumvent the Ringplatz from which a terrible noise emanated. Scores of German soldiers scurried like ants alongside heavy trucks, destroying and plundering Jewish shops...

...And then came July 7, that fateful day, a Monday--a day of disasters, of all sorts of terrible surprises and events in my destiny.

Two thugs entered, Ukrainian fascists with new insignias. They spoke quietly and were very polite. 'We need people for work' they said, 'You'll work for two hours and then return...'

They took us along the long sad street that led to the cemetery. We stopped from time to time at the entrance to Jewish homes and after a few minutes we were joined by Jews of varying ages. At one point a military vehicle stopped alongside ours and from its partially opened window we saw the clean-shaven face of a German officer. He signalled to our two escorts and they ran to him and stood at attention. 'Where are you taking them?' the German asked loudly, but we didn't hear the reply. They leaned over the car and whispered something. 'Nah, Ja, Ja...!' the German waved his hand and slammed the car door. It didn't require much intelligence to understand that the hypocritical

Ukrainians were not taking us to work.

...We arrived at the cemetery--the goal of our march. The gate opened with a loud creak and a new batch of destroying angles came to meet us. They wore a yellow band on their arms inscribed with the words Ukrainian Army. They approached and began rushing us. They shouted 'Haida'. We crossed the threshold in trepidation. They led us along an avenue between two rows of graves between which loomed very old tall trees. When we arrived at the end of the avenue in the shadow of the trees we saw strange fellows, with wild and straggly hair, their stupid faces distorted with villainy and in their hands sticks and heavy clubs.

We entered an open square surrounded by bushes and young styrax trees, between which stood men and women... When we approached them and saw their distorted villainous faces we realized that these were not the victims but the bloodthirsty executioners who awaited us.

Hundreds of dead bodies were strewn in the middle of the square and it was horrible to see the yellowed bodies, the coils of entwined hands, heads and bare feet. A terrible stench filled the air. Some of the Jews broke down, screaming madly, and the mob between the trees reacted with wild laughter. We were ordered to form a line. Then the Ukrainian murderers divided us into groups... They made us undress and we were left only with pants. All the while we were being watched by SS men who stood surrounded by intelligent and respectable Ukrainians. They held handkerchiefs over their noses. We were ordered to lie on the ground. We had to do this with our heads on the slippery dead

bodies.

The silence was broken by the noise of wheels. A wagon arrived bringing a new batch of murdered people. The wagon was full. A heap of dead, whose arms and legs dangled helplessly. They were haphazardly piled along the length and breadth of the narrow wagon. An overblown SS man with a pistol appeared. 'Zhidim, get up!' the local fascists ordered. When we got up we were told to run in a circle around the dead bodies and then run the gauntlet of the aroused mob. There was no escaping the sticks, clubs, iron bars and other tools which they held.

Thus began our race, a real dance of death. I ran like a madman thinking that the quicker I passed through the gauntlet the better it would be for me. My first 'round' was to a certain extent bearable. I received a few blows which were not so terrible. My head was still in one piece. Only my arms were bleeding... When I began the second round a witch with disheveled hair jumped on me and began scratching my face with her nails. However, I managed to shake her off but a tall man jumped at me and bashed me on the head with a club. I felt as if I were choking for lack of air. Falling to my knees and swaying, I did not have the strength to stand up. Another fellow came up to me, raised his stick and shouted: 'Either you get up or I'll split your head.' I realized that if I didn't get up immediately I would never rise again because he'd kill me. I couldn't utter a word... I got up and continued to run until we heard the SS man's whistle and we were again ordered to lie down.

Now we were ordered to unload one of the wagons. We had to pick up the tortured and nauseating dead bodies dripping with some sticky substance. With bloodied hands we rummaged among the convoluted arms, heads and organs soiled with blood. We loaded the battered dead on our shoulders. Some of them had their hands tied behind their backs. Lusting to intensify our suffering, our enemies ordered us to untie the ropes with our teeth... Nausea overcame me and I vomited twice.

...Again we were ordered to run around the dead bodies. This time the trouncers did not, as in the past, wait for us at their stations but rather ran towards us, beating us with their sticks with all their murderous might. They simply organized a hunt and we were the animals... They were crazed, siezed by an extraordinary lust. The screams of the victims incited them even more, raising the insane murder to its peak... Suddenly a hard blow hit me. I blacked out and fell to the ground... I felt my life ebbing. My only wish was to die at once and feel no further pain, to perish in some corner like a dog. Then I had an idea: near me were dead bodies. I crawled towards them unseen and hid amongst them. I would lie quietly, playing dead and perhaps the murderers would ignore me and stop beating me. Not far from me an SS man was siezed by an intense anger. Furious at the screams of both the murderers and the beaten Jews, angry at the lack of order, he drew his pistol and started shooting left and right. I took advantage of the confusion and crawled towards the pile of dead... However I did not manage to enjoy my `respite' for long. They spotted me, dragged me from the pile and again started fiercely beating me. I was saved from death by the SS man's whistle... Now he ordered us to sing... a Yiddish song... Could he have devised something worse than

that for us? He pulled out his pistol and again shouted: 'sing!' 'sing!' All the Jews began singing a melody, as if they had coordinated it in advance, and this frightened even us. Shema Yisroel... (Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One!). How dreadful and powerful was this 'singing' of people who were barely alive... Their bodies were being exterminated, but not their souls.

... I will mention only one more of the murderers' innovations. They ordered us to lie down in layers, two lengthwise and two breadthwise, as one stacks wood for drying. When the pile of people reached one meter or more, two of the Jews were chosen, given sticks and told to beat the live pyramid with all their might... Weeping, the beaters cried out: 'Brothers, forgive us' and their blows weakened. The murderers were dissatisfied and took the job into their own hands. Four men positioned themselves, rolled up their sleeves and began beating us fiercely." [3]

In September 1941 an ordinance was issued establishing a ghetto in the poorest district of the city. While the Jews were transferring to the ghetto they were attacked and robbed by the Ukrainians.

In August 1942 the Germans initiated an Aktion, entering the ghetto together with Ukrainian policemen. They rounded up the Jews and packed them in railway cars which were already waiting at the station. Many of the cars were already sealed, filled with Jews from the surrounding townlets and villages. Two days later they were transported to the Belzec extermination camp. From then on there were regular Aktionen and the ghetto area dwindled.

At the beginning of 1943 a work camp was established at the edge of the ghetto, a subcamp of Janowska in Lvov. The final Aktion on June 30, 1943 wiped out the Jewish community. Upon its completion a notice was posted announcing that the city was Judenrein ("cleansed [or free] of Jews").

STANISLAWOW

Jews resided in Stanislawow from its foundation in 1654. Though they enjoyed privileges granted by the founder, every change in the local regime caused trials and tribulations. The Jewish residents of the city often paid a heavy price when they decided to participate in current affairs.

At the outbreak of World War II the Jews of the area suffered from attacks by Ukrainians but those in the city were unharmed. The entry of the Soviets did put a brief stop to the riots, but within a short while there began a wave of persecutions and anti-Jewish decrees and many Jews were exiled to Russia. The community's institutions were disbanded and the economic activity was halted.

When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union the Ukrainians began to molest the Jews of Stanislawow. The Hungarian army, which entered the city on July 2, 1941, stopped the pogroms and for two weeks, while the Hungarians controlled the city, no physical harm was done to the Jews though they were dismissed from all public positions, which were then taken by Ukrainians. The Ukrainians entreated the Hungarians to institute a yellow armband as the Jewish badge.

On July 26 Stanislawow was turned over to the Germans, who immediately began molesting and killing the Jews. They entered the Jewish quarter, abducted Jews, beat them, burned their beards. Meanwhile, the Ukrainians and Poles were running amok in the center of town. A few days later the Germans announced the establishment of a

Judenrat and ordered the immediate registration of all Jews with liberal professions. Menahem Gelerter cites an eyewitness account:[4] "On August 3 the Jewish intelligensia was called to the Gestapo office to clarify the situation of the Jews in the city. About 500 Jews came to the Gestapo office... where they were told: Meine Herren, today there is an important meeting at the Gestapo, therefore go home, but tomorrow you must all return.' The following day they all returned elegantly dressed to the Gestapo office which was located in the district court building on Bilinski Street. They were first met by the adjutant of Krieger, a Gestapo man called Hans Maurer, about 25 years old, who said: 'Good morning Yidlech' and then ordered them not to sit down but rather to kneel facing the wall, after which he started hitting them with a stick. When his orders had been carried out, his superior, A. Krieger, about 33 years old, entered, accompanied by a Gestapo man Willi Maurer. Krieger began by declaring that the end had come for the Jews. Dr. Folger, totally shaken, leaned on his hand. Seeing this Krieger began screaming, 'You're a Jewish pig. When the head of the Gestapo speaks a Jew must stand at attention.' Suddenly the Jews were surrounded by Gestapo men who led them into the courtyard. My friends and neighbors told me that during that night and the days following continuous groans could be heard. Yisrael Zang related how he saw Ludwig Brick having violent fits of vomiting and saying that he would not be able to stand because of the incessant beatings.

After a while I saw Zigi Weiss who told me that a few days after the intelligensia were arrested he and his entire orchestra were summoned to the Gestapo where they were ordered to play while the Gestapo

tortured the Jews... Afterwards there were individual arrests. Gestapo men came to homes and under various pretexts arrested the men."

On October 12, 1941 a large number of German trucks arrived in the city and the extermination Aktion began. The Jews were rounded up in the streets, beaten, loaded on the trucks and taken to the cemetery.

"The entire cemetery both inside and outside was guarded by the Ukrainian militia, Gestapo and other German units. On the roof of the cemetery building were German observers with a machine gun.

When the trucks arrived they stopped at the gate and an order was given to get out. Those who didn't do so quickly enough were brutally beaten. The victims were taken into the cemetery and seated with their hands clasped behind their necks in the following order: The first group was seated by the fence, the next in front of them and so on until the last group was seated in front of a huge pit which had been prepared in advance.

...When the cemetery was full the Germans ordered scores of beautiful young girls to walk among the seated with sacks to collect valuables such as money and jewellery...

Then the seated Jews were ordered to remove their upper garments-- coats and sweaters...

Immediately the order to fire was given. Machine guns, rifles and pistols opened fire and those seated nearest the pit fell in.

Afterwards young mothers were ordered to jump into the pit and were shot while doing so.

The Jews for whom there was no place in the trucks and who had been forced to run to the cemetery arrived while the killing was taking place. Arriving broken and crushed, these wretched people were immediately taken to the pits and shot."[4]

During the Aktion the mob chased those who tried to escape handing them over to the Germans. Twelve thousand people were killed that day and on the following day bulletins were posted stating that the public must resume their normal routine after the "riots of the previous day."

On December 22, 1941 the ghetto was sealed and the situation inside was harsh: poverty and starvation on the one hand and relative plenty amongst the wealthier members of the community. During March 1942 there were a series of Aktionen which continued throughout the year. The liquidation of the ghetto began in January 1943 with the Germans, aided by their Ukrainian collaborators, sealing off streets and driving Jews from their homes. On February 23 Stanislawow Jewry ceased to exist.

SKALAT--A DYING TOWN

Skalat, in the Ternopol district, was founded in the 16th century as a feifdom of the nobles. Though there was apparently a Jewish settlement from 1613, an organized community was established in the 18th century.

With the outbreak of World War I, under Russian occupation, Skalat was not affected nor were there any special incidents during the regime of the Western Ukrainian Republic. Since the town was so close to the Russian border, the smuggling of people and goods developed under the Austrian regime (from 1772 until the end of World War I) and between the two World Wars when it reverted to Poland.

When the Germans invaded the Soviet Union about 200 Jews fled with the retreating Soviet army. Even before the Germans entered the town the local Ukrainian population began taunting the Jews, threatening them with vengeance when the Germans arrived.

In the early morning of Shabbat, July 5, 1941 the Germans entered the town. The Ukrainians awaited them in the streets dressed in their holiday clothes, wearing blue and yellow nationalist armbands and holding flowers. Jews who were in the streets at that time, on their way to the synagogue, were confident that now, with the coming of the Germans, the Ukrainians would not molest them and order would be restored. However at 10 a.m. a number of battalions drew up in the town while the rest of the army units continued eastward. The commanding officer let it be known to his soldiers that he would allow

them to "enjoy themselves: ten minutes for slaughtering Jews!" The soldiers quickly jumped from the vehicles and tanks and rushed to the town center. At first they attacked the Jews whom they found in the streets and then they began using the services of Ukrainian youth for identifying passersby. Some soldiers conducted house searches under the pretext of looking for arms and Bolshevik agents and in the process robbed, destroyed and raped. Twenty Jews were murdered and scores were wounded. When the Germans ceased their activity it was taken up by the Ukrainians of the neighboring villages together with their compatriots from the town. This was but a prelude to the dreadful events which would soon take place when the shocked Jews of Skalat thought they had already reached the lowest depths of abuse.

On Friday night, July 4, before the Germans entered the city or on Saturday night according to another version, there was a secret meeting of the respected Ukrainian leadership of the town at which they discussed the new power structure which had come into existence. A complete crosssection of Ukrainian society was present, from the peasant to the priest. The meeting, which opened with the national anthem, proceeded with the establishment of a Ukrainian militia and the election of candidates for the public administration. The question of relations with the Poles was also raised. However the central issue of the evening's discussion was the Jewish question: What should be done with the Jews of the town? Several people had brought copies of Hitler's Mein Kampf and read out selected portions. The Fuhrer's words spoke to them. "We have to win their [the Germans'] confidence. The Jews are the world's disaster. Hitler is right, even among us they are like a bone in the throat--so let's finish them off!"[5]

A vote was taken and the majority favored a pogrom. Now they had to receive the permission of their patrons. It was decided to form a three-man delegation which would meet with the military authorities and request permission for a twenty-four hour pogrom. The Greek-Catholic priest Kanonik Onuferko was chosen as the spokesman. He was a well known personality in the town, had financial dealings with Jews and a good command of Yiddish. It was he who, on the following day, led the delegation to the German army headquarters carrying a signed petition requesting permission to assault the Jews. The German commander was most surprised to encounter this local initiative because the German policy was first to exploit Jewish labor for the Reich before killing them. He did allow the Ukrainians to carry out the pogrom but limited it to only eight hours.

The Germans siezed upon this local initiative as if they had discovered a treasure. Here was an opportunity to present to the world an appropriate propaganda scenario portraying the local population initiating the killing of Jews because of their hatred and thus exonerating the Germans. The local headquarters immediately sent a report to Berlin attaching the Ukrainian petition which could serve for future use.

On Sunday July 6, 1941 at 11:00 a.m. organized Ukrainian gangs spread out in the town. The militia men were armed with rifles while the rest had clubs and various other types of murderous weapons. They went from house to house, ordering Jewish men and youths to report for work. The German soldiers stood watching in the streets. Abraham

Weissbrad described what happened:

..."Some were ordered to go down on all fours, gather stones with their mouth, continue crawling and drop the stones in pots. Others were forced to clean toilets with their bare hands, to sweep the streets with their hats and other bizarre tasks which, after extreme torture cost the lives of scores of Jews.

...After Chaim Srenzel was beaten senseless he was thrown to the ground and a car ran over him breaking his limbs. While he was in his death throes a soldier took pity and shot him in the heart.

Horrible atrocities took place in the town square by the well. Here the Ukrainians placed a Jew under the spigot of the pump and pumped water into his mouth until he died.

Rabbi Benjamin Wolowicz was tied to a horse's tail while the Germans and Ukrainian peasants stood on the sidewalks whipping the horse so that it would gallop. At first the Rabbi ran after the horse. Then falling, he was dragged wounded and bleeding by the towers where he died. A similar incident happened to Friedman who was tied to a car and dragged until his body became a hunk of shapeless flesh blackened by blood and dust...

Many Jews were shot by the Ukrainians who then removed their shoes and searched their clothes, while the peasants ran wild in the alleyways robbing Jewish homes.

The major place for the victims was near the four towers in the center of town. Here the greatest massacre took place. The Ukrainian police brought groups of 30 to 40 Jews and forced them to jump from one of the towers accompanying them with bursts of machine gun fire. With heartrending screams and cries of Shema Yisrael these wretched people struggled with death. All the while the Germans stood and photographed. Thus on that day by the towers more than three hundred Jews died including thirty young people and children.

In the cemetery there were similar killings. Groups of abducted Jews, on orders of the Germans, brought the dead Jews to burial. When they had completed their work they were shot on the spot... At the cemetery about 150 Jews were murdered. By 3 p.m. the number of victims had reached 500. Who knows how many more would have died if it had not been for an air raid by Soviet planes whose bombs chased the murderers into the fields... There was a respite for a few hours and then the mobs again went on a rampage.

The massacre continued beyond the eight hours though on a smaller scale; for more than two daysscores of Jews were killed by the Ukrainians.

The Ukrainians ordered the Jews to come out of their hiding places in order to bury the dead, most of whom were strewn in the killing fields near the towers. All day the town's Jews transported the dead in wagons, covered in bloody sheets and prayer shawls. Stiffened limbs and bloody heads hung from the wagons, bouncing to their rhythm. All the way to the cemetery there was a trail of blood and thus the sad

history of lives destroyed was recorded in long red lines. It was the mute language of spilt innocent blood that was soaked up by the cursed soil, as if it had no life without Jewish blood... The great tragedy of Skalat had just begun."

In mid-July 1941 the Skalat Judenrat was established. Attempting to satisfy the needs of the community and at the same time carry out the German orders, it became an important conduit for rounding up Jews for liquidation. In August 1942 there was a large Aktion to which the Judenrat sent 600 aged and sick people. They were transported to the Belzec extermination camp and the Jews of Skalat understood that they must again prepare for a difficult period. They hastily prepared hiding places, but the Aktion took place on October 21 and the three thousand who were caught were sent to Belzec. In November a work camp was established in Skalat, similar to the Janowska and Ternopol camps. In April 1943 the Jews were ordered to dig large ditches near the town and 700 Jews were collected in the synagogue, brought to the site and shot. On June 9, 1943 the ghetto was liquidated after the Germans learned of a planned revolt. Only 400 inmates of the camp were left but attempts to escape failed because the Ukrainian peasants from the surrounding villages handed over those who managed to flee. The remnants of the community tried to hide in the nearby forests but the Germans continued to hunt them down and were assisted by the Ukrainian Bandera gangs.

DEATH IN THE FORT--THE POGROM AGAINST THE JEWS OF ZLOCZOW

Zloczow, in the Ternopol district, is mentioned in sources from as early as the end of the 15th century when it was transferred to the ownership of a Polish noble family. The rulers of the town built a fort to defend it against invaders. The Russians captured the town in 1914 but it was returned to Polish rule after a short period of Ukrainian governance. A Jewish community existed in the town from the beginning of the 17th century. During World War I the persecution of the Jews by both the Russians and the Poles was accompanied by molestation and robbery. At the outbreak of World War II hundreds of refugees fled to the town from western Poland, enlarging the community which had to cope with the decrees of the Soviet authorities.

The Germans entered the town on July 2, 1941 and on that very same day attacks on the Jews by their Ukrainian neighbors began. Residents of the neighboring villages streamed into the town to join their compatriots in planning the reception for the Germans.

As had happened in other towns of Eastern Galicia, the Germans uncovered a series of graves which contained political prisoners who had been killed by the retreating Soviets. This, of course, served as a catalyst for a pogrom against the Jews which began on July 3 and lasted three full days. Between three to four thousand Jews were killed, most of them in the fort area. The pogrom was described by Major General (ret.) Dr. Otto Korfes of the 25th infantry division: [8]

"On July 3, 1941 at ten p.m., when I entered Zloczow, the regimental

duty officer whose name I can't remember burst into my quarters and reported that in the town's citadel terrible things were happening. Masses of civilians were being killed. I immediately drove there with my adjutant, Lieutenant Hauer. The trenches to the right and left of the bridge embankment were full of dead bodies. We hurried through the arched gateway which extended for about 30 meters. The inner courtyard was full of German soldiers gazing silently in one direction and there was a nervous embarrassment when I asked what was happening. In the corner where the soldiers were gazing grenades were being thrown in the air and explosions were heard. We pushed past the crowd and this is what we saw: In a pit twenty meters wide and five meters deep stood and lay some 60 to 80 men, women and children. The grenades exploded amongst them. Behind a wall several hundred people were gathered to await their turn. Piles of dead bodies were strewn around the area. In front of these dead and facing the pit were 10 to 12 men in civilian clothes on whose belts hung several grenades. The others held shovels, axes and hooks. I saw that they were being instructed by a number of SS men. As soon as I arrived with Lieutenant Hauer one of the civilians came up to the pit, grenade in hand, about to pull the pin and toss it into the pit. I rebuked the fellows, demanded that they immediately stop the killing and ordered the watching soldiers to leave the fort area immediately. I ordered the lieutenants and sergeants to close all the entrances and then sent my adjutant to Lieutenant Padvel in the city requesting that he send a company of soldiers, a doctor, medical orderly and bandages.

When I commented how strange it was that the Ukrainian civilians, accompanied by SS men, had dared to carry out such killing of Jews and

Poles under the eyes of the Wehrmacht I was told by some officers that these civilians were Bandera's men. This was confirmed by the divisional spokesman Lieutenant Colonel Groskurt, a retired officer of intelligence Section II who was well informed about the Bandera organization.

It is today well known and documented that [Dr. Theodor] Oberlander, who had been appointed by intelligence as the chief political officer for the Bandera group, was responsible for those who did the killing in Lvov and in the fort of Zloczow."

In mid-July 1941 a Judenrat was established which was forced to deal with the plunder of Jewish property and money, as well as with a series of German demands including supply of a labor force for a camp in Lacki Wielkie. In an attempt to avoid being sent to the work camp, Jews tried to get jobs in the factories established in the town. Joseph Mayer, a German Righteous of the Nations, helped in saving many Jews.

In mid-August 1942 the Judenrat was ordered to draw up a deportation list of 3,000 Jews "unfit for work." The Germans launched an Aktion on August 28, organized by Gestapo personnel from Ternopol. During a second Aktion in November more than twenty-five hundred Jews were deported to the Belzec extermination camp. On December 1, 1942 the ghetto was set up.

On April 2, 1943 the ghetto was liquidated but there were a few instances of resistance. It is worth noting that during the liquidation of the ghetto the Judenrat chairman Zigmunt Mayblum and

some other members were ordered by the Germans to sign a document stating that the liquidation of the ghetto was necessary because of a typhoid epidemic. On refusing, they were killed on the spot. On the same day some six thousand Jews were transported outside the town and shot. The few Jews who tried to hide in the ghetto were betrayed by informers. Even the attempts to organize resistance were thwarted by informers.

UKRAINIAN JUDEOPHILES

There are no exact figures for the number of Ukrainians who assisted Jews. It is difficult to find reliable statistics for "good goyim." One can arrive at approximate figures based upon official German announcements. The "Law Against Anti-German Activities" published on October 2, 1943 led to the execution of 1,541 Ukrainians on various criminal charges. Among them were about one hundred Ukrainians who were shot for helping Jews. Many of them were simple people, peasants and former maids.[9]

The Ukrainain Greek Catholic Uniate Church in Eastern Galicia reacted to the pogroms after a confused period of delay. The metropolitan, Andrei Sheptytsky, who was proficient in Hebrew, was very friendly to Jews and used to correspond with Jewish communities on matters of religion and ethics. While considered the highest moral authority in Galicia he was also an enthusiastic supporter of Ukrainian nationalism. He erred in publishing a letter supporting the Ukrainian nationalists welcoming the Germans and believing in their duplicity.[10]

However, upon discovering what was happening in his city, Lvov, and learning of his flock's behavior, he acted quickly to correct the defect, despite being in his eighties and half paralyzed. In November 1942 he published a pastoral letter entitled "Thou Shalt Not Murder" "in order to fulfill our duty to the Almighty as shepherds of souls and preachers of the Gospel, to warn our faithful, with heaven and earth as our witnesses, against the evil deeds which have recently spread among

us so frightfully, and call for penitence on the part of persons who committed the sin of murder."

As early as February 1942 he sent a letter to Heinrich Himmler protesting the Aktionen and the use of the Ukrainian police for this purpose. Himmler's office sent the letter to the SD (Sicherheitsdienst des Reichsfuhrers-SS; Security Service of the SS) office in Lvov, though the latter refrained from any official reaction because of Sheptytsky's status it did resort to an indirect form of punishment by suspending the activities of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UPA) in Lvov, which he chaired.[11]

Rabbi David Kahana tells of his visit to Sheptytsky in August 1942 during which the metropolitan told him about his letter to Himmler and of the coarse reply he had received from the commander of the SD and the police. Sheptytsky's biographer [12] relates that he forbade his clerics to provide religious services to anyone who took part in the Aktionen against the Jews. On other occasions he frequently spoke of his relations with the Germans. In September 1943 he visited Dr. Friedrich, the representative of the German foreign office and spoke critically about the German treatment of the Jews in Lvov and in the entire Ukraine.[13]

On August 14, 1942 Rabbi David Kahana and Dr. Kalman Chamejdes, the Rabbi of Katowice, visited Sheptytsky and asked if he could find a hiding place for the Torah scrolls from the Jewish community building. The visit took place during the large Aktion of August and the two rabbis, members of the Judenrat's religious services department, were anxious to save the scrolls. They also asked if he could offer refuge

for a number of Jewish children. Sheptytsky was quick in responding and coopted his brother, the head of the Studite monasteries, bishop Clemant Sheptytsky and the mother superior of the convents. Their speedy and clandestine actions saved the lives of about 150 Jews, mostly children. Fifteen Jews hid in the Lvov monastery, including Rabbi Kahana and family. Among the children saved by the Studite monks were the two sons of Rabbi Ezekiel Lewin.[14]

In the bloody balance sheet of three years of conquest and slaughter the Galician Jews found themselves between a rock and a hard place, between the German planners of the "Final Solution" and the Ukrainian mobs imbued with religious and nationalist hatred. The small number of Ukrainians who saved Jews, a wonderful and courageous act on its own, only more sharply emphasizes the deeds of many who rioted and robbed, betrayed, murdered and were enthusiastic partners of the Germans.

"It was the sight of the Ukrainian Massacre of Saint Bartholomew which was perpetrated against the Jews in the 20th century. I shall never forget the partners and right hand of the Germans. 'Remember what Amalek did to you' " [15]

EPILOGUE

For many generations the Ukrainian village and the Jewish town in Eastern Galicia maintained an ongoing relationship of neighborliness. Though this had its ups and downs, there were many occasions when the two communities cooperated in the struggle for minority rights and political representation and Ukrainian nationalist leaders issued cordial declarations to their Jewish partners. However when put to the test at the time of the German invasion, these declarations proved to be empty words. The Ukrainians quickly revealed their old hatred for the Jews, the same hatred which emerged during the Chmielnicki massacres. No sooner had the Soviets left Lvov when hundreds of peasants and townspeople ran amok in the streets killing Jews and plundering their property. The opening of the jails was a holiday for the Ukrainians even if it meant discovering the bodies of their compatriots. The Germans invited them to participate in the huge propaganda show of uncovering the bodies and the torturing of the Jews brought to the site. It was a total legitimization of their evil instincts. After a two week respite during which the Germans moderated the Ukrainian riotousness and organized the civil administration in Lvov, came the Petliura Days pogrom in memory of the revered leader. In those horrible days at the end of July 1941, which were merely a prelude to the Via Dolorosa which still awaited the Jews, the majority of Ukrainian people fully revealed their deep-rooted hatred for the Jews. The guiding hand of the Germans directed the Petliura Days pogrom, allowing the Ukrainian nationalist leadership to mobilize their supporters and again launch a series of pogroms. In a letter to her son Rabbi David Kahana, his eighty-six year-old mother expressed the

stupor felt by the Jews confronted by this hatred. "I cannot understand, has God extended my life so that my aged eyes should see my children wallowing in their own blood? The peasants who frequented our home and often spent the night there, who transacted their business with my children in the friendliest manner--suddenly these very same peasants dragged my children from their homes to be slaughtered..."[16]

NOTES

1. Nahman Rosenberg (Blitz)--A Yiddish writer born in Eastern Galicia who resided chiefly in Warsaw on the eve of World War II. At the outbreak of the war he fled from western Poland and returned to Galicia.

2. Yaakov Shudrich--A Yiddish writer who lived and wrote in Lvov. Alter Kacizne--A Yiddish writer who fled from Poland and stayed in Lvov.

3. Nahman Blitz, A Journey Into the Abyss of the Night (Tel Aviv 1987),38. (Yiddish)

4. D. Sadan and M. Gelehrter, "Stanislawow" in vol. 5 of Jewish Mother-Cities (Jerusalem 1952):395. (Hebrew)

5. Abraham Weissbrad, When a Shtetel Starves, A Tale of Skalat (Munich 1948),20. (Yiddish)

6. The village where Rabbi David Kahana was born.

7. Testimony of Regina Donar, Yad Vashem Archives 796/661.

8. Berliner Zeitung, November 11, 1959.

9. Philip Friedman, Ukrainian-Jewish Relations During the Nazi Occupation," (Ada J. Friedman, ed.) Roads to Extinction: Essays on the

Holocaust (Philadelphia 1980).

10. Roman Andrei Sheptytsky came from an aristocratic family of ancient pedigree which intermarried with Polish stock. From childhood he showed an inclination to become a priest and a strong desire to return to his people, the Ukrainians. After completing his studies in law he travelled to Rome, met the pope and returned home having decided to become a priest. He quickly ascended the clerical ladder and in 1900 at the age of 35 became the metropolitan of the Uniate Greek Catholic Church in Lvov. In 1906 he founded the Studite order whose members lived a collective life in monasteries but worked outside.

11. There is an opinion that the suspension of the UPA was not related to Sheptytsky's letter.

12. E. Prus, Wladyka Switorjurski: Rzecz o arcybiskupie Andrzeju Szeptyckim (1865-1944) (Warsaw 1985).

13. Dr. Friedrich's testimony regarding his talk with Sheptutsky can be found in the Centre de Documentation Juive Contemporaine, Paris. See Philip Friedman, Note 9.

14. Yitzchak Lewin, I Emigrated to Palestine from La Spezia (Tel Aviv 1947). (Hebrew)

15. Abraham Weissbrad, Note 5.

16. David Kahana, Lvov Ghetto Diary (Massachusetts 1990).

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4. Testimony of Regina Donar, The Historical Committee in Munich, 1946; Yad Vashem Archives 796/661.

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