Evacuation Tow[illegible] Inquiry
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DEPOSITIONS

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Budapest, den 24.6.44

Mein lieber [redacted],

ich habe mir diesmal wirklich vorgenommen, Dir einen ausfuehrlichen Bericht zu schreiben und wieder ist es beim Vorhaben geblieben, denn die Atmosphaere, das Tempo, die Arbeitsbedingungen sind hier derart entnervend, mit einem ausgesprochenen Improvisationscharakter, dass es leider nur beim Vorhaben bleibt und ich Dir nur eine Uebersicht der Sachen geben kann und keinen vollkommenen Einblick. Da ich aber fuer die naechste Zeit wieder einen Weg versprochen habe, werde ich diesen Brief noch ergaenzen koennen.

Ich beginne mit etwas furchtbarem, traurigen und ich bitte Dich, bleibe stark bei der schmerzensten Nachricht, die ich Dir schreiben muss. Unser armer Freund Eli wurde auf seinem Tiul zu Enzer noch hier erwischt und da dies grade in einem Ort geschah, wo Gerusch war, wurde unser teuerster Freund leider mitgeschickt. Es verstrichen die bangsten Tage, und wir konnten kein einziges Zeichen von ihm erfahren und erst ein Chawer, dem Dricha von dort gelungen ist, konnte uns diese schreckliche Mitteilung machen, denn er sah selber Eli bei der Einwaggonierung. Ich kann Dir garnicht schreiben, was wir damals erlebten. Wir machten uns die bittersten Vorwuerfe, dass wir ihn gehen liessen. Dies hilft ja leider der Sache nicht mehr und es bleibt uns nur die ganz winzige armselige Hoffnung, dass vielleicht noch ein Wunder geschehen wird und er uns am Leben bleiben wird. Grade er, unser Bester! Weisst Du, dass es oft aussieht wie wenn sich das Schicksal gegen uns verschworen haette. Alle unseren besten Menschen werden "erwischt". Darueber, dass es mit Mischo und Menachem so war, habe ich Dir schon geschrieben. Aber die sind noch vorlaeufig hier, wir sind in bestem Kontakt mit ihnen, koennen ihre Lage kontrollieren und hoffen, die in den naechsten Tagen zur ganz nahen bevorstehenden Alija zu sichern. Nur Eli, der arme gute Junge, der immer zu schwarz das Leben sah, der hier durch Schwierigkeiten nicht zu seiner berechtigten Alija kam, der seine Frau draussen hat und tausende Chawerim die ihn kennen und mit Sehnsucht ihn erwarteten- nur er ist so blitzschnell ohne Hilfsmoeglichkeiten zum Gerusch gekommen. Ich weiss garnicht, wie wir dies allen seinen Lieben mitteilen sollen. Unzaehlige Wunden bleiben in unseren Herzen, denn Eli war das Symbol unserer Tnua, er ist an ihrer Wiege gestanden und nur sein Dabeisein gab Kraft, denn wir fuehlten in ihm selber die Bewegung.

Die Realitaet ist aber unbarmherziger und geht hinweg ueber alle unsere Gefuehle und so muss ich auch nach dieser traurigsten Einleitung Dir neben das schreiben, was wir tun konnten, was fuer Plaene wir haben.

Die allgemeine Lage ist Dir aus den beigelegten Briefen und Uebersichten bekannt. Sie ist die denkbar Aergste und die Prognose leider sehr schlecht. Wir haben getrachtet, durch unsere Kleinarbeit, durch unsere spezifisch chaluzischen (Pionier) Rettung wenigstens den wertvollsten Teil unseres Volkes zu retten, paralell neben der grossen und weiten Linie, die dieses Ziel ebenso in sich fasst, aber auch darueber noch weitere Ziele hat. Auch darueber kann nichts Neues zugefuegt werden. Unsere spezielle Hazala hatte vier Sektoren: 1) Retiul Darueber habe ich Dir schon eingehends berichtet und will nur zusammenfassend so viel sagen, dass dies unser bester Tifel war, denn wir hatten bei fast 70 Fremden nur 2 Verluste, von welchen einer bereits frei ist und auch beste Hoffnung fuer den Zweiten besteht. Die Freunde sind drueben bei Pufi auf verschiedenste Weise eingereiht, und nach meinem Besuche bei Puffi weiss ich, dass sie sehr grosses Gewicht und Hoffnung auf Nachpelot setzen, die die Freunde in den Haim vorbereiten.
2) Enzer-Tiul: Hatte einige Stadien durchgemacht. Das erste Stadium hatte seinen Schwerpunkt in Siebenbuergen. Ein Teil der dortigen Freunde plus einige Freunde von hier, darunter Simon Israel, Salomon Eva usw. Diese kamen gluecklich bei Enzer an und sind bereits mit vielen anderen in Moledet. Diese Flucht klappte bis zur Gettonierung, nachher wurden leider zwei Gruppen erwischt, darunter leider auch Mischo mit Frau und Ganz Hanno. Diese befinden sich in Erbira und wir haben grosse Hoffnung, dass wir sie bald zur Alijawanderung frei bekommen werden.
Fast paralell mit diesem Tiul lief ein anderer in einer

[redacted] deren Gesandt, wo vor [redacted] Iwicki und die Rivers mit anderen Ziwiafreunden sich bemuehten uns nach schweren Tagen auch endlich zu Enzer kamen und ebenfalls nach Pal.reisten. Wir haben keine genaue Anzahl der dort Angekommenen. Wir warten dieser Tage auf Antworten von Enzer wohin wir jetzt ausgezeichnete Verbindung haben. Dann kam das dritte Stadium und erhielt grosse Verluste. Wir hatten ein derartiges Ungluueck, dass uns einfach nicht gelingen wollte, trotzdem unsere Chawerim fleissig an Gwul arbeiteten und Brachim genuegend zur Verfuegung standen. Nichts nuetzte dem. In Zu[redacted] wurden unsere Menschen erwischt. In der selben Zeit unter Bombe[redacted] dagegen gelang [redacted] z.B. der Jugend unter kleinen Verlu[redacted] viel [redacted] Chawerim zu retten. Wir haben bis zur heutigen Tage 400 Freunde zu Enzer herueber gebracht, dabei aber 20 verloren, darunter leider Elf, Mischo. Ich werde nach Erhalt genauer Listen von Enzer, die genauer berich[redacted] ten, vor allen die Namen der Chawerim. Heute ist der Stand so, dass wir den Schwerpunkt der Arbeit auf ein anderes Gebiet versetzen und hoffen dadurch die Sekana herabzusetzen. Es ist tragisch, dass trotzdem wir sehr viel Brachim schaffen konnten, mit grosser Kapazitaet wir wegen Sekana in den Bohnen und am Gwul nicht so helfen koennen, wie es notwendig waere. In diesen [redacted] sowie auch in allen anderen Sektoren arbeiten wir vollkommen bruederlich mit Jaris zusammen. Bisher eine wirkliche rueckhaltslose Zusammenarbeit, fast wie wenn wir eine Bewegung waeren. Auch die Freunde am Enzer-Gwul arbeiten gemeinsam. Von uns ist in Arad, Josko Gardos, von Jari Dan S., ausgezeichnete und sehr geeignete Freunde, die sehr viel leisten konnten. Wir sind mit ihnen in staendigem Kontakt und kriegen fast taeglich Briefe. Es gaebe noch Vieles darueber zu schreiben- ich wuerde aber den Brief nicht rechtzeitig beenden koennen.

3) Ueber Identifikation habe ich Dir schon ebenfalls ausreichlich genug geschrieben. Leider hatte es ein grosses Opfer verlangt: Nano. Fuer Dich nicht bekannt, fuer uns aber ein unerhoert fachiger, guter und anstaendiger Chawer. Jedenfalls hat er fuer seine Arbeit sehr gelitten, die hiesige Rischtara ist ein Gebilde der Kraetzlitaet. Auch fuer ihn ist Alija die Rettungsmoeglichkeit. Allgemein ist diese Rettungsart sehr schwierig, weil die administrative Kontrolle sehr straff ist und Rischtara hier sehr gute Ueberdienst besitzt. Dadurch gibt es dabei taeglich viel Opfer vor allem fuer die Neulinge. Dies ist das einzige Arbeitsfeld in dem Gemeinsames geleistet wurde, wobei die ganze Arbeit wir mit dem Jari zusammen gemacht haben. Hierfuer haben unsere Partner den Dank dafuer nicht gefunden. Das bezeugt dies in vielen Arbeitertonbriefen unserer Freunde Von Enzer, die es nicht begreifen koennen, dass Kolodnys Kinder, unsere gute Chawerim hier lassen, und selber Peripherie hinaus bringen. Geholfen haben sie uns in unserem Pech jedenfalls nicht, trotzdem es ihnen selbstverstaendlich ist, Nejarot von uns taeglich abzuheben, in denen Arbeit und Gefahraussetzung und schliesslich Opfer unserer Arbeit drin stecken.

4) Machpelot Der vernachlaesse gute Sektor, da Bevoelkerung hier nicht geeignet. Jedenfalls haben wir in dieser Hinsicht das Beiste getan und es gibt zwei grossere Machpelot, die in kurzer Zeit fertiggestellt sind Fuer alle dieser Werke und Rettungswege ist nur noetig Geld, Geld und wieder Geld. Die hiesige Bevoelkerung hat sogar jetzt nicht begriffen, worum es geht und wir sind weiter vollkommen auf Euch angewiesen und auf Euren Kessef, das wir mitnehmen mussten, damit wir die Riesenregion decken koennen Das Bitterste, dass wir vielen fuer die Opfer machen koennten aber alles scheitert an Geldmangel. Jisrael (Kast) bemueht sich diesbezueglich und ist nicht kleinlich, aber nach all den Ungluecken mit dem Kessef (waehrend Israels Verhaftung) haben wir ja das Beiste von Euch bekommen. Du verlangst von uns ein Budget, das ist unendlich gross, denn Moeglichkeiten waeren genuegend. Wir koennten Freunde sogar mit Darkiot chuki schicken, aber koennen nicht fuer einzelne hohe Betraege ausgeben und die anderen dann nicht mal zu Gwultiul zu bringen. Nun die letzten Tage haben all diese verzweifelte Arbeit in einem neuen Licht erscheinen lassen: Alija.

Ueber ihre Voraussetzungen, Realisation schreibt Jisrael. Dazu haben wir nichts hinzuzufuegen. Die ganze Zeit hindurch sind wir skeptisch gewesen. Alles zeugte dagegen, sollte endlich doch der Bann gebrochen werden? Wenn ja, dann wuerde es viele Wunden heilen, die diese furchtbaren Tage in

unseren [illegible] bringen. Wir haben dann [illegible] Hoffnung, alle die in Nachnot bei Aschtara sind, von ihren Leiden zu befreien. Das allein ist unser innigster Wunsch und das allein ist wert an die Alija zu glauben. An und fuer sich hat die eine ziemliche Problematik mit sich gebracht Wird es eine wirkliche Alija? Duerfen wir uns den Aschkenasim anvertrauen? Wird daraus keine Deportation letzten Endes? Alles Fragen, die uns nach den bisherigen Erfahrungen von selber kommen mussten. Wir haben uns fuer ja entschlossen. Erstens wollen wir, dass alle Freunde aus den Lagern Ihren sollen und sie haben wirklich nichts zu riskieren. Dann diejenigen die sich ihres Aussehens wegen fuer Noori nicht eignen, und schliesslich auch von den anderen soviel es eben moeglich sind, denn viele Ueberlegungen weisen auf eine positive Alija und wir glauben, dass die Moeglichkeit eines schlechten Ausgangs viel kleiner ist, als bei unseren Aliyah. Unabhaengig davon, suchen wir aber unsere Rettungsarbeit weiter, denn wir wissen ja nie, was der naechste Tag bringen wuerde.
In unserem Raum arbeiten nun in der Hanhaga [illegible] mit wir Zwi I. Eli Cohn und Yehuda Rosenfeld. Die Ressorts, soweit sie heute ueberhaupt noch zu teilen sind: Eli- macht Dokumente, Verstecke, innere Organisation, Zwi- hat die polnischen Freunde, besonders Chaluzim und Aus. Flucht, [illegible] hat die Sorge fuer die Internierten und zuletzt haben neuestens verschiedene nuetzliche Verbindungen, welche bei vielen Faktoren der [illegible] helfen. Ich habe die Aussenvertretung, Palaestinaauswanderung, [illegible]. Selbstverstaendlich, dass mitarbeiten [illegible] in [illegible] Teilen [illegible] und eigentlich mehr oder weniger jeder von uns vor allem bei den Rettungsaufgaben mitarbeitet. Die ungarische Leitung hat ihre Leiter, je mit dem [illegible] arbeiten. Wir haben viel Hoffnung auf [illegible], [illegible] sind hier der weitaus beste und groesste Teil [illegible] im Arbeitsdienst und leider haben auch alle drei Teile schwere Verluste gehabt, besonders bei der Deportation in ihren Siedlungslaendern. Der "Dror" in den Karpathen, der "Hanonim" in Siebenbuergen und wir im Oberland. Trotzdem wir eine Menge Papiere den Freunden erledigten, waren die Ereignisse zu schnell und unerwartet fuer sie, als dass wir alle dazu bewegen konnten, in die Hauptstadt zu kommen. Nur der Kern der Bewegung, soweit er nicht bei Zawa (Militaerdienst) ist, kam. Wir kuemmern uns um diesen und es waren vor allem die Hiesigen, die wir noch [illegible] mit Zivilen Freunden zu unserer sandten. Fuer Pesach wachten wir vor allem die Zorim aber auch viele Chaluzim nahmen die Kuckflucht zu Pesach, da unsere gemeinsame Bewegung hier viel zu gross ist, als dass ein oder zwei Leitungsmitglieder genuegen wuerden. Deshalb mussten wir parallel mit anderen so starken Aktivi machen, an dem auch einige Chaverim des Oberlandes teilgenommen haben. Dazu kommt noch die Sorge um die hiesigen Freunde, der Partei. Sie sind noch viel zu unbeweglich, um Ziul zu machen, und eben deshalb legen wir so viel Gewicht in den letzten Tagen auf Machpela um wenigstens die Besten in Sicherheit bringen zu koennen.
Das Verhaeltnis innerhalb der gemeinsamen Bewegung ist das beste und wir arbeiten vollkommen gemeinsam, wie es ja anders nicht mal vorstellbar ist.
Das Verhaeltnis zu den anderen Chaluz ist nach dem bisher Gesagten klar. Die Zori vollkommene Zusammenarbeit, mit den anderen eine Einseitige, denn wir haben bisher fuer das Getane keine Gegenleistung erhalten, wobei die Situation umso grotesker wirkt, als dazu der Ichud ja hier der weitaus groesste Faktor geworden ist, denn er macht die Alija und die groessten Verbindungen. Die Aufgliederung der Alija entspricht bei weitem nicht dem wirklichen Verhaeltnisse, der Ichudblock hat weniger als zwei andere. Sie haben bisher keineswegs das gemacht, was man bisher mit uns getrieben hat und diesem Spiel ist z.B. auch Eli Sajo gefallen der laengst zur Alija gehen musste und sollte, wenn wir eben nicht ausgespielt worden waeren. Jisrael (Kast) hat versprochen noch an dem Verhaeltnis soweit zu korrigieren, dass Paritaet sein soll.
Natan, ich muss leider meinen Brief enden, trotzdem ich erst jetzt in Schwung gekommen bin und ich noch eine ganze Menge Sachen notiert habe, vor allem ueber Joffi. Ich hin und schrieb Dir ja schon letztens, dass ich ihn besuchen war und ihm, Noemi einigen Kenner brachte, sowie die gesandten Salvador Nejarot. Seine finanz. Situation ist leider sehr schlecht, denn

alles was noch hier zu regeln wäre mit den H[illegible] und welche Jisrael Kast schreibt.
Ich werde nachstens die ungeschriebenen Punkte ergaenzen. Ich wuerde Dir ja gerne genau ueber alles schreiben, glaube es mir aber dass es oft physisch unmoeglich ist und erst seelisch?! Dieses grenzenlose Ungluck von Neuem zu sehen und mitzuerleben! Glaube, wir sind oft der Verzweiflung nahe.
Ich denke begruesse ich Dich in der Runde meiner Freunde. Wir alle sind entschlossen uns durchzuraufen um zu helfen, wo es nur geht, dafuer zeugt unser bisheriges Tun. Bitte gedenkt unserer weiter und vergesset nicht, uns gezielt Patronen zu senden. Bitte aber in genauer Liste, denn unsere Waffenfirma sind zeitlos geworden. Ich bin Dir dankbar fuer Deine Arbeit und umarme Dich und gruesse herzlichst im Namen aller meiner Chawerim,

Peretz, Zwi, Elis, Chuda.

Budapest, 4. Juni 194[illegible]

Li[illegible]

Ich freue mich sehr, auch mir einmal ausfuehrlich schreiben zu koennen. Nuni, Du hast bisher noch keine meiner Briefe beantwortet, ich kann nicht verstehen, dass Du nicht wenigstens einige Zeilen und Ich hatte jedenfalls erwartet mit Eli Sajo gekommen. Sei nicht boese, wenn ich Dir per Post nicht schreiben will, das hat schon seine Gruende, Du kennst ja durch Schlichim auch so von Zeit zu Zeit von uns."

Seit der Uebergabe Eilat, haben wir eine Riesenarbeit hinter uns. Wir schrieben Euch ja schon, des Oefteren von unserer Hazalaarbeit und will diese heute nochmals kurz wiederholen. Es hiess zunaechst einmal, die Chawerim mit guten Dokumenten zu versehen. Bei den Fluechtlingen war es eigentlich nur eine Frage der Komplettierung. Die ung. Juden mussten sich jedoch von einen Tag auf den andern umstellen. Die Arbeit war freilich nicht ohne unfangreiche Schwierigkeiten und Fehler moeglich und so hat die ung. Bewegung auch die meisten Opfer zu verzeichnen. Die Arbeit, die in diesem Gebiet geleistet werden musste, war unermesslich gross. Wir konnten es unseren Dan, Zwi und Reno (Elis Freund) verdanken, wenn sie bewaeltigt worden konnte. Wir hatten fuer ca. hundert Fluechtlinge unserer Bewegung und fuer 200 Freunde der ung. Bewegung gesorgt. Gleichzeitig mit dieser Arbeit leiteten wir auch sofort den Ketiul zu Zwi F. ein, auf den wir genaechst alle Zofim und spaeter auch Chalatzim schickten Freilich halfen uns auf diesem wie auch auf ersterem Gebiet vielen uns nahestehenden Menschen. Wir schickten so ca. 45 Freunde zu Zwi (Glov) und hatten dabei ueberhaupt keine Verluste. Mit dem Tiul zu Enzer begannen wir leider viel zu spaet, denn wir hatten trotz aller Bemuehungen absolut keine Informationen ueber die dortige Lage. Mit dem Enzertiul begannen wir genau am 19.3 und als wir von Zoli Hochhauser gute Nachrichten bekamen begannen wir dann mit dem Werk. Heute haben wir 30 Chawerim drueben, doch haben wir auch riesige Verluste bei diesem Mifal zu verzeichnen, denn bisher fielen schon 10 Chawerim. Die Schwierigkeiten bei diesem Mifal sind verschiedener Natur und liegen samt und sonders auf der hiesigen Seite. Von den Chawerim, die drueben sind, haben wir sehr gute und aufmunternde Nachrichten. Es gehen staendig Chijot, einige Chawerim sind auch schon bereits zur Alijah gekommen, die nitpasnim gepackten koennen zur Alija herausgenommen werden, der Zibur (Oeffentlichkeit) arbeitet sehr schoen und aufopfernd, die Chawerim rufen uns dringend. Wir haben in diesem Mifal kein Gluck gehabt. Eine Zeitlang ging alles gut, dann fiel die erste Gruppe und seither kommen wir auf keinen gruenen Zweig kommen.

Anfangs war die gesamte Hagenaarbeit gemeinsam, d.h. der Ichud und wir machten alles gemeinsam, auch fuer die anderen Tnuot, die bezieht sich besonders auf die Nejrot-Arbeit. Der Hanhaz und der Misrachi wollten sich anfangs am Enzertiul nicht beteiligen, machten auch keinerlei Schritte in dieser Richtung. Spaeter begannen sie dann auch, ihnen gluckte die Sache besser-waren jedoch nicht fuer eine gemeinsame Sache zu haben.

So schiffen sich ca.100 Leute herueber und hatten verhaeltnismaessig keine Verluste. Besonders als Folge dieser ihrer Handlungsweise sind wir ganz auseinandergekommen; waehrend wir mit den Ichud heute heute weitgehendst und aufrichtig-herzlich gemeinsame Sache machen. Wir setzen unsere Beziehungen im Enzertiul tortz der Verluste fort,denn das bedeutet Alija. Folgende Chawerim sind schon sicher drueben,d.h. in Tel Aviv bezw.in Pard: Jenko Gurfein, Hella und Jakov Freudenreich, Esther und Sara L.Leon Perkovic,Abraham Bernstein,Rena Nadel und Bachura, von den polnischen Chawerim: Marion F.Von Abrahm Silberstein (Adam) Pola Brandes und Gercha Sechtel fehlt noch die bestaetigung ihrer Ankunft. Fron Ing. schon zu Zwi, er wollte nicht zur Alija,will in den Kochaim. Von den slov.Chawerim Dora Zimmermann,Jaffa Furzer,Lexo Weiss,Chajim Krauss, Dr. Klemm von den ung.Chawerim Z.L.Adler,Schmuel Fraenkel, Mania Berger, Ilka Loewinger,mit seiner Bachura,..dira Kozes,Janczi Tessler [illegible] sind bei Ueberfall: Peter und seine Bachura,Imri Nevesz Pali [illegible] verletzt,Ben Arez und Istvan von den ung.Chawerim,von den slov.Chawerim Dr.Fleischer. Wir hatten unter den evisierten Chawerim [illegible] viele Verluste,so Jenny Schmel, Ari Fischer, Schmuel Berger, [illegible] von den slov.Chawerim von den ung. Uri [illegible] und ca.15 weitere. Wir hoffen jedoch,die meisten dieser Chawerim in das jetzt [illegible] Alijah-Lager zu bekommen und [illegible] wenn die Alija nicht zur Stande kommt,so kommen sie ohne ihre Koffer. Einige Kranke und Juca sind bei Tiul auch [illegible],Imi sei es jedoch zu Fuessen und Juca Hecht. Wir ziehen [illegible] vor. Von den Alijah-Kummel haben wir uns [illegible] Verpflichtungen. Wir stehen an unserer Linie, [illegible] sogenannten "kleinen Linie" konsequent festgehalten. Jetzt stehen wir in Kfar Jehoschua [illegible] Jael-Jisreel und [illegible] die Mittel [illegible] unsere Leute schon [illegible]. Der Enzertiul ist [illegible] der Gejagt, die Freiheit [illegible] Alijah-Gedanken, [illegible] Gefahr [illegible] Kibbuzim, [illegible] Davon,dass das Leben selber viel erfordert,denn in der Zeit,da alles in Bewegung ist,koennen und sollen die Chawerim [illegible] keine Arbeitsplaetze annehmen. Im Augenblick sind wir wieder einmal blank,irgendwie haben wir uns [illegible] weitergeschleppt und es wird wohl auch weiter gehen. Ich bitte [illegible] Anliegendes [illegible] not,schickt sie aber in [illegible] couvert,sonst [illegible]. Es ist [illegible],die letzten besorgen wir uns nur zu einem Bruchteil. Damit Ihr Euch einen Begriff machen koennt wen wir brauchen: der Tiul der 50 Chawerim,von denen 30 angekommen sind, hat angef. 60.000 [illegible] gekostet. Das Herausbringen eines gefangenen Chawers kostet ca.5'000.

Wir haben heute noch ca.30 slov.15 poln.Chawerim hier, die ung.Zeugh ist noch fast ganz drueben hier und jetzt beginnen wir auch mit dem Tiul der Chawerim. Sollte die Alijah gelingen,so werden wir den uebrigbleibenden Teil der Tiul-Leute [illegible]. Die Stimmung unter den Chawerim ist sehr gut,ich arbeite mit Pil,Simla und Ofra Reichmann zusammen, 3 praechtige Jungen, deren Aufopferungsgeist und mit fast keine Grenzen kennt. Es gibt heute auch schon viele Differenzen,die wir mit den Ichud-Chawerim aufteilen wir sind heute soweit gekommen,dass wir sogar Kommunim gemeinsam handhaben.

Ueber die allgemeine Lage verweise ich Euch auf Israels Brief. Ich moechte noch einige Zeilen ueber Ivo Davidovics schreiben,damit etwas klargestellt wird. Wir haben Ivo ge enueber immer eine gewisse Distanz bewahrt weil seine ganze Art und sein Handeln uns nicht anders handeln liess. Ivo hat seine ganze Aktivitaet fuer seine Landesgruppe entfaltet. Seit dem Einmarsch der Deutschen **setzte** er alles daran selber herauszukommen, und zwar auf einen moeglichst sicheren und guten Weg. Schliesslich ist ihm dies auch gelungen,er fuhr vorgestern mit Derkija zu Enzer. Seine letzten Anordnungen waren mehr als unchawerisch,er hat nicht nur seine Leute gaenzlich unversorgt zurueckgelassen,er hat nicht nur fuer die nicht gesorgt er hat zur Sicherung seiner Abreise sogar ganz unmoegliche und absolut unreelle Machinationen gemacht,die erst jetzt ans Tageslicht gekommen sind. Ich moechte Euch eindringlich vor Ivo warnen,man kann ihn nicht als unseren Chawer betrachten und schon gar nicht als unseren

Vertreter. Ivo ist ein rucksichtsloser,geschickter Kerl,der sein Leben um jeden Preis retten wollte- viele haben ihn geliebt und er hat auch eine Reihe von Betreuungen,die man ihm eigentlich entziehen sollte.
Ich bestaetige Heinis Karte an Adam aus der ich ersehe,dass sich Adam gemeldet hat. Wie Ihr aus der Korrespondenz der Vejalim seht,sind bisher zum groessten Teil Chawerim zur Tiul gegangen,den diese erscheinen uns als die gefaehrdeten. Adams Vorwurf ist deshalb nicht berechtigt. Ich will darauf nicht weiter eingehen, Chajim wird je nachdem den waren Sachverhalt referiert haben und hoffentlich wird es auch Hans Wendel bald tun koennen.
Mit Ivri.kontakt wir hier nicht verwirklichen,Zwi (Slov) wird mit ihnen jetzt wahrscheinlich mehr beginnen koennen. Mit Chwi haben wir auch weiter in Kontakt,doch wird es jetzt weniger intensiv ist. Die Lage ist dort im allgemeinen unverändert,doch wenn die Luft mit Gewitter geschwaengert ist. Sehr intensiv ist unser Kontakt mit Dan Z. Er hatte eine wunderbare neue Arbeit gefunden.
Bitte leitet den Brief auch an Lucka,wir uns Rosko weiter,richtet ihnen unsere herzlichsten Gruesse aus. Wir alle brennen auf ein Wiedersehen sind erfuellt von Lebens-und Arbeitswille vor allem aber hoffen wir nach Hause. Wir brechen mit davon,was wir doch hier ein schreckliches Heimweh sein werden,die wir doch mit allen Mitteln der dunkelsten Hinterwelt des Leben der Freunde gerettet haben. Wird uns noch jemals die Chawrah-Jeladim des Pöbus ein Lachela abringen koennen,werden wir uns Ruhe des Gewaechs der Viehbestandes oder fuer einen Reisig auf Position begeistern,koennen? Sicherlich und hoffentlich nicht! Vielleicht wird es uns gelingen,unseren Blick,den der Tod und der Kampf geweitet haben,dem Lande und der Arbeit zu geben.
So viel Gute Reise,der Schabbesch geht schon und eilt zur Ruhe an, Dein alter Schmuel wir umarmen Euch in Liebe und Treue

Koffi

Budapest,12.6.44

Lieber [redacted],
vor einiger Zeit habe ich Dir einen kurzen Brief geschrieben,Du hast mir diesen aber noch nicht beantwortet. Von Venia habe ich einige Briefe bekommen,in welchen er mir auch geschrieb,dass ich mit Dir in Kontakt sein soll. Mit Venia kann ich leider in keinem so guten Kontakt stehen,deshalb bitte ich Dich,ihm immer wieder mich und meine Familie zu schreiben.
Die Situation bei uns ist leider sehr ernst. Der groesste Teil unserer Arbeit ist liquidiert durch Gerüchte vor allem in Arp.und in Siebenbuergen. Wir haben einzelne Chawerim von dort nach Erbira bringen koennen. Leider ist es nur eine zeitweilige Loesung,da in kurzem auch hier der Boruch in Aussicht kommt. Wir bemuehen uns jetzt alles auf Tijul-Anzor zu konzentrieren. Leider haben wir viele Chawerim beim Tiul verloren unter anderen auch den Peter(Eli Sajo) und Rischa. Trotz allem muessen wir den Tiul weiter machen,da wir vorlaeufig keinen anderen Ausweg haben. Max Fischer und Chawka sind vor einigen Tagen gefahren zu Enzer und ich hoffe,dass sie gesund angelangt sind. Die Filiale meiner Bewegung sind zum Grossteil liquidiert,die anderen werden hoffentlich bis zum Herbsten auch nicht mehr warten muessen. Anders ist es mit den ungarischen Tiuot wo wir noch vor vielen Problemen stehen. Wie Du weisst,habe ich mich um die Ziwia-Tiluga gekuemmert,auch da haben wir schon einen ganz schoenen Teil liquidieren koennen. Jedenfalls gibt es auch hier noch eine Reihe sehr guter Chawerim.
Wie Du aus dem allgemeinen Brief ersehen wirst,sind unsere besten Liquidationsmittel der Tiul zu Enzer aber noch immer hegen wir Hoffnungen fuer eine Alijah die uns von sehr grossen und vielen Sorgen entheben wuerde. Die konkrete Bezalaarbeit ist leider mit Opfer verbunden, Rosen orr,Hildenrad von der Pfl.eine Reihe Chawerim von dem Kibbonim und wie ich schon oben erwaehnte auch die Besten von Perez seine Chawerim (Gord) darueber wird er Dir schon selber ausfuehrlich schreiben. Alles das schmerzt uns riesig,wir muessen aber immer nur nach

Vorne sehen und retten was noch zu retten ist,was bisher also wir ja auch viele Erfolge verzeichnen duerfen.
Dass ich mit Perez Familie (Gord) ganz eng zusammen arbeite,ist ja selbstverstaendlich und ueberhaupt ist der Ichud Hier eigentlich eine Leitung und eine Tnua. Auch mit den Kindern von Jari (Hasch.Haz) arbeiten wir schon ganz eng zusammen. Mit den anderen gibt es eher grundsaetzliche als praktische Zusammenarbeit,was aber nicht im schlechten Willen liegt - das Verhaeltnis untereinander ist besser als je - sondern in den technischen Gegebenheiten, die hier bei Bilbuj-Chukijot die sehr schwer ist,keine grosse Kooperationen erlauben.
Ich habe Dich im letzten Brief gebeten,mir Rolfs Adresse mitzuteilen,bitte vergesse dies keinesfalls. Was die Salvadornejarot anbelangt,haben wir sie erhalten. Darauf haben wir Dir Tmuot geschickt,wenn Du sie erhalten hast, besorge bitte Darkijot mit Bilder und christlichen Namen. Ich bitte Dich schreibe zu Venia und Josef,weil ich nur durch Postkarte ein paar Zeilen ihm zukommen lassen kann,obzwar ich jetzt hoffe,dass der Kontakt auch zu ihm klappen wird. Was weisst Du ueber Zwia?Puffi schreibt uns,dass Saba und Alica sich sicher noch drueben befinden und nachdem sie erfahren haben, dass Aschke auch zu uns kamen,haben sie beschlossen bei Zwia zu bleiben. Sie haben leider Sorgen mit Smzaim und wir koennen jetzt leider garnichts fuer sie tun.
Uebrigens schreibt Dir ja Perez ausfuehrlich ueber alles. Ich gruesse herzlichst Rolf,Adina-Moledet-Venia und alle anderen Chawerim und Dich von ganzem Herzen, Dein

Zvi Goldfarb

Budapest
[illegible]b, den 14.Juni 1944

Lieber Nathan!
Seit meinem letzten Briefe sind mehrere ereignisreiche Wochen verflossen, nachdem Dir aber Prz seither auch geschrieben hat,so bist Du ueber die furchtbare Entwicklung der Dinge bei uns am Laufenden geblieben.
Durch mein Gegenwaertiges moechte ich dennoch die entstandenen Luecken tunlichst auffuellen.
Ich uebersende Dir anbei die kurze Beschreibung der Geschehnisse bei uns, und moechte besonders auf die letzten sieben Seiten,welche den Verlauf der Konzentrierung und Gerusch der Juden aus Ungarn in chronologischer Reihenfolge in einigen Ortschaften beschreiben, hinweisen. Das Material ist nicht vollstaendig,nachdem ich nur vollstaendig kontrollierte Daten angeben wollte Die Ziffern sind aber restlos richtig,und widerspiegeln das entsetzliche Zusammenbrechen des Judentums in Ungarn. Zur Stunde der Abfassung dieses Schreibens ist der Gerusch in vollem Gange und falls durch eine unerwartete Wendung oder vielleicht durch eine Aktion unsererseits diese furchtbare Prozedur nicht in der letzten Minute eingestellt oder abgebremst werden kann so ist Ungarn in einigen Wochen vollstaendig entjudet.
Die Provinz ist bereits insofern entjudet,als unsere noch hier weilenden Brueder restlos in Lagern und Ghettos konzentriert sind. In Budapest erwarten wir in den naechsten Tagen,vielleicht schon Stunden,die Errichtung des Ghettos,welche Massnahme ungefaehr eine viertel Million Juden treffen wird. Mit dem Gerusch aus Budapest kann laut der momentanen Lage fuer die erste Haelfte des Monats Juli gerechnet werden.
Das ist die bittere,trockene Tatsache.
Nun moechte ich Dir ueber unsere Rettungsversuche schreiben. Ueber die Entsendung Joels nach Istanbul- Abreise vor vier Wochen- bist Du unterrichtet Sicherlich sind Dir auch die Details seiner Mission und die Ergebnisse seiner Verhandlungen hinlaenglich bekannt. Du weisst also auch,dass er bis zur Stunde nicht zurueckgekehrt ist und dieser Umstand hat wesentlich dazu beigetragen,meine hier parallel gefuehrten Verhandlungen und meine Position unseren Partnern gegenueber so zu erschweren,wie es ueberhaupt nur denkbar war. Es liegt mir fern,deshalb unserem Freunde Joel Vorwuerfe zu machen, ich will nur soviel feststellen,dass eine jede Stunde Verspaetung hunderte von juedischen Leben erfordern kann. Dies ist umso trauriger,als seine telegrafischen Nachrichten ziemlich vielversprechend lauten. Nun muss ich

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über [illegible]
denn ein voll staendiges Bild haben.
Trotz dieser fatalen Verspaetung konnte ich in den letzten Tagen so viel erreichen, dass die Transporte welche in den naechsten Tagen abfahren sollen in zwei Teile geteilt werden. Inzwischen durften 20-30.000 anstatt wie bisher zu Livia zu Loewenherz fahren, um dort zeitweilig einer Sonderbehandlung unterworfen sein. Diese Juden koennen nachher im Lehmen, welchen Joels Verhandlungen geschaffen haben, hoffentlich gerettet werden und die eventuell zur Auswanderung bestimmt. Vom Ergebnis dieser Verhandlungen [illegible] haengt auch das Schicksal unserer verbliebenen Alijah ab, [illegible] es erscheint uns Loewenherz hoffentlich beeinflusst zur den Gral von [illegible] erreicht werden kann. Dann kann mich die [illegible] keinen Illusionen hingegeben bereits der Umstand, dass es [illegible] gelungen ist, vor einer [illegible] etwa 385 Juden aus Kolozsvar knapp vor Beginn zu retten und diese nach [illegible]pest zu bringen. Diese sind bereits hier in einem sogenannten Vorlager unter menschlichen Umstaenden untergebracht und ist ein Teil [illegible] bereits dazu bestimmt, mit der ersten Alijah abzufahren. Die [illegible] in der [illegible] wir die [illegible] gegebene Zusage und der Umstand [illegible] Visen berechtigen gehalten wurde, bestaetigt mich in der Annahme, [illegible] viel und schoene feste Versprechen verlassen kann.
Im Zusammenhang mit dem oben Gesagten bitte ich in zweierlei Hinsichten um Deine tatkraeftige Unterstuetzung angewiesen:
1) Wir werden sehr dafuer sorgen muessen, dass die bei Loewenherz untergebrachten 6-30.000 Juden von hier aus verkoestigt werden. Dies erfordert pro Person taeglich ca. 4 Pengö, d.h. pro Tag ca. 100-120.000 Pengö. Wie schon [illegible] dass die ganze Judenheit von seinem Vermoegen voll staendig entbloesst ist, muessen wir auf die Unterstuetzung der internationalen juedischen Hilfsorganisationen rechnen. Du wirst Dir leicht ausrechnen koennen, welchen [illegible] Apparat diese Aktion erfordert. In der Annahme, dass Joels Aktion gelingt, werden aber [illegible] Loewenherz zeitweilig untergebrachten [illegible] wahrscheinlich noch etwa weiterfahren koennen, sodass Ihr Aufenthalt bei Loewenherz stets ein vorübergehender bleibt und einige [illegible] in diesem Monate. Berechne den erforderlichen Betrag und setze Dich [illegible] mit [illegible] Praesidenten [illegible] in Verbindung, dem ich den Durchschlag meines [illegible] gleichzeitig sende.
Bei [illegible] dieser Aktion werden sich hier in Ansehung [illegible] erforderlich hohe Summen benoetigen, welche aber umgerechnet und über [illegible] nicht unaufbringbar sein werden. Diese, Eure Aktion duldet keine [illegible] Aufschub. Letztere ebenso haben [illegible] Lebensmittel [illegible] die ersten 3 [illegible] verarbeiteten und den ersten drei Vorschuss [illegible] mitgesandt. Unsere [illegible] mittels [illegible] bis [illegible] den letzten Heller verbraucht, und Du musst es verstehen, [illegible] neuerdings auch [illegible] von Dir und von den Hilfswerken [illegible] unverzügliche Hilfe fördern.
2) Es wird die Aufgabe der zionistischen Organisation sein, den Transit durch Italien zu besorgen. Der rote Transport ist hier ca. 1000-1500 [illegible] erschoepft. Du wirst schon jetzt Deine Fuehler ausstrecken, um diese [illegible] Verschleppung [illegible] zu vermeiden.

Indem ich mich auf den [illegible] zugleich zugehenden Brief von Irz beruhe, hoffe ich [illegible] umfassenden Ueberblick geboten zu haben.

Ich [illegible] Dich herzlichst

Israel (Kastner)

7 1 0 3 5

[illegible], den 24. Juli 1944

[illegible] [redacted], [illegible] der vom 10
[illegible] [illegible] geschriebenen Brief bei. In der Zwischenzeit prazierte der
[illegible] [illegible] worde noch heute [illegible] und geht im
[illegible] [illegible], der vor zwei Monaten
rasenden Tempo [illegible]. Es war [illegible] unter uns, [illegible] konnte. Vor allem war das
[illegible] der Tragoedie auch [illegible] Kompte. Vor allem war das
[illegible] [illegible], die verschiedenen Entjudungs[illegible] folgten mit
Tempo [illegible], die verschiedenen [illegible] Tragoedie traf die
[illegible] [illegible] unvorbereitet,
[illegible] seelisch und [illegible] historisch so unvorbereitet,
[illegible] [illegible] musste, mit Expedi[illegible]ten zu arbeiten.
[illegible] [illegible] und stehen jetzt mitten in dieser
[illegible] sind nicht zu [illegible] [illegible] erwiesen hat.
[illegible] Tragoedie, [illegible] gibt uns ein [illegible] der Ge-
[illegible] [illegible] der konzentrierten und [illegible]ierten
[illegible] [illegible] und [illegible]en der konzentrierten und [illegible] in der Vor[illegible]-
[illegible] [illegible] fragen [illegible], [illegible] dieser [illegible] in der Vor[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible]. [illegible] in Ziegel[illegible] oder unter freiem
[illegible] [illegible] Konzentrationslager, die vollstaendige Auspluenderung
[illegible] [illegible] (bis auf die letzte Schachtel [illegible]hoelzer) wurden
[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] konzentrierten waehrend der
[illegible] [illegible] versteckten [illegible]en zu [illegible]leiden [illegible]. An einigen
[illegible] [illegible] elektrischen Strom benutzt
[illegible] [illegible] Gendarmerieoffizier schieden die Gummiknueppel
[illegible] [illegible] zu mild. Es ist jetzt ganz klar, dass der
[illegible] [illegible] Bearbeitung der Judenfrage
[illegible] [illegible], [illegible] radikalste Loesung durchzu-
[illegible] [illegible] entschlossen [illegible], die Teilnahms-
[illegible]. Die Verworrenheit der [illegible]politischen Lage, die Teilnahms-
losigkeit der [illegible]en (gefordert durch eine [illegible] des Sinnes
und der [illegible] der [illegible]) haben ihm dieses furchtbare Spiel
[illegible] erleichtert. Das Rote Kreuz, die [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] Vertretungen, die Kirchen haben hoechstens schwache
[illegible] [illegible], den Prozess zu mildern, sie hatten aber [illegible] Gehör
[illegible]. Die liberalen eingestellten Elemente der ungarischen Politik
[illegible] [illegible] Persoenlichkeiten fest
[illegible] [illegible], sind derart
[illegible] ausgeschaltet, [illegible] gleich [illegible]. Dasselbe
[illegible] [illegible] sozialdemokratischen Partei.
[illegible] [illegible] Judenrat und der in der Judenfrage zustaendigen
[illegible] [illegible] Judenrates
[illegible] [illegible], um die Mitglieder des Judenrates
[illegible] [illegible] darum [illegible], um [illegible] Auftraege
[illegible] [illegible] zu [illegible].
Der [illegible] Versuch, einen Ausweg zu finden, waren die Besprechungen, die
[illegible] [illegible] Instanzen kurz nach dem Einmarsch initiiert
[illegible] [illegible] dieser Besprechungen bist Du informiert.
[illegible] die ersten Phasen dieser Besprechungen [illegible] orientiert sein. Joel hat u[illegible]
[illegible] Reise [illegible] orientiert sein. Joel hat u[illegible]
[illegible] [illegible], dass sein Vorschlag akzeptiert und ein
[illegible] abgeschlossen worden ist. Leider waren wir (die
[illegible] von Joel und ich) 5taegige [illegible] der hagerischen [illegible]
[illegible] ankam, sodass wir es nicht rechtzeitig beantworten
[illegible] [illegible] kategorische Weisung hatte, spaetestens
konnten. Joel, der [illegible] die kategorische [illegible] und der in Istanb. mit Auf-
innerhalb von zwei Wochen zurueckzukehren und der in Istanb. mit Auf-
[illegible] Schwierigkeiten zu kaempfen hatte, ist unter von uns noch nicht
ganz geklaerten Umstaenden [illegible] gefahren, anstatt sofort zurueck
zu kommen und ueber [illegible] seiner ersten Besprechungen zu be-
richten. Wenn der Prozess der voelligen Entjudung Ungarns ueberhaupt
aufzuhalten war, dann waere es nur durch sofortige und [illegible]
[illegible] moeglich gewesen. Es bestand hier seitens einiger Stellen
der ernste Wille, zu helfen und die Verzoegerung die die Angelegenheit
durch Joels Weiterfahrt erlitten hat, hat eben diese Stellen verstimmt
und daran gehindert, sich tatkraeftig einzusetzen. Zwischen dem 500%-igen
[illegible] von [illegible] u.Co. und dem Misstrauen des Rascha [illegible]
dem Gelingen von Joels Aktion so [illegible]) gestellt, war die Situation
dieser wohlwollenden Elemente zu heikel um etwas Grosszuegiges von
ihnen erwarten zu koennen. Das Spaerliche, was erreichbar war, ist Dir x
aus meinem frueheren Brief bekannt. Den Strom der Zuege nach Auschwitz

[illegible] Vi[illegible] von den De[illegible]ortierten, die zur Arbeit eingesetzt worden sind, haben bereits Lebenszeichen von sich gegeben. Alle diese Karten sind aus Waldsee datiert und berichten, dass sie [illegible]wohlauf sind. Einige tausend solcher Postkarten sind in der letzten Zeit angekommen. Heute wird die Konzentrierung der Juden in der Hauptstadt beendet. Der letzte Akt des Dramas beginnt. [illegible] Konzentrierung in [illegible]ten Haeusern (2570 Haeuser [illegible] Zweck [illegible]) und [illegible] in [illegible] abgeschlossen, [illegible], hingegen [illegible] Vorbereitung von [illegible] Juden [illegible] weitere drei [illegible] total [illegible], Altersheime [illegible] einzelnen [illegible], in Spitaelern [illegible] ihr [illegible] vorlae[illegible] zu sichern. Man hat [illegible]extrem, [illegible] mit [illegible], die [illegible] Gesetz [illegible]juden [illegible] wahren [illegible] tschechischen [illegible] von dem [illegible] worden sind. [illegible] Judenfrage ein [illegible] die Ausrottung [illegible]. In der Loesung [illegible] sein, sondern [illegible] Auch [illegible] Loesung der [illegible] Frage [illegible]t, [illegible] weiter [illegible]." [illegible] Kaschau [illegible] ungarischen [illegible] bei [illegible] der letzte [illegible] aus der Hand der Juden [illegible]. Wenn man der [illegible] von [illegible] Boden [illegible] Eintreiben.

[illegible] und [illegible] werden. Die ganze [illegible] Konzentrierung in den Haeusern [illegible] zu sein, zu weiteren [illegible] ungenuegend [illegible] Prozess [illegible] Monate [illegible] eingeschlossen. In den letzten Tagen hat der Freund von Abr[illegible] einige [illegible] Versuche gemacht um diesem Prozess Einhalt zu gebieten. Der hiesige [illegible] (von der Familie Abr[illegible]) ist [illegible], hingegen versucht jetzt die andere [illegible] mit allen Kraeften, den Prozess abstoppen zu lassen. Vor drei [illegible] schien es, dass in [illegible] ist, denn es waren [illegible] im Umlauf [illegible] gefasst hat. [illegible] die Versuche von der erwaehnten [illegible] (Katol [illegible] wiederholt werden und ich glaube annehmen zu koennen, dass man von [illegible] eine Beschleunigung der Geschehnisse in dem [illegible] kein besonderes Interesse gezeigt [illegible] mehr, als wir [illegible] vereinbart haben, Menachem aus [illegible] einzuladen, um das von Joel besprochene Material vorzulegen. Ich hoffe, dass [illegible] waehrend der naechsten Woche eintrifft. Ausserdem habe ich veranlasst, dass [illegible] telegrafisch den wesentlichen Inhalt der [illegible] Joel in [illegible]verhandelt und [illegible] abgeschlossen [illegible], mitteilt. So versuchen wir die [illegible] zu [illegible], die durch die Verzoegerung der Rueckkehr Joels [illegible]. Ich konnte mich waehrend der letzten [illegible] dem [illegible], dass [illegible] die Aktion nicht mehr das Interesse [illegible] in Angriff genommen hat.
[illegible] in meinem vorigen Brief erwaehnten Resultat [illegible] es zu erwarten, [illegible] Gruppe, deren [illegible] Beginn der Verhandlungen [illegible], Ende der jetzt beginnenden Woche, ihre Reise

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antreten wird. Der Befehl durch Achkenasi zu Pfarad. Das Datum der Preisverleihung ich Dir telegrafisch mitx folgendem Text bekannt geben: "Morgen Preisevisum Ihrer Franz". Ich nehme an, dass alle jene Ahmes getroffen werden um die Schtetl Beot Annaschim (Plitim we Pischim) Buchstinge und Pioniere, bei Pfarad entsprechend zu empfangen. Die Mitteilung geschieht in Form von Gespräch (Ferngespräch) die sie telefonisch erhalten werden in Form übermittelt, die von uns ermittelt worden sind. Die Abfahrt kann mit Ihnen

Die Aufgabe - [illegible] von Ihnen die Erfolge der [illegible] zu sichern, [illegible] verschiedene Verhandlungen und [illegible] erhalten. Es handelt sich um Waren, die in Europa meistens in [illegible] sind. Die Finanzierung dieser Lieferungen wird [illegible] in einer Form wie sie unten [illegible] ist. Ich bitte Dich, dem Onkel die Schlüsse mitzuteilen [illegible] von Ihnen bitten, sein Möglichstes zu tun um [illegible] zu erhalten. Die Verständigung betreffend die Konditionen wegen die Wechselbürgschaften [illegible] Verbindungen [illegible] sind. Über den letzten Punkt in Bewegung zu bringen, [illegible] Sie [illegible] schon [illegible] Formen, auch mit [illegible] Bank [illegible]. Davon werden wir benachrichtigt, [illegible] (ob [illegible] von uns nachträglich telefonisch [illegible] werden) teilweise als [illegible] werden, die [illegible] (Ware) [illegible]. Es ist unbedingt notwendig, dass [illegible] so, dass [illegible] wir [illegible], Ihr auch verdienen sollt, ein [illegible] Ihr Kapital [illegible] zu erhalten, waren den dann die [illegible] werden können. Ich möchte betonen: der [illegible] Israel eines [illegible] Jischuw die Hauptsächlichen [illegible] Differenzen unter uns [illegible] und erfassen [illegible] davon [illegible], in [illegible] imstande sein, die dazu nötigen Mittel zu [illegible]. Es steht noch [illegible] fest, welcher Preis für die Alijah x von [illegible] zu bezahlen ist.

Ich [illegible] [illegible], dass es durch die Aktionen von [illegible] ist, [illegible] Israel den [illegible] und [illegible] zu [illegible].

Ich [illegible] unser Kapital [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Möglichkeit werden wir [illegible] zur Finanzierung von Alijah und [illegible] Mittel [illegible] von [illegible] ist uns [illegible], diese zurück zu [illegible].

Die [illegible] haben [illegible] schon durch unseren letzten Schlia quittiert. An [illegible] dritte [illegible] haben wir endlich mit den Nationalitäts[illegible] [illegible] und Darka erhalten, laut Aufstellung "2". Der vierte [illegible] [illegible], ist in Prüfung [illegible]. Wir standen damals [illegible] ganz [illegible] Mittel entblösst da, denn das ist knapp nach [illegible] durch die Aschkenasim veranlassten Freilassung an [illegible]. [illegible] den Onkel, diesen Brief als Bestätigung und Schutz aller bisheri[illegible] [illegible] (Beot also 97) sowie 98 zu betrachten.

Die [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] von Stefanim und Betanim [illegible] und nachdem die [illegible] [illegible] noch in April [illegible] [illegible] Safim ebenfalls verloren [illegible] sind, hatten wir seit [illegible] [illegible] keinen Schlaf [illegible].

[illegible] frei.

Josel [illegible] [illegible] wurde von der Arbeit [illegible] ausgeschaltet. Sie Adom scheint gute Absichten zu haben, ist aber [illegible] ohnmächtig. Es ist ihm nicht [illegible] gelungen, [illegible] Schnot [illegible] durchzusetzen.

Den Stav Dr. Kapp habe [illegible] geleitet. [illegible] Situation [illegible] eine [illegible] ist, kann man von einem "Vorschlag" sprechen. Letzere haben [illegible] durch die Hilfe von Willis Freunden vor einigen [illegible] [illegible] lassen und ihr den Druck von Abarn Alafim Betanim [illegible]. Ich lege hier die Originale der Bestätigungen bei. Ueber die einzelheiten von Yazala, Tiul, haben Dir meine Freunde ausführlich berichtet. Ich möchte unseren Soel anzustand nicht schildern.

[illegible]

Und [illegible] mit un[illegible], [illegible] besonder
Sache nur [illegible] drei [illegible] zu schreiben. [illegible] dürfen,
[illegible] alles verloren ist.
[illegible] unsere [illegible] vor all[illegible] Bitte [illegible] um
Entschuldigung, [illegible] [illegible] geschrieben [illegible]. Auch
[illegible] bitten, [illegible] von [illegible] [illegible] der
[illegible] zu nehmen. [illegible] dem
[illegible] sicheren
[illegible] mit [illegible] Gast, [illegible] im
[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

...dapest, den 20.Juni 1944

In der entsetzlichen Lage der ungarischen Judenheit ...
...ie Herausgutreten.
Die drei letzten drei Punkte sind Ihnen ...
...ob. ... durch meinen ...
...dazu zu bereden,i... ...en und retten ...
...ben "j de..." ... so ...tigen ...
...t. ... ein... ...ng in den ...
...ungen,... ...rt ... ...enne... ...aser ...
...von ... ...it. ... ...Kinder ...

...nicht ...
...Mittel ...
...ten,... ...d-...
...ieren ... ...ell ...
...ben ... ...he ...
...ten ... ...als ...
...war.
...Ihnen ... ...die ...
...n. ... ...aro ...
...ben ... ...ten.
...ten ...
...durch ... ...ch ...
...ite.
...e ... ...
...e ... ...des ...
...vielleicht von Zorn-und ...Ernst...bedeutet. Und ...
...

...von ...
...teil ...

...b...

...gespeist, ... 1 / /...

...ist/
...zu reiben. ... bei diesem ...
...kurz ...,de... die Zeit ...
...ändern. Un... darum ...ist es ...
...schreiben ... verstehen ... ...ten ...

...
Inlagengut ... ...Seine zwei ...en,al... ...ir eine ...sche ...
...te,... ...ute von unserer Zigeuner-Kuza,7) Leute in ver-... ...ändert, ...
...tei ...ejle. Jetzt hat ... ...e,kolossal ... ...geändert, ...
...nicht weniger wie elf Leute ... ...noch dort. Unter ...iesen: Olek G., ...
...Olek ...ohn noch mit zweien in ... ...ganz schweren ...ungs...heit. Man ...
...zum ...gen ... ...jetzt nicht sprechen,diesen ...rief soll ihr ...ischpat ...
...verro... und ... ...werden wenig... ...einige ...chenim ...kommen. Seine ...
...lb. ...Eltern ... ...sowie ältere ...unserer ...bewerber ... ...sind in ...schkenasi- ...
...schen ...Gebiete ... ...wohnen ...nicht ... ...mit ...chichtur versehen ...
...nd. ... ...wurden ... ...wurde ins "L...ad". Ich erfuhr,dass die ...
...in der ...Zeit ...nzelt hier ...bleiben sollen und ich ver...suche sie heraus- ...
...zuholen ohne zu wissen,ob ...es mi...lingen wird. ...Auf Grund erhal- ...
...tener ...Zusa...ten ... ...hoffen ... ...wenig ...hier tat,denn ...ir in ...
...

00365

Carte

Budapest. 10.6.44.

Mein lieber [redacted],

unter dem Eindruck furchtbarer Ereignisse setze ich mich hin,Dir diese Zeilen zu .Ich weiss nicht,womit anzufangen,Bitte ich Dir noch gestern geschrieben,waere alles noch viel aussichtsloser,noch viel dunkler.Und diesmal ist es nicht nur die allgemeine Situation,die meine Stimmung im Briefe bestimmt,sondern eine Reihe von Ungluecksfaellen,die sich in unserer Familie ereigneten.Ich schrieb Dir,dass Eli und Mischo zu Enzer gehen wollten,erst Mischo und Bachura plus noch einige Chawerim von uns und von Rafi f allen der Aktera in die Haende.Eli Max und Chawka konnten nur mit Glueck zu mir zurueck.Eli entschloss sich bald abermals den Versuch zu unternehmen,diesmal endete er j doch grad wegs bei Tisch.Er befindet sich in einer Goulstadt,inmitten grdsster Verwahrlosung.Nach Eli war es Menachem,der die schwerste Arbeit mit Nejarot leistete,die hier Mitpass wurden.Und um alles zu krönen,wurde indirekt im Zusammenhang mit all diesen Faellen Joels Frau-die in Joels Abwesenheit den Gescher mit Aschk. machte-ebenso Israel und noch einige nahen Menschen verhaftet.Man fand eine ganze kompromitt rende Material.Ich will Dir nicht Einzelheiten schreiben-es wurde alles unternommen,um die Angelegenheit zu liquidieren.Erschwert war das Ganze dadurch,dass die Angelegenheiten bei den Bekannten erledigt wurden,welche in ihrem Eifer keine Grenzen kennen. it Hilfe Joels Freund Aschk.kamen gestern endlich Israel,Mosi und ihre Freunde zu uns und sie bereiten sich schon wieder vor,in die Arbeit zu gehen.Bei den Chalzfreunden ist die Lage schwieriger,leider befinden sich noch elin bei Tisch. und es gibt nur diese einzige Hoffnung,dass Aschk.etwas fuer sie tun wird,denn einen anderen Verein gibt es nicht.Versprochen hat er es jedenfalls,bisher hat er Wort gehalten. Meine persoenliche Stimmung der letzten Tage kannst Du Dir noch besser vorstellen, wenn ich Dir sage,dass ich ahnungslos am Sonntag von Puffi zurueckkam,und mich die Nachrichten wie Faustschlaege trafen.Nachdem wir keinen Verein fanden, uffis mit Amzeim zusammen zubringen,und wir staendig von ihnen darum gebeten wurden,und wir auch erhielten,habe ich mich entschlossen,die Angelegenheit selber zu ordnen.Ich war mit Schachor ein ge Tage bei Puffi und habe auch Berim Blofski et.mitgenommen.Die anderen Kinder von Vera wollten wir nicht mitnehmen,damit Schachor doch die Wohnung bestehen konnte.zuviel auf einmal Verdinwegen zu riskieren.Jedenfalls haben wir Zeit gewonnen, und haben auch mit Ihm schon Verein besprochen,der in der naechsten Zeit erledigt sein wird. Er selber bedeutet der Besuch sehr viel.Nach zwei langen Jahren,nach Tajul zu Tajar,habe ich alle meine gebliebenen Lieben wiedergesehen,habe mit ihnen ueber die Aktionen der Vergangenheit gesprochen und bin mit vielen ihrer Voruscherfahrungen zurueckgekommen,um mich wieder in das traurigste Milieu einzuschalten.
Noemi(nenne sie auch Ozna)ist bereits laengere Zeit gesund,arbeitsfroh,dafuer Vater auf laengere Zeit erkrankt,gottlob aber nicht gefaehrlich.Ich koennte Dir vieles ueber meinen Verein schreiben,die Zeit gestattet aber nicht,denn diese Moeglichkeit ist nur zufaellig offen,und es bleibt nur ganz wenig Zeit zum schreiben.Deshalb ist auch dieser Brief nicht so systematisch,nur so hingeworfen,das was mir am Herzen liegt.
Vor allem bestaetige ich den Empfang des letzten Your von 23.und 25.5. und alles war dabei war-ist viel Glueck geschah dies alles,da ja Joels Ahnung Haar ist,und nur durch Zufall wir der Gescher in die Wohnung kam.Ich werde dafuer sorgen,dass er staendig ausgeschaltet sein wird(Du siehst es je heute)und dass keine technische Schwierigkeiten dabei sein werden.Ausser der Freude von Dir und Onkel wieder zu hoeren,war Vera so lebendig wie noch nie,denn leider hat Aktera beim Tod Josefski mit sich genommen,und wir bleiben vollkommen ohne Hilfe.Die vorigen erhielt hat Euch Joel und Israel letzten bestaetigt und auch dem Onkel geantwortet.Alle Deine Briefe waren auch dabei.Ausfuehrliche Beantwortung und Bestaetigung erwartet bitte baldmoeglichst.Naechste Woche(Ende).
Jetzt noch das Schrecklichste-Ganz kurz.Dafuer gibt es keine Worte.Das Tempo ist unfassbar,die Ausmasse furchtbar.Diese Woche wurden die dritten von Tief beendet!!! Taeglich kommen Waggons Alafim zu Verein.Die Partaten sind bereits Judenfrei, Viele von Norden schon jetzt in Hillis Gegend und Gescher Schw.Unbarmherzig,brutal, ohne Essen und Trinken-dafuer gibt es keine Schilderung,und ohne Ausnahme.Nur schwer werden die Repraesentanten gerettet(Hilli-Danzig- u.Freunde),Und nirgends,nirgends jemand der fuer uns etwas tut.Die Kirche druckt sich.Wir wollen alles unternehmen,wie wenn sich aber die Welt vor uns aufgetan haette!Wenn man wenigstens die Transporte stoeren wuerde,aber seit dem ersten Transport herrscht am Himmel die groesste Ruhe!Nathan, alles-alles ist gegen uns!
Die Zukunft?Was koennen wir noch warten?Aschk([redacted]) verspricht Alijah und nachdem Joel dieser Tage zurueckkommt und seine Mivrakim(Telegr.) positiv waren,glauben wir auch ein wenig daran.Etwas werden alle diese Aktionen sicher retten koennen, aber nicht mal eine Atempause zeichnet sich noch ab.Bitte,tue dort alles,mobilisieret die Welt-auch hier tun wir es-und wenigstens die von Dir und Frei.. wollen helfen.-
Ich kann nicht mehr weiter schreiben,trotzdem es in mir draengt,Euch um vieles zu

zu bitten.Fuer naechste Woche schreibe ich Dir genau,bis dahin,wohin immer Du u
die anderen Freunde ihre Anstrengungen richten-ueberall brauchen wir sie.Nach Joels
Ankunft von Kuschta werden wir doch auch etwas mehr sehen.Wir arbeiten trotz aller
Unglueckе weiter.Trotz des neuen Gesetzes bei Schunia,dass Todesstrafe bei ihm droht
fuer Plitim,Wollen wir weiter Schimons und Liwers Weg gehen.Wie uns dabei zu Mute ist,
unser Teuerer,brauchen wir Dir nicht zu schreiben.Ohne Eli,Menno,Mischo!! Die armen,
guten Jungens!Hoffe Nathan fuer sie,so wie ich und ihre Freunde es noch tun!
Ich muss enden.Bleibet gesund,denn ich glaube Euch,dass es noch laenger sein kann,wie
uns,dieses geschichtliches Sterben zusehen zu muessen.Arbeitet weiter fuer uns und
s c h r e i t diese Gemeinheiten in die Welt!
Ich umarme [redacted] und kuesse Dich,Dein [redacted] P.E.

Bericht einer ungar. deportierten
Frau aus dem Vernichtungslager.

In [illegible] wurden wir gemeinsam mit anderen Juden, die [illegible] der weiteren [illegible] hingebracht wurden, in einer ausser der Stadt liegenden Ziegelei unter schrecklichen Verhaeltnissen untergebracht. Es waren [illegible] einige Tausende, die [illegible] im Freien hausen mussten. [illegible] nichts zu essen und mussten von den [illegible] ten [illegible] in der Stadt [illegible] leb [illegible] ten [illegible] spaeter [illegible] eine Kueche eroeffnet, vo [illegible] bekommen [illegible] nicht zu verhungern. Die [illegible] wurden [illegible] sie verrichteten ganz zweck- und [illegible] Arbeiten. [illegible] wurden haeufig [illegible] wurden [illegible] Haende [illegible] hat sich ein [illegible] sehr [illegible] genommen.

[illegible] 17. [illegible] 6.30 [illegible] in [illegible] last- [illegible] Dr. [illegible] dass [illegible] dass [illegible] in den [illegible] Hortobagy [illegible] werden [illegible] fahren, [illegible] den Hortobagy [illegible] Satoraljaujhely [illegible] ten, [illegible] on [illegible] Zweifel [illegible] gebrochen, den [illegible] ten, dass wir in [illegible] nach dem Hortobagy fahren. [illegible] in [illegible] ein [illegible] en. Dort [illegible] tler gaben uns [illegible] sagten [illegible] wir so viel [illegible] koennen, an Vorrat an [illegible] denn wir [illegible] bis zum Reiseziel keine [illegible] erhalten. [illegible] Drei Tage fuhren wir, ohne dass [illegible] tuere geoeffnet worden waere. Die Fahrt [illegible] ung ist mir nicht bekannt. Einige, die [illegible] gestanden haben, sagten, dass wir Krakau passiert haben. [illegible] tag den [illegible] Mai kamen wir [illegible] voll [illegible] Station so sehen, sie [illegible] sein, [illegible] sehr viel [illegible] hatten noch weitere drei [illegible] gefunden, zwei von [illegible] Karpatho- [illegible] eine [illegible] Kaschau. [illegible] ten aussteigen. [illegible] musste [illegible] werden. [illegible] von jungen Leuten [illegible] hatten, [illegible] gestellt:

1) [illegible]
2) [illegible]
3) Frauen mit [illegible] ern.

Die beiden ersten Gruppen [illegible] in eine Richtung, wo irgendwelche [illegible] zu sehen waren, ab [illegible]. Eine kleinere [illegible] von den [illegible] etwa 70 an der Zahl, wurden [illegible] weggefuehrt. Wir hatten [illegible] Die [illegible] da [illegible] Lecker [illegible] dann weggefuehrt. [illegible] einen Drahtzaun [illegible] waren [illegible] und [illegible] ten und abgeschnittenen [illegible] ten. [illegible] zwei grosse, fabrikartige Schornsteine, aus de [illegible] herausschossen. Es konnte sich aber kaum um Fabriken gehandelt haben, denn das dazugehoerige [illegible] nach einer Fabrik ausgesehen. [illegible] sagte, [illegible] sind. Ich konnte [illegible] aber nicht glauben.

[illegible] weiter. [illegible] etwa einer viertel Stunde [illegible] zu einem kleinen [illegible] Auf einem freien Platz mussten wir uns setzen. Die Kinder weinten unaufhoerlich. [illegible] wurde uns wiederholt gesagt [illegible] werden, denn bekommen wir alles was wir brauchen. Die [illegible] etwas weiter [illegible] Sie mussten [illegible] entkleiden und wurden nackt [illegible] Kurz hierauf [illegible] in einer Entfernung eine sich in die Laenge nach ausbreitende [illegible] Ich erschrak sehr und dachte nur daran, wie ich hier

Uebersicht der [illegible]

I

Am [illegible] der [illegible] wurde [illegible] Verordnung des Zentralrates der Juden in Ungarn an und ernannte dessen Mitglieder. Sie teilte mit, dass die Juden ihren Wohnort nicht wechseln, nicht reisen und [illegible] auf den Land [illegible] Radio nicht besitzen dürfen.

Seitens der ungarischen Regierung erschienen die ersten antijüdischen Verordnungen am 31. März als man den Juden verbot, nichtjüd. Dienstboten oder Hausangestellte zu halten, ohne Unterschied des Alters * der Mitglieder des Haushaltes und der Art teilten. Ferner wurde die polizeiliche Stellung der jüd. Staatsbeamten, die sofortige Streichung der Rentenbezüge und sonstigen aus dem Betreffenden Verhältnissen, die Ausschliessung der Advokaten von der Tätigkeit binnen zwei Monaten, sowie das Tragen eines gelben Sternes von 10 cm Durchmesser auf der Oberkleidung angeordnet (fest angenäht). All diese Verordnungen wurden auf [illegible] rassischen Grundlagen erlassen und sie hatten zur Grund [illegible] die Bevölkerung nur eine geringe Aufregung.

Am 5. April, den Tage an dem jüdische Abzeichen zum ersten Mal getragen werden mussten, wurden die [illegible] obigen Ausnahmekategorie, sowie getaufte Juden die arischen Negatten von Juden des Sternes befreit, sowie von den selben damit verbundenen Folgen. Die [illegible] Juden wurden wegengelassen.

Denjenigen Juden, die [illegible] ihrer arischen Staatsbürgerschaft nicht verloren hatten, jedoch vom Tragen des Sternes nicht befreit wurden- da hier strenge Vorschriften galten- wurde das Tragen der Uniform untersagt.

Am 7. April erschien das Reiseverbot der Juden, wonach dieselben keine Aemter in Anspruch nehmen durften und auch auf der Bahn nur mit polizeilicher Bewilligung reisen durften.
Am 14. April erschien die Verordnung über Entziehung der Apothekerlizenz.
Am 15. April wurde jedwedes Vermögen der Juden beschlagnahmt. Wertgegenstände und Wertpapiere mussten deponiert werden. Von den gesperrten Konti wurde eine monatliche Abhebung von 1.000 Pengö gestattet.
Am 21. April wurde die Schliessung der jüd. Geschäfte angeordnet, die Warenbestände genommen und Getreidevorräte werden beschlagnahmt. An die Spitze einiger Geschäfte, deren Weiterführung als im öffentlichen Interesse stehend bezeichnet wurde, ernannte man arische Leiter.

Am 28. April wurde durch Regierungsverordnung an Stelle des von den deutschen Behörden eingesetzten Zentralrates der Juden, der Verband ungarländischer Juden konstituiert.
Am 29. April wurde die Lebensmittelversorgung der Juden eingeschränkt. Die Rationierung der Juden wurde von 1040 gr auf 300 gr monatlich herabgesetzt, und hiervon bestand keine Ausnahme. Schwangere und stillende Frauen sowie Kleinkinder bekommen dieselbe Ration, während diese Kategorien bei den Nichtjuden ein Vielfaches der normalen Ration erhalten. Anstatt Fett erhalten die Juden pro Kopf und Monat 300 gr Semmeol, und auch die jüdischen Schwerarbeiter keine Ersatzkarten. Die Fleischportion der Juden betragt wöchentlich 100 gr Rind- oder Pferdefleisch; Schweine- oder Kalbfleisch können sie überhaupt nicht kaufen. Milch bekommen nur die schwangeren Frauen Säuglinge und Kinder unter 3 Jahren, aber auch diese Portion ist kleiner als die der Nichtjuden. Ueber die Verordnung hinausgehend erhalten die Juden von der Milchzentrale am Sonntag die ihnen zukommende Portion nicht.
Am 2. April wurde die Entlassung der jüdischen intellektuellen

erfolgten.
Am 7.April erschien die Verordnung über die Kennzeichnung der Wohnung und des Geschäftes der Juden. Schon vorher jedoch, nach einem Boykottangriff der Nationalsozialisten, begann die Inventarisierung jüdischen Wohnungen. Der Zentralrat mußte binnen 24 Stunden 500 Wohnungen melden. Die Juden wurden verpflichtet, ihre Wohnungen innerhalb 24 Stunden zu deklarieren und die Logierten wurden gezwungen ihre Personalien [illegible] London abzuliefern. Juden mußten Rad- und Autoschläuche in den Depots abliefern, bekamen bis zur Ausgabe des Zeitpunkt keine Bezugscheine zur Erneuerung. Stunden, wurde die Ausgabe von [illegible] Stunden angeordnet und zwei Mitglieder des Judenrates in Haft genommen, da [illegible] Stunden nur [illegible] Stunden sitzen durften, bis [illegible] Juden [illegible] 1000 Personen diese Maßnahme betrafen.

[illegible] Juden [illegible] Wohnungen und [illegible] von Personen in Wohnungen von [illegible] Personen.
Am [illegible] April [illegible] der "Schutz des [illegible] Kulturellen [illegible] von den [illegible] Schriftstellern", laut welchen die [illegible] von den öffentlichen Bibliotheken entfernt und [illegible] kampft werden mußten.
Am [illegible] nach dem vorigen [illegible] erfolgte Besetzung errungenen Vorteile angeordnet. Am [illegible] wurden den Juden [illegible] von arischen Geschäften untersagt.
Am 6. [illegible] Juden die einbringenden Lizenzen, wie Kraftfahr- und Gewerbelizenz usw. entzogen. Obwohl diese Lizenzen [illegible] schon auf Grund [illegible] früheren Judengesetze entzogen worden waren, betraf diese Verordnung [illegible] Juden, [illegible] davon ausgenommen waren, d.h. [illegible] die Vorkriegsrenten bezogen hatten [illegible] Witwen- und [illegible] Waisen, [illegible] getaufte Juden, [illegible] auf Grund [illegible] Gesetze [illegible] arischen Juden [illegible].
Am [illegible] wurden [illegible] von den Juden [illegible] eine Ausgleichsabgabe von [illegible] %, welche die verschiedenen Verordnungen die [illegible] Judentum betrachteten. Infolge dieser Verordnung betrachtete [illegible] militärische Vorbildung, die [illegible] von [illegible] 75%, [illegible] revolutionäre Zeit, [illegible] während der Besetzung (nach dem [illegible] Feldzug) von allen die Juden betreffenden Verordnungen, während die getauften Juden mit arischen Gatten nur vom Tragen des Abzeichens, vom Radfahrverbot und vom Verbot der Autobenützung [illegible] Juden befreit sind.
Am 20. [illegible] mußten die Geschäfte einzelner jüdischer Gewerbetreibender geschlossen werden (Friseure, Gastwirte, Restaurants, Kaffeehäuser, Pfandleihanstalten usw.).
Am gleichen Tage wurde den Juden mit Ausnahme von eigens hierzu bestimmten Lokale, der [illegible] Theater, Restaurants, Kaffeehäuser und Gastwirtschaften verboten.

0036

Die [illegible] Juden [illegible] deine [illegible] Juden [illegible] verhaftet [illegible] gebracht. [illegible] von [illegible] Lager [illegible] ein [illegible] in [illegible] vom [illegible] in einzelnen [illegible] Lagern [illegible] Fuellung [illegible]

[illegible] -ren, [illegible] -en [illegible] ihren [illegible] verhaften.

[illegible] in [illegible] untergebracht [illegible] Juden [illegible] durch [illegible] einer [illegible] auf den Strassen [illegible] juedischen [illegible] interniert. [illegible] Zweifel [illegible] interniert [illegible] zu [illegible] Internierten [illegible] zuerst [illegible] zu [illegible] Geschaefte und Wohnungen [illegible] Erpressungen [illegible]

[illegible] Internierten [illegible] Spital- [illegible] Geetzen unter [illegible] -lten (im Keller des Hotels Astoria, in der [illegible] und Einwanderung [illegible] des Gerichtshofes fuer die [illegible] von [illegible] Schwarzenberg usw.). [illegible] Insel Csepel [illegible] errichtet, gegenwaertig gibt es [illegible] Die Internierten befinden sich in [illegible], so wie in [illegible] 3 weiteren [illegible] in [illegible], die frueher fuer Fluechtlinge dienten.

In Anbetracht dessen, dass das juedische Spital fuer die Zwecke eines [illegible] in Anspruch genommen wurde, mussten die Kranken in zwei Notspitaelern untergebracht werden. Es kam vor, dass die durch den Arzt ins Spital geschickten von der Behoerde ohne nochmalige aerztliche Untersuchung ins Lager zurueckgebracht wurden.
Am 15. April [illegible] die Internierung der auf freiem Fusse befindlichen Fluechtlinge. Diejenigen, die zwecks der [illegible] Verlaengerung ihrer Aufenthaltsbewilligung bei der Fremdenpolizei erschienen, wurden einfach sofort festgenommen und ins Lager gebracht. Spaeter begann man die Verhaftung der Auslaender in den Wohnungen.
Englische und amerikanische Juden wurden in einem separaten Schubhaus untergebracht.

Die [illegible] der Verordnung unterliegt.
Im Verfolg dieser Verordnung fuhren die Juden aus der Umgebung von [illegible] zu ihre Arbeitsplatz und zurueck,an welchen Tagen durch nach diese verhaftet und festgenommen.

Schon in der ersten [illegible] zeigte sich eine Verschiedenheit in den Reaktionen auf den [illegible] Befehl. Die ueberwiegende Anzahl der in [illegible] lebenden [illegible] spielenden Personlichkeiten, [illegible] beteiligten Juden wurden interniert. Als Grund [illegible] wurde angegeben,dass anzunehmen ist,dass [illegible] eine [illegible] abhaelt,oder eine [illegible] Teilnahmslosigkeit ausuebt. Diese [illegible] orthodoxen [illegible] Juden. Die Zahl der Internierungen belief sich [illegible] - j.w. Diese [illegible] wurden in Nyiregyhaza, [illegible] in Berany,Debrecen,Nagykanizsa,Kecskemet und Hajdunanas untergebracht.

Die Internierung der Internierten [illegible] Ab il,an welchem Tage [illegible] Teresa I.I/O [illegible] aus dem Komitat 400 Personen und aus dem [illegible] Kinderseminare 214 Fluechtlinge [illegible] interniert wurden. Die [illegible] Maenner und Frauen zwischen 16 und 60.

Als [illegible] wurden von den in Nyiregyhaza befindlichen die Personen zwischen 15 - 60 Jahren,sowie die [illegible] Kecskemet deportiert. Der [illegible] von Nyiregyhaza betrug mindestens 2000 Personen, der obige von Kecskemet ca.1.[illegible] Personen betrug.

i.A.

Die Konzentrierung der ungarischen Juden begann am 16.April 1944. Ihr und [illegible] war die gleiche Weise. Ausnahmen die ueberbelegte [illegible] in Ghetto,dann [illegible] staendiger Verschlechterung der Verhaeltnisse [illegible] Konzentrierung in Gleisen,auf Gehoefften,ohne Wasser, [illegible] Nahe; [illegible] Deportierung der Juden von all diesen unterschied [illegible] Laendern,die [illegible] Lage [illegible] Loesung so weder kommentarlos [illegible] Stellungnahme in Bezug auf angebliche [illegible] Ursachen, [illegible] hat die [illegible] Deportation: 70 [illegible] Waggons in eine [illegible] von, die Verzehrung [illegible] Brot [illegible] kennzeichnen den Verlauf der Deportation in [illegible] Orten bis in [illegible] Einzelne beschreiben,obwohl die Daten voneinander [illegible] Berichten nur in wenigen Worten [illegible] Ausnahme [illegible] sind sie [illegible] charakteristischen Deportierung [illegible].

Nyiregyhaza

16.April. Nach Nyiregyhaza und der allervon 12 km entfernten Simapuszta wurden 15 Juden aus 45 umliegenden Gemeinden [illegible] Nyiregyhaza selbst wurden 4.120 J der [illegible] Nyiregyhaza und 5.639 aus der Umgebung,insgesamt also 10.759 Personen in 123 Hausern zusammengepfercht. Die Grundflaeche dieser 123 Hauser, auch die Kuechen und [illegible] betrug insgesamt 9.[illegible]65 Quadratmeter, so dass auf eine Person nicht einmal ein Quadratmeter fiel. Den Waggons genommen konnte jede Person ausser der [illegible] befindlichen Kleidung und Waesche noch zwei Garnituren Unterwaesche und ein Paket von 50 kg mit allen nehmen,welches auch Lebensmittel fuer zwei Wochen enthalten durfte. Leider wurden die Juden in der Provinz derart ueberraschend von den Gendarmen zusammengetrieben,dass sie ueberhaupt nichts mitnehmen konnten. Als Beispiel sei der Fall der Judenx aus Nyirbator,die nach Simapuszta ausgesiedelt wurden, angefuehrt. Am 1.April,Freitag nachts um 11 Uhr wurden sie durch fremde Gendarmen von den Wohnungen abgeholt und nachts um 1/2 2 Uhr auf Lastwagen aus anderen Ortern verladen und unter brutaler Behandlung nach Simapuszta gebracht.

1. Mai. Di[illegible] verschlechtert. [illegible] in Nyiregyhaza werden di[illegible] Leute nach [illegible], wo di[illegible] schlecht sind. [illegible] ten [illegible] Werksaecke un[illegible] [illegible], damit sie [illegible] Bl[illegible]nen [illegible] [illegible]ten.

2. Mai. Di[illegible] in Nyiregyhaza [illegible] konzentrierten Juden [illegible]dt nach der [illegible] 6 km [illegible] entfernten [illegible] des [illegible] [illegible], wo sie [illegible] "[illegible]" [illegible]cht, untergebracht wurde[illegible]. Auf dem [illegible] Gebiet befindet sich nur [illegible] Brunnen, in [illegible] Entfernung von 150 m vom Lager, [illegible] zu holen. [illegible], dass die Ju[illegible] von Nyiregyhaza sel[illegible] [illegible] Kleidung [illegible] [illegible]lungen [illegible], sich im [illegible] zu placieren, [illegible] die [illegible] vollstaendig eingerichtet hatten, auf Grund der [illegible] [illegible] verlassen.

[illegible] Mai. [illegible] Sima[illegible]puszta, wie [illegible] unmittelbar [illegible] von jetzt an [illegible] [illegible], erhalten taeglich 1[illegible] soviel [illegible], leider [illegible], als sie [illegible].

[illegible] Mai. Di[illegible] Aussiedlung [illegible] sind [illegible]. Auf Nyirjespuszta befinde[illegible] 3.500 [illegible], [illegible] einen [illegible] vo[illegible] [illegible]n zuge[illegible]. [illegible] Die Lage [illegible] dadurch [illegible], dass [illegible] die einzige vorhandene [illegible] zu verschlechtern [illegible]. Der [illegible] [illegible] auf [illegible]puszta ist noch groesser als auf Nyirjes. Das [illegible] [illegible]odpuszta [illegible] [illegible] anzustellen.

1[illegible]. Mai Die Aussiedlung nach [illegible]odpuszta haelt weiter an. Die [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] nicht mehr, [illegible] 10. [illegible] eine groessere [illegible] untergebracht. [illegible] ein [illegible], denn das Graben eines Brunnens [illegible] erfolglos. Obwohl die [illegible] die [illegible] der [illegible] Gegenstaende gestattete, nahm [illegible] den [illegible] beim [illegible] des [illegible] Gegenstaende, sogar den [illegible] [illegible]ttel ab. In den Lagern Simapuszta, Verjuspo[illegible] und Nyirjes betraegt die taegliche [illegible] pro Kopf 1[illegible] gr. Brot, 1[illegible] gr. Kartoffeln, 10 gr. Oel.

1[illegible]. Mai. [illegible] wurden die ersten 3.200 Leute, darunter Alte, Kranke, Saeuglinge, schwangere Frauen, zu 70 unter [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], bei gaenzlicher [illegible] der [illegible] mit der [illegible] nach einem "unbekannten Endziel".

[illegible]. Mai. In der [illegible] erfahren wir durch Telefonmeldung, dass die Zahl der Abtransportierten ueber 9.600 ausmacht. Es gibt eine [illegible] Konzentrationslager [illegible] in Nyirjes und [illegible]odpuszta, auf Simapuszta befinden sich noch 760 Menschen, in Nyiregyhaza sind jedoch nur noch Mitglieder des Judenrates verblieben.

2[illegible]. Mai. Auch die noch auf Simapuszta befindlichen 760 Juden aus Nyiregyhaza werden einwaggoniert.

6. Juni. Aus einem Telefongespraech mit der Polizei erfahren wir, dass alle Juden von Nyiregyhaza und den umgebenden "[illegible]"-n schon weggefuehrt wurden, unter ihnen auch der Oberrabbiner Dr. [illegible] Bernstein.

[illegible]

1. [illegible]

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

4. [illegible]

5. [illegible]

6. [illegible]

7. [illegible]

8. [illegible]

9. [illegible]

10. [illegible]

11. [illegible]

12. [illegible]

[illegible]
4. [illegible] "[illegible]" [illegible] konzentriert [illegible] lb zu Tode [illegible] gehalten [illegible] zu 70 [illegible] einwaggoniert [illegible] gemeinsa[illegible] [illegible] fortgesetzt.
[illegible] Regierung [illegible] ungvárer [illegible]
[illegible] recht.
[illegible] Juden [illegible] sind gar in [illegible] [illegible] lich [illegible] von [illegible] Freunde, [illegible] weiter [illegible] ttsche [illegible]
[illegible] Freunde, [illegible] Verwegen-
[illegible] 70 [illegible] Einwaggonierung [illegible] in [illegible] haben [illegible] erfrieren. [illegible] weiter [illegible] schon [illegible] Kohlen- [illegible] sen [illegible] fähig [illegible] vor [illegible]."

17. [illegible] wurden [illegible] und [illegible] Juden [illegible] zuerst [illegible] 4.000 [illegible] einwaggoniert. [illegible] und [illegible] Juden [illegible] von den [illegible] und [illegible] gekleidet, damit sie [illegible] bei den Verser- [illegible] worden von den [illegible] in den [illegible] (Auf Schnellzugszeile). Die vier [illegible] unsere [illegible] derart zugrunde gerich- tet, [illegible] Strasse starben. 70-[illegible] einwaggonier-

18. [illegible] im Gange, des Konzentrationslagers wurde von der [illegible] Polizei von der Aussenwelt gaenzlich abgesperrt. [illegible] nach [illegible].

20. [illegible] wurden die [illegible] Rates ver- haftet, [illegible] den Juden irgendwelchen Beistand leisteten, wurden [illegible] einwaggoniert und mit den Juden verschleppt. [illegible] Unter solchen oder aehnlichen
7. Juni: [illegible] Juden mehr [illegible] Bevoelkerung [illegible] Aus- [illegible]

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...nahme von ... Maßnahmen werden in den nächsten Tagen veröffentlicht und es besteht kein Zweifel darueber, welches Schicksal auch der letzten gegenwaertig noch nicht konzentrierten Stadt Ungarns bevorsteht. Gegenwärtig wurden die folgenden Städte vollkommen entjudet: Munkacs, Ungvar, Beregszasz, Nagyszöllös, Huszt, Maramarossziget, Nagyvarad, Nagybanya, Beszterce, Kolozsvar, Marosvasarhely, Szatmarnémeti, [illegible], Arad, Lugos, Temesvar, Ujvidek, Szabadka, Zenta, Zombor, Versecz, Nagykoros, Kecskemet, Szolnok, Debrecen, Hajduszentgyörgy, Tecsö, Miskolc, Ozd, Salgotarjan, Nagyvisso, Nagyhalasz, Nyiregyhaza, Kaposvar. Die Evakuierung folgender Städte wurde dieser Tage genau der juedischen Bevoelkerung der Umgebung in Ghettos konzentriert und wird in den nächsten Tagen deportiert:

[illegible], Gyor, Szekesfehervar, [illegible], Pecs.

In folgender Zahlenangabe sind von [illegible] der einzelnen Städte enthalten:

Munkacs

[illegible]cs	[illegible].	Juden
[illegible]var	[illegible].	"
Beregszasz	9.	"
[illegible]szöllös	8.	"
[illegible]t	[illegible].	"
Nagybanya		
[illegible]siget	[illegible].	"
Nagyvisso	9.500	"
[illegible]cs	[illegible].	"
Nagyhalasz	7.5[illegible]	"
Insgesamt:	[illegible].	" [illegible] Juden

Nagyvarad:

Nagybanya	14.	"
Beszterce	8.	"
Kolozsvar	25.	"
[illegible]		
[illegible]ly	6.	"
[illegible]gyvarad	25.	"
Arad	7.	"
Nagykoros	8.	"
Szolnok	5.	"
Debrecen		
Hajduszentgyörgy	5.	" [illegible] 54. [illegible] Juden

Kolozsvar:

[illegible]	15.	Juden
Marosvasarhely, Szatmarnémeti		
[illegible]tak	25.	"
Nagybanya	5.	" [illegible] 75. [illegible] Juden

Szatmarnémeti:

Nagybanya	[illegible].	Juden
Ujvidek	12.	"
Beszterce	12.	"
Marosvasarhely		
Kolozsvar	25.	"
Insgesamt:	5.	" [illegible] 79. [illegible] Juden

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Budapest . Jaby

Genf, den 28.[illegible] 1944

Meine lieben Freunde,

1) Halevy. Ich erhielt Euren Brief in welchem es heisst, dass Schachor auf ultimatische Art verlangt dass er allein sich um Halevy kuemmert und Ihr dieser Forderung angenommen habt. Ich sagte Euch in meinem Telegramm dass ich es annehme, dass ich aber mit Sally sprechen werde. Ich werde nun einige Bemerkungen Euch machen: Bei Zorfath waren Maraw und Halevy eng mit dem Gedanken Eres verbunden. Man wusste, dass diese ganze Hatzalaarbeit geschickt dank der Initiative und der Solidaritaet von Eres. Und es war folgendermassen: Schachor-Eres, Hatzala und speziell Halévy - Eres. Und als Schachor bei Halvy diese gute Arbeit bemerkte, telefonierte er mich an und sagte er moechte sie subventionnieren. Ich war ueber diesen Vorschlag sehr gluecklich. Ich wollte wirklich nicht, dass Eres alles ausgebe fuer diesen Zweck. Ich weiss, dass Eres noch andere Laender und andere Aufgaben hat, aber deshalb ganz auf Tijul verzichten und sie vollstaendig Schachor zu geben, da bin ich nicht sehr ueberzeugt ob Ihr richtig gehandelt habt. Die moralische Seite spielt hier eine grosse Rolle mit und Eres muesste bis zum Schluss bei dieser Arbeit mitmachen, welche doch die wirkliche Hatzala ist und die- trotz aller Schwierigkeiten-gute Resultate gezeitigt hat. Vorgestern, rief mich Jeffroikin aus Barcelona an und teilte mir die Ankunft von 30 jungen Leuten und 16 Kindern mit. Die andern sind unterwegs. Aber schliesslich, da Ihr beschlossen habt, lassen wir die Dinge wie sie sind, aber versucht doch noch von Zeit zu Zeit etwas aus moralischen Gruenden zu tun.

2) Machtereth. Meine Freunde geben sich enorm mit dieser Familie ab. Hier was sie mir in ihrem letzten Brief schreiben:

> "Wir waren aufrichtig unzufrieden, dass Neshek nicht zu Machtereht komt. Man erwartete die Ankunft von Herrn Aviron. Man liess uns wissen dass er unbedingt kommen wuerde. Schidur versprach uns seit einer gewissen Zeit diesen Besuch. Na, eine gute Nachricht von Birath-Brodetz hat uns vollstaendig ermutigt. Wir sind rasch mit der Familie Arbaim Zwaim Neschek entgegen gegangen. Leider, ist sie nicht gekommen. Aviron war nicht da. Nichtsdestoweniger hat Schidur mit den Versprechungen wieder begonnen und endlich gestern ist Aviron Schalosch mit Matannh gekommen, aus Birath-Memschalah-Zorfat provisorisch. Es war eine grosse Freude. Ich sage Euch ein andermal was Neschek uns mitbrachte. Es war wunderbar und hauptsaechlich sehr nuetzlich".

Diese Arbeit geht sehr gut. Meinerseits tue ich alles um zu helfen. Ich bitte auch um Eure Intervention.

3) Haganah. Die Familie Jechida Zwaith ist sehr aktif bei Zorfath. Sie entwickelt sich sehr gut: es ist eine zahlreiche Familie, speziell Eres zugetan. Sie ist bereits mit Chaim und Berl in Verbindung getreten. Minchlachat ist speziell sie besuchen gegangen. Sie werden auch Mosche sehen. Diese Familie kuemmert sich um lokale Fragen fuer die Familie Haganah. Sie ist aeusserst taetig, ueberall. Sie nimmt alle Massregeln fuer Tijul vor, und entfernt alle Schwierigkeiten mit Hilfe von Herrn Neschek und sie kuemmert sich um alle Fragen von Sakanah. Sie nahm auch alle sehr strengen Massregeln gegen die Familie Moerim. Sogar indem sie einige zu Meweth schickte. Aber dann, gedenkt sie zu Eres zu gehen um zu arbeiten. Man muss auch etwas fuer diese Familie tun.

4) Laut der letzten Nachricht, sind 16 dieser Familie schwer erkrankt. Das ist unausbleiblich.

5) Hanne (der Cousin von Schuschu) den man bei Meweth dachte, gab von sich und Chanesch Nachricht. Sie sind bei Birath David (Assur) Man ist in Kontakt mit ihnen und dies ist schon gut. Ich sende Euch hierbei einen Bericht der mir zukam von meinen Freunden fuer Euch und fuer Schachor. Ich bitte Euch aufmerksam den Brief von Birath Zorfath wo sich noch Arbaim Klef befindet, zu lesen. Es gibt sogar noch mehr. Man verlangt Mittel fuer Hatzala. Was sie von Schachor erhalten ist nicht genuegend und in diesem Brief spricht man mir davon und bittet mich, mich moege mich an Kaspi Eres wenden. Ihr koennt Euch nicht denken wie Kaspi Eres dort ueberall populaer ist.

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In allen Staedten und dies dank seiner Initiative,dank dem Umstand dass er der erste war,der an die wirkliche Notzsalah gedacht hat, und dies unabhaengig davon,dass Schachor augenblicklich weit mehr schickt als Kaspi fuer alle bei Zorfath wirkenden Vereine. Lesst gut diesen Brief von Hirath-Zorfat und versucht etwas zu machen. Die Anzahl der Personen um die sich Federation (wovon Haro und Rosch) kuemmert,uebersteigt # 7.000. Ausserdem subventionniert Zejrim Erez und die anderen. Es sind unsere Freunde Erez welche Federation leiten. Die anderen Elemente sind ebenfalls dort vertreten (Bundaim,Peffer usw. Feder hat grossen Einfluss in allen Gebieten und in allen Fragen. Moralisch leitet er alles, und dank Kaspi Erez konnte er auf solch erfolgreiche Art handeln. Aber alle Taetigkeit betrifft Geschurim sind bei Feder konzentriert. Ausser ihm,ist auf Peffer taetig Geschurim jedoch eher fuer Fragen allgemeiner Natur,weniger spezifisch Jeschu- rim,obwohl er mitarbeitet und sogar zu Feder gehoert. Feder hat lange Zeit das Budget fuer Joladim Peffer sichergestellt.

6) Nochmals betr.Peffer. Er war lange widerspenstig was Erez anbe- trifft. Ich sandte unlaengst Feder, Igireth enthalten Artikel von Peffer bei Stifen,betr.Erez (diesen Artikel habe ich der Broschuere von Mistadruth entnommen) und sie hat einen sehr guten Eindruck hervorgerufen und es scheint dass Peffer sehr beeindruckt war und den Ton aendert. Peffer ist auch taetig bei Machtereth.
7) Meine Freunde haben jemand zuKubo gesandt um die Lage an Ort und Stelle zu studieren und um nochmehr zusammen zu arbeiten. Die Arbeit bei Kubo ist nicht schlecht gemacht. Sie haben zwei Itonim wovon ein Erez Oyedeth (gegruendet von Freunden von Zerubavel) und der andere von Peffer. Sie sind nicht genuegend aktiv fuer Tijul und gerade dies soll der Spezialdelegierter ordnen. Er wird versuchen auch Hanno zu besuchen. Ich werde in letzter Minute durch Hatzig von Stifen in Kenntnis gesetzt, dass Portugal annimmt 3000 Kinder (jued.) aufzunehmen und ich benachrichtige sofort unsere Freunde Zorfath usw. .....und bitte sie um das Maximum von Anstrengung. Jedoch wird als Bedingung gestellt: Ausreisevisen von Frankreich zu haben!! Dies ist verrueckt,dies heisst sich an Haman wenden und ihm die Namen und Adressen von Joladim ausliefern!
8) Ich tue das Noetige fuer die Tochter von Hir. Hierbei ein Brief von ihr fuer ihre Eltern. Sie schreibt,sie benoetige nichts. Jeden- falls,sandte ich ihr zweimal. Fuer Kremer verlange ich Auskuenfte. Einen gewissen Moment hatte man Nachricht ueber ihn,aber das ist eine sehr alte Geschichte bereits. Saget Jakob Schapira ich hatte wiederholt wegen seiner Familie geschrieben,aber leider hat man sie noch nicht gefunden.
9) Finanzfragen. Ich bitte Euch Chaim zu telegrafieren er moege mir eine gewisse Summe zur Verfuegung stellen. Ich benoetige immer dies fuer Faelle wie Hir und andere. Ausserdem,haben wir hier mehrere Dutzend von Oyedeth und ich muss von Zeit zu Zeit bei Schnchrur genau beitragen usw. Endlich,bat ich Euch Anstrengungen zu machen fuer Machtereht und Haganah,sowie auch fuer Hirath Zorfath.

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"Bericht der F E D E R A T I O N

am 20.Juli 1944 STRENG VERTRAULICH

1) Es ist schwer genau oder sogar ungefaehr die Zahl der Juden zu nennen,die sich noch in Frankreich befinden. Jedoch denkt man dass von den dreihundertfuenfzig tausend Juden die sich in Frankreich befanden zu Beginn des Krieges,die Haelfte oder beinahe, sich noch da befinden.Andere denken dass es nicht mehr als 125.000 sind. Es ist wirklich schwer zu sagen wo die Wahrheit liegt. Man weiss z.B.dass in Paris man ungefaehr 40.000 franzoesische Juden zaehlt (und auch auslaendische) von denen die Gestapo die Namen besitzt und die verstaendlicherweise,unter staendiger Gefahr sich befinden. Aber ausser diesen 40.000 weiss man die Zahl der Juden nicht die sich versteckt halten und die Zahl der Juden die herumlaufen und sogar arbeiten mit falschen Papieren. Diese Letzteren sind ziemlich viel.

2) Einm grosser Teil der Juden in Frankreich ist im Besitze aller moeglichen arischen Papiere. Dies ist nicht immer ein sicheres Mittel der Gestapo zu entkommen,hauptsaechlich die Maenner,aber gross an der Zahl sind die,denen diese Papiere immer Dienste erwiesen haben.

3) Viele Werke sorgen fuer diejenigen die Hilfe benoetigen. Und sie sind sehr zahlreich und ihre Zahl wird immer groesser. Es ist wahr,dass eine gewisse Anzahl dieser Hilfsbeduerftigen arretiert und deportiert sind,jedoch sind sie von anderen ersetzt welche bisher keine Hilfe benoetigten,die jedoch letztens alles verloren haben.

4) Die FEDERATION kuemmert sich ungefaehr um 7.000 Personen. Die Hilfe die sie bringt ist manigfaltig. Es handelt sich zuerst um reine Hilfe d.h.fuer Nahrung,Unterkunft und Kleidung. Die Beisteuer die sie gibt ist aeusserst bescheiden,infolge der ungenuegenden Mittel. 300-350 Francs ist ungefaehr der Durschnitt pro Kopf per Monat. Wegen der Teuerung des Lebens in Frankreich,ist das eine wirklich laecherliche Zahl. Sogar mit dem Doppelten kann man keine Person ernaehren. Aber um 700 Francs im Monat und per Person zu geben, muss man schon ca.5 Millionen monatlich besitzen,nichts als fuer reine Hilfe. Aber leider gibt es noch anderes zu tun. Gerade um arische Papiere denjenigen zu verschaffen die von einer Verhaftung bedroht sind sowie von Deportation. Es handelt sich um folgende Papiere: Identitaetskarte, Alimentationskarte,Demobilisationsauszug, Geburtsschein,Arbeitskarte,Nautralisationsschein,Zeugnis der -Nichtzugehoerigkeit zur juedischen Rasse, Heiratsdokument, Schein ueber gutes Leben und Sitten, Familienbuchlein,Studentenkarte,Evakuationskarte und sogar manchmals benoetigt man fuer gewisse aeusserst gefaehrliche und wichtige Faelle Taufscheine. Es handelt sich um fast 4 - 5000 Stueck per Monat,die sind aeusserst teuer,nicht zu sprechen von den Schwierigkeiten und Gefahren. Aber man erreicht viele Leute zu retten,dank dieser Arbeit. Wirklich,man muss ein spezielles Budget fuer diese Rettungsmethoden haben,die uns bereits so viele Dienste erwiesen haben. Dank dieser arischen Papiere,arbeiten viele in unseren Werken unter aeusserst illegalen Bedingungen.

5) Es gibt Leute die man ganz einfach verstecken muss (Hystar). Es handelt sich hauptsaechlich um Leute die gesucht werden,sei es von der Gestapo,sei es von der Milis. Man versteckt sie in grossen und kleinen Staedten,bei Nicht-Juden,manchmal kostenlos,aber im allgemeinen muss man zahlen und manchmals ziemlich teuer. Es ist schwer zu sagen welche Anzahl man versteckt und wie gross die Zahl ist von denen die mit arischen Papieren herumlaufen, aber jedenfalls,handelt es sich um tausende von Personen.

6) Jetzlah. Man kuemmert sich ebenfalls eine gewisse Anzahl von Leuten ausserhalb Frankreichs zu senden. Es handelt sich hauptsaechlich um junge Leute die in Gefahr waren und die man nach Spanien schickte,mit dem Ziel ihre Reise weiterzufuehren und nach Palaestina zu gelangen um sich in den militaerischen juedischen Einheiten einzureihen oder nach Nordafrika fuer die franzoesischen Armeen.

700 Personen zu mindest sind letztens nach Spanien geschickt worden, worunter ca.60 Kinder,alle fuer Palaestina bestimmt. Es ist eine sehr schwierige Expedition,sehr gefaehrlich und sehr teuer. Alle Massregel sind getroffen worden um Unfaelle zu verhindern und fuer die ganze Zeit hat man bloss 5 Faelle zu beklagen. Natuerlich,ist es ziemlich traurig, aber im Verhaeltnis zu den Bedingungen,muss man diese Zahl nicht uebertrieben betrachten.

7) [x]Haganah. Selbst-Verteidigung. Die Gruppen der Jungen sind organisiert fuer diese soziale Arbeit und sie erfuellen ihre Mission in dem Masse das all unsere Hoffnungen uebersteigt.Man wird spaeter das Lob dieser jungen Leute die sich opfern machen und die Zahl der Opfer ist bereits ziemlich gross. Diese Jungen bringen Hilfe den Familien und den versteckten Personen,kuemmern sich um Papiere zu beschaffen,und begleiten diejenigen die weggehen. Sie sind oft mit allem Noetigen ausgestattet, um sich noetigenfalls verteidigen zu koennen. Sie sind es die jede Situation studieren,die Fachrten der Verraeter,manchmal der juedischen Verraeter und nehmen alle noetigen Massregeln. Laut den letzten Nachrichten,sind ca.15 festgenommen worden.Aber die anderen machen weiter. Andere Gruppen nehmen teil bei dem Widerstand,im Maquis usw.in dem allgemeinen Widerstand,aber es gibt ebenfalls einige Gruppen von Widerstand die hauptsaechlich juedisch sind. Sie erhalten alles was sie benoetigen.

8) Kinder. Man kuemmert sich viel um die Kinder. In Paris,hat die Federation zu ihren Lasten 400 Kinder. Sie kuemmerte sich um 150 Kinder einer anderen Organisation (Fofer). Sie hat ausserdem auch viele Kinder ausserhalb Frankreichs geschickt (ausser die nach Spanien). Man muss ca.1000 Personen zaehlen (ausser die von Spanien) und bis zu ihrer Abfahrt macht man alles um sie in bester Form zu halten,was nicht sehr leicht ist. Letztens teilt man uns Faelle mit von Uebertritt von Kindern die in katholischen Werken untergebracht sind. Hier als Beispiel ein Brief wie folgt:

"Fraeulein, Nachdem Sie sich mit einer schoenen Aufopferung um Maximilianne kuemmern und ihre Mutter ersetzen,moechte ich Sie ueber die Gesundheit Ihrer Schwester beruhigen,die sehr gut ist. Sie ist ziemlich brav und moechte sehr getauft werden. Bitte lassen Sie mich wissen ob Sie einwilligen. Der Anstaltsgeistlicher erwartet Ihre Antwort um sich um sie kuemmern zu koennen.

Empfangen Sie,mein Fraeulein,unsere besten Gruesse

Der Chef des Centre"...

und zu sagen dass es sich um ein Kind handelt,dessen Eltern deportiert wurden,das ist ein Missbrauch wirklich uebertrieben. Schwer zu sagen ob solche Faelle oft vorkommen,aber sie existieren. Es ist nicht immer leicht sich dem Efor derjenigen entgegenzustellen die sich um den Koerper dieser Kinder kuemmern,aber die niemand autorisiert hat sich um ihre Seelen zu kuemmern.Man muss also Mittel finden,diese Kinder andere zu retten.

9. Budget: Unmoeglich in der Lage in der wir uns befinden,ein normales Budget aufzustellen. Um nicht nur von der Federation zu sprechen die sich um ungefaehr 7.000 Personen kuemmert,nicht zu reden von den Subventionen die sie einigen Organisationen zustellt. Welches muss ihr Budget sein....Unmoeglich darauf zu antworten. Man kein nur etwas sagen: je mehr Geld man hat umso rascher und regelmaessiger man es hat,umsomehr kann man retten. Hier ein Beispiel:

In Paris wollten wir von den 40.000 Leuten die sich in staendiger Gefahr befinden 10.000 zu mindest retten,sie unterbringen, man muss mindestens 2.000 Fr.per Person haben und Sie haben bereits eine runde Summe von 20 Millionen Francs. Gluecklicherweise,dass ausser dem Budet von Dr. Schachor,haben wir das grosse Gluck die schoene Hilfe von Kaspi Erez zu haben,aber all dies ist nicht genuegend. Wir sind in einer Lage: Baou Maim ad Nefesch (das Messer am Halse haben). Die Federation braucht als normales Budget,d.h.Nahrung,Unterkunft und Kleidung 6 Millionen Francs im Monat wenigstens. Und dies fuer eine bescheidene Hilfe. Was die aussergewoehnliche Hilfen anbetrifft,d.h.Jetzia,Nystar,arische Papiere usw...unmoeglich ein Budget festzusetzen. Man benoetigt das

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Budapest

P R O T O C O L

drawn up on September 14, 1944 copying a statement by H.L. of Cracow. The previous year H.L. lived at Sochnia, and later crossed the Slovakian boundary, to arrive here on September 5, 1944.

Two years ago when we realized how desperate the situation of the Polish Jews had become, we got together to consider the situation. At that time we still had Hachshara groups at Pomeranow Mazowiecki, Warsaw, and Telec, apart from Sochnia itself. We thought then that we should be able to last through the war, because we thought it would be a short one, and besides, the Joint helped us a great deal. But conditions became worse and worse, and so we decided to help ourselves, and sought acquaintance with the Polish underground organization (PPR). Mainly for tactical reasons, viz, to help the Jews in the Ghetto, we cooperated with them for a time. But the organizations in Poland were separated into Polish and Jewish groups. We were divided into groups of five (Fionkas) who had a leader each, and who did not know each other. The group leaders were separated in a similar way, and like this the organization led up to a central authority. I procured myself Aryan documents and worked as a courier between Warsaw and Cracow. In spite of the fact that the Polish organization helped us to obtain Aryan documents, we had unpleasant experiences with them, because they took advantage of us, wherever it was possible. They chose our comrades for the most dangerous and useless commissions, and if a Pole was arrested, they betrayed and exchanged them for Jews only.

Admission of members into the organization was by a solemn ceremony held in a room in Cracow which had been especially adapted for this purpose. Everyone admitted had to swear

an oath that he would fight to the last and sacrifice his life in the fight against the Germans. The oath was administered in Hebrew in the presence of a Polish representative.

Deportations: When the mass deportations began in June and July, we realized that everything was lost, and got down to the job of creating fighting organizations, particularly the "Iugot". We bought arms from the Pole and from the population. Many of the comrades escaped from the mass arrests through previously located sewers, by which some of them got right out of the town. Aharon Liebeskind-Bolek took part in organizing this work. Because of the bad experiences we had had with Poles, we separated from them and founded the Hechaluz Halochem. All Chaluzorganizations; Hashomer, Hazair; Akibah, Israchi, and Hechaluz, cooperated with us. We made it our aim to organize escape routes through the sewage system, to provide supplies for those hiding in the canals, and to attack and render innocuous the many Jewish agents provocateurs and to attack members of the collaborationist Jewish Ordnungsdienst (civil guards).

Newspaper: Later on we published a typewritten 16-page weekly called "Hechaluz Halochem", of which there appeared every Friday 40 copies. These papers which published reports of attacks and acts of sabotage, and lists of Jewish and Polish collaborationists and agents provocateurs, were distributed in the Ghetto and among the members of the Hechaluz Halochem. Furthermore, the paper dealt with Ghetto problems, political subjects, and news from Palestine which we still received from Switzerland at that time. The paper discussed with particular care and emphasis the responsibility incurred by people who escaped from German camps or ghettos, inasmuch as they brought down reprisals on their fellow-prisoners, many of whom were shot for every escaped

printer. Our courier distributed this paper in all towns in which Jewish organizations still existed, in ghettos, camps, etc. At the same time we started something on our own account. We organized "piontkas" (organizational cells of five members each) distributed over various parts of Warsaw, whose task was to prepare armed resistance. We knew that the fight was to be won from the start, but we counted on the moral effect which such a fierce fight on the part of the Jews against the Germans should call forth in the world. Our first operations consisted in shooting German patrols. Until January we organized attempts on the lives of German agents and Polish traitors, and planted denunciations of notorious antisemites with the Gestapo. We threw petards into a German café, one of our men in German uniform lodged explosives in the German cinema "Urania", and at that time we shot German prison guards at Pawiak. A serious problem was how to get money. This we solved by attacks on rich foreigners; once we dressed up in German uniforms, pretending to come from the German Devisenstelle, and confiscated money and jewellery. Once one of our men procured an authorization to confiscate Jewish property, etc. Later we took to the Soviets to organize acts of sabotage, especially blowing up railways; this we did in the following manner: We attended one or two stretches closely for several nights and made sketches of the selected spots to send in to the center for confirmation. The drawings were tested, completed, and corrected, and if necessary, the center provided us with experts and materials. The center's authorization was required for any act of sabotage. This kind of activity we carried on till January, when two of our boys, Blumann and Bok Lipsitz, were arrested and confessed; thus the police found out about many of our points at Cracow, where round-ups and arrests followed. Iron Lejbosking, escaped on the way to be shot, others were imprisoned. Among those were Samson Draenger,

Gusta Braenger, Laban from Warsaw, Hanka Spitzer, Edwin Reiss, Chana Sternlicht, and Rascha Springer, Heppert, Elsa Lappa, Janina Sulkan, Lina Lidbesking, and Schimel Lustgarten. The rest remained in the forest, but the whole organization was thrown into confusion. All those people remained imprisoned until March; but in spite of the fact that they were tortured and terribly maltreated, they betrayed none of us. It was our duty to save them, but to get them out of the prison at Pantelejich was impossible, and so we decided to help them to escape during their deportation from the prison. After we had informed our comrades, Simek Braenger and Laban gave us notice that we need not worry about them, but that they would save themselves. We knew that on March 25, they were to be brought by lorry into the Jewish camp on the Jeruzalimska to be shot. In any case we posted 6 men with rifles in front of the prison, and another 6 at the entrance to Jeruzalimska Street. At 4 p.m. we caught sight of the lorry; apart from the driver, our comrades were escorted by 3 helmeted policemen who were armed with automatic pistols. Simek and Laban sat on the bench in the back of the lorry beside the policemen, and it had been agreed that upon a cough of one of them all were to get up from their seats. So when somebody started coughing in Zielicka Street, everybody got up, and in the mix-up that followed (the police started coughing also), Simek and Laban turned the bench up-side down, so that two of the policemen were trapped under it, and started shooting at the policemen with their own guns. In the confusion Laban was shot also, but 14 of our 35 comrades escaped. 6 of our men on patrol, seeing what had happened, ran after them, tearing off their hats and coats to give their comrades a decent appearance, and then we all met in a prepared tap-house in the Ghetto. In the prison nobody seemed to suspect anything untoward, because half an hour later 22 girls were

led out to the Jerusalimska on foot, and seeing us in front of the prison gates, they tried an escape. This was too early, and all but three, of whom one was shot were arrested. Among the two girls saved was Gusta Draenger, and among the men saved was Adek Draenger.

First our people were in Ghetto A (where they kept the people not conscripted for forced labour); later we had our HQ in the woods near Bochnia. By and by we began working again, first getting in touch with Warsaw, where we sent money; in May we resumed the publication of the paper Hechaluz Halochem, which we distributed to the workshops of Splitek, Berlica, Tarnow, Rajchshof, and also to Przemysl and Jednos near Saslo. Thus we succeeded in establishing contact with all the camps. Between the middle of April and now, we blew up the railway line between Cracow and Lwow (Lemberg), which handles the main troop reinforcements for the front, 11 times. Most of these attempts were successful, mainly against supply trains. Once bottles of cognac and spirits fell out of the trucks, and once, near Podlesze, tobacco fell out. We worked mainly in the section between Tarnow and Bochnia. Once we ruined all machinery in a dairy farm near Bochnia, and sabotaged factories and storehouses. To the Jewish civil guards (OD) we often sent threatening letters, and we put out of action the notorious Jewish agents provocateurs Adek Lipschitz. Lipschitz once came to visit Ghettos A and B at Bochnia with a letter of recommendation from the Gestapo, where he was to select Gestapo victims. When he was sleeping in Ghetto B, some of our comrades dressed in German uniforms came to him with an order that he should present himself immediately to the OD (Ordnungsdienst). We strangled him in front of his apartment, and buried him quietly. In his pockets we found a list of 60 people whom he was to hand over to the Gestapo, mainly people who had worked in a Zionist organization before the war. (My name was also on the list).

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As we were almost completely without money, I was sent to Hungary to procure the necessary sum. The other people remained behind, to continue their work; there was no scramble to go to Hungary, because our comrades remain faithful to their oaths to fight against the enemy to their dying breath.

When on November 10, 1938, the synagogues in Germany went up in flames, while a reckless drunk populace destroyed and looted the Jewish shops, only very few of our fellow-believers had any inkling of what terrible horrors were to follow upon this event. I have no intention of giving a general narrative covering all the sufferings of our community, but shall relate only my personal experiences and our escape. My special case will give a good indication of the fate of all, and the heroic and tragic sacrifice of German Jewry.

What happened in Germany until 1938 was no secret to the public. The racial laws were decreed in 1935, then followed the gradual expropriation of Jewish property in favour of "Aryan" trustees. Until then (1938) it was still possible within certain limits to pursue Jewish cultural activities, like meetings of the "Kulturbund", music recitals, theater performances, sports, etc. Neither was the education of youth in Judaism rendered impossible. But it soon became evident that the flames that had destroyed the synagogues were to engulf every thing reminiscent of human feeling. It became illegal for Jews to attend public performances or meetings etc. of any sort, and anybody guilty of organizing cinema or theater performances, lectures sport meetings etc. was punished with the utmost severity. Before 1938 the standard punishment was "KZ" (concentration camp), which for the physically weaker persons meant death; after 1938 the death penalty became general, and it was only a question of time that the relatives of the arrested person would be sent the urn, with a covering letter saying "died of pneumonia" (or defective circulation) or "shot while trying to escape". Those were the salient features of the picture at that time.

Shortly after the burning of the synagogues I was conscripted with others to break up the burnt ruins. This was

The first step to forced labour after some time I was detailed for road-building. Up to then I had never done any physical work, keeping only to the practice of my profession, and I found the work exhausting. After an injury incurred on the building site I was sent to a chemical factory. After the outbreak of war in [illegible] I was expelled from which territory at 4 weeks notice as a "stateloser or Auslander" (alien, hostile to the state), because my father had been a Russian citizen. Emigration was practically impossible under the circumstances: I had few connections with foreign countries, many countries were at war, and in addition the Reich Government had issued a decree forbidding all Jews between 15 and 65 to emigrate without a special permit from the central authorities at Berlin. There were the U.S., but, to get there one needed a high financial guarantee which I could not obtain. I was at my wits' end. Through the intercession of the Jewish Community it was possible to delay my expulsion several times for another four weeks. I was under a terrible strain throughout these weeks. In November 1939, I was summoned to the police, where I had to sign the following notification:

> "The Russian Jew ..... who is without citizenship is advised as the final date by which he must leave Reich territory January 15, 1940. If ..... should not have crossed the border by then, he will be deported to a Concentration Camp."
>
> Date and signature President of Police

In my despair I applied to the Reichsvereinigung in Berlin which managed shortly before the expiration of my deportation changed from 44 to forced labour camp. My crime, by the way, was that I had been born a Jew.

On February [illegible], 1940, I entered the labour camp at [illegible]. Food was very little and bad. Working hours were 14 (including the march to the site), lunch interval ½ hour. I was set to work by turns on road-building, earth and canalization work, construction of air-raid shelters and

kitchen. Only two or three persons out of 120 were lucky enough to be sent to factory work. In the camp I thus came in contact with my fellow-sufferers, who had all had much the same fate. The camp was ostensibly run for "Umschulung" (reeducation). In May the entire camp was deported to the East. By that time I was so exhausted physically that I collapsed one day on the working site. The diagnosis was pneumonia. I was in hospital almost 6 months, hovering between life and death. First I was kept in a room for prisoners, later in a lunatic cell, finally in a bathroom. I was excellently treated by the hospital staff, which showed that everybody was acting only under the overwhelming pressure of the Gestapo. The nurses often brought me dainty morsels of food and gave me warm words to keep up my spirits. I owe special gratitude to the head doctor, for it was she who got me out of the forced labour camp by means of a medical certificate stating that I was physically unfit for work. All the time the Gestapo was sharp on my heels about my emigration. The Jewish Community obtained for me an immigration permit for Tanger, and through the intercession of a friend I got some hundred Dollars from Holland. But on May 10, 1940, Holland, Belgium, and France were attacked by the Germans, and when these countries were overrun, my money which had been deposited at Brussels was lost. After this an illegal immigration to Yugoslavia was arranged for me, but this was made out for a married couple. I got permission to marry from the Gestapo (marriage on March11,1941) on the condition in writing that I would be out of the way within 4 weeks. Through delay at the Registrar's my documents arrived only a few days later, and my transport to Yugoslavia could thus not take place before early April, 1941. Then, on March 27, the German army attacked Yugoslavia, and my last escape route was blocked. Thus I was sent back to St., having been released from the labour camp, and was set to work again in the same factory (chemical) in which I had worked in 1938 and 1939. Working hours were the same as in the camp; I was one

of about 30 Jews employed there. In the middle of 1941 my sist was deported from Berlin to Poland; I shall return to this point later. For us the deportations began somewhat later. I was on the deportation list three times, but was struck off again every time because I was on war work. In the meantime the decree about wearing the Jewish star armband was issued. None of us were ashamed to wear it in any way, but it was a heavy blow from the viewpoint of rationing supplies. While hitherto one had been able to pass unnoticed in many cases, now one was conspicuous everywhere and exposed to public insults, especially from Hitler Youth members. I have heard, it is true, of frank expressions of regret and salutes of sympathy on the street coming from strangers. But the food problem now became insoluble for the Jews, for while up to then they could occasionally buy some standard supplies against coupons given to them as presents, or could go to "Aryan" friends for meals (this was punished by KZ if discovered), now they were thrown back on Jewish rations, which were indescribably low and wretched. For Jews there was no fruit or vegetables except occasional decayed supplies, no fish, no sausage, no eggs, no chocolate or sweets, a minimum of jam or sugar, no rice, no white bread, no cake or other special additions like sardines, cheese, wine etc. Our chief sustenance consisted of potatoes and bad bread. Special Jewish shops were instituted, where the Jewish customers were treated like scum and often not even the miserable rations officially allowed to Jews were given to them. Thus in order not to starve one had to get what one could on the black market. This entailed covering up the Jewish badge and risking discovery and KZ. Police searches and raids were daily occurrences, and whoever was found to keep an egg, fruit, meat, or anything of the sort at home might count on death or, what amounted to the same thing, deportation by the next transport. Thus the daily routine was a gamble with death. My father was deported in May, 1942, at the age of 62. I shall get to his story presently. I myself

went through three major deportations at the German end - three trainloads of innocent men and women destined to die because they were Jews. A deportation used to take a form somewhat like this: You got a letter saying "You have been enlisted for an evacuation transport to the East. Your number is ....." then followed the place of assembly and a list of things that one was permitted to take along, such as 1 suit, 1 pair of shoes, 1 piece of every article of clothing down to rugs and overcoats, 10 M. in cash, razors but no blades, no scissors, no nail-files (all details were specified), no soap, no matches or lighters, no tobacco (strictly forbidden for Jews), 50 kg of luggage altogether. At the place of assembly one could witness the most heart-rending scenes the human brain can picture; among the deportees were blind, sick, and lame people, children, and, unfortunately, many in the bloom of youth. All had to sign slips stating that they had been guilty of subversive and communist activities in Germany, and that they declared themselves enemies of the State. All property and personal possessions were confiscated; the latter, especially handsome furniture, carpets, fur coats, etc., was seized by the SS and Gestapo hyenas with particular relish and carried off home, together with better suits and costlier rings than they had ever possessed. Electrical apparatus like heaters and irons were usually grabbed first of all, then followed gramophones,(radios had gone long before), cameras, woolen and fur clothing, boots, etc. For all raids the Gestapo used carefully to select Jewish holidays like Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, etc.; thus our holidays were always days of heightened strain and anguish. Until late in 1942 we had thought that the deportations meant merely changes of forced labour employment; it was only later that the horrid truth leaked through in the shape of reports of mass shootings and executions in the most nightmarish forms. Then we, who had been spared so far, sweated the harder,

starve a bit worse, and bowed down lower under our terrible yoke, only to postpone a little the same fate for us. And now I will relate the fate of my father, my sister, and my brother-in-law, who all lost their lives in the most horrible fashion in Poland.

Some weeks after my sister and her husband had been deported (she had one child of 2, and was expecting another any moment), I received a letter from my sister from Litzmannstadt (Lodz) containing her address and an urgent appeal for clothing. Considering that they had only been in Poland a few days and had taken with them a set of clothes and belongings, it could only mean that all their things had been "lost"! Before I sent anything I wished to make sure whether any mail would reach them; I therefore wrote to her asking for a precise list of the things she needed. Five or six weeks later this letter returned to me marked "quarantaine region", "no delivery". I tried again and again to get in touch with my relatives, but did not succeed. It was only later that I learnt the truth from German soldiers garrisoned in the region where they were kept. This report was horrifying: the deportees were inoculated with typhus district by district and left to die like animals without attendance. My father and my life's brother were brought to the Lublin region to ..... Through Poles deported to Germany we could establish contact with these two and had news from them; of the many things we sent there something always arrived because it was smuggled through. But suddenly this contact also broke and we were without news until about two months later, when we heard from a clergyman of the region in question, who sent a written eye-witness account. In this account the "liquidation" of the camp was described with details which cannot be reproduced here. The letter began thus: "My fingers are trembling and my pen refuses to write the things my eyes have seen!" Then followed an exact report on conditions and events.

The camp was fenced in with barbed wire and surrounded by machine guns. Early in October, 1942, the entire camp was set on fire with incendiary charges; who tried to escape was killed by machine-gun bullets, the rest were burned alive. There had been several thousand Jews in the camp. These are facts; I know of other similar exploits of a degraded species of humanity, which do not belong to this context.

Thus made aware of what was in store for us, we resolved not to submit meekly when it would be our turn to go. That day came on Feb. 27, 1943, when we were notified by the Gestapo that we would be deported on the 28th. So we had one day's notice. What we went through even during these first hours is difficult to describe. We had previously made preparations for this emergency with "Aryans"; but we had to hand over all our papers, and flight seemed hopeless without any personal documents. Fortunately I still had an old Italian student pass; with this for an identity card we undertook our escape, which led us 600 km through Germany by train, expecting to be discovered any moment. But God was with us and we reached the goal of our journey. A full 9 months we did not leave one room. We were frightened of every bell, trembled at every passing step, and talked only in whispers. One night there was a terrible air raid upon the city. We thought we were not going to live through that night. Bombs and block-busters exploded near us, houses were wrecked, and a pressure wave partly destroyed the house we were concealed in. The day broke after an infernal nightmare - but that raid was a blessing to us. We received false papers, which I shall not define in order not to endanger those who helped us, or those who are still staying in Germany to-day with such papers. We again went 600 km across Germany to another city, where we were expected. There ensued 4 months of searching in constant fear of discovery or chance recognition. I pretended to be gravely injured in order to avoid the attention of the military authorities. Four months we were without food coupons and

lived in perpetual danger, just because we were Jews. I stayed with some peasants and worked for my board; my wife sewed. Thus we starved along, though assisted by kind people who knew about us.

My chance I got to the Swiss border with the help of a man who was unaware of my circumstances. Two days later I fetched my wife. On Sept.1, 1942, at 5 p.m. we crossed the border in broad daylight. We were detected at the last moment, and the German frontier-guards were after us with dogs. But with the help of the Lord we escaped. Once in safety, I completely collapsed.

This last part of the story has been laid down in protocol form with the Swiss authorities, and has been confirmed by a Swiss guard who was a witness.

We arrived ruined in body, soul, and mind, dressed only in the most necessary things as we had not been able to bring any luggage. We owe a great debt of gratitude to the Jewish organizations which took care of us and helped us out with clothes as well as they could.

To-day we have but one aim, after having recovered somewhat: Palestine ! Away from this cursed continent, where barbarity without precedent could reign supreme: only away !

January 25, 1944

Facts collected by a man deported to Sobibor in his place and escaped and reported.

Our transport consisting of about 1.50 Jews, was deported from Sabinov via Zilina, Cadca directly to Poland. At the boundary we were told to line up, and counted by the SD (Sicherheitsdeinst) on the station, while the women were counted in the carriages. Then we continued our journey for 3 or 4 days until we reached Rejowiec-Lubelski (district Lublin), where we left the carriages. During the whole of this time we suffered from thirst as we were given water on two occasions only, and no food at all; but we had left provided with plenty of provisions.

In Rejowiec we were received by the inspector of the water-works in Cholm, Ing. Holzheimer, the SA district commander of the district, and 8 members of the Jewish OD (Ordnungsdienst), in Rejowiece with their senior and head, Fessler, the oldest of the Jewish community, who helped us.

On the next day, May 27, two transports of a size similar to ours arrived from Ostropkov and Humenne, so that we were then altogether 3.000 Slovakian Jews. On Chol Hamoed Pessach the Rejowiec Jews were deported, so that we found only about 3000 Rejowiec Jews still in the Ghetto, as well as 60 Jews from the Protectorate, and some women from Nitra (Slovakia) were added.

As lodging we got the houses formerly belonging to Jews, but as there was a scarcity of lodgings, 20 to 30 people had to squeeze into a room of 3 by 4 metres. For eight days nobody watched or cared for us, and there was a terrible confusion. We were given no food, and of the valuable provisions which we had got from the UZ, at Zilina, the best portion, mostly spices was taken away from us, and the remainder

stored in the schools. After a fortnight, when the food was completely spoilt and unfit for consumption, it was given back to us. After a while the S.O. Slovakian Jews were asked to apply for swamp-draining work, but only strong men, (fathers of more than 3 children were excluded) were admitted; altogether 80 men went to work. Those people received 50 grams of bread daily, a thin barley-groats soup for lunch, and a black "coffee" for supper. Another 500 to 600 young people were ordered to the nearby camps like Lublin, Majdanek and Chelm (where there was an SS formation in charge,) without consideration of their families. Those people were selected by the Jewish OD who accepted bribes. The Jewish Council consisted of mixed elements; the unselfish help received from Mrs. Forbath, and Mrs. Fémes from Nitra (Slovakia) deserves special mention; but the same can not be said about a certain Mr. Hofmann and Mrs. Singer (reported to be sisters), who also came from Nitra. Nobody cared or provided for the remaining 4,000 Slovakian Jews. But after 3 or 4 weeks the Jewish council in Chelm founded a communal kitchen, which provided the Jews with a plate of soup for 50 groszy. The head of the Jewish council of Chelm at that time was a very honest and respectable Jew named Fraenkel, who was later shot together with his family.

Due to insufficient food and impossible sanitary conditions, many cases of typhus, dysentery and other epidemics occured and caused many deaths among the older people.

One evening a drunk Polish policeman came into the house of Dr. Grossman (Sabinov), who had just returned from a patient, and ordered the doctor to give him his wrist-watch; a dispute followed during which the policeman threatened the doctor with his gun, and a free fight was the consequence of the doctor's offering resistance. The Jewish OD and Jews

from the neighbourhood were called in to help, and the policeman was given back his gun, which he used to fire the alarm shots. The Polish police appeared at once, and arrested all inhabitants of Dr. Grossmann's house and 4 men from the neighbourhood, among whom there were 3 members of the SS. Dr. Grossmann tried to escape, was injured and subsequently shot. The 4 arrested people were put to death the next day for attempting a "communist revolt". Among these were Mr. Perlstein and his wife (Sabinov), Mrs. Grossmann and his daughter (Sabinov), Mr. Stein (Humenné), Mr. Oskovitz (former bank clerk from Humenné), Mr. Berliner (Humenné), Mr. Klein and his son (Ichalany) Mr. Appel, Siegmund (Sabinov, deaf and dumb), 3 members of the SS of Brünn, among them Weiss and Kohler.

On August 9, 1944, German police suddenly ordered a general line-up. The entire Jewish population, including the Jews of the Ghetto as well as the labour camp, altogether about 2,700 people, had to line up on the main square before the school with their luggage. All those who had not been able to obey the order owing to illness or exhaustion, were shot in their quarters. The inmates of the "Jewish hospital" met with the same fate, among them Dr. Sebök from Sabinov who had typhoid fever. About 10 o'clock, the older people, who were too tired to hold their bags any longer and had set them down to sit on them, were shot in the neck from behind by SS men; 30 to 40 persons were killed in this manner. Orders were then given to march, women walking in front. The physician Dr. Birkenfeld brought up the rear, refusing to relinquish this most dangerous post because he considered it his duty as a doctor. After only a few hundred feet, a salvo from rifles and automatic pistols coming from our left decimated our ranks; among those killed then were:

Dr. Birkenfeld, Abraham, from Sabinov
Dr. Deutsch, Josef, " "

ngineer Herstein from Sobinov
r. and rs. Borovitz " "
rs. Nagel " "
an Holzander " "

I was later told in Trychow by a former member of the Jewish Council,(Judenrat) of Bejowiec, a Polish Jew named Holzblatt, who somehow escaped at that occasion, that during the massacre 700 Jews lost their lives.

At Bejowiec only a small number of workers of the nearby sugar factory remained, who, as I have learnt since, were later brought to Trawniki to cut peat. Among these were:

Landmann, Bela from Sobinov
Dr. Cohon, Leaider " "
10 men " "

We were taken over at Bejowiec railway station by the so-called "Black Ukrainians" (Ukrainian SS?). There we were squeezed into waiting cattle-trucks, 120 to 150 persons per truck, without precious registration. The doors were then closed from the outside, and the trucks left standing on the station till 8 p.m. 25 men were once let out to gather the abandoned pieces of luggage and load them into the trucks. They were baited and maltreated by the "Black Ukrainians". It was August, and unbearably hot in the trucks, and we were without water or air, but just stood body to body without any room for the slightest movement. 150 persons, of whom 20 were in my own truck, died there and then from suffocation amon them sturdy young men like

Riemer, Robert (18 years old, very healthy)
Berlin, Samuel formerly a butcher

We arrived at Sobibor shortly past midnight, where SS

men with "nagajkas" (kind of horse-whip) received us. There at last we got a little water, though no food. We were subsequently lined up in a pine valley, divided by sexes, and the men were told to fall out to clear luggage and corpses out of the trucks. We never saw these men again. In the morning we saw most of the women move in ranks of four to a yard in a distance away. At 6 a.m. the SS lieutenant came to the end told all men who had previously worked at draining swamps to fall out. About 160 men and 50 women step out forward, 150 in all, to whom the lieutenant remarked cryptically "you are born anew". From the remaining group mechanics, locksmiths, and watchmakers were separated, while the rest had to follow the women to the yard in the distance, and shared their fate.

Our group of 150 was brought to Osawa, where we spent one night. We were very well received and fed there by the Jewish organization. At Osawa there were about 500 German and Czech Jews. Jewish Ghetto police accompanied us to Kryohow; on the way there we passed the farm of Hanek, where about 150 Jewish girls were employed for the threshing. They were relatively well off there.

Kryohow is a penal camp erected by the former Polish Government in a swampy region. By now the neighbourhood has been fairly well drained by Jewish labour. At the time of our arrival about 1,500 men and women were kept there, of whom about 400 were Czechs, 500 Slovaks, the remainder Poles. Living conditions were indescribable; 50 people each lived in brick barracks 60 by 4 meters, there was neither straw nor covers or rugs of any kind, no washing accomodation, only incredible filth and vermin. We were literally covered with lice, and there was nothing we could do about it. Our diet consisted of 100 grams of bread, soup of cabbage leaves without fat or salt, and black

was imminent. 100 persons were selected, later an additional 10, who were allowed to stay on, all the rest were carried away. Among those remaining there were some women and girls from Nitra and thereabouts:

Haussig, Piroska — Gottheimer, Henia (Trencsen-Nitra)
Hartner, Edith — Tauber, Alvin, and his son
" , Arisa
Hirat, Rozsa
" , Va

and some German and Czech women and girls. Of the men from Lovenik I alone remained with 4 men from Bohemia

Singer, Pick from Prague
Rhein, Kurt previously Teplice, Schönau, Prague

and some Polish Jews. The remaining group owed much to Piroska Haussig, from Nitra, who had succeeded in establishing for herself a privileged position with the Administration, and used it to give as much help as she could. It was due to her that so many girls could be retained in the camp.

Early in 1945 there was a new influx of Polish Jews into the camp. In June, 1944, the camps of Oswa, Lwin, Majdice, and Lutta were "liquidated", and the survivors came to us, swelling our numbers to 800. At Henek there were a further 100 to 110 women and five men. Among those who came to us from Lwin were:

two sisters called Muri and Rozsi (family names unknown)
Mrs. Nos (about 30 years of age)
Nelly (family name unknown, dressmaker) from Nitra
Mrs. Fried (former owner of a ladies' outfitters shop at Piestany)
Mrs. Dukes from Piestany-Nitra

r. inai and rs. Stropkov
oya, civil servant from Vel. Lapusany
Fruder from Snina
or. Szilara, doctor from Stropkov
rs. Edith Kauchwerger Sp. Nova-Ves
rs. Nowak with her daughters, Ruth and Lni Brand from Prague
oubitschek, Vera from Prague
affkova, Hanka, from Pilsen

relative of r. Julius Hasler from Lubinov, whose name escaped me.

Starting from 1943 conditions at Kryzow improved considerably. After December 9, 1942, we got a bread ration of [illegible] to 500 grams per day, and a thick potatoe soup at noon. We were given good iron bedsteads, and washing accomodation. With the improvement of sanitary conditions the state of health much improved, and only three of the 110 people who had originally remained, died since then, as a result of the prevailing conditions: Buchler, from Bratislava-Nitra, former owner of a Vienna café, related to Attorney Fodor of Nitra, who died of cancer, Donath, Prievidza, 65 years of age, rs. Mand from Vienna, (who had a daughter of 18 at Kryzhow) Three other sick people were shot by the deputy camp-commander, when the commander was on leave. They were: Hopkovits or Heimpwits, from Stropkov, a former clerk in the firm of Kulik, and 2 Polish Jews.

After the enlargement of the camp in March, food conditions became worse again; the bread ration was lowered to 150 grams per day and a fatless vegetable soup was given for lunch.

In April 1943, we heard rumours about Dutch and Belgian Jews coming to us, which were confirmed by the camp authorities. They did not come, but I heard the following about their fate: the transports from Belgium and Holland arrived in very good condition, as they travelled in 2nd class carriages (unlike us), and at the bigger stations received food and white bread. Some older and weaker persons were sent back to Holland and Belgium under the pretext that they were unfit for the "work" which was the official justification given to the horrified Dutch and Belgian public for the deportations. At first there were reports that some proportion was actually detached for work, as had been done in other countries; but in reality the SD (Sicherheitsdienst, Security Service of the Gestapo) released no one, and all were destroyed at Sobibor.

In the neighbourhood of Sobibor the sky is always lit up at night by reflected fire, and there is an all-pervading stench of burnt hair. The population asserts, and various signs confirm, that the corpses of Jews formerly slaughtered by electricity or poison gas, and buried, are now disinterred and burned, in order to baffle any attempt at tracing the murders.

In 1943 escapes from camps were punished by brutal reprisals levelled against the remaining inmates. The fugitives were mostly Polish Jews who were acquainted with local conditions. They fled to the forests and formed bands which lived by robbery. Of late, punishment for desertions has fallen only upon the deserter himself, if he was caught.

When the camp of Lawin still existed, Dr. Sobel from Kocovska, Nova-Ves, and Feinere, tried to escape. Both were caught; Dr. Sobel was executed, Feinere was brought

back to camp, but succeeded in escaping once more, and has not been heard of since. Similarly, Mr. Lajos Klein escaped from Schalowce; his later history is unknown.

According to information I have received, about 8000 Jews were employed at Lublin - Majdanek on draining, water supply, and building work. They were reported to be wearing convicts' uniforms.

From Erwin Goldstein, of Kosinov, I heard that Hano Goldberg died at Lublin - Majdanek.

The following SS and SA functionaries have taken a particularly prominent part in the slaughter of Jews:

SS Scharführer Kaschendort at Chelm
SA " Johann Löffler at Krychow
(comes from Chemnitz district)
SA " Hilvert at Osowa
SA " Heyko (26 years old) at Osowa
SA " Lendyk (formerly a butcher) at Sawin

Chiefly responsible for the whole course of events in this region:

Ing. (Engineer) Holzheimer Chief of Water Supply Administration at Chelm

Slovakia, August 17, 1943

P R O T O K O L

of a Statement made by Alexander Guttmann, 19, to supplement the Information supplied by his Sister, Ester Guttmann.

G h e t t o :

The ghetto of BĘDZIN was located in the small suburb of Kamionka, into which 20,000 Jews were squeezed in the space formerly occupied by 6,000 inhabitants. Life and work in the ghetto was well organized by the Jews themselves; recognition is due to Monek Merin for his achievements in this field. The life of the Jewish communities of Palestine served as a model. Agricultural work was organized for the benefit of the inmates, and juventile labour was drawn upon by the introduction of a shift system. When all had been set going, life was quite bearable in the ghetto, though overcrowding was inevitable. There was even an adequate sewage system. The ghetto of SOSNOWIEC was located at ŚRODULA, a little suburb. People generally were satisfied with living conditions, and were hoping to survive the War somehow in this way. Unfortunately, this ghetto period was of short duration.

Y o u t h i n t h e R e s i s t a n c e M o v e m e n t :

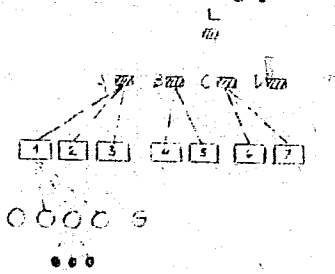
When the young people realized that the Jewish community council was, and always had been, a tool in the hands of the Gestapo, as became evident as early as 1940 when forced labour was introduced, their best elements combined to fight for the preservation of their people's existence in an organized manner. This organization took some time to develop, though, and went through the following stages:

1. The spirit of resistance expressed itself first in the general desire to cooperate with all enemies of the Germans, notably the partisan organization of Sikorski; the results were negative and most discouraging.

2. Leaflets against the Germans and their instrument, the community council, were printed, in which Jewish national Honour was asserted and extolled as a fighting slogan. These leaflets fell into the hands of the Gestapo who with the help of a confidant found out in which factory they were being distributed. Every tenth man was arrested and detained in the orphan asylum.

3. When the deportations began, rescue and defence work was first properly organised. In spite of the difficulty of intercommunication, there was a fairly close collaboration between the three major cities of Polish Upper Silesia, SOSNOWIEC, DOMBROWA, and BĘDZIN. To test and enhance the capability of the members for underground work, illegal warfare organizations /TOB, Tajna Organizacja Bojowa/ were created by all youth groups. Systematic mental preparation for this kind of work was carried on uninterruptedly since then, and in 1942 a permanent central Council of Resistance was set up by all youth groups together, in which each was represented by a delegate. This central organ was aided financially and morally by certain older Zionists, the so-called "sympathizers", who were convinced of the necessity and significance of this work. Each resistance group organized itself independently from the rest

after the following pattern:



At the top is the Leader of the group /L/, who is at the head of an Executive of four members, A, B, C, D, who are in charge of 8 sections, of which A manages 3 male sections, B - 2 male sections, and C - 2 female sections, while C is in charge of a special section of 7 members, called "sekcja wyborowa" or select section = suicide squad This section was singled out for the most dangerous tasks; it also had the function of supervising and policing the whole group.
The section 1 - 7 each consisted of 4 cells or shock groups consisting of three members.

Independently of this organizational structure, the towns were divided physically into blocks to make possible quick and rational decisions in cases of emergency. Each street is divided into two blocks which are known to none but the members of the executive, who come from different sections. The blocks are in charge of wardens who keep lists of all members, separately of those who know each other and who do not; they also list reliable non-members.

What was termed "rescue work" comprised the following functions:

1. Procuring personal documents and identity cards, by stealing, buying, or forging; this involved the counterfeiting of forms and rubber stamps.
2. Constructing strongpoints, which are the concern of the block organization, and are known only to the block warden and his closest collaborators.
3. Aryanization
   a/ in the mountains
   b/ in the town
4. Smuggling members into the Polish forced labour groups with the aid of false Polish-Aryan papers.

What was termed "defence work" comprised the following activities:

1. Mental training for resistance
2. Procuring arms by purchase, theft, or assaults
3. Execution of Jewish collaborators and appeasers
4. Procuring money by assaults, like e.g. one made on a notorious gambling den
5. Assaults against German functionaries during deportations. This part of the work was not well organized, unfortunately, and cost

0 0 0 4 0

the organization 12 dead in BENEZIN alone.

Actions and Events during Deportation:

This work went on in two parts, one concerned with the people hidden in the mountains, the other concerned with the ghetto.

Ghetto: The organization issued the order for all members to save themselves either through aryanization in the town - later in the mountains or by incorporation to the liquidation camp.
Guards: Sentries were posted to warn the population of impending action and enable them to get to the strongpoints in time. During the last deportation one female comrade who knew all strongpoints accompanied the head of the OD, Romek Goldmünz, who had declared himself ready to save the members and conduct them to the labour camp, i.e. the liquidation camp where sewing work was done. Goldmünz, who had previously been on the list of those to be executed by the organization, thus helped to save the lives of about a hundred members.
Resistance: Resistance was offered only if there was immediate danger of a strongpoint being discovered. This happened in the case of the central accomodation shelter called Kibbuz, which had two strongpoints, one in the laundry, and another in the former Nahsharah.
Individual Actions: J.Z. shot a German in an encounter during which he lost his life. A.G. was shot in a skirmish when trying to escape. After the deportation s, B.K. and L.B. were intercepted by Germans, shot one of them, and escaped. L.B. fled to KATOWICE where he maintained continuius contact with the organization. B.K. was later lost sight of. J.K. and B.R. were shot during an attempt to rescue the community funds which had been seized by the Germans.

After the deportations, only the Executive still had a defence organization, as the other groups had been dispersed with the sole exception of the strongpoint of the Hash.Hazair group /Fela Katz/. The group called Hanoar pursued the following activities:

1. Aryanization, in the charge of L.B. and C.T.
2. Mountain Department, in the charge of S.K.
3. Polish Labour Service work, headed by J.'s wife F., who was arrested together with M.B.L. on a journey to Cracow. They are now in Oświecim /Auschwitz in German/ as Poles.
4. Transit to Slovakia, managed by J.R. and S.I.

47 persons have found refuge in the Polish forced labour service.

The transit service to Slovakia arose quite fortuitously. A woman living at BENDZIN who had a brother in Slovakia was asked by him in a letter to come across to him. She happened to ask members of the organization for assistance, which was granted under the condition that her brother would aid the organization from Slovakia. The woman was later deported before she could escape to Slovakia, but the Slovakian address remained and comrade J.S. was sent to contact the man with the help of a member, J.R., who was staying in the role of an Aryan holiday-maker at ZWARDON near the Slovakian border, and was acquainted with frontier guides. The Slovakian helped J.S. to contact the Jewish centre of ZILINA and notified the organization that the route was feasible. C.T. and the author

of this protocol, Olek Guttmann, went to test the route. Guttmann remained at ZILINA, while C.T. returned to KATOWICE to continue the preparations for this escape route. Unfortunately, he was caught by the Germans and shot. Thus it happened that so far only the Upper Silesian group could be rescued, members of the organization as well as their relations; altogether 35 people. Among them are the following members:

Ester Herzberg née Guttmann	from BENDZIN
Halina Kuttner	" "
Mina Kuttner	" "
Jela Milchmann	" "
Olek Guttmann	" "
Jinek Treumann	from BIESNOWIEC
Kuba Greizer	" "
Samek Diamant	" "
Maria Greizer	" "
Abraham Heinreb	from ZAWIERCIE /German: Wartenau/
Pela Jachedsohn	" "

Later arrivals were Leon Blatt, Jankow Rosenberg, and Scheva Ingster

From the Hashomer Hadati group there have escaped:

Herek Abramczyk	from Miechów
Jaakob Liebermensch	" Zawiercin

Other escaped members are

Schlinger from Sosnowiec, belonging to the organization Poalej Zion

Josef Plotek
Alexander Greizer
Wolek Shetana and his wife, all three belonging to "Klal" of Sosnowiec.

ACCOUNT BY A [illegible] FROM LODZ [illegible] IN SLOVAKIA

[illegible]ratislava, Sept. 1[illegible]

When war began, I lived in my home-town of Lodz. In September [illegible], 1939, the Polish government asked the inhabitants of Lodz to leave the city. The population fled the town in terror, most of the Jews taking the Warsaw direction. The Germans bombed the roads and caused many casualties. After [illegible] days' march, I finally reached Warsaw, which was already besieged. There was a lack of bread, water and other victuals. When the Germans first entered Warsaw, the Jews were treated no differently than the rest of the population; discrimination only began after the Germans had been in for 4 weeks. On October 1, 1939, after Warsaw's fall, I thought that I would be better off in Lodz, but on the way I was taken prisoner and brought to the station with [illegible] other men. But falling on the way, I stayed behind unnoticed. The next day I went by train to Lodz. Life in Lodz was tolerable during the first two weeks. Through the purchases of German soldiers, a shopping boom resulted, by which the Jews profited quite a bit. But suddenly, after [illegible] weeks, Jewish shops were expropriated, Jews were rounded up in the streets and apartments, and carried off to forced labour. There they were maltreated. Curfew was advanced to 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Jews hid themselves and did not dare to go out any more. The resident Germans of Lodz took a prominent part in helping to carry out anti-Jewish measures. The Jews were ordered to wear the Star of David in front as well as on the back, and shortly afterwards, the deportations started. "Litzmannstadt" was to be cleared of all Jews. At first deportation was to proceed on a voluntary basis; every day 1000 people were to volunteer. When after 3 days no volunteer had appeared, the Jews were carried by force from their

apartments, or wherever they could be found, to camps, where men, women and children were separated.

On December 15, 1939, I fled from Lodz to Warsaw, where by that time lived about 500,000 Jews who had to wear white arm-bands with David's star; but life was tolerable and the penalties for breaking the anti-Jewish rules were not particularly heavy; for not wearing the white arm-band, for example, one had to pay 500 Zloty. These conditions lasted till the first of October 1940.

On October 1, the decree establishing the Ghetto was issued, and by the 15th of October, all Jews had to be in the Ghetto quarters. By October 16, 1940, all 13 Ghetto exits were guarded by German military police and Polish police. Nobody could enter or leave the Ghetto without special permission. Since Jewish shopkeepers could not visit their shops any more, Jewish shops outside the Ghetto were expropriated. Those who attempted to leave the Ghetto unauthorized risked the death penalty. Only a limited quantity of provisions was permitted to enter the Ghetto, and there soon was a scarcity of food. Prices went up three and four-fold, and after three months, starving people with swollen faces could be met begging on the streets. People were desperate enough to let their children risk death by stealing out of the Ghetto to buy a few pounds of potatoes and smuggle them back to the Ghetto. There they could sell them and make a good profit. Potatoes outside the Ghetto cost 2 Zloty per kg; inside the Ghetto they sold at 6 Zloty. Children thus kept their families alive. Mrs. Marysia Orlowska (Aryan) states that she has seen a child being shot by a German military guard when stealing back into the Ghetto. Every entrance was guarded by two German uniformed guards, two Polish policemen, and two Jewish OD sentinels. The use of Jewish guards proved very valuable to the inmates of the Ghetto as they soon made friends with the German sentinels and

facilitated the entry of food into the Ghetto. At that time, there was still a lively traffic of horse wagons and pedestrians between the Ghetto, and the "Aryan" city, because there were many factories still in operation in the Jewish quarters. This traffic was chiefly used for smuggling food.

After about 6 months, conditions in the Ghetto were such that of the ca. 500.000 Jews of the Ghetto, about 100.000 lived by smuggling, 50.000 on their own capital, the remaining 350.000 were literally starving to death. Exhausted men and women collapsed dead on the streets, and every day about 100 dead were counted on the streets. The Ghetto administration had to pay the cost of burying these corpses in communal graves. Since the funeral expenses for persons who had died in their homes had to be borne by the families, it frequently happened that families laid their dead out on the streets, because they were unable to raise the funeral costs. These corpses were immediately robbed by the populace of clothes, shoes, and left naked on the pavement. In one single communal grave, about 800 persons were buried without a register, being kept, because for the most part it was impossible to identify the bare corpses collected on the street. About this time, a further 100.000 Jews came to Warsaw, who had been driven from their homes in various small towns of the district.

On July 4, 1942, the deportations of Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto began. The Senior Councillor of the Jewish community, Czerniakow, had committed suicide two days before, on learning of the deportation order.

It is of interest to recall that the German authorities compelled the Jewish Council to buy expensive film cameras which were used to shoot various staged scenes designed to show the immoral conduct of the Jews.

Thus for instance old men were put in bath tubs naked with naked young girls and both were forced to wash one another. Or a luxuriously appointed table was laid in a dining room where well-dressed young Jews were told to go through the motions of eating while others whose bodies were swollen from starvation, were told to implore them vainly for food. Many similar scenes were shot.

The deportations began with the evacuation of the Jewish prison. Next it was the turn of the poorer and hungrier population, of whom 70[illegible] were evacuated within three days. The guards at the entrances of the Ghetto were reinforced six-fold, thus making the smuggling of food nearly impossible, and sending prices soaring to unprecedented heights. The evacuation on a voluntary basis was then proceeded with. Notices appeared calling upon Jews to volunteer for work, and promising all volunteers a bonus of 3 kg of bread and 1 kg of jam. This offer attracted masses of volunteers, who besieged the registrar's offices. In this way, 6000 people a day left the city during this period. It lasted about one month, then this voluntary exodus ceased. Presently new decrees followed, by which all Jews not employed by German agencies or firms would be deported. The others received a certificate of employment. Over night, a vast crop of "German businesses" sprang up. The necessary machinery was suddenly forthcoming, and a German owner was invariably found. There began a trade with such certificates, for which sums of 1000 Zloty or more were paid. As a result of the founding of so many enterprises, and the lively trading of certificates, the demand for Zloty rose so sharply, that on the black exchange one Dollar fetched only 1[illegible] Zloty instead of 80. After a short time, the whole of Warsaw's Jewish population was in possession of employment certificates, of which probably 80% were false. At that time about 350.000 to 400.000 Jews were left in the Ghetto. To illustrate the

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scarcity of food which resulted it may be mentioned that 10 dollars were payed for 1 kg of bread.

When this state of affairs resulted in no material for deportation being available, the German authorities began to annul these firms, and deport their employees. Again the rate of deportation reached 6000 a day. But it still could not be ascertained where these people were deported. The Jewish O.D. (Ordnungsdienst) sentinels frequently asked the people who were deported to write their destinations on the sides of the carriages when they got out. The same carriages came back regularly (their numbers had been noted) but on the sides only dates and hours of arrival were written; probably the deported did not know themselves where they had been brought. The Jews also tried to bribe the guards on the train to disclose their destination, but could not get any information because the train personnel relieved by others on the way. After a time, the formal annulling of firms stopped, and surprise raids against them began during which all Jews present were deported. This indiscriminate deportation lasted 13 weeks. Thereafter about 60,000 Jews remained in Warsaw-Ghetto, and another 50,000 were in hiding in the "Aryan" quarters under cover of assumed identities, or otherwise. On July 27, 1942, I fled from Warsaw, obtained "Aryan" papers, and lived in Cracow. Twice a week I came to Warsaw on business; at these occasions I used to collect information about conditions in the Ghettos. The only possible business under the circumstances, which was also mine, was the foreign exchange business, or Black Curbs. From Cracow I went to live at Ischnitz (Silicia?) and thence to Czenstochowa, because I had been informed that the Jews from Ischnitz were to be deported to Lochnia within three days, and from there they would be deported again. One did not know exactly what this depor-

station meant, but it was clear that it meant death in some shape, since none of those who had been deported had ever appeared again. I arrived at Czenstochau with Jewish papers and a travelling permit. Nevertheless, I was arrested by the Polish police under German orders, imprisoned for 4 weeks. One day after Yom Kipur (Day of Atonement) I heard that the Jews of Czenstochowa were to be deported. I stayed a further 8 days in the prison with my fellow prisoners. During that time I tried to persuade my fellow-sufferers that in case of a deportation they should not give in easily, but try to escape at all cost, arguying that at least a small number of so many would surely be successful, and thus some at least would be saved. But I could not persuade anyone but a Jew named Sachs; the two of us decided to use any opportunity of escape. The authorities warned us that for every "deserter" 10 people would be shot as reprisals. On the way to the station 18 policemen guarded 100 prisoners, thus making escape impossible. 59 carriages crammed full of deportees were already standing in the station. Men and women, altogether 6000 people, we were squeezed into the 60th and last carriage. One carriage window near the ceiling being open, I discussed with Sachs the possibility of an escape from there during our journey. But when we wanted to realize our intentions, our fellow-travellers protested energetically, for fear that they would be shot. A quarrel followed, as a result of which Sachs and I were beaten up considerably, and forbidden to use the window. During the journey I enlarged a hole in the back-wall of our carriage with a nail, looked through it, and saw that a policeman was standing in the brakesman's cabin who looked out only every now and then; I concluded that our flight would have been successful.

At 7 p.m. we reached the station Alkyne. The train stopped there and was divided into 6 trains of 10 carriages. As

far as I could observe, the employees of the train were exchanged. Then a locomotive pulled our 10 carriages onto a branch-line, and after a further 15 minutes under way, we passed through Treblinka and went on another 5 minutes until we reached a forest. There the gate opened, the train passed in and stopped. By knocks on the carriage-doors we were told to be ready to get out, and suddenly the doors were opened. All along the train, men armed with clubs and sticks shouted "Get out of the train" in all languages (Polish, Jewish and German). Then they fell upon us, and everybody tried to get out of the train as quickly as possible so as to avoid the blows; some were crushed to death. Behind this human chain stood 10 Ukrainians with ready guns, and behind them 4 SS men with revolvers in their hands and big bloodhounds. Near the station we were lined up and counted. Then the SS commander looked at his wrist-watch and commanded: " within 1 minute everybody take off their shoes and socks, and hold the bundle ready in their hands; those who are slower will be shot." Everybody was ready within the minute. The same people who had received us lined up once more to form a corridor. With our bundles in our hands, we then had to run through this passage, which was scattered with sharp stones, so that our feet were torn bloody. All the time we were driven on with sticks and clubs. Many died in this passage. In this way we came to a place where there was a huge pile of shoes about three storeys high. We had to throw our shoes in that pile, and run on until at last we were ordered to stop and men and women were separated. The women were led to a shed with a roof but without walls. We were told to strip naked. Then we were ordered to take our clothes in one hand, documents, money and articles of value into the other. The women, too were ordered to undress and leave their clothes on the ground. They were immediately led naked through a gate into a yard which was separated by a high fence. The men had to continue

running with our clothes and documents, the former of which had to throw onto a huge pile of other clothes, and the articles of value we had to throw into ready opened trunks. While we were running a terrible shriek lasting one or two minutes came to us from the direction of the fence; then we were driven back to the shed, and had to take the women's clothes and put them on the pile. Thus the way through the "corridor",(which consisted of Jews I noticed) had to be made several times, gendarmes with rifles were standing behind the row of Jews, and threatening them with their guns if they did not drive and beat us mercilessly. During this whole process, I wondered what would happen to us, and how it would be possible to escape. While running, I several times asked those Jews with the sticks what would happen to us, and what to do to escape, but I did not receive any answer. At last one of them whispered to me: "Try to get dressed". So when I had again reached the clothes-pile, I sprang out of the line, tore a pair of trousers and a waistcoat over my naked body, grasped a pair of shoes from the shoe pile and ran in the opposite direction. Reaching the human passage I took a stick, fell into the row, and did the same as the others: but my neighbours were afraid, and pushed me out again. At last I found a place where I could beat and shout with the others unnoticed. The Germans supervised all this, and every now and then they picked out a well-grown Jew among the running men and put him aside. When all women's clothes were carried away, the running Jews did not return, but after a while I heard again this terrible scream lasting one or two minutes, and followed by complete silence. Those who had formed the corridor were then led to the pile, and were ordered to pile all clothes on top of the clothes mountain. Meanwhile all Jews, those who had been picked out by the German men, were ordered to come to us and to dress themselves; I used this opportunity to do the same properly. I

had hardly finished when I heard a shrill blow of the whistle; all those standing near the pile started running in the direction of the station. Coming to the rails, I saw that the next 10 carriages had arrived. We took up the same position on the rails as those who had received us. Now at last I had a free moment to look around and see where I was. We were inside a large yard (ca.1 square km.) surrounded by a barbed wire fence, which was very well camouflaged by intertwining it with living trees and hedges. At the far end I saw a long line of billowing smoke.

When the carriage doors were opened, the procedure applied to us on arrival repeated itself. We had to shout and drive the Jews out of the carriages. An old Jew stumbled out of the carriage and the SS man ordered one of us "to bring him to the hospital". Then came another old Jew, and the SS man ordered me "Hallo, this one also to the hospital." Since I had no idea where the "hospital" was, I followed my companion who had the same order. We led the old man towards the smoke like. When I came near it, I saw a ditch about 10 m wide and 10 m deep. The ditch stretched down as far as the fenced yard. At the bottom a huge fire burned, and I knew immediately that corpses were burning down there. Near us stood one SS man and 10 armed Ukrainians. The SS man gave the order " undress and set down". In order to avoid mistakes, I looked at my companion; we undressed our old Jews, and set them down on the edge of the ditch. Meanwhile other old people were sent to the "hospital". When 10 Jews were sitting on the edge of the ditch, they were shot from behind by the Ukrainians, and fell automatically into the fire. Then I went back, and the same as had happened to us, happened to all the newly arrived people. All this lasted till 12 o'clock.

At 12 o'clock we had to line up for a roll-call. The SS man (co mander) ordered that the 11 newcomers should stand in a row separately from the others. Of course I joined the newcomers. Now the fact that we were 12 instead of 11 was found out; I noticed that Mr. Fuchs was also among us. He told me afterwards that he had had the same idea as I. The SS co mander got very excited about this, and ordered that the intruders whom he had "recognized immediately", should report voluntarily or he would not answer for the consequences. He pulled out his revolver, fiddled about with it, shot into the air, screamed, but of course we did not own up. At last he dismissed us and we had lunch. I tried to find out as much as possible about the situation and explore every possibility of escape. I talked to and questioned all my fellow-sufferers, but when I told them about my intentions they declared me a lunatic. The general answer of these people was that the very thought of flight was crazy, that it was impossible, and most of them did not even want to consider the idea. Here my friend Fuchs heard that with the train from Czenstochowa his child had been brought here, he said that after the loss of his child he did not care what happened to him; life had no meaning for him anymore, and he did not care enough to take the trouble to save himself. I heard that Fuchs was the last of anyone who had been here; most of my comrades had been there for 4 - 10 days. Every morning some were picked out, whom we never saw again. These were then replaced by newcomers, as in our case.

Our hours were from 7 to 12 a.m. and from 1 to 6 p.m. Our work briefly consisted in waiting continual newcomers; the rest of the time we arranged the clothes, shoes, and articles of value, and put the shoe-and-clothes-pile in order. Three times a day we were lined up and counted. At 6 p.m. we had

to retire to our barracks. The windows had to be kept open all night. Opposite the windows which did not give on the yard, a watch tower had been erected from which our windows were illuminated and guarded all night. Behind the fence was the so-called "death-camp", which we were not allowed to enter. Two boys succeeded in crossing over to us from there, and this is the information we received from them.

About 500 Jews worked on that side, and there were 8 big barracks for about 7000 people. The naked people who were brought there were herded into those barracks, and told that they are going to be bathed. When a batch of them was inside, poison gas was let in. Those still outside naturally tried desparately to back away when they realized what was going on inside. Then the SS and Ukrainians with their bloodhounds went into action and forced them in. The cries we had heard came from such crowds at the moment of entering. When a batch was inside the door was closed and remained so for 15 minutes. By the time it was opened again, everybody inside was dead.' Now the 500 Jews employed there had to throw the corpses into the fire-ditch which stretched beyond the fence into the death-camp. Those 500 Jews were in terrible condition of physical and psychic decay. They also got very little food, and daily 10 or 15 committed suicide. From their "work" they all emitted a penetrating cadaverous smell. It was this smell which betrayed our two informants, who were discovered among us and marched away by guards.

In a far corner of our yard, there was a barrack where the so-called "Yard-Jews" lived. They were about 100 craftsmen, locksmiths, joiners, electricians, also tailors, and 12 musicians. These people had been brought here from Warsaw 4 weeks before the general deportations, to set up the camp. They were suits with yellow stripes, lived apart from the others, and only met them during meals. They worked in their work-shops and

were not admitted at the above- entioned killings. The l
musicians had to play every evening at banquets held by the
Germans. I was told that among them there had also been a
chauffeur who had managed to gain favor with the Germans, and
was often taken out of the camp by them. When the deportations
in Warsaw began, he drove out with an SS man to get his wife
and children out. But after a few days he took the car and
fled with his family. The SS could not forget this incident,
and were still cursing about it when I was there. I myself
heard one of them say: "That bloody dog, if we catch him
again, he shall find out that there is a worse death than by
electric or shooting."

As I have mentioned before, one of our duties was to arrange
the clothes pile. During a roll-call the commander told us to
examine the clothes carefully for money and articles of value
left in the pockets or sewn in between seams elsewhere. "You
know best where Jews usually hide their money", he told us,
"I do not wonder that you do such things; after all, you are
human beings, and think that you can save your money that way.
What we do with you is our policy, just as England and America
have their policy against us."

During my 4 days' stay there, 110,000 (hundred-and-ten thousand
Jews came to that camp, and were delivered to the death-camp
by the method related above. The transports came from France
Holland, Vienna and Poland. Apparently the foreigners had come
to us by direct trains, because their carriages had built-in
couches, and they arrived in fairly good condition. Everybody
had a number, and so had the baggage. The ashes from the burn
corpses were taken out of the hole, passed through sieves, and
packed into boxes. What happened then to it, I do not know.

At last I succeeded to win over two boys for my plan of es-

cape. I could persuade them that we had nothing to lose, and the only quest on to be solved was how to go about it. During a roll-call the SS commander told us that it was useless to think of escape, since it was impossible; but if someone should really get over the barbed wire (which was impossible), he would not be able to go on from there. But if by some magic anybody should succeed to get out he could be certain that he would be brought back there after a short time. I can tell you, he said, that by December 31st, 1942, not one Jew will be left in the General Government.

From the moment we left our barracks at 7 a.m. till we entered them again at 7 p.m. we were watched continuously. Any separation from the group would have been noticed at once, we concluded that flight in daytime was quite out of the question. An escape by night had to be considered, and for that reason we had to find a way to remain outside the barracks after 7 p.m. Before 6 p.m. I packed each of my two companions into a bundle of clothes and took them up onto the clothes pile; my friend Jacha did the same with me. Each of us provided himself with as much money and jewellery as we could find hidden in the clothes, and with one big kitchen-knife. In case we were captured we decided not to die without defending ourselves. After 6 p.m. it became quiet around us, and I freed myself a little from my bundle so as to be able to watch my surroundings. The Ukrainian guard was relieved, and I now waited for darkness to fall. At about 8.30 I crept out of my bundle and freed my other companions of theirs. It was the night of Hoshana-Raba (the seventh day of the feast of the tabernacles); I am certain of this because it is the day of my father's death. We dug a hole in the clothes pile, so that standing up only our heads looked out. So we stood watching, and observed that every thirty minutes a guard circled the yard and that a search-light crept regularly over the clothe pile. We intended to wait, since we

expected a change after midnight. But when until one o'clock no change had occurred we decided to creep forward at one o' clock after the passing of the s arch-light beam. Still buried in the pile we observed a thick smoke coming from the ditch, from which we concluded that the corpses were being sprinkled with something. We decided to reach this dense screen of smoke, and push forward under its cover. t 1 minutes past one we let ourselves down the pile, crept towards the smoke cloud, and reached it unnoticed. e now found ourselves standing in front of a barbed wire fence. With our hands and knives we managed to dig a hole under the fence, the ground being soft. e squeezed through under it, and stood in a dense forest. e proceeded straight forward and after a few minutes stood again in front of a barbed wire fence. This time the soil was hard and we could not get through the same way as before. We were obliged to scale disregarding the spikes; we wore two pairs of gloves, so we got across with only a few scratches. Then we went on only to encounter after a few minutes a third barbed wire fence which had to be negotiated the same way as the second. Our way then led us further into the forest, which we only left about half past three next morning. From the edge of the forest we saw a village, but decided not to enter it before about 5.30, since there was in the Generalgouvernement a general curfew till 5 a.m. One of my comrades decided not to wait, and went in the direction of the village. e soon lost sight of him but heard dogs bark after a short while. We never found out what happened to him.

About 6.30 we left the forest to look for the road, and met woman who showed us the way. We now took the direction of arsaw and walked three days, spending the nights in the until we reached arsaw. During this time we lived on d bread. hen we arrived in arsaw one day after Sukkot of the Tabernacles) our first step was to go to the Ju

(raw'n [illegible] Kronien [illegible]rket) to get other cl[illegible]es, [illegible] use ours were so [illegible] to be conspicious. [illegible] the [illegible] y hess arived * because [illegible] had been shorn in prison, and I thought a head recently shorn would [illegible]e suspicion. [illegible] now parted from my comrade, and tried to enter the ghetto in some fashion, in order to look for my sister. [illegible] did not succeed in this, but learnt that my sister was no longer in the ghetto. decided to go to Krakau, and before the journey, procured " Aryan" papers for myself. [illegible] Krakau, after a long search, I found my [illegible] friend, Viktor Ehrenfeld Rotstein., and Aryeh Orlowski, who had worked with us before. All three are now here [illegible]. They were stunned at my sudden appearence, because they knew that I had been deported from Czenstochowa, and there was never been a case of a safe return, from a dep rtation. All four of us decided now to escape to Hungary, and for this purpose we made for the Hungarian frontier at Turki near Stryj. We got in touch with the smugglers who were to bring us across the frontier with great elapston, because it had leaked out, that Turki would be evacuated within 8 days. My three comrades returned to Krakau and I was to go before them to Hungary and make the necessary preparations for their crossing. I went with a group of about ten people under the guidance of the smugglers who were to lead the way across the frontier in return for a fee of 20. [illegible] Zloty (ca. 200 Dollars) for every member of the group. We were cheated, however, by the guides, who took our money and abandoned us in the forest. We spent 11 days in the forest, and finally returned. I for my part went back to my friends at Krakau. The ghetto still existed there, but we as "Aryans" obviously resided outside the ghetto. To live in Krakau was rather dangerous; for this reason we induced an acquaintence by the name of Zellonek, who was married to a Jewess, to buy a vill at Swonowice near Krakau at our expense, but in his name, and let it to us. Mrs. Aryeh Orlowska kept the house for us.

While we were in the forest near Turki I bought a Hungarian Cer-

tificate of Residence (Heimatschein) from a Jew for 3000 Zloty. I intended to use this certificate for registration and thus obtained the status of a foreigner, to whom the anti-Jewish regulations did not apply. This registration was to be arranged by Mr. Eliezer Landau, who possessed the necessary contacts with the competent authorities at Bochnia, and who was ready to help us if he would receive in return similar certificates for himself and all his family. We accordingly turned all our energy toward procuring a metal stamp for counterfeiting. Viktor Rotstein went to Stryj, where such papers were reported to be obtainable; however, he was caught in the deportation rush at Stryj and was carried off in a railway truck. He succeeded in making his escape at Lemberg, and returned to Krakau. After that Henrik Rotstein went to Warsaw and procured the stamp from the firm of Polesa Trnbaka. The stamp was made out for the parish of Huet. We used it to forge a lagge number of Hungariah Certificates of Residence, which were countersigned by the Chief of the German police at Bochnia, whose name was Schönberg.

In the meantime we had to escape from Swoszowice because Jellonek had been denounced by a Jew. He was arrested and shot because an old radio set was found on his loft. The informer Samuel Brodman, a disciple (Chassid) of the Rabbi of Lobova, had actually plotted against the brothers Rotstein, and the police were really looking for Viktor Rotstein when they found Jellonek's wireless.

Our certificates made it possible for us to live ouside the Bochnia Ghetto. We had moved to Bochnia on February 15, 1943, and from there we managed to get in touch with Slovakian smuggglers, with whose aid we finally succeeded with great difficulty in ~~#~~ crossing the Slovakian border. Here again I must mention the valuable help of Mrs. Orlovska, who crossed with us.

David Wilgrom from Lodz

August 30. 1943

Bukarest, den 29/ 1/44

Salom Chawerimi,

In erster Reihe bestaetigen wir hiermit den Erhalt der 2 alafim (Geld) ~~der~~ und nun Einzelheiten ueber unsere weitere Taetigkeit.

Mit dem Ankommen von E. und D. hat unsere Arbeit einen neuen Impuls erhalten. Die Waad Arbaa (Verteidigungscomité= in hebraeisch HAGANA) wurde in zwei Unterkommissionen aufgeteilt und zwar 1 Waada (Kommission) Bricha (Flucht) die als Aufgabe alle Tiulangelegenheiten (Grenzuebergang) zu konzentrieren hat und der alle Schlichim (Geheimboten) von Gwul (Grenze) unterliegen. Ueber ihre Arbeit werden Euch die Chawerim mitteilen.

Waad Haklaut (Haganakomite) unter der Leitung von ..... hat sich zur Aufgabe gestellt alle Vorbereitungen zu treffen um die traurige Erfahrung von Hagar (Ungarn) auszunuetzen und der Gefahr vorzubeugen. Als leitendes Prinzip ist im Rahmen unserer Kraefte die Rettung aller Juden ohne Unterschied ihrer politischen Anschauungen und wenn notwendig ist, ihre Verteidigung. Die technischen Einzelheiten dieser Organisierung werden wir Euch nicht heute mitteilen, wir wollen aber alles tun um das Versaeumte nachzuholen. Zu diesem Zweck habensich alle Tnuot (Bewegungen) entschlossen die aufopferungsvollsten Chawerim zurueckzubehalten um die Kerngruppe zu schaffen um welche sich dann die Nichtorganisierte Judenschaft scharren koennen soll.
Wir haetten Euch vieles und vieles zu schreiben um in dieser verantwortungsvollen Frage auch in den Einzelheiten mit Eurem Einverstaendnis zu handeln, aber Ihr muesst verstehen warum wir Euch trotzdem nur ganz kurze Berichte geben werden. Daher erwartet von uns keine langen Briefe sondern Taten.

Schalom Uvracha

Beschem Anifkada (im Namen der Zentrale)

4 Unterschriften.....

Budapest.den 15.August 1944

Liebe Freunde,
Am 31.Juli schrieb ich Euch letztens auf demselben Wege. Hoffentlich gelangte dieser Duplikat in Eure Haende. Vorsichtshalber lege ich eine Kopie bei (sie ist wegen naechtlicher Arbeit voll mit Schreibfehlern,lasset Euch von ihnen nicht stoeren) ergaenzend moechte ich Euch noch folgendes mitteilen:
Ich schreibe diesen Brief am 15.August abends. Heute soll bei Rascha eine Besprechung stattfinden,an der schloscha Aschkenazim hajoter hasuvim kipo benechem gam haczir eval, Eichisch lo,teilnehmen. Gegenstand der Besprechungen bildet unter anderen auch Hamazav schelanu. Es ist hoechstens erfreulich,dass Eichisch nicht herangezogen wurde. Hoffentlich wird Rascha in den letzten Augenblick die schon vorbereitete Pegischa nicht vereiteln. Unter den drei befindet sich auch derjenige, der als Bevollmaechtigter mit Saly verhandeln soll.
Seit einer Woche haben wir einen neuen Isch fuer Inanimii-Angelegenheiten. Aschke wartete schon seit Wochen gespannt auf diese Wendung und machte in den letzten Tagen grosse Anstrengungen um zu erfahren,wie dieser ueber Gerusch Irbira denkt. Eichisch hat mit ihm am 11.ds.gesprochen, aber eine ausweichende Antwort erhalten. Die Frage ist aber ununterbrochen an der Tagesordnung. Es waere muessig die Chancen abzuschaetzen,denn das Problem gehoert,wie schon geschrieben,in das Gesamtkomplex der aschke'hagarischen Beziehungen,die heute bei Rascha das Hauptsprechthema bilden und deren Ausgang unvoraussehbar ist. Eichisch will unter allen Umstaenden seine Arbeit fortsetzen. Hanassi moechte unter keinen Umstaenden weiteren Gerusch gestatten. Wer wird der Staerkere sein? Das Spiel ist noch immer offen. Allerdings ist der allgemeine Hamazav Chajali wesentlich anders,gewisse hagarische Kreise, die am Gerusch mitbeteiligt waren,haben inzwischen ueber Auschwitz erfahren und moechten nicht mehr mitmachen. Klar ist,dass der jetzige Hamazav Hajechudim Heirbira nicht gehalten werden kann. Es ist ebenfalls mit Bestimmtheit anzunehmen,dass zum totalen Gerusch kann nicht und wird nicht kommen, Wenn der erwaehnte Bevollmaechtigte von Rascha die Erlaubnis bekommt auf Grund der mit uns zu fuehrenden Verhandlungen auf Gerusch zu verzichten,wird die Loesung einfach. Uebrigens haengt von Ungarns Staerke und Willen ab den Gerusch total oder teilweise zu verhindern. So glaubt man im allgemeinen,dass die Meschumedim bis 1941 August aus genommen werden. Diese Kategorie wurde tatsaechlich durch Plakate anfang Juli aufgefordert sich zu melden. Seit damals ist eine noch nie dagewesene Taufenwelle zu verzeichnen. Zehntausende sind zur Taufe gegangen und die Knessiot Hocrijot hat diese Bestrebungen anfangs stark unterstuetzt. Nach 2-3 Tagen auf starkem Druck der antisemitischen Itonim wurden die Formalitaeten der Taufe strenger.

Was nun unsere Verhandlungen anbelangt: Ihr seid am laufenden ueber den regen Telegramwechsel,den ich in dieser Angelegenheit gefuehrt habe mit Euch,Schachor,Dobkin,Nathan und Saly. Am 4.August habe ich mich mit dem Bevollmaechtigten (er heisst Obersturmbannfuehrer Becher und fuehrt den Wirtschaftsstab der SS) vereinbart,dass wir am 12.ds.mit Auto abfahren um Saly am 13.mittags am schweizerisch-aschkenasischen Gwul zu treffen. Er hat mir erklaert,dass bis dahin kein weiterer Gerusch stattfinden wird. Zwei Tage vorher habe ich Eichisch ueberzeugt von der Notwendigkeit aschkenasischer Seite,das "Zeichen des good will zu geben". Er erklaerte,dass er 500 aus Bergen-Belsen die Weiterfahrt erlauben wird. Nachdem er besonders guter Laune war,habe ich vorgeschlagen,dass anstatt Aschkenas-Zorfati der Transport erst zu Nathan komme und ich habe es damit begruendet,dass Adam Zlavin die Weiterfahrt von Nathan leichter besorgen kann. Er hat es mir zugesagt. Am gleichen Tage noch habe ich den sefardischen Zir besucht und ihn von der ganzen Angelegenheit in Kenntnis gesetzt. Nun habe ich gespannt auf die Annahme des vorgeschlagenen Zusammentreffentermins gewartet,anstatt dessen ist aber am 10.August eine Absage gekommen von Saly. Gluecklicherweise wurde inzwischen die Reise der Bevollmaechtigten zum Rascha aktuell,sodass ich nicht

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gezwungen war Saly's Absage mitzuteilen. Anstatt dessen habe ich als neuen Termin den 20.August vorgeschlagen und einige Stunden frueher habe ich Livràk von Nathan erhalten, der mitteilt, dass dieser Vorschlag akzeptiert worden ist. Ich habe inzwischen zweimal durch den hiesigen Vertreter an Adam Zlavin an seine Zentrale telegraphieren lassen, ueber die Reise der 500 und habe auch durch ihn die Ermoeglichung der Zusammenkunft an der Grenze gebeten. Nathans Livrak entnehme ich, dass wir auch in dieser Hinsicht nicht auf groessere Schwierigkeiten stossen werden. Am 12.August, an einer Besprechung an der der aschkenasische Zir, Lichisch, der Bevollmaechtigte und der Leiter bei Loewenherz teilgenommen haben, wurde vereinbart, dass der erste Transport (die genaue Zahl wird schliesslich von Nascha Irbira angegeben und duerfte sich um 500 bewegen) am 19.August in Basel eintrifft. Wer mit diesem Transport fahren wird, bestimmt die Transportleitung in der auch Hilel teilnimmt. Hoffentlich wird die schweizerische Bedingung den Transport hereinlassen. Mit dem niedrigen Zir dieser Bedingung habe ich auch diese Woche verhandelt. Aus dem Standpunkt des internationalen Rechtes ist die Frage gar nicht so einfach, da die ganze Angelegenheit ohne Wissen und Zustimmung der ungarischen Regierung abgewickelt worden ist.

Die ungarische Alija scheiterte bis jetzt leider am Widerstand der Aschkenasen. Am 2.August hat Lichisch wiederholt erklaert, er wird keine Alija nach Eretz zulassen, bat mich aber, mich in diese Aktion vorlaufig nicht einzumischen. "Wenn die Vereinbarung zustande kommt" -erklaerte er- "d.h. wenn die LEW-s eintreffen, dann werden wir diese Angelegenheit gemeinsam in unsere Vereinbarung einbauen". Er verstand darunter offenbar seinen Standpunkt geltend zu machen.

Ich fahre morgen zu Saly mit einem Adjutanten des Bevollmaechtigten. Ich versuche vorher mit Saly oder Nathan telefonisch zu sprechen um die Einzelheiten des Zusammentreffens zu besprechen. Wenn nicht wieder etwas dazwischen kommt, dann fahren wir am 19.August zu Saly. Ich glaube, dass wir meinen frueheren Berichten Ihre die entscheidende Wichtigkeit dieser Vereinbarungen richtig erfasst haben. Es handelt sich hier nur um die Bergen-Belsener, sondern auch darum, ob ueberhaupt noch etwas positives um die effektive Hazala und evtl. zur Verhinderung der weiteren Pogrome meinbira zu machen ist oder nicht.

Ich moechte wiederholen:
1) Lichisch's Standpunkt in der Frage der Bergen-Belsener ist, dass er fuer die keine weitere Bemuehungen von uns wuenscht, fordert aber, dass Joel unter allen Umstaenden zurueckkommt, hingegen ist er bereit auf Joel zu verzichten, wenn er LEW-s bekommt. Die Bergen-Belsener schrieben uns uebrigens am 1.August ausfuehrlich. Alle befinden sich wohl, auch die dortige Chaluzische-Gemeinschaft schreibt zufrieden, beklagen sich aber ueber das Klima, zu dem sie nicht die entsprechende Kleidung besitzen.
2) Wir haben ebenfalls eine reiche Korrespondenz von Loewenherz und Umgebung. Die Korrespondenz wurde vom Leiter der Dienststelle mitgebracht, der sich um sie kuemmert. Es handelt sich um 16.300 hagarische Jechudim, die von Lichisch hindirigiert worden sind in der Hoffnung, dass eine Vereinbarung doch zustande kommen wird. Auch diese sind im allgemeinen mit ihrer Situation zufrieden.
3) Im Columbus-Lager befinden sich cca.680, in der Mehrheit aus der Provinz, die ebenfalls auf Alija warten. Diese drei Kategorien, sowie Schoerit Ichira koennen nur durch einen erfolgreichen Ausgang dieser Verhandlungen zur Alija gebracht werden.

Wie sich die Sache inbezug auf Sefard nach der [illegible] Entwicklung geloest werden koennen und ob Nathans Medina hungarische Jechudim in groesserer Zahl empfangen will, sind Fragen, auf die ich mir keine Antwort geben kann. Ueber die neuesten Entwicklungen betr. Kraus werden die Chaluzim berichten. Sie werden Euch ebenfalls unterrichten ueber die ernste Tijul-Arbeit, die waehrend der letzten Wochen geleistet wurde. Ihr koennet Euch vorstellen, mit welcher Spannung wir alle der Zusammenkunft mit Saly entgegensehen. Wir bitten Euch die Angelegenheit auch von der Ferne aufmerksam zu verfolgen und alles einzusetzen, damit zumindest Teilresultate erzielt werden koennen.

Wir begruessen Euch alle herzlichst!

Rezsö

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Ungarn,

Die abnormale Situation in Folge der Civilisation mit [illegible] Progress um [illegible] zurueckgeschleudert. Am Horizont [illegible] Ideologien erschienen wieder Sklaverei, Unterdrueckung, Quaelerei und [illegible]. Unser Volk, jeden Methoden wehrlos ausgesetzt, hatte am meisten darunter zu leiden, [illegible] andere Volk der Welt. Der Reihe nach wurden die [illegible] vernichtet. [illegible] das erste [illegible] das zweite, in [illegible].

[illegible] von [illegible] und [illegible] Auftrag. [illegible] ungarischen [illegible] de[illegible] ohne [illegible] nur eine [illegible] Rettung zu machen. Von [illegible] deportierten [illegible] 1. [illegible] ein [illegible] Prozentsatz. Wir verstehen, [illegible] waren, dass sie nichts [illegible] erhalten. [illegible] jeden [illegible], dass [illegible] nicht unvorbereitet treffen.

I[illegible] Lasset den [illegible] in [illegible]eren und [illegible] organisieren. Ihr [illegible] fordern, denn Ihr seid dazu verpflichtet. Lasset den [illegible]-[illegible]terien! Wir kaempfen [illegible] fuer die Existenz [illegible] Israel [illegible]t... Die erste Aufgabe der [illegible] ist die Rettung der [illegible] zionistischen Bewegung und wenn diese [illegible] kommt die [illegible] organisierte Jugend daran, die Jugend die [illegible] und die von [illegible] wurden. Von uns, von Euch haengt ihre Rettung ab. Ich verstehe nicht warum die Schelichim ohne Leute zurueckkehren, wenn sie [illegible] auf den [illegible] Grenzen finden. Der Schaliach [illegible] wenn er [illegible] in [illegible] getroffen hat, muss in die juedische Masse eindringen und von dort [illegible] juedische Arbeiter bringen. Wir sind bereit [illegible] die zu uns kommen wollen zu empfangen.

[illegible] nicht von [illegible] Feind [illegible] an. [illegible] Euch keine [illegible] Alijah [illegible]! [illegible] die erste [illegible] wird. [illegible] Alijah vor [illegible] nicht unter Ihrer Leitung! Die [illegible]lichste Loesung waere [illegible] sehr [illegible] wird realisieren [illegible]. Der einzige Weg der Rettung ist momentan der Tiul. Lasset den [illegible] einer [illegible] Alijah beiseite. Schwaerzet die Grenze und kommt jetzt, solange es noch moeglich ist [illegible] von Alijoth [illegible] wird. Wir [illegible] organisieren koennen, aber eines ist klar: der Tiul muss rascher und intensiver vor sich gehen. [illegible] machen wir Euch folgende Vorschlaege:

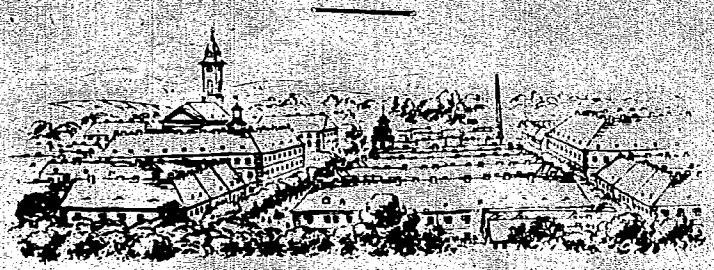
1) ~~Dass Ihr [illegible] bleibet solange noch [illegible] in Ungarn existieren.~~
2) Dass Ihr [illegible] organisierte Gruppen konsekutiv gegen den 5 Uebergangspunkten [illegible]et (Arad, [illegible], [illegible]nevoi, Traschov und Turda)
3) Die Organisierung Ihres Kontaktes mit den Schelichim damit sie Euch finden koennen
4) Wenn keine organisierte Jugend mehr existiert, schicket nicht organisierte
5) Unsere permanente Verbindung mit Euch, durch genaue und ausfuehrliche Briefe. Gebet uns diesbezuegliche Adressen an.
6) Die [illegible] Mitarbeit aller Stroemungen in der zionistischen Organisation. Dieses bezieht sich auf [illegible]-Zion, mit seiner gut bekannten Stellungnahme. Aber Ihr habet nicht das Recht dieselben [illegible] zu ergreifen.

Ungefaehr diese sind die Vorschlaege die wir Euch zu machen haben. Wir glauben, dass es die hoechste Zeit fuer schnelles und sicheres Handeln ist [illegible] den Kampf fuer die Existenz und die Rettung des Judentums.

Euch in [illegible]

[illegible]anda Arba
Zwy

P.S. Schicket wir ausfuehrliche Briefe fuer Nathan, [illegible] oder [illegible] da wir die Moeglichkeit haben sie weiterzubefoerdern.



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THERESIENSTADT 23.Mai 1944

Herrn
Joel B r a n d

Lieber Chawer,

mit herzlichem Dank bestätigen wir Ihr Schreiben vom 8.ds.Mts. Mit grosser Freude benutzen wir die Gelegenheit, Ihnen zu antworten und Sie zu bitten, allen Freunden Grüsse zu bestellen und dafür zu danken, dass sie sich unserer annehmen. Wir dürfen davon ausgehen, da Sie auch dessen in Ihrem Brief Erwähnung tun, dass die zahlreichen Sendungen aus Lissabon und Istambul ein Werk unserer Freunde sind. Auch die Freunde aus Wien, die hier mit uns zusammenleben, haben Sendungen aus den genannten Orten erhalten. Wenn unsere Verpflegsituation auch durchaus geordnet ist und zu keinerlei Sorge Anlass gibt, so freuen und doch diese Sendungen immer wieder, weil wir sie als ein Zeichen Ihrer Freundschaft ansehen.

In Theresienstadt ist eine richtige jüdische Stadt entstanden, in der alle Arbeiten von Juden besorgt werden, von der Strassenreinigung angefangen bis zu einem modernen Gesundheitswesen mit Krankenhäusern und einem durchorganisierten ärztlichen Betreuungsdienst mit einem grossen Stab von Pflegepersonal, von sämtlichen technischen Arbeiten bis zur Verpflegung in den Gemeinschaftsküchen, von der eigenen Polizei und Feuerwehr bis zu einem besonderen Gerichts-, Post- und Verkehrswesen, von einer Bank mit eigenem Siedlungsgeld und von Verkaufsläden für Lebensmittel, Kleidung und Hausrat bis zur Freizeitgestaltung, in deren Rahmen regelmässig Vorträge, Theateraufführungen und Konzerte stattfinden. Die Kinder, denen besondere Sorge gilt, sind in Kinder- und Jugendheimen, die nicht arbeitsfähigen Alten in Alters- und Siechenheimen unter ärztlicher Aufsicht und Pflege untergebracht. Die Arbeitsfähigen sind vor allem für den inneren Dienst eingesetzt. Aus allen Gebieten sind hervorragende Fachkräfte zusammengekommen. Dies kommt nicht nur der hier zu leistenden Facharbeit auf technischem, hygienischem und administrativem Gebiete zugute, auch in der Freizeit hat sich dadurch ein reiches kulturelles Leben auf jüdischem und allgemeinem Gebiet entwickeln können. Eine Bibliothek mit nahezu 50.000 Bänden mit mehreren Lesezimmern, ein Kaffeehaus mit ständigen Musikdarbietungen dienen der Zerstreuung, insbesondere für die älteren Menschen. Zentralbad und Zentralwäscherei fördern die allgemeine Hygiene, auf die naturgemäss besonderer Wert gelegt wird. So kann man sich hier, wenn man die äussere und innere

4

Unterbringung und Einordnung vollzogen hat, durchaus wohlfühlen. Eine Ansicht der Stadt ersehen Sie aus dem Briefkopf.

Der Gesundheitszustand ist als durchaus günstig anzusehen, was neben der klimatischen Lage von Theresienstadt in erster Linie der hingebenden, unverdrossenen Arbeit unserer Aerzte, der ausreichenden Versorgung mit Lebensmitteln und mit Medikamenten zu danken ist. Zuwendungen, die wir erhalten, stehen uns im Rahmen der Jüdischen Selbstverwaltung zur Verfügung und können zusätzlichen Verwendungszwecken zugeführt werden. So haben wir jetzt von Ihrer Zuwendung Kenntnis erhalten und danken Ihnen und den Freunden herzlichst dafür.

Auch wir wären froh, wenn wir häufiger die Möglichkeit hätten, von Ihnen Nachricht zu erhalten. Wir denken oft an die Freunde, die uns durch Sie haben grüssen lassen. Auch unsere Gedanken bewegen sich oft um Möglichkeiten einer Alijah; mit besonderem Interesse haben wir aus Ihren Zeilen entnommen, dass auch Ihre Bemühungen einer wenn auch noch so bescheidenen Lösung dieses Problems gelten.

Wir danken Ihnen für Ihr freundschaftliches Gedenken und sind froh darüber, dass wir Ihrer Verbundenheit gewiss sein dürfen. Lassen Sie bald wieder von sich hören.

Mit herzlichem Schalom
Ihre

Dr. Franz Kahn — Dr. Erich Munk

Dr. Paul Eppstein — Ing. Otto Zucker

Dr. Erich Oesterreicher — Gert Körbel

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Dr.Franz Friedmann,
Judenältester,Prag.

24.7.1944

Liebe Freunde !

Mit Euerem Briefe habe ich mich ungemein gefreut und wird er dieselbe Freude auch bei unseren Freunden in Theresienstadt auslösen.Wir sind mit allen in ständigem Kontakt und so kann ich Euch berichten,dass alle samt ihren Familien wohlauf und zufrieden sind.

Alle arbeiten in ihren Fächern und haben sich auf ihren Gebieten hervorragend ausgebildet.Erich Munk ist Leiter des Gesundheitswesens in Theresienstadt,Erich Oesterreicher leitet dort den Arbeitseinsatz,Kahn betätigt sich in der Freizeitgestaltung,Schuster widmet sich vor allem seiner kleinen Tochter.Die übrigen betätigen sich hauptsächlich in der Jugendfürsorge,die in Theresienstadt vorbildlich ist und Hervorragendes leistet.
Sie haben ein reichhaltiges jüdisches Leben gestaltet,sind stolz auf ihren überaus reichhaltige Bibliothek,ein grosses Theater mit Opernaufführungen,die täglichen Platzkonzerte,ein Kaffeehaus, Stadtkapelle und die täglichen Vorträge von sehr hohem Niveau. Dass die Gegend äusserst schön ist,dürfte Euch bekannt sein,weshalb man noch hinzufügen muss,dass besondere geschmackvolle Parkanlagen hergerichtet wurden.

Es freut mich,bei dieser Gelegenheit Euch den Dank zum Ausdruck zu bringen,dass Ihr mit den 10.000.- K/an unsere Chaveria gedacht habet und kann ich Euch bestätigen,dass Euere Hilfe für die Paketsendungen an dieselben voll ausgenützt werden wird.

Die Pakete,sowie die Post vom In-und Auslande,erhalten sowohl unsere Freunde in Theresienstadt,wie wir,anstandslos ausgefolgt.Insbesondere unseren Freunden bereitet jede Sendung Freude, als Zeichen,dass man an sie denkt.

Ich brauche Euch nicht zu versichern,dass ich die ganze Zeit ,wenn ich auch in keiner schriftlichen Verbindung mit Euch stehe,in den letzten Jahren mehr als sonst,an alle gedacht habe und dass mich Euer Schicksal und Euere neue Lebensgestaltung sehr interessiert.

Da ich annehme,dass meine Grüsse ebenso herzlich empfangen werden,wie ich Euere empfunden habe,so bitte ich Euch, alle

b.w.

jene Freunde von mir zu grüssen,mit denen ich die Freude und die Ehre hatte mitzuarbeiten und insbesondere diejenigen,mit denen ich während meines Aufenthaltes bei Euch und sonst,angenehme Stunden erlebt habe.

Insbesondere Sie, Herr Brandt,grüsse ich herzlichst und will gerne hoffen,dass ich wieder bald von Ihnen hören werde.

Mit herzlichem Schalom

Ihr :

J. Goldmann

Bukarest, d. 19. August 1944

Liebe Chawerim,
als Leiter der hiesigen Ezra- und Hazalah-Arbeit fuer Hagor-plitim moechte ich Euch im Folgenden kurz ueber die hiesige Lage berichten:

Die politische Lage

Die leitenden Faktoren der rumaenischen Regierung vor allem der stellvertretende Ministerpraesident Mihai Antonescu und der Polizeiminister General Vasiliu bekunden gegenueber der Plitim-Frage nach wie vor ein aktives Wohlwollen. In denletzten zwei Wochen hat das rumaenische Judentum, haben insbesondere auch unsere Plitimbrueder, aufregende Tage erlebt-. Anlaesslich des Besuches des Marschalls Antonescu im Fuehrerhauptquartier haben sich Geruechte verbreitet, dass von der rumaenischen Regierung ebensolche Massnahmen gegen die Juden gefordert w rden seien, wie dies in Ungarn der Fall war. Wenn die Regierung diesen Forderungen bisher auch mit Erfolg widerstehen konnte, so wurden doch seitens der deutscherseits beeinflussten hoeheren Militaerbehoerden Plaene zur Internierung saemtlicher im Lande befindlicher Fluechtlinge ausgearbeitet. Es hat sich hierbei also nicht nur um die neuen ungarischen, sondern auch um die alten polnischen Fluechtlinge, sowie um die aus Bessarabien, Bukowina und der noerdlichen Moldau hierhergefluechteten Juden gehandelt, insgesamt um 7-8.000 Menschen. Wenn diese Gefahr auch noch nicht endgueltig gebannt ist, ist es hauptsaechlich dank der Bemuehungen des Herrn Zissu immerhin gelungen, einstweilen zumindest einen Aufschub zu erlangen und es ist zu hoffen, dass wenn keine radikale Aenderung der Regierungskurses eintritt, diese Massnahme ueberhaupt nicht zur Durchfuehrung gelangt. Dies haengt auch wesentlich davon ab, ob wir in naechster Zeit imstande sein werden, eine Alijah grosseren Massstabes der Plitim durchzufuehren.
Was die politische Lage in Ungarn anbetrifft, so hat man dort die Deportationen- auf auslaendische Intervention, sowie persoenliches Eingreifen des Reichsverwesers Horthy- seit etwa 6. Juli tatsaechlich eingestellt. Trotzdem geht aus den Briefen unseres Freundes Komoly hervor, dass von einer wirklichen Entspannung noch bei weitem nicht gesprochen werden kann, vielmehr befuerchtet werden muss, dass die Deportation auch noch das (praktisch einzig noch im Lande befindliche) Judentum der Hauptstadt Budapest erfasst.
Dem grossen Alijah-Plan stehen auch grosse Schwierigkeiten im Wege da die deutschen Behoerden die Ausreisebewilligung verweigern. Die rumaenische Regierung ihrerseits hat alle Erleichterungen zugestanden, die zur Verwirklichung dieses Planes hier vonnoeten sind.

Hazalah und Tiul

In den letzten Wochen hat unsere Hazalah-Arbeit an Umfang stark zugenommen. Wir haben fuenf Grenzexposituren errichtet u.zw. in Arad, Turda, Brasov, Timisoara und Sighisoara. Die groesste Aktivitaet entfaltet unter diesen Arad, wo ungefaehr 70-75% des gesamten Tiulo abgewickelt wird. Hier arbeitet eine sehr aufopferungsvolle Kommission die hauptsaechlich aus orthodoxen Juden besteht, denen eine Delegation bestehend aus Vertretern aller chaluzischen Tnuoth, beigestellt worden ist. Die Arbeit unserer Freunde in Arad verdient jedes Lob und wir werden dafuer sorgen, dass die Namen derer, die die Last und das schwere Risiko dieser Arbeit auf sich genommen haben, in der juedischen Welt bekanntgemacht und entsprechend gewuerdigt werden sollen.
Unsere Expositur in Timisoara, die ihre Taetigkeit erst in den letzten Wochen aufgenommen hat, steht unter der Leitung des Herrn Karl Reiter, Praesident der Z.O. fuer Suedtransylvanien. Ihre Arbeit verheisst gute Ergebnisse. Die Expositur in Turda steht unter der Leitung unseres jungen Ichud-Chawers Arie Hirsch, dessen musterhafte und mutige Taetigkeit in der ganzen Tiul-Arbeit bahnbrechend gewirkt hat. Mit ihm haben wir schon im Februar ds.Jr. von Hagarland aus den Kontakt aufgenommen und durch ihn haben wir den ersten polnischen Chawerim zu

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Tiul verholfen.
Die Exposituren Brasov und Sighisoara sind noch im Aufbau begriffen und die Arbeit steht noch in den Anfaengen.
Der Tiul durch diese Exposituren wird ausschliesslich auf dem Fusswege mittels entsprechender Schlichim, abgewickelt.
Ausser dieser Form des Tiuls ist es uns auch gelungen, bei der rumaenischen Regierung eine legale Form des Tiuls zu erwirken, allerdings nur in beschraenktem Ausmasse. Das rumaenische Konsulat in der Hauptstadt des Hagerlandes ist maechtig durch das rumaenische Aussenministerium angewiesen worden, jedem, der es auf irgendwelche Weise glaubhaft zu machen vermag, dass er rumaenischer Staatsbuerger ist, oder gewesen ist, ein sog. Repatrierungszertifikat auszufolgen, mittels dessen die legale Einreise nach Rumaenien moeglich ist. Auf diesem Wege sind bisher rund 200 Seelen hier eingekommen und es darf erhofft werden, dass in den naechsten Tagen weitere 300 eintreffen. Dies ist ein sicherer, legaler und verhaeltnismaessig billiger Weg.
Die Gesamtzahl der Plitim, die durch unsere Hazala-Arbeit hier bereits eingetroffen sind, betraegt bis heute rund 2000, von denen rund 500 schon zur Aliah gelangt sind (Ein Teil derselben hat sich leider auf dem Todesschiff "Mefkure" befunden). Beigefaltet uebersende ich Euch ein Namensverzeichnis von 1310 Plitim, die zur Zeit hier im Lande sind und bei unserem Fluechtlingsamte eingetragen wurden. Ausser diesen befinde sich noch rund 400 Plitim, deren Namen uns einstweilen noch nicht bekannt sind, bei unseren Grenzexposituren. Leider muss sich unsere Tiul-Arbeit im Hauptsaechlichen auf die Hauptstadt des Hagerlandes beschraenken, sowie auf die wenigen, die sich in der Provinz verbergen konnten, deren Aufspuerung zwecks Verhelfens zum Tiul eine der vornehmsten Aufgaben unserer Exposituren ist.

Finanzangelegenheiten.

Als ich am 26.V. hier eingetroffen bin, haben sich die an sich nicht bedeutenden Fonds der Ezra bereits der Erschoepfung genaehert. Herr Stoessel, dem die Finanzangelegenheiten obliegen, hat in wahrlich aufopferungsvoller Weise keine Muehe gescheut, um die erforderlichen Mittel doch noch bereitzustellen. Bald mussten wir jedoch einsehen, dass unsere eigenen Mittel den Anforderungen Rechnung gerecht bleiben konnten, aus welchem Grunde wir alsbald in Verhandlungen mit der Joint getreten sind, mit dem Resultate, dass der Joint sich bereit erklaert hat, sich an der Ezra- und Hazala-Arbeit fuer die Hagar-Plitim mit 50% zu beteiligen. Leider zeigen sich jedoch im Zuge dieser Zusammenarbeit fast unueberwindliche Schwierigkeiten, da die hiesigen Vertreter des Joint (der Kreis um Fildermann) sehr wenig Verstaendnis fuer die Methoden und die Technik der Finanzierung der Hazala- und Tiul-Arbeit aufbringen. Die Herren vom Joint wuenschen z.B. die Vorlage ordnungsmaessiger Quittungen und Verrechnungen ueber jeden vorausgabten Leu, was ja der Art und den Moeglichkeiten der Hazala- und Tiul-Arbeit durchaus widerstreitet und letzten Endes geeignet waere, die Arbeit illusorisch zu machen. Die Leiter der meisten Grenzexposituren haben schon erklaert, ihre Stellen niederlegen zu muessen, wenn wir auf dieser Art der Rechnungsfuehrung exakt bestehen. Hier handelt es sich ja um eine ausgesprochene illegale Arbeit.
Es ist daher unerlaesslich, dass zwecks Fortfuehrung der Hazala-Arbeit entsprechende Fonds uns unmittelbar zur Verfuegung gestellt werden. Als vorlaeufigen Indestbetrag bitte ich um sofortige Ueberweisung von 200.000 Stefanim.
Auf unmittelbare Tiul-Arbeit wurden bisher folgende Betraege (in runden Ziffern) verausgabt:

Expositur	Arad	60.000.000	Lei	Jugend-Tiul	7.000.000 Lei
"	Turda	5.500.000	"		
"	Timisoara	10.000.000	"	zusammen	84.000.000 Lei
"	Brasov) Sighisoara	1.500.000	"		

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Unser Gesamtbedarf einschl. Ezra i. e. stieg in der Zeit vom Beginn der Arbeit bis 3.VI.de.Js. auf 35.000.000 Lei, im Monat Juli auf 60.000.000 Lei belaufen. Für den Monat August haben wir einen Voranschlag von 90.000.000 Lei aufgestellt, welcher Betrag teilweise bereits verausgabt ist. Zu diesen Ausgaben hat der Joint bis heute insgesamt 17.000.000 Lei beigesteuert. (In Juli 13.000.000, im August 15.000.000 -) Selbstredend konnte der Ezra-Fonds den Rest nur zum Teil bereitstellen. Wie ich unterrichtet bin, mußte ein Betrag von insgesamt rd. 60.000.000 Lei als Darlehen von Privatpersonen in Anspruch genommen werden.
Ungefähr 30% der Gesamtausgaben werden für die Verpflegung und Bekleidung der Flüchtlinge verwendet - 95% der Flüchtlinge kommt hier ohne alle Habe an, sodaß ihr Bestand ihre einzige Habe aus den Kleidern, die sie am Leibe tragen, ist. Es ist daher unumgänglich notwendig, sie vor der Polizei mit den allernotwendigsten Kleidungsstücken auszurüsten.

Es [illegible] liegt, liegt Ihnen, auf Grund des Übereinkommens [illegible] daran, alles zu tun, um die Fortführung unserer Arbeit zu ermöglichen. Zwar habe ich bis jetzt bei Herrn Visse in allen Angelegenheiten im Zusammenhang mit der Flüchtlings-Frage ein vollständiges Verständnis angetroffen, doch muß ich, schon um die Lage des Herrn Visse zu erleichtern, auch bitten, den hiesigen Stellen der A.G. klare und verbindliche Weisungen zu erteilen, denen bei der Aliah in erste Reihe Flüchtlinge aus den Randstaaten zu berücksichtigen sind, da ihre Lage nach wie vor neuerdings gefährdet ist.
Ich begrüsse Sie als mein herzlichster und bleibe in treuer Freundschaft

Dr. E. Barton

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P R O T O C O L

of a Statement made by Alexander Guttman, 19, to supplement the information supplied by his sister, Esther Guttman.

Arrived in Budapest Wednesday June 14

G h e t t o :

The ghetto of BENDZIN was located in the small suburb of Kamionka, into which 20,000 Jews were squeezed in the space formerly occupied by 6,000 inhabitants. Life and work in the ghetto was well organized by the Jews themselves; (recognition is due to Monek Merin for his achievements in this field). The life of the Jewish communities of Palestine served as a model. Agricultural work was organized for the benefit of the inmates, and juventile labour was drawn upon by the introduction of a shift system. When all had been set going, life was quite bearable in the ghetto, though overcrowding was inevitable. There was even an adequate sewage system. The ghetto of SOSNOWIEC was located at SRODULA, a little suburbs. People generally were satisfied with living conditions, and were hoping to survive the war somehow in this way. Unfortunately, this ghetto period was of short duration.

Y o u t h i n t h e R e s i s t a n c e M o v e m e n t :

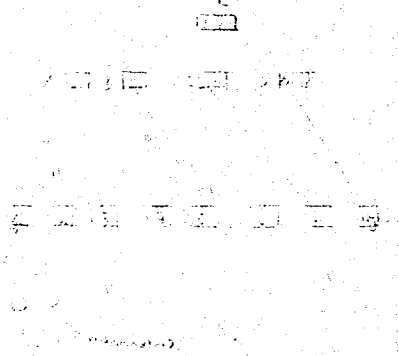
When the young people realized that the Jewish community council was, and always had been, a tool in the hands of the Gestapo, as became evident as early as 1940 when forced labour was introduced, their best elements combined to fight for the preservation of their people's existence in an organized manner. This organization took some time to develop, though, and went through the following stages:

1. The spirit of resistance expressed itself first in the general desire to cooperate with all enemies of the Germans, notably the partisan organization of Sikorski; the results were negative and most discouraging.

2. Leaflets against the Germans and their instrument, the community council, were printed, in which Jewish national honour was asserted and extolled as a fighting slogan. These leaflets fell into the hands of the Gestapo who with the help of a confidant found out in which factory they were being distributed. Every tenth man was arrested and detained in the orphan asylum.

3. When the deportations began, rescue and defence work was first properly organized. In spite of the difficulty of intercommunication, there was a fairly close collaboration between the three major cities of Polish Upper Silesia, SOSNOWIEC, DOMBROWA, and BENDZIN. To test and enhance the capability of the members for under-ground work, illegal warfare organizations (TOB,

Tajna Organizacja Bojowa) were created by all youth groups. Systematic mental preparation for this kind of work was carried on uninterruptedly since then, and in 1942 a permanent central Council of Resistance was set up by all youth groups together, in which each was represented by a delegate. This central organ was aided financially and morally by certain older Sionists, the so-called "sympathizers", who were convinced of the necessity and significance of this work. Each resistance group organized itself independently from the rest after the following pattern:



At the top is the Leader of the group (L), who is at the head of an Executive of four members, A,B,C,D, who are in charge of 8 sections, of which A manages 3 male sections, B - 3 male sections, and C - 2 female sections, while D is in charge of a special section of 7 members, called "sekcja wyborowa" or select section = suicide squad. This section was singled out for the most dangerous tasks; it also had the function of supervising and policing the whole group.

The section 1 - 7 each consisted of 4 cells or shock groups consisting of three members.

Independently of this organizational structure, the town were divided physically into blocks to make possible quick and rational decisions in cases of emergency. Each street is divided into two blocks which are known to none but the members of the executive, who come from different sections. The blocks are in the charge of wardens who keep lists of all members, separately of those who know each other and who do not; they also list reliable non-members.

What was termed "rescue work" comprised the following functions:

1. Procuring personal documents and identity cards, by stealing, buying, or forging; this involved the counterfeiting of forms and rubber stamps.

2. Constructing strongpoints, which are the concern of the block organization, and are known only to the block warden and his closest collaborators.

3. Aryanization
   a/ in the mountains
   b/ in the town

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4. Smuggling members into the Polish forced labour groups with the aid of false Polish-Aryan papers.

What was termed "defence work" comprised the following activities:

1. Mental training for resistance
2. Procuring arms by purchase, theft, or assaults
3. Execution of Jewish collaborators and appeasers
4. Procuring money by assaults, like e.g. one made on a notorious gambling den
5. Assaults against German functionaries during deportations. This part of the work was not well organized, unfortunately, and cost the organization 12 dead in BENDZIN alone.

Actions and Events during deportation:

This work went on in two parts, one concerned with the people hidden in the mountains, the other concerned with the ghetto.

Ghetto: The organization issued the order for all members to save themselves either through aryanization in the town - later in the mountains - or by incorporation to the liquidation camp.

Guards: Sentries were posted to warn the population of impending actions and enable them to get to the strongpoints in time. During the last deportation one female comrade who knew all strongpoints accompanied the head of the OD, Romek Goldmünz, who had declared himself ready to save the members and conduct them to the labour camp, i.e. the liquidation camp where sewing work was done. Goldmünz, who had previously been on the list of those to be executed by the organization, thus helped to save the lives of about a hundred members.

Resistance: Resistance was offered only if there was immediate danger of a strongpoint being discovered. This happened in the case of the central accomodation shelter called Kibbuz, which had two strongpoints, one in the laundry, and another in the former Nahsharah.

Individual Actions: J.Z. shot a German in an encounter during which he lost his life. A.G. was shot in a skirmish when trying to escape. After the deportation s, B.K. and L.B. were intercepted by Germans, shot one of them, and escaped. L.B. fled to KATOWICE where he maintained continnous contact with the

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organization. B.K. was later lost sich of. J.K. and B.R. were shot during an attemp to rescue the community funds, which had been seized by the Germans.

After the deportations, only the Executive still had a defence organization, as the other groups had been dispersed with the sole exception of the strongpoint of the Hash. Hazair group (Fela Katz). The group called Hanoar pursued the following activities:

1. Aryanization, in the charge of L.B. and C.T.
2. Mountain Department, in the charge of S.M.
3. Polish Labour Service work, headed by J.'s wife F., who was arrested together with M.B.L. on a journey to Cracow. They are now in Oswiecim (Auschwitz in German) as Poles.
4. Transit to Slovakia, managed by J.R. and S.I.

47 persons have found refuge in the Polish forced labour service.

The transit service to Slovakia arose quite fortuitously. A woman living at BENDZIN who had a brother in Slovakia was a asked by him in a letter to come across to him. She happened to ask members of the organization for assistance, which was granted under the condition that her brother would aid the organization from Slovakia. The woman was later deported before she could escape to Slovakia, but the Slovakian address remained, and comrade J.S. was sent to contact the man with the help of a member, J.R., who was staying in the role of an Aryan holiday-maker at ZWARDON near the Slovakian border, and was acquainted with frontier guides. The Slovakian helped J.S. to contact the Jewish centre of ZILINA and notified the organization that the route was feasible. C.T. and the author of this protocol, O.G. went to test the route. G. remained at ZILINA, while C.T. returned to KATOWICE to continue the preparations for this escape route. Unfortunately, he was caught by the Germans and shot. Thus it happened that so far only the Upper Silesian group could be rescued, members of the organization as wellas their relations; altogether 35 people.

Protokoll aufgenom[illegible]
am 24.Februar 1944 in Istanbul

Herr Garih kam am 20.Februar 1944 mit einem Transport aus Frankreich

Ganz letztens hat das tuerkische Konsulat in Paris einen Brief von der Deutschen Gesandtschaft erhalten, der wie folgt lautete: "Alle tuerkische Juden muessen nach der Tuerkei zurueck, bis zum 31.Januar 44 Nach diesem Datum werden sie als deutsche Juden betrachtet und diegleichen Rassengesetze werden bei ihnen angewendet werden." Das tuerkische Konsulat hat diesen Brief angeschlagen und hat alle anerkannt juedischen Juden -wovon es 500 gibt, waehrend in Wahrheit 8 bis 9.000 dort existieren, die jedoch vom Konsulat nicht als Tuerken anerkannt werden- vorgeladen, Das Konsulat hat uns bekannt gegeben, dass es in unserem Interesse waere sofort nach der Turkei zu reisen, denn im andern Fall koenne es uns den deutschen Behoerden gegenueber, nicht mehr in Schutz nehmen. Das Konsulat hat ausserdem uns bekannt gegeben, wir koennten unseren Schmuck und persoenliche Effekten mitnehmen und der Devisendienst erlaubte uns blos die Ausfuhr von 1000 Frs. und ℳ 25.-pro Person. Dieser Dienst erlaubte ausserdem dass jede Familie beim tuerkischen Konsulat je 100.000 Frs. deponieren, welches Konsulat dann die noetigen Schritte fuer den Transfert nach der Tuerkei machen wuerde. Dies jedoch ohne irgendwelche Garantie seinerseits. Unter diesen Umstaenden wurden einige Transporte zusammengestellt, wovon der erste am 8.Februar Paris verliess. Die Verzoegerung bei der Abfahrt dieses ersten Transportes ist entstanden durch die Umstaende, dass die franzoesischen Nachfolgenden Behoeren nicht die noetige Zeit zur Verfuegung hatten, um die Paesse aller Abfahrenden bereitzustellen. Ich fuege hinzu, dass die franzoesischen Behoerden sich sehr korrekt benommen und uns alle Erleichterungen gewaehrt haben. Wir sind nicht grossen Schwierigkeiten waehrend der Reise begegnet mit Ausnahme eines kleinen Zwischenfalls, in Wiener Neustadt. Unser Waggon war einem Soldatenzug angehaengt, welcher sich zur ungarischen Grenze in Richtung Beograd, begab. Der Offizier, welcher dieses Detachement befehligte, hat Kenntnis bekommen, dass der Waggon vor ihm von Juden besetzt sei, verstaendigte sich mit einem deutschen Korporal bei der Grenze, diesen Waggon vom Zug -unter irgend einer Ausrede, der Sammelpass waere nicht ganz in Ordnung- abzukurbeln, und dieser Korporal hat den Waggon mit Speziallokomotive wieder nach Wien zurueckgeschickt, obwohl er schon bei der ungarischen Grenze war. Bei der Ankunft in Wien Suedbahnhof, haben wir sofort den Kommandanten der Station aufgesucht, welcher gefunden hat dass das Vorgehen seiner Untergebenen gar nicht in Ordnung waere. Er nannte es verbrecherisch. Er hat uns am gleichen Tag mit einem andern Zug weiterreisen lassen und telegrafierte an jede Station, bis zu unserer Ankunft in der Tuerkei, damit unser Transport gut und glatt ueberall durchgelassen wird. Die Transporte, welche unserem folgten, hatten -soweit es uns bekannt ist- keine Schwierigkeiten.

Die allgemeine Lage der Juden in Frankreich.

Im September und Oktober 1940 haben die deutschen Behoerden der okkupierten Zone Frankreichs alle Juden, egal welcher Nationalitaet-aufgefordert, sich beim Polizeikommissariat als Juden eintragen zu lassen, und diesen wurde dann, in den Legitimationspapieren der grosse rote Stempel "JUDE" aufgedrueckt. Auch mussten alle juedischen Handelshaeuser und auch Private all ihr Guthaben, welches sie im allgemeinen besitzen, bekanntgeben. Einige Monate spaeter haben alle juedischen Handelshaeuser einen franzoesischen Verwaltungskommissar zugestellt bekommen, dessen erste Tat die war, das ganze Personal wie auch den Besitzer der Firma, vor die Tuer zu setzen. Natuerlich sind alle Bankkonten, die Kassen usw. vom Verwaltungskommissar uebernommen worden, welcher das Recht hatte, die Firmen arischen Haeusern zu verkaufen. Es versteht sich, dass letztere von den Umstaenden sehr

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profitierten und liessen in vielen Faellen die Eigentuemer der Handelsfirmen in der groessten Armut zurueck. All dies betrifft alle juedischen Haendelshaeuser, egel welcher Nationalitaet. Einige Monate spaeter- nachdem vom spanischen ~~Konsulat~~ portugiesischem Konsulat Schritte unternommen wurden, erlaubten die Deutschen denjenigen Eigentuemern von Handelsfirmen, welche neutral waren, d.h.Tuerken, Schweizern, Portugiesen, Spaniern, Verwaltungskommissare eigener Nationalitaet zu ernennen, unter der Bedingung, dass letztere A rier waeren. Auf Grund dessen, ernannte jedes Konsulat eigene Verwaltungskommissare fuer alle diese Firmen, deren Besitzer Juden waren. Auf diese Art konnten Juden, neutraler Nationalitaet, ihre Geschaefte weiterfuehren bis zu diesen letzten Wochen. Es muss hinzugefuegt werden, dass derselbe Brief, welcher von der deutschen Gesandtschaft an das tuerkische Konsulat geschickt wurde, auch den Konsulaten der Schweiz, Portugals und Spaniens gesandt worden ist, und diese haben ebenfalls Transporte ihrer Untertanen zusammengestellt.

Im Jahre I94I haben die deutschen Behoerden allen Juden das Tragen des Sterns befohlen und davon waren nur diejenigen Juden befreit, die Angehoerige eines neutralen Landes, Amerikas oder des britischen Imeriums waren. Die Bevoelkerung Frankreichs hat im allgemeinen diese Massregel des Sterntragens sehr ruhig und mit voller Gleichgueltigkeit aufgenommen. Natuerlich waren gleichzeitig auch andere Verbote fuer Juden erschienen wie z.B.der Besuch von Theatern, Kinos und alle sonstige Vergnuegungsstaetten. Die Parks, Squares usw.waren den Juden ebenfalls untersagt. Die Juden mussten um 8 Uhr abends zuhause sein und durften Laeden blos von 2-3 Uhr nachmittags betreten, die Lebensmittelgeschaefte von 11-I2 Uhr.

Im ~~September~~ I94I, wurde, infolge eines Attentas gegen einen deutschen Soldaten in Paris, wovon die Urheber wie behauptet wurde, Juden gewesen sein sollten, wurde am 20.August I94I eine Razzia im 11. Bezirk veranstaltet, und in der Nacht, von 5 bis 8 Uhr wurden ca.7-[illegible] Juden verhaftet. Alles nur Maenner. Die Frauen wurden zurueckgelassen. Diese Maenner wurden ins Lager von Drancy gebracht, welches hiermit seinen ersten Transport an Juden erhielt. Waehrend einiger Monate waren diese Maenner in groesster Armut und erhielten als Nahrung taeglich blos eine warme Suppe, aus Gurken und Boten Kuerbis hergestellt, einige Schnitten hartes Brot. Nach einiger Zeit waren alle diese Maenner in einer schrecklich schlechten Gesundheitsverfassung, und hatten das Gesicht und die Glieder aus Mangel an Vitaminen, geschwollen. Eine Deutsche Kommission, welche unvorbereitet dieses Lager besuchte, in Abwesenheit des dortigen Kommandanten, welcher sich zu diesem Zeitpunkt in Berlin aufhielt, und liess 5-600 Maenner frei. Der Lagerkommendant der jedoch zurueckkam, untersagte daraufhin jeden Ausgang, sodass keiner mehr raus konnte.

Die Juden haben dieselben Lebensmittelkarten wie die andern. Alles kann man am schwarzen Markt erhalten. Man kriegt pro Person:
90 Gramm Fleisch mit Knochen, pro Woche, 275 Gramm Brot pro Tag,
50 Gramm Butter pro Monat, 500 Gramm Marmelade alle 2-3 Monate.

Die folgenden Razzien sind so gemacht worden, dass bei jeder eine andere Nationalitaet drankam. Sobald I000 Leute verhaftet worden, sind sie sofort deportiert worden.

Vor zwei Jahren hat die UGIF einen Aufruf erlassen, an alle Maenner und Frauen, die in den Ardennes auf Guetern fuer die Deutschen arbeiten wollte Ca.5-6000 Juden haben sich fuer diese Arbeit gemeldet und obwohl die Arbeit sehr schwer und anstrengend war, waren sie verhaeltnismaessig gut genaehrt Im Januar I944 sind jedoch alle diese Leute gesammelt und deportiert worden. Im Dezember I943 gab es eine allgemeine Zaehlung der Juden. Sie konnten keine Lebensmittelkarten kriegen, wenn sie nicht den Stempel der Kontrolle vorzeigten. Praktisch gibt es in Paris blos noch franzoesische Juden, ca.8-I0.000 nicht irgendeiner Nationalitaet anerkannte Juden deren Lage sehr kritisch ist

und dann gibt es noch Juden verschiedener Nationalitaet, die Polen, Rumaenen usw. die versteckt leben.

Jeder Franzose hoert die Sendungen des B.B.C. von frueh bis spaet sich an, und zwar quasi ganz frei, trotz des Verbotes. Zu Beginn waren die Franzosen gut Freund mit den Deutschen, aber hinterher hat sich das Verhaeltnis vollkommen geaendert.

Bisher sind alle Franzosen blos auf Verrat hin verhaftet worden. Es genuegt wenn ein Nachbar einen Zettel dem Revierkommandanten schreibt, worin es heisst, dass X, ein Jude, gestern erst um 8.30 nach Hause gekommen ist. Am naechsten Tag wird X mitsamt seiner Familie verhaftet, und einige Tage darauf die ganze Wohnung abtransportiert.

1 Frs. = 20 RM. , 180 Frs. = 1 £ , 500 Frs. = 1 £ , 2900 Frs. = 1 Goldnapoleon

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Ein Beamter meiner Fabrik wurde am 20. August 1941 verhaftet und einige Monate darauf deportiert. Dieser war ein nichtanerkannter tuerkischer Staatsbuerger. Er ist nach Blechhammer O/S gesandt worden. Am 15. Januar 1944 kriegten wir ganz wunderbarerweise einen Brief von ihm, ueberbracht von einem franzoesischen Arbeiter, welcher in der Naehe des Lagers dort gearbeitet hat. Er liess uns wissen, dass die Lebensbedingungen nicht ertragbar waeren, in diesem Lager waeren ca. 20.000 Deportierte, aller Nationalitaet, darunter auch einige Hollaender. Taeglich werden ca. 50 Leute begraben welche infolge von Entbehrungen und Krankheiten gestorben sind. Sie leben dort in kleinen Baracken, welche normalerweise 50 Personen aufnehmen koennen und wo sie zu je 200 schlafen muessen. Um 5 Uhr frueh muessen sie aufstehen haben 2 Stunden Fussmarsch um die Arbeitsstelle zu erreichen. Da aber fuer sie keine Arbeit vorhanden ist, laesst man die Deportierten Steine im Gewicht von 50-60 Kilo zu je zwei Personen einige Kilometer weit bringen und dann muessen sie mit demselben Stein wieder zurueckkommen. Den ganzen Tag ueber kriegen sie gar keine Nahrung, mit Ausnahme einer Gemuesesuppe, die sie von rechtswegen um 6.30 Uhr abends kriegen sollen, aber meistens stehen sie Schlange bis 10 -11 Uhr, bevor sie ihre Suppe und ein kleines Stueckchen Brot kriegen.

Die Sanitaetsbedingungen sind schrecklich schlecht. Sie haben Anrecht auf eine Brause im Monat und duerfen keine Unterwaesche tragen. Fuer das ganze Lager gibt es einen einzigen Arzt.

Der Name des Franzosen, der diesen Brief ueberbrachte ist Robert Bourdier und der Beamte meiner Fabrik heisst Mordo Palacci.

Bisher hat man ueberhaupt keine Nachricht von den deportierten Frauen erhalten. Ca. 6000 vorgedruckte Karten mit der Unterschrift sind im Juli August 1943 zur UGIF gelangt, jedoch hat sie blos einen Bruchteil hiervon an die Angehoerigen verteilen koennen, dann wurde der Rest von der Gestapo vernichtet.

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P R O T O C O L

of a statement by Abraham Kirschner, ceramic engineer and painter, born in 1904, resident of Nikolajov on the Dnjester, near Stryj.

500 Jews lived in our town, but after the German siege all of them were driven into a camp, where they were beaten and some of them killed. Ukrainians and a few Gestapo men executed this order, but after an intervention by a high Ukrainian authority the Jews were released again. The whole year the Jews had to do hard labor for which they got neither salary nor sufficient food, and they were not permitted to buy anything on the market, neither were they allowed to leave certain districts. The children with their thin or swollen legs were a terrible sight, but altogether nothin happened during the first year of the German occupation.

Only the refugees who travelled through our town, (refugees from Lemberg, or those who were returning from the Soviet army), were caught by Ukrainians killed, and thrown into the Dnjester.

In Dec. 41, part of the Jews were brought to the Carpathian village of Hutara near the Hungarian boundary, and many hundred Jews, mostly rabbis, were brought there from different town. There they were all squeezed into a little house, which they were not allowed to leave, and were many of them died of hunger and thirst. The dead stayed unburied in the house together with the living, and daily there were new outbreaks of epidemic illnesses, like scabies. The house was guarded by Ukrainians, but when the Jews saw that certain death awaited them there, they tried to escape. Many of them froze to death on the way, but a part returned to our town where the authorities tolerated them for great bribes.

We heard about the massacres of Jews in various towns, and were afraid of such actions in our town, but until Oct. 42 nothing much happened. Then the Gestapo together with Ukrainian police and OD occupied our town, drove all the Jews out of their houses and into the Synagogues, where the old and weak were shot immediately. Within two days the Jews were collected into trucks (without food or drink) which were to bring them to Belsez. Sick people had to go directl from bed into the trucks, without shoes or clothing. Only some few who were able to remain in Nilolajow, until they were found, robbed, undressed and shot. Only those who were busy in stone-quarries, or with raw material collections were taken out of the trucks. As technical manager of a big ceramic factory, I was spared together with my family.

For much money the women and children were given special legitimations by the Gestapo; but after two weeks these were declared to be invalid, so that the families and children had t leave and only people at work remained. I shall not give a detailed account, but shall mention the following incident:

An elderly clerk of the "Alba" firm was found by the builder's foremen together with his children hiding in the quarry, and they beat him mercilessly. He escaped and hid all the year among the corn and in the woods, until a shepherd found him, who asked for and received a bribe from the Jew, but nevertheless went to the Police; later laborers who knew the Jew noted that he was being beaten. Under some pretext they managed to bring him to the factory where I was able to give him a job with 45 other Jews. But one day all of them were taken to Stryj and shot.

Often we are asked why we do not defend ourselves. There are two reasons:

1.) We never knew where we were bought to, but t ought we only had to change our living or working place.
2.) Besides the fact that the people hadno rms, they had become too apathetic, weak, and inti idated to attempt an organi ed defence.

So only I and my family and a few ot ers who had manged to hid themselves remained; I was in contact with them, but every day another disaster occurred. H re somebody was found out, there one was betrayed by his neighbour, another had no money any more and the peasants refused to keep him any longer and so on. In all such cases the Jews were beaten terribly and then shot. I lived apart from the Jewish world until May, 1943, until SS- Ober- turmführer Sander came to me one day, talked shop with me, and said among other things: " You won't stay here now but come with me. You need no be afraid, you and our family will be better off than before, you even won't have to wear the armband any more." My boss (a German) went immediately to Lemberg and procured an "iron letter" for me from the chief co missioner of police, which protects the owner even from the Gestapo. But Sander saw to it that this l tter was annulled.

One day two SS men (one was called Minkus, the other SS hauptscharführer S... Sch einshaupt) took me and my family with a car to Drohobicz into the ceramic factory.

I came to Drohobicz one day aft r an action, and just on the first day I saw a v ry strong Jewish p asant passing the factor, and being caught by the commander of the "Werkschutz", Minkus, who thre a tile at his head so that blood gushe d forth. The p asant h d enought strenght left to rise and try to strangle Minkus; but then othe members of the "Werkschutz" attacked him threw him to the ground and shot him.

What was the "Werkschutz"?

It consisted of released prisoners f om the Russian army who had become members of the SS, and were much worse than the Gestapo, especially Minkus. They provided the factory guard. I think Minkus was a Lithuanian; he was the worst murderer of th lot. The ot r membe s of the Werkschutz were chiefly Ukrainians, with a few Russians among them.

It was impossible to escape rom the factory becaus it was surrounded by barbed wirde, guard towers, and machine gun posts; this w s because the factory wa at the same ti e a concetration camp for Jews. Immediately after my arrival I organi ed the department of ceramic rt; I taught painitn to young Jewish girls and obtained unusually fine results. But none of th girls were spared during the action which followed soon. It was said about this ti e that 500 Jews would e sent to Glinna Nazaria to work in the lime factory there. There was a camp consisting of 200 Jews already at Glinna. At a roll c ll these 500 people were to be chosen, but many who had relatives at Glinn volunteered to go there, and even pain money to dodsoo On the way there they wer all massacred. Some of them offe ed resistance, an others jumped out of the ca riages.; I do not know what happened to these.

Only very few Jews still remained at our place with their families and those who were left all began to look out for hid ng places. One day Sander suggested to me that I should ive my ten-year-old son boy a job in the factory, which I did. The boy was quick at his work and stonished everybody by his ability. But even then it happened every day that someone was shot, often without the slightest reason. Thus for instance when a German official sent to the Commander for a Jewish barber, the man was shot by members of the Werschutz on hisrreturn; or another time, when Schweinshaupt noticed a Jewish dri er buying himself cherried, he ordered him to be shot.

A number of people actually were sent as far as Glinna, but they were all killed later. This action was carried out by the Schutzpolizei (Schupo, German police) of Lemberg, who liked to take a hand in such executions because they presented excellent opportunities for enriching oneself; the victims were robbed of their possessions before the shooting, and even their gold or platinum teeth were broken out.

Then 500 of us who were still at the factory of "Klinks and Cement" (Dachov Czarnia) were assured that we need have no fear of further action being taken, and that we should get ready for the winter, obatain warm clothing, build barracks, etc. We were not taken in by that, however, and everybody was looking for safe hide-outs, digging underground burrows or rigging up stoves in sewage ducts. All this proved little effective when the sudden swoop came one day at 4 p.m. We were woken to see the whole place alive with Schupo, Gestapo, soldiers, Ukrainian guards and military police, armed with hand grenades, rifles, and machine guns. The camp was surrounded, but still many attempted to escape and machine guns opened up on them. Some very few managed to slip through into the forest. My children I had concealed for the night in our hide-out, but I was driben out of the appartment with my wife and my mother-in-law at the point of the bayonet and brought to a building where the remaining Jewish officials, engineers, techicians, etc. were assembled. The other camp inmates had been driven into another building. I tried to hide my mother-in-law in an empty chest, but heard later that she was found and shot. Everybody was then led into the prison. The organizer of this raid was Hildebrand, the commander of all Jewish camps of Eastern Galicia, and the Gestapo officier in charge was called Block. I thought of shooting Hildebrand when I stood very near him, but notwithstanding a thorough investigation they had not found my revolver; but I did not do it because it would have meant my certain death, and I then still hoped to save my children. All weapons including pocket knives had been taken away from us. In front of the prison gate one Jew suddenly shouted something and tried to escape, but was shot. We were squeezed into the prison, men and women apart; half an hour later skilled men and technicians were separated from the rest, but doctors were not spared. 80 of us were led to the refinery of the Beskides Oil Industry, where 300-350 men worked, under the command of a half-Jew called Meintraub, who treated the Jews worse than the Gestapo did. I wanted to get at my children who had now been in hiding for two days without food. When the twins were fetched from the factory I succeeded in getting to the hiding place, but could not see the children as I was watched. I only managed to tell them to keep quiet and wait, and found a German woman who promised to extricate the children at 1 a.m. and hide them elsewhere. But in the evening my children heard that my appartment was being robbed, and the older boy came out and began to cry. The workers noticed the children but dared not hide them. Minkus heard them, and had them brought, naked as they were, to the wardroom by the werkschutz where they were detained. A Jewish engineer of the oil company where I worked, Backenroth, was ready to give my children shelter, and gave me his car and an escort. But when we arrived we heard that the children were dead. They had been taken to the prison by Minkus, and the German director of the factory found no more effective way of showing his humanity than by blaming Minkus for wanting to drive the children to prison on foot, and making him use a horse-wagon. If he had notified me instead I might have been able to save the children. As it was, by boys of 5 and 10 were shot far from their father and mother on the same day, and my wife and mother-in-law were also murdered.

Sander then went to Lemberg; Schweinshaupt assured us that nothing more would happen, but we knew by now that they were lying. On his return from Lemberg Sander met Jews going to work and sked for me. He bade them tell me that he would call on me that night. He was too late as it happened, but I new what he wanted. He was a cold sadist and wanted to see me and enjoy my grief at

the loss of my entire family. He was a coward, and during the round-up had kept out of sight at the window of this flat as a spectator. Once during a roll-call he ordered a very young girl (in order to escape immediate execution, young girls used to overstate their ages) to walk out and asked her with a good-natured smile "You are not strong, are you, I am sure you would prefer an easy job!" Then he had her shot on the spot.

Not long after, this camp was also liquidated. Many of us procured cyanide, which became a very high-priced article; a fatal dose sold at 1,000 zl. 80 people poisoned themselves in this way, the remainder were put in cars bound with wire, and heaped there in several layers. A few attempts at flight failed. I have been told that our women kept their nerves splendidly, and went to the place over the communal grave with a song or with cigarettes in their mouths. Some were beaten before being killed. People with gold teeth were executed at a different place, because their teeth were broken out.

Some 20 people thought of running the prison, but we had no rifles, and could not leave the camp. I succeeded in making my escape withe the help of Backenroth, and went by train to try to find my brother-in-law who was hiding there with a Pole. I found him, but had to leave very soon because of repeated denunciations by neighbours. My father and sister had set out to make for Hungary, so I went after them to join them. I did not meet them here, nor do I know what happened to them. I should not have come if I had known that I would not find them here, for my life is senseless. Alone, without children, wife, or anyone to whom I belong.

ACCOUNT BY A REFUGEE FROM LODZ NOW IN SLOVAKIA

Bratislava, Sept. 1943

When war began, I lived in my home-town of Lodz. On September 4, 1939, the Polish Government asked the inhabitants of Lodz to leave the city. The population fled the town in terror, most of the Jews taking the Warsaw direction. The Germans bombed the roads and caused many casualties. After a 4 days' march, I finally reached Warsaw, which was already besieged. There was a lack of bread, water and other victuals. When the Germans first entered Warsaw, the Jews were treated no differently than the rest of the population; discriminations only began after the Germans had been in for 4 weeks. On October 1, 1939, after Warsaw's fall, I thought that I would be better off in Lodz, but on the way I was taken prisoner had brought to the station with 1000 other Jews. But falling on the way, I stayed behind unnoticed.

The next day I went by train to Lodz. Life in Lodz was tolerable during the first two weeks. Through the purchases of German soldiers, a shopping boom resulted, by which the Jews profited quite a bit. But suddenly, after 2 weeks, jewish shops were expropriated, Jews were rounded up in the streets and apartments, and carried off to forced labour. There they were maltreated. Curfew was advanced to 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Jews hid themselves and did not dare to go our any more. The resident Germans of Lodz took a prominent part in helping to carry out anti-Jewish measures. The Jews were ordered to wear the Star of David in front as well as on the back, and shortly afterwards, the deportations started. "Litzmannstadt" was to be cleared of all Jews. At first deportation was to proceed on a voluntary basis; every day 1000 people were to volunteer. When after 3 days no volunteer had appeared, the Jews were carried by force from their apartments, or wherever they could be found, to camps, where men, women and children were separated.

On December 15, 1939, I fled from Lodz to Warsaw, where by that time lived about 500,000 Jews who had to wear white arm-bands with David's Star; but life was tolerable and the penalties for breaking the anti-Jewish rules were not particularly heavy; for not wearing the white armband, for example, one had to pay 500 Zloty. These conditions lasted till the first of October 1940.

On October 1, the decree establishing the Ghetto was issued, and by the 15th of October, all Jews had to be in the Ghetto quarters. By October 16, 1940, all 12 Ghetto

exits were guarded by German military police and Polish police. Nobody could enter or leave the Ghetto without special permission. Since Jewish shopkeepers could not visit their shops any more, Jewish shops outside the Ghetto were expropriated. Those who attempted to leave the Ghetto unauthorized risked the death penalty. Only a limited quantity of provisions was permitted to enter the Ghetto, and there soon was a scarcity of food. Prices went up three and four-fold, and after three months, starving people with swollen faces could be met begging on the streets. People were desperate enough to let their children risk death by stealing out of the Ghetto to buy a few pounds of potatoe and smuggle them back to the Ghetto. There they could sell them and make a good profit. Potatoes outside the Ghetto cost 2 Zloty per Kg; inside the Ghetto they sold at 8 Zloty. Children thus kept their families alive. Mrs. Marysia Orlowska (Aryan) states that she has seen a child being shot by a German military guard when stealin back into the Ghetto. Every entrance was guarded by two German uniformed guards, two Polish policemen, and two Jewish OD sentinels. The use of Jewish guards proved very valuable to the inmates of the Ghetto as they soon made firends with the German sentinels and facilitated the entry of food into the Ghetto. At that time, there was still a lively traffic of horse wagons and pedestrians between the Ghetto, and the "Aryan" city, because there were many factories still in operation in the Jewish quarters. This traffic was chiefly used for smuggling food.

After about 6 months, conditions in the Ghetto were such thatof the ca. 500,000 Jews of the Ghetto, about 100.000 lived by smuggling, 50.000 on their own capital, the remaining 350.000 were literally starving to death. Exhausted men and women collapsed dead on the streets, and every day about 200 dead were counted on the streets. The Ghetto administration had to pay the cost of burying these corpses in communal graves. Since the funeral expenses for persons who had died in their homes had to be borne by the families, it frequently happened that families laid their dead out on the streets, because they were unable to raise the funeral costs. These corpses were immediately robbed by the populace of clothes, shoes, adn left naked on the pavement. In one single communal grave, about 800 persons were buried without a register being kept, because for the most part it was impossible to identify the bare corpses collected on the street. About this time, a further 100.000 Jews came to Warsaw, who had been driven from their homes in various small towns of the district.

On July 24, 1942, the deportations of Jews from the Warsaw Ghetto began. The Senior Councillor of the Jewish community, Czerniakov, had commited suicide two days before,

on learning of the deportation order.

It is of interest to recall that the German authorities compelled the Jewish Council to buy expensive film cameras which were used to shoot various staged scenes designed to show the immoral conduct of the Jews.

Thus for instance old men were put in bath tubs naked with naked young girls and both were forced to wash one another. Or a luxuriously appointed table was laid in a dining room where well-dressed young Jews were told to go through the actions of eating while others whose bodies were swollen from starvation, were told to implore them vainly for food. Many similar scenes were shot.

The deportations began with the evacuation of the Jewish prison. Next it was the turn of the poorer and hungrier population, of whom 7000 were evacuated within three days. The guards at the entrances of the Ghetto were reinforced six-fold, thus making the smuggling of food nearly impossible, and sending prices soaring to unprecedented heights. The evacuation on a voluntary basis was then proceeded with. Notices appeared calling upon Jews to volunteer for work, and promising all volunteers a bonus of 3 kg of bread and ½ kg of jam. This offer attracted masses of volunteers, who besieged the registrar's offices. In this way, 6000 people a day left the city during this period. It lasted about one month; then this voluntary exodus ceased. Presently new decrees followed, by which all Jews not employed by German agencies or firms would be deported. The others received a certificate of employment. Over night, a vast crop of "German businesses" sprang up. The necessary machinery was suddenly forthcoming, and a German owner was invariably found. There began a trade with such certificates, for which sums of 1000 Zloty or more were paid. As a result of the founding of so many enterprises, and the lively trading of certificates, the demand for Zloty rose so sharply, that on the black exchange one Dollar fetched only 12 Zloty instead of 30. After a short time, the whole of Warsaw's Jewish population was in possession of employment certificates, of which probably 50% were false. At that time about 350.000 to 400.000 Jews were left in the Ghetto. To illustrate the scarcity of food which resulted it may be mentioned that 10 Dollars were payed for 1 kg of bread.

When this state of affairs resulted in no material for deportation being available, the German authorities began to annul these firms, and deport their employees. Again the rate of deportation reached 6000 a day. But it still could not be ascertained where those people were deported. The Jewish OD (Ordnungsdienst) sentinels frequently asked the people who were deported to write their destinations on the sides of the carriages when they got

out. The same carriages came back regularly (their numbers had been noted) but on the sides only dates and hours of arrival were written; probably the deported did not know themselves where they had been brought. The Jews also tried to bribe the guards on the train to disclose t their destination, but could not get any information because the train personnel were relieved by others on the way. After a time, the formal annulling of firms stopped, and surprise raids against them began during which all Jews present were deported. This indiscriminate deportation lasted 15 weeks. Thereafter about 30,000 Jews remained in Warsaw-Ghetto, and another 50,000 were in hiding in the "Aryan" quarters under cover of assumed identities, or otherwise. On July 27, 1942, I fled from Warsaw, obtained "Aryan" papers, and lived in Cracow. Twice a week I came to Warsaw on business; at these occasions I used to collect information about conditions in the Ghettos. The only possible business under the circumstances, which was also mine, was the foreign exchange business, or Black Bourse. From Cracow I went to live at Wischnitz (Wislica) and thence to Czenstochowa, because I had been informed that the Jews from Wischnitz were to be deported to Bochnia within three days, and from there they would be deported again. One did not know exactly what this deportation meant, but it was clear that it meant death in some shape, since none of those who had been deported had ever appeared again. I arrived at Czenstochowa with Jewish papers and a travelling permit. Nevertheless, I was arrested by the Polish police under German orders, imprisoned for 4 weeks. One day after Yom Kipur (Day of Atonement) I heard that the Jews of Czenstochowa were to be deported. I stayed a further 8 days in the prison with 109 fellow prisoners. During that time I tried to persuade my fellow-sufferers that in case of a deportation they should not give in easily, but try to escape at all cost, arguing that at least a small number of so many would surely be successful, and thus some at least would be saved. But I could not persuade anyone but a Jew named Sachs; the two of us decided to use any opportunity of escape. The authorities warned us that for every "deserter" 10 people would be shot as in reprisals. On the way to the station 48 policemen guarded 109 prisoners, thus making escape impossibel. 59 carriages crammed full of deportees were already standing in the station. Men and women, altogether 84 people, we were squeezed into the 60th and last carriage. One carriage window near the ceiling being open, I discussed with Sachs the possibility of an escape from there during our journey. But when we wanted to realize our intentions, our fellow-travellers protested energetically, for fear that they would be shot. A quarrel followed, as a result of which Sachs and I were beaten up considerably, and forbidden to

use the window. During the journey I enlarged a hole in the back wall of our carriage with a nail, looked through it, and saw that a policeman was standing in the brakesman's cabin who looked out only every now and then; I concluded that our flight would have been successful.

At 7 p.m. we reached the station at Malkyne. The train stopped there and was divided into 6 trains of 10 carriages. As far as I could observe, the employees of the train were exchanged. Then a locomotive pulled our 10 carriages onto a branch-line, and after a further 15 minutes under way, we passed through Tremblinka and went on an other 5 minutes until we reached a forest. There a gate opened, the train passed in and stopped. By knocks on the carriage-doors we were told to be ready to get out, and suddenly the doors were opened. All along the train, men armed with clubs and sticks shouted "Get out of the train" in all languages (Polish, Jewish and German). Then they fell upon us, and everybody tried to get out of the train as quickly as possible so as to avoid the blows; some were crushed to death. Behind this human chain stood 12 Ukrainians with ready guns, and behind them 4 SS men with revolvers in their hands and big bloodhounds. Near the station we were lined up and counted. Then the SS commander looked at his wrist-watch and commanded: "Within 1 minute everybody take off their shoes and socks, and hold the bundle ready in their hands; those who are slower will be shot." Everybody was ready within the minute. The same people who had received us lined up so as to form a corridor. Without bundles in our hands, we then had to run through this passage, which was scattered with sharp stones, so that our feet were torn bloody. All the time we were driven on with sticks and clubs. Many died in this passage. In this way we came to a place where there was a huge pile of shoes about three storeys high. We had to throw our shoes in that pile, and run on until at last we were ordered to stop and men and women were separated. The women were led to a shed with a roof but without walls. We were told to strip naked. Then we were ordered to take our clothes in one hand, documents, money and articles of value into the other. The women, too were ordered to undress and leave their clothes on the ground. They were immediately led naked through a gate into a yard which was separated by a high fence. We men had to continue running with our clothes and documents, the former of which had to throw onto a huge pile of other clothes, and the articles of value we had to throw into ready opened trunks. While we were running a terrible shriek lasting one or two minutes came to us from the direction of the fence; then we were driven back to the shed, and had to take the women's clothes and put them on the pile. Thus the way through the "corridor", (which consisted of Jews I noticed) had to be made several times, Ukrainians with ready guns standing behind the row of Jews

and threatening them with their guns if they did not drive and beat as sufficiently. During this whole process, I wondered what would happen to us, and how it would be possible to escape. While running, I several times aske d those Jews with the sticks what would happen to us, and what to do to escape, but I did not receive any answer. At last one of them whispered to me: "Try to get dressed". So when I had again reached the clothes-pile, I sprang out of the line, tore a pair of trousers and a waistcoat over my naked body, grasped a pair of shoes from the shoe pile and ran in the opposite direction. Reaching the human passage I took a stick, fell into the row, and did the same as the others; but my neighbours were afraid, and pushed me out again. At last I found a place where I could beat and shout with the others unnoticed. The 4 SS men supervised all this, and every now and then they picked out a well-grown Jew among the running men and put him aside. When all women's clothes were carried away, the running Jews did not return, but after a while I heard again this terrible scream lasting one or two minutes, and followed by complete silence. We who had formed the corridor were then led to the pile, and were ordered to pile all clothes on top of the clothes mountain. Meanwhile 11 Jews, those who had been picked out by the SS men, were ordered to come to us and to dress themselves; I used this opportunity to do the same properly. I had hardly finish-ed when I heard a shrill blow of the whistle; all those standing near the pile started running in the direction of the station. Coming to the rails, I saw that the next 10 carriages had arrived. We took up the same position on the rails as those who had received us. Now at last I had a free moment to look around and see where I was. We were inside a large yard (ca.1 square km.) surrounded by a barbed wire fence, which was very well camouflaged by intertwining it with living trees and hedges. At a far end I saw a long line of billowing smoke.

When the carriage doors were opened, the procedure applied to us on arrival repeated itself. We had to shout and drive the Jews out of the carriages. An old Jew stumbled out of the carriage and the SS man ordered one of us "to bring him to the hospital". Then came another old Jew, and the SS man ordered me "Hallo, this one also to the hospital." Since I had no idea where the "hospital" was, I followed my companion who had the same order. He led the old man towards the smoke line. When I came near it, I saw a ditch about 10 m wide and 10 m deep. The ditch stretched down as far as the fenced yard. At the bottom a huge fire burned, and I knew immediately that corpses were burning down there. Near us stood one SS man and 10 armed Ukrainians. The SS man gave the order "undress and sit down." In order to avoid mistakes, I looked at my companion; we undressed our old Jews, and set them down on the edge of the ditch. Meanwhile other old people were

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sent to the "hospital". When 10 Jews were sitting on the edge of the ditch, they were shot from behind by the Ukrainians, and fell automatically into the fire. Then I went back, and the same as had happened to us, happened to all the newly arrived people. All this lasted till 12 o'clock.

At 12 o'clock we had to line up for a roll-call. The SS man (commander) ordered that the 11 newcomers should stand in a row separately from the others. Of course I joined the newcomers. Now the fact that we were 13 instead of 11 was found out; I noticed that Mr. Sachs was also among us. He told me afterwards that he had had the same idea as I. The SS commander got very excited about this, and ordered that the intruders whom he had "recognized immediately", should report voluntarily or he would not answer for the consequences. He pulled out his revolver, fiddled about with it, shot into the air, screamed, but of course we did not own up. At last he dismissed us and we had lunch. I tried to find out as much as possible about the situation and explore every possibility of escape. I talked to and questioned all my fellow-sufferers, but when I told them about my intentions they declared me a lunatic. The general answer of these people was that the very thought of flight was crazy, that it was impossible, and most of them did not even want to consider the idea. When my friend Sachs heard that with the train from Czenstochowa his child had been brought here, he said that after the loss of his child he did not care what happened to him; life had no meaning for him anymore, and he did not care enough to take the trouble to save himself. I heard that 3 weeks was the longest anyone had been here; most of my comrades had been there for 4 - 10 days. Every morning some were picked out, whom we never saw again. These were then replaced by newcomers, as in our case.

Our hours were from 7 to 12 a.m. and from 1 to 6 p.m. Our work chiefly consisted in baiting continual newcomers; the rest of the time we arranged the clothes, shoes, and articles of value, and put the shoe-and-clothes-pile in order. 4 times a day we were lined up and counted. At 6 p.m. we had to retire to our barracks. The windows had to be kept open all night. Opposite the windows which did not give on the yard, a watch tower had been erected from which our windows were illuminated and guarded all night. Behind the fence was the so-called "death-camp", which we were not allowed to enter. Two boys succeeded in crossing over to us from there, and this is the information we received from them.

About 500 Jews worked on that side, and there were 8 big barracks for about 7000 people. The naked people who were brought there were herded into those barracks, and told that they are going to be bathed. When a batch of them

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was inside, poison gas was let in. Those still outside naturally tried desparately to back away when they realized what was going on inside. Then the SS and Ukrainians with their bloodhounds went into action and forced them in. The cries we had heard came from such crowds at the moment of entering. When a batch was inside the door was closed and remained so for 15 minutes. By the time it was opened again, everybody inside was dead. Now the 500 Jews employed there had to throw the corpses into the fire-ditch which stretched beyond the fence into the death-camp. Those 500 Jews were in terrible condition of physical and psychic decay. They also got very little food, and daily 10 or 18 committed suicide. From their "work" they all emitted a penetrating cadaverous smell. It was this smell which betrayed our two informants, who were discovered among us and marched away by guards.

In a far corner of our yard, there was a barrack where the so-called "Yard-Jews" lived. They were about 100 craftsmen, locksmiths, joiners, electricians, also tailors, and 12 musicians. These people had been brought here from Warsaw 4 weeks before the general deportations, to set up the camp. They wore suits with yellow stripes, lived apart from the others, and only met them during meals. They worked in their work-shops and were not admitted at the above-mentioned killings. The 12 musicians had to play every evening at banquets held by the Germans. I was told that among them there had also been a chauffeur who had managed to gain favor with the Germans, and was often taken out of the camp by them. When the deportations in Warsaw began, he drove out with an SS man to get his wife and children out. But after a few days he took the car and fled with his family. The SS could not forget this incident, and were still cursing about it when I was there. I myself heard one of them say: "That bloody dog, if we catch him again, he shall find out that there is a worse death than by clubbing or shooting."

As I have mentioned before, one of our duties was to arrange the clothes pile. During a roll-call the commander told us to examine the clothes carefully for money and articles of value left in the pockets or sown in between seams elsewhere. "You know best where Jews usually hide their money", he told us, "I do not wonder that you do such things; after all, you are human beings, and think that you can save your money that way. What we do with you is our policy, just as England and America have their policy against us."

During my 4 days' stay there, 110.000 (hundred-and-ten thousand) Jews came to that camp, and were delivered to the death-camp by the method related above. The transports came from France, Holland, Vienna and Poland. Apparently the foreigners had come to us by direct trains,

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because their carriages had built-in benches, and they arrived in fairly good condition. Everybody had a number, and so had the baggage. The ashes from the burnt corpses were taken out of the hole, passed through sieves, and packed into boxes. What happened then to it, I do not know.

At last I succeeded to win over two boys for my plan of escape. I could persuade them that we had nothing to lose, and the only question to be solved was how to go about it. During a roll-call the SS commander told us that it was useless to think of escape, since it was impossible; but if someone shoudl really get over the barbed wire (which was impossible), he would not be able to go on from there. But if by some magic anybody should succeed to get out he could be certain that he would be brought back there after a short time. I can tell you, he said, that by December 31st, 1942, not one Jew will be left in the Generalgouvernement.

From the moment we left our barracks at 7 a.m. till we entered them again at 7 p.m. we were watched continuously. Any separation from the group would have been noticed at once, we concluded that flight in daytime was quite out of the question. An escape by night had to be considered, and for that reason we had to find a way to remain outside the barracks after 7 p.m. Before 6 p.m. I packed each of my two companions into a bundle of clothes and took them up onto the clothes pile; my friend Sachs did the same with me. Each of us provided himself with as much money and jewellery as we could find hidden in the clothes, and with one big kitchen-knife. In case we were captured we decided not to die without defending ourselves. After 6 p.m. it became quite around us, and I freed myself a little from my bundle so as to be able to watch my surroundings. The Ukrainian guard was relieved, and I now waited for darkness to fall. At about 8.30 I crept out of my bundle and freed my other companions of theirs. It was the night of Hoshana-Raba (theseventh day of the feast of the tabernacles); I am certain of this because it is the day of my father's death. We dug a hole in the clothes pile, so that standing up only our heads looked out. We stood watching, and observed that every thirty minutes a guard circled the yard and that a search-light crept regularly over the clothespile. We intended to wait, since we expected a change after midnight.

But when until one o'clock no change had occurred we decided to creep forward at one o'clock after the passing of the search-light beam. Still buried in the pile we observed a thick smoke coming from the ditch, from which we concluded that the corpses were being sprinkled with something. We decided to reach this dense screen of smoke, and push for-

ward under its cover. At 5 minutes past one we let ourselves down the pile, crept towards the smoke cloud, and reached it unnoticed. We now found ourselves standing in front of a barbed wire fence. Without hands and knives we managed to dig a hole under the fence, the ground being soft. We squeezed through under it, and stood in a dense forest. We proceeded straight forward and after a few minutes stood again in front of a barbed wire fence. This time the soil was hard and we could not get through the same way as before. We were obliged to scale disregarding the spikes; we wore two pairs of gloves, so we got across with only a few scratches. Then we went on only to encounter after a few minutes a third barbed wire fence which had to be negotiated the same way as the second. Our way then led us further into the forest, which we only left about half past three next morning. From the edge of the forest we saw a village, but decided not to enter it before about 5.30, since there was in the Generalgouvernement a general curfew till 5 a.m. One of my comrades decided not to wait, and went in the direction of the village. We soon lost sight of him but heard dogs bark after a short while. We never found out what happened to him.

About 6.30 we left the forest to look for the road, and met a woman who showed us the way. We now took the direction of Wardaw and walked three days, spending the nights in the forest until we reached Warsaw. During this time we lived ondry bread. When we arrived in Warsaw one day after Sukkot (feast of the tabernacles) our first step was to go to the Kurcelak (Warsaw's Caledonian Market) to get other clothes, because ours were so ragged as to be conspicious. I also had my head shaved because I had been shorn in prison, and I thought a head recently shorn would raise suspicion. I now parted from my comrade, and tried to enter the Ghetto in some fashion, in order to look for my sister. I did not succeed in this, but learnt that my sister was no longer in the Ghetto. I decided to go to Krakau, and before the journey, procured "Aryan" papers for myself. At Krakau, after a long search, I found my business friends, Viktor and Henryk Torstein, and Marysia Orlovska, who had worked with us before. All three are now here with me. They were amazed at my sudden appearance, because they knew that I had been deported from Czenstochova, and there had never been a case of a safe return, from a deportation. All four of us decided now to escape to Hungary, and for this purpose we mde for the Hungarian frontier at Turki near Stryj. We got in tough with the smugglers who were to bring us across the frontier with great dispatch, because it had leaked out that Turki would be evacuated within 8 days. My three comrades returned to Krakau and I was to go before them to Hungary and make the necessary preparations for their crossing. I went with a group of about ten people under the guidance of the smug-

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glers who were to lead the way across the frontier in return for a fee of 20.000 Zloty (ca. 800 Dollars) for every member of the group. We were cheated, however, by the guides, who took our money and abandoned us in the forest. We spent 11 days in the forest, and finally returned. I for my part went back to my friends at Krakau. The Ghetto still existed there, but we as "Aryans" obviously resided outside the Ghetto. To live in Krakau was rather dangerous; for this reason we induced an acquaintance by the name of Jellonek, who was married to a Jewess, to buy a villa at Swoszowice near Krakau at our expense, but in his name, and let it to us. Mrs. Marysia Orlovska kept the house for us.

While we were in the forest near Turki I bought a Hungarian Certificate of Residence (Heimatsschein) from a Jew for 3000 Zloty. I intended to use this certificate for registration and thus obtained the status of a foreigner, to whom the anti-Jewish regulations did not apply. This registration was to be arranged by Mr. Eliezer Landau, who possessed the necessary contacts with the competent authorities at Bochnia, and who was ready to help us if he would receive in return similar certificates for himself and all his family. We accordingly turned all our energy toward procuring a metal stamp for counterfeiting. Viktor Rotstein went to Stryj, where such papers were reported to be obtainable; however, he was caught in the deportation rush at Stryj and was carried off in a railway truck. He succeeded in making his escape at Lemberg, and returned to Krakau. After that Henryk Rotstein went to Warsaw and procured the stamp from the firm of Kolesa Trnbaka. The stamp was made out for the parish of Husk. We used it to forge a large number of Hungarian Certificates of Residence, which were countersighed by the chief of the German police at Bochnia, whose name was Schönberg.

In the meantime we had to escape from Swoszowice because Jellonek had been denounced by a Jew. He was arrested and shot because an old radio set was found on his loft. The informer Samuel Brodman, a disciple (Chassid) of the Rabbi of Bobova, had actually plotted against the brothers Rotstein, and the police were really looking for Viktor Rotstein when they found Jellonek's wireless.

Our certificates made it possible for us to live outside the Bochnia Ghetto. We had moved to Bochnia on February 15, 1943, and from there we managed to get in touch with Slovakian smugglers, with whose aid we finally succeeded with great difficulty in crossing the Slovakian border. Here again I must mention the valuable help of Mrs. Orlovska, who crossed with us.

David Milgrom from Lodz

August 30, 1943

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When on November 10, 1938, the synagogues in Germany went up in flames, while a heedless drunk populace destroyed and looted the Jewish shops, only very few of our fellow-believers had any inkling of what consequences were to follow upon this event. I have no intention of giving a general narrative covering all the suffering of our community, but shall relate only my personal experiences and our escape. My special case will give a good indication of the fate of all, and the heroic and tragic sacrifice of German Jewry.

What happened in Germany until 1938 was no secret to the public. The racial laws were decreed in 1935, then followed the gradual expropriation of Jewish property in favour of "aryan" trustees. Until then (1938) it was still possible within certain limits to pursue Jewish cultural activities, like meetings of the "Kulturbund", music recitals, theater performances, sports, etc. neither was the education of youth in Zionism rendered impossible. But it soon became evident that the flames that had destroyed the synagogues were to engulf every thing reminiscent of human feeling. It became illegal for Jews to attend public performances or meetings etc. of any sort, and anyoody guilty of organizing cinema or theater performances, lectures, sport meetings etc. was punished with the utmost severity. Before 1939 the standard punishment was "KZ" (concentration camp), which for the physically weaker persons meant death; after 1939 the death penalty became general, and it was only a question of time that the relatives of the arrested person would be sent the urn, with a covering letter saying "died of pneumonia" (or defective circulation) or "shot while trying to escape". These were the salient features of the picture at that time.

Shortly after the burning of the synagogues I was conscripted with others to break up the burnt ruins. This was

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the first step to forced labour; after some time I was detailed for road-building. Up to then I had never done any physical work, keeping only to the practice of my profession, and I found the work exhausting. After an injury incurred on the building site I was sent to a chemical factory. After the outbreak of war in 1939 I was expelled from Reich territory at 4 weeks notice as a "staatsfeindlicher Ausländer" (alien, hostile to the State), because my father had been a Russian citizen. Emigration was practically impossible under the circumstances: I had few connections with foreign countries, many countries were at war, and in addition the Reich Government had issued a decree forbidding all Jews between 16 and 45 to emigrate without a special permit from the central authorities at Berlin. There were the US, but to get there one needed a high financial guarantee which I could not obtain. I was at my wits' end. Through the intercession of the Jewish Community it was possible to delay my expulsion several times for another four weeks. I was under a terrible strain throughout these weeks. In November 1939, I was summoned to the Police, where I had to sign the following notification:

> "The Russian Jew ..... who is without citizenship is assigned as the final date by which he must leave Reich territory January 15, 1940. If ..... should not have crossed the border by then, he will be deported to a Concentration Camp."
>
> Date and Signature President of Police

In my despair I applied to the Reichsvereinigung in Berlin which managed shortly before the expiration of my deportation changed from KZ to forced labour camp. My crime, by the way, was that I had been born a Jew.

On February 2, 1940, I entered the labour camp at ..... food was very little and bad. Working hours were 14 (including the march to the site), lunch interval ½ hour. I was set to work by turns on road-building, earth and canalization work, construction of air-raid shelters and

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aitches. Only two or three persons out of 120 were lucky enough to be sent to factory work. In the camp I thus came in contact with my fellow-sufferers, who had all had much the same fate. The camp was ostensibly run for "Umschulung" (reeducation). In 1942 the entire camp was deported to the East. By that time I was so exhausted physically that I collapsed one day on the working site. The diagnosis was pneumonia. I was in hospital almost 3 months, hovering between life and death. First I was kept in a room for prisoners, later in a lunatic cell, finally in a bathroom. I was excellently treated by the hospital staff, which showed what everybody was acting only under the overwhelming pressure of the Gestapo. The nurses often brought me dainty morsels of food and gave me warm words to keep up my spirits. I owe special gratitude to the head doctor, for it was she who got me out of the forced labour camp by means of a medical certificate stating that I was physically unfit for work. All the time the Gestapo was sharp on my heels about my emigration. The Jewish Community obtained for me an immigration permit for Tanger, and through the intercession of a friend I got some hundred Dollars from Holland. But on May 10, 1940, Holland, Belgium, and France were attacked by the Germans, and when these countries were overrun, my money which had been deposited at Brussels was lost. After this an illegal immigration to Yugoslavia was arranged for me, but this was made out for a married couple. I got permission to marry from the Gestapo (marriage on March11,1941) on the condition in writing that I would be out of the way within 2 weeks. Through delay at the Registrar's my documents arrived only a few days later, and my transport to Yugoslavia could thus not take place before early April, 1941. Then, on March 27, the German army attacked Yugoslavia, and my last escape route was blocked. Thus I was sent back to St., having been released from the labour camp, and was set to work again in the same factory (chemical) in which I had worked in 1938 and 1939. Working hours were the same as in the camp; I was one

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of about 30 Jews employed there. In the middle of 1941 my sister was deported from Berlin to Poland; I shall return to this point later. For us the deportations began somewhat later. I was on the deportation list three times, but was struck off again every time because I was on war work. In the meantime the decree about wearing the Jewish star armband was issued. None of us were ashamed to wear it in any way, but it was a heavy blow from the viewpoint of rationing supplies. While hitherto one had been able to pass unnoticed in many cases, now one was conspicuous everywhere and exposed to public insults, especially from Hitler Youth members. I have heard, it is true, of frank expressions of regret and salutes of sympathy on thestreet coming from strangers. But the food problem now became insoluble for the Jews, for while up to then they could occasionally buy some standard supplies against coupons given to them as presents, or could go to "Aryan" friends for meals (this was punished by KZ if discovered), now they were thrown back on Jewish rations, which were indescribably low and wretched. For Jews there was no fruit or vegetables except occasional decayed supplies, no fish, no saudage, no eggs, no chocolate or sweets, a minimum of jam or sugar, no rice, no white bread, no cake or other special additions like sardines, cheese, wine etc. Our chief sustenance consisted of potatoes and bad bread. Special Jewish shops were instituted, where the Jewish customers were treated like scum and often not even the miserable rations officially allowed to Jews were given to them. Thus in order not to starve, one had to get what one could on the black market. This entailed covering up the Jewish badge and risking discovery and KZ. Police searches and raids were daily occurrences, and whoever was found to keep an egg, fruit, meat, or anything of the sort at home might count on death or, what amounted to the same thing, deportation by the next transport. Thus the daily routine was a gamble with death. My father was deported in May, 1942, at the age of 62. I shall get to his story presently. I myself

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went through three major deportations at the German end - three trainloads of innocent men and women destined to die because they were Jews. A deportation used to take a form somewhat like this: You got a letter saying "You have been enlisted for an evacuation transport to the East. Your number is ....." Then followed the place of assembly and a list of things that one was permitted to take along, such as 1 suit, 1 pair of shoes, 1 piece of every article of clothing down to rugs and overcoats, 10 RM in cash, razors but no blades, no scissors, no nail-files (all details were specified), no soap, no matches or lighters, no tobacco (strictly forbidden for Jews), 50 kg of luggage altogether. At the place of assembly one could witness the most heart-rending scenes the human brain can picture; among the deportees were blind, sick, and lame people, children, and, unfortunately, many in the bloom of youth. All had to sign slips stating that they had been guilty of subversive and communist activities in Germany, and that they declared themselves enemies of the State. All property and personal possessions were confiscated; the latter, especially handsome furniture, carpets, fur coats, etc., was seized by the SS and Gestapo hyenas with particular relish and carried off home, together with better suits and costlier rings than they had ever possessed. Electrical apparatus like heaters and irons were usually grabbed first of all, then followed grammophones,(radios had gone long before), cameras, woolen and fur clothing, boots, etc. For all raids the Gestapo used carefully to select Jewish holidays like Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, etc.; thus our holidays were always days of heightened strain and anguish. Until late in 1942 we had thought that the deportations meant merely changes of forced labour employment; it was only later that the horrid truth leaked through in the shape of reports of mass shootings and executions in the most nightmarish forms. Then we, who had been spared so far, sweated the harder,

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starved the worse, and bowed down lower under our terrible yoke, only to postpone as far as possible the same fate for us. And now I will relate the fate of my father, my sister and my brother-in-law, who all lost their lives in the most horrible fashion in Poland.

Some weeks after my sister and her husband had been deported (she had one child of 2, and was expecting another any moment), I recieved a letter from my sister from Litzmannstadt (Lodz) containing her address and an urgent appeal for clothing. Considering that they had only been in Poland a few days and had taken with them a set of clothes and belongings, this could only mean that all their things had been "lost". Before I sent anything I wished to make sure whether any mail would reach them; I therefore wrote to her asking for a precise list of the things she needed. Five or six weeks later this letter returned to me marked "quarantaine region", "no delivery". I tried again and again to get in touch with my relatives, but did not succeed. It was only later that I learnt the truth from German soldiers garrisoned in the region where they were kept. This report was horrifying: the deportees were inocculated with typhus district by district and left to die like animals without attendance. My father and my wife's brother were brought to the Lubline region to ..... Through Poles deported to Germany we could establish contact with these two and had news from them; of the many things we sent there something always arrived because it was smuggled through. But suddenly this contact also broke and we were without news until about two months later, when we heard from a clergyman of the region in question, who sent a written eye-witness account. In this account the"liquidation" of the camp was described with details which cannot be reproduced here. The letter began thus: "My fingers are trembling and my pen refuses to write the things my eyes have seen!" Then followed an exact report on conditions and events.

The camp was fenced in with barbed wire and surrounded by machine guns. Early in October, 1942, the entire camp was set on fire with incendiary charges; who tried to escape was killed by machine-gun bullets, the rest were burned alive. There had been several thousand Jews in the camp. These are facts; I know of other similar exploits of a degraded species of humanity, w which do not belong to this context.

Thus made aware of what was in store for us, we resolved not to submit meekly when it would be out turn to go. That day came on Feb. 27, 1943, when we were notified by the Gestapo that we would be deported on the 28th. So we had one day's notice. What we went through even during these first hours is difficult to describe. We had previously made preparations for this emergency with "Aryans"; but we had to hand over all our papers, and flight seemed hopeless without any personal documents. Fortunately I still had an old Italian student pass; with this for an identity card we undertook our escape, which led us 600 km through Germany by train, expecting to be discovered any moment. But God was with us and we reached the goal of our journey. A full 3 months we did not leave one room. We were frightened of every bell, trembled at every passing step, and talked only in whispers. One night there was a terrible air raid upon the city. We thought we were not going to live through that night. Bombs and block-busters exploded near us, houses were wrecked, and a pressure wave partly destroyed the house we were concealed in. The day broke after an infernal nightmare - but that raid was a blessing tous. We received false papers, which I shall not define in order not to endanger those who helped us, or those who are still staying in Germany to-day with such papers. We again went 600 km across Germany to another city, where we were expected. There ensued 4 months of searching in constant fear of discovery or chance recognition. I pretended to be gravely injured in order to avoid the attention of the military authorities. Four months we were without food coupons and

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lived in perpetual danger, just because we were Jews. I stayed with some peasants and worked for my board; my wife sewed. Thus we starved along, though assisted by kind people who knew about us.

By chance I got to the Swiss border with the help of a man who was unaware of my circumstances. Two days later I fetched my wife. On Sept.1, 1943, at 5 p.m. we crossed the border in broad daylight. We were detected at the last moment, and the German frontier-guards were after us with dogs. But with the help of the Lord we escaped. Once in safety, I completely collapsed.

This last part of the story has been laid down in protocol form with the Swiss authorities, and has been confirmed by a Swiss guard who was a witness.

We arrived ruined in body, soul, and mind, dressed only in the most necessary things as we had not been able to bring any luggage. We owe a great debt of gratitude to the Jewish organizations which took care of us and helped us out with clothes as well as they could.

To-day we have but one aim, after having recovered somewhat: Palestine ! Away from this cursed continent, where barbarity without precedent could reign supreme. Only away !

January 25, 1944

100462

[illegible] transport, consisting of about 1, [illegible] Jews, was deported from [illegible]ilov via Kolin, Chrudim directly to [illegible]land. At the boundary we were [illegible] line by, and [illegible] inted by troops (Sicherheitsdienst) on the station, while the women were counted in the carriages. [illegible] We continued our journey for three or four days until we reached [illegible]egorodsko-Kosteln district Kolin, where we left the carriages.

[illegible] [illegible] of this transport suffered from thirst as we were given water on [illegible] occasions only, [illegible] food at all; but we had left Prague with plenty of provisions.

In Bejonice we were received by the inspector of the water-works in Kolin, Ing. Holecheimer, the [illegible] district doctor and [illegible] the district, and nine members of the Jewish [illegible] representation, in Bejonice with their senior and head, Fessler, the priest of the Jewish community, who helped us.

[illegible] the next day, 4.12., two transports of a size similar to ours arrived from Protivov and Kamenna, so that we were then altogether 3, Slovakian Jews. [illegible] Chol Hamoed Pessach, the Bejonice Jews were deported, so that we found only about 3 Bejonice Jews still in the ghetto, as well as [illegible] Jews from the Protectorate, and some from Nitra (Slovakia) were added.

The lodging was [illegible] the houses formerly belonging to Jews, but [illegible] there was a penalty of 1od Kcs, 2 to 3 people had to squeeze into a room of [illegible] 4 metres. For eight days they watered or rained [illegible], and there was a terrible confusion. We were given no food, and of the valuable provisions which we had got from the [illegible], at Kolina, the best portion, mostly spices, was taken away from us, and the remainder stored in the schools. After a fortnight, when the food was completely spoilt and unfit for consumption, it was given back to us. After a while the 3,[illegible] Slovakian Jews were

[illegible]

...ed to ...ir, for swamp-draining work, but only strong men, (fathers ... ...e three) children were excluded) were admitted; altogether ... men went to work. These people received ... grams of bread daily, a thin barley-grits soup for lunch, and a black "coffee" for supper. ...ather ... to ... young people were ordered to the nearby ... ...e barn, adjoining, and ...helm (where there was an ... ...ormation in charge) without consideration of their families. ...hose people were selected by the Polish ... who ...ceive bribes. The ...ouncil ... ...ell consisted of mixed elements; the unselfish help received from ...rs. ..., and ...s. ... from Nitra (Slovakia) deserves ...special ...ention; ... ... cannot be said about certain ...s. ... ...orte (sisters) ... ...ina ... Nitra. Nobody ... ...ried for ... remaining ..., the Slovakian Jews. ...t ...fter three ... ...ar weeks ... ...ewish Council in ... ...la founded a communal kitchen, which provided the Jews with a plate of soup for ... ...roschy. The ...ess of the Jewish Council of Sheln at that time was a very honest and respectable Jew named ...rmanyi, who was later ... ...ot together with his family.

... to the filthy food and impossible sanitary conditions, many cases of typhus, dysentery, and other epidemics occurred and caused many deaths ...ong the older people.

... ...ve ... ...rman Polish policeman ... into the house of Mr. ... (Kubinov) and ... ...at returned from a patient, and ordered the doctor to give him his wrist-watch; a dispute followed during which the policeman threatened the doctor with his gun, and a free fight was the consequence of the doctor's offering resistance. The Jewish ... and two Jews from the neighborhood were called in to help, ... the policeman was given back his gun, which he used to fire three alarm shots. The Polish police ... ...ered at once, and arrested all inhabitants of Mr. ...'s house, and 24 men from the next neighborhood, among whom there were five members of the ... Dr. ... tried to escape, was injured, and subsequently shot. The 24 arrested people were ... to death the next day for attempting a "communistic revolt". Among these were ... ... his wife (nabi-

load the [illegible] tricks. [illegible] beaten and maltreated by the "Black Uniforms". It was packed, and unbearable hot in the tracks, and we were without water or air, but just stood body to body without any room for the slightest movement. 15 persons, [illegible] were in my car, to [illegible], died there and then from suffocation, among them many young men.

We arrived at Kobiler shortly past midnight, where we were met with "welcome" signs of horse-whip received us. There at last we got a little water, but even no food. We were subsequently lined up in [illegible] files, divided by sexes, and the men were then to fall out to clear the [illegible] for corpses out of the trucks. We never saw these men again. In the morning we saw most of the women covered in rags on their way to a [illegible] some miles away. At 8 a.m. the SS lieutenant came to us and told all men to go and [illegible] previously worked at draining swamps to get it out. About 1,000 men and women stepped forward, 1,500 in all, to which the lieutenant remarked cryptically "you are born anew". From the remaining group [illegible], locksmiths, and watchmakers were segregated, while the rest had to follow the women to the yard in the distance, and shared their fate.

Our group of 1,500 was ordered to [illegible], where we spent one night. We were very well received and fed there by the Jewish organization. At Osara there were about 5,000 German and Czech Jews. Jewish Ghetto police accompanied us to Dryanow; on the way there we passed the town of Ilanka, where about 1,000 Jewish girls were employed for the threshing. They were relatively well off there.

Dryanow is a labour camp erected by the former Polish government in a swamp region. By now the neighbourhood has been fairly well drained by Jewish labour. At the time of our arrival about 1,200 men and women were kept there, of whom ca. 400 were Czechs, 200 Slovaks, the remainder Poles. Living conditions were indescribable. 200 people each lived in brick barracks 60 by 4 meters, there was neither straw nor covers or rugs of any kind, no washing accomo-

[illegible] ...tion, [illegible] ...ble [illegible] ...ed very ca... We were literally ...overed with lice, and there was nothing to be done about it. Our [illegible] ...et consisted of [illegible] ...rags or straw, scraps of cotton leaves without [illegible] ...ket or [illegible] ..., and black "coffee". We knew from experience that such ... not to [illegible] ...death from ...nutrition within ...weeks. After a ...short time most of us had swollen faces and feet, and either ... typhoid fever or dysentery, or both. We had at least ...dozen deaths every day. ...tal ...day [illegible] ...with a ...load of ..., ...ut there.

...ur ... was ... extraordinarily strenuous, but it was too ... for ... in our exhausted state. Nevertheless, ... sometimes succeeded ... smuggling ... potatoes, ... people ... sent to ... [illegible] ... some returned ... 5,000 (1,000 ...). ...ow, treatment ... [illegible] ... would not be ... [illegible] ... there; we could ... [illegible] ... even then, ... survival ... [illegible] ... on our strength ... constitution, ... to some extent, ... [illegible] ... prices ... settlements were ... [illegible] ... ...ere not ... [illegible] ...ey.

...n October ... became ... that ... certain ... of ... workers ... to be ... by the "De ... ish" ... longer ... [illegible] ..., ... the ... system. ... [illegible] ... distribution clearly ... some persons, not ... all fitted ... work, ... were chosen. ... hospital ... disease, ... [illegible] ... [illegible] ... These people ... [illegible] ... to ... [illegible] ... and ... [illegible] ..., because ... number ... ... the ... work ... to ... camp, and they ... were not ... to ... their own ... Four ... after they ... arrived ... [illegible] ..., ... entire ... population ... was ... to ... [illegible] ... (annihilation ...).

... [illegible] ... this, ... inmates ... the ... [illegible] ... and ... [illegible] ... brought ... us ... the ... [illegible] ... an influx ... living ... conditions ... uncertain. ... Then, ... [illegible] ..., we were suddenly told ... [illegible] ... deportation+) was imminent. ... persons were ... selected, ... [illegible] ... additional ..., ... were ... to ... on, all

+) "Aussiedlung" stands for deportation to an annihilation camp.)

the rest were carried away. Among those remaining there were some women and girls from Auschwitz, and older men and women and girls. Of the men from Slovakia a little remained alive by [illegible] some Polish Jews. The remaining group of Jews sent to Birkenau from Auschwitz, were also succeeded in establishing for themselves a privileged position with the administration, and were able to give us much help as the months went by. It was due to them that so many girls could be retained in the camp.

Early in 1943 there was a new influx of Polish Jews into the camp. In June 1943, the camps in Lodz, Lublin, Bialystok, and Kielce were "liquidated", and the survivors came to us, swelling our numbers to 5,000. It is said that there were a further 10,000 Jews in Kielce alone. But many of these were shot in the streets, and the rest were sent to Auschwitz.

Starting from 1943 conditions at Birkenau improved considerably. After October 1, 1942, we got a bread ration of 4 ozs to 5 ozs per day, and a thick potatoe soup at noon. We were given good iron bedsteads, and warm accomodation. With the improvement of sanitary conditions the state of health much improved, and only three of the 115 people who originally remained, died since then, as a result of the prevailing conditions. Three other Polish people were shot by the Polish camp-commander, when the commander was on leave.

After the enlargement of the camp in March, food conditions became worse again; the bread ration was lowered to 150 grams per day and a tasteless vegetable soup was given for lunch.

In April 1943, we heard rumours about Dutch and Belgian Jews coming to us, which were confirmed by the camp authorities. They did not come, but I heard the following about their fate: the transports from Belgium and Holland arrived in very good condition, as they travelled in first class carriages (unlike us), and at the bigger stations received food and white bread. Some older and weaker persons were sent back to Holland and Belgium under the pretext that they were unfit for the "work" which was the official

justification given to the terrified Dutch and [illegible] public for the deportations. [illegible] there were reports that [illegible] proportion [illegible] actually reached [illegible], as had been done in other countries; but in reality the [illegible] (at least) Security Service (the Gestapo) released no one, and all were destroyed at Sobibor.

In the [illegible] the [illegible] there is an all-pervading atmosphere of [illegible]. [illegible] reports, and various [illegible], that the [illegible] of [illegible] electricity [illegible] poison gas, [illegible], and [illegible] in order to [illegible] attempt [illegible].

In 1942 [illegible] were [illegible] by brutal reprisals levelled against the remaining inmates. The fugitives were mostly [illegible] Jews who were [illegible] with [illegible] conditions. They fled to the forests and [illegible] lived by robbery. Of late, punishment for desertions has fallen only upon the deserter himself, if he was caught.

When the camp [illegible] still [illegible], [illegible] from [illegible], Kovaves, and [illegible] tried to escape. Both were caught. [illegible] was executed, [illegible] was brought back to camp, but succeeded in escaping once more, [illegible] of [illegible].

According to information I have received, ca. [illegible] Jews were employed at [illegible] - Majdanek on [illegible], water supply, and building work. They were reported to be wearing convicts' uniforms.

[illegible], [illegible] 17, 194[illegible]

Budapest

PROTOCOL

drawn up on September 14, embodying a statement by H. K. of Cracow. The previous year H.K. lived at Pochnia, and later crossed the Slovakian boundary, to arrive here on September 6, 1943.

Two years ago when we realised how desperate the situation of the Polish Jews had become, we got together to consider the situation. At that time we still had Hachsharah groups at Tomaszow Mazowiecki, Warsaw, and Kielce, apart from Pochnia itself. We thought then that we should be able to last through the war, because we thought it would be a short one, and besides, the Palestine Fonds helped us a great deal. But conditions became worse and worse, and so we decided to help ourselves, and sought acquaintance with the Polish underground organization (PPR). Mainly for tactical reasons, viz, to help the Jews in the Ghetto, we cooperated with them for a time. But the organizations in Poland were separated into Polish and Jewish groups. We were divided into groups of five (Piontkas) who had a leader each, and who did not know each other. The group leaders were separated in a similar way, and like this the organization led up to a central authority. I procured myself Aryan documents and worked as a courier between Warsaw and Cracow. In spite of the fact that the Polish organization helped us to obtain Aryan documents, we had unpleasant experiences with them, because they took advantage of us, wherever it was possible. They chose our comrades for the most dangerous and useless commissions, and if a Pole was arrested, they betrayed, and exchanged them for Jews only.

Admission of Members into the organization was by a solemn ceremony held in a room in Cracow which had been specially adapted for this purpose. Everyone admitted had to swear an oath that he would fight to the last and sacrifice his life in the fight against the Germans. The oath was administered in Hebrew in the presence of a Polish representative.

Deportations: When the mass deportations began in June and July, we realized that everything was lost, and got down to the job of creating fighting organizations, particularly the "Plugot" (Platoon). We bought arms from the PPR and from the population and many of the comrades escaped from the mass arrests through previously tested sewers, by which some of them got right out of the town. Aharon Liebeskind-Bolek took part in organising this work. Because of the sad experiences we had had with Poles, we separated from them and the Hechalus Halochem (Hechalus was the organization existing in all countries for agricultural training in preparation for Palestine. Hechalus = Pioneer, lochem = fighter). All Chalus organizations cooperated with us. We made it our

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aim to organize escape routes through the sewage system, to provide supplies for those hiding in the canals, and to attack and render innocuous the many Jewish agents provocateurs and to attack members of the collaborationist Jewish Ordnungsdienst (civil guards).

Newspaper: Later on we published a typewritten 10-page weekly called "Hechaluz Halochem", of which there appeared every Friday 200 copies. These papers which published reports of attacks and acts of sabotage, and lists of Jewish and Polish collaborationists and agents provocateurs, were distributed in the Ghetto and among the members of the Hechaluz halochem. Furthermore, the paper dealt with Ghetto problems, political subjects, and news from Palestine which we still received from Switzerland at that time. The paper discussed with particular care and emphasis the responsibility incurred by people who escaped from German camps or Ghettos, inasmuch as they brought down reprisals on their fellow-prisoners, many of whom were shot for every escaped prisoner. Our courier distributed this paper in all towns in which Jewish organizations still existed, in Ghettos, camps, etc. At the same time we started something on our own account. We organized "piontkas" (organizational cells of five members each) distributed over various parts of Warsaw, whose task was to prepare armed resistance. We knew that the fight was doomed from the start, but we counted on theecho which such resistance on the part of the Jews against the Germans would call forth in the world. So our first operations consisted in shooting German patrols. Until January we organized attempts on the lives of German agents and Polish traitors, and planted denunciations of notorious antisemites wit the Gestapo. We threw petards into a German café, one of our men in German uniform lodged explosives in the German cinema "Urania", and another time we shot German prison guards at Pontelupich. A serious problem was how to obtain money. This we solved by attacks on rich foreigners; once we dressed up in German uniforms pretending to come from the German Devisenstelle and confiscated money and jewellery. Once one of our men procured an authorization to confiscate Jewish property, etc. Later we took to the preparation of acts of sabotage, especially blowing up railways; this we did in the following manner: we watched one or two stretches closely for several nights and made sketches of the selected spots to send in to the center for confirmation. The drawings were tested, completed, and corrected, and if necessary, the center provided us with experts and materials. The center's authorization was required for any act of sabotage. This kind of activity we carried on till January, when two of our boys, W. and A.B., were arrested and confessed; thus the police found out about many of our points at Cracow, where round-ups and arrests followed. A.B., escaped on the way to be shot, others were imprisoned. Among those were S.D., G.D., L. from Warsaw, H.., .W.,

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[illegible] and [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible]. The rest remained in the ghetto, but the whole organisation was thrown into confusion. All those people remained imprisoned until March; but in spite of the fact that they were tortured and terribly maltreated, they betrayed none of us. It was our duty to save them, but to get them out of the prison at Pantelupich was impossible, and so we decided to help them to escape during their deportation from the prison. After we had informed our comrades, [illegible] and [illegible] gave us notice that we need not worry about them, but that they would save themselves. We knew that on March [illegible], they were to be brought by lorry into the Polish camp on the Jerusalimska to be shot. In an hour once we posted [illegible] men with rifles in front of the prison, and another 6 at the entrance to Jerusalimska Street. At [illegible] p.m. we caught sight of the lorry; apart from the driver, our comrades were escorted by [illegible] helmeted policemen who were armed with automatic pistols. [illegible] and [illegible] sat on the bench in the back of the lorry beside the policemen, and it had been agreed that upon a cough of one of them all were to get up from their seats. So when somebody started coughing in Jellicka Street, everybody got up, and in the mix-up that followed (the police started coughing also). [illegible] and [illegible] turned the bench up-side down, so that two of the policemen were trapped under it, and started shooting at the policemen with their own guns. In the confusion [illegible] was shot also, but [illegible] of our [illegible] comrades escaped. 6 of our men on patrol, seeing what had happened, ran after them, tearing off their hats and coats to give their comrades a decent appearance, and then we all met in a prepared tap-house in the Ghetto. In the prison nobody seemed to suspect anything untoward, because half an hour later [illegible] girls were led out to the Jerusalimska on foot, and seeing us in front of the prison gates, they tried an escape. This was too early, and all but three, of whom one was shot, were arrested. Among the two Jews saved was [illegible], and among the men saved was [illegible].

First our people were in Ghetto A (where they kept the people not conscripted for forced labour); later we had our HQ in the woods near Pochnia. Soon and by we began working again, first getting in touch with Warsaw, where we sent money; in May we resumed the publication of the paper Wechaluz Halochem which we distributed to the workshops of Optima, Madrica, Tarnow, Reichshof, and also to Przemysl and Rzeszow near Jaslo. Thus we succeeded in establishing contact with all the camps. Between the middle of April and now, we blew up the railway line between Cracow and Lwow (Lemberg), which handles the main troop reinforcements for the front, 11 times. Most of these attempts were successful, mainly against supply trains. Once bottles of cognac and spirits fell out of the trucks, and once, near Podlesze, tobacco fell out. We worked mainly in the section between Tarnow and Pochnia. Once we ruined all machinery in a dairy farm near Pochnia, and sabotaged factories and storehouses. To the

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Jewish civil [illegible] often sent threatening letters, and we got out of action the notorious Jewish [illegible] provocateurs [illegible]. I, once came to visit Ghetto [illegible] and met Cohn who wanted to select Gestapo victims. [illegible] was sleeping in Ghetto [illegible], so we [illegible] and [illegible] in an uniform [illegible] on or up that [illegible] himself [illegible] to the [illegible] (German patient). [illegible] in front of his apartment, and buried him quietly. [illegible] we found a list of [illegible] people whom he was to hand over to the Gestapo, mainly people who had worked in a Jewish organization before the war. ( ) was also on the list).

[illegible] were almost [illegible] without [illegible] sent to [illegible] to procure the necessary sum. The other people remained hiding, to continue their [illegible] as long as [illegible], because our comrades [illegible] to their [illegible] to their asylum [illegible].

28.

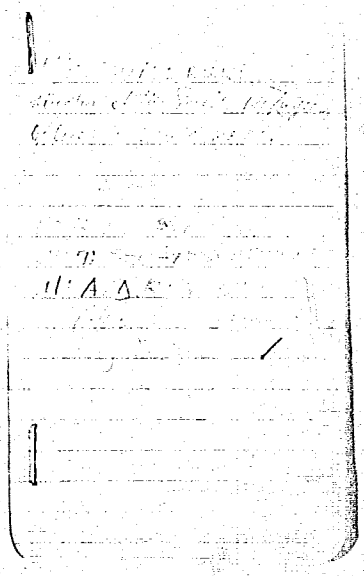
September 7, 1944

Mr. Staniszewski, the Polish Consul, furnished the following data to Mr. Hirschmann today:

Mr. Swiderski
Director of the Polish Refugees' Office in Bucarest

* * * * * * *

Mr. & Mrs. A. Roman
Mr. T. Schatzel
Mr. A. D. Rogoyski
(They have Turkish visas).



Istanbul, August 17, 1944

Dear Mr. Staniszewski:

Referring to our conversation today, it would be desirable if your representative in Bucharest were to communicate with Mr. Zissu in that city for the purpose of arranging priorities for Polish nationals, who are refugees in Bucharest, on the boats which are prepared for evacuation of refugees. These refugees will be en route for Palestine. Your representative should also be in touch with Mr. Ruben and members of the Orat organization. If a list of such refugees can be sent to me, perhaps I can also expedite their rescue.

With regard to the Polish nationals who are not Jews and do not wish to proceed to Palestine, they should without fail communicate with Mr. Kolb, the representative of the International Red Cross, and you are authorized to use my name in urging the procedure outlined in this letter.

Cordially yours,

I. A. Hirschmann
Special Attache

Karol Staniszewski, Esquire
Consul of Poland
Polish Consulate General
Istanbul

KAROL STANISZEWSKI
CONSUL DE POLOGNE

[signature]

[illegible]. 46.

ISTANBUL

(25)

ANKARA

Mrs. Henderson

Please keep this

Wrote To

I want to call
this man and
make a date
for Wednesday
or Thursday afternoon

11-20-96

83579

Istanbul, August 11, 1944

Dear Mr. Staniszewski:

Please forgive this belated reply to your letter of July 29, as I have been in Ankara most of the time since that date.

We have taken note of the question concerning persons of Polish citizenship who have escaped from Poland to Hungary and Rumania. As I reported to you verbally, the relief organizations operating from Istanbul have been aware of the problem of Polish nationals and have made it a policy to include in their program a fair percentage of them among those who are being rescued. For your information, all of the transports which thus far have arrived have contained a proportion of Polish nationals. You may be assured that this problem will be given every fair consideration in future rescue plans.

If you are free one day next week I should be grateful if you would call me, as I would be happy to discuss with you this and one other problem connected with the matter.

Cordially yours,

I. A. Hirschmann
Special Attache

Karol Staniszewski, Esquire
Consul of Poland
Polish Consulate General
Istanbul

Istanbul, July 29, 1944

Sir:

On your recent visit to [illegible] in Ankara, you requested information regarding the number of refugees originally from Poland who have arrived recently on the S.S. Kazbek, a Spanish ship which arrived in Istanbul on July 9. The numbers reported to be were: 25 refugees from Hungary who originally had come from Poland, and 25 young children who had come from Poland.

Upon receiving your letter, we shall endeavor to take steps to encourage the further arrival of Polish refugees on the vessels proposed to embark from Rumania and Bulgaria.

Cordially yours,

I. A. Hirschmann
Special Attaché

Mr. [illegible] Stanisławski
Consul General of Poland
Ankara

I.A./b

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Notice resummant les points exposés à Mr.Irs A.Hirschmann représentant du Board of War Refugies par Mr.Staniszewski,Consul de Pologne,le 21.VII.1944.

-La situation des juifs ressortissants polonais qui ont pu se réfugier de Pologne en Hongrie et en Roumanie,faisait l'objet d'une attention particulière du Gouvernement Polonais .

Les autorités polonaises à l'étranger portaient un intérêt spécial au sort de ses ressortissants qui,après avoir échappé à l'extermination de la part des nazis en Pologne occupée,s'attendaient à ce qu'ils fûssent les premiers a être évacués des pays menacés par les Allemands.

La quote part de ces malheureux dans le nombre global des personnes évacuées par les soins des organisations juives en direction de Palestine était-hélas-jusqu'à ~~prá~~ ces derniers temps de beaucoup trop restreinte.Dernierement- (fin Juin 1944) le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères de Pologne nous invita ~~à~~ d'assurer aux juifs ressortissants polonais,qui se sont réfugiés en Roumanie,une quote-part convenable.

De même le Gouvernement Polonais entreprit des demarches auprès du Saint-Siège et les gouvernements suisse et Suédois pour mettre le gouvernement hongrois en garde contre les conséquences qui peuvent resulter pour la Hongrie du fait de sa participation à ce grand crime perpétré sur la population juive.

La necessité urgente d'augmenter la quote-part des juifs ressortissants polonais qui doivent être évacués de Roumanie(ou de Hongrie) s'explique clairement par les raisons suivantes:

I/ Ils sont plus menacés que les juifs de ressortissance roumaine ou hongroise par le fait de posséder la ressortissance d'un Etat qui non seulement n'est pas reconnu par les Allemands,mais dont la population est depuis le commencement de la guerre exposée aux massacres qui surpassent les pires persecution dans les autres pays sous le contrôle nazi.

II/Ils ont illégalement quitté le pays et pour la plus part ils se trouvent toujours illégalement sur le territoire roumain ou hongrois.

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3/Les gouvernements respectifs/roumains ou hongrois/s'il y a lieu/en cas d'une pression allemande sont plus disposés à sacrifier un nobre relativement restreint des juifs étrangers qu'a traiter d'une manière indiscriminatoire le problème de toute la population juive habitant le pays.Par ce fait,ils sont exposés à être sacrifiés les premiers.

4/Les malheureux qui ont déja passé par tant de tortures physiques et morales méritent qu'on leur accorde une priorité parmi les personnes qui doivent être évacuées,même s'il s'agissait de personnes menacées dans la même mesure qu'eux.

D'après les informations du président du Comité Polonais à Bucarest environ 800 citoyens polonais sont arrivé entre le 1 Janvier et 1 Juillet 1944 en Roumanie.Les refugiés juifs y represent un fort pourcentage.

Il serait particulièrement apprecié si les organisations dirigeant l'evacuation des réfugiés juifs de Roumanie pouvaient inclure dans l'évacuation des ressortissants polonais aussi quelques uns des ressortissants polonais-non-jouifs et qui pourraient être muni des documents appropriés.

Karol Staniszewski
Consul de Pologne

Istanbul,le 29.VII.1944.

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Memorandum, summarizing the points laid before Mr. Ira A. Hirschmann, representing the Board of War Refugees, on July 21, 1944, by Mr. Steniszewski, Polish Consul.

The question concerning the situation of the Jews of Polish citizenship who escaped from Poland to Hungary and Rumania, received the particular attention of the Polish Government. Special attention was given by the Polish authorities abroad to the situation of those Jews of Polish citizenship who, after having escaped extermination in German occupied Polish territory, were expecting to be evacuated, in the first place, from countries menaced by the Germans.

The number of these unfortunate people, figuring within the Palestine emigration quota, established by the Jewish organisations, was, until lately, restricted. By the end of June 1944, the Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs requested us to take the necessary steps in order that the Jews of Polish citizenship in Rumania be issued an adequate number of emigration permits.

At the same time, through the intermediary of the Holy See and the Swiss and Swedish Governments, the Polish Government warned the Hungarian Government of the consequences that might result for Hungary from its participation in the criminal action directed against the Jewish population.

The urgent necessity of increasing the emigration quota for Jews of Polish citizenship who must be evacuated from Rumania (or from Hungary) is clearly seen from the following reasons:

1) They are more exposed to the danger of being persecuted than are the Jews of Rumania and Hungary by the simple reason that they are citizens of a country, which has not been recognized by the Germans and where the population, from the very beginning of the war, is being persecuted and massacred as

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as in no other country under German occupation.

2) They have left their country illegally and most of them have not established a legal domicile in Rumania and Hungary.

3) The Rumanian and Hungarian Governments (if one may well acknowledge them as such) are more willing to sacrifice a relatively small number of foreign Jews, under German pressure, than they are to treat the entire Jewish population of their countries in an indiscriminatory manner.

4) These unfortunate people who have already undergone so much mental and physical torture are certainly entitled to be granted priority over all other refugees, even in the case of those threatened as much as they are.

According to information received from the President of the Polish Committee in Bucharest, about 800 Polish citizens have arrived in Rumania between January 1 and July 1, 1944, among whom refugees of Jewish origin predominate.

It would be highly appreciated if the organizations, handling the evacuation of Jewish refugees from Rumania, were to include among their number a few Poles of non-jewish origin, by providing them with appropriate documents.

(Signed) Karol Staniszewski,
Polish Consul.

Istanbul,
July 29, 1944.

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29.

August 4, 1944

Memorandum for Mr. Katzki:

1. Please send me in the pouch today the original letter of Balabanoff to Simon and also the translation. This is important.

2. Re. Denenberg, please inform him that upon my return I will arrange for an appointment for him to meet the Apostolic Delegate. I am enclosing the lists and the names. I informed Packer that we had submitted the list which had been telegraphed to him and which ended our responsibility.

3. Mr. Packer is seeing the Turkish Foreign Office to arrange about the license for food when the boats arrive.

4. I found still further confusion regarding the status of the boats upon my arrival here, but now it seems that nothing is standing in the way of their departure, which should be imminent.

5. Attached is a paraphrase of telegram 664 for your information and files.

6.- Packer is working on the file for our "Bible".

I. A. Hirschmann

* Inform Denenberg that I am submitting 15 lists to Crettyaire.

7.- What do you suggest as the next steps re Kazim? You make no recommendations. Why did Schind misinform me on his (K's) "Concentration"? What is your impression as to the possibility of success in this venture?

8.- What are your recommendations re Krekas?

LEGATION OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Berne, July 7.1944

Agudas Jsroel World Organisation,

Lavaterstr.59
Zürich,

Sirs :

I have received your letter of the 26th of June concerning persons in Hungary whose names are on the lists of Palestine certificate holders and your desire that such persons be officially informed of this fact by the Suiss legation in Budapest.

In wiew of the tragic situation in Hungary and our desire to help in any way possible, we have taken this question up with the British legation, which alone is competent in matters relating to Palestine immigration. We have the assurance that our British colleagues will do all in their power to assist with this matter.

The telegram enclosed with your letter is returned to you herewith.

Very truly yours
Roswell d.McClelland
Special Assistant to
the American Minister.

7 0 0 4 8

June 9th, 1944

Editor, NEW YORK TIMES,
New York, N.Y.

When last March the War Refugee Board was created, President Roosevelt addressed a stirring appeal to the peoples of Europe and Asia to help the victims of Nazi and Japanese brutality. Lately a statement, signed by fifteen prominent Senators, has been broadcast by the OWI to the people of Hungary, as a sequel to the recent anti-Semitic measures taken by the new Hungarian Government. It would thus appear that, in spite of the President's appeal and his warning that "all who share the guilt shall share the punishment", and in spite of the efforts of the War Refugee Board, the plight of the Jews has become more desparate in certain European countries. The "peoples" to whom all the appeals are being addressed are themselves oppressed by Fascist governments; how much the Hungarian people could help the Jewish population already interned by the new government in ghettos and concentration camps can be surmised.

On the other hand it is to be expected that now, when the invasion has begun, all means of transportation on which the War Refugee Board counted will be unavailable. We know

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already that an agreement with the Rumanian Government could not be carried out because the Germans refused to clear a Turkish boat chartered for the first batch of Jewish refugees.

Under these circumstances, it may be advisable to examine what steps could be still taken to give protection to the Jews within Europe, or at least in the Axis satellite countries. The governments of those countries have, as a rule, yielded to the pressure of the Nazis or the local anti-Semites because they are convinced, notwithstanding the President's reference to the "leaders", that in the eventuality of Allied victory their explanation that they were actually prisoners of the Germans will be readily accepted. They obviously believe that the President's words do not apply to them personally, but only to those directly responsible for the acts. Otherwise, how could Horthy have stood for the recent anti-Semitic measures?

It seems to me that the only means of forcing these governments to take a risk and to resist the German pressure is to make them fear the Allies more than the Nazis. This ought to be easier now when Germany's ultimate defeat is obvious. A new warning addressed personally to the heads of the satellite states and all the members of their governments could specify that (1) it has been decided, for humanitarian reasons outranking any other consideration including that of sovereignty, to break all precedents in order to prevent that helpless

people should face annihilation not for what they have done, but for what they are; (2) the heads of the states and all the members of their governments will be tried, and capital punishment demanded, if from now on, while they are formally in power, any Jew dies because of direct or indirect measures taken by any authority in the respective country; and (3) no excuse or alibi will be accepted, and extradition from neutral countries of such chiefs of state or members of government will be demanded and obtained.

Such a warning would not only force the satellite governments to resist the German demands, but would provide them with a convincing arguments for the Nazis, as these can hardly pretend any more to be certain of victory and, on the other hand, they have no interest in replacing precious collaborators enjoying a certain local prestige with desperadoes bound to bring trouble, at a time when Hitler has his hands full. Another effect of the warning would be that the heads of the governments would lose their collaborators if the anti-Semitic measures were maintained.

If for military reasons certain arrangements, following the Italian pattern, with the Fascist heads of satellite states are being considered, the above warning would serve the double purpose of speeding them up and of extending to the Jews the only possible protection in the present circumstances. The best way of convincing Fascists and opportunists is to make oneself feared. Hitler has got the general idea.

CHARLES A. DAVILA, Former Rumanian Minister to U.

Letter of Miflaga Tzorfath

April 21, 1944

I write to you as head of the Miflaga family. I know you are worried because of our inactivity. I have often tried to bring together the vatikim of our family to make them understand that the interests of our family counts more than anything else. But how can I work if I am not able to assemble from time to time the elders who share part of the responsability?

We took certain decisions and ask for your help.

I The money you send should not come through one of our elder members but should be sent directly to us with the mention "For the Miflaga Family".

II We decided to edit a "Yegereth" and a "Nyar" in french for our young members. It will contain news of our family in Eretz and in Galouth as well as articles on the problems raised at Mapai in Eretz. Can you send over Bamifné, Davar books from Eretz and all the information concerning our family.

III For the Education of our youth please send us books of the mapai and Histadruth family.

IV We discussed the Ichud question with the friends of Yakan (Yerubavel). We came to the conclusion that we should unite and centralize our efforts. The union of these two families should be made first in Merkaz in Eretz. Give us your opinion on the important question.

Rapport on Nice

Very unsatisfactory situation. On Thursday of Easter week a convey (sic) of 120 people left. There is a convey of 60-70 Jews every Thursday. Jews are arrested in the streets, mass denunciations by white Russians specially.

The movement of "Zionist Youth" of Nice continues its social work. The principle of a common fund has been agreed on with M.K., representative of the Federation.

To defend ourselves against the new activities of the Gestapo:

a) We want to intensify evacuation; a new convoy of 12 people leaves on April 17.

b) Intensification of the offensive action of the "Jewish Resistance" which urgently needs reenforcement.

It is impossible to have a large "Yischaw" in Nice.