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1980
United States
Holocaust Memorial Council

United States Holocaust Memorial Council

July 25, 2991

Ms Carol Blymire
Research
New Executive Office Building
Room 111-1/2
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Carol:

As requested on July 24 by phone, enclosed are xerox copies of articles or excerpts from books related to the Babi Yar massacre, September 29-30, 1941. Also enclosed are xerox copies of the monument made from small photographs in our photo archives. Additionally, two books are enclosed: The Survivor of Babi Yar by Seiden, and Babi Yar: A Document in the Form of a Novel, by Kuznetsov.

The articles/excerpts are:

Hilberg: The Destruction of the European Jews, pp 296-8

Zentner & Beduerftig (ed): The Encyclopedia of the Third Reich, entry on "Babi Yar," pg 61; entry on "Einstazgruppen," pp 227-9

Snyder: Encyclopedia of the Third Reich, entry on "Babi Yar" that includes part of famous Yevtushenko poem

Encyclopaedia Judaica: entry on "Babi Yar," pp 28-29

Gutman (ed): Encyclopedia of the Holocaust, entry on "Babi Yar," pp 133-136; entry on "Blobel, Paul," pp 219-20

Arad, et al (eds): The Einsatzgruppen Reports, pp 171-4

Hillgruber: "War in the East and the Extermination of the Jews," in: Yad Vashem Studies, Vol XVIII

Lozowick: "Rollbahn Mord: The Early Activities of Einsatzgruppe C," in: Holocaust and Genocide Studies: An International Journal, Vol 2, No. 2, 1987

2000 L Street NW, Suite 588, Washington, D.C. 20036-4907, (202) 653-9220

Perl: The Holocaust Conspiracy: An International Policy of Genocide, Chapter 5, pp 105-118.

Eisenberg: Witness to the Holocaust, pp 276-279

Gilbert: The Second World War: A Complete History, pp237-239

Levin: The Holocaust: The Destruction of European Jewry, 1933-1945, pp 253-259; full Yevtushenoko poem

There are additional sources if these do not prove sufficient. Please let us know if there are specific people or ideas you want to focus upon.

The plaque at the Babi Yar monument is historically incorrect. Recently the Ukrainian government has stated its intent to correct it thus recognizing the Jewish victims. Miles Lerman, Chairman of the Council's International Relations Committee is deeply involved in this effort and would like to speak with the person who will be writing the President's remarks should he decide to go to Babi Yar.

609-691-7605

Sincerely,

Marian

Marian S. Craig
Director
Days of Remembrance

Enclosures

בס"ד

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Efraim Zuroff
Director
Paris
Shimon Samuels
European Director

September 20, 1991

Ms. Carol Blymire
Old Executive Office Guilding
Room 111½
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Carol:

Though you might be interested in the enclosed (see page 39). With best regards from me and Rabbi Cooper, I am,

Sincerely,

Avra Shapiro
Director of Communications

Document No. _____

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 7/30/91 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: ---

SUBJECT: PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☑	MCCLURE	☐	☑
SUNUNU	☐	☐	PETERSMEYER	☐	☐
SCOWCROFT	☐	☑	PORTER	☐	☑
DARMAN	☐	☑	ROGICH	☐	☑
BRADY	☐	☑	SMITH	☐	☑
BROMLEY	☐	☐	UNTERMEYER	☐	☐
CARD	☐	☑	ROGERS	☐	☑
DEMAREST	☐	☑	SNOW	☐	☑
FITZWATER	☐	☑	_____	☐	☐
GRAY	☐	☑	_____	☐	☐
HOLIDAY	☐	☑	_____	☐	☐

REMARKS:

The attached has been forwarded to the President.

RESPONSE:

PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President
and Staff Secretary
Ext. 2702

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 30, 1991

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TONY SNOW TS

SUBJECT: REMARKS AT BABI YAR

I. SUMMARY

On Thursday, August 1, at 5:15 p.m., you will visit the Holocaust Memorial at Babi Yar, and make brief remarks (6 minutes, on cards). You depart the Soviet Union immediately after this ceremony.

Snow/Blymire
Babi
Draft Two
July 30, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
AUGUST 2, 1991
(5:15 p.m.)

(Introductory acknowledgments.)

We come to Babi Yar to remember. We remember violence and valor; we remember prejudice and selflessness.

At Babi Yar, in the vast quiet here, something larger than life assails us: the shadows of past evil; the light of past virtue. The wind that shakes the leaves bears a special weight, as if whispering warnings and cautions; telling tales of victims and villains; cowards and heroes.

Babi Yar stands as a monument to many things. It reminds us that history gives our lives meaning and continuity, and that any nation that tries to repudiate history -- tries to ignore the actors and events that shaped it -- only repudiates itself.

For many years, the tragedy of Babi Yar went unacknowledged. That has changed. You soon will place a plaque on this site that acknowledges the genocide against the Jews, the slaughter of gypsies; the wanton murder of communists, Christians -- of anyone who dared question the Nazi madman's fantasies.

Babi Yar reminds us of the sheer stupidity of prejudice. Here we think about people of great promise and talent -- young men and women who would have become doctors or physicists;

athletes or artists; mothers, fathers. All died because a maniac in Berlin wanted to exterminate their kind.

The statue here testifies to an important truth. Just as bricks and stones shape great monuments, families shape nations. The love of parents, the trust of children, the blessings of life and learning -- these things give life meaning; they give society its character; they give nations a sense of destiny and purpose.

Here, at Babi Yar, Nazis set out to destroy families and faiths -- set out to destroy the soul of a nation.

Here, on September 29, 1941, soldiers forced men, women and children to undergo a ritual of humiliation and death. Victims stopped first to empty their pockets, and place their valuables in heaps on the ground. They moved forward to another place, where they had to remove their clothing, which Nazis folded in neat piles -- booty for the Fuehrer.

Then, the shivering Jews moved to the edge of the ravine, where marksmen murdered their prey, letting the bodies tumble into the long, deep pit. For 36 hours, rifle reports and shrill human cries shattered the calm. Nazis tried to drown out the horror by playing dance music over loudspeakers.

Despite this macabre ruse, the screams made their way into the hearts of townspeople -- and the pages of history.

When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit -- and many more people had committed suicide rather than undergoing the humiliating execution rite. Within 18 months, nearly 100,000 people perished here.

Miraculously, a few people managed to escape. Yelena Yefimovna Borodyansky-Knysh [ye-LAY-nuh ye-FEEM-uv-nuh bor-oh-DYAHN-skee KNISH] leaped into the pit with her young daughter, shielding the child with her body. In the dead silent night, the two worked their way through the piled-up corpses and slipped past some would-be executioners.

Naked, scared, mother and daughter wriggled through ravines, stumbled over roots, waded through a gamut of waving branches. Eventually they found freedom -- and lived to tell of Babi Yar.

Abraham Lincoln once said, "We cannot escape history." And Mikhail Gorbachev has promoted truth in history -- "not to settle political scores, or cause suffering, but to render due tribute to everything that was heroic in the past and to learn lessons from mistakes and miscalculations."

Today we stand at Babi Yar, and wrestle with awful truth. We marvel at the incredible extremes of human behavior. We make solemn vows.

We vow that this sort of murder will never happen again.

We vow never to let the forces of bigotry and hatred assert themselves without opposition.

We vow to ensure a future dedicated to freedom and individual liberty, rather than to mob violence and tyranny.

And we vow that whenever our devotion to principle wanes, we will think of this place. We will remember that evil flourishes when good men and women refuse to defend virtue.

Let me quote the poet Yevgenni Yevtushenko, whose poem about Babi Yar helped restore remembrance of this place, and of its history. He wrote:

"On Babi Yar weeds rustle; the tall trees
Like judges loom and threaten...
All screams in silence; I take off my cap
And feel that I am slowly turning gray.
And I too have become a soundless cry
Over the thousands that lie buried here.
I am each old man slaughtered, each child shot.
None of me will forget."

None of us will ever forget.

The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil. The Nazis fell when people opened their eyes / summoned their courage and faith / and fought for democracy, liberty, decency and justice.

This memorial proves that eventually, the forces of good and of truth will rise in triumph. No matter how bleak our lives may seem, this fact should comfort us. But it also should inspire us to spare future generations from the suffering, the evil, the unspeakable fate that claimed nearly 100,000 souls here -- at Babi Yar.

May God bless you.

# # # #

UK-Am

top 3 or 4 American cities w/ UK-Am

Balto.

Cleve.

Buff.

Snow/Blymire
Babi
Draft One
July 25, 1991

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: THE MONUMENT AT BABI YAR
AUGUST 2, 1991
(TIME)

Introductory acknowledgments.

We come to Babi Yar today to remember. We remember violence and valor; we remember prejudice and selflessness.

At Babi Yar, in the vast quiet here, something larger than life accosts: the shadows of past evil; the light of past virtue. The wind that shakes the leaves bears a special weight, as if it were whispering warnings and cautions; as if it were telling tales of victims and villains; heroes and cowards.

Babi Yar stands as a monument to many things. It reminds us that history gives our lives meaning and continuity, and that any nation that tries to repudiate history only repudiates itself. We cannot grow as nations and people if we do not first understand the actors and events that shaped us.

Babi Yar reminds us of the sheer ~~stupidity~~ ignorance? of prejudice. Here, people of great promise and talent -- ~~young~~ men and women who would have become doctors or physicists; athletes or artists; ~~young women who could have become professors or mayors~~; philosophers or poets; all died because a ~~crackpot~~ ~~lunatic~~ maniac? in Berlin wanted to exterminate their kind. Your society was poorer because these

men and women never had a chance to enrich their lives or yours; it was poorer because it had to deal with the stain of Babi Yar -- a tragedy that for many years went unacknowledged.

Fortunately, you will rectify that injustice soon, placing a plaque on this site that acknowledges the genocide against the Jews, the senseless slaughter of gypsies; the wanton murder of communists, Christians -- anyone who dared question the Nazi madman's fantasies.

what will plaque be devoted to?

The statue here reminds us that societies grow to greatness the same way monuments do: with small building blocks. Just as bricks and stones shape great structures, families shape nations. The love of parents, the trusting eagerness of children, the blessings of life and learning -- these things give life meaning; they give society its character; they give nations a sense of destiny and purpose.

Here, at Babi Yar, Nazis deliberately tried to destroy families and faiths. Yet despite their grim efficiency, they failed. Some families magically survived. Some lived to remember and tell.

survivors will say it's b/c God.

So we come to this place, where nearly 50 years ago, Nazis rounded up the Jews of Kiev and began a slaughter of unprecedented directness and brutality.

Here, on September 29, 1941, soldiers forced men, women and children to empty their pockets and place the contents in heaps on the ground. Then, the victims had to remove their clothing. As the Jews stood shivering, naked, in the cold, soldiers

scrambled and folded the clothing into neat piles -- to be carted off as booty for the fuehrer.

That done, marksmen murdered their prey, letting them tumble into a huge deep pit. For ~~36 hours~~ two days, rifle reports and ~~shrill~~ shot human ~~cries~~ shattered the ~~calm~~ quiet along the ravine at Babi Yar. Nazis tried to drown out the horror by playing dance music over ~~public~~ loud-speakers. Despite this macabre ruse, the screams made their way into the ears and minds and hearts of townspeople. When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit at Babi Yar. ~~Within the next 18 months, nearly 100,000 innocents perished here.~~ At the end of 2 years of occupation in Kiev, Ukraine had become a mass grave for more than 100,000. Many more committed suicide, rather than facing such a humiliating death.

Rabbi Cooper

At the same time, a few people managed to escape. Yelena Yefimovna Borodyansky-Knysh leaped into the pit with her young daughter, shielding her child with her body. As bloody day turned into a dead silent night, she managed to work her way through the piled up ~~bodies~~ bodies and slip into the woods beyond. Naked and scared, the two ~~managed~~ stumbled over roots, ~~waded through a gamut of waving branches.~~ crawled over the ravines until eventually they found freedom -- and like the few other survivors, lived to tell of Babi Yar.

She jumped in the pit around midnight.

lived in a basement & foraged food from trash cans.

While some in Kiev assisted the murders, others gave shelter to Jews, Gypsies, party members and other targets of the genocide. They gave shelter at the risk of death. They gave food and clothing at the risk of death. They gave the gift of

Start killing - 9/29/41

holo. began in 1938. axns were old axns.

of what happened at Babi Yar as a

life at a time when no one knew of a holocaust. -- no one knew because in many ways the holocaust really began at Babi Yar.

Abraham Lincoln once said, "We cannot escape history." Mikhail Gorbachev more recently observed that we need truthful historical documents "not to settle political scores, or cause suffering, but to render due tribute to everything that was heroic in the past and to learn lessons from mistakes and miscalculations."

Today we stand at Babi Yar, and marvel at past barbarity and heroism. History this stark and stirring inspires us to make solemn vows.

We vow that this sort of murder will never happen again. Never happen again.

We vow never to let the forces of bigotry and hatred assert themselves without opposition or qualification.

We vow to encourage virtue in ourselves and our neighbors; to encourage productivity and creativity in ourselves and our neighbors; to encourage friendship, cooperation and brotherhood in ourselves and our neighbors.

We vow to ensure a future dedicated to freedom and individual liberty, rather than to mob violence and tyranny.

And we vow that whenever our devotion to principle wanes, we will think of this place, of its haunting reminder of (what can happen when men and women surrender their senses to blind passions.)

→ the Jews were promised resettlement — that's why they went there.

In closing let me quote the poet ~~Yevgenni~~ Yevgeny Yevtushenko, whose poem about Babi Yar helped restore remembrance of this place, and of its history. He wrote:

"On Babi Yar weeds rustle; the tall trees
Like judges loom and threaten...
All screams in silence; I take off my cap
And feel that I am slowly turning gray.
And I too have become a soundless cry
Over the thousands that lie buried here.
I am each old man slaughtered, each child shot.
None of me will forget."

~~No, none of me will forget~~. None of us will ever forget. For Babi Yar has burned its own lessons into our hearts and souls -- and the silenced cries now inspire us not merely to avoid repeating this horror, but to build a world in which we cast aside prejudice and let people make the best of their own gifts, their own genius.

~~The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil, and tried to believe that it wasn't taking place. The Nazis fell, however, because good men and women eventually opened their eyes / summoned their courage and faith / and fought for democracy, liberty, decency and justice.~~

This grim, stirring memorial proves that eventually, the forces of good and of truth will triumph. No matter how bleak our lives may seem, this fact always should comfort us -- and also forge in our hearts a determination to fight for goodness now, to avoid having to suffer again through a horror like the one that befell nearly 100,000 people at this ravine -- at Babi Yar.

~~Thank you~~. May God bless you.

# # # #

Please use this number —
They are the most reliable.

VOLUME ONE

THE DESTRUCTION OF THE EUROPEAN JEWS

REVISED AND DEFINITIVE EDITION

RAUL HILBERG

HOLMES & MEIER NEW YORK LONDON

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1941, an incomplete total of 45,000 victims.[22] Einsatzgruppe C reported on November 3, 1941, that it had shot 75,000 Jews.[23] Einsatzgruppe D reported on December 12, 1941, the killing of 55,000 people.[24]

Although over a million Jews had fled and additional hundreds of thousands had been killed, it became apparent that many Jewish communities had hardly been touched. They had been bypassed in the hurried advance. To strike at these Jews while they were still stunned and helpless, a second wave of mobile killing units moved up quickly behind the Einsatzgruppen.

From Tilsit, in East Prussia, the local Gestapo sent a Kommando into Lithuania. These Gestapo men shot thousands of Jews on the other side of the Memel River.[25] In Kraków the *Befehlshaber der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD* (BdS) of the Generalgouvernement, SS-Oberführer Schöngarth, organized three small Kommandos. In the middle of July these Kommandos moved into the eastern Polish areas and, with headquarters in Lwów, Brest-Litovsk, and Białystok, respectively, killed tens of thousands of Jews.[26] In addition to the Tilsit Gestapo and the Generalgouvernement Kommandos, improvised killing units were thrown into action by the Higher SS and Police Leaders. In the newly occupied Soviet territories, Himmler had installed three of these regional commanders:[27]

HSSPf Nord (North):
OGruf. Prützmann (Jeckeln)

22. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 133 (60 copies), November 14, 1941, NO-2825.

23. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 128 (55 copies), November 3, 1941, NO-3157. In addition, the Einsatzgruppe had shot 5,000 non-Jews.

24. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 145 (65 copies), December 12, 1941, NO-2828.

25. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 19 (32 copies), July 11, 1941, NO-2934. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 26, July 18, 1941, NO-2941. The Stahlecker mentions that the Tilsit unit had killed 5,500 persons. Stahlecker Report to October 15, 1941, L-180.

26. Order by Commander, Rear Army Group Area South, Ic (signed von Roques), July 14, 1941, NOKW-2597. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 43 (47 copies), August 5, 1941, NO-2949. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 56 (48 copies), August 18, 1941, NO-2848. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 58, August 29, 1941, NO-2846. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 66, August 28, 1941, NO-2839. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 67, August 29, 1941, NO-2837. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 78 (48 copies), September 9, 1941, NO-2851. These reports, which do not cover all the operations of the three Kommandos, mention 17,887 victims.

27. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 129 (55 copies), November 4, 1941, NO-3159. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 141 (66 copies), December 3, 1941, NO-4425. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 149 (65 copies), December 22, 1941, NO-2833.

HSSPf Mitte (Center):
OGruf. von dem Bach-Zelewski
HSSPf Süd (South):
OGruf. Jeckeln (Prützmann)

Each Higher SS and Police Leader was in charge of a regiment of Order Police and some Waffen-SS units.[28] These forces helped out considerably.

In the northern sector the Higher SS and Police Leader (Prützmann), assisted by twenty-one men of Einsatzkommando 2 (Einsatzgruppe A), killed 10,600 people in Riga.[29] In the center the Order Police of Higher SS and Police Leader von dem Bach helped kill 2,278 Jews in Minsk[30] and 3,726 in Mogilev.[31] (The beneficiary of this cooperation was Einsatzgruppe B.) In the south Higher SS and Police Leader Jeckeln was especially active. When Einsatzkommando 4a (Einsatzgruppe C) moved into Kiev, two detachments of Order Police Regiment South helped kill over 33,000 Jews.[32] The role of the regiment in the Kiev massacre was so conspicuous that Einsatzkommando 4a felt obliged to report that, apart from the Kiev action, it had killed 14,000 Jews "without any outside help [*ohne jede fremde Hilfe erledigt*]."[33]

But Jeckeln did not confine himself to helping the Einsatzgruppen. His mobile killing units were responsible for some of the greatest massacres in the Ukraine. Thus when Feldmarschall Reichenau, commander of the Sixth Army, ordered the 1st SS Brigade to destroy remnants of the Soviet 124th Division, partisans, and "supporters of the Bolshevik system" in his rear, Jeckeln led the brigade on a three-day rampage, killing 73 Red Army men, 165 Communist party functionaries, and 1,658 Jews.[34] A few weeks later, the same brigade shot 300 Jewish men and 139 Jewish women in Starokonstantinov "as a

28. Report by Major Schmidt von Altenstadt, May 19, 1941, NOKW-486.

29. RSHA, IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 156, January 16, 1942, NO-3405. The action took place on November 30, 1941.

30. RSHA, IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 92, September 23, 1941, NO-3143. The army's Feldgendarmerie also participated in this action.

31. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 133 (60 copies), November 14, 1941, NO-2825.

32. RSHA, IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 101 (48 copies), October 2, 1941, NO-3137.

33. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 111 (50 copies), October 12, 1941, NO-3155. Einsatzkommando 4a had a total of 51,000 victims by that time.

34. OGruf. Jeckeln to 6th Army, copies to Himmler, Army Group Rear Area South (General von Roques), Commander of 6th Army Rear Area (Generalleutnant von Puttkammer), and Chief of Order Police Daluege, August 1, 1941, NOKW-1165.

reprisal measure for the uncooperative attitude of the Jews working for the Wehrmacht.[35]

Next Jeckeln struck at Kamenets-Podolsky, shooting there a total of 23,600 Jews.[36] Another action followed in Berdichev, where Jeckeln killed 1,303 Jews, "among them 875 Jewesses over twelve years of age."[37] In Dnepropetrovsk, where Jeckeln slaughtered 15,000 Jews, the local army command reported that to its regret it had not received prior notification of the action, with the result that its preparations to create a ghetto in the city, and its regulation (already issued) to exact a "contribution" from the Jews for the benefit of the municipality, had come to naught.[38] Yet another massacre took place in Rovno, where the toll was also 15,000.[39] In its report about Rovno, Einsatzgruppe C stated that, whereas the action had been organized by the Higher SS and Police Leader and had been carried out by the Order Police, a detachment of Einsatzkommando 5 had participated to a significant extent in the shooting *(an der Durchführung massgeblich beteiligt)*.[40]

Although the total number of Jews shot by the Higher SS and Police Leaders cannot be stated exactly, we know that the figure is high. Thus in the single month of August the Higher SS and Police Leader South alone killed 44,125 persons, "mostly Jews."[41]

The mobile killing strategy was an attempt to trap the Jews in a wave of Einsatzgruppen, immediately followed up by a support wave of Gestapo men from Tilsit, Einsatzkommandos from the Generalgouvernement, and formations of the Higher SS and Police Leaders. Together, these units killed about five hundred thousand Jews in five months. (The locations of the mobile killing units in July and November 1941 are shown on Maps 2 & 3.[42])

35. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 59 (48 copies), August 21, 1941, NO-2847. For other killings by the 1st SS Brigade, see its activity reports for July–September 1941, compiled by Europa Verlag, *Unsere Ehre heisst Treue* (Vienna-Frankfurt-Zurich, 1965).

36. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 80 (48 copies), September 11, 1941, NO-3154.

37. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 88 (48 copies), September 19, 1941, NO-3149.

38. Report by Feldkommandantur 240/VII for period of September 15, 1941, to October 15, 1941, Yad Vashem document 0-53/6. Sonderkommando 4a reported 10,000 killed in the city by Jeckeln on October 13, 1941. See RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 135 (60 copies), November 19, 1941, NO-2832.

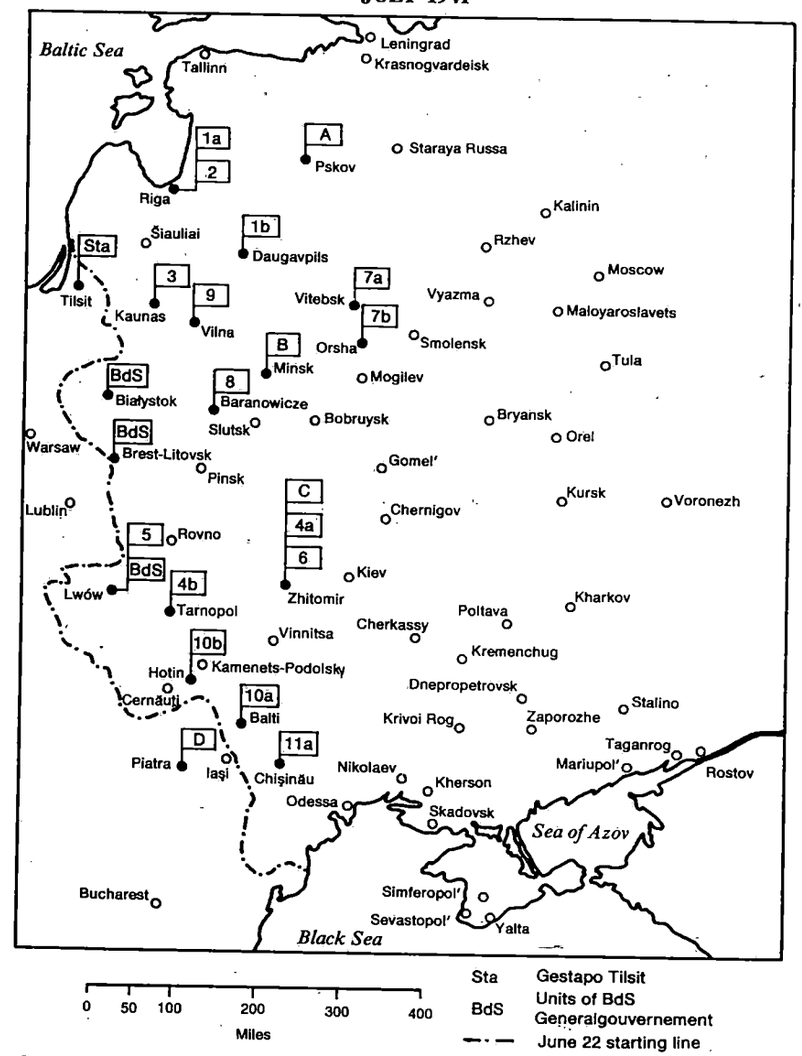
39. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 143 (65 copies), December 8, 1941, NO-2827. The action took place on November 7–8, 1941.

40. *Ibid.*

41. RSHA IV-A-1, Operational Report USSR No. 94 (48 copies), September 25, 1941, NO-3146.

42. Locations are cited in almost every RSHA IV-A-1 operational report.

MAP 2
POSITIONS OF THE MOBILE KILLING UNITS
JULY 1941



COOPERATION WITH THE MOBILE KILLING UNITS

Movement was the basic problem of the mobile killing units during the first sweep. Once the killing units had arrived at a desired spot, however, they had to deal with a host of problems. The success of the

ENCYCLOPEDIA of the HOLOCAUST

Israel Gutman, Editor in Chief

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Remembrance Authority
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route. On February 2, the survivors reached the GROSS-ROSEN camp, where they remained for five days before being moved to BUCHENWALD. Several dozen prisoners who tried to hide in Blechhammer during the evacuation were discovered and killed on the spot.

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SHMUEL KRAKOWSKI

The Blechhammer concentration camp.

BLITZKRIEG (lit., "lightning war"), theory of the conduct of war, developed by the German armed forces in World War II, aimed at winning complete victory in as short a time as possible, measured in days and weeks rather than months and years. The term was first used in connection with the German attack on Poland in 1939. In the blitzkrieg, tanks and armored and other motorized vehicles for transporting troops were concentrated, and massive attacks by dive-bombers and self-propelled artillery were directed at selected enemy front-line positions. Dive-bombers also attacked vital enemy localities in the rear. These actions were calculated to create psychological shock and resultant disorganization in the enemy forces and to prevent any concerted reaction by the enemy high command.

The tactics of blitzkrieg were evolved by the German general Heinz Guderian (who drew most of his ideas from the writings of the British military theorists Basil Henry Liddell Hart and John Frederick Charles Fuller). They consisted of a splitting thrust by armored columns on a narrow front and complete disruption of the main enemy position at the point of attack, followed by wide-sweeping encirclement movements of fast-moving armored spearheads, thus creating large caldrons of entrapped and immobilized enemy forces.

The blitzkrieg method was successfully applied by the German Wehrmacht in the campaigns against Poland, France, Denmark, Norway, Yugoslavia, and Greece. However, after initial successes in the attack on the Soviet Union (Operation "Barbarossa"), its failure there in late 1941 was the turning point of World War II and heralded the doom of the Third Reich. The British also used the term "blitz" for the German terror air attacks on British cities from September 1940 to May 1941.

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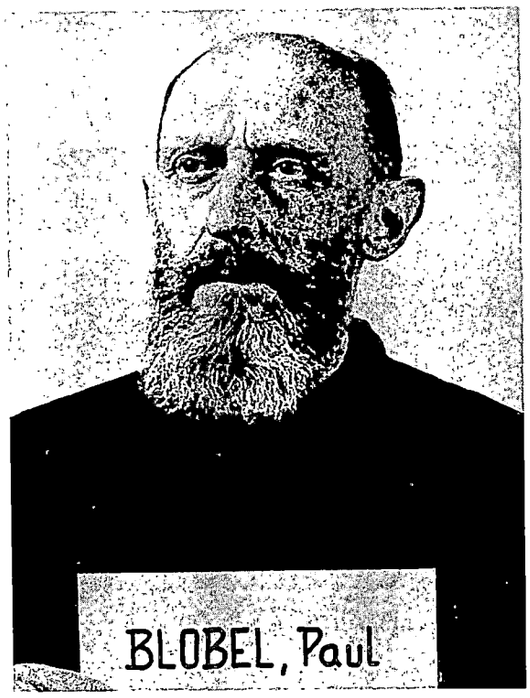
JEHUDA L. WALLACH

BLOBEL KOMMANDO. *See* Aktion 1005.

BLOBEL, PAUL (1894–1951), SS officer. Born into a Protestant family, Blobel attended a vocational school, where he learned construction and carpentry. In World War I he volunteered for the army and served in the engineering corps. After the war he resumed his studies, became an architect, and settled in Solingen. In the depression he lost his job and could not find any other employment. He



Paul Blobel, SS-*Standartenführer;* member of the SD; commanding officer of Einsatzgruppe C's Sonderkommando 4a. [National Archives]

joined the Nazi party in October 1931, and in January 1932 enlisted in the SS. In March 1933 he entered service with the Staatspolizei (Stapo) in Düsseldorf, and on June 1, 1934, he transferred to the SD (Sicherheitsdienst; Security Service) with the rank of *Untersturmführer* and was appointed SD officer for the Düsseldorf area. He advanced rapidly in the SS hierarchy and became a *Standartenführer* on January 30, 1941.

At the beginning of June 1942, Blobel was summoned to Pretzsch, a town on the Elbe northeast of Leipzig, where candidates for service in the EINSATZGRUPPEN were being assembled to be deployed in German-occupied territory in the Soviet Union. Blobel was appointed commanding officer of Sonderkommando 4a of Einsatzgruppe C, which was assigned to the Ukraine. At the head of this unit Blobel went from Sokal to Kiev by way of Volhynia, engaging in *Aktionen* along the route, in LUTSK, Dubno, ZHITOMIR, BERDICHEV, and other places. When Kiev fell, he entered the city and with his unit organized and carried out the murder of Kiev's Jews at BABI YAR, on September 29 and 30, 1941. His last *Aktion* in that area took place in KHARKOV, where his unit murdered 21,685 Jews in Drobitski Yar at the end of December 1941.

On January 13, 1942, Blobel was released from his post for reasons of health—he suffered from a liver ailment that was aggravated by his excessive drinking. When he recovered he was called to the REICHSSICHERHEITSHAUPTAMT (Reich Security Main Office; RSHA) and put in charge of AKTION 1005, an operation whose goal was to obliterate the traces of the mass murders committed by the Germans. Blobel established his headquarters in Łódź; his direct superior was the Gestapo chief, Heinrich MÜLLER, in Berlin.

Until the fall of 1943, the method Blobel used was to cremate the bodies on huge pyres. The first experiments to employ this method were carried out in CHEŁMNO. The permanent camps, such as AUSCHWITZ, were later equipped with crematoria. In the fall of 1943 Blobel set up special units, the Sonderkommandos 1005, for the specific task of disinterring and cremating the bodies from the mass graves in the German-occupied parts of the Soviet Union. These units were manned by Jewish and other prisoners who were killed when their work in a given place was done. Some of these prisoners, especially the Jews among them, succeeded in escaping, notably in Babi Yar, JANÓWSKA, the NINTH FORT in Kovno, PONARY, and Grabowka, near Białystok. At the end of October 1944, when their tasks were completed, the German personnel who had served in the Sonderkommandos 1005—men of the SD, Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police), and ORDNUNGSPOLIZEI (German regular police)—all joined Einsatzgruppe "Iltis," a new unit commanded by Blobel. It was posted to Carinthia, on the Austro-Yugoslav border, to take part in fighting against the Yugoslav PARTISANS.

Blobel was arrested after the war and was one of the principal defendants in The *Einsatzgruppen* Case (Trial 9) at the SUBSEQUENT NUREMBERG PROCEEDINGS. He was sentenced to death in 1948 and hanged at the Landsberg prison in Bavaria on June 8, 1951.

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SHMUEL SPECTOR

THE EINSATZGRUPPEN REPORTS

Selections from the Dispatches
of the Nazi Death Squads'
Campaign Against the Jews
July 1941 - January 1943

Edited by

Yitzhak Arad
Shmuel Krakowski
Shmuel Spector

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The Chief of the Security Police
and Security Service

Berlin,
October 5, 1941

48 copies
(36th copy)

Operational Situation Report USSR No. 104

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Einsatzkommando D
Location: Nikolayev

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The attitude of the [ethnic] Germans of Beresany toward the Jews, for instance, is mostly indifferent. In this matter it is characteristic that the ethnic Germans did not take any measures against the remaining Jews. After the German troops marched in, they declared that Jews were harmless and not dangerous.

. . . . . .

The Jews had little influence in the village councils. Only in some cases, like, for example, in Rohrbach,[1] where a Jew had been the chairman of a collective farm, he influenced the life in the village, [in particular] education. A Jewish activist was director of the Ukrainian school in Waterloo. In all the other settlements, Jews were merely grocers and tradesmen and had no political power. According to the information provided by the ethnic Germans, the Jews were informants of the NKVD.

1. The German invaders promoted a policy of German colonization by means of settling ethnic Germans in the Soviet Union. The (new) settlements were given German and non-Slavic names.

The Chief of the Security Police
and Security Service

Berlin,
October 7, 1941

48 copies
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Operational Situation Report USSR No. 106

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Einsatzgruppe B
Location: Smolensk

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Mood and general conduct of the population

. . . . . .

It can be observed that, just as before, the population in the area of our activities abstains from any self-defense action against the Jews. True, the population reports uniformly about the Jewish terror against them during Soviet rule. They also complain to the German offices about new attacks from the side of the Jews (like unauthorized return from the ghetto to their previous homes, or hostile remarks against the Germans made by the Jews). However, in spite of our energetic attempts, they are not ready for any action against the Jews. The decisive reason here seems to be the fear of Jewish revenge in case of a return of the Reds. Even very active elements who help us find Jewish Communists and members of the intelligentsia and show themselves very efficient in their cooperation prefer to remain invisible and anonymous in the decisive moments.

Reports on a stable, good mood in the population can be found only in those areas where economic life is somewhat normal, as, for instance, in the town Klintsy that has not been destroyed at all; also in Vitebsk.

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Einsatzgruppe C
Location: Kiev

I. Kiev

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As a result of [war] destruction, especially of houses, and the forced order to evacuate endangered streets, about 23,000 persons became homeless and were forced to spend the first days of the occupation in the open. They accepted this inconvenience quietly and did not cause panic.

Meanwhile, locked and empty apartments, insofar as they had not been burned and damaged, were put at the disposal of the population. A corresponding number of apartments have also become available through the liquidation, thus far around 36,000 Jews on September 29 and 30, 1941. The housing of the homeless is assured and has also been taken care of in the meantime.

The population of Kiev before the start of the war numbered around 850,000. For the time being, no exact indication concerning its national composition can be given. The number of Jews is said to have been about 300,000. The total number of ethnic Germans living in Kiev is presently being counted by a Kommando. The final results will be available in ten days. The temporary appointed city administration has begun immediately to register all the inhabitants of Kiev. As a first measure, all males aged 15-60 must report.

Except for a small part, the non-Jewish population, as far as can now be established, seems to welcome the German Army, or at least to display loyal behavior. During the first days of the occupation, serious unrest could be detected within the population because of rumors that the German Army was leaving the city. These rumors were successfully squelched with proper official announcements. The population cooperates very readily by furnishing information on explosives or secret membership in the NKVD, the Party and the Red Army. Unlike the first days, one could note that this information was 90% correct. The reason for this is that the city inhabitants are less frightened than is the rural population, since they do not fear the possibility of a return of the Bolsheviks. The supply situation in Kiev is extremely poor. There are no food stocks and these must be provided. A staff in charge of economic affairs was created by the appointed city

administration. Its main task was, for the time being, the supplying of the most vital food. This economic staff supplied the required transportation and, thus, the most urgent needs could be met by bringing in supplies from the nearby collective farms.

II. Executions and other measures

The population was extremely infuriated against the Jews because of their preferential economical status under Soviet rule. It could also be proved that the Jews had participated in arson. The population expected adequate reprisals from the Germans. For this purpose, in agreement with the city military command, all the Jews of Kiev were ordered to appear at a certain place on Monday, September 29, by 6 o'clock. This order was publicized by posters all over the town by members of the newly organized Ukrainian militia. At the same time, oral information was passed that all the Jews of Kiev would be moved to another place. In cooperation with the HQ of EGC and two Kommandos of the police regiment South, Sonderkommando 4a executed 33,771 Jews on September 29 and 30.[1] Gold and valuables, linen, and clothing were secured. Part of it was given to the NSV (National-Sozialistische Versorgung = Nazi Welfare) for the ethnic Germans, and part to the appointed city administration for distribution among the needy population. The action was carried out smoothly and no incidents occurred. The population agreed with the plan to move the Jews to another place. That they were actually liquidated has hardly been made known. However, according to the experience gained so far, this would not meet with any opposition. The army has also approved the measures taken. The Jews that have not yet been caught or who will return will be treated accordingly. At the same time, a number of NKVD men and commissars were arrested and finished off.

The Bandera members lost power with the arrests made by the Kommandos. Their activity was restricted to the distribution of leaflets and posters. Three arrests were made; more are pending.

The HQ of EGC as well as Sonderkommando 4a and Einsatzkommando 5, both stationed in Kiev, have made connections with the proper offices. Constant cooperation with these offices was achieved, and imminent problems are discussed daily. Because of the

1. This took place in the ravine of Babi Yar outside Kiev.

vast amounts of information, each time [with each action] detailed operation reports must be submitted about the activity of the Einsatzkommandos.

III. Zhitomir, actions against the Jews

The Militia headquarters, according to a suggestion of Sonderkommando 4a, arranged a temporary, local concentration of the Jews in Zhitomir. This resulted in a quieter atmosphere, for example, in the markets, etc. At the same time, obstinate rumors diminished and it seemed that together with the concentration of the Jews, the Communists, too, lost much ground. However, it became obvious after a few days that concentration of the Jews without building a ghetto did not suffice, and that the old difficulties emerged again after a short while. Complaints about the impertinence of the Jews in their various places of work stemmed from several quarters. It was noted that strong propaganda activity among the Ukrainians, claiming that the Red Army would return very soon into the areas that had been taken away from them, had their origin in the Jewish quarter. The local militia was shot at, at night, and even in daytime from an ambush. It was also established that Jews exchanged their belongings for money in order to move into the Western Ukraine where a civil administration already exists.

All these phenomena could be observed. However, it was possible to get hold of the involved Jews only in the rarest cases, as they had sufficient opportunities to evade arrest. Therefore, a conference was called together with military H.Q. on September 10, 1941. The resulting decision was the final and radical liquidation of the Jews of Zhitomir, since all the warnings [threats] and special measures [punishments] had not led to any perceptible change.

On September 19, 1941, from 4 o'clock [a.m.], the Jewish quarter was emptied after having been surrounded and closed the previous evening by 60 members of the Ukrainian militia. The transport [deportation] was accomplished in 12 trucks, part of which had been supplied by military headquarters and part by the city administration of Zhitomir. After the transport had been carried out and the necessary preparations made with the help of 150 prisoners, 3,145 Jews were registered and shot.

About 25-30 tons of linen, clothing, shoes, dishes, etc. that had been confiscated in the course of the action were handed over to the officials of the NSV in Zhitomir for distribution. Valuables and money were conveyed to the Sonderkommando 4a.

The Chief of the Security Police
and Security Service

Berlin,
October 8, 1941

50 copies
(36th copy)

Operational Situation Report USSR No. 107

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Einsatzgruppe B
Location: Smolensk

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Oral Bolshevik-oriented propaganda continues as before. It is obviously systematically carried out by enemy agents and partisans as well as by the Jewish population. Together with the continually growing rumors and, due to the lack of effective counter-propaganda, this oral propaganda has the effects desired by the Bolsheviks.

Einsatzgruppe D
Location: Nikolayev

A small Vorkommando had entered Kherson on August 20, 1941, together with the army, and reported that the town was free of enemies. Consequently, a Kommando consisting of two officers and 13 men was sent to Kherson on August 22, 1941, in order to accomplish the task of Sonderkommando 11a. After the first two days, initial steps were taken towards the solution of the Jewish question, the protection of the ethnic Germans, and the fight against Bolshevism. Then, a change occurred in the situation in this town of some 100,000 inhabitants. Artillery fire began on August 24, 1941, at about 15 o'clock, and lasted, with some interruptions, until September 6, 1941, reaching on some days extraordinary force. Because of that situation, a number of German officers left Kherson again.

VOLUME 29

Wilmot Proviso to Zygote

THE ENCYCLOPEDIA AMERICANA

INTERNATIONAL EDITION

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fracting telescope, completed in 1897, with an aperture of 40 inches and a focal length of 62 feet; this is the world's largest refractor. In addition, there are two reflecting telescopes with apertures of 24 inches, and a number of small instruments designed especially for photographic and spectroscopic studies of such atmospheric phenomena as the aurora borealis. Since 1932 the University of Chicago has cooperated with the University of Texas in the operation of the latter's McDonald Observatory at Fort Davis, Texas.

Observational programs conducted with the telescopes at the Yerkes Observatory and with the 36-inch and 82-inch reflecting telescopes at the McDonald Observatory make use of a variety of photographic, photometric, and spectroscopic techniques. These studies, largely astrophysical, include investigations of the physical properties of stars observed singly and in clusters, the structure of our galaxy, and the structure and dynamics of other galaxies. There are other programs for the observation of double stars, planets, comets, asteroids, and the aurora. The Yerkes Observatory is also a leading center for theoretical work in astrophysics.

PETER O. VANDERVOORT
The University of Chicago

YESHIVA UNIVERSITY, yə-shē'və, is a private liberal arts institution in New York City, combining the functions of the traditional Jewish yeshiva —for the study of the sources of Hebrew culture— and a modern university. It began in 1886 as the Yeshiva Eitz Chaim, a Jewish elementary school on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. The Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary was founded there 10 years later. In 1915 the two schools merged under the name of the seminary. Bernard Revel was the first president and held this office until his death in 1940. Under his leadership, in 1928, Yeshiva College was added —the first liberal arts college in America under Jewish auspices—and in 1929 the institution moved to its present main center in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan. Samuel Belkin was appointed president in 1943. The institution achieved university status in 1945. A milestone in its subsequent history was the opening (1955) of Albert Einstein College of Medicine, in the Bronx, the first such school under Jewish auspices in America.

The main center of the university includes the men's liberal arts college and teachers institute, the theological seminary, graduate schools of Jewish studies and of science, and a training institute for cantors. In midtown Manhattan are the women's liberal arts college and teachers institute. The graduate schools of social work and of humanities and social sciences are in downtown Manhattan.

The university confers bachelor's degrees in arts, science, religious education, and Hebrew literature, as well as master's and doctor's degrees in various academic and professional areas. It also fosters a secondary school system known as Yeshiva University High Schools, with two units for boys and two for girls. Special programs and services include a community service division; projects for the study and teaching of disadvantaged and mentally retarded youth; the Israel Institute, with courses stressing the relation between Israel and the American Jewish community; and a National Institute of Mental Health project developing mental health curriculums for rabbis.

YEVTUSHENKO, yef-tə-sheng'kō, **Yevgeni Aleksandrovich** (1933–), Russian poet, known for his nonconformist works attacking prejudices and abuses in Soviet society. He was born in Zima, USSR, on July 18, 1933. Shortly after his birth his family moved to Moscow, but during World War II he was evacuated to Zima, where he began to write before his return to Moscow in 1944. Yevtushenko's first poem was published in 1949, and his first volume of poetry, *The Prospectors of the Future,* appeared in 1952. He gained national recognition with his second book, *Third Snow* (1955), which was followed by a long autobiographical poem called *Zima Station* (1956).

The rebellious attitudes reflected in Yevtushenko's poetry, although they provoked attacks by more orthodox Soviet writers and critics, won him great popularity, and his poems were soon translated into many languages. The first English translation of Yevtushenko's works was published in 1962 as *Selected Poems.* It included *Babi Yar,* a bitter indictment of Soviet unconcern over the Nazi massacre of the Jews of Kiev.

In 1960, Yevtushenko began a series of trips abroad, visiting Africa, Europe, and the United States. In 1963 he published, in France, his *Precocious Autobiography.* Its somewhat unfavorable portrayal of conditions in the USSR prevented its publication there and led to an official rebuke by Premier Khrushchev. In 1965 the poet published *The Power Station of Bratsk,* a series of poems concerned with Russian history. *Stolen Apples,* a collection of poems with English adaptations by James Dickey, John Updike, and others, appeared in 1971. His first novel, *Wild Berries,* was published in English in 1984.

YEW, yōō, the common name for any of the species of *Taxus,* a genus of evergreen shrubs and trees, in the family Taxaceae. Although the leaves are needlelike, as in many conifers, and resemble some of the species of firs and hemlocks in their flattened two-ranked effect, the yews are not true conifers since their fruits (arils) are bright red and berrylike. Although usually dioecious (male and female flowers on separate plants), yews sometimes have both sexes on different branches of the same plant.

Yews are particularly valued for their horticultural possibilities. Varieties most often cultivated are from the Japanese yew (*T. cuspidata*) and the hardier English yew (*T. baccata*), the latter being more popular in the southern United States. The English yew is found from England to western Asia; the Japanese yew occurs in the Orient. Horticultural forms of these two, and hybrids, range from low compact shrubs to basket-shaped bushes with long spreading branches or tall, narrowly columnar forms (the latter called Irish yew). Yews are especially valued for hedges, since they stand clipping well and produce a dense, dark green growth. For the same reason they have been used in formal gardens, especially in England, for trimming or training in ornamental shapes. Because of their dark green color, long life, adaptability to various soils and degrees of moisture and shade, and their relative freedom from insects and disease, the yews are considered excellent garden subjects. There are also native American species, but these are not as often used horticulturally. In eastern North America there is *T. canadensis,* commonly called ground hemlock, a shrub with spreading branches; in the West, *T. brevifolia,* in most places a ratl sometimes reaching a height (the South, *T. floridana.*

The tough, resilient wood valued for bows wherever it w bows of the English were m possible, and the Scottish bota las (1798–1834), on an early tion in America, reported that Columbia River favored the yew for their bows. With the interest in archery, yew wood i purpose and is sometimes us paddles and in cabinetwork a ever, since the trees usually through forests of other type probably always be in limited

Yews have traditionally bee of long life and even immorta were not available on Palm Su yew was sometimes substituted and cemeteries usually had a ye them, and some of these trees age. Early poems on death freq "sad ewe." Yews are reputed t poisonous in all their parts, oft poisonous property (due to an taxine) was so well known th are part of the witches' brew in

BETTY V

YEZD, yězd, or **YAZD,** yäzd, to the administrative district of Y Ostan (Isfahan and Yezd), in t the country, about 410 miles sout it lies at an altitude of about 4,(valley bordered by high ranges ancient Iranian word for "Goo situated on a major highway lead to the extreme southeast of Iran of a railway that parallels the hig airport is adjacent.

Yezd is the agricultural cen which was formerly a separate The district is generally far fro mineral resources remain unexpl so scanty that all crops must be for this purpose is brought in un from the snow-capped ranges in recently, derived from the flo There are many orchards in the s ry, and cotton is also grown. H carpets, silk piece goods, and del been woven on family looms in

Yezd is dominated by the lo that flank the entrance to the o mosque. Hundreds of tall win direct the prevailing breezes int double minarets and have broug name of the "abode of devotion."

The site is a very ancient on Sasanian times (3d to 7th centuries the conversion of Iran to the M remained a stronghold of the faith. Its colony of some 9,000 earned as gardeners and irrig the largest in the country. Their to the elements within high-wall towers. Pop. (1976) 135,978.

DO

YEZIDIS, yěz'ə-dēz, or **YAZIDIS,** religious sect of Kurdish-speaking mainly in the Mosul area of Iraq

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The Holocaust:

The Fate of European Jewry, 1932-1945

LENI YAHIL

Translated from the Hebrew by Ina Friedman and Haya Galai

New York · Oxford
OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
1990

swiftly.[10] The units moved systematically from place to place, assembling the Jews, conveying them outside towns and villages, and murdering them beside antitank trenches or pits dug especially for this purpose. The victims were ordered to strip and to stand in groups by the pit where they were shot by automatic weapons, the dead and dying falling into the mass graves. Sometimes the victims were even forced to lie down in the pit in neat lines, head to toe alternately, and there they were executed row by row by what the SS called the sardine method. Finally, the pits were covered with earth. Rivers of blood flowed and the earth sometimes heaved and trembled for days afterward.

The Order Police (ORPO) took part in the operations under the command of the Higher SS and Police Leaders (HSSPF) and their local collaborators. But, to the surprise even of the SS, the army cooperated of its own volition, and in certain areas army units played a very active role in mass murder. According to the preliminary planning, the local population was expected to collaborate. At first this method proved successful, but the readiness of the local population did not reach the dimensions the Germans had anticipated. More successful was the activation of local auxiliary police units under German command. The first wave of murders came to an end around the beginning of winter, and it is estimated that by then more than seven hundred thousand Jews had been murdered in these actions: at least four hundred thousand of them in Soviet Russia, close to two hundred thousand in the Baltic states, and the remainder in the areas that had belonged to Poland before the war.[11]

For propaganda purposes the Germans constantly claimed that the Jews were the main organizers of the partisan movement and hence must be exterminated, an argument that was first broached by Hitler at the planning session of July 16, 1941. Stalin had just called for partisan activity behind the enemy lines, and Hitler welcomed this statement as providing him with a pretext for German terror in the occupied areas (see chap. 9). In fact, at this time the partisan movement was tiny and unorganized and did not constitute a real threat to the German army. The claim that it was being run by the Jews was certainly baseless. In many cases the mass murders were described as retaliation for the killing of German soldiers supposedly carried out by Jews, the ratio being 1:100.

The commanding officer of Einsatzgruppe A, Franz W. Stahlecker, sent a detailed report on January 31, 1942, about activities in the Baltic countries and White Russia, covering the period from July 23 to October 15, 1941. According to this report the overall number murdered was 135,567. Among them, the known numbers of Jews killed are 80,311 in Lithuania, 30,025 in Latvia, 474 in Estonia, and 7,620 in White Russia; to this should be added 5,500 Jews killed in pogroms and 5,502 killed in the Tilsit (Sovetsk) sector and near the border with East Prussia. There were undoubtedly also an unknown number of Jews among the 3,387 "communists" and 748 mental patients mentioned in the report.[12]

According to a report submitted by Einsatzgruppe B, 45,467 were killed up to mid-November 1941, within its area of operation, that is, White Russia.[13] Owing to the slower advance of the army in the south, operations began there later. According to a report dated November 3, 1941, there were 80,000 Jews killed in the Ukraine, a large proportion of them (namely 34,000) in Kiev. The Kiev Oper-

ation—the Babi Yar slaughter—was one of
all. The Einsatzgruppen units reached the
1941. At this time, Russian sappers set off tw
ing the German headquarters and a large p
were left homeless. In retaliation, the Germa
of the Jews and called on them to assembl
30,000 Jews who assembled were taken to
course of two days. According to the Germ
It also emphasizes that "thanks to the outs
Jews believed up to the last moment that
homes. The local population—it is further
gratified by it. Only *post factum* did the tr
having solved the housing problem by ev
ments—that is, by exterminating approxir
man occupation, 175,000 Jews had lived i
for only part of the Jewish community, wh
and refugees. A large percentage of these J
Germans arrived. Most of the victims were
dren who had been left behind.[15]

The Soviet evacuation of the Ukrair
including Jews, were evacuated with their
from Einsatzgruppe D, dated November 1
in Dnepropetrovsk, 70,000 fled before the
1,000 were shot on the spot.[16]

Sometimes, economic considerations v
on December 2, 1941, by the representati
ment of the Supreme Command (OK
Thomas, who headed the department. Th
mainly urban, the report explained, and
of the population of a town. These Jews
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ation—the Babi Yar slaughter—was one of the bloodiest and most notorious of all. The Einsatzgruppen units reached the city between September 19 and 25, 1941. At this time, Russian sappers set off two explosions, the second one destroying the German headquarters and a large part of the city center; 25,000 people were left homeless. In retaliation, the German authorities demanded resettlement of the Jews and called on them to assemble on September 29 for transfer. The 30,000 Jews who assembled were taken to the forest and slaughtered over the course of two days. According to the German report, "there were no incidents." It also emphasizes that "thanks to the outstandingly efficient organization," the Jews believed up to the last moment that they were being taken to their new homes. The local population—it is further reported—believed the story and were gratified by it. Only *post factum* did the truth emerge. The Germans boasted of having solved the housing problem by evacuating a suitable number of apartments—that is, by exterminating approximately 35,000 Jews.[14] Before the German occupation, 175,000 Jews had lived in the city; thus the victims accounted for only part of the Jewish community, which had comprised both local residents and refugees. A large percentage of these Jews had made their escape before the Germans arrived. Most of the victims were the old, the sick, and women and children who had been left behind.[15]

The Soviet evacuation of the Ukraine was more organized and workers, including Jews, were evacuated with their factories. Thus, for example, a report from Einsatzgruppe D, dated November 19, 1941, states that of the 100,000 Jews in Dnepropetrovsk, 70,000 fled before the Germans arrived; of those remaining, 1,000 were shot on the spot.[16]

Sometimes, economic considerations were brought up, as witness a report sent on December 2, 1941, by the representative of the Industrial Armaments Department of the Supreme Command (OKW) in the Ukraine to General Georg Thomas, who headed the department. The Jewish population of the Ukraine was mainly urban, the report explained, and often constituted more than 50 percent of the population of a town. These Jews "carried out almost all the work in the skilled trades, and even provided part of the labor for small- and medium-sized industries." The murder operations in the Ukraine were vaster in scope than anywhere else in the Soviet Union, but as the report states, "no consideration was given to the interests of the economy."[17]

Marshal Walther von Reichenau, supreme commander of the Sixth Army in the southern army corps, was one of the high-ranking officers who wholeheartedly supported National Socialism and Hitler personally. On October 10, 1941, he issued an order in which he noted that vague concepts were still rife as to how soldiers were to conduct themselves. "The main objective of this campaign against the Jewish-Bolshevik system is to totally destroy the potential for power and to extirpate Asiatic influence on European cultural life." He went on to explain that consequently German soldiers were faced with tasks above and beyond the conventional framework of conduct of warfare, "The soldier must fully understand the need for severe but just atonement of the Jewish subhumans." There follows the customary agrument that all partisan activities behind the front were organized by the Jews, and the soldiers were exhorted to refrain from treating the par-

Remarks at a Commemorative Ceremony at Bergen-Belsen Concentration Camp in the Federal Republic of Germany

May 5, 1985

Chancellor Kohl and honored guests, this painful walk into the past has done much more than remind us of the war that consumed the European Continent. What we have seen makes unforgettably clear that no one of the rest of us can fully understand the enormity of the feelings carried by the victims of these camps. The survivors carry a memory beyond anything that we can comprehend. The awful evil started by one man, an evil that victimized all the world with its destruction, was uniquely destructive of the millions forced into the grim abyss of these camps.

Here lie people—Jews—whose death was inflicted for no reason other than their very existence. Their pain was borne only because of who they were and because of the God in their prayers. Alongside them lay many Christians—Catholics and Protestants.

For year after year, until that man and his evil were destroyed, hell yawned forth its awful contents. People were brought here for no other purpose but to suffer and die—to go unfed when hungry, uncared for when sick, tortured when the whim struck, and left to have misery consume them when all there was around them was misery.

I'm sure we all share similar first thoughts, and that is: What of the youngsters who died at this dark stalag? All was gone for them forever—not to feel again the warmth of life's sunshine and promise, not the laughter and the splendid ache of growing up, nor the consoling embrace of a family. Try to think of being young and never having a day without searing emotional and physical pain—desolate, unrelieved pain.

Today, we've been grimly reminded why the commandant of this camp was named "the Beast of Belsen." Above all, we're struck by the horror of it all—the monstrous, incomprehensible horror. And that's what we've seen but is what we can never understand as the victims did. Nor with all our compassion can we feel what the survivors feel to this day and what they will feel as long as they live. What we've felt and are expressing with words cannot convey the suffering that they endured. That is why history will forever brand what happened as the Holocaust.

Here, death ruled, but we've learned something as well. Because of what happened, we found that death cannot rule forever, and that's why we're here today. We're here because humanity refuses to accept that freedom of the spirit of man can ever be extinguished. We're here to commemorate that life triumphed over the tragedy and the death of the Holocaust—overcame the suffering, the sickness, the testing and, yes, the gassings. We're here today to confirm that the horror cannot outlast hope, and that even from the worst of all things, the best may come forth. Therefore, even out of this overwhelming sadness, there must be some purpose, and there is. It comes to us through the transforming love of God.

We learn from the Talmud that: "It was only through suffering that the children of Israel obtained three priceless and coveted gifts: The Torah, the Land of Israel, and the World to Come." Yes, out of this sickness—as crushing and cruel as it was—there was hope for the world as well as for the world to come. Out of the ashes—hope, and from all the pain—promise.

So much of this is symbolized today by the fact that most of the leadership of free Germany is represented here today. Chancellor Kohl, you and your countrymen have made real the renewal that had to happen. Your nation and the German people have been strong and resolute in your willingness to confront and condemn the acts of a hated regime of the past. This reflects the courage of your people and their devotion to freedom and justice since the war. Think how far we've come from that time when despair made these tragic victims wonder if anything could survive.

As we flew here from Hanover, low over

the greening farms and the emerging springtime of the lovely German countryside, I reflected, and there must have been a time when the prisoners at Bergen-Belsen and those of every other camp must have felt the springtime was gone forever from their lives. Surely we can understand that when we see what is around us—all these children of God under bleak and lifeless mounds, the plainness of which does not even hint at the unspeakable acts that created them. Here they lie, never to hope, never to pray, never to love, never to heal, never to laugh, never to cry.

And too many of them knew that this was their fate, but that was not the end. Through it all was their faith and a spirit that moved their faith.

Nothing illustrates this better than the story of a young girl who died here at Bergen-Belsen. For more than 2 years Anne Frank and her family had hidden from the Nazis in a confined annex in Holland where she kept a remarkably profound diary. Betrayed by an informant, Anne and her family were sent by freight car first to Auschwitz and finally here to Bergen-Belsen.

Just 3 weeks before her capture, young Anne wrote these words: "It's really a wonder that I haven't dropped all my ideals because they seem so absurd and impossible to carry out. Yet I keep them because in spite of everything I still believe that people are good at heart. I simply can't build up my hopes on a foundation consisting of confusion, misery, and death. I see the world gradually being turned into a wilderness. I hear the ever approaching thunder which will destroy us too; I can feel the suffering of millions and yet, if I looked up into the heavens I think that it will all come right, that this cruelty too will end and that peace and tranquility will return again." Eight months later, this sparkling young life ended here at Bergen-Belsen. Somewhere here lies Anne Frank.

Everywhere here are memories—pulling us, touching us, making us understand that they can never be erased. Such memories take us where God intended His children to go—toward learning, toward healing, and, above all, toward redemption. They beckon us through the endless stretches of our heart to the knowing commitment that the life of each individual can change the world and make it better.

We're all witnesses; we share the glistening hope that rests in every human soul. Hope leads us, if we're prepared to trust it, toward what our President Lincoln called the better angels of our nature. And then, rising above all this cruelty, out of this tragic and nightmarish time, beyond the anguish, the pain and the suffering for all time, we can and must pledge: Never again.

Note: The President spoke at 12:10 p.m. after laying a wreath at a camp memorial. Following his remarks, the President and Chancellor Kohl traveled to Bitburg.

Remarks at a Joint German-American Military Ceremony at Bitburg Air Base in the Federal Republic of Germany

May 5, 1985

Thank you very much. I have just come from the cemetery where German war dead lay at rest. No one could visit there without deep and conflicting emotions. I felt great sadness that history could be filled with such waste, destruction, and evil, but my heart was also lifted by the knowledge that from the ashes has come hope and that from the terrors of the past we have built 40 years of peace, freedom, and reconciliation among our nations.

This visit has stirred many emotions in the American and German people, too. I've received many letters since first deciding to come to Bitburg cemetery; some supportive, others deeply concerned and questioning, and others opposed. Some old wounds have been reopened, and this I regret very

much because this should be a time of healing.

To the veterans and families of American servicemen who still carry the scars and feel the painful losses of that war, our gesture of reconciliation with the German people today in no way minimizes our love and honor for those who fought and died for our country. They gave their lives to rescue freedom in its darkest hour. The alliance of democratic nations that guards the freedom of millions in Europe and America today stands as living testimony that their noble sacrifice was not in vain.

No, their sacrifice was not in vain. I have to tell you that nothing will ever fill me with greater hope than the sight of two former war heroes who met today at the Bitburg ceremony; each among the bravest of the brave; each an enemy of the other 40 years ago; each a witness to the horrors of war. But today they came together, American and German, General Matthew B. Ridgway and General Johanner Steinhoff, reconciled and united for freedom. They reached over the graves to one another like brothers and grasped their hands in peace.

To the survivors of the Holocaust: Your terrible suffering has made you ever vigilant against evil. Many of your are worried that reconciliation means forgetting. Well, I promise you, we will never forget. I have just come this morning from Bergen-Belsen, where the horror of that terrible crime, the Holocaust, was forever burned upon my memory. No, we will never forget, and we say with the victims of that Holocaust: Never again.

The war against one man's totalitarian dictatorship was not like other wars. The evil war of nazism turned all values upside down. Nevertheless, we can mourn the German war dead today as human beings crushed by a vicious ideology.

There are over 2,000 buried in Bitburg cemetery. Among them are 48 members of the SS—the crimes of the SS must rank among the most heinous in human history—but others buried there were simply soldiers in the German Army. How many were fanatical followers of a dictator and willfully carried out his cruel orders? And how many were conscripts, forced into service during the death throes of the Nazi war machine? We do not know. Many, however, we know from the dates on their tombstones, were only teenagers at the time. There is one boy buried there who died a week before his 16th birthday.

There were thousands of such soldiers to whom nazism meant no more than a brutal end to a short life. We do not believe in collective guilt. Only God can look into the human heart, and all these men have now met their supreme judge, and they have been judged by Him as we shall all be judged.

Our duty today is to mourn the human wreckage of totalitarianism, and today in Bitburg cemetery we commemorated the potential good in humanity that was consumed back then, 40 years ago. Perhaps if that 15-year-old soldier had lived, he would have joined his fellow countrymen in building this new democratic Federal Republic of Germany, devoted to human dignity and the defense of freedom that we celebrate today. Or perhaps his children or his grandchildren might be among you here today at the Bitburg Air Base, where new generations of Germans and Americans join together in friendship and common cause, dedicating their lives to preserving peace and guarding the security of the free world.

Too often in the past each war only planted the seeds of the next. We celebrate today the reconciliation between our two nations that has liberated us from that cycle of destruction. Look at what together we've accomplished. We who were enemies are now friends; we who were bitter adversaries are now the strongest of allies.

In the place of fear we've sown trust, and out of the ruins of war has blossomed an enduring peace. Tens of thousands of Americans have served in this town over the years. As the mayor of Bitburg has said, in that time there have been some 6,000 marriages between Germans and Americans, and many thousands of children have come from these unions. This is the real symbol of our future together, a future to be filled with hope, friendship, and freedom.

The hope that we see now could sometimes even be glimpsed in the darkest days of the war. I'm thinking of one special story—that of a mother and her young son

living alone in a modest cottage in the middle of the woods. And one night as the Battle of the Bulge exploded not far away, and around them, three young American soldiers arrived at their door—they were standing there in the snow, lost behind enemy lines. All were frostbitten; one was badly wounded. Even though sheltering the enemy was punishable by death, she took them in and made them a supper with some of her last food. Then, they heard another knock at the door. And this time four German soldiers stood there. The woman was afraid, but she quickly said with a firm voice, "There will be no shooting here." She made all the soldiers lay down their weapons, and they all joined in the makeshift meal. Heinz and Willi, it turned out, were only 16; the corporal was the oldest at 23. Their natural suspicion dissolved in the warmth and the comfort of the cottage. One of the Germans, a former medical student, tended the wounded American.

But now, listen to the rest of the story through the eyes of one who was there, now a grown man, but that young lad that had been her son. He said: "The Mother said grace. I noticed that there were tears in her eyes as she said the old, familiar words, 'Komm, Herr Jesus. Be our guest.' And as I looked around the table, I saw tears, too, in the eyes of the battle-weary soldiers, boys again, some from America, some from Germany, all far from home."

That night—as the storm of war tossed the world—they had their own private armistice. And the next morning, the German corporal showed the Americans how to get back behind their own lines. And they all shook hands and went their separate ways. That happened to be Christmas Day, 40 years ago.

Those boys reconciled briefly in the midst of war. Surely we allies in peacetime should honor the reconciliation of the last 40 years.

To the people of Bitburg, our hosts and the hosts of our servicemen, like that generous woman 40 years ago, you make us feel very welcome. *Vielen dank.* [Many thanks.]

And to the men and women of Bitburg Air Base, I just want to say that we know that even with such wonderful hosts, your job is not an easy one. You serve around the clock far from home, always ready to defend freedom. We're grateful, and we're very proud of you.

Four decades ago we waged a great war to lift the darkness of evil from the world, to let men and women in this country and in every country live in the sunshine of liberty. Our victory was great, and the Federal Republic, Italy, and Japan are now in the community of free nations. But the struggle for freedom is not complete, for today much of the world is still cast in totalitarian darkness.

Twenty-two years ago President John F. Kennedy went to the Berlin Wall and proclaimed that he, too, was a Berliner. Well, today freedom-loving people around the world must say: I am a Berliner. I am a Jew in a world still threatened by anti-Semitism. I am an Afghan, and I am a prisoner of the Gulag. I am a refugee in a crowded boat foundering off the coast of Vietnam. I am a Laotian, a Cambodian, a Cuban, and a Miskito Indian in Nicaragua. I, too, am a potential victim of totalitarianism.

The one lesson of World War II, the one lesson of nazism, is that freedom must always be stronger than totalitarianism and that good must always be stronger than evil. The moral measure of our two nations will be found in the resolve we show to preserve liberty, to protect life, and to honor and cherish all God's children.

That is why the free, democratic Federal Republic of Germany is such a profound and hopeful testament to the human spirit. We cannot undo the crimes and wars of yesterday nor call back the millions back to life, but we can give meaning to the past by learning its lessons and making a better future. We can let our pain drive us to greater efforts to heal humanity's suffering.

Today I've traveled 220 miles from Bergen-Belsen, and, I feel, 40 years in time. With the lessons of the past firmly in our minds, we've turned a new, brighter page in history.

One of the many who wrote me about this visit was a young woman who had recently been bas mitzvahed. She urged me to lay the wreath at Bitburg cemetery in honor of the future of Germany. And that is what we've done.

On this 40th anniversary of World War II, we mark the day when the hate, the evil, and the obscenities ended, and we commemorate the rekindling of the democratic spirit in Germany.

There's much to make us hopeful on this historic anniversary. One of the symbols of that hate—that could have been that hope, a little while ago, when we heard a German band playing the American National Anthem and an American band playing the German National Anthem. While much of the world still huddles in the darkness of oppression, we can see a new dawn of freedom sweeping the globe. And we can see in the new democracies of Latin America, in the new economic freedoms and prosperity in Asia, in the slow movement toward peace in the Middle East, and in the strengthening alliance of democratic nations in Europe and America that the light from that dawn is growing stronger.

Together, let us gather in that light and walk out of the shadow. Let us live in peace.

Thank you, and God bless you all.

Note: The President spoke at 3:33 p.m. after laying a wreath in a nearby military cemetery in Bitburg. He was accompanied by Chancellor Kohl. Following the ceremony, the President returned to Schloss Gymnich in Bonn, where he stayed during his visit to Germany.

Toast at the State Dinner in Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany
May 5, 1985

President and Mrs. von Weizsäcker, Chancellor and Mrs. Kohl, honored guests, Nancy and I want to thank you for your warm and gracious hospitality. Our visit to the Federal Republic of Germany has been a wonderful and enriching experience. Today was especially moving. We cannot fully understand the long road we've all traveled since 1945 unless we remember the beginnings. By standing before mass graves at a spot such as Bergen-Belsen, we could begin—but only begin—to feel the suffering of so many innocent people and to sense the horror which confronted our leaders 40 years ago. And by joining Chancellor Kohl in Bitburg, we could better understand the price paid by the German people for the crimes of the Third Reich.

Today, as 40 years ago, the thought uppermost in our minds must remain: Never again. You, Mr. President, embody the values which we're working to protect today. Your distinguished career in business and politics, your engagement in church affairs, are exemplary. Over the years, Americans have been especially moved by our ability to articulate the soul of the German nation. You have been eloquent in your message of sorrow over Germany's historic burdens. You've been inspiring in your offer of hope. I remember so vividly my visit to the great city of Berlin in 1982. Your achievement in restoring confidence and hope to democracy's city was a service to the entire West.

The camaraderie of this evening, the good will that we've enjoyed, reflect the deep and abiding friendship between our two peoples, an affection that overcame the bitterness of war. The passage penned by Schiller in "Wilhelm Tell" says, "What's old collapses, times change and new life blossoms in the ruins." Forty years ago, our friendship blossomed in the ruins. Today the bond between us is a powerful force for good, improving the material well-being of our peoples, helping keep us at peace, and protecting our freedom. In this year, studded with anniversaries, let us remember to celebrate the beginning of friendship as well as the end of war.

You, Mr. President, and Chancellor Kohl have been among the most thoughtful spokesmen for the spirit of the Federal Republic. Through you we've experienced the warmth and depth of German-American solidarity. By working together as friends and allies we have accomplished more than

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THE HOLOCAUST

A History of the Jews of Europe during the Second World War

MARTIN GILBERT

HOLT, RINEHART AND WINSTON
NEW YORK

father. Later he had heard the chief executioner, the Lithuanian Ostrovakas, singing with his fellow executioners as they drank to their successful work.

Just beyond the Jewish cemetery were a number of Christian homes. Michalowski knew them all. Naked, covered with blood, he knocked on the first door. The door opened. A peasant, he later recalled, was holding a lamp which he had looted earlier in the day from a Jewish home. 'Please let me in,' Zvi pleaded. The peasant lifted the lamp and examined the boy closely. 'Jew, go back to the grave where you belong!' he shouted at Zvi and slammed the door in his face. Zvi knocked on other doors, but the response was the same.

Near the forest lived a widow whom Michalowski also knew. He decided to knock on her door. The old widow opened the door. She was holding in her hand a small, burning piece of wood. 'Let me in!' begged Michalowski. 'Jew, go back to the grave at the old cemetery!' She chased him away with the burning piece of wood as if exorcising an evil spirit.

Michalowski, desperate for shelter, returned. 'I am your Lord, Jesus Christ,' he said. 'I came down from the cross. Look at me – the blood, the pain, the suffering of the innocent. Let me in.' The widow crossed herself and fell at his bloodstained feet. 'Boze moj, Boze moj,' 'My God, my God,' she kept crossing herself and praying. The door was opened.

Michalowski walked in. He promised the widow that he would bless her children, her farm, and her, but only if she would keep his visit a secret for three days and three nights and not reveal it to a living soul, not even the priest. She gave Michalowski food and clothing and warm water to wash himself. Before leaving the house three days later, he once more reminded her that the Lord's visit must remain a secret, because of His special mission on earth.

Dressed in a farmer's clothing, with a supply of food for a few days, the young man made his way to the nearby forest. He was to survive the war in hiding, and as a partisan.[54]

Since the German occupation of Kiev on September 19, the Jews had waited, uncertain of their fate, noting, as the sixteen-year-old Konstantin Miroshnik later recalled, the 'joyful faces' of some of the

Ukrainians who stood watching the German troops arrive. On the second day of the occupation, Ukrainian policemen appeared on the streets, wearing armbands announcing that they belonged to the 'Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists'. For nine days the Jews were unmolested. But both they and the Ukrainians had a sense that all was not well. Miroshnik later recalled how one of their Ukrainian neighbours said to his grandfather, 'Well, Leib, your Jewish power has come to an end, the new order will begin now, so keep in mind, you'll be reckoned with. . . .'[55]

On September 21, as Golda Glozman was told by one of her Jewish neighbours, her father Shlomo Glozman, one of the Jewish community leaders in Kiev, was murdered. As she later learned from neighbours:

> . . . the Nazis put him and nine other most honourable old Jews in a lorry, forced them to put on their prayer vestments, and drove them through the town until dinner-time. They repeated this procedure several days in succession. The people in the streets were laughing. On one of these days Nazis came to their house after the dinner and drove him in the direction of Konstantinovskaya Street. There, nearby the cinema, 'Udarnik', he was beaten badly and only just managed to reach his house afterwards. However, on the next day he was forced again, together with others, to stand on the 'chariot of disgrace'.

A few days later Shlomo Glozman left his house in order to visit his son. As he crossed Kiev, a drunken SS man attacked him in the street and beat him to death.[56]

At Kiev, on September 27 and 28, posters throughout the city demanded the assembly of Jews for 'resettlement'. More than thirty thousand reported. Because of 'our special talent of organisation', the commander of the Einsatzkommando reported two days later, 'the Jews still believed to the very last moment before being executed that indeed all that was happening was that they were being resettled.'[57]

The Jews of Kiev were brought to Babi Yar, a ravine just outside the city. There, they were shot down by machine-gun fire. Immediately after the war, a non-Jew, the watchman at the old Jewish cemetery, near Babi Yar, recalled how Ukrainian policemen:

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> . . . formed a corridor and drove the panic-stricken people towards the huge glade, where sticks, swearings, and dogs, who were tearing the people's bodies, forced the people to undress, to form columns in hundreds, and then to go in the columns in twos towards the mouth of the ravine.

At the mouth of the ravine, the watchman recalled:

> . . . they found themselves on the narrow ground above the precipice, twenty to twenty-five metres in height, and on the opposite side there were the Germans' machine guns. The killed, wounded and half-alive people fell down and were smashed there. Then the next hundred were brought, and everything repeated again. The policemen took the children by the legs and threw them alive down into the Yar.

That day the watchman witnessed 'horrible scenes of human grief and despair'. In the evening, he noted, 'the Germans undermined the wall of ravine and buried the people under the thick layers of earth. But the earth was moving long after, because wounded and still alive Jews were still moving. One girl was crying: "Mammy, why do they pour the sand into my eyes?" '[58]

After the war, a Jewish doctor, David Rosen, was told of the fate of his Aunt Lisa, who had been so far advanced in pregnancy that she had been unable to leave Kiev in the last evacuation trains before the Germans arrived in the city. 'Aunt Lisa', Dr Rosen was told by a neighbour after the war, 'and her six-year-old son Tolik went to Babi Yar. She was so horrified and frightened that she began giving birth. Driven by the Germans and policemen to the ravine, together with her son and the newborn child in her arms, she fell down into Babi Yar and perished there in pangs.'[59]

The horrors of Babi Yar were endless and obscene. When the war was over, Victoria Shyapeltoh learned that when the Jews had been ordered to assemble, her neighbour, a Ukrainian woman who had lived in the same apartment with them for many years, had dragged her seventy-year-old father, Yakov-Pinhas Zindelivich, from the apartment into the street, and handed him over to the Germans. The old man was wearing his prayer shawl. Still wearing it, he was driven to Babi Yar, 'praying all the way'.[60]

One of the few Jews to escape from the pit at Babi Yar was Dina Pronicheva. After the war, she told her story to the Russian writer Anatoli Kuznetsov, who published it, first in Russia in 1966, and then, under the name A. Anatoli, in Britain in 1970. Dina Pronicheva, like hundreds of those who were shot during these massacres, was not in fact killed. But unlike most of those who fell into the pit alive, she managed to avoid being suffocated, and to escape undetected:

> All around and beneath her she could hear strange submerged sounds, groaning, choking and sobbing: many of the people were not dead yet. The whole mass of bodies kept moving slightly as they settled down and were pressed tighter by the movements of the ones who were still living.
>
> Some soldiers came out on to the ledge and flashed their torches down on the bodies, firing bullets from their revolvers into any which appeared to be still living. But someone not far from Dina went on groaning as loud as before.
>
> Then she heard people walking near her, actually on the bodies. They were Germans who had climbed down and were bending over and taking things from the dead and occasionally firing at those which showed signs of life.
>
> Among them was the policeman who had examined her papers and taken her bag: she recognized him by his voice.
>
> One SS-man caught his foot against Dina and her appearance aroused his suspicions. He shone his torch on her, picked her up and struck her with his fist. But she hung limp and gave no signs of life. He kicked her in the breast with his heavy boot and trod on her right hand so that the bones cracked, but he didn't use his gun and went off, picking his way across the corpses.
>
> A few minutes later she heard a voice calling from above:
>
> 'Demidenko! Come on, start shovelling!'
>
> There was a clatter of spades and then heavy thuds as the earth and sand landed on the bodies, coming closer and closer until it started falling on Dina herself.
>
> Her whole body was buried under the sand but she did not move until it began to cover her mouth. She was lying face upwards, breathed in some sand and started to choke, and then, scarcely realizing what she was doing, she started to

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struggle in a state of uncontrollable panic, quite prepared now to be shot rather than be buried alive.

With her left hand, the good one, she started scraping the sand off herself, scarcely daring to breathe lest she should start coughing; she used what strength she had left to hold the cough back. She began to feel a little easier. Finally she got herself out from under the earth.

The Ukrainian policemen up above were apparently tired after a hard day's work, too lazy to shovel the earth in properly, and once they had scattered a little in they dropped their shovels and went away. Dina's eyes were full of sand. It was pitch dark and there was the heavy smell of flesh from the mass of fresh corpses.

Dina could just make out the nearest side of the sandpit and started slowly and carefully making her way across to it; then she stood up and started making little foot-holds in it with her left hand. In that way, pressed close to the side of the pit, she made steps and so raised herself an inch at a time, likely at any moment to fall back into the pit.

There was a little bush at the top which she managed to get hold of. With a last desperate effort she pulled herself up and, as she scrambled over the ledge, she heard a whisper which nearly made her jump back.

'Don't be scared, lady! I'm alive too.'

It was a small boy in vest and pants who had crawled out as she had done. He was trembling and shivering all over.

'Quiet!' she hissed at him. 'Crawl along behind me.'

And they crawled away silently, without a sound.

Dina Pronicheva survived. The boy, Motyn, stayed with her, but as they sought to leave the area, he called that danger was near. 'Don't move, lady, there's Germans here!' – those were Motyn's words. Luckily for Dina Pronicheva, the Germans did not understand them. But hearing him speak, they killed him on the spot.[61]

The courage of Motyn was recorded only by chance: only because a Russian writer, a non-Jew, was in search of facts about the past. He recorded also an episode, in Kiev, of a Jewish girl 'running down the street, shooting from a revolver'. She killed two German officers, 'then shot herself'.[62] Her name is not known. Only her deed survives, and then, only by chance.

The destruction of the evidence of mass murder now followed in the wake of the murders themselves, or at the sites of earlier killings. To Ponar, the death pits near Vilna, was brought a group of seventy Jews, nine Russian prisoners-of-war, and a young Polish peasant who had given refuge to a Jewish child. All eighty had been held in prison in Vilna. For four months, from September 1943, they worked at Ponar, as another 'Special Commando 1005', under the direct orders of Blobel, building massive log pyres, digging up corpses, placing the corpses on the pyres, igniting them, and scattering the ashes. Each pyre could hold 3,500 bodies, and burnt for up to ten days.

The first grave opened by the 'Blobel Commando' at Ponar contained the corpses of eight thousand Jews, five hundred Soviet prisoners-of-war and several hundred Catholic priests and seminarists. Most of the corpses were blindfolded and had their hands tied behind their backs. The second grave contained the corpses of 9,500 Jewish children, women and men. In the third grave the prisoners counted 10,400 corpses. Hardly any of the children's remains showed marks of bullets, but their tongues were protruding. In the fourth pit the prisoners found twenty-four thousand corpses, among them many Soviet prisoners-of-war, a number of Poles, Catholic priests and nuns, and one German soldier. In the fifth grave they found 3,500 women, children and men, all naked, and all shot in the back of the head. In the sixth grave they counted five thousand naked corpses. In the seventh grave they found several hundred political prisoners, and in the eighth and ninth graves they found five thousand naked corpses of Jews from the rural ghettos in the Vilna region; these were the Jewish deportees who had earlier received assurances that they were being taken to the Kovno ghetto, and had found themselves, on 5 April 1943, at Ponar.[3]

Since August 18, a third 'Blobel Commando' had been at work at Babi Yar, in the suburbs of Kiev. Blobel himself had visited the site to see the work being done. After the earth on top of the grave had been removed, he later recalled, 'the bodies were covered with inflammable material and ignited. It took about two days until the grave burnt to the bottom.' Blobel added: 'I myself observed that the fire had glowed down to the bottom. After that the grave was filled in and the traces practically obliterated.'[4]

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working at this gruesome task, knowing that when their work was finished they would be killed. They worked with shackles around their ankles, guarded by sixty SS men armed with submachine guns, and accompanied by Alsatian dogs trained to kill. Within a month, seventy of the prisoners had been killed in random executions, staged each night by the guards for their amusement.

Throughout their work, the SS would address the Jews working in the pits at Babi Yar as *Leichen*, 'corpses'. But, as the historian Reuben Ainsztein has written, 'in those half-naked men who reeked of putrefying flesh, whose bodies were eaten by scabies and covered with a layer of mud and soot, and of whose physical strength so little remained, there survived a spirit that defied everything that the Nazis' New Order had done or could do to them. In the men whom the SS men saw only as walking corpses, there matured a determination that at least one of them must survive to tell the world about what they had seen in Babi Yar.'

Plans were made to break out. Among those who coordinated these plans was a Jewish soldier of the Red Army, Vladimir Davydov. Independent of these plans, a non-Jewish Red Army man, Fyodor Zavertanny, managed one day to loosen his shackles, and to escape. In retaliation, the Germans shot twelve of the prisoners. They also shot the SS man in charge of the guards who had been watching Zavertanny's group.

The scale of the reprisal seemed to rule out individual escapes, and make a mass break-out the only possible course. The method was to search for any keys that remained among the thousands of rotting corpses and decaying garments, in the hope that one of these keys might fit the padlock of the bunker in which the prisoners were locked at night.

Miraculously, on September 20, one of the prisoners, Jacob Kapler, discovered a key that fitted the padlock. Nine days later, on the third anniversary of the first mass slaughter at Babi Yar, the escape plans were put into effect. In all, 325 Jews and Soviet prisoners-of-war made the break-out. A total of 311 were shot down as they ran; 14 reached hiding places, 5 of whom hid for twenty days in the chimney of a disused factory. Two were hidden by the Ukrainian sisters Natalya and Antonina Petrenko, underneath their henhouse.

Five weeks after the escape, on November 6, the fourteen

Oppenheimer was one of them. His wife had died in Theresienstadt. At the 'selection' at Birkenau, a Jew who was with Oppenheimer on the journey, a former Czechoslovak ski champion, gave his current profession, lawyer. He was sent to join those about to be gassed. Oppenheimer, warned a few moments earlier by a veteran prisoner to whom he had given his watch, said he was 'a fine mechanic' by profession. He also, as advised, reduced his age, from forty-three to thirty-eight. He was sent to the barracks, and he survived, being sent shortly afterwards to one of the factories at Gleiwitz.[26]

In liberated Kiev, on September 29, Jews gathered to mark the third anniversary at Babi Yar. Among those who wished to commemorate their murdered relatives was Sara Tartakovskaya, whose father, mother and sisters had been among the murdered. 'We came to the place of execution, to Babi Yar', she later recalled, 'and descended there, to the bottom. We were gathering the burnt bones of arms, legs. I drew out from the slope, by its hair, which was not burnt, a girl's head with the remains of a scarf stuck to it. The head had two plaits, pins, and a hole in the temple. I was standing weeping: she could be my sister.'[27]

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the Germans as they withdrew. On September 18 the first of the tin boxes and milk cans hidden by Emanuel Ringelblum's 'Joy of Sabbath' circle was dug up in the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto. The second was found four years later, in 1950.[29]

Among the Jews who remained in Poland were some who saw their task as recording the history of the war years. On 24 March 1947 the organization of Jewish writers and journalists in Poland wrote, from Lodz, to the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, in search of financial help for the forty Jewish writers in their organization:

> They are living under very difficult circumstances but are loath to forsake the ruined land that they might better absorb the atmosphere of the dreadful Jewish catastrophe and render it into literary and scientific work. We consider it a mission of particular importance that these Jewish writers provide, for the future generations, prose and poetry which will portray and document the recent experiences. Would that we now had such literary records from our forefathers of the Spanish era.[30]

Five manuscripts of the Sonderkommando at Birkenau, which are among the most vivid contemporary documents of the war, were discovered at different times between 1945 and 1962: that of Salmen Lewental on 17 October 1962. The notes of the Greek Jew were only found in the earth around one of the crematoria, in the late autumn of 1980, buried in a thermos flask. It was discovered there only by chance, by Polish schoolchildren planting a tree.

As the decades passed, many survivors, and the relatives of survivors, sought to return to the scenes of their youth, to the scenes of their family's suffering, even to the scenes of their own torment. The sites of the mass murder of Jews became places of solemn pilgrimage. For Jews in the Soviet Union, visiting these sites, such as Babi Yar in Kiev, and Rumbuli near Riga, Ponar outside Vilna or the Ratomskaya street pit in Minsk, became a means of renewing and asserting their sense of Jewish identity.

In the twenty years following the war, Babi Yar filled up with rubbish, mud and water, forming a deep lake. 'It was motionless,' Sara Kyron later recalled, 'and mixed up with silt, and it seemed

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from afar to be greenish, as if the tears of the people who had been killed there had come out of the soil.'

Above the Yar, a wall had been built to mark it off from an adjoining brickyard. One evening in 1961, the wall collapsed. Streams of clay and mud, mixed up with the remains of human bones, gushed out into the streets of Kiev below. In the wake of the rushing waters, a garage was completely destroyed, fires broke out, and the stream of liquid clay, reaching the nearby tram depot, overturned tram cars and buried alive in its onward rush both passengers and tramway workers. That night, as soldiers were busy digging out the dead, and searching for survivors in the mud, a second wave of liquid clay burst out from the Yar, wreaking further havoc, and death. In the two disasters, twenty-four citizens of Kiev were killed. A few days later, as a tram passed the site of the disaster, an old woman suddenly began to shout: 'It is the Jews who have done this. They are taking vengeance on us. They always will.'

Sara Tartakovskaya, going by taxi to work on the morning after the disaster, was told by the taxi driver: 'One could not fill up Babi Yar. Jewish blood is taking revenge.'[31]

Year by year, Jews throughout the world search for some echo of the past that is gone. In 1976 a Riga-born Jew, Jules Lippert, who had left Riga for the United States as a child in 1939, returned to the city of his birth. It was also the city in which his father had been murdered, his father whom he had not seen since he was eight years old. Lippert went to Rumbuli, where his father must have been murdered. 'I remembered he was tall, close to six feet,' Lippert later wrote. 'He was bald and the youngest of three brothers and he smoked cigars.' Lippert went on to ask:

> How did you die, dear father? What thoughts crossed your mind as your brief thirty-eight years were extinguished here in Riga? Did the bullets find their mark quickly or did you suffer for interminable moments in agony? Where are your remains, where are they, where are they – I'll never know.[32]

In June 1981 a gathering of survivors was held in Jerusalem. More than six thousand survivors gathered there, from all over the world, to exchange recollections, to seek long-lost friends, and to

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War in the East and the Extermination of the Jews*

Andreas Hillgruber

"Jewish Bolshevism": Hitler's Racial-Ideological Dogma

Special units of the SS commenced the systematic extermination of the Jews in the occupied Soviet territories as soon as the attack on the Soviet Union was launched, on June 22, 1941. In order to arrive at an adequate historical explanation, we must start with the racial doctrine of radical, universal anti-Semitism as the "activating, dynamic motive."[1] This was accompanied by "fixed" concepts in Hitler's mind of Bolshevism as the rule of the Jews over the Slavic masses in Soviet Russia, which tied in with the Nazi "ideology."

There is a historical controversy as to whether Hitler's early anti-Semitic prejudices developed gradually in "thrusts" since his youth in Linz and Vienna, toward hate and intent to exterminate beyond the cliches of the period; or whether a psychic shock caused a quantum "jump" from regular anti-Semitism to something extraordinary.[2] But there is no argument about the fact that the

* This essay appeared in *"Unternehmen Barbarossa" — Der deutsche Überfall auf die Sowjetunion 1941*, Gerd R. Ueberschär and Wolfram Wette, eds., Paderborn, 1984, pp. 219-236.

1 Definition by Martin Broszat, "Hitler and the Genesis of the 'Final Solution': An Assessment of David Irving's Theses," *Yad Vashem Studies*, 1979, vol. XIII, p. 118.

2 Now documented in detail by the edition of Eberhard Jäckel and Axel Kuhn eds., *Hitler. Sämtliche Aufzeichnungen 1905–1924*, Stuttgart, 1980.

agitation of Hitler as a politician was determined by this extraordinary anti-Semitism after 1919. In the "first document of his political career," a letter of September 16, 1919,[3] Hitler differentiates his anti-Semitism, directed toward political consequences, from the general anti-Jewish emotions prevalent in postwar Germany:

> Anti-Semitism based on pure emotions will find its ultimate expression in pogroms.[4] But the anti-Semitism of reason must lead to a planned legal fight and the removal of the privileges enjoyed by the Jew, in contrast to the other foreigners living among us.... But the ultimate, unshakable aim must be the complete removal of the Jews."

The letter does not specify the meaning of the last phrase.

Matters were clarified in a speech which Hitler delivered on April 6, 1920:[5] "We do not want to be emotional anti-Semites seeking to create a pogrom mood, but we are inspired by the inexorable determination to grasp the evil at the base and exterminate it root and branch." But in this period (1920) he still spoke of "emigration" now and then, or "expulsion" of the Jews, and thus "removal" could be interpreted accordingly. In a speech of August 13, 1920,[6] given verbatim in a postscript, Hitler repeats the intended aim of a "thorough solution," by the "removal of the Jews from among our people." But for the first time he now stresses the international character of Jewry. From then on "Jewish internationalism" plays a key role in his agitation. This expanded perspective moved the "defensive campaign" against the Jews beyond the national framework.

In his book *Mein Kampf* (written in 1924),[7] Hitler combined a universal, anti-Semitic, racist fanaticism with a foreign policy "program" (developed meanwhile) into a self-appointed, pseudoreligious historical "mission," which was to form a self-

3 *Ibid.*, p. 89.
4 In the original "Progromen."
5 Jäckel and Kuhn, *op. cit.*, p. 119.
6 *Ibid*, p. 184.
7 Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, London, 1969.

contained entity[8] in his concepts from that date. He viewed the prevention of a global triumph by the Jews[9] as the quasi-defensive aspect of a "struggle" by the National-Socialist "movement" under his leadership:

> Should the Jew triumph over the nations of this world by means of his Marxist creed, his crown will be mankind's dance of death; and this planet will move through space devoid of man, as it did millions of years ago[10] ... thus today I believe myself to be acting in the sense of the Almighty creator: by defending myself against the Jew I fight for the Lord's work.

His "decision" to "become a politician"[11] follows the core phrase[12] at the end of Chapter 7 in *Mein Kampf*: "There is no treating with the Jew, but only the hard either-or."

In his book, Hitler repeatedly[13] describes the Jew, with biological crudeness, as a "parasite," "sponger" and "vampire," using Bolshevik Russia as evidence:

> In gaining political power the Jew casts off the few cloaks that he still wears. The democratic people's Jew becomes the blood-Jew and tyrant over peoples. In a few years he tries to exterminate the national intelligentsia and by robbing the peoples of their national leadership makes them ripe for the slave's lot of permanent subjugation.
>
> The most frightful example of this kind is offered by Russia, where he killed or starved about thirty million people with positively fanatical savagery, in part amid inhuman tortures, in order to give a gang of Jewish journalists and stock exchange bandits domination over a great people.
>
> The end is not only the end of the freedom of the peoples oppressed by the Jew, but also the end of this parasite upon the nations. After the death of his victim, the vampire sooner or later dies too.[14]

8 The basic reference is Eberhard Jäckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung. Entwurf einer Herrschaft*, Stuttgart, 1981.
9 Hitler, *Mein Kampf, op. cit.*, p. 60.
10 The 1st ed. of *Mein Kampf* had "millennia."
11 Hitler, *Mein Kampf, op. cit.*, p. 187.
12 *Ibid.*, p. 187.
13 *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 54, 113, 138, 175-176, 274-275, 277, 280-281, 295-296.
14 *Ibid.*, pp. 296ff.

However — and not contradictory in Hitler's view — the aim of "Jewish rule" over Russia was different: "We must regard Russian Bolshevism as Jewry's attempt to achieve world rule in the twentieth century."[15]

The (derived) offensive side of his envisioned aims was revealed by Hitler in the second volume of *Mein Kampf*, in Chapter 14, "Eastern Orientation or Eastern Policy."[16] "The struggle against Jewish world-bolshevization requires a clear attitude toward Soviet Russia." Hitler's conclusion, drawn from his racist-ideological premises and his Social-Darwinist axioms, determined the external expansion of a Reich led by him:

> We stop the endless German movement to the south and west, and turn our gaze towards the land in the east.... If we speak of soil in Europe today, we can primarily have in mind only Russia and her vassal border states.
>
> Here Fate itself seems desirous of giving us a sign. By handing Russia to Bolshevism, it robbed the Russian nation of that intelligentsia which previously brought about and guaranteed the existence of a state ... for centuries Russia drew nourishment from this Germanic nucleus of its upper leading strata. Today it can be regarded as almost totally exterminated and extinguished. It has been replaced by the Jew. Impossible as it is for the Russian by himself to shake off the yoke of the Jew by his own resources, it is equally impossible for the Jew to maintain the mighty empire forever. He himself is no element of organisation, but a ferment of decomposition. The Persian empire in the east is ripe for collapse. And the end of Jewish rule in Russia will also be the end of Russia as a state. We have been chosen by Fate as witness of a catastrophe which will be the mightiest confirmation of the soundness of the national racial theory.[17]

Hitler's vision of "removing" the Jews assumed even clearer contours in *Mein Kampf*:

> *Today it is not princes and princes' mistresses who haggle and bargain over state borders; it is the inexorable Jew who struggles for his*

15 *Ibid.*, p. 604 (letter-spaced in the original).
16 *Ibid.*, p. 605.
17 *Ibid.*, pp. 598f.

> *domination over the nations.* No nation can remove this hand from its throat except by the sword. Only the assembled and concentrated might of a national passion rearing up in its strength can defy the international enslavement of peoples. Such a process is and remains a bloody one.[18]
>
> ... If at the beginning of the War [1914 — A.H.] and during the War twelve or fifteen thousand of these Hebrew corrupters of the people had been held under poison gas, as happened to hundreds of thousands of our very best German workers in the field, the sacrifice of millions at the front would not have been in vain. On the contrary: twelve thousand scoundrels eliminated in time might have saved the lives of a million real Germans, valuable for the future.[19]

Hitler reproached the German Imperial Government for not having acted in 1914 at the start of war, "against the entire crooked association of the Jewish nation-poisoners":[20]

> It would have been the duty of a serious government, now that the German worker had found his way back to his nation, to exterminate mercilessly the agitators who were misleading the nation.
>
> If the best men were dying at the front, the least we could do was to wipe out the vermin.[21]

In Hitler's "second book" of 1928[22] (not published but edited only in 1961), foreign policy in its narrower sense formed the core. But this work also reflects Hitler's fixation upon "Jewish Bolshevism." He argued that a German-Russian pact would "result" in the total rule of Germany by the Jews ... as in Russia."[23] The Bolshevik Revolution gave Russia

> its new leaders — Jewry. With the help of Slavic racial instincts, Jewry striving for ruling[24]-class status, and therefore supreme

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 595
[19] *Ibid.*, p. 620.
[20] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[21] *Ibid.*, p. 155.
[22] *Hitler's Secret Book.* A document from 1928. New York, 1961.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 132.
[24] Hitler always wrote *"Schichte"* instead of *"Schicht"*.

> control, exterminated the previous alien ruling class. If Jewry has assumed control of all spheres of Russian life with the Bolshevik Revolution, this is a natural process, because the Slavic people lack all organizational talent, and thus also that power which forms and maintains states.[25]

Nevertheless, Hitler deemed it "conceivable, that an internal change could occur within the Bolshevik world, so that the Jewish element could possibly be displaced by a more or less Russian national one."[26] Indeed, he went so far as to prophesy that "the struggle of the invariably anti-state pan-Slavic idea against the Bolshevik-Jewish state idea ... would end with the extermination of Jewry."[27]

> The residue would then be a Russia of low state power and deeply rooted anti-German attitudes .... A future pact between Germany and Russia makes no sense for Germany, when viewed from a position of sober expediency. To the contrary, it is indeed fortunate that this development took place, since it broke a ban which would have prevented us from seeking the aims of German foreign policy in the only possible direction: space in the east.[28]

There is no controversy[29] on the continuity of racist and geopolitical guidelines in Hitler's mind, and their transfer as central axioms to National-Socialist "ideology" — in itself highly vague and ambiguous. There are different views about the extent to which these guidelines determined practical policy in the Third Reich, and influenced the details of the anti-Jewish measures taken by the regime in the "peace years" from 1933 to 1939.[30] During this period,

25 *Hitler's Secret Book*, p. 138.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 132.
27 *Ibid.*, p. 138.
28 *Ibid.*, p. 139.
29 This continuity is most amply documented in the study by Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, *Nationalsozialistische Aussenpolitik 1933–1938*, Frankfurt/M.-Berlin, 1968, pp. 446ff., 598ff. Further documents in Helmut Krausnick, "Kommissarbefehl und 'Gerichtsbarkeitserlass Barbarossa' in neuer Sicht," *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitsgeschichte* (henceforth *VfZ*), 25, (1977), pp. 718ff.
30 Jäckel, *Hitlers Weltanschauung, op. cit.*, and Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, as well as Lucy S. Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933–1945*, New York, 1975, all

Hitler retained the formula "Jewish Bolshevism" in his speeches. For example, in his Reichstag speech of January 30, 1937, he called Bolshevism "a pestilence which we had to bloodily oppose in Germany," when "Jewish-international Moscow Bolshevism sought to enter Germany."[31] He had avoided "every close contact with the carriers of these poisonous bacilli."[32] On February 20, 1938 he told the Reichstag: "More than ever, we regard Bolshevism as the incarnation of the human destructive impulse."[33] Until the turn of 1938/1939 the slogan of "Jewish Bolshevism" remained central in National-Socialist agitation. But then, the temporary tactical need for a rapprochement with the Soviet Union dictated the separation of anti-Semitic propaganda from anti-Bolshevik slogans for two and a half years, with the former becoming intensified. In the winter of 1938/1939 Hitler's expressions regarding his comprehensive anti-Jewish aims became clearer than before in his conversations with foreigners. On November 24, 1938 he told the South African Minister of Defense, Pirow, that "the Jews ... would disappear from Europe one day."[34] But, he continued: "World Jewry does not wish the Jews to disappear from Europe, but regards them as the vanguard for the Bolshevization of the world. The Jews hate him [Hitler], because he prevented the Bolshevization of Europe...." He "exports only one idea, which is not National Socialism ... but he exports anti-Semitism."[35] Hitler told Czech Foreign Minister Chvalkovsky on January 21, 1939: "We shall exterminate the Jews. The Jews will not get away with their responsibility for November 9, 1918 — this day will be avenged."[36]

emphasize the systematic nature of the Jewish policy, even in this period. However, Uwe Dietrich Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich*, Düsseldorf, 1972, and Broszat, *op. cit.* take the opposite view.

31 Max Domarus ed., *Hitler. Reden und Proklamationen. 1932–1945.* vol. I: *Triumph (1932–1938)*, Neustadt an der Aisch, 1962, p. 671.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 671.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 799.

34 Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918–1945. Serie D (1937–1941), Bd.IV. Baden-Baden, 1951, p. 293.

35 *Ibid.*, p. 295.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 170.

The radical nature of his public anti-Semitic declarations made all earlier statements pale by comparison. In his Reichstag speech of January 30, 1939 Hitler "prophesied"[37] a direct connection between war and the extermination of the Jews:

> During my struggle for power, it was the Jewish people, primarily, who laughed at my prophecies that I would one day take over the leadership in Germany and thus of the entire nation. And that I would then, *inter alia*, also find a solution for the Jewish problem. I believe, that this resounding laughter of the Jews in Germany has in the meantime been choked off in their throats. I wish to be a prophet again today: If international Jewish finance in and beyond Europe should succeed once again in plunging the nations into a world war, the result will not be the Bolshevization of the earth and hence Jewry's victory, but the extermination of the Jewish race in Europe![38]

During the war Hitler often reverted to this "prophecy" and — typically — invariably attached false dates to it. He "switched" this statement to his Reichstag speech at the outbreak of the war on September 1, 1939, instead of on January 30, 1939. He did this for the first time on January 30, 1941, i.e., when all preparations for attacking the Soviet Union had become accelerated, in a speech in the Berlin Sport Palace:[39]

> I do not wish to forget the hint, which I already gave in the German Reichstag on September 1, 1939, namely that if the rest of the world should be thrust into a general war by Jewry, then all Jewry will have played out its role in Europe! Perhaps they are still laughing today, even as they laughed at my earlier prophecies. The coming years and months will prove that here too my prediction was correct.

In his proclamation to the German people on the day of the attack upon the Soviet Union (June 22, 1941), Hitler instantly readopted the phrase "Jewish Bolshevism":

[37] Broszat, *op. cit.*, p. 771, does not interpret this from a psychological point of view as a mere "warning," but in itself "part of the motivation."

[38] Max Domarus, ed., *Hitler. Reden und Proklamationen 1932–1945*, vol. II: *Untergang (1939–1945)*, Neustadt an der Aisch, 1963, p. 1058.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 1663.

> "For more than two decades the Jewish-Bolshevik regime in Moscow has tried to set fire not merely to Germany, but to all of Europe.... The Jewish-Bolshevik rulers in Moscow have unswervingly undertaken to force their domination upon us and the other European nations, and that not merely spiritually, but also in terms of military power.[40]

Hitler viewed his decision to invade the Soviet Union from the aspect of his anti-Semitic world struggle, which he had expected since the mid-1920s, and for which he had "prepared" in the broadest sense of that word. "Now ... the hour has come, in which it is necessary to confront this plot of the Jewish Anglo-Saxon warmongers, and the equally Jewish rulers of the Bolshevik center in Moscow."[41]

National-Socialist propaganda had thus regained its traditional racist-ideological "foe-image" of "Jewish Bolshevism,"[42] which remained the central axiom throughout the war, until 1945. Now these core-theories of National-Socialist doctrine were also communicated to the three million German soldiers of the Eastern Army which attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. Directly before the assault, they had been issued 'Guidelines for the Conduct of the Troops in Russia' by their High Command (OKW):

> Bolshevism is the deadly enemy of the National-Socialist German people. Germany's struggle is against this disintegrative ideology and its carriers. This struggle demands ruthless and energetic action against Bolshevik agitators, partisans, saboteurs, Jews — and the radical elimination of all active and passive resistance.[43]

[40] *Ibid.*, p. 1727.

[41] *Ibid.*, p. 1731.

[42] Jacobsen, *op. cit.*, p. 459, footnote 21, reproduces the secret instructions to the German press after June 22, 1941 (switch to "the destruction of Bolshevism"). On July 10, 1941 an "anti-Jewish action" commenced: "... the subject Jewry and World Bolshevism must be written up (as previously)."

[43] Nuremberg-Document NOKW-1962. For general continuity, see Helmut Krausnick and Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges. Die Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD 1938–1942*, Stuttgart, 1981, pp. 107f.

The Mass Murder of the Jews in the Conquered Areas of the Soviet Union

The exact date on which Hitler decided[44] upon the systematic extermination of the Jews in the wake of his racist-ideological war of extirpation in the conquered areas of European Russia is controversial. Nevertheless, there are many indications that the order was given in the preparatory stages of his planned attack on the Soviet Union, at the end of June and the beginning of July 1940. The command to shoot all Jews in Russia appears to have been communicated verbally either to Himmler or Heydrich at the end of May 1941, some weeks before the attack. This order was then passed

[44] The period extends from summer 1940 (Eberhard Jäckel) through March 1941 (Helmut Krausnick) until the beginning of July 1941, i.e., shortly after the start of the campaign (Hans-Günther Seraphim). Broszat, *op. cit.*, p. 96, footnote 26, and p. 97, doubts the existence of a "comprehensive, order for the extermination" by Hitler concerning the "Final Solution," in the sense of the physical destruction of all Jews in German-ruled Europe. However, he states that the "first extensive liquidation act, the mass execution in the summer and fall of 1941, of hundreds of thousands of Jews in the occupied Soviet territories by the *Einsatzkommandos* of the security police and the SD was no doubt carried out on the personal directive of Hitler." (*Ibid.*, p. 85.) The present author claims — in opposition to the views of Martin Broszat, *op. cit.* and Uwe Dietrich Adam, *op. cit.*, — that there was definitely an order by Hitler (probably verbal) already in July 1941, and that this order extended the ongoing "Final Solution" practiced in the occupied Soviet territories (since the start of the German attack upon the Soviet Union) to the areas of Western and Central Europe. This basic order by Hitler was put into action in the extermination camps in Poland, after discussion and planning of the "best" possible implementation between December 1941 and January 1942. A similar position is taken by Christopher Browning, "Eine Antwort auf Martin Broszats Thesen zur Genesis der 'Endlösung,'" *VfZ*, vol. 29, 1981, pp. 99ff. In his memoirs, Adolf Eichmann (*Ich, Adolf Eichmann. Ein historischer Zeugenbericht*, edited by Rudolf Aschenauer, Leoni, 1980, pp. 177ff.) mentions an order by Hitler, conveyed to him verbally by Heydrich "around the turn of the year 1941/1942," as the activating factor for the "physical extermination of the Jewish foe." A recent study by Gerald Fleming, *Hitler and the Final Solution*, University of California, 1984, emphasizes the direct responsibility of Hitler, and seeks to establish the exact processes in the summer of 1941, which marked the path from Hitler's order to the commencement of the mass exterminations.

on verbally by Reinhard Heydrich at the Border Police School of Pretzsch near Wittenberg, to the commanders of the so-called *Einsatzgruppen* or *Einsatzkommandos*.[45] At that time Heydrich headed the Main Office of Reich Security — RSHA (Reichssicherheitshauptamt), the Security Police, and the Security Service (SD). Since March 1941, Hitler had given quite unequivocal hints, in his orders to leading military commanders, and in a speech, to the effect that the coming war in the east would differ from that in the west. He personally edited subparagraph B of the "Guidelines in Special Spheres re Directive No. 21 (Operation Barbarossa)," on March 13, 1941:

> In the operations area of the Army, the *Reichsführer SS* has been given special tasks on the orders of the Führer, in order to prepare the political administration. These tasks arise from the forthcoming final struggle of two opposing political systems. Within the framework of these tasks, the *Reichsführer SS* acts independently and on his own responsiblity.[46]

In a speech to some 200–250 leading military commanders on March 30, 1941, Hitler became more specific. Nevertheless, the key words noted by the Chief of the General Staff, *Generaloberst* Franz Halder, contain no mention of Jews. The soldiers, however, had long been familiar with the catch phrase "Jewish Bolshevism," against which war was now to commence. Halder's notes read:

> Struggle between two ideologies. Scathing evaluation of Bolshevism, equals antisocial criminality. Communism immense future danger .... This is a fight to the finish. If we do not accept this, we shall beat the enemy, but in thirty years we shall again confront the Communist foe. We don't make war to preserve the enemy.... Struggle against Russia: Extermination of Bolshevik Commissars and of the Communist intelligentsia.... Commissars and GPU personnel are criminals and must be treated as such.... The struggle

[45] Heinz Höhne, *The Order of the Death's Head*, London, 1969, pp. 358ff; Helmut Krausnick, Hans Buchheim, Martin Broszat, Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, *Anatomy of the SS State*, London, 1968, pp. 61-62, cite the relevant depositions by Otto Ohlendorf and Walter Blume.

[46] Nuremberg document PS-477. IMT, Nuremberg, 1949, vol. XXVI, p. 54.

will differ greatly from that in the west. In the east harshness now means mildness for the future.[47]

Negotiations between Heydrich and Quartermaster General Eduard Wagner established the spheres of joint or separate action for the Army and the SS *Einsatzgruppen* in the fulfillment of their "special tasks." This resulted in an order issued by the Army's Commander-in-Chief, General Fieldmarshal von Brauchitsch, on April 28, 1941. Concerning the action against the Jews, practical cooperation between the Army and the *Einsatzgruppen* led to an order by the Army Commanders, which called for the identification and registration of Jews in their domiciles directly after the troops had occupied any area. This was effected by large posters,[48] which simplified the task of the Security Police and SD units. Unless, of course, individuals or groups of Jews fled into the forests or went "underground" — after learning of their imminent fate. Four *Einsatzgruppen* were raised for the prospective campaign against the Soviet Union, each consisting of 500 to 990 men, a total of some 3,000 drawn from the Gestapo, the detective force, the constabulary, foreign auxiliary police and the Waffen-SS. They were subdivided into *Einsatz-* and *Sonderkommandos.*

While the systematic killing of the Jews in the operational areas of the armies and army groups was the task of the *Einsatzgruppen*, this task devolved upon the "Senior SS and Police chiefs" (*Höhere SS — und Polizeiführer — HSSPF*) — *inter alia* — in the occupied Soviet areas under German civil administration. At first, a written notice of July 2, 1941, issued by Heydrich to the four HSSPF, limited the killings. He instructed them in a "concise fashion" pursuant to direct, previous "basic orders" for the *Einsatzgruppen* and *Kommandos.* We read, under "4. Executions":

47 Generaloberst (Franz) Halder, *Kriegstagebuch*, Hans-Adolf Jacobsen, ed., vol. II, Stuttgart, 1963, pp. 336f.

48 Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden. Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941-1945*, Stuttgart, 1978, pp. 1-13. On the cooperation between the army and the *Einsatzgruppen,* see Krausnick and Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges, op. cit.*, pp. 205f.

All the following are to be executed:

Officials of the Comintern (together with professional Communist politicians in general)

Top and medium-level officials and radical lower-level officials of the Party, Central Committee and district and sub-district committees

People's Commissars

Jews in Party and State employment, and other, radical elements (saboteurs, propagandists, snipers, assassins, agitators, etc.)

insofar as they are, in any particular case, required or no longer required, to supply information on political or economic matters which are of special importance for the further operations of the Security Police, or for the economic reconstruction of the Occupied Territories....[49]

However, in "Order No. 8" issued by Heydrich on July 17, 1941, the "elements" to be separated from the bulk of the Soviet POW's included "all Jews,"[50] as well as Communist officials. On November 5, 1945, in the Nuremberg Trials of the principal war criminals, Otto Ohlendorf stated that "a secret verbal order was issued to all *Einsatzgruppen* commanders in May 1941." Furthermore, in the *Einsatzgruppen* trial on June 29, 1947,[51] Dr. Walter Blume stated the same. Both witnesses related that Heydrich, addressing "a limited circle" of *Einsatzgruppen* and *Einsatzkommando* chiefs in June 1941, declared that "Eastern Jewry is the reservoir of Bolshevism, and is thus to be exterminated, in the view of the Führer."

Even if we were to question their evidence, the very large number of Jews reported killed by the *Einsatzgruppen* and the HSSPF in the first weeks of the campaign leaves no doubt that these actions could hardly have been limited to "only Jews in party and state positions." At the least, these figures indicate an intention to kill immediately all Jews in the German-occupied areas of the Soviet Union in the course of the campaign in the summer and fall of 1941. Due to the vast number of prospective victims, this soon led to almost insoluble problems.

[49] Document no. 171 in Y. Arad, Y. Gutman, A. Margaliot eds., *Documents on the Holocaust*, Jerusalem, 1981, p. 377.

[50] Nuremberg Document NO-3414.

[51] IMT, vol. XXXI, p. 39 (Otto Ohlendorf) and Nuremberg Document NO-4145 (Dr. Walter Blume), Institut für Zeitsgeschichte, München.

All the killings ("liquidations") of Jews and other "enemies of the Reich and State" within the operational areas of the *Einsatzgruppen*, were recorded from the start of the campaign in the "Reports of Events in the USSR" — *"Ereignismeldungen UdSSR."*[52] These reports were initially compiled daily, and then every 2–4 days, starting with No. 1 of June 23, 1941, and finally ending with No. 195 of April 23, 1942. Extracted from reports to the RSHA, they were sent, at first, only to Himmler and several sections of Bureau IV, and later saw wider distribution. From May 1, 1942 they were replaced by "Reports from the Occupied Eastern Territories,"[53] starting with No. 1 and ending with No. 55 of May 21, 1943. However, the evidence in the latter is inferior to that of the *"Ereignismeldungen."*

From the *"Ereignismeldungen"* we learn that *Einsatzgruppe A* (behind the north section of the Eastern Front) executed 136, 421 Jews up to November 25, 1941; its victims also included 1,064 Communists, 56 partisans, 653 mentally disturbed persons, 44 Poles, 28 POW's, 5 Gypsies and 1 Armenian.[54] By February 1, 1942 the number had risen to 229,052.[55] *Einsatzgruppe B* (behind Army Group Center) killed 45,467 up to November 14, 1941; *Einsatzgruppe C* (behind Army Group South) accounted for 95,600 up to the beginning of December 1941. *Einsatzgruppe D* (in the southernmost section of the Eastern Front) killed a further 92,000 Jews up to April 8, 1942.[56] In a second, large "wave" of extermination in the Ukraine, South Russia and the Bialystok area, another 363,211 Jews were shot between August and December 1942.[57] This yields a total of 824,000 up to November 1942. We must

52 Now in Bundesarchiv Koblenz, R 58/214-221.

53 Now in Bundesarchiv Koblenz, R 58/697-699; R 58/222-224.

54 IMT (as in footnote 46), vol. XXX, p. 72.

55 *Ibid.*

56 Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews*, Chicago, 1960, p. 256, footnote 85; Krausnick, *Anatomy of the SS-State, op. cit.*, p. 64 (compilation based on *"Ereignismeldungen UdSSR"*).

57 Himmler's report to Hitler, December 20, 1942 (Nuremberg-Document NO-511) on "Anti-Partisan Successes" since August 1942 in "South-Russia, Ukraine, Bialystok," divided by Himmler into sub-paragraphs: "a) arrested..., b) executed..., c) Jews executed..." (this document is extensively quoted, and contradicts, due to the differentiation between killed Jews and actual partisans,

take into account "gaps" in the available documents, as well as possible exaggerations in the reports.

The first phase of mass executions ended in the winter of 1941/1942, and during the following intermediate phase (until July 1942) the surviving Jews were "concentrated" in ghettos in the larger population centers. This led to forced labor in the ghettos, labor camps and armaments plants outside the ghettos.[58] The second "wave" commenced in the late summer and fall of 1942, under the inappropriate designation "gang suppression."[59] It was directed mainly at the ghettos and the number of victims reached the aforementioned high figure within a short time. On October 27, 1942, Himmler ordered the destruction of the last big ghetto, at Pinsk.[60]

These systematic murders in the occupied Soviet territories attained a last zenith[61] in the Ukraine, after the surrender of the remnant of the German Sixth Army at Stalingrad on February 2, 1943. An order from Himmler to HSSPF East, dated June 21, 1943, states:

> I order that all Jews still remaining in ghettos of the eastern area be assembled in concentration camps. As of August 1, 1943, I forbid the exit of all Jews from these camps for work.... The maximum possible number of male Jews are to be shifted to the concentration camp in the oil-shale area, for the mining of oil-shale. The unneeded Jewish ghetto-dwellers are to be evacuated eastwards.[62]

The "few tens of thousands"[63] still remaining in these concentration camps were shifted to camps in Germany upon the

the thesis of "Anti-Partisan Operations." Quoted in Andreas Hillgruber, "Die 'Endlösung' und das deutsche Ostimperium als Kernstück des rassen-ideologischen Programms des Nationalsozialismus," *VfZ*, vol. 20, 1972, p. 148.

58 For this phase, see Krausnick, *Anatomy of the SS-State, op. cit.*, pp. 71-72.

59 See pp. 20-21 in the text, concerning the link between the extermination of the Jews and anti-partisan warfare, in the versions by Hitler and Nazi propaganda.

60 Nuremberg-Document NO-2027, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich.

61 See Martin Broszat, *op. cit.*, p. 121, footnote 70.

62 Nuremberg-Document NO-2403, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich.

63 Krausnick, *Anatomy of the SS-State, op. cit.*, p. 73.

approach of the Red Army. It is likely that many of them died in the last months of the war.

To illustrate the large number of victims in these mass exterminations of Jews, we have extracted statistics from the *"Ereignismeldungen UdSSR"* for the larger Soviet towns. On November 30, 1941, in Riga alone, 10,600 Jews were killed[64] by *Einsatzkommando 2* of *Einsatzgruppe A*. In the ravine of Babi-Yar near Kiev, 33,771 Jews were murdered by *Einsatzkommando 4a* of *Einsatzgruppe C*.[65] In "special actions" carried out by *Einsatzkommandos* in the summer and fall of 1941,[66] the following numbers of Jews were liquidated: in Kamenetz Podolsk, 23,600; in Berditchev, 1,303 (including 875 "Jewesses above the age of 12"); in Dniepropetrovsk, 10,000; in Rovno, 15,000; and in a "big action" in the ghetto of Minsk, 2,278.

These mass murders were limited by the economic needs of the German occupation authorities, quite apart from such "technical problems" as "extreme cold which hampers mass executions" or the "wide dispersal" of the Jews. Thus, in the report of *Einsatzgruppe A* of February 1942 we read:[67] "The systematic mopping-up in the east includes, according to the basic orders, the most radical elimination of Jewry which can be effected.... However, the final and basic removal of the remaining Jews in the area of Byelorussia after the German entry involves certain difficulties": some of the skilled workers are "still essential."

64 *"Ereignismeldungen UdSSR"*: No. 156 of January 16, 1941. Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution: Hitler's Attempt to Exterminate the Jews of Europe, 1939-1945*, Berlin, 1961, p. 246, sets the number of Jews murdered in Riga in 1941 at a minimum of 24,000. The commander of *Einsatzgruppe A* — Stahlecker — estimates 27,800. Reitlinger deems this exaggerated and reduces the numbers given for "Blood-Sunday" (November 30, 1941) to 4,000, basing his argument on the *"Ereignismeldung"* for that day. However, an action of similar scope followed in Riga on December 8, 1941. The Riga mass killing of November 30, 1941 included a transport of Jews shifted eastward from the Reich. Between the 25th and 29th of November 1941 the first 4,934 German Jews were shot in Kovno (see Martin Broszat, *op. cit.*, p. 104, footnote 45).

65 *"Ereignismeldungen UdSSR,"* No. 101 of October 2, 1941 and No. 106 of October 7, 1941.

66 Compiled from Raul Hilberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 193ff., whose source is the *"Ereignismeldungen UdSSR."*

67 IMT, vol. XXX, pp. 76ff.

It is impossible to arrive at an accurate total for the Jews killed in Soviet territory. Apart from the aforementioned "gaps" in the available reports of the *Einsatzgruppen* and the HSSPF, there is the question of which of the territories newly annexed by the Soviet Union in 1939/1940 are to be included in "Poland," the "Baltic States," or Romania (as in the case of Bessarabia and north Bukovina). Furthermore, from the fall of 1941, Jews from Germany were transported to the "east" — primarily to the Baltic areas — and there subjected to extermination.[68] Lastly, Soviet statistics regarding religious denomination are highly inaccurate, especially for Jews.[69] Taking into account all these problems and sources of error, Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm has estimated that "a total of more than 2.2 million Jews perished as a result of the Nazi terror and the persecutions of Hitler's allies."[70] The first "wave," from summer 1941 to spring 1942, comprised about a third during this period of mass shootings (i.e., approximately 700,000), with the *Einsatzgruppen* accounting for a mere quarter, i.e., some 500,000.[71]

At the latest from March 1941, the racist-ideological extermination of "Jewish Bolshevism" formed an integral component of the war on the Eastern Front. Some weeks before the onset of Operation Barbarossa, the *Einsatzgruppen* were informed of the intended "liquidations" in Soviet territory. This supports the thesis that the mass killings of the Jews had no original connection with the anti-partisan operations, which expanded rapidly behind the German front from the end of 1941. We must not overlook the immense discrepancy in the numbers of Jews and partisans killed in the so-called "anti-guerrilla warfare," as appearing in the "liquidation" reports of the *Einsatzgruppen* and of the SS. Stalin's appeal of July 3, 1941 for a partisan war behind the German front

[68] See footnote 64 above.

[69] The estimated number of Jews in the Soviet Union in 1941 fluctuates by over 1 million. This involves primarily the unanswered — and unanswerable — question of how many Jews managed to escape from the Germans into the unoccupied territories. Calculations vary from 2.665 million to 1.6 million. For details, see Gerald Reitlinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 558f.

[70] Helmut Krausnick and Hans-Heinrich Wilhelm, *Die Truppe des Weltanschauungskrieges, op. cit.*, p. 621.

[71] *Ibid.*, p. 622.

made it possible for Hitler to effect a propagandistic combination of both campaigns. This provided the German army in the east with a convincing psychological justification for the mass killings of Jews. In the circle of his intimates — Göring, Bormann, Lammers, Rosenberg, Keitel[72] — Hitler said on July 16, 1941: "The Russians have now issued an order for a partisan war behind our front. This partisan war has its advantage: it allows us to exterminate all who oppose us."

The factually inaccurate combination of Jews and partisans[73] was obviously intended for the psychological relief of German soldiers, who witnessed the mass executions of Jews, or heard of them. In the fall of 1941, this excuse also appeared in the orders of certain army commanders, such as von Reichenau, von Manstein, etc. On October 10, 1941, Reichenau stated that "the soldier must achieve full understanding of the necessity for a harsh but just vengeance against Jewish subhumanity," since "experience has proven that revolts in the rear of the army were invariably incited by the Jews."[74] In an order of November 20, 1941, Manstein describes "Jewry" as

> the middleman between the enemy at our rear and the still fighting remnants of the Red Army and the Red leadership; more than in Europe, it [Jewry] occupies all key posts of the political leadership and administration, of trade and crafts, and forms the nucleus for all disquiet and possible revolts. The Jewish-Bolshevist system must be exterminated once and for all.[75]

Subsequently, the category of "unreliable elements" increasingly and arbitrarily comprised "partisans, saboteurs, possible enemy groups, parachutists not wearing uniforms, Jews, leading Communists, etc."[76] The Jews were thus placed in a category to

72 IMT, vol. XXXVIII, Nuremberg-Document L-221.

73 Jews who fled into the forests before the massacres of the *Einsatzgruppen* played only a minor role in the formation of Soviet-controlled partisan units.

74 IMT, vol. XXXV, Nuremberg-Document D-411.

75 IMT, vol. XX, pp. 698ff.

76 See, for example, an operation order by the Commissioner of the Security Police and the SD, attached to the Commander of the hinterland Area South / Sonderkommando 11b, of January 12, 1942 (Nuremberg-Document NOKW-3453, Institut für Zeitgeschichte, Munich.

which they did not belong, i.e., "gang-helpers and suspects" in the ongoing partisan warfare.

Consequently, this artificial connection cannot be used by historians to justify the extermination of the Jews — a goal sought and largely attained by Hitler in the occupied Soviet territories. Some contend that this occurred as a part of a partisan campaign and if, indeed, the Hague Convention for Warfare on Land was not observed, the relevant offenses can be described as "war crimes," comparable to those which also occurred in the war on land, at sea and in the air between the combatants. The excuse that the extermination of the Jews was a part of anti-partisan struggle, and the comparison with other "war crimes" cannot be accepted. The mass killings of the Jews arose directly from the extreme, anti-Semitic race doctrine of Hitler and of National Socialism. This produced a "dogmatic fixation" combined with "spasmodic paranoid aggressivity."[77] The Nuremberg Trials of 1945–1946 described this as a "crime against humanity," although it would have been more accurate to term it a "crime against mankind." This crime was justified by Hitler and Himmler as part of the pseudo-religious, historical "mission" which they were forced to fulfill. The Jews were not regarded as humans to be "fought," as opponents or enemies in or out of uniform (like the partisans), involved in any way in combat against the German occupation forces. Quite the contrary: as in World War I, the German troops were initially welcomed by the Jews as their "liberators." Furthermore, the Jews could not even be regarded as specific representatives of the Red Army, such as the commissars, against whom the notorious "Commissar Order" of June 6, 1941 was issued. They could not even be rationally considered as particularly representative adherents of the "enemy" ruling system. Rather, an arbitrarily selected, large group of people had been declared to be a "deadly enemy" before the war; they were to be physically exterminated in a purely arbitrary fashion, based on the racist-ideological doctrine. This exceptional event cannot thus be compared with any other kind of "war crime," beyond the accepted international laws of war.

[77] Broszat, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

The mass murder of the Jews in the German-occupied territories of the Soviet Union between 1941 and 1944 is beyond any doubt. The *"Ereignismeldungen UdSSR"* and other primary evidence from SS sources from 1941–1944 constitute irrefutable testimony for the historian, both of the act itself and its magnitude. The sole "explanation" of these mass crimes ordered by Hitler and Himmler can be found in the racist-ideological frame of reference. Furthermore, the sources documenting the many general expressions by Hitler and Himmler, as well as those quite specific to the crime itself, are irrefutable. There is no room for doubt about the connection between the racist-ideological doctrine and its realization in practice. Even if we

> know hardly anything of the way in which Hitler discussed these measures with Himmler and Heydrich, who bore the institutional responsibility for the liquidations carried out by the Security Police and SS-Kommandos. During this phase both men were frequently present at the Führer's headquarters.[78]

Hitler's Open Declarations on the Extermination of the Jews in Europe

It is noteworthy that in his public speeches and proclamations during 1942 and at the beginning of 1943 Hitler invariably referred to the "prophecy" in his Reichstag speech of January 30, 1939. By this means, his "prophecy" on the "solution" of the Jewish problem assumed a significance which was to be "pounded into" the heads of all who heard his speeches and read his proclamations. In his New Year's speech to the German people on January 1, 1942, he spoke of the "struggle against the Jewish-Capitalist-Bolshevik World Conspiracy":[79] "The Bolshevik monster to which [Churchill and

[78] *Ibid.*, p. 98, also p. 116: In spite of the destruction of the pertinent files, mainly those of the *Sicherheitspolizei* (Security Police), who were primarily responsible, and the methodical removal of all traces after the actions, as well as the unclear phrasing of the documents themselves, the acts as such could not be hidden. Given the centralization of all decision-making, however, the attempts to destroy evidence were to a large extent successful.

[79] Domarus, *op. cit.*, p. 1821.

Roosevelt — A.H.] want to deliver the European nations, will ultimately subvert them and their nations. However, the Jew will not exterminate the European nations, but will be the victim of his own plot." In his address in the Berlin Sport Palace on January 30, 1942, he declared:

> It is clear to us that the war can only end with the extermination of the Aryan nations, or that Jewry will disappear from Europe. On September 1, 1939 I already stated in the German Reichstag — and I avoid premature prophecies — that this war will not end as the Jews imagine, namely, that the European-Aryan nations will be exterminated. On the contrary, the result of this war will be the extermination of Jewry. For the first time, the genuine, ancient Jewish law will be applied: "Eye for eye, tooth for tooth!".... And the hour will come when the most evil world-enemy of all times will have played out his role for at least a thousand years.[80]

On the 22nd anniversary of the Party's foundation — February 24, 1942 — Hitler[81] wrote in a "message" to the "veteran fighters":

> ...my prophecy will be fulfilled, that this war will not destroy Aryan humanity, but will exterminate the Jew. Whatever the struggle will bring, or however long it may last, this will be its final result. And only then, after the removal of these parasites, will the suffering world see a long period of understanding among the nations, and with it true peace.

On September 30, 1942 Hitler declared in the Berlin Sport Palace:[82]

> Once the Jews laughed at my prophecies in Germany, too. I do not know whether they are still laughing today, or whether in the meantime their laughter has ceased. Even now I can declare that their laughter will cease everywhere. And these prophecies will also come true.

Addressing the "veteran fighters" on November 8, 1942 in the Löwenbräukeller, Munich, Hitler said:

80 *Ibid.*, pp. 1828f.
81 *Ibid.*, p. 1844.
82 *Ibid.*, p. 1920.

> You will remember the session of the Reichstag in which I declared: If Jewry should imagine that it can bring about an international world war for the extermination of the European races, the result will not be the extermination of the European races, but the extermination of Jewry in Europe. As a prophet I have always been ridiculed. Of those who laughed at me then, an immense number no longer laugh today, and those who still laugh will perhaps cease to do so in a little while. The realization of this will spread throughout the entire world. We National Socialists will ensure that international Jewry will be recognized in its entire, demonic threat.[83]

And in his festive proclamation on "Party-Founding Day," February 24, 1943, he repeated: "This struggle will not end ... as intended, with the extermination of Aryan mankind, but with the extirpation of Jewry in Europe."[84]

Given a most benign interpretation, these public statements could, of course, be regarded as a "mere" expression of demagogic "determination" of racial anti-Semitism "to carry out ruthless 'revenge' against the Jews," without indicating their actual extermination.[85] However, in view of our knowledge of the events occurring simultaneously in the east, this would hardly be possible. Such an interpretation is excluded when one reads Hitler's remarks in his "table talk." He often reverted to his old "biological" axioms. For instance, on July 10, 1941 he said:[86] "I feel like Robert Koch in politics. He discovered the bacillus, and led medical science into new paths. I discovered the Jew as the bacillus and the ferment in social decomposition." Goebbels recorded in his diary the gist of his talks with Hitler at his "Wolfsschanze" H.Q. in East Prussia (entry for August 18, 1941):[87]

> The Führer is convinced that his former conviction expressed in the Reichstag is being confirmed. Namely, that if Jewry were to succeed in once again provoking a war, this would end with the extermination of the Jews. This is being confirmed with well-nigh

83 *Ibid.*, p. 1937.
84 *Ibid.*, p. 1992.
85 See Broszat, *op. cit.*, p. 108.
86 The notes of W. Koeppen, quoted by Broszat, *op. cit.*, p. 88, footnote 20.
87 Quoted from Broszat, *op. cit.*, pp. 88ff.

uncanny certainty in these weeks and months. In the east, the Jews must pay the bill....

In a "table talk" on October 25, 1941, in the presence of Himmler and Heydrich, Hitler expressed his thoughts with special cynicism:

> From the rostrum of the Reichstag I prophesied to Jewry that, in the event of war's proving inevitable, the Jew would disappear from Europe. That race of criminals has on its conscience the two million dead of the First World War, and now already hundreds of thousands more. Let nobody tell me that all the same we can't park them in the marshy parts of Russia! Who's worrying about our troops? It's not a bad idea, by the way, that public rumour attributes to us a plan to exterminate the Jews. Terror is a salutary thing.
>
> The attempt to create a Jewish State will be a failure.[88]

After a visit to the ghetto of Vilna on November 1, 1941, Goebbels recorded the following 'impressions':[89]

> The picture becomes dreadful after a short trip through the ghetto. The Jews are squatting on each other, horrible figures, not to be seen, let alone to be touched ... horrible figures starve in the streets, whom I would not like to meet at night. The Jews are like the lice of civilized mankind. Somehow they must be exterminated, or they will invariably resume their tormentive and molesting role.

In the presence of Himmler and Lammers on January 25, 1942, Hitler declared in one of his "table talks":[90]

> It must be done quickly; it is worse if I allow a tooth to be extracted gradually, a few centimeters every three months. Once pulled, the pain is gone. The Jew must get out of Europe. Otherwise we shall never have a European understanding .... I simply say, he must go. I can't help it if he is smashed in the process. I see one thing only: absolute extermination, if they don't leave of their own will.

Two days later (January 27, 1942) he added:[91]

88 *Hitler's Table Talk, 1941-1944*, London, 1973, p. 87.
89 Quoted from Broszat, *op. cit.*, p. 97, footnote 33.
90 Werner Jochmann (ed.), *Adolf Hitler, Monologue im Führerhauptquartier 1941–1944*, Hamburg, 1980, p. 106
91 *Ibid.*, p. 241.

> The Jew must leave Europe! It's best they go to Russia. I have no mercy for the Jews. They will always remain an element which incites the nations against each other.

All this was said after the notorious Wannsee Conference on January 20, 1942, at which Heydrich informed all the representatives of the German authorities involved about the organized "Final Solution" throughout German-ruled Europe. Their various roles were determined, and the physical extermination of all Jews in Central and Western Europe was initiated.

On February 14, 1942, Goebbels summed up a visit with Hitler in Berlin, in his diary:[92]

> The Führer once again stated that he was ruthlessly determined to finish with the Jews in Europe. There is no place for sentimental impulses. The Jews have deserved the catastrophe which they now experience. They will experience their own destruction together with that of our enemies. We must accelerate this process with cold ruthlessness; by this we are performing an incalculable service for mankind, which has been suffering and tormented for millennia....

Hitler openly discussed the extermination of European Jewry with certain foreign statesmen and diplomats, since he was interested in including the Jews of all European countries. On July 21, 1941 he told the Croatian Minister of Defense, Kvaternik:[93]

> ...If a single state would suffer, for whatever reasons, one Jewish family, this would become a focus of bacilli for a new decomposition. If there were no more Jews in Europe, the unity of the European nations would no longer be disturbed.

Hitler still spoke of Madagascar or Siberia as possible destinations for the expelled European Jews, although the *Einsatzgruppen* had already started the mass murder of Jews in Soviet Russia. But in April 1943, Hitler made himself perfectly clear

92 Louis P. Lochner ed., *Goebbels' Tagebücher 1942/43*, Zurich, 1948, pp. 87f.

93 Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik 1918-1945. Serie D, Bd. XIII. Göttingen, 1970, Anhang III, p. 838.

to the Rumanian Chief of State, Marshal Antonescu, and to the Hungarian Regent, Admiral Horthy.

On April 13, 1943 he told Antonescu:[94]

> ...the Jews are the natural allies of Bolshevism, and candidates for the places of our present intelligentsia who are to be murdered by Bolshevization. Therefore he was of the opinion — in contrast to Marshal Antonescu — that the most radical approach to the Jews was the best one. He ... prefers a sea battle of Salamis rather than an undecided engagement; this is why he prefers to burn all bridges behind him, since Jewish hatred in any case was gigantic. Due to the removal of the Jews, Germany is a united nation without opposition.... Of course, there is no return from this path.

On April 16, 1943 Hitler said to Horthy:[95]

> Germany is morally strengthened because the Jews have been removed; in a short while the last of them will disappear eastwards. Problems created for Germany by Jewish influence in 1918 cannot occur now. If the Jews are not driven out, they will once again destroy the economy, the currency and morals ... one must not be fearful of the anti-Jewish measures. Hungary had not pursued an anti-Semitic policy and wound up with a Béla Kun just the same. Neither had the Baltic States nor Poland followed an anti-Semitic policy, but they were overrun by the Jewish Bolshevists. This implies that if one is going to experience the unpleasant aspects of a struggle in any case, there is no need to hesitate about engaging in an energetic struggle against the Jews. There can be no faltering, and anyone who believes in compromises on this question is mistaken. Besides, why should the Jews be handled with kid gloves? After all, they had instigated the [first] world war and were responsible for all the millions who died as a result. Afterwards they had caused the [Russian] revolution, and again inflicted untold harm. They are also responsible for the present war, and the forms it is assuming....

The demand to intensify anti-Semitic measures in Hungary was answered by Horthy.[96] He claimed that he had taken every possible

[94] Andreas Hillgruber ed., *Staatsmänner und Diplomaten bei Hitler. Zweiter Teil: 1942-1944*, Frankfurt/M., 1970, p. 233.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 240.

[96] *Ibid.*, pp. 245f.

measure, within the realm of decency, against the Jews, but one could hardly murder them or otherwise deprive them of life. Hitler's reaction was a typical about-face: "This was not necessary, Hungary could accommodate the Jews in concentration camps." And "if one speaks of murdering the Jews, he must ... state that only *one* was guilty of murder — the Jew — who instigates wars, and has given this war its present turn against civilians, women and children." When Horthy remarked that "he must blushingly admit that he had sent 36,000 Jews to the front in labor battalions, most of whom probably perished during the Russian advance," Hitler replied "that the Regent need not blush; since the Jews had instigated the war, and one need not therefore have mercy upon them, even if the war involved serious consequences for them."

On the next day, in a conversation in the forenoon, Horthy reverted to the question[97] "what he should do with the Jews, after he had more or less deprived them of all means of livelihood — he could by no means kill them." Ribbentrop answered "that the Jews must either be exterminated or sent to concentration camps. There is no other possibility." Hitler added:

> that contrary to all fears which ... had also been voiced to him repeatedly in Germany, everything continued, even without Jews. Wherever the Jews were left to themselves, as, for example, in Poland, the most cruel misery and depravity prevailed. They are simply pure parasites. This situation has been drastically remedied in Poland. There, if the Jews refuse to work they are shot. If they cannot work they must perish. They must be treated like tuberculosis germs, which can infect a healthy body. That is by no means cruel, when one considers that even innocent creatures like hares and deer must be killed to prevent damage. Why should we show more consideration for these beasts who wished to bring us Bolshevism? Nations who do not defend themselves against the Jews perish.

One year later, on March 16, 1944, in an argument with the Bulgarian Regency Councillor, Hitler said[98]

[97] *Ibid.*, p. 256.
[98] *Ibid.*, p. 379.

> that he had often been reproached for having made the Jews his bitter enemies by his ruthless action against them. His answer was that the Jews would have been his and Germany's enemy in any case, but that he had removed them entirely by eliminating them as a focus of danger to internal morale.

When talking to the Hungarian Prime Minister, Sztojay, on June 7, 1944, Hitler again reverted to his Reichstag declaration of January 30, 1939.[99] He recalled that he "had declared in his Reichstag speech, that if the Jews began the war, not we, but the Jews will be exterminated.... If the Jewish race were to be victorious, at least 20 million Germans would be exterminated, and several millions would starve."

Non-public Statements of Hitler, Himmler and Goebbels Concerning the Mass-Murder of the Jews

Himmler and Hitler did not mince words when talking to leaders of the Party and SS, and also top military men — and certainly not among themselves. In a speech to the *SS-Korpsführer* on April 24, 1943, Himmler declared:

> We were the first to really answer the race problem by action, by the race problem we naturally did not mean anti-Semitism. Anti-Semitism is exactly like delousing. The removal of lice is not an ideological question, but a matter of hygiene. Thus anti-Semitism is not an ideological issue, but a matter of hygiene, which will soon be behind us. We are almost deloused, we have only some 20,000 lice left, and then it will be ended in all of Germany.[100]

"The modern nations ... have no choice but to exterminate the Jews," as Goebbels summarized Hitler's views in his diary on May 13, 1943:[101] "It is the firm conviction of the Führer that world Jewry

[99] *Ibid.*, p. 474.

[100] Bradley F. Smith and Agnes F. Peterson eds., *Heinrich Himmler. Geheimreden 1933 bis 1945 und andere Ansprachen*, Frankfurt/M.-Berlin-Vienna, 1974, pp. 200f.

[101] Quoted from Broszat, *op. cit.*, pp. 120f., footnote 68.

is facing a great fall.... The nations which have first recognized and resisted the Jew for what he is shall rule the world in his place."

When Hitler received a report by Himmler[102] on June 19, 1943, he asked the latter "to effect the radical evacuation of the Jews in the next three to four months, despite the resulting disquiet." When speaking to a number of *SS-Gruppenführer* in Posen on October 4, 1943,[103] Himmler said "that those participating in the mass killings of the Jews had remained decent, apart from exceptions of human weakness." He described "the evacuation of the Jews, the extermination of the Jewish people," as the "most difficult task." He thus dropped the cover name "evacuation" for the extermination. "Most of you will know what it means when 100 corpses lie side by side, when there are 500 or 1,000. To have gone through this ... is a never written and never to be written page of glory in our history...."

In a speech of October 6, 1943 delivered to the Reichsleiter and Gauleiter in Posen two days later, Himmler said:[104]

> The sentence "the Jews must be exterminated" with its few words ... is easily said. But for him who must carry out this demand it is the hardest and most difficult of all.... We faced the question: what about the women and children? I have decided to find a perfectly clear solution. I did not consider it justified to exterminate the men — that is to kill them or let them be killed — and allow the children to live as avengers, for our sons and grandchildren. For the organization which performed this task, it was the hardest ever. It has been done.... Perhaps much later we can reflect on whether more should be told the German people about this. I think that it is preferable that we — all of us — who have done this for our people, who have taken this responsibility upon ourselves (responsibility for a deed, not for an idea), should take this secret with us to our graves.

In a speech to several Generals at Sonthofen on May 24, 1944, Himmler declared:[105]

102 Note by Himmler of June 1943 (Bundesarchiv Koblenz), quoted from Krausnick, *Anatomy of the SS-State, op. cit.*, p. 128.
103 IMT, vol. XXIX, Nuremberg Document PS-1919, p. 145.
104 Smith and Peterson *op. cit.*, pp. 169f.
105 *Ibid.*, p. 203.

> Another problem, decisive for the internal security of the Reich and Europe, was the Jewish problem. This was solved as ordered, and in accordance with our national perception (applause)[106].... I did not feel justified — and this concerns the Jewish women and children — to allow the children to grow up as avengers, who will then kill our fathers[107] and our grandchildren. The problem was thus solved without compromise.... But I have one conviction. I would fear for the front built in the east of the General Government [Poland], if we had not solved the Jewish problem there, if the ghetto of Lublin still existed, or the giant ghetto of 500,000 people in Warsaw....[108]

Two days later, on May 26, 1944, he addressed the same subject when speaking to high-ranking officers:[109]

> I have thrust Jewry out of its positions ruthlessly .... I have thus deprived the broad masses of their last catalyst. By removing the Jew, I have prevented the possible formation of any revolutionary core or focus of bacilli in Germany. One can, of course, ask me: Yes, but could you not have solved this in a simpler way — or rather not simpler — but in a more humane fashion?

Even when the final catastrophe of the Third Reich could no longer be ignored, Goebbels and Hitler repeated their anti-Semitic hate tirades. On January 21, 1945, Goebbels wrote in the weekly *Das Reich*: "Mankind would sink into eternal darkness and revert to a primitive and apathetic primeval age, if the Jews were to win this war."[110] On March 14, 1945 he wrote in his diary: "The Jews must be killed like rats the moment one has power. Thank God we have done this radically in Germany. I hope that the world will follow our example."[111]

106 Recording: cf. Smith and Peterson, *op. cit.*, p. 305, footnote 60.

107 Appears thus in the text. Probably an error for "sons."

108 A similar speech, again to generals at Sonthofen, on June 21, 1944, condensed in Smith and Peterson, *op. cit.*, pp. 203ff.

109 Quoted from Broszat, *op. cit.*, pp. 100, 121, footnote 69.

110 The weekly *Das Reich*, January 21, 1945 (quoted from Walter Hegemann, *Publizistik im Dritten Reich*, Hamburg, 1948, p. 483).

111 Joseph Goebbels, *Tagebücher 1945. Die letzten Aufzeichnungen*, Hamburg, 1977, p. 223.

In his last conversation recorded by Martin Bormann on April 2, 1945, Hitler said:[112]

> In a world ever more morally polluted by Jewish poison, a nation immune to this poison must finally gain the upper hand. Seen thus, National Socialism will earn eternal gratitude for exterminating the Jews in Germany and Central Europe.

One day before his suicide, on April 29, 1945, a week before the surrender of the Third Reich, Hitler ended his "political testament" with a demand:[113]

> Above all I oblige the leadership of the nation and their adherents to scrupulously observe the racial laws, and offer merciless resistance to the world poisoner of all peoples, International Jewry.

112 Hitler's political testament. *Die Bormann-Diktate vom Februar und April 1945*, Hamburg, 1981, p. 122.

113 Domarus, *op. cit.*, p. 2239.

BABI YAR

1941 - 1991

An Educational Remembrance by

The Simon Wiesenthal Center

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BABI YAR
1941 - 1991

A RESOURCE BOOK AND GUIDE

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August, 1991

During the two-day period of September 29-30, 1941, 33,771 Jews were ordered from their homes in Kiev and brought to the ravine at Babi Yar to be murdered. Men, women, children, the old, the sick and babies. There were few young men among them, for most had been conscripted into the Soviet army to do battle with the Nazi invader. Those to be murdered were told to pack their essentials in a suitcase. The subterfuge was so successful that many victims believed they were only to be resettled. Ukrainian police units were of invaluable service to the Nazis as they went from house to house driving Jews out. Using their knowledge of the surroundings, they uncovered Jews and brought them to slaughter.

These last two days of September, 1941 mark a turning point in the mass murder of the Jews of the Ukraine. During the following years of the occupation, many more Jews from Kiev and its environs were picked up by SS commandos and Ukrainian police and brought to Babi Yar to be murdered. Sonderkommando 4a was led by SS Standartenfuehrer, Paul Blobel, who was sentenced to death by the Nuremberg Tribunal for this crime. The crime against the 33,771 Jews was only one of the accusations for which Blobel had to answer; he was charged with a total of 60,000 murders. The number of those who were murdered at Babi Yar up until the Nazi retreat in 1944 reached 100,000 – for the most part, Jews.

The name Babi Yar is a symbol of horror for future generations as well, an admonition of Jewish history. We recall the 50th anniversary of this crime at a time in which antisemitism in many countries has actually survived their Jews. So-called "historians" deny that these crimes against the Jews were even committed. But in the end, the truth will prevail and those who hope that the world will forget these crimes will go down in history as slanderers. Some of these deniers have the title of professor – this serves to magnify their guilt.

Stalin forbade anyone from discussing or writing about Babi Yar. His policy was to declare all the victims of Nazi crimes simply as Soviets. Even after Stalin's death, when Yevgeny Yevtushenko wrote his famous poem, "Babi Yar," he was officially reprimanded by Khrushchev in an article published in *Pravda*. Author, Anatoli Kuznetsov, could only publish his work on Babi Yar in 1967, outside his country. The Soviet Union was not interested in presenting – whether in published or artistic form - the Jewish tragedy.

As I jot these words down, and as we will soon observe the 50th anniversary of the mass murder at Babi Yar, the communist Soviet Union of the past has ceased to exist.

Let us hope that all the peoples of the Soviet Union will learn the lessons of the past, and that the victims of communism as well as the victims of Nazism will be preserved in cherished memory.

Simon Wiesenthal

Simon Wiesenthal Center

From The Desk Of The Dean

August 16, 1991

It was only six years ago, but by today's historic developments in the Soviet Union, it could very well have been another millennium. My first trip to Babi Yar was in 1985. An eerie feeling overtook me as I retraced the steps taken by nearly 100,000 Jews who were brutally murdered by the Nazis and their Ukrainian helpers beginning in 1941. There were no markers anywhere to indicate that this was predominantly a massive Jewish cemetery. What struck me was the misfortune of the victims, the men, women and children who were murdered first by the Nazis because they were Jews, and then again by the communists because they would not permit their burial place to be known as a place where Jews died. Two mortal enemies of the Jews converged with the same idea, to obliterate their memory.

What should Babi Yar teach us? First, we should never forget that it was not only German nationals that flocked to the swastika, but that there were collaborators who lined the roads everywhere Hitler's armies struck. There were Lithuanian killers who murdered the Jews of Kovno and Minsk. There were Ukrainian killers who manned Hitler's concentration camps and did the killing at Babi Yar. There were Vichy Frenchmen who rounded up the Jews of France and sent them to the concentration camps. Jew-hatred was not confined to a single flag; many nationalities marched to its drum....

Today, as the new-old Baltic states are officially recognized by the Western world, we have every right to ask them: "What have you learned from the brutal totalitarian repression of the past?" Hopefully, they have learned to conduct themselves according to the principles of democracy....

But there is cause for concern. The Simon Wiesenthal Center has received disturbing information from Ukraine's neighbor, Lithuania, that former members of Lithuanian murder squads, who assisted the Nazis in liquidating the Jews and were later convicted by Soviet courts, are now being officially rehabilitated. Their confiscated property is being returned and they have been given back pay for the few years they served in prison after World War II.

In short, they are being exonerated for their participation in Hitler's Final Solution.

Babi Yar reminds us that the task of remembrance for the Jew is never-ending. We must be ever vigilant to make sure that the Babi Yar we commemorate will be the last one visited upon us.

Rabbi Marvin Hier

BABI YAR

From The Encyclopedia Of The Holocaust

BABI YAR, ravine, situated in the northwestern part of Kiev, where the Jews of the Ukrainian capital were systematically massacred. At the southern end of the ravine were two cemeteries, one of which was Jewish.

Kiev was captured by the Twenty-ninth Corps and the Sixth German Army on September 19, 1941. Of its Jewish population of 160,000, some 100,000 had managed to flee before the Germans took the city. Shortly after the German takeover, from September 24 to 28, a considerable number of buildings in the city center, which were being used by the German military administration and the army, were blown up; many Germans (as well as local inhabitants) were killed in the explosions. After the war, it was learned that the sabotage operation had been the work of an NKVD (Soviet security police) detachment that had been left behind in the city for that purpose.

On September 26, the Germans held a meeting in which it was decided that in retaliation for the attacks on the German-held installations, the Jews of Kiev would all be put to death. Participating in the meeting were the military governor, Maj. Gen. Friedrich Georg Eberhardt; the Higher SS and the Police Leader at Rear Headquarters Army Group South, SS-Obergruppenfuehrer Friedrich Jeckeln; the officer commanding Einsatzgruppe C, SS-Brigadefuehrer Dr. Otto Rasch; and the officer commanding Sonderkommando 4a, SS-Standartenfuehrer Paul Blobel. The implementation of the decision to kill the Jews of Kiev was entrusted to Sonderkommando 4a. This unit consisted of SD (Sicherheitsdienst; Security Service) and Sicherheitspolizei (Security Police; Sipo) men; the third company of the Special Duties Waffen-SS battalion; and a platoon of the No. 9 police battalion. The unit was reinforced by police battalions Nos. 45 and 305 and by units of the Ukrainian auxiliary police.

On September 28, notices were posted in the city ordering the Jews to appear the following morning, September 29, at 8:00 a.m. at the corner of Melnik and Dekhtyarev streets; they were being assembled there, so the notice said, for their resettlement in new locations. (The text had been prepared by Propaganda Company No. 637 and the notices had been printed by the Sixth Army printing press.)

The next morning, masses of Jews reported at the appointed spot. They were directed to proceed

along Melnik Street toward the Jewish cemetery and into an area comprising the cemetery itself and a part of the Babi Yar ravine. The area was cordoned off by a barbed-wire fence and guarded by Sonderkommando police and Waffen-SS men, as well as Ukrainian policemen. As the Jews approached the ravine, they were forced to hand over all the valuables in their possession, to take off all their clothes, and to advance toward the ravine edge, in groups of ten. When they reached the edge, they were gunned down by automatic fire. The shooting was done by several squads of SD and Sipo personnel, police, and Waffen-SS men of the Sonderkommando unit, the squads relieving one another every few hours. When the day ended, the bodies were covered with a thin layer of soil. According to official reports of the Einsatzgruppe, in two days of shooting (September 29 and 30), 33,771 Jews were murdered.

In the months that followed, many more thousands of Jews were seized, taken to Babi Yar, and shot. Among the general population there were some who helped Jews go into hiding, but there were also a significant number who informed on them to the Germans and gave them up. After the war, the officer in charge of the Sipo and SD bureau testified that his Kiev officer received so many letters from the Ukrainian population informing on Jews - "by the bushel" - that the office could not deal with them all, for lack of manpower. Evidence of betrayal of Jews by the Kiev population was also given by Jewish survivors and by the Soviet writer Anatoly Kuznetsov.

Babi Yar served as a slaughterhouse for non-Jews as well, such as Gypsies and Soviet prisoners of war. According to the estimate given by the Soviet research commission on Nazi crimes, 100,000 persons were murdered at Babi Yar.

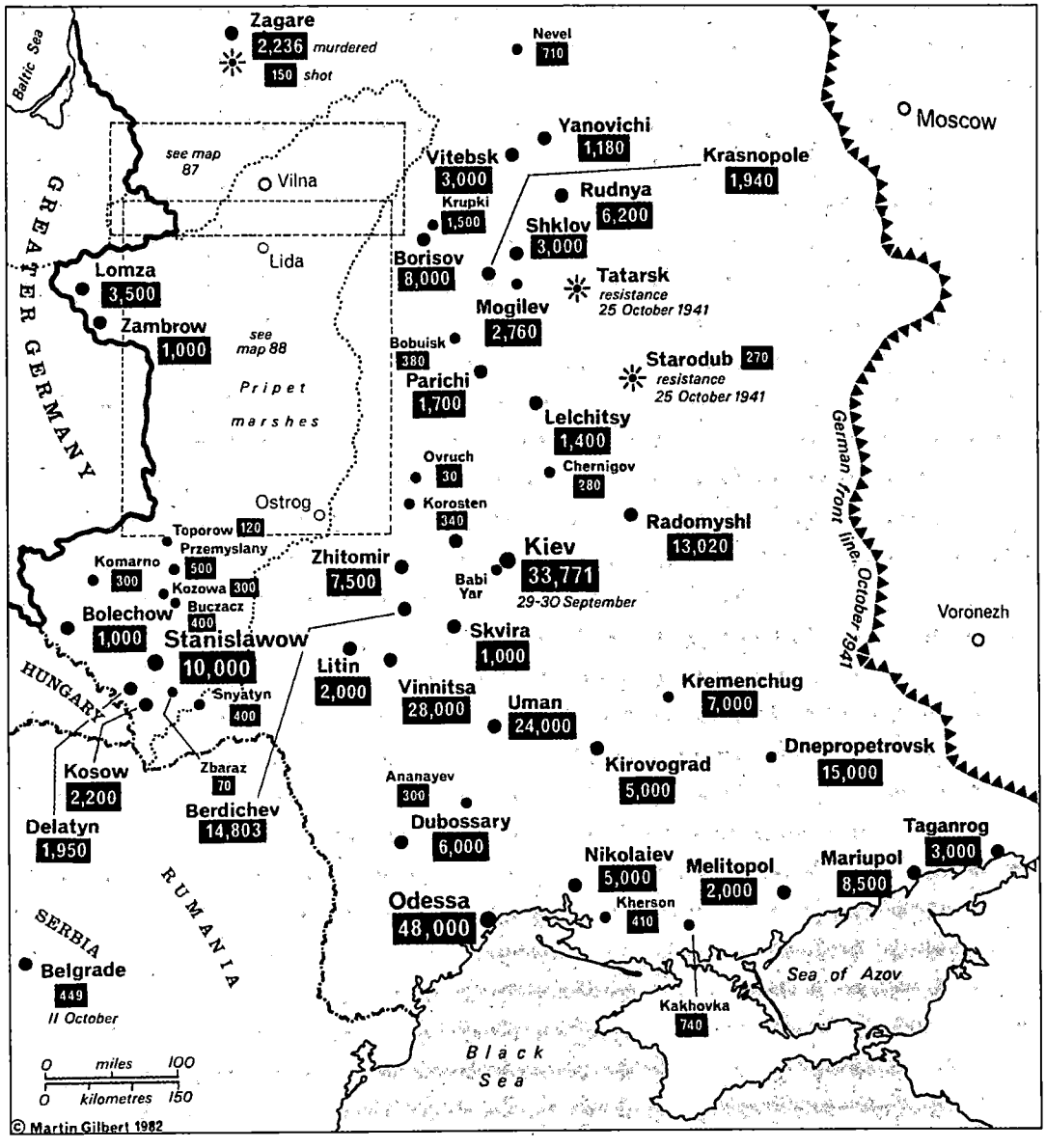
In July 1943, by which time the Red Army was on the advance, Paul Blobel came back to Kiev. He was now on a new assignment, in coordination with SS-Gruppenfuehrer Dr. Max Thomas, the officer commanding the SD and Sipo in the Ukraine: that of erasing all evidence of the mass carnage that the Nazis had perpetrated. For this purpose, Blobel formed two special groups, identified by the code number 1005. Unit 1005-A was made up of eight to ten SD men and thirty German policemen, and was under the command of an SS-Obersturmbannfuehrer named Baumann. In mid-August the unit embarked on its task of exhuming the corpses in Babi Yar and cremating them. The ghastly job itself was carried out by inmates of a nearby concentration camp (Syretsk), from which the Germans brought in 327 men, of whom 100 were Jews. The prisoners were housed in a bunker carved from the ravine wall; it had an iron gate that was locked during the night and was watched by a guard with a machine gun. They had chains bolted to their legs, and those who fell ill or lagged behind were shot on the spot. The mass graves were opened up by bulldozers, and it was the prisoners' job to drag the corpses to cremation pyres, which consisted of wooden logs doused in gasoline on a base of railroad ties. The bones that did not respond to incineration were crushed, for which purpose the Nazis brought in tombstones from the Jewish

cemetery. The ashes were sifted to retrieve any gold or silver they might have contained. Cremation of the corpses began on August 18 and went on for six weeks, ending on September 19, 1943. The Nazis did their job thoroughly, and when they were through no trace was left of the mass graves.

On the morning of September 29, the prisoners learned that they were about to be put to death. They already had a plan for escape, and resolved to put it into effect the same night. Shortly after midnight, under cover of darkness and the fog that enveloped the ravine, twenty-five prisoners broke out. Fifteen succeeded in making their escape; the others were shot during the attempt or on the following morning.

Gutman, Israel, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Holocaust.* New York: Macmillan Publishing, 1990 S.v. "Babi Yar," by Shmuel Spector.

Einsatzgruppen Murderers' Trail: September - October 1941



No Monument Over Babi Yar

by William Korey

Babi Yar: The Historical Record*

Courtroom 214 in the district court building of the West German city of Darmstadt, in Hesse, is small and dingy, an unlikely setting for rendering justice in one of the twentieth century's greatest crimes.[1] But every Monday and Tuesday for fourteen months, beginning on October 2, 1967, three judges sat here and listened to 175 witnesses give testimony concerning eleven (later, after the death of one, ten) defendants implicated in the massacre of Jews at Babi Yar. The defendants were also charged with mass killings in other parts of the Ukraine; Kharkov, Zhitomir, Lutsk, Radomysl, and Belaya Tserkov. But Babi Yar was the central focus of the trial.

Chief Judge Vinzenz Paquet made it clear that "this is not a show trial...not an attempt to master the German past." But, he added with emphasis, "there is a historical background," involving, at the onset of the Nazi invasion of Soviet Russia, preparations for mass killing. That "historical background" was to be starkly illuminated by the court proceedings. Together with other documentation it forms an objective record of what transpired at the death ravine of Babi Yar, on the outskirts of Kiev.

Those tried at Darmstadt were members of Einsatzgruppe C, Sonderkommando 4A, which had been assigned a special function in the Kiev area. This unit, numbering some 150 men, with the assistance of several hundred men from two police regiments, was responsible for the shooting of 33,771 Jews during a 36-hour period on September 29-30, 1941. The gas chambers of Auschwitz at the peak of their effort could not duplicate this feat. During the next two years, tens of thousands more Jews, Russians, and Ukrainians were to be put to death at the same site.

Einsatzgruppe C was one of four "special task forces" organized in May, 1941 by Reinhard Heydrich, chief of the Security Police and Security Service, under a directive of Adolf Hitler andHeinrich Himmler.[2] Numbering approximately three thousand men (drawn from SS, SD, andGestapo forces, as well as from various police units), the Einsatzgruppen were to be the principal instruments of terror in the Nazi war machine. Each Einsatzgruppe was divided into special commando groups (Sonderkommandos or Einsatzkommandos).

*Subtitles and illustrations added by staff of Simon Wiesenthal Center.

A confidential Fuehrer Order was given to the assembled leaders of the Einsatzgruppen and Sonderkommandos at top secret meetings held in Pretzsch, Saxony, in May, 1941. The order was not written; it was transmitted orally by Major General Streckenbach, chief of personnel of the Reich Security Main Office, in the presence of Heydrich. Under the guise of insuring the political security of the conquered Russian territories, the Einsatzgruppen were to liquidate all opposition to the Germans.

First For Extermination: Jews

First listed for extermination were all Jews. Then came the following categories - gypsies, the insane, "Asiatic inferiors," "asocial people, politically tainted persons, and racially and mentally inferior elements," and, finally, Communist functionaries. The imprecision of the last two categories made curbs on the homicidal operations of the Einsatzgruppen difficult, if not impossible.

An intimate relationship between the army high command and the Einsatzgruppen was worked out in written form at the end of May, 1941. Each of the Einsatzgruppen was attached to a major army group ("C" was detailed to Army Group South), and extermination orders required the express approval or tacit consent of the appropriate commanding general. Indeed, the mass shootings were regarded by high military officials as a kind of Roman spectacle to relieve boredom. As the Darmstadt trial made clear, many officials watched the executions from a nearby hill with fascination.

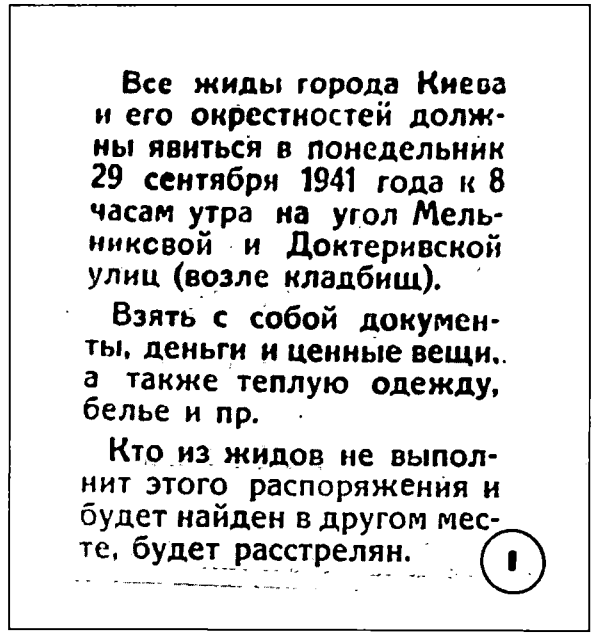
The hunt for Jews was the first task of the Einsatzgruppen. It is significant to note that the Fuehrer Order with respect to Jews came six months before the infamous decision taken at Wannsee (January, 1942) to bring about "the final solution of the Jewish question." As a high official of the Einsatzgruppen explained at Nuremberg, "Jews were to be killed...for the reason that they were considered carriers of Bolshevism and, therefore, endangering the security of the German Reich."

The mass carnage that was to befall Kiev was illustrative of this objective. Two of the defendants at Darmstadt, August Haefner and Adolf Janssen, headed a fifty-man advance party of Sonderkommando 4A which entered the city on September 19, the day Army Group South began to sweep into the area. Two days later, the chief of the Sonderkommando, Colonel Paul Blobel, arrived, and on the twenty-fifth the rest of the unit marched in. Final preparations were made for a decisive action "carried out exclusively against Jews with their entire families," as a top secret Einsatzgruppen report revealed.

On September 28, some two thousand notices were posted throughout the city:

All Jews of the City of Kiev and its environs must appear on the corner of Melnikov and Dokhturov Streets (beside the cemetery) at 8 A.M. on September 29, 1941. They must bring their documents, money, valuables, warm clothing, etc.

Jews who fail to obey this order and are found elsewhere will be shot.


Все жиды города Киева и его окрестностей должны явиться в понедельник 29 сентября 1941 года к 8 часам утра на угол Мельниксвой и Доктеривской улиц (возле кладбищ).

Взять с собой документы, деньги и ценные вещи, а также теплую одежду, белье и пр.

Кто из жидов не выполнит этого распоряжения и будет найден в другом месте, будет расстрелян.

1

All who enter the apartments left by Jews and take their property will be shot.[3]

These notices were printed in Russian, Ukrainian, and German. (But the usually punctilious Germans had incorrectly designated the streets. There was neither a Melnikov Street nor a Dokhturov Street in Kiev. There were, however, a Melnik Street and a Degtyarev Street, the intersection of which was near the Lukyanovka cemetery. Thus the designation was clear, notwithstanding the printing error evidently resulting from the use of incompetent translators.)

The notices were accompanied by a word-of-mouth rumor, a deliberate falsehood spread by the Kommandos, that the Jews were to be evacuated and resettled elsewhere. Since the designated intersection site bordered on a railway station, the rumor seemed to have a plausible foundation. A secret official report spoke of the "extremely clever organization" utilized to overcome "the difficulties resulting from such a large-scale action."

Local Jews: Unaware Of Extermination Plan

The Kommando group did not expect the majority of the Jews to show up immediately. At the most, they expected some six thousand. But Kiev's Jews, unaware of the Nazi extermination campaign, believing apparently that they would really be resettled elsewhere, and fearful of the death threat for disobedience, assembled by the thousands - "more than thirty thousand," said the official report. It must be remembered in this connection that the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact was accompanied by a blackout of news in the Soviet press concerning Nazi atrocities against Jews in Poland. And the implementation of the Wannsee decision lay in the future.

"Procession Of The Doomed..."

The Jews who gathered on the streets of Kiev on September 29 were mothers, children, the elderly, and the sick. The youth had left the city with the retreating Red Army. Ilya Ehrenburg described, in a moving section of his memoirs, how "a procession of the doomed marched along endless Lvovskaya [a thoroughfare leading to the intersection]; the mothers carrying their babies; the paralyzed pulled along on hand carts."[4]

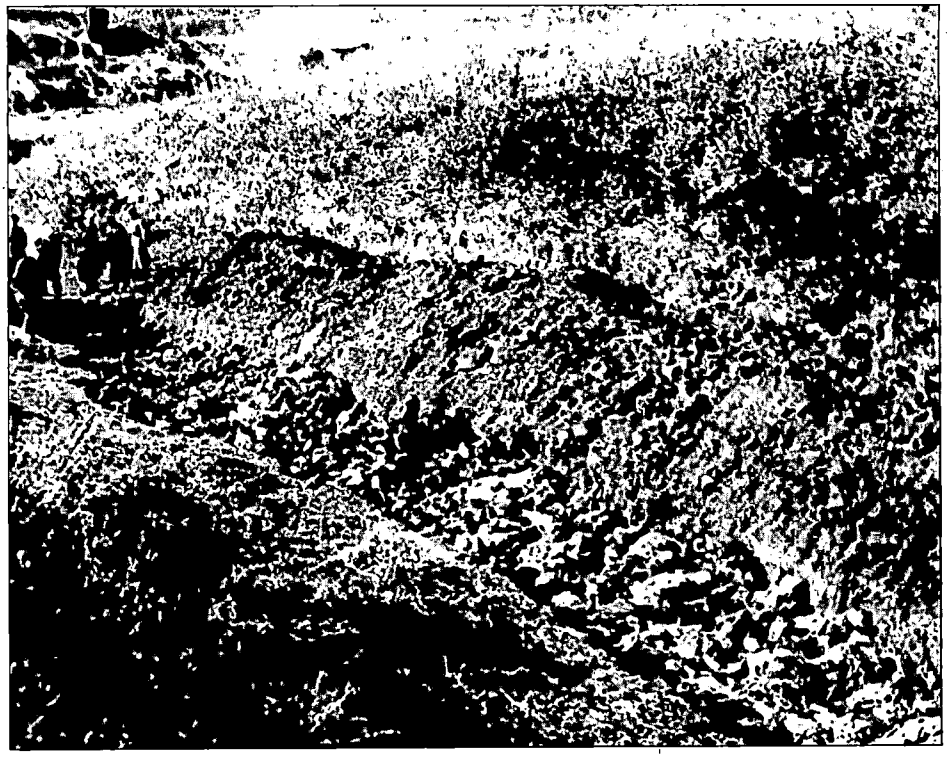
Ukrainian *Polizei*: Especially Brutal

The unexpected size of the crowd made for a slow procession through the principal streets. It was not until late morning or early afternoon that most of the victims reached the cemetery. At that point the street was blocked with a barrier of barbed wire and anti-tank obstructions. A passage had been left through the middle, guarded on both sides by Kommandos assisted by Ukrainian *Polizei*. The victims were ordered to remove their clothing. An eyewitness, Sergei Ivanovich Lutzenko, the warden of Lukyanovka cemetery, related, in an official Soviet account, the grim finale of the march: "They were ordered to deposit on the ground in a neat pile all the belongings they brought with them and then, in tight columns of one hundred each, were marched to the adjoining Babi Yar...I could see well how at the ravine's edge the columns were stopped, how everyone was stripped naked, their clothes piled in orderly bundles."[5] Before the shooting began, the Jews were required to run a gauntlet of rubber truncheons or big sticks as they entered the long passage. The Ukrainian *Polizei* were especially brutal with those who dallied. As Soviet novelist Anatoly Kuznetsov described it in his novel *Babi Yar*, they were "kicked, beaten with brass knuckles and clubs...with drunken viciousness and in a strange sadistic frenzy."

Kuznetsov observed that, judging from their accents, the *Polizei* came from the Western Ukraine, which had been under Polish rule, and in which anti-Semitism was rampant. An Einsatzgruppen secret report suggests that the Ukrainian population was sympathetic to the German objective: "...the embitterment of the Ukrainian population against the Jews is extremely great because they are thought responsible for the explosion in Kiev [which, on September 24, had wrecked the headquarters of the Rear Army Command of the Sixth Army]. They are also regarded as informers and agents of the NKVD... The population hardly knew that the Jews were liquidated, but recent

experience suggests that they would not have objected." A witness at Darmstadt, Karl Henneke, who had served with the task force, testified that the Ukrainian population was simply indifferent to what had happened to their Jewish neighbors.

The Lone Survivor - Ravine Dynamited To Cover Dead And Alive



The initial executions were described in an early Soviet note dated January 6, 1942: "The first persons selected for shooting were forced to lie face down at the bottom of the ravine and were shot with automatic rifles. Then the Germans shoveled a little earth over their bodies. The next group of people awaiting execution was forced to lie on top of them and was shot in the same way..."[6] Evidence at the Darmstadt trial confirmed the description. Later the procedure was altered. According to the Lutzenko account, the victims were "put in a row at the very edge of the ravine and shot in the neck by machine guns; children were thrown alive into the ravine." A Darmstadt defendant recalled how he would then enter into the "glutinous mass" of bodies to shoot at those which seemed still alive. Shovelfuls of sand covered the bodies. Then the machine guns would again stutter, and another group plunged downward. The sole known survivor of the Babi Yar mass murder, Dina Mironovna Pronicheva, now with the Kiev Puppet Theater, came from the Soviet Union to provide the court with the harrowing details that verified the technique of slaughter.

Colonel Blobel later testified that his unit had been divided into squads of thirty men each; a squad would shoot for an hour and would then be replaced by a second squad. The shooting continued until night, when the Germans retired to their quarters, herding the remaining Jews into empty garages. Early in the morning the massacre was resumed. That evening, an eyewitness reported, "the ravine was dynamited so as to cover with earth both the dead and those still alive." Illustrative of the mentality of the Einsatzgruppen was the testimony of one of them at Darmstadt. Following the massacre, he presented himself to an officer (also a defendant at Darmstadt) and asked: "Lieutenant Colonel, don't you have anything more for me to shoot?"

Operational Situation Report USSR No. 101

Einsatzgruppe C
Location: Kiev
Sonderkommando 4a in collaboration with Einsatzgruppe HQ and two Kommandos of police regiment South, executed 33,771 Jews in Kiev on September 29 and 30, 1941.

Einsatzgruppe D
Location: Nikolayev
The Kommandos continued the liberation of the area from Jews and Communist elements. In the period covered by the report, the towns of Nikolayev and Kherson in particular were freed of Jews. Remaining officials there were appropriately treated. From September 16 to 30, 22,467 Jews and Communists were executed. Total number, 35,782. Investigations again show that the high Communist officials everywhere have fled to safety. On the whole, leading partisans or leaders of sabotage detachments have been seized.

An official Einsatzgruppen comment expressed pride in the operation: "The transaction was carried out without friction. No incidents occurred." At the end of the thirty-six hours, the precise calculations of the Germans showed 33,771 dead. What percentage of the total Kiev Jewish population this was cannot be precisely ascertained. The total pre-war Jewish population of Kiev numbered approximately 180,000, out of a total population of 846,000. After the war began, the total population was reduced by evacuation to 304,500. If the Jewish population was reduced at the same rate, then approximately 65,000 Jews remained.[7] Thus it can be estimated that at least one-half of the Jewish population was liquidated in two days. (However, Kuznetsov, basing himself upon Soviet figures, estimates the number of Jews shot during September 29-30 at 70,000.) If this is correct, the number of remaining Jews was 30,000. The remainder must have scattered, seeking hiding places in the city or in nearby areas. The Einsatzgruppen continued to hunt them down to feed their unsatiated machine gunners at the ravine.

During the subsequent two years of German occupation, the death roll of Babi Yar victims continued to mount, with executions of Soviet prisoners of war, partisans, and Communist activists. Though the extraordinary pace set by the September 29-30 massacre was not duplicated, the rain of bullets never ceased. A report of the Einsatzgruppen stressed that even "the immediate hundred per cent exclusion of Jewry...would not remove the political source of danger."

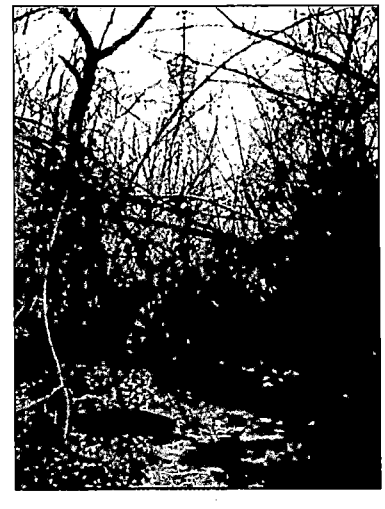
The "main task", the report went on, was the "destruction of the communistic machine" and this purpose could not be replaced "in favor of the practically easier task of the exclusion of the Jews." A post-war report of a USSR Special Commission chaired by Nikita Khrushchev estimated that over 100,000 men, women, and children were liquidated at Babi Yar. (A total of 195,000 are said to have been executed in the general area of Kiev.) Tens of thousands of Russians and Ukrainians lay buried in a common grave with Jews.

"Here My Jews Are Buried"

But the uniquely Jewish feature of the extermination procedure remained. Characteristic was the selection process by which Soviet prisoners of war were chosen for execution at Babi Yar. An Einsatzgruppen directive specified that "the racial origin has to be taken into consideration." Thus, a report of executions by Sonderkommando 4A in November, 1941, noted: "...the larger part were again Jews, and a considerable part of these were again Jewish prisoners of war who had been handed over by the Wermacht."

For the Einsatzgruppen killers, Babi Yar represented an apotheosis of their anti-Jewish objective. In March, 1942, Colonel Blobel was driving in the vicinity with Gestapo agent Albert Hartel when the latter noticed that the surface was agitated by pressures from below - the spring thaw having released gases from decaying corpses. Blobel proudly explained: "Here my Jews are buried."

Suppressing The Butchery



But the SS colonel had not finished his task, for the dead were not to be permitted even their rest. As German defeat neared and they feared that the butchery might come to the attention of the world, the SS ordered Blobel to erase all traces of the Babi Yar mass burial. In August, 1943, he supervised the digging-up of the area; each corpse was examined for rings, earrings, and gold teeth. Huge, crude crematoria were built; the bodies were stacked alternately with logs, and doused with gasoline. Each pyre took two nights and one day to burn. The bones that did not respond to incineration were crushed, mixed with earth, and scattered over the area. The fires lasted almost six weeks, the stench suffocating the entire Lukyanovka district.

The evidence could not, however, be suppressed. Disclosures of a hidden eyewitness, revelations of a survivor of the shooting, captured Einsatzgruppen records, reports of escaped slaves who had participated in the 1943 excavation, and charred pieces of bone which even today are dug up at the site - all brought to the world details of what had happened.

Some details were made public at the Nuremberg trials of 1947-48, which concluded with the death sentence imposed upon Blobel and other Einsatzgruppen leaders. The Darmstadt trial provided the final chapter in the documentation process. Long prison terms were meted out to the ten defendants.

Initial Post-War Plans: Build A Modern Market

The trial received almost no coverage in the Soviet Union. This was hardly surprising, since Babi Yar constituted the most poignant example of Jewish martyrdom on Soviet soil. Soviet authorities have from the very beginning attempted to blur this aspect of its character. The official government report on the massacre, published some six months after Kiev's liberation, spoke of Nazi crimes at Babi Yar against Soviet citizens generally rather that against its Jewish community specifically.[8] Apparently the local authorities were anxious to remove all traces of Babi Yar, for they planned to build a modern market on the site. Ehrenburg, at the time, asked the Ukrainian premier, Nikita Khrushchev, to intervene, and was promptly advised by the premier "not to interfere in matters that do not concern you."[9]

But in the immediate post-war years, the Soviet regime was not yet overtly hostile to its Jewish community, and the Soviet public was able to learn of the distinctly anti-Jewish aspects of what had happened at Babi Yar. Much became known through Ehrenburg's novel *The Storm*, published in 1947, which won the Stalin prize. The massacre of Jews at Babi Yar also was sympathetically treated in poetry, such as the poem composed by the Ukrainian-Jewish writer Savva Golovanivsky, and in recorded songs of the Yiddish singer Nekhama Lifschitz (one of which told of the grief of a Jewish mother unable to find the remains of her children who perished at Babi Yar). Indeed, official plans were advanced for a public monument at Babi Yar. A prominent architect, A.V. Vlasov, prepared the design of a memorial, "strict, simple, in the form of a prism," and the artist B. Ovchinnikov worked out the appropriate sketches "dedicated to Babi Yar."[10]

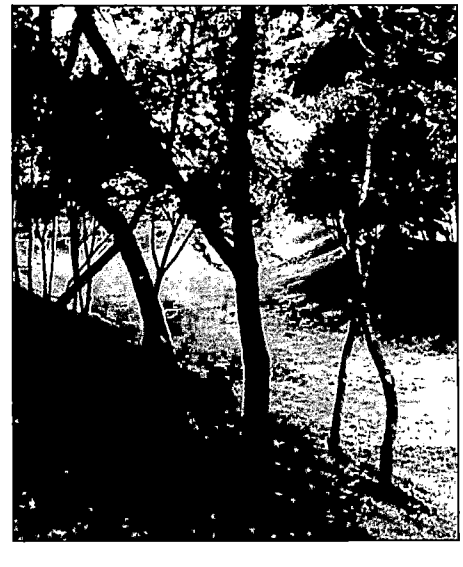
1948 Antisemitic Campaign Buries Babi Yar

But the anti-Semitic campaign which burst forth in late 1948 required that Babi Yar be plunged into the "memory hole" of history. Golovanivsky's poem was singled out for attack in March, 1949, because he had dared to suggest that Ukrainians and Russians "had turned their back on an old Jew, Abraham, whom in 1941 the Germans had marched through the streets of Kiev to be shot."[11] The poet was charged with "nationalist slander" and "defamation of the Soviet nation." Another Ukrainian-Jewish poet, Leonid Pervomaisky, was also denounced for "repeating Golovanivsky's defamation of the Soviet people." The theme of Babi Yar was no longer countenanced in literature, and plans for the memorial were quietly shelved.

So complete was the blackout that Soviet citizens were never informed that in June, 1951, one of the principal architects of the Babi Yar holocaust, Colonel Blobel, was executed in Nuremberg for his crimes. And even such a knowledgeable Soviet writer as Anatoly Kuznetsov, the author of a documentary novel on Babi Yar, stated that "...not a single Nazi has been tried or punished specifically for Babi Yar."[12]

The death of Stalin and the beginning of the Thaw did not bring any immediate change in the official attitude on Babi Yar. It was not until 1959, following the consolidation of Khrushchev's authority, that the search for coexistence with America coupled with the growing awareness of the need for widespread reforms in various parts of Soviet social life enabled Soviet policy-makers to loosen some inhibiting restraints. The three years that followed saw a veritable renaissance in Soviet literature. Even Jewish communal life was tendered a few concessions.

1959 Planned Sports Stadium Sparks Protest



The moment was opportune for sensitive Soviet intellectuals, brooding over the double tragedy of Babi Yar - first the holocaust there and then suppression of any reference to it - to voice concern. It was not long in coming. The distinguished Soviet writer Viktor Nekrasov, upon learning that the Architectural Office of the Kiev Town Council planned to flood Babi Yar, fill it, and "turn the site into a park, to build a stadium there," wrote a long letter to *Literaturnaia gazeta* which appeared on October 10, 1959:

> Is this possible? Who could have thought of such a thing? To fill a...deep ravine and on the site of such a colossal tragedy to make merry and play football?
>
> No, this must not be allowed!

Nekrasov noted that other sites of Nazi atrocities had been turned into memorials, and "lest people ever forget what happened," he boldly demanded similar "tributes of respect" for the Kiev citizens who had been shot in Babi Yar.

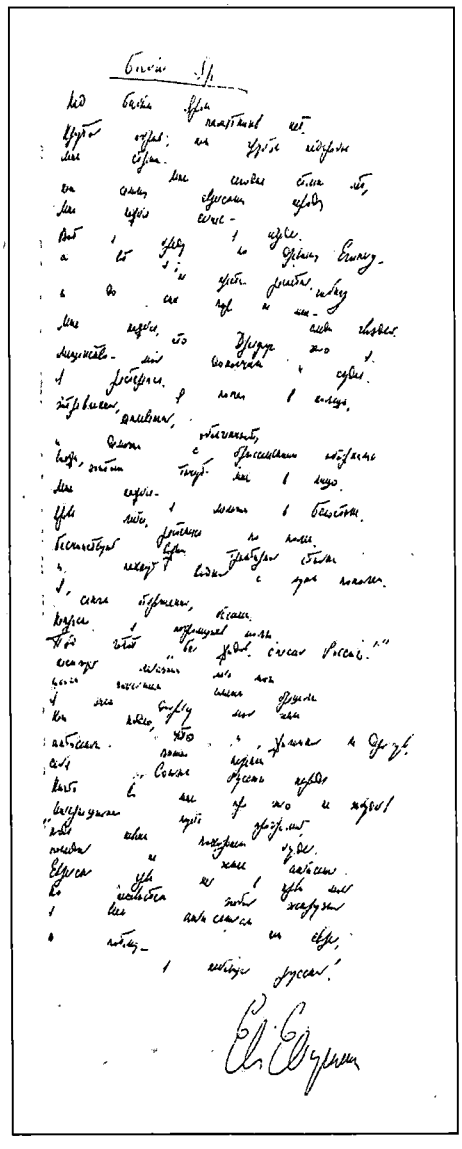
Two months later (December 22, 1959), the same journal carried a letter signed by a number of inhabitants of the district near Babi Yar in which they supported the recommendation to erect a monument on the "murder site." They observed that Nekrasov's article "concerning the tragically famous Babi Yar attracted the particular attention of the Kiev inhabitants" but, at the same time, they welcomed the idea that "a park be first planted in Babi Yar," and then "a monument erected in its center." What made the letter particularly significant was the lack of a single reference to Jews. It signaled an eventual half-way response of the authorities to the outraged conscience of the intellectuals: a monument should indeed be built, but one not specifically commemorating the martyred Jews. A further small item in the literary newspaper on March 3, 1960, pointed in the same direction. The editors noted that the deputy chairman of the Kiev Town Council Executive Committee had replied to the Nekrasov article with an explanation that the monument had not yet been erected because of "lack of reclamation of the region." The deputy chairman went on to promise that once the afforestation of the slopes of the ravine was completed, and a public park planted there, then "an obelisk with a memorial plaque to *Soviet citizens* exterminated by the Nazis will be erected in its center." (Emphasis added.) The special martyrdom of Jews was not mentioned. The deputy chairman's reply is interesting for another reason. He pointed out that commitment to build a memorial was a consequence of "a resolution adopted by the Ukraine Government in December 1959," three months *after* Nekrasov had raised the issue. It was clear that Nekrasov had pricked the conscience of the Kiev community.

Yevtushenko: Awakens The Conscience Of The World

A much larger community, extending far beyond even Soviet borders, was to be stirred by Yevgeny Yevtushenko in September, 1961, almost twenty years to the day after the Babi Yar tragedy. In an autobiographical sketch published later in *L'Express*, Yevtushenko explained how he had come to write his courageous, and moving "Babi Yar."[13] He had waited for a long time, he said, to publish a poem on anti-Semitism, but an appropriate form had not presented itself until after he had visited Babi Yar in the fall of 1961 to see and sense the Holocaust. Upon his return to Moscow he wrote the poem in "a couple of hours." In it he identified himself with "each man they shot here,"

"every child they shot here," and, in his profound mourning, he was transformed into "one vast and soundless howl."

"Everything Here Screams In Silence"



On September 16, Yevtushenko recited "Babi Yar" to twelve hundred students at the Moscow Polytechnical Museum. He afterward recalled being "so agitated" that he kept the text in front of him. The reaction was overpowering: "When I had finished there was dead silence. I stood fidgeting with the paper, afraid to look up. When I did, I saw the entire audience had risen to their feet. Then the applause exploded and went on for a good ten minutes. People leaped onto the stage and embraced me. My eyes were full of tears." He was uncertain whether the poem would be published, but the then forthright editor of *Lituraturnaia gazeta* gave the go-ahead signal, not without a last-minute warning to Yevtushenko: "Of course, anything may happen. I hope you're prepared." To which the poet replied, "I am." The poem was published on September 19 and immediately became an international sensation.

The poem began with a reminder that "No monument stands over Babi Yar." Only a "steep precipice," remains as an "epitaph." Yet the memory cannot be erased:

> There is a rustling of wild grass over Babi Yar.
> The trees look fearsome, like judges.
> Everything here screams in silence.

The poem was more than a reminder of tragedy; it probed the roots of popular anti-Semitism, and what made it particularly unusual was that Yevtushenko did not hesitate to indict historic anti-Semitism in Russia. On an official level, it is taboo to suggest that popular anti-Semitism persists to any significant extent. Yevtushenko dared to suggest that it does.

More remarkable even than the attack on anti-Semitism was the poet's characterization of Jews throughout the world as a people with a long, common history and a unifying tradition that made them a distinct entity. In a striking section of his poem he linked together the ancient Israelites,

Christ, and Dreyfus, and, significantly, defined this unity as a distinct and separate "Jewish people." This conception not only does violence to the analysis prescribed by Soviet ideologists; it flies in the face of the accepted doctrine that Soviet Jews have little, if anything, in common with Jews elsewhere in time or space.

Antisemitic Counter Attack

The storm of criticism that followed the poem's appearance was not unexpected. Five days after "Babi Yar" was published, *Literatura i zhizn'*, the journal of the Writers' Union of the Russian Federated Republic, carried a response in the form of a poem by another Soviet writer, Aleksei Markov. Yevtushenko's patriotism was questioned -"What sort of real Russian are you...? By referring to Jewish martyrdom at Babi Yar and to Russian anti-Semitism, Yevtushenko had attempted to defile (with a "pygmy's spittle") "Russian crew-cut lads" who fell in battle against the Nazis. In a concluding line, Markov flung at Yevtushenko the accusation "cosmopolitan," which, in the Soviet lexicon of previous years, was an epithet that carried the implication of treason.

To Speak Of A " Jewish People" Is "Illiterate"

A less crudely violent if sharper attack appeared in the same journal three days later. Written by a well-known Soviet critic, Dmitry Starikov, the article by implication denied that anti-Semitism existed in the USSR. "The friendship of our people," Starikov wrote, "is now stronger and more monolithic than ever," and to suggest that anti-Semitism among Russians still exists is nothing less than a "provocation," as well as a "monstrous" insult to those "who have entrusted him [Yevtushenko] with their word...." Yevtushenko's conception of the Jews as a people was vehemently denounced on the usual grounds of being "supra-class, petty bourgeois illusions" which nurture "chauvinism." For Starikov, the poet's conception was but "reverse racism" for there are no "real historical links" between the ancient Hebrews and modern Russian Jews, and to speak of a "Jewish people," as such, is "illiterate." Yevtushenko, Starikov observed, had fanned "the dying flames of nationalist attitudes" and he warned him - using quotations from the authoritative Draft Program of the Soviet Communist Party - against taking any further steps into this "foul, swampy quagmire...."

Finally, in typical post-war Soviet fashion, Starikov challenged the view that Babi Yar represented the martyrdom of Jewry. The "destinies of the persons who died there cry out" against the notion that Babi Yar was "one of history's examples of anti-Semitism." For, he went on, "the anti-

Semitism of the Fascists is only part of their misanthropic policy of genocide...the destruction of the 'lower races' including the Slavs." To underscore his argument, Starikov appealed to the authority of one of the Soviet Union's leading literary figures (and a Jew as well), Ilya Ehrenburg. Quoting arbitrarily from various wartime articles, including one on Babi Yar, Starikov contended that Ehrenburg "did not stress the fact that it was Jews who were killed there." Ehrenburg came to the defense of the embattled Yevtushenko. He wrote a short note to *Literaturnaia gazeta* on October 3 (published on October 14) in which he sharply disassociated himself from the Starikov article, observing that the selected quotations in fact "contradicted" Ehrenburg's own views.

But Starikov had not limited his criticism to Yevtushenko. In a scarcely veiled threat, he wondered aloud why the editors of *Literaturnaia gazeta* permitted the poet "to insult the triumph of the Leninist national policy" with "provocations." At the Twenty-second Party Congress, the powerful chief editor of the journal *Sovietskii soiuz*, Nikolai Gribachev, charged *Literaturnaia gazeta* with "irresponsibility" in "systematically publishing cheap sensations."

Yevtushenko won the hearts of young people throughout the USSR. Every copy of the *Literaturnaia gazeta* issue in which his poem appeared was "sold out in a matter of minutes," he later reported. He was flooded with letters and telegrams - approximately twenty thousand of them. Only thirty or forty were abusive, and these, he said, "were all unsigned and in obviously disguised handwriting." Everywhere he went in Russia, his audience wanted to hear him read "Babi Yar." Patricia Blake, a close observer of the Soviet literary scene who attended a number of Yevtushenko's readings, reported: "When he had finished, the crowd began pounding on the floor with their feet. 'Again, at once!' He read it again, and later in the evening, when the audience would not relent, read it once more. When this happened for the fourth time, Yevtushenko shouted for silence and said, 'Comrades, you and I have been in this hall for six hours, and I should think you would be as tired of hearing it as I am of reciting it.' But again they pounded and once more he complied."[14]

Khrushchev: "Comrade... This Poem Has No Place Here"

Yevtushenko and the support he received not merely stung the doctrinaire apologists into action; the highest Party authorities became concerned. Khrushchev was later to reveal that the "Party Central Committee had been receiving letters expressing anxiety that in some works the position of Jews in our country has been depicted in a distorted way."[15] He referred specifically to Yevtushenko's poem. At a Moscow meeting of several hundred intellectuals called by the Party leadership on December 17, 1962, the poem became a key issue. When Yevtushenko recited the last two lines of his poem to the audience, Khrushchev interjected: "Comrade Yevtushenko, this poem has no place here."[16]

It was time for the "appropriate" discipline to be applied and for the customary public denunciations to be made. Besides, by the end of December, 1962, the Party leadership had become convinced that the liberalism of the previous three-year period had gone too far in various art forms - in literature, painting, sculpture, cinematography. Lest the trend of critical examination of the past be extended to embrace the hallowed institutions of public life, brakes had to be applied. A Kremlin conference of writers and artists on March 7-8, covered in detail in the public press, provided the setting for the disciplinary action. And none other than the Party boss and premier, Nikita Khrushchev, was designated to administer it.[17] While condemnation of liberating trends extended to all spheres of the arts and to numerous individuals, "Babi Yar" was the focus of the attack. Two types of criticism were leveled at Yevtushenko. The first was a rehash of the principal argument used by Markov and Starikov: "Events are depicted in the poem as if only the Jewish population fell victim to the Fascist crime, while at the hands of the Hitlerite butchers there perished not a few Russians, Ukrainians, and other Soviet people of other nationalities."

Khrushchev: Jews... "Equal In Every Way"

The second criticism was more serious, and Khrushchev felt obliged to wander into a forest of questionable data to buttress it. The clearly implied reference in the poem, that anti-Semitism continued to exist in the Soviet Union, revealed that the author lacked "political maturity" and displayed "ignorance of the historical facts." Sharply the premier demanded, "For whom and why was it necessary to present the matter as if the population of the Jewish nationality in our country was being harmed?" The charge is "not true," for, since the very early days of the October Revolution, Soviet Jews have been treated "on an equal basis in every way" with all other national groups. A bludgeoning suggestion that Yevtushenko had permitted himself to be used by alien and foreign sources followed: "With us there is no Jewish question, and those who devise one are singing to somebody else's tune."

Khrushchev then proceeded to a characteristic Soviet class analysis of anti-Semitism: it is typical of capitalist society and is alien to socialism. Jews do not constitute a single undifferentiated whole. Properly, they are to be broken down into social classes: bourgeois Jews are like the bourgeoisie everywhere; proletarian Jews are like the oppressed proletariat everywhere. "People's deeds," Khrushchev emphasized, are to be "measured not from a national, but from a class point of view."

To illustrate his theme, the premier pointed to a particular instance of alleged treachery to the Soviet state by a Jew during World War II. A certain Kogan who had been an instructor at the Kiev Komsomol City Committee, he said, was found to be a translator at Nazi Field Marshal Friedrich von Paulus' headquarters. Khrushchev related that after von Paulus had been captured, a Soviet general called him to report the presence of Kogan. This exchange was then alleged to have taken place:

> Khrushchev: "How did he get here? You haven't made a mistake?"
> The Soviet general: "No, there is no mistake."

Khrushchev contrasted the alleged conduct of Kogan with that of a Jew named Vinokur, who was political commissar of a mechanized brigade that participated in the capture of von Paulus and his entourage. The point was then driven home: "That was how it was, one Jew served as a translator at Paulus' headquarters, and another, as a member of our forces, took part in the capture of Paulus and his translator."

The illustration went beyond the argument about anti-Semitism and raised the earlier issue of the specific martyrdom of Jews. For if the Nazis' program was not designed to effect the wholesale liquidation of all Jews, if some Jews had been permitted to escape genocide and even to serve in a fairly responsible post in the Nazi war machine, then the idea of a specific martyrdom of the Jewish nationality was placed in question. This was clearly Khrushchev's intention.

Curiosity was aroused by the story. Could von Paulus have employed a Jew? Only one other reference to a "Kogan" such as described by Khrushchev had appeared. In the very same year that the Kremlin conference of intellectuals was held, the Soviet youth publishing house, Molodaia Gvardiia, issued a novel by P. Gavrutto entitled *Clouds Over the City* which made reference to a certain Kogan as a traitor. The reference was greatly amplified in a revised edition of the book which appeared in 1965. Kogan was charged with having committed the "foul crime" of singlehandedly betraying the anti-German underground to the Gestapo and then becoming von Paulus' interpreter.

Not until August 9, 1966, was the Kogan story revealed to be fallacious. On that day, *Literaturnaia gazeta* published a long letter by Ariadna Gromova, a literary critic, which sharply attacked the Gavrutto novel for its treatment of Kogan. Entitled "In the Interest of Truth," her letter emphasized that the names of the traitors to the underground were known, and that Kogan was not among them. Moreover, the name of von Paulus' interpreter was known, and it was not Kogan. Indeed, Kogan, she observed, had never seen von Paulus, having left Kiev with the Soviet forces before the city was occupied. The letter noted that the false charges about Kogan had ruined his life.

One can only speculate as to how many other lives had been affected by the Khrushchev tale about Kogan. The year 1963 marked a high point in the Soviet campaign against economic crimes, which had pronounced anti-Semitic overtones in a number of areas. Were prosecutors and newspaper editors in these areas encouraged by the Kogan hoax to give vent to a personal bias against Jews or to exploit local anti-Semitic sentiments? No one can ever be sure. What is clear is that the Gromova criticism, even if it made no specific reference to Khrushchev and his tale (it focused only upon the Gavrutto story), shattered a malicious libel.

Shostakovich's 13th Symphony: Homage To Babi Yar Silenced By Officials

The pressures exerted upon Yevtushenko's "Babi Yar" in December, 1962, and even more strongly in the following March, had the required result. It was first made apparent not in the literary field, but rather in the musical field. By December, one of the USSR's most prestigious cultural figures, Dmitry Shostakovich, had completed his Thirteenth Symphony, a musical and choral setting of five poems by Yevtushenko, including "Babi Yar." The work received its first performance in Moscow on December 18, 1962, and was accorded a tumultuous reception. But no review appeared in the major press organs. The official reaction to the Shostakovich symphony was hardly surprising. Just the day before its public debut, at a specially called meeting held in Moscow between top Party leaders and leading Soviet intellectuals, the Party's then principal ideologist, Leonid Ilyichev, criticized Shostakovich for choosing an undesirable theme for his symphony and therewith failing to serve the true interest of the people. Public performances temporarily ceased.

To meet the powerful Party thrusts, Yevtushenko made two additions to the text. At one point, the following line was added: "Here together with Russians and Ukrainians lie Jews." A second insertion read: "I am proud of the Russia which stood in the path of the bandits." Yevtushenko vehemently denied in a Paris interview in February, 1963, that he had capitulated to Party pressures. "I am not a man to take orders," he observed. All that he had done, he said, was to make a slight addition without changing a word of the poem. He further commented that the addition was merely a result of a letter he had received, after the poem's publication, which described how a Russian woman had saved the life of a Jewish child threatened by the SS.

The fact is, however, that the first addition does violate, to some extent, the spirit and intent of the poem, which had treated Babi Yar as a distinctive Jewish episode of martyrdom. Still, the character of the poem had not been basically altered, and a public airing of the symphony could be assured.

After Shostakovich incorporated the revisions in the symphony, performances were renewed and *Pravda*, on February 10, 1963, observed that it was a truly "Russian" work.* But sharply critical voices continued to be heard on the subject of the theme of the symphony. On April 2, the Minsk newspaper *Sovietskaia Byelorossiia* asked: Why did Shostakovich "look only here," at Babi Yar, for "material revealing the bestiality of Fascism?..." "Why was Fascism so terrible only and first of all because of anti-Semitism?" The critic chastised those who would "elevate a petty incident to the rank almost of national tragedy."

The toll had been taken. Discussion about Babi Yar disappeared from the public arena, not to reemerge until the summer of 1966. The intervening period was marked by increasing pressures upon the literary intelligentsia, culminating in the Sinyavsky-Daniel trial in January, 1966. The first secretary of the Komsomol, S.P. Pavlov, typified the official attitude when, in an article in *Pravda* on August 29, 1965, he sharply criticized those writers who engendered among young people "a certain skepticism toward everything bright, advanced, and progressive that comprises the essence of our society." But the intellectuals refused to capitulate. In March, 1966, a sizable number of them petitioned the Presidium of the Twenty-third Congress of the Party, then meeting in Moscow, concerning the Sinyavsky-Daniel case, charging that it "creates an extremely dangerous precedent." Their criticism and the strongly critical reaction emanating from Communists abroad may have encouraged the authorities to relax the pressures. In the momentarily changed atmosphere, it could be anticipated that the Babi Yar issue would once again take on a public character.

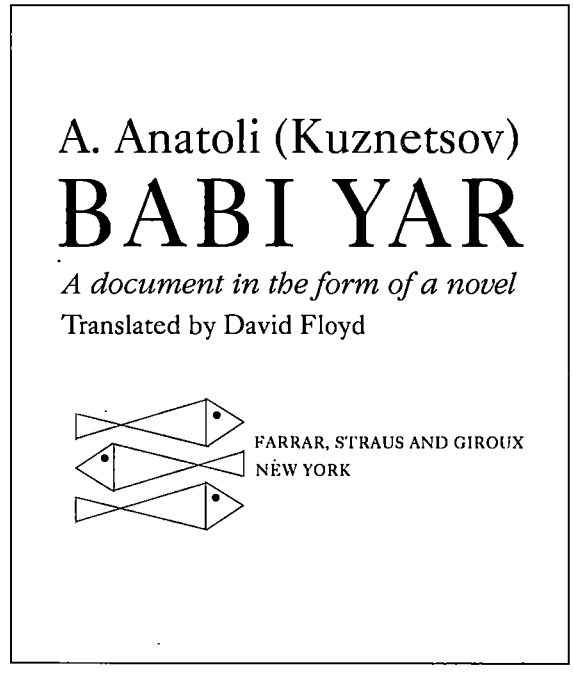
Kuznetsov's Novel Exposes Babi Yar To Millions In USSR ——

In August, *Yunost'*, a liberal literary monthly, initiated a three-part serialization of a powerful documentary novel, *Babi Yar*, by Anatoly Kuznetsov. The young writer had accompanied Yevtushenko on the latter's inspirational visit to Babi Yar in the fall of 1961. The impression which the visit made on both of them was described by Kuznetsov in the Soviet journal *Sputnik* (April, 1967):

> One day we both walked to Babi Yar, we forced our way through the dense undergrowth, and stood on the edge of the ravine. The sun was shining, everything was so peaceful, so quiet. We were standing where hundreds of thousands of people had once writhed and screamed in the throes of death. Almost all the victims had screamed horribly.

*In late 1972, a recording of the Shostakovich work performed by the Moscow Symphony Orchestra became available in the West.

In fact, Kuznetsov, who had experienced Nazi rule in Kiev while a child of twelve, had been accumulating a thick notebook on Babi Yar filled with clippings, documents, and personal notes for some eighteen years. Just prior to the Yevtushenko trip, Kuznetsov had returned to Kiev to visit his mother. Deciding to take another look at a favorite childhood haunt, he climbed to the top of Babi Yar "and suddenly I caught my breath and I realized that the time had come to start writing my book." With painstaking detail, graphically presented in a compelling literary format, Kuznetsov catalogued the overpowering events of Babi Yar. For the first time since the war the Soviet public would learn the full dimension of the Nazi massacre.



Included in that dimension was the genocide of Kiev's Jewish population on September 29-30, 1941, described in all its gruesome detail. In painting the panoramic death scene, Kuznetsov had the benefit of drawing upon the personal experience of Dina Mironona Pronicheva, the survivor of the Babi Yar carnage. Accidental circumstances plus quick thinking and enormous courage enabled her to escape.

Kuznetsov does not hesitate to define the initial Nazi objective as being aimed exclusively against Jews. One of his characters, the grandfather, bursts into the household on September 28, 1941, to report the German plans: "Here's news! Not a Jew will be left in Kiev tomorrow." If a few non-Jews were killed during those two days it was because they accidently had appeared in the line of march or at the ravine. Approximately fifty had been sorted out and sent to a nearby hillock. (Pronicheva was among them, for she had claimed to the Ukrainian *Polizei* assisting the Nazis that her name and face marked her as typically Ukrainian; in fact, she was a Jew married to a Ukrainian.) But then a Nazi officer had driven up demanding to know who the non-Jews were. This exchange followed:

> "These are our people," replied the *Polizei*. "We weren't sure whether to release them."
>
> "Shoot them! Shoot them right away!" stormed the officer. "If just one gets away and spreads the story, not a Jew will come here tomorrow."

The author's candor further required him to take the difficult step of showing that some Ukrainians welcomed the conquering Nazis, that others actually collaborated in the mass killings, and that many passively accepted German rule, striving in every way possible to survive.

Kuznetsov's story is not limited to the two-day episode; rather it embraces the 778 horrifying days of Nazi rule of Kiev. During that period, tens of thousands more - Russians and Ukrainians, in addition to Jews - were to be brutally murdered at Babi Yar. The victims included Communist activists, partisans or suspected partisans, suspected saboteurs, war prisoners, violators of Nazi regulations, or sometimes just plain bystanders arbitrarily selected in a purely irrational manner. The machine guns chattered at the ravine daily and endlessly.

But even after the genocidal episode of September 29-30, Babi Yar was to continue to be the execution point for *all* Jews who might be apprehended by the Nazis. This, too, is documented by Kuznetsov. Thus, in describing the selection process for Babi Yar in a nearby camp holding war prisoners, he reported: "The quickest to die were the Jews and half-Jews.... But the other prisoners clung to life with all their might, fighting for food and clothing."

By extending the story to the entire period of Nazi rule, during which thousands of others would fall under the Nazi guns, Kuznetsov may have hoped to blunt the kind of criticism that had been leveled at Yevtushenko. In his *Sputnik* article, he noted that the latter's poem had "provoked some serious criticism because he had devoted it to only one aspect of the problem and only to the very first few days of Babi Yar when the Germans were shooting the Jewish population of Kiev." Still, Kuznetsov refused to suppress the distinctive Jewish martyrdom that Babi Yar symbolized. In a personal foreword to the novel, he recounts how, as a youngster, he and a friend shortly after the war went to the general site of the ravine to explore the precise point at which the mass murders took place. Seeing an old man crossing the ravine, the young Anatoly shouted: "Hey uncle! Was it here that they shot the Jews or farther on?" The response was typical of those who had criticized Yevtushenko. "And how many Russians were killed here, and Ukrainians and other nationalities?" After following the stream in the ravine until washed-up pieces of burnt bone appeared, they were able to define the approximate point of the killings. "From this we concluded that they had shot the Jews, Russians, Ukrainians and other nationalities higher upstream." Even after the old man's comment, Babi Yar would continue to be associated in his mind first with Jews.

Babi Yar Reprint Forbidden

Following his defection from the USSR in July, 1969, Kuznetsov revealed in the *London Daily Telegraph* that at the time of his book's publication, a hornet's nest had been stirred up: "I had my own troubles. There was an unpublicized row over *Babi Yar*. They suddenly decided that it ought not to have been published. At *Yunost'* they told me that it was practically an accident that it had ever appeared at all *and that a month later its publication would have been out of the question. In any case*

they forbade the reprinting of it." (Emphasis added.) A recently published disclosure appears to validate Kuznetsov's observations. An underground newsletter of Soviet dissenters -made public only in August, 1971 - reported that in October, 1966, at a closed meeting of ideologists, several speakers called for a new (and favorable) look at Stalinism.[18] Seventy per cent of the ideologists responded warmly. The speakers at the meeting singled out for criticism *Yunost'* as well as *Novyi mir*, with General Aleksei Yepishev, chief political commissar of the armed forces, noting that military men were forbidden to subscribe to the two publications.

Even when Kuznetsov's work was published a considerable amount of his original draft had been edited out. The excised portions, significantly, provided much anecdotal material concerning anti-Semitism among Ukrainians.

Public reaction to the appearance of the Kuznetsov book was slow in coming. The first comment appeared on November 18 in *Literaturnaia Rossiia*. The reviewer, Georgy Radov, described the book as "genuine art" embracing the "richest prose." Then on November 22, the journal that had first printed the Yevtushenko poem, *Literaturnaia gazeta*, carried a powerful endorsement of the book by the liberal literary and film critic Aleksander Borshchagovsky. Its "destiny," he wrote, is "beyond doubt." Terming the book "a marvel of art," Borshchagovsky went on to say that "Soviet literature has gained a passionate and talented work."

The critic did not hesitate to challenge the literary Establishment for avoiding the Babi Yar theme: "Our writers have hardly touched on the tragic theme of Babi Yar; they have treated it with caution that does not promise discoveries." He gave emphasis to the overwhelming fact of Jewish martyrdom: "...the first act of the [Babi Yar] tragedy [was] when the Jewish population of Kiev was murdered, wiped out and cast into the ravine in the course of a few days." This "massive 'total' massacre was unprecedented" in history. Borshchagovsky then went on to note that Babi Yar became, after September, 1941, "a commonplace of terrible everyday reality" with "victims of every nationality" sacrificed there by the tens of thousands.

While Borshchagovsky spoke for the liberals, official comment from the principal authoritative sources was far slower and, when it appeared, much more restrained in its praise. On January 22, 1967, *Izvestiia* finally carried a review, by P. Troitsky. He found "contrivance" in the book's structure, an artificiality that was "at variance with the seriousness" of the author's purpose. Nor did he think that Kuznetsov had revealed a world of unexplored facts. The Babi Yar atrocities, the *Izvestiia* reviewer contended, had "already cut deeply into our consciousness." But, if they did, the reviewer himself was reluctant to give expression to their principal feature. The words *Jew* and *Jewish* are strikingly absent from the fairly lengthy commentary.

Yet, the *Izvestiia* review seemed to place a stamp of approval upon the work: "...the author evidently has been able to relate known facts in such a way that we feel we are coming upon much afresh." The portrayal of the leading character was "scrupulously" presented, said the reviewer, and the emotion of hatred for the Nazi ideology effectively developed. The fact that the book was reviewed at all in this central Soviet organ, and in a not unfavorable manner, indicated that doctrinairism was, for the moment, not completely in the ascendant.

Notwithstanding official rejection of Jewish martyrology, the editors of *Literaturnaia* gazeta would not be held back from underlining the specifically Jewish character of Babi Yar. On February 22, they ran another piece on the Kuznetsov book, this time a portion of a letter written by Dina Mironona Pronicheva, the survivor of the Babi Yar massacre of September 29-30. The letter, in part, read:

> After the massacre of the Jews, the Germans combed apartments and houses; if they found children of a Jewish mother they killed them, even when, as in our case, the father was Russian. The *Polizei* seized my son, who was two years and three months old then, and took him in the courtyard to shoot him. My husband begged them not to kill the child, saying that I would return that evening and they would then be able to seize mother and child together. They left the child until evening. As soon as the *Polizei* went off, my husband wrapped Vovochka [her child] in paper, tied him with a string like a large parcel and carried him to me in Darnitsa. I hid in an attic together with the child for four months.

"Truth, Only Truth"

In the same month, another strongly favorable review appeared in the liberal *Novyi mir*. The author was Ariadna Gromova, who had, a half-year earlier, exploded the anti-Semitic myth fostered by Khrushchev that some Jews had served the Nazi cause. Her review, entitled "Truth, Only Truth," stated that the Kuznetsov Babi Yar story is "vitally necessary both here and abroad." The specific Jewish martyrdom of Babi Yar was briefly but emphatically alluded to: "The remembrances of Tolia Semerik [the young woman in the novel] deal chiefly with precisely those [Russian and Ukrainian] people whom the Hitlerites did not specifically hunt down...." In a parenthetical remark that followed, she observed that the killing of Jews and prisoners of war are related in chapters which constitute the remembrances of others.

The preparation, publication, and open discussion of Kuznetsov's *Babi Yar* was accompanied by related developments which suggested that strong pressures from the liberal intelligentsia for a memorial to the victims of Babi Yar were having some impact upon the political authorities. The

outcry of Nekrasov in 1959 and the poetic appeal of Yevtushenko seemed in 1966 to find the appropriate milieu for fulfillment. The first hint that consideration was being given to the victims of Babi Yar came in April, 1965.[19] The president of the France-USSR Association, André Blumel, who was touring the Soviet Union with forty prominent Paris lawyers, was told by Mikhail Burka, the mayor of Kiev (as reported in the *London Jewish Chronicle*, May 14, 1965), that plans were being laid for building a memorial at the Babi Yar site to the victims of Nazi persecution. The mayor acknowledged that a housing development had been initiated at the site in 1963 but said that he had halted it when great numbers of human bones were found in the foundation. Projection of a memorial was now in process, he told Blumel, but he carefully explained that it would carry no specific reference to Jews.

Memorial Planned: No Jews Need Apply

Early in 1966, Novosti, the Soviet press agency, publicly announced that the Ukrainian Architects' Club in Kiev had placed on exhibit over two hundred projects and some thirty large-scale detailed plans for a memorial at Babi Yar.[20] Visitors to the exhibition were invited to express their views. The announcement further stated that after the exhibition the entries would be judged by a special tribunal consisting of representatives of municipal and governmental authorities as well as representatives from the Academy of Sciences and other cultural institutions.

Significantly, the inscriptions on the submitted projects avoided reference to the particular character of Babi Yar as a symbol of Jewish martyrdom. Instead, the inscriptions note that "in this place," over one hundred thousand "Soviet citizens, Russians, Ukrainians and Jews were murdered" in 1941 by the Fascists. One architect of Jewish origin, Abraham Miletsky, was rumored to have submitted a plan bearing an inscription in Yiddish, but he was requested to withdraw it and to submit another without the inscription.

Those who might be disappointed with the projected character of a memorial could still take heart from the fact that the idea for a memorial was alive. Further verification came on April 29, 1966, when the *London Daily Telegraph* correspondent in the Soviet Union, John Miller, cabled his newspaper that he was "emphatically" assured by Ukrainian writers that "Babi Yar would have its monument in time for next year's 50th anniversary of the Revolution. Some proposed models of a monument had been examined by a commission and the final choice would be announced soon." Miller reported that the Ukrainian intelligentsia were "highly sensitive" to charges of "deliberate neglect" of the memory of the victims of Babi Yar. They offered the explanation that Russia had to rebuild its factories and homes before it could erect monuments to the past. The explanation did not take account of the fact that in various parts of the country Soviet authorities had already built monuments to victims of Nazi persecution.

Final assurances about the memorial appeared during the publication by *Yunost'* of the Kuznetsov novel. On September 9, 1966, Peter Tempest, the Soviet correspondent of the British Communist daily, the *Morning Star*, cabled from Kiev: "The memorial at Babi Yar to 200,000 people, mostly Jews, massacred here during the war will definitely be erected next year, I was told today." It is significant that Tempest had included in his cable the point that the Babi Yar victims were "mostly Jews." Soviet authorities, needless to say, rejected this view. More pertinent was the timetable which Tempest reported. Like Miller, he was assured by Kiev authorities that the monument would be in place *before* the fiftieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Tempest went on to say that a group of sculptors and architects were currently working on the final design of the monument, which would be inscribed simply "to the victims of Fascism."

25th Anniversary Plea: "Let Jews Know Jewish History..."

So heady was the atmosphere that, on September 29, the twenty-fifth anniversary of Babi Yar, many Kiev citizens spontaneously assembled at the site in what has been described as "a very impressive scene."[21] Dina Pronicheva, Viktor Nekrasov, and the Ukrainian liberal writer Ivan Dzyuba addressed the audience. Dzyuba's remarks have been preserved in the "Chornovil Papers," and they are remarkable for their courage.[22] He demanded from the authorities that they "let the Jews know Jewish history, the Jewish culture and the Yiddish language and be proud of them." The character of the event prompted some cameramen from the Kiev news-film studio to rush down and film it. According to Kuznetsov, this act resulted in "a great row in the studio," followed by the dismissal of the director and the confiscation of the film by the secret police.

The authorities, however, were sufficiently alarmed to arrange, a few days later, to place at the site a granite plaque on which was written the commitment that a monument would be erected there to the memory of the victims of Fascism. But the celebrations of the fiftieth anniversary produced no memorial at Babi Yar. The year 1967 was to be marked by one long paean to the October Revolution, with unpleasant reminders of the past fifty years muted and critical observations censured. The blow to Soviet pride flowing from the overwhelming defeat of the Arab armies - both militarily supplied and diplomatically supported by the Soviet government in the Six-Day War - intensified a burgeoning nationalism.

1967: Officials Deny Unique Jewish Dimension

The super-patriots struck back. It was hardly unexpected that the first and principal criticism of the Kuznetsov book would appear in a journal of the military - always the repository of correct

national pride - or that its date of publication would be August, 1967, following the setback to Soviet Middle East diplomacy in the United Nations General Assembly. The rhetorical title of the review in *Sovietskii voin* - "To a full extent?" - set its tone. The reviewer, Aleksei Yegorov, answered quite simply and dogmatically that Kuznetsov's portrait of Babi Yar was limited, restricted, and therefore distorted. Equally unobjective, Yegorov noted, were such reviews as those by Borshchagovsky (who gave "free rein to his [own] imagination") and by Gromova (who had the gall to suggest that the book is "vitally necessary for readers both here and abroad.").

What Yegorov found particularly distasteful was Kuznetsov's description of those Russians and Ukrainians who had been "Fascist lackeys and obeyed their criminal orders." References to Russian and Cossack collaborators, Ukrainian pro-Nazi policemen, Soviet black marketeers who pandered to the Germans, ordinary citizens who cooperated with occupation authorities (some by turning over their Jewish wives or informing on other Jews) - from Yegorov's viewpoint - are nothing short of "offensive" and hardly appropriate for a "historical work."

Not much better was Kuznetsov's characterization of the category of the martyred. In a sarcastic introductory remark, Yegorov reminded his audience that Kuznetsov is "not the first artist who chose the tragedy of Babi Yar as a topic"; Yevtushenko had "touched upon it and, as is known, twisted historical facts." The same type of "twisting," although not to the same extent, was characteristic of the Kuznetsov book, the critic thought. He recalled the exchange in the foreword of the novel between fifteen-year-old Anatoly Kuznetsov and the old man. Anatoly's question as to where the Jews had been shot was intolerably irritating ("Hey uncle! Was it here that they shot the Jews or farther on?"). Yegorov preferred the response of the old man: Russians, Ukrainians, and other nationalities were the Nazi victims.

But even Kuznetsov's treatment of Babi Yar as a "multinational tragedy"- the words are Yegorov's - was inadequate. Kuznetsov is to be faulted for being "brief" and "perfunctory" about the martyrdom of "Soviet citizens." His emphasis should have been: "In Babi Yar there lie buried many Russians, Ukrainians, and other nations. Here were shot the sailors of the Dnieper flotilla; the railway workers of the Kiev region; workers and employees of Kiev; Red Army soldiers and commanders who were taken prisoner."

However Soviet ideologists may attempt to distort the reality of Babi Yar, they cannot make its significance compatible with their own prescribed historical view. Embarrassment emerges each time the symbol is resurrected by one or another writer determined to confront Soviet society with the truth about Jewish martyrdom. For such confrontation would inevitably place on society's agenda the question of Jewish national consciousness and the problem of anti-Semitism, both currently among the unmentionables. The more comforting posture is therefore suppression of

the symbol of Babi Yar or of reference to it, rather than mere distortion. Thus, the promise of 1966 that a memorial would be built at the site must remain unfulfilled while the architectural designs for the memorial accumulate dust on the shelves of government agencies in Kiev or Moscow. Thus, too, Shostakovich's Thirteenth Symphony must forego being performed in the USSR. Finally, the trial of the Babi Yar killers in West Germany had to go almost unnoticed in the Soviet press.

Kochubiyevsky: Three Years In Gulag For Remembering

And Soviet Jews must not publicly declare that Babi Yar symbolized the Holocaust. On May 13, 1969, a young Jewish radio engineer of Kiev, Boris Kochubiyevsky, was placed on trial[23] and charged, among other things, with saying at a Babi Yar memorial service the previous September 29: "Here lies part of the Jewish people." He had evidently also asserted that anti-Semitism exists in the USSR, and he had criticized at a factory meeting the Soviet Government's position that Israel had committed aggression in June, 1967. But the basic point in the prosecution's case was that Kochubiyevsky had asserted that the victims of Babi Yar were not merely victims of Fascism; rather, they were fundamentally victims of genocide against Jews. *Samizdat* material records the following exchange between the defendant and the judge after the former began making reference to the fact that Yevtushenko's "Babi Yar" was published in the USSR:

> Judge: Accused, keep to the subject of the charges.
> Kochubiyevsky: The poem "Babi Yar...."
> Judge: Accused, you have been given the chance to make a final statement in your defense, not to make excursions into history and literature.
> Kochubiyevsky: I ask that it be placed on record that I have been admonished for mentioning Yevtushenko's poem, "Babi Yar."... Very well, I omit this part of my final statement. All my statements at Babi Yar fully coincided with the sense and spirit of this poem." [24]

In a four day trial that presaged the big trials of 1970-71, Kochubiyevsky was accused of having "during 1968, systematically disseminated by word of mouth slanderous fabrications, defaming the State and the social system of the USSR..." The trial - held, ironically, in the same courthouse in which Beiliss had been tried in 1912-13 - was replete, according to *samizdat* accounts, with numerous instances of anti-Semitism emanating from the bench, the prosecution, the guards, and the persons permitted by the authorities to attend. For not keeping silent about Babi Yar, Kochubiyevsky was sentenced, under Article 187 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code, covering "slander," to a term of three years in corrective labor camps.

But the silence can never be total. Yevtushenko, describing the deathly-still ravine of Babi Yar, commented: "Everything here screams in silence." If today the ravine is filled in and a highway runs through it, if housing construction proceeds on both sides of the highway, Babi Yar as memory and martyrology cannot be erased. In the final chapter of Kuznetsov's book, he underlined a fundamental truth: "History will not be cheated, and nothing can be hidden forever."

Korey, William. "No Monument Over Babi Yar" Chap. in *The Soviet Cage.* New York: Viking Press, 1973.

Dr. William Korey is a world renowned expert on the Soviet Union. He recently retired as director for International Policy Research at B'nai B'rith.

Notes

1. The *Darmstaedter Echo* gave the trial extensive coverage, which was drawn upon in this chapter. The Swiss newspaper, *Der Zuercher Zeitung*, provided excellent reportage. See especially its issues of October 3 and 4, 1967; November 7 and 9, 1967; and December 2, 1968. The *Israelitische Wochenblatt* of Zurich also was useful, especially in articles on October 13, 1967; November 24, 1967; May 10, 1968; and November 10, 1968. The *Washington Post* of December 13, 1967, and the *New York Times* of February 14, 1968, offered fine background reports. See also *Der Spiegel*, no. 41 (1967). Newspapers on November 30, 1968, summarized the convictions which took place the previous day.

2. Much of the material in this chapter dealing with the Einsatzgruppen and their activity at Babi Yar is taken from *Trials of War Criminals Before the Nuernberg Military Tribunals Under Control Council Law No. 10* (Green Series) (Washington, D.C., 1950), vol. IV. See especially pp. 147-49, 211-13, 526-30. See also Gerald Reitlinger, *The Final Solution* (London,1961), pp. 233-35.

3. Anatoly Kuznetsov, *Babi Yar, A Documentary Novel*, trans. Jacob Guralsky (New York, 1967), p. 58. Since this version was based upon the *Yunost'* serialization, I have used it here.

4. Ilya Ehrenburg, *People and Life: 1891-1921* (New York, 1962), p. 307.

5. Cited in Joseph B. Schechtman, *Star in Eclipse: Russian Jewry Revisited* (New York, 1961), pp. 91-92.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 92.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

8. Solomon M. Schwarz, *The Jews in the Soviet Union* (Syracuse, 1951), p. 335.

9. A. Sutzkever, "Ilya Ehrenburg," *Di Goldene Keit*, no. 61 (1967), p. 30.

10. I have discussed these plans in "What Monument to Babi Yar?" *Saturday Review*, February 3, 1968, p. 19.

11. *Literaturnaia gazeta*, March 9, 1949.

12. *Sputnik*, April, 1967.

13. It was published later as *A Precocious Autobiography*, trans. Andrew R. MacAndrew (New York, 1963), pp. 116-22.

14. See Patricia Blake, "New Voices in Russian Writing: Introduction," *Encounter*, no. 115 (April, 1963), p. 33. See also Patricia Blake and Max Hayward, eds., *Half-way to the Moon: New Writing from Russia* (New York,1964), pp. 24-25.

15. *Pravda*, March 8, 1963.

16. "Russian Art and Anti-Semitism: Two Documents," *Commentary*, December, 1963, p. 434.

17. *Pravda*, March 8, 1963.

18. The monthly newsletter was entitled *Politicheskii dnevnik*. Excerpts were published in the *New York Times*, August 22, 1971.

19. William Korey, "Babi Yar Remembered," *Midstream*, March, 1969, p. 37.

20. *Ibid.*

21. The revised edition of the Kuznetsov work carries this episode. See A. Anatoli, *Babi Yar*, (New York, 1970), p. 475.

22. Vyacheslav Chornovil, *The Chornovil Papers* (New York, n.d. [1968]) pp. 222-26.

23. *Samizdat* material reporting on his arrest and trial is in Moshe Decter, ed., *A Hero for Our Time: The Trial and Fate of Boris Kochubiyevsky* (New York, 1970). Kochubiyevsky was released and allowed to leave for Israel in late 1971.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23. See also *New York Times*, June 5, 1969.

Return To The Past

October 28, 1979 - Lecture By Elie Wiesel, Temple Anshe Sholom, Olympia Fields, Illinois

...The next day we went to Babi Yar, a place now known all over the world... The Russians were very kind. After all, this was a presidential commission. And they thought we had entree to Carter. They believed we could open the door every day to the Oval Office and tell Carter to accept SALT, reject SALT. The Russians are not especially clever. We came to the monument to Babi Yar. I do not know whether it was reported here, but I was outraged. The mayor of Kiev was there, the dignitaries of Kiev, members of the Politburo, the television, everybody. I should have been more diplomatic. I was not. I said, "I was here fifteen years ago before I wrote my first book about Russia and Babi Yar, and there was no monument to Babi Yar. Now there is a monument, and I am even more outraged now than then. "Why? Because the word "Jew" does not appear on the monument. It simply says: "For the Soviet citizens who fell here." What kind of Soviet citizens! Were the Jews killed there because they were citizens of Russia? Were the Jews killed there because they were inhabitants of Kiev? They were killed because they were Jews. The most horrible discovery a person makes is that Babi Yar is not far away from Kiev; it is ten minutes away from the center of Kiev. And day after day, between Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, 1941, the Nazis killed ... Jews and buried them in mass graves. In 1965 eyewitnesses told me that for weeks the ground would shake. "And you," I turned to them, "you do not even have the decency to pay them the honor of remembering them as they were, that they died because they were Jews, as Jews!" Maybe something will come of it, but that was Friday at Babi Yar...

Wiesel, Elie "Return to the Past." In *Against Silence: The Voice and Vision of Elie Wiesel*, ed. by Irving Abrahamson. New York: Holocaust Library, 1985.

Babi Yar

The Struggle For Remembrance: From Yevtushenko To Bush

by Rabbi Abraham Cooper*

On August 1, 1991, U.S. President George Bush delivered an emotion-laden speech at Babi Yar. (The full text is begins on p. 39.) He said, in part:

"The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil."

The previous month, Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Serhiy Komissarenko had travelled to Vienna to meet with famed Nazi-hunter Simon Wiesenthal in order to gain his endorsement for plans to build a new monument at the appropriate location with specific references to Babi Yar's Jewish victims. These plans were scheduled to be unveiled during special week-long ceremonies (September 29 - October 6, 1991), marking the 50th anniversary of the slaughter in the infamous ravine.

But, as this publication goes to press, with the failed coup against Mikhail Gorbachev and with the announcement that the Ukraine is declaring its independence, no one is sure if and when the truth of Babi Yar will finally be properly eulogized. For since those tragic events in 1941, neither officials in Moscow or Kiev have ever been able to officially and specifically recognize the terrible fate which befell the Jews of Kiev fifty years ago. Yevtushenko's stirring 1961 poem may have brought world attention to the Soviet policy of officially ignoring the unique dimension of Jewish suffering during the Nazi Holocaust, but, Yevtushenko was rebuked by no one less than Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev. Other works, including a Dmitry Shostakovich symphony were suppressed or banned. And even a documentary on Ukrainian television deleted references to the Jewish victims. A fifty-foot monument stands near the site of the murders, but once again, no Jews were mentioned.

World leaders, like President Bush and former U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz, who visited Babi Yar in 1991 and 1988 respectively, deserve credit for helping a forgetting world to remember. And against the dark backdrop of the tragic history of Ukraine's Jews is the sliver of hope that the events that are catapulting the Ukraine on the road to freedom may yet set the stage for the proper memorialization of Babi Yar.

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* Rabbi Abraham Cooper is associate dean of the Simon Wiesenthal Center.

George Bush, President of the United States:
Remarks at the Babi Yar Memorial in Kiev, Soviet Union, August 1, 1991

Thank you, Chairman Kravchuk. And to our special guests today, the survivors of the Babi Yar massacres and the Ukrainians who helped rescue them, it is my great honor to be here today.

We come to Babi Yar to remember. We remember violence and valor; we remember prejudice and selflessness. At Babi Yar, in the vast quiet here, something larger than life assails us; the shadows of past evil, the light of past virtue. The wind that shakes the leaves bears a special weight, as if whispering warnings and cautions, telling tales of victims and villains, cowards and heroes.

Babi Yar stands as a monument to many things. It reminds us that history gives our lives meaning and continuity and that any nation that tries to repudiate history, tries to ignore the actors and events that shape it, only repudiates itself.

For many years, the tragedy of Babi Yar went unacknowledged, but no more. You soon will place a plaque on this site that acknowledges the genocide against Jews, the slaughter of gypsies, the wanton murder of Communists, Christians - of anyone who dared oppose the Nazi madman's fantasies.

Babi Yar reminds us of the sheer stupidity of prejudice. Here we think about people of great promise and talent, young men and women who would have become doctors or physicists, athletes or artists, mothers, fathers. All died because a maniac in Berlin wanted to exterminate their kind.

The statue here testifies to an important truth. Just as bricks and stones shape great monuments, families shape nations. The love of parents, the trust of children, the blessings of life and learning - these things give life meaning; they give society its character; they give nations a sense of destiny and purpose.

Here, at Babi Yar, Nazis set out to destroy families and faiths, set out to destroy the soul of a nation. And here, on September 29, 1941, soldiers forced men, women and children to undergo a ritual of humiliation and death. Victims stopped first to empty their pockets and place their valuables in heaps on the ground, and then moved forward to another place where they had to

remove their clothing, which Nazis folded in neat piles - booty for the Fuehrer.

And then shivering, they moved to the edge of the ravine where marksmen murdered their prey, letting the bodies tumble into long, deep pits. For 36 hours, rifle reports and shrill human cries shattered the calm. Nazis tried to drown out that horror by playing dance music over loudspeakers. And despite this macabre ritual, screams made their way into the hearts of townspeople - and the pages of history.

When the first round of shooting stopped, more than 33,000 bodies lay in the pit, and many more people had committed suicide rather than undergoing the humiliating execution rites. Within 18 months, nearly 100,000 people perished here.

Miraculously, a few managed to escape, several of whom have joined us today, along with several people who helped protect the victims of the massacred at Babi Yar. And I think it would be most appropriate to ask them to stand so we may honor them.

Abraham Lincoln once said: We cannot escape history. Mikhail Gorbachev has promoted truth in history. Here's the quote: Not to settle political scores, or cause suffering, but to render due tribute to everything that was heroic in the past and to learn lessons from mistakes and miscalculations.

Today we stand at Babi Yar and wrestle with awful truth. We marvel at the incredible extremes of human behavior. And we make solemn vows:

We vow this sort of murder will never happen again.

We vow never to let the forces of bigotry and hatred assert themselves without opposition.

And we vow to ensure a future dedicated to freedom and individual liberty rather then to mob violence and tyranny.

And we vow that whenever our devotion to principle wanes, we will think of this place. We will remember that evil flourishes when good men and women refuse to defend virtue.

Let me quote the poet Yevtushenko, whose poem about Babi Yar helped restore remembrance of this place and of its history. Here's what he wrote: On Babi Yar weeds rustle; the tall trees, like judges, loom and threaten. All screams in silence; I take off my cap and feel that I am slowly turning gray. And I, too, have become a soundless cry over the thousands that lie buried here. I

am each old man slaughtered, each child shot. None of me will forget. None of us will ever forget.

The Holocaust occurred because good men and women averted their eyes from unprecedented evil. And the Nazis fell when good men and women opened their eyes, summoned their courage and faith, and fought for democracy, liberty, and justice and decency. This memorial proves that eventually the forces of good and of truth will rise in triumph. No matter how bleak our lives may seem, this fact should comfort us. It should inspire us to spare future generations from horrors like the one that claimed nearly 100,000 souls at Babi Yar.

May God bless you all. May God bless Ukraine and its wonderful people, and may God bless the memories of Babi Yar.

Photo courtesy Susan Biddle /White House

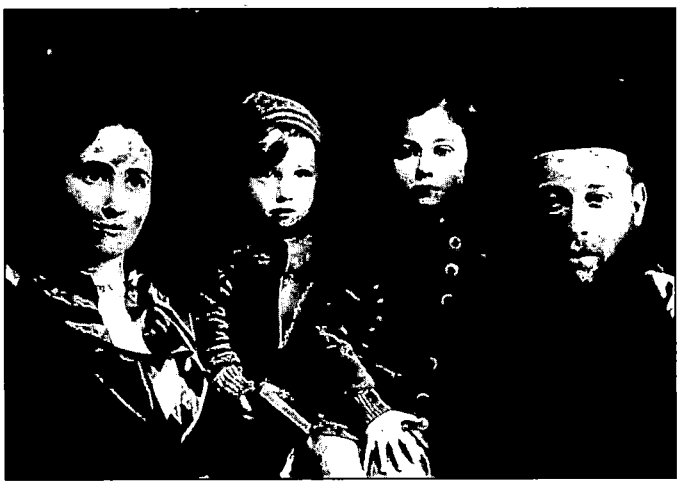
My Beloved Poisoned Cradle

by Bella Sitnyakovsky *

August 12, 1991

Kiev, my love, my pain, my recollections...

You should see that beautiful city with its luxurious green parks, white birch groves, bushes of roses and lilacs; with its museums, theaters; with picturesque hills over the wide Dnieper River. I was born, grew up and lived most of my life there.



In Kiev, my honest father was taken to prison (as an enemy of the people) and never came back. So I did not know him.

From Kiev, my talented 17-year-old brother went to war and never came back...

The beauty of my native city is inseparable from my mother's tears. "*Tochter meine*" (my daughter), she used to say to me in a wonderfully poetic Yiddish, "the streets here are densely watered with Jewish blood..." Thus came to me that horrible notion - Babi Yar....

A huge green ravine without any marker reminding us about the bloody massacre of thousands of our mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters. My two little cousins, whom I did not know, with their beautiful young mother also sleep forever in Babi Yar. "*Mir sol zain kleininke kinderlach, far aire kushere oigalach*" (It should happen to me [any evil destined for you], little children, for the sake of your Kosher eyes), sang my mother and cried.

Probably by now you know the story: how the Soviet authorities did not even allow us to speak aloud of Jewish martyrdom in Babi Yar, let alone set a monument there; how they punished those who used to go there every September 29 to speak up on that bitter anniversary. Eventually a monument appeared - cold, pompous,

expressing nothing.

They say that times have changed. There is supposed to be a monument there, a real one for the perished Jews. There is supposed to be a big ceremony, a solemn procession at Babi Yar along the same route my dear people walked in 1941. A procession to a bitter place in a beautiful city poisoned first by hatred, now by Chernobyl's radiation. But where is the guarantee that in a while Jewish cemeteries or Babi Yar will not be desecrated?

My heart is bleeding, and the pain will never go.

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*Bella Sitnyakovsky, a journalist from Kiev, is a member of the staff of the Simon Wiesenthal Center. Her uncle (see photo inset) Usherka Baram and his family -- wife and two children -- lived in the city of Kiev. Shortly after this photo was taken, he escaped to Palestine (as Israel was then called) where he hoped to find work in preparation for bringing his family. His dream was not realized. Usherka Baram's wife and two children perished at Babi Yar.

And Now They Are Coming To Me In My Nightmares...

by Yasha Kaper - Kiev, USSR

I, Yasha Kaper, was one of the 300 hundred war prisoners who for ten terrible days dug out corpses in Babi Yar and then burned them to remove all traces of the criminal activities of the Fascist monsters. We worked from sun-up till late at night under the watchful eyes of the SS officers. At night we were locked in small huts, previously prepared especially for us and were fed with watery soup. We understood that we also would be killed after finishing our job. We collected keys, knives, hammers and all kinds of iron and succeeded in splitting the chains and running from the huts. We killed one nearby guard with our hammers and ran in different directions. The outside guard, as soon as he became aware of our escape, opened machine gun fire and, yet, fifteen of us remained alive. I reached the deep forest and joined the partisans.

Forty years have passed from this memorable day and I cannot forget those terrible days and nights, when we were ordered by Nazis to burn the corpses of men, women and children. During all these years I have not slept peacefully, disturbed by terrible nightmares.

Vinokurov, Joseph, Shimon Kipnis, and Nora Levin. *Yizkor Bukh Book of Remembrance.* Philidelphia: Publishing House of Peace, 1983.

Greetings From Hell...

by Dina Mironovna Pronicheva

They call me Dina, Dina Mironovna Wasserman. I was raised in a poor Jewish family, but my upbringing was in the spirit of Soviet ideology based on internationalism rather than nationalism, which could not have any place for any prejudices. So I fell in love with a Russian youth, Nikolai Pronichev, whom I married, becoming Dina Mironovna Pronicheva, giving my nationality in my passport as Russian. We lived in love and happiness for some time and I gave birth to two children, a boy and a girl. Before the war I was an artist in the special theatre for the teenagers in Kiev.

On the second day of the war, my husband was sent to the front line and I remained with my two little children and with my old, sick mother. On September 19, 1941, Hitler's army occupied Kiev and from the very first days started to annihilate the entire Jewish population. Rumors, passed from one to another telling us terrible stories of persecution and killings of the Jews were confirmed officially a few days later by posters placed on each corner: "All Jews from Kiev should come with all their belongings to Babi Yar immediately. Whoever will not obey the order will be shot on the spot."

We did not have the slightest idea where Babi Yar was, but we understood that nothing good would come of it. I dressed my children, the girl, three years of age, and my boy, five, and took them to my Russian mother-in-law. Then I, with my old, sick mother went to the road to Babi Yar following the Germans' last order. The Jews by the thousands were on the way to Babi Yar. Alongside us marched an old Jew with a snow white beard, with his tallit and tfilin, praying constantly and reminding me of my beloved father, who used to pray the same way. In front of me was marching a young woman with two children in both her arms. A third child, a little older, holding the woman's dress, trying with his little feet to keep up. Old and sick women were loaded in farmers' wagons filled up to the top with sacks and suitcases. Little children cried; elderly people, who could hardly follow the crowd, cried silently. Russian husbands escorted their Jewish wives, and Russian wives escorted their Jewish husbands. We marched from early morning till late in the evening - three days in a row...

Approaching Babi Yar we heard machine guns and terribly inhuman cries. I did not want to tell my mother what was going on. She was marching silently all the time, but I believe she realized what

was happening. My mother, a medical doctor, a pediatrician, was a very intelligent and wise person. When we entered the gate of the camp, we were ordered to give up all our documents and leave all our baggage, especially our jewelry. A German approached my mother and with all his force pulled off the golden ring from her finger. Only then did my mother speak: "Denochka, you are Pronicheva, you are Russian, go back to your little children. Your life is with them." But I could not run away. We were surrounded by German soldiers with machine guns, by Ukrainian policemen with wild dogs, ready to bite anyone trying to escape. I embraced my mother and with tears in my eyes said: "I cannot leave you alone. I will stay with you." But she shoved me away, ordering with a strong voice, "Go away immediately." I went to a table at which a heavy-set German was checking all documents and said softly: "I am a Russian." He carefully examined my passport when one of the Ukrainian policemen said: "Do not believe her. We know her well. She is Jewish." The German asked me to wait on one side.

I was shocked to see how every few minutes a group of men, women and children were ordered to disrobe and to stand on the edge of a long ravine and...then they were killed by machine guns. I saw it with my own eyes, and although I was standing far away from the ravine, I heard terrible cries and children's soft voices: "Mama, mama." I stood there paralyzed, thinking how could people be treated worse than animals and brutally killed for the only crime that they were Jewish. Suddenly I fully realized that the fascists were not human beings but wild animals. I saw a young naked woman feeding a naked baby with her breast, when a Ukrainian policeman grabbed the infant and threw it into the ravine. The woman tried to save her baby, running toward the child, but she was killed instantly. This I saw with my own two eyes. I would never believe this could happen. How can anyone believe it?

The German who ordered me to wait guided me to a high ranking officer and showing him my passport said: " This woman claims to be Russian, but one of the Ukrainian policemen knows her to be a Jewish woman." The officer examined my passport for a long while and in a harsh tone said: "Dina is not a Russian name. You are Jewish. Take her away." The policeman ordered me to undress and pushed me towards a hole where a new group was awaiting their destiny. But before the shots were fired, probably from great fear, I jumped into the hole on top of dead bodies.

In the beginning, I could not realize what was going on. Who I am? How did I reach the hole? I thought that I lost my senses, but when a new wave of human bodies started to fall down into the hole I suddenly understood the whole situation with sharp clarity. I started to examine my arms, legs and my entire body just to make sure that I was not wounded at all, and I remained motionless, like a dead person. I was surrounded by dead and gravely wounded people, when I suddenly heard a baby's cries: " Mamochka." It sounded like my own little daughter and I cried bitterly, not able to move. I still heard, from time to time, machine guns and bodies falling one on

top of the other. I tried with all my force to push aside the falling corpses to have enough air to breathe, but doing this at long intervals, not to be noticed by the policemen standing outside the huge hole.

Then, in time, everything stopped and there was absolute silence. The Germans were checking the big hole, shooting from time to time, when they noticed some movement, killing the badly wounded but still-alive victims. On top of me was a body of a man, and although he was very heavy, I somehow supported him till the Germans passed this part of the big hole. Then suddenly I saw the earth falling down around me. I will be buried alive! I closed my eyes holding my arms high to keep the air coming. When it became absolutely silent, dead silent, I brushed away the sand from my eyes and my body and with all my force started to climb from the huge hole.

I was among thousands and thousands of inert corpses and I became terribly frightened. Here and there the earth was moving - some of the buried were still alive. I was looking at myself and I was terrified. My thin nightgown, which covered my naked body, was red from blood. I tried to get up, but I was very weak. I started talking to myself: "Dina, get up, run away, run to your children," and with all my might I started to run again in the direction of a huge mountain surrounding the huge ravine. Suddenly I felt some movement behind me and was frightened, but after a while I turned around and heard: "Tetenka. Do not be afraid. They call me Fema. My family name is Schneiderman. I am eleven years old. Take me with you. I am very much afraid of darkness." I came nearer to the boy. I embraced him wholeheartedly and I cried softly and the boy pleaded: "Do not cry, tetenka."

We started to move in deep silence, trying to reach the end of the ravine, helping each other, finally reaching the very top of the huge hole. But when we started to run we heard shots again and we fell down to the ground, afraid to say a word. After a long while I embraced the boy asking him how he felt, but he did not answer. In the deep darkness I started to check his arms, legs, his head. He was motionless - there was no sign of life. I lifted myself to look into his face. He was lying with his eyes closed. I tried a few times to open his eyes, then I understood that the boy was dead. Most probably the shot I heard a few minutes earlier had finished his life forever. I kissed the cold little body, lifted myself with all my strength and started to run as fast as I could, leaving behind me this horrible place called Babi Yar. I permitted myself to stand straight to my full height and suddenly I noticed in the darkness a little house. A cold chill penetrated my whole body but I overcame my fear and I silently approached the window, knocking delicately. A half sleepy voice of a woman asked: "Who is there? What do you want?" I answered: "I just ran away from Babi Yar," and I heard an angry voice: "Go away immediately. I do not want to know you." And I went running as fast as I could.

Vinokurov, Joseph, Shimon Kipnis, and Nora Levin. *Yizkor Bukh Book of Remembrance.* Philadelphia: Publishing House of Peace, 1983.

My Grandfather's Three Mistakes

by Leonid Lelchytsky

My grandfather, Chaim Velvl Dubinski, lost his life in Babi Yar, because of three mistakes during his arduous life.

His first mistake occurred in 1914 when he refused to join his father and other children who emigrated to America where the family grew and prospered, making a good living to this day.

He made the second mistake in 1937, when we received paid-up ship tickets to America, where we could live as free Americans, but he refused to leave the country, explaining: "My children, we were born here and we will die here."

The third mistake, which had such a tragic ending, came in 1941, when we begged him to run away from Kiev and he repeated again: "I am an old man and the Germans will not touch old people."

This was his last mistake.

Vinokurov, Joseph, Shimon Kipnis, and Nora Levin. *Yizkor Bukh Book of Remembrance.* Philidelphia: Publishing House of Peace, 1983.

A Crystal Vase Of Earth From Babi Yar

by Shimon Kipnis

For months after the liberation of Kiev, there remained many traces of the war; walls left naked from burnt-out houses, deep holes from bomb blasts, and pale, emaciated people, still afraid they might see a fascist face. As yet, there was no electric power and the city remained dark. Kreshchatnik, the most beautiful part of the city, seemed to me like an abandoned cemetery.

In the spring after liberation, however, there was a busy and bright spot: the theatre of musical operettas, where survivors of the war planned to celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Jewish Theatre of Kiev. (This theatre had been moved to Chernovitz and was never returned to Kiev because it was destroyed by Soviet authorities in Chernovitz together with all leading figures in Jewish cultural life.) For the first time since the end of the war, we had the opportunity to hear voices in Yiddish. From Moscow arrived a delegation from its Jewish Theatre under the leadership of the great Yiddish actor and director Shlomo Mikhoels. They had come to greet their fellow artists and Jews in Kiev. There were many heartfelt speeches, but the most impressive was the speech of Mikhoels, which I will remember to the last day of my life.

With swift steps, Mikhoels walked to the podium holding a crystal vase in both hands. Everyone wondered why the vase was full of some black substance instead of flowers, but it became clear as soon as he began to speak. "Before coming here," he said, "to greet our friends and artists from the Jewish Theatre of Kiev, we bought this crystal vase and went to Babi Yar. We filled up the vase with earth from Babi Yar, the same earth which heard the cries of our fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, the little children, boys and girls who never grew up, who perished at the hands of the fascist beasts." Raising the vase higher, he continued: "If you examined the earth carefully, you will find shoelaces from a shoe belonging to little Sarele who was struck down together with her mother. Look carefully and you will see tears streaming down an old woman's face. Look deeply and you will see your father praying 'Sh'ma Yisroel' with his eyes raised to the sky, waiting for rescue from a good angel. Listen carefully and you will hear the thunder of the guns in the hands of the heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto fighting the fascist murderers. Listen intently and you will hear the chant of the martyrs deported from the ghettos as they were marched to the death camps: 'Never say that this is your last road.' Look further and you will see that the earth is soaked with

blood, the earth is trembling...It is the last breathing of our martyrs who gave their lives for us, for you, my friends, from the Kiev State Jewish Theatre, so that we may continue our work for our Jewish nation, our Jewish culture, our Jewish language."

Mikhoels then picked up a handful of earth from the vase and continued: "I brought you a vase of earth from Babi Yar. Throw in the seeds of flowers. They will bloom as a symbol of the new flowering of the Jewish people whom Hitler sought to annihilate and obliterate from the face of the globe. In spite of him, we live and will continue to live. We, the Jewish artists, no matter whom we represent: Tevye the Milkman, Shimele Soroker, Hirsch Leckert or Bar Kochba, we will always have before us this sample of Babi Yar earth, which calls to us and demands of us, despite our enemies, that we continue to live forever."

Thirty-seven years have passed by and the inspiring words of the great Shlomo Mikhoels are still with me, with the same vividness...

Vinokurov, Joseph, Shimon Kipnis, and Nora Levin. *Yizkor Bukh Book of Remembrance.* Philidelphia: Publishing House of Peace, 1983.

Babi Yar

by Yevgeny Yevtushenko

No gravestone stands on Babi Yar;
Only coarse earth heaped roughly on the gash.
Such dread comes over me; I feel so old,
Old as the Jews. Today I am a Jew...
Now I go wandering, an Egyptian slave;
And now I perish, splayed upon the cross.

The marks of nails are still upon my flesh.
And I am Dreyfus whom the gentry hound:
I am behind the bars, caught in a ring:
Belied, denounced, and spat upon I stand,
While dainty ladies in their lacy frills,
Squealing, poke parasols into my face.

I am that little boy in Bialystok
Whose blood flows, spreading darkly on the floor.
The rowdy lords of the saloon make sport,
Reeking alike of vodka and of leek,
Booted aside, weak, helpless, I, the child
Who begs in vain while the pogromchik mob
Guffaws and shouts: "Save Russia, beat the Jews!"
The shopman's blows fall on my mother's back.
O my own people, my own Russian folk,
Believers in the brotherhood of man!
But dirty hands too often dare to raise
The banner of your pure and lofty name.
I know the goodness of my native land.
How vile that anti-Semites shamelessly
Preen themselves in the words that they debase:
"The Union of the Russian People."

Now, in this moment, I am Anna Frank,
Frail and transparent as an April twig.
I love as she; I need no ready phrases...
Only to look into each other's eyes!
How little we can sense, how little see...
Leaves are forbidden us, the sky forbidden..
Yet how much still remains; how strangely sweet
To hold each other close in the dark room.
They come? No, do not fear. These are the gales
Of spring; she bursts into this gloom.
Come to me; quickly; let me kiss your lips...
They break the door? No, no, the ice is breaking.

On Babi Yar weeds rustle; the tall trees
Like judges loom and threaten...
All screams in silence; I take off my cap
And feel that I am slowly turning gray.
And I too have become a soundless cry
Over the thousands that lie buried here.
I am each old man slaughtered, each child shot.
None of me will forget.

Let the glad "Internationale" blare forth
When earth's last anti-Semite lies in earth.
No drop of Jewish blood flows in my veins,
But anti-Semites with a dull, gnarled hate
Detest me like a Jew.
O know me truly Russian through their hate!

Yevgeny Yevtushenko (1933 –), author of "Babi Yar," is a Soviet Russian poet who became a standard-bearer of the liberal Soviet intelligentsia following the death of Joseph Stalin. Yevtushenko frequently chose subjects that were expressions of revolt against Stalinist traditions. (See p. 19.)

"The Ashes Of Babi Yar Are Knocking In My Heart,"

August 16, 1991

said Boris Kochubiyevsky, when we called him at his home in Jerusalem to ask about his feelings in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Babi Yar massacre. Now Boris uses the Hebrew name Baruch Ashei.

"We must never forget and we must never forgive those who created the catastrophe and those who aided them voluntarily. My grandfather was a rich man, a merchant of first order in Czarist Russia. He had a factory. Bolsheviks came and took everything he had. He survived that time. He lived in Zvenigorodka, near Kiev, and had good relations with the Ukrainians. Then World War II began. Germans had not come yet, but the Ukrainians gathered all their Jewish neighbors, "good friends," and shot them. Could it be forgiven? They eagerly aided in the shootings at Babi Yar, where my father, a wounded Soviet officer, also perished.... I'll never forgive the Ukrainians nor the Germans. We don't need to be loved. We need to be treated as human beings. I have taught my two sons and my daughter to know what happened to Jews during the war, in particular, at Babi Yar. I have taught them to hate those who betrayed and murdered our people."

Boris Kochubiyevsky was a young Jewish radio engineer in Kiev when he went to Babi Yar and eulogized its Jewish victims, charging the Soviet government with antisemitism. He was tried in 1969 and sentenced to three years in labor camp, but was released and allowed to emigrate to Israel in late 1971 where he makes his home. (See p. 34.)

A Little Song For Drums

by Arkady Rivlin

Not by violin, not by flute,
Better by drum to play
How on a marble monument
Was described their last way.

Very "wisely," very "generously"
In five official lines –
About hundreds of thousands of innocents
Without a thought of children's cries.

Listen to drums over Babi Yar,
Listen to drums over the world:
Not the communists, not the partisans,
But it was the children who were the first to die.

The beating of drums will tell us,
How accompanied by mothers' cries,
Nursing babies and little children
Were thrown first in the *Yar* :

At the official pompous monument
Are a few official words
With no mention of numbers of children –
As if they killed them once more.

Translated by Bella Sitnyakovsky

Arkady Rivlin is a poet from Kiev who currently resides in Los Angeles. His poems about Babi Yar were never published in the Soviet Union.

Tango Over Babi Yar

by Arkady Rivlin

Tango from Germany "Donna Klara"*
Thundered from radio over the *Yar*,
Muffling the sounds of guns and rifles,
Shouts over the slaughter...And cries...And roars...

And years later while walking the same slopes
A needle pierced my heart:
A familiar sound from a tape recorder
Tango from Germany "Donna Kla..."

Tango of perished ones over the planet...
How easy became their steps,
Slowly moving by tango from Germany
Elderly, children and maybe me...

The retro music over the green *Yar*
Is beating me with its notes.
O, how beautifully you sing, Donna Klara!
O, how nicely you appeal to us, Klara!
O, how often I see you in my dreams, frau Klara!
Seemingly it was not your role at all...

Translated by Bella Sitnyakovsky

*As the victims were marched to their deaths, a German tango, "Donna Klara," was one of the musical pieces played to muffle the sounds of the gunfire and the screams of the condemned.

Memorial Prayer

For The Martyrs Massacred At Babi Yar

O G-d, full of mercy, Who dwells on high, grant proper rest on the wings of the Divine Presence - in the lofty levels of the holy and the pure ones, who shine like the glow of the firmament - for the souls of the holy and pure ones who were killed, murdered and slaughtered for the sanctification of the Name, through the hands of the German oppressors at Babi Yar. May their resting place be in the Garden of Eden - therefore may the Master of mercy shelter them in the shelter of His wings for eternity; and may He bind their souls in the Bond of Eternal Life. G-d is their heritage, and may they repose in peace on their resting places. Now let us respond: Amen.

Not far from Kiev lived an ordinary worker called Reuben Schneiderman with his wife Bluma. They had many children and grandchildren. You see them all in this picture. They were altogether 18 people. 18, in Hebrew, "chai" means "to live." But the war started and only five of them remained alive (those marked with a cross). The rest were killed: the father and mother with their children and grandchildren.

Frida Grinberg, Riva and Sara Raskin and Boris Izikson

Simha Mogilyevsky

Klara Kupershmit

Klara Belilovsky with her son Berele

Bella Belilovsky with her son Boris

Timeline

	1941
June 22	Germany invades the Soviet Union
September 19	German Army captures Kiev
September 26	Germans decide that all the Jews of Kiev should be put to death
September 28	Notices posted in Kiev ordering all Jews to assemble the following morning
September 29	Jews assemble and are marched to Babi Yar ravine
September 29-30	33,771 Jews are massacred at Babi Yar
	1943
July	Paul Blobel, SS-Standartenfuehrer, returns to Kiev to arrange for all traces of the Nazis' mass murder to be erased
August - September	Under Nazi orders, inmates of a nearby concentration camp exhume and cremate the corpses at Babi Yar
	1948
April 10	Paul Blobel sentenced to death together with other Einsatzgruppen leaders
	1959
October 10	Viktor Nekrasov, distinguished Soviet writer, voices concern about the lack of a monument at Babi Yar
	1961
September 19	Yevgeny Yevtushenko publishes "Babi Yar"
	1962
December 18	"Babi Yar," set to music by Dmitry Shostakovich in his "Thirteenth Symphony," premieres in Moscow
	1963
March 8	Yevtushenko publicly denounced by Premier Nikita Khrushchev
	1966
August 1	Serialization of Anatoli Kuznetsov's documentary novel *Babi Yar* begins
	1967
October 1967 - November 1968	Eleven defendants from Einsatzgruppe C, Sonderkommando 4a convicted in the Babi Yar massacre
	1969
May 13	Boris Kochubiyevsky, a Jewish engineer from Kiev, placed on trial for eulogizing Jews at Babi Yar
	1974
	Monument, with no specific mention of Jews, erected at Babi Yar
	1991
August 1	U.S. President George Bush speaks at Babi Yar
September - October	International Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of Babi Yar

Glossary

Babi Yar: Ravine located in the northwestern part of Kiev

Blobel, Paul (1894-1951): SS-Standartenfuehrer; member of the SD; commanding officer of Einsatzgruppe C, Sonderkommando 4a.

Einsatzgruppen: Mobile killing units of the Security Police and SS Security Service that followed the German armies into the Soviet Union in June 1941. They were supported by units of the uniformed German Order Police and auxiliaries of volunteers (Ukrainian, Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian) for the murders. Their victims, primarily Jews, were executed by shooting and were buried in mass graves from which they were later exhumed and burned. At least a million Jews were killed in this manner. There were four *Einsatzgruppen* (A,B,C,D) which were subdivided into *Einsatzkommandos.*

Final Solution: The cover name for the plan to destroy the Jews of Europe, the "Final Solution of the Jewish Question." Beginning in December 1941, Jews were rounded up and sent to concentration camps in the East. The program was deceptively disguised as "resettlement in the East."

Khrushchev, Nikita (1894-1971): Premier of the Soviet Union 1958-1964

Kiev: City in Ukrainian SSR, on right bank of Dnieper River and 460 miles southwest of Moscow; 1939 population 846,293.

Kuznetsov, Anatoli: Soviet writer; author of documentary novel *Babi Yar*

NKVD: Soviet secret police; People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs

SD (Sicherheitsdienst): The SS security and intelligence service

SIPO (Sicherheitspolizei): Nazi security police, composed of the Gestapo and the Kriminalpolizei (German Criminal police).

Sonderkommando: "Special Squad"; SS or Einsatzgruppe detachment

SS: Abbreviation usually written with two lightning symbols for *Schutzstaffel* (Protective Units). Originally organized as Hitler's personal bodyguard, the SS was transformed into a giant organization by Heinrich Himmler. Although various SS units were assigned to the battlefield, the organization is best known for carrying out the destruction of European Jewry.

SS-Standartenfuehrer: German military rank equivalent to lieutenant colonel.

Yevtushenko, Yevgeny (1933 -): Poet and spokesman for the younger post-Stalin generation of Russian poets; author of the poem "Babi Yar"

Babi Yar
Study Questions

1. Discuss the Nazis' ideology of racial superiority and how that concept led to mass murder. Before the Nazis murdered their victims they sought to dehumanize them. How was this accomplished?

2. Who were the members of the Einsatzgruppen? Were they volunteers? What was their educational and social background? Were they forced to participate in the mass execution of civilians or could they have transferred out of the Einsatzgruppen?

3. What would you do in a similar situation? What would be the most important factors (religious, ethical, social, etc.) that would go into your decision?

4. Were there any attempts by the local population to obstruct the Nazi policy of mass murder? If none, why not? How do you think you and your friends would react if you were witnesses to persecution?

5. Babi Yar was more than just a massacre. Discuss how the Nazis utilized existing local antisemitic sentiments to help in implementing the "Final Solution" as first evidenced by the Einsatzgruppen and then by the deportation to death camps. For example, how did the attitude of the Ukrainians toward Jews contribute to Babi Yar?

6. For over four decades Communist officials refused to recognize the Jewish dimension of suffering during the Holocaust at Babi Yar and elsewhere in the Soviet Union. Today, the political situation in the USSR and the Ukraine remains unclear. How have politics impacted on Babi Yar? How can we avoid politicizing its memory? What do you feel is the most important thing we should remember about Babi Yar?

Babi Yar

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page 8: "Einsatzgruppen Murderers' Trail: September – October 1941." *The Macmillan Atlas of the Holocaust.* p. 76.

page 11: Announcement on the gathering of the Jewish population of Kiev Simon Wiesenthal Center Archives #86-092/10.

page 12: Nazis distribute "rations" among the doomed Jews of Kiev who came to the gathering point, but did not know that these were the last hours of their lives. Simon Wiesenthal Center Archives #86-092/10.

page 13: Butchers ransack and loot the belongings of those killed in Babi Yar. Simon Wiesenthal Center Archives #86-092/10.

page 14: Excavations in Babi Yar (1944). Simon Wiesenthal Center Archives #86-092/11.

page 15: "Operational Situation Report USSR No. 101" *The Einsatzgruppen Reports.* p. 168.

page 16: Shattered stones, from the Jewish cemetery near Babi Yar, which the Nazis used to crush the bones of the Jews they murdered. *Yizkor Bukh Book of Remembrance.* p. 200.

page 18: This alley in 1941 was "a road of death" for 70,000 Jews. *Ibid.* p. 201.

page 20: Beginning and end of the ms. for the poem "Babi Yar," by Yevgeny Yevtushenko. *Encyclopaedia Judaica.* vol. 4, p. 29.

page 23: Nikita Khruschev on a cruise along the Dnieper River. *Khruschev Remembers.* Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1970. p. 509.

page 37: Kiev, at the monument to Soviet civilians and military taken as prisoners of war and killed by the Germans in Babi Yar. Simon Wiesenthal Center Archives #86-092/43.

page 42: Usherka Baram, his wife and two children. Simon Wiesenthal Center Archives CRP #01374-7/2 and #01374-7/3.

page 43: Babi Yar ravine after the victims had been covered over. Simon Wiesenthal Center Archives #91-131/5.

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*Complete bibliographical information is provided in the Bibliography for sources cited in both places. (See p. 62.)

Simon Wiesenthal Center

The Simon Wiesenthal Center, established in 1977, has become the largest institution of its kind in North America dedicated to the study of the Holocaust, its contemporary implications and related human rights issues. To serve its national membership of over 385,000 families, the Center, which is headquartered in Los Angeles, also maintains offices in New York, Chicago, Toronto, Miami, Jerusalem and Paris.

The Wiesenthal Center is dedicated to the preservation of the memory of the Holocaust through education and awareness, with the goal that no people shall ever again fall victim to an atrocity of such magnitude. To this end, the Center has developed innovative programs in the areas of Holocaust Studies and research, Educational Outreach to schools and various organizations, International Social Action, and Media. These broad-based activities have impacted on the lives of people from all walks of life on this continent and abroad.

The Center closely interacts on an ongoing basis with a variety of public and private agencies, meeting with elected officials, U.S. and foreign governments, diplomats and heads of state. Many important issues have been discussed, including prosecution of Nazi war criminals, antisemitism, contemporary attitudes of intolerance and bigotry, terrorism and genocide.

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