March 2024

Another Look at Buczacz County

A Fact-Based Inquiry into Omer Bartov's

Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz
(New York: Simon & Schuster, 2018)

by Mark Paul

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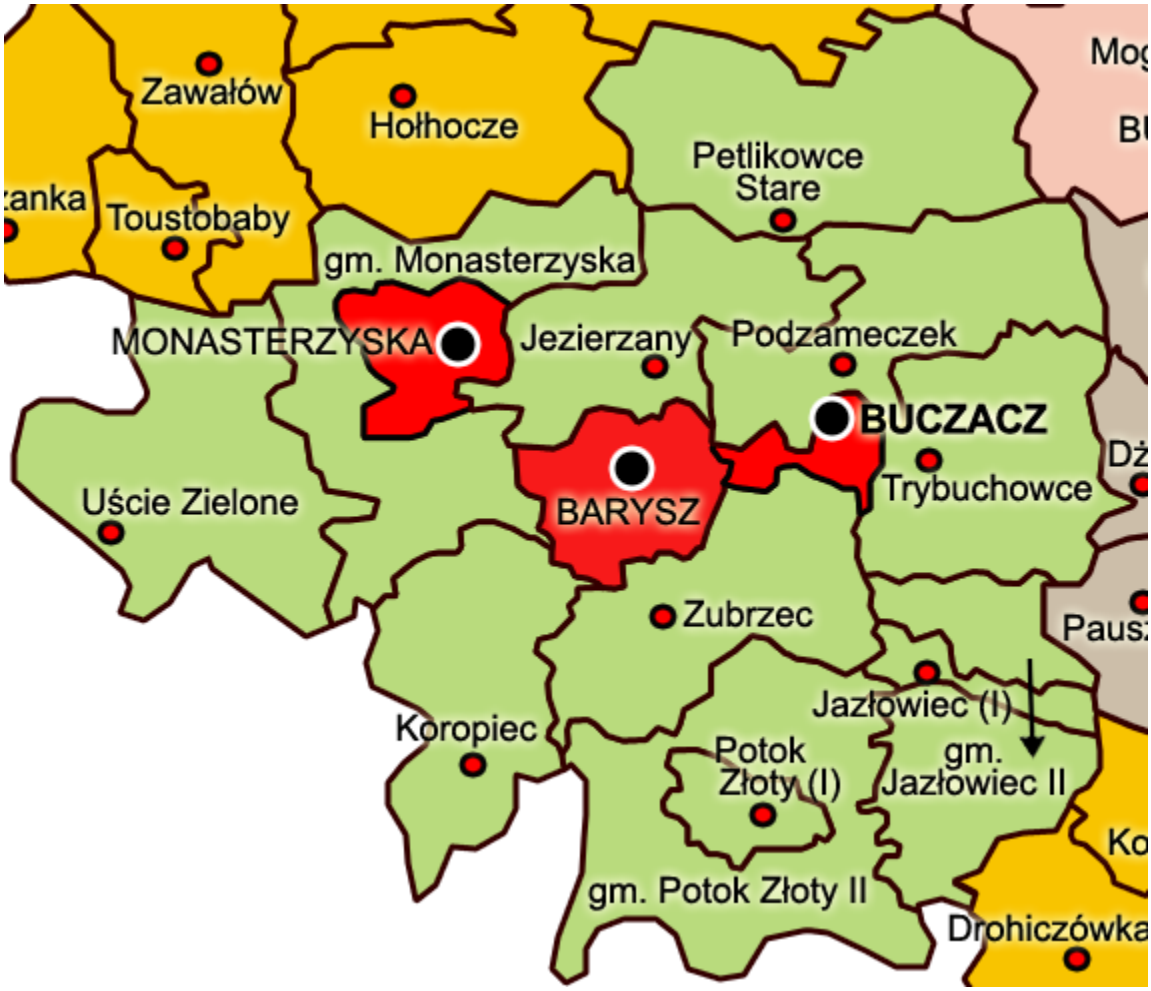
MAP OF BUCZACZ COUNTY (POWIAT) – Interwar Poland
Indicating towns and townships (gmina)



Under the German occupation (July !941–July 1944), Buczacz county was initially part of Kreis Brzezany (Brzeżany), and from July 1943 part of Kreis Czortkow (Czortków).

Introductory Remarks

Although it is an important study, Omer Bartov's monograph *Anatomy of a Genocide: The Life and Death of a Town Called Buczacz* cannot be regarded as the definitive history of Buczacz and inter-ethnic relations in that Eastern Galician town. Two decades in the making, *Anatomy of a Genocide* has both positive and negative features. Unfortunately, the shortcomings are many and too significant to overlook.

On the Positive Side

Despite allegations of widespread collaboration voiced by some reviewers, Bartov's decades-long research has not revealed that any Polish military formation or organization, nor any significant number of individual Polish actors, took part in or supported the Nazi German genocide of the Jewish population in the Buczacz area. Rather, the Poles themselves were victims of the Soviet and German invaders, and of Ukrainian nationalist factions. Bartov marshals no evidence that the Polish minority undertook ethnic cleansing of Ukrainians—along the lines of the Ukrainian factions' campaign directed against Poles, as opposed to occasional self-defence and retaliations. After the war, the Polish population was expelled from their ancestral home under harsh conditions.

The testimonies Bartov cites mention perhaps a score of individual Poles – out of a Polish population of 30,000 to 40,000 in Buczacz county – who harmed Jews.The overwhelming majority of Poles had no involvement in such activities, nor did they profit from the genocide materially. They emerged from the war scarred and more destitute than ever. Bartov provides no evidence that the Polish underground or any other Polish organization was involved in denouncing or killing Jews. Nor is there any evidence that Poles who helped Jews faced retaliation from other Poles. There are scores of documented cases of Poles coming to the aid of Jews, only some of which are mentioned by Bartov. In fact, Jews were provided with communal assistance in several Polish villages. They were even sheltered in the Polish partisan stronghold of Puźniki and took part in Polish self-defence operations.

Bartov eschews the overt moralistic tone and selectivity that mars the writings of historians like Jan Gross and Jan Grabowski. Bartov appears to have backed away (in this book at any rate) – at least with regard to the Polish population – from his earlier claims that "[t]he majority of the non-Jewish population profited from the genocide and either directly or indirectly collaborated with the perpetrators of the Holocaust." Nor does he provide any evidence that Poles who rescued Jews "feared the vengeance" of the Polish population. His insistence that "the very term 'bystander' is largely meaningless" also remains as controversial as ever, not having substantiated it with regard to the Polish population of Buczacz county.[1] Unfortunately, after the publication of *Anatomy of a Genocide*, Bartov appears to have renewed these views.

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[1] Omer Bartov, "Much Forgotten, Little Learned," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 35, no. 2 (2007), 267–287, at p. 276. Bartov made these charges more explicit in other publications, maintaining that every Christian man, woman and child was somehow complicit in the Holocaust, as hunters, facilitators, and profiteers.

> I suggest that the distinction between rescue and denunciation was often blurred and at times nonexistent, as was the distinction between perpetrators and victims; and that the category of bystander in these areas was largely meaningless, since everyone took part in the events, whether they suffered or profited from them. … Communal massacre devastates lives and warps psyches. It belies the very notion of passive bystanders: everyone becomes a protagonist, hunter and prey, resister and facilitator, loser and profiteer.

See Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Emipres: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420, at pp. 403–404.

Bartov confronts the thorny issue of collaboration with the Germans by Jewish ghetto officials – both the Jewish council (*Judenrat*) and the Jewish police (*Ordnungsdienst*) – head on. (This is something that Jan Grabowski does his best to cover up in *Hunt for the Jews*.) There were approximately thirty Jewish policemen.[2] As in many other ghettos, the Jewish authorities in Buczacz complied with all German orders. Bartov gives voice to those Jews who experienced firsthand the harmful and often cruel behaviour of the Jewish authorities. They do not mince their words. (*Anatomy,* especially pp. 175–178.) Not all of the extant damning testimonies are cited, however. Gershon Gross, Moshe Wizinger, and Zofia Pollak also describe how the Jewish authorities (council members and policemen) robbed and extorted Jews for their own personal gains.[3]

The phenomenon of the relatively high survival rate of these Jewish officials, e.g., Yitzhak Bauer, Bernhard Seifer, Maurycy Altschüler (Munio Altshiler), Baruch (Bernard) Kramer, and Berko Hersas (Herzig?), and their postwar fate should have merited more attention. An unidentified former ghetto policeman – possibly Seifer – was spotted in Paris after the war.[4] (*Anatomy,* pp. 172–174, 347 n23.) Altschüler was investigated in Poland after the war, but the case was dropped because his whereabouts were unknown. Likely, he had left Poland.[5]

Bartov's approach goes counter to the current trend of dismissing the behaviour of Jewish officials as "choiceless choices," to which no blame should be attached. Although Bartov does not make this comparison explicitly, his research shows that Jewish officials – at least in the Buczacz area – facilitated the Holocaust to a greater degree than any alleged misdeeds of the Poles. Most reviewers ignore this important aspect of Bartov's study and focus instead on Ukrainian and alleged Polish collaboration, which they lump together, assigning to Poles as a group (as opposed to a small number of evildoers), contrary to the evidence, some significant role in the local Holocaust.

What is also remarkable about Bartov's book – given the current trend in Holocaust scholarship – is that he allows for a robust airing of the narratives and grievances of the various players, and allows readers, in some cases at least, to draw their own conclusions from the evidence. This is

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[2] Testimony of Józef Kornblüh, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no 2605.

[3] Martin Dean, ed., *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, in association with the United States Memorial Museum, 2012), vol. II, Part A, 763 (Moshe Wizinger and others); Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Bartov and Weitz, *Shatterzone of Emipres,* 399–420, at pp. 413–414 (Gershon Gross). See also George (Gershon) Gross, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, Interview code 16309; Zofia Pollak (née Berkowicz), Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, Interview code 5991.

[4] In early 1947, the *Haaretz* newspaper published the following report. While visiting Paris a Jew from Buczacz spotted a childhood friend who, during the occupation, had been the head of the Jewish police in Buczacz. This former policeman had executed this young man's parents during an *Aktion* and came to take him and his brother away later on. (He escaped; his brother perished in a death camp.) The young man beat the policeman viciously in his hotel room on two occasions with heavy objects and smashed some bottles on his head. He reported the policeman to the French police but they refused to take any action. He then went to the Polish consul in Paris. On the latter's intervention, the French police agreed to arrest the murderer. Supposedly, he was to be sent to Poland to stand trial, but there is no evidence this ever occurred. See I. Kahan (Yisrael Cohen), ed., *Sefer Buczacz: Matsevet zikaron le-kehila kedosha* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1956), 297 ff.; translated as *Book of Buczacz: In Memory of a Martyred Community,* Internet: https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/buchach/buchach.html.

[5] Agnieszka Jarzębowska, ed., *Inwentarz Zespołu: Sąd Obywatelski przy Centralnym Komitecie Żydów w Polsce, 1946–1950: Sygnatura AŻIH 313* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma), 14 (Internet: https://www.jhi.pl/uploads/inventory/file/136/S_d_Spo_eczny_313.pdf).

particularly evident in his treatment of the Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland (September 1939–June 1941). Bartov sets out numerous Polish testimonies describing Jewish collaboration with the Soviets, often to the detriment of Poles. We do not know what weight Bartov assigns to these testimonies, and, ultimately, Bartov arrives at no clear conclusion on this matter and the impact these events had on Polish attitudes. Holocaust historiography usually dismisses these Polish grievances summarily. Some reviewers were annoyed that Bartov gave them the amount of – allegedly undeserved – attention that he did. We shall return to this matter later on.

Some Problematic Aspects of Bartov's Scholarship

Bartov's book concentrates on the Jewish community and its relations with non-Jews, and its primary focus is the events of World War II and the Holocaust. Although sweeping in scope and supported by copious endnotes, Bartov's history of Buczacz is neither comprehensive nor inclusive. By definition and construction, it is ethnocentrist. Bartov's treatment of relations between Poles and Ukrainians, as well as the interplay between the OUN-UPA (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists; Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and the Germans, is therefore rather sketchy.

The territorial coverage of Buczacz's study is also imprecise. Although Bartov refers to many events that occurred outside the city of Buczacz, there are significant gaps in covering events in Buczacz county. For example, Monasterzyska and Barysz, the next largest towns in the county, are hardly touched on, even though the fate of their Jewish population was ultimately tied to that of Buczacz's Jews. (According to a Jewish eyewitness, Jewish councils were also established in Koropiec and Monasterzyska, where Jews were concentrated before being transferred to Buczacz. The behaviour of the Jewish police in Monasterzyska was said to be deplorable.[6]) Yet events that occurred outside Buczacz county are often described at length (e.g., *Anatomy,* pp. 246 (Myszkowce), 247–248 (Połowce), 259–262 (Tłuste, Hołowczyńce), 281–282 (Grabowiec).

There is no easily legible, detailed map of Buczacz county, so it is difficult to follow where many events occurred. Nor do we have a clear picture of the ethnic composition of the county and where Jews took refuge.

Bartov's scholarship is uneven. Many matters are poorly researched, critical analysis is often lacking, and the use of source materials is problematic. There is overreliance on sensational reports and memoirs without sufficient evaluation and validation of their content. Bartov pushes the notion that interwar Poland was extremely hostile and detrimental towards its minorities, and allegedly set the stage for what would unfold under the Soviet and German occupations. In this regard, Bartov cites—and embellishes—unreliable sources that are known to scholars (e.g., Nazi reports alleging bogus, secret massacres of Ukrainians carried out by Polish authorities), without any attempt at verifying their veracity, in preference to authoritative scholarship. Bartov also misreads documents and overlooks important evidence.

Bartov understates the extent of rescue activities on behalf of Jews, especially those of the Polish minority, including providing food and temporary shelter. In fact, there were hundreds of known helpers. He ignores important phenomena such as communal rescue by Polish villages, and Jewish participation in Polish rural self-defence.

Some of these shortcomings are discussed herein in reverse chronological order, starting with the German occupation during World War II.

As we shall see, despite the time and resources that went into the writing of this book, Bartov's book is hardly top-notch scholarship. (Nor was he well-served by his researcher assistants and peer reviewers.) Its many shortcomings have been largely undetected by academic reviewers. This is in itself troubling. Most reviewers have little, if any, expertise in the subject area under discussion. Thus, their laudatory reviews tend to be superficial. Bartov's findings are simply

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[6] Testimony of Sonai Grines, Yad Vashem Archives, file M.1.E/1576 (Item 3541304).

regurgitated, and sometimes even embellished. For that reason, what follows will seem to be unduly polemical, however, it is based on hard evidence.

The German Occupation (June 1941–1944) & the Soviet Re-Entry
***Anatomy of a Genocide,* Chapters 5–7**

Rescue of Jews

Bartov understates the amount of rescue activities on behalf of Jews. The efforts of hundreds of helpers have been documented, and the full extent of help will never be known. Bartov fails to identify most of the 78 Christians – 54 Poles, 20 Ukrainians, and 4 members of a mixed Polish-Ukrainian family – recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations (as at the time of publication). He also fails to identify many Jews who survived with the help of persons who have not been recognized by Yad Vashem.

Even though Poles were a (substantial) minority in Buczacz county, it is worth noting that rescuers were overwhelmingly Polish, something Bartov's book doesn't specifically mention. A far more comprehensive (though not exhaustive) list of rescuers than Bartov's – most of whom have not been awarded by Yad Vashem – and their rescue efforts is set out in this study. The evidence gathered herein shows that Polish rescuers outnumbered by far the small number of evildoers. As such, it clearly contradicts the current "accepted wisdom" of some prominent historians who claim that "the number of Poles who were involved in betraying Jews to the German occupiers, or robbing and killing them themselves, dwarfs the number of rescuers."[7]

Apart from long-term shelter, a number of Jewish accounts mention receiving shelter for shorter durations and other forms of help such as food, clothing, false documents, and money. This type of assistance – from persons whose names were usually not recorded – gets short shrift from Bartov. Since many survivors, as well Jews who received help but did not survive, did not leave testimonies, we will never know the true extent of assistance provided to Jews. The additional data collected herein also fleshes out some stories of rescue that Bartov mentions only cursorily (e.g., a boy referred to as Mandel, at p. 182, whose identity is in fact known).

The phenomenon of communal help – provided by a number of people (who are usually not identified by name) from a single village over a period of time – is overlooked by Bartov. The one example he cites (*Anatomy,* p. 260, based on the testimony of Samuel Eisen.) – that of two Jewish boys living in a forest who were helped by Poles from a friendly village nearby – occurred in a neighbouring county, Zaleszczyki, also in Tarnopol voivodship. However, Jewish testimonies record that such (collective) assistance also took place in several villages in Buczacz county: Dźwinogród, Mateuszówka, Nowosiółka Koropiecka, Wojciechówka, and Puźniki. All of these were villages inhabited primarily or almost exclusively by Poles. Jewish fugitives relied on the villagers for their existence, and their presence in nearby forests was common knowledge. In a few cases, Jews joined with the village self-defence to fend off attacks by Ukrainian partisans. The partisans of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were popularly known as *banderowcy (Banderovtsy),* i.e., Bandera followers, after a nationalist leader.

These episodes – entailing the help of hundreds of Polish villagers – are numerically far more representative than the score of villainous Poles Bartov identifies, but they are not given any weight in assessing the overall behaviour of Poles. The following examples of communal help mentioned in Jewish testimonies are absent from Bartov's book.

Israel M. (Yisrael Munczer), who took refuge in the Polish village of Wojciechówka together with his mother, stated, "Good people lived there."[8] Pepa Gold states that a lot of Jews were sheltered

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[7] Dan Stone, *The Holocaust: An Unfinished History* (New York and Boston: Mariner Books, 2024), 282.

[8] David Ravid (Shmukler), ed., *The Cieszanow Memorial Book* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Jacob Solomon Berger, 2006), 190–191.

in that “Polish settlement,” she among them.[9] Alicia Appleman-Jurman mentions Wojciechówka as a place where a joint Polish-Jewish armed group was formed to defend the village from attacks by Ukrainian partisans.[10] Another Polish village, Nowosiółka Koropiecka, is mentioned in the same context.[11]

Munio Wurman also mentions the village of Wojciechówka in his account:

> The villagers of Wojczehowka [Wojciechówka], in the Buczacz Province, knew that Eliyahu Greenberg was hiding among them, but no one informed on him. Thanks to the decent farmers, the following escaped with their lives: Sima Herman of Olesha, Moshe Gutstein, Yehiel Mintzer, Julek Mandel, Lonek Hertenstein, Shlomo Ritzer, Lonche Lepold, Elsa Fischer, Yidl Feier, Chaim Boltoh, Moshe Inzlicht and his two children.[12]

The aforementioned Lonche (Leon) Lepold, a member of a Jewish resistance group that operated in the vicinity of Tłumacz (south of Buczacz county), as well as in Buczacz county, concurs:

> I’m saying, from a fact, from my own experience, if there weren’t be the Pollacks, none of us would survive. None of us! …. a lot of Polish people were murdered, hung, burned, shot to death, because they were hiding Jewish people. I said, if it would be the opposite, Jewish people wouldn’t do that for the Polish people.[13]

Etunia Bauer Katz describes the help her family – consisting of her parents and three siblings – received from a number of villagers in Mateuszówka, a Polish colony near Dobropole.[14]

Gila Shmulowitz stated the following regarding the inhabitants of Dźwinogród (misidentified as Winogród):

> We had to leave that place of abode after the proclamation of Judenrein. We went into the fields. We spent the whole summer there, and yet, since we knew everyone in Winogród [sic], we were coming to their places at night and got some food. After they had gone to bed, we sneaked into the cowsheds and the stables for the night. …
>
> After the harvest we hid in the woods. We were sitting in holes … In November, when the peasants collected everything from the fiields we found shelter in a dugout. In the evenings we also

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[9] Testimony of Pepa Gold, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 39449 (the village is misidentified as Wojciechowice in the accompanying notes but not by her in the testimony); Oral history interview with Pepa Gold, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession no. 1993.A.0088.4, RG-50.002-0004 (the village is not identified by name).

[10] Yehuda Bauer, *The Death of the Shtetl* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 107, 123, 185 n.2.

[11] Bauer, *The Death of the Shtetl,* 107; Yehuda Bauer, “Buczacz and Krzemieniec: The Story of Two Towns During the Holocaust,” *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 33 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, The Holocaust Martyrs’ and Heroes’ Remembrance Authority, 2005), 298.

[12] Munio Wurman, “Local Population,” in Shlomo Blond, et al., eds., *Memorial Book of Tlumacz: The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Community* (Tel Aviv: Tlumacz Societies in Israel and the U.S.A., 1976), column clxxiv.

[13] Oral history interview with Leon Lepold and Eva Lepold, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession no. 1992.A.0128.63, RG-50.165.0063, See also William B. Helmreich, *Against All Odds: Holocaust Survivors and the Successful Lives They Made in America* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1996; Abingdon, Ohio and New York: Routledge, 2017), 253.

[14] Etunia Bauer Katz, *Our Tomorrows Never Came* (Fordham University Press: New York, 2000), 73–99.

went to get food. More often than not my sister [who had a distinctive Jewish appearance] did this. She used to bring back bread, sugar and potatoes.

Winter came. And we were still stuck in the dugout. It was terrible. The cold was the worst part. We entered the village and went round to one Polish peasant, who was forty or forty-five, called Wacek; his wife's name was Michalina. I don't remember their surname. They had children—don't know how many and two cows. 'You will be warm in my stable, stay here,' said Wacek to my father [Ajzyk]. He used to bring us bread and soup. …

We stayed at Wacek's for about a month. We left his stable when the Russkies came.[15]

The rescue activities of residents of Puźniki, a Polish village with a strong Home Army base, are described at length later on in this study. Eleven Poles from this village have been recognized by Yad Vashem.

Another helpful Polish village in the vicinity of Buczacz is not identified by name. In his memoir, Maxwell Smart (Oziac Fromm) describes an encounter with a group of Jews living in a forest near the village where he was hiding.

> … in the woods, around this particular village, there were approximately fifty to sixty Jews in different bunkers. The Jews who were hiding near the village were working with Polish farmers to protect the area from *Banderowcy* [i.e., Ukrainian partisans], whose goal was to burn down all the Polish villages. The Poles and the Jews would be on guard throughout the night. … Jews were helping the Polish Christian farmers, and in return, the farmers would help the Jews.[16]

A number of Jews from various localities who were brought to the Buczacz ghetto managed to escape and formed a forest group that traversed a wide area around Buczacz. The group included four young men from Horodenka – Yehoshua Vermut, Israel Zilber, the brothers Yakov and Yochanan Bernstein, as well as Yehoshua Nudelman from Czernelica and some others from the area. Yehoshua Vermut recalled the help that the Jews received in several villages and an alliance forged with Polish villagers to fend off Ukrainian attacks.

> When it became very cold and windy, we started staying with farmers — usually Polish — for a day or two at a time. They would let us stay because we paid them well. We had eight to ten hiding places within a radius of 150 kilometers. For security we would surprise them, stay overnight, and the next day be gone. …
>
> The last months before the liberation, our security was very compromised. The Ukrainians organized big, armed groups known as Bendrovitches [*Banderowcy*], who wanted badly to catch us. The roads were full of them. Our wanderings from place to place became almost impossible. At the same time, the Ukrainians started killing the Polish population, finishing off entire villages. One night, we got an interesting offer. We were staying with Polish friend when a Polish delegation came and asked us to help organize a Polish resistance against the Ukrainians. We accepted the offer. They appreciated our courage and gave us a beautiful welcome. In turn, they promised to protect us and help us in any way. We mentioned how many of the people helped the Germans kill our brothers and sisters. They replied that every nation has its bad element, but most of Polish people felt sorry for the Jews!
>
> It is interesting to note that we found the Polish people to be unarmed, but the Ukrainians had a lot of ammunition.
>
> We spent some time in the Polish villages. Many people from hiding in nearby villages joined us. They treated us very well, as they had promised, and had a big dinner for us every night. We went about our business at night and in the day stayed in hiding. Only on Sunday would we go out with our automatic guns to guard the church where everybody was praying. Before we came to the village they had been afraid to go to church for fear of raids by the Ukrainians. They priest told

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[15] Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Harmonica: Jews Relate How Poles Saved Them from the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Polska Agencja Informacyjna, 2001), 106–108, translated from the Polish *Ustna harmonijka: Relacje Żydów, których uratowali od Zagłady Polacy* (Warsaw: Niezależne Wydawnictwo Polskie, 2000), 96–98.

[16] Maxwell Smart, *Chaos to Canvas* (Azrieli Foundation, 2018), 79; Maxwell Smart, *The Boy in the Woods: A True Story of Survival During the Second World War* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2022), 69.

them: “Today we can pray in peace because there is a power outside the building, guarding us from all evil.” We stayed in the Polish village until the liberation.[17]

Similar (Jewish) reports come from other places in Eastern Galicia and Volhynia, so it is baffling why Bartov ignores this phenomenon. More than 200 Jews were sheltered or helped by Poles in Hanaczów, near Lwów; Jews joined with the Polish Home Army to fend off attacks by Ukrainian partisans.[18] Polish villagers in Majdan Pieniacki, near Brody, supplied scores of Jews living in forest bunkers with food; some of the Jews joined the village self-defence to fend off raids by Ukrainian nationalist partisans.[19] A similar situation prevailed in Wicyń, near Złoczów.[20] In Volhynia, Jewish fugitives joined with their Polish protectors in defending the settlements from attacks by Ukrainian partisans in Kurdybań Warkowicki, Bortnica, Pańska Dolina, and Żeniówka (Ziniówka), all located near Dubno.[21]

Polish Partisans

Bartov’s treatment of the important topic of the Polish underground (Home Army), Polish partisans and village self-defence, as well as their relations with Jewish fugitives, is superficial, spotty, and, at times, inaccurate. As already mentioned, Bartov ignores the phenomenon of the participation of Jewish fugitives with Polish self-defence in protecting villages (that helped forest Jews) from attacks by Ukrainian partisans (Ukrainian Insurgent Army or UPA, commonly called *banderowcy* by Poles and Jews).

The main Polish underground and partisan organization in Eastern Galicia was the Home Army (*Armia Krajowa*), which was subordinated to the Polish government in exile in London. According to Polish sources, as of October 1, 1943, the Tarnopol Region (Okręg Tarnopol) counted some 12,000 soldiers, and by February 1944 that number had grown to 15,000. The Buczacz District (Obwód Buczacz) counted 1,034 soldiers as of October 1, 1943.[22] Bartov’s assertion that the Buczacz district’s Polish Peasant Battalions had grown to 3,500 armed men at some point has no basis in fact. (*Anatomy,* p. 269.) The Peasant Battalions (*Bataliony Chłopskie*) were but a small component of the Home Army. Clearly, Bartov’s book cannot be considered as a reliable source of information about the Polish partisans operating in Buczacz county.

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[17] Yehoshua Vermut, “How I Survived,” in Sh. Meltzer, ed., *Sefer Horodenka* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Horodenka and Vicinity in Israel and the USA, 1963), 296 ff.; translated as *The Book of Horodenka,* Internet: https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/gorodenka/Gorodenka.html. See also Yehoshua Nudelman, “A Confrontation with the Police,” in ibid., 301; Testimony of Yehoshua Vermut, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/656 (Item 3557972).

[18] Joshua D. Zimmerman, The Polish Underground and the Jews, 1939–1945 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 314–317. See also Damian K. Markowski, *Ostatni dzień Hanaczowa: Polsko-żydowskie braterstwo w czasach Zagłady* (Warsaw: Bellona, 2022).

[19] Bernard Scharf, *Courage* ([Canada]: Mark Scharf, 2011), 39, 40, 50, 54.

[20] Józef Argasiński, *Wicyń – nieugięta wise na Podolu: Zarys monograficzny* (Bielsko-Biała: Ars Aqua, 2006), 48–50.

[21] Isaiah Trunk, *Jewish Responses to Nazi Persecution: Collective and Individual Behavior in Extremis* (New York: Stein and Day, 1979), 250–252; Tadeusz Piotrowski, ed., *Genocide and Rescue in Wołyń: Recollections of the Ukrainian Nationalist Ethnic Cleansing Campaign Against the Poles During World War II* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland, 2000), 214–216.

[22] Polska Podziemna: Struktura i rozwój organizacyjny ZWZ-AK: Okręg Tarnopol ZWZ-AK, Internet: http://www.dws-xip.pl/PW/formacje/pw2063.html.

Only one concrete example of interaction between Polish partisans and Jews is found in Bartov's book. While revelatory for Holocaust literature, Bartov's treatment is incomplete. Bartov states that Moshe Wizinger (Mosze Weisinger), who is mentioned earlier, joined "a local Polish resistance group," whose leader was "known only as Edek." (*Anatomy,* p. 254.) Bartov does not provide any further information about Edek's identity and his underground affiliation in his book, *Anatomy of a Genocide*. From Wizinger's extensive account, which Bartov himself edited for publication,[23] we learn that Edek was associated with the Home Army and that six Jews were accepted into his unit. However, even in that book, Edek's identity remains shrouded in secrecy. We learn, from a hearsay account, that Edek was killed towards the end of October 1943 by "ethnic German" collaborators, when he took a group of his men to investigate a raid that had targeted a Polish priest. While inside the priest's house, the Poles were unexpectedly attacked by gunfire. A hand grenade exploded at Edek's feet and tore him to shreds. (Although not himself a witness to Edek's demise, Wizinger's account cannot simply be dismissed.)

Polish sources readily identify this person as Edward Niedźwiecki. However, the circumstances under which he died differ. According to those sources, Niedźwiecki was one of four Poles killed by German gendarmes on December 26, 1943, near Monasterzyska. Edek's colleague, Jan Butrowski, perhaps the source of Wizinger's information (Wizinger refers to him simply as Janek), managed to escape.[24] Edward Niedźwiecki's Home Army unit is mentioned in other Polish sources. The deputy commander was Jan Buchwald.[25]

Moshe Wizinger also stated that Edward Niedźwiecki punished a Maryna Świerszczak, a Ukrainian woman recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile, with a severe thrashing for turning away a Jewish fugitive and threatened her Polish husband. (*Anatomy,* p. 254.) Moreover, the regional Home Army command approved the local leader's request to execute a collaborator responsible for the murder of four Jews.[26]

In an endnote (*Anatomy,* p. 348 n.27), Bartov cites Emanuel Worman (Bazan), the organizer of a resistance group in Buczacz, who accuses Moshe Wizinger of joining a Polish resistance group that "attacked Jews and carried out many murderous actions and terrified everyone." As Bartov points out, Wizinger's version "completely contradicts this claim." Wizinger survived the war as a member – and under the protection – of the Home Army. Worman's (Bazan's) account found in the Buczacz memorial book provides more details. He claims that Wizinger (Weisinger) "joined the Polish group of Nidjbeiski [Niedźwiecki] which operated in the forests of Posznik [Puźniki], yet

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[23] Omer Bartov, ed., *Voices on War and Genocide: Three Accounts of the World Wars in a Galician Town* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2020), 415–416. See also the Polish testimony of Mosze Weisinger, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3799 (Item 3557563).

[24] Henryk Komański and Szczepan Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946* (Wrocław: Nortom, 2004), 160, 662–663; Tadeusz Isakowicz-Zaleski, "Zagłada Korościatyna," *Materiały przeglądowej konferencji naukowej "W 65. rocznicę eksterminacji ludności polskiej na Kresach Wschodnich dokonanej przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich", Warszawa 10 lipca 2008* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej-Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2010), 142, based on Jan Zaleski, *Kronika życia* (Kraków: Radamsa 1999), 28. For yet a different version of Niedźwiecki's death, see Edmund [Edward] Niedźwiecki, Muzeum Armii Krajowej w Krakowie, Internet: https://baza.muzeum-ak.pl/zolnierz/160697/.

[25] Maria Ignatowicz-Hudymowa, "Żołnierz Armii Krajowej Ziemi Buczackiej," *Głosy Podolan,* no. 100 (2010): 36–52, at p. 44; Zbigniew Żyromski, "Armia Krajowa Obwód Buczacz z miejscem postoju w Monasterzyskach (1)," *Głos Buczaczan,* no. 1 (75) (2018): 97–136, at pp. 123–124, 128.

[26] Omer Bartov, ed., *Voices on War and Genocide: Three Accounts of the World Wars in a Galician Town* (New York: Berghahn, 2020), 366–369, 376.

afterwards he was forced to flee from them since they too murdered Jews."[27]

Worman's opinion of the Home Army is found in other anecdotal sources.[28] These accounts have been embraced by Holocaust historians as an accurate portrayal of the Home Army's attitude toward Jews. Yehuda Bauer writes: "one of the resistance groups tried to join a Polish partisan group in the forest. The partisan group, which was led by a man called Niedzwiecki and which belonged to the Armia Krajowa, tried to kill those in the resistance group, and they had to flee for their lives."[29] To his credit, Bartov has now corrected this erroneous information and no longer advances – with respect to Polish partisans operating in this area – what he wrote (understatedly) in an earlier publication, namely, "most nationalist Polish and Ukrainian partisans were at best unfriendly to Jews."[30]

Although Bartov has set the record straight, how many will notice? The alleged hostility of the Home Army toward Jews is a staple of Holocaust literature, even though it is not borne out by a number of accounts penned by Jews who came into contact with the Home Army in Eastern Galicia. The best known example of cooperation between the Home Army and Jewish partisans is Hanaczów, near Lwów.[31] Yitzhak Sternberg, who served in the Home Army posing as a Christian Pole, stated that he did not hear about any instructions targeting Jews.[32] Samuel Drix recalled the notice he read in *Ziemia Czerwieńska,* the underground newspaper published by the Home Army, warning Poles against helping the Germans track down Jews: those who were doing this would be judged in court in free Poland after the war.[33] In Simon Wiesenthal's opinion, the Polish underground was amongst the most important and bravest in Europe. Not only did they find shelters for his wife, but they also provided him with two pistols and helped to hide him after he escaped from a forced labour camp in Lwów. Later, they accepted him into their ranks.[34]

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[27] E. Bazan, "The Resistance Movement in Buczacz," in Yisrael Cohen, ed., *Sefer Buczacz: matsevet zikaron le-kehila kedosha* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1956), 284 ff., translated as *Book of Buczacz: In Memory of a Martyred Community*, Internet: https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/buchach/buchach.html.

[28] Elyash Halfan (Khalfan) states: "clandestine groups, such as the Ukrainian group 'Bandera's band' and the Polish group A.K., appeared in the forests. Along with the German-Ukrainian police, these groups tried their best to annihilate the Jewish partisans." See the Testimony of Elyash Khalfan in Kahan, *Sefer Buczacz,* 264 ff.

[29] Yehuda Bauer, *The Death of the Shtetl* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 107.

[30] Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Bartov and Weitz, *Shatterzone of Emipres,* 399–420, at p. 412

[31] Joshua D. Zimmerman, *The Polish Underground and the Jews, 1939–1945* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 314–317.

[32] Yitzhak Sternberg, *Under Assumed Identity* (Israel: Hakibbutz-Hameuchad Publishing House and Ghetto Fighters' House, 1986), 103.

[33] Samuel Drix, *Witness to Annihilation: Surviving the Holocaust, a Memoir* (Washington, D.C.: Brassey's, 1994), 192.

[34] Hella Pick, *Simon Wiesenthal: A Life in Search of Justice* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1996), 12–13; Alan Levy, *The Wiesenthal File* (London: Constable, 1993), 49–53; Alison Leslie Gold, *Fiet's Vase and Other Stories of Survival: Europe 1939–1945* (New York: Tarcher/Penguin, 2003), 182–188.

We will never know the true extent of the assistance provided to Jews by the Polish underground in Buczacz county. Franciszek Pasławski, another member of the local Home Army, was recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile for his role in rescuing three Jewish women from Buczacz, among them his former teacher and a fellow student at the Buczacz high school.[35] Maksymilian Fiszgrund, who was arrested in Buczacz after the entry of the Germans in the summer of 1941, was extracted from jail by a Polish Socialist Party activist and brought to Kraków by another person. In Kraków, he was entrusted to a person named Bobrowski and received fake identity papers from Żegota, the Council for Aid to Jews, an organization created by the Polish underground state specifically to help Jews. Fiszgrund then moved to Wieliczka, where he resided with a member of the Peasant Battalions under his assumed identity until the end of the German occupation.[36] These episodes are not mentioned by Bartov.

Jewish Catchers, Jewish Gangs, Forest Fugitives, Looting

While Bartov does mention some instances of Jews betraying other Jews in hiding (*Anatomy,* 253, 347 n.22), he omits some of the most damning Jewish testimonies. (Reviews of the book avoid this topic, focusing instead exclusively on non-Jewish collaboration.) During the liquidation of the Buczacz ghetto some Jews, among them a certain Landes (perhaps Munio Menachem Landau), took up the German offer of seeking out Jews hidden in bunkers in exchange for their lives. Hundreds of Jews were betrayed in this manner. However, the Germans did not spare the turncoats and shot them too or had Jews kill them themselves.[37]

Although several Jewish testimonies from Buczacz speak disparagingly of the activities of Jewish gangs and forest groups, this topic is hardly explored by Bartov. The following Jewish testimonies are simply overlooked.

> To Buczacz they brought Jews from the town of Tłumacz. Among the youth from Tłumacz was a so-called band. This was a group of young, armed boys. Brave and determined for anything, they were the scourge of the Judenrat. They often took money away from well-off Jews.[38]

> The Jewish bandits were no better than the murderers. They fell on the Jews in hiding, on the Jews in the forests and robbed them naked. That happened to Shaul Enderman and others.[39]

One is left to wonder who exactly the members of these groups were, and whether there are more such testimonies that have been overlooked.

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[35] *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust,* vol. 5 (Poland, Part 2), ed. by Israel Gutman and Sara Bender (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004), 584.

[36] Testimony of Alina Fiszgrund, Centropa, August 2005, Internet: https://www.centropa.org/biography/alina-fiszgrund.

[37] Testimony of Emanuel Kriegel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/196; Testimony of Izaak Szwarc, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/327; Orzeł, *Dzieci żydowskie w czasach Zagłady,* 170 (Emanuel Kriegel).

[38] Izak Szwarc, “Buczacz: Obozy pracy w okolicach Buczacza,” as cited in Betti Ajzensztajn, ed., *Ruch podziemny w ghettach i obozach: Materiały i dokumenty* (Warszawa, Łódź and Kraków: Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna w Polsce, 1946), 49; Testimony of Izaak Szwarc, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/327. See also the testimony of Róża Dobrecka, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/2274.

[39] Account of Dr. Avraham Halfan in Kahan, *Sefer Buczacz,* 234; translated as *Book of Buczacz: In Memory of a Martyred Community,* Internet: https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/buchach/buchach.html.

Another matter, namely the myth that non-Jews struck it rich during World War II by stealing Jewish wealth, merits attention. As Bartov himself argues, the vast majority of Jews were poor. As we also know, the vast majority of Jewish wealth was expropriated, by various means, first by the Soviets, then by the Germans. How could 150,000 non-Jews residing in Buczacz county have profited in any significant way from what hadn't been taken by the Soviets and Germans from some 12,000 Jews, most of whom were poor to begin with? The notion that most non-Jews were hauling home wagonloads of Jewish loot is simply far-fetched.

Moreover, as the examples mentioned above demonstrate, some Jews also looted Jewish property. Róża Dobrecka, a Jew from Warsaw who relocated to Buczacz for a time, mentions a gang of Jewish thieves headed by Ucio(?) who pilfered Jewish homes in the ghetto.[40] Although Bartov cites Dobrecka's testimony, he neglects to mention that episode. (*Anatomy,* pp. 257–258.) Another Jewish testimony mentions that Gypsies also took part in such activity during an *Aktion* in Buczacz.[41]

Ukrainian-Polish Relations

Given its essentially Judeocentric nature, it is perhaps not surprising that Bartov's treatment of Ukrainian-Polish relations is both sketchy and spotty.

At page 162, Bartov states that in July 1941, the Ukrainian militia hunted down and executed former Soviet officials and "harassed Jews and Poles." About 100 people were abused. At page 167, according to a Jewish witness, Volodymyr Kaznovskyi, the Ukrainian police chief (former district attorney) "shot many Jews, Poles, and others" even before the Germans occupied Buczacz. At pages 163–164, Bartov mentions the execution by the Germans, in early August 1941, of 33 prisoners – of unspecified nationality – who had been arrested by the Ukrainian militia and held in the Buczacz prison. Bartov states that this "killing set the pattern for what became mass shootings of Jews on a far larger scale." No source is provided.

Readers would have been better served had Bartov also consulted Polish sources, as they give a fuller picture of what was happening in the county. According to Polish testimonies, murders occurred in the following places in June through August of 1941: Barysz (6 Poles, 3 Jews, 2 Ukrainians), Bobulińce (2 Poles), Czechów (14 Poles, 9 Ukrainians), Jazłowiec (20 Poles, including 2 nuns, 5 Jews), Jezierany (1 Pole, 1 Ukrainian, 17 Jews), Słobódka Górna (7 Poles), Soroki (3 Poles), Zubrzec (2 Poles, 2 Ukrainians).[42] According to Polish sources, the Germans executed 53 prisoners in Buczacz on August 4, 1941. Most of those killed were Poles, but the victims also included some Jews and Ukrainians.[43] According to a Jewish survivor, 54 people were executed by Gestapo men from Czortków. All of the victims were Poles, except for three Jews.[44]

Another missed opportunity was fleshing out – the genesis and unfolding of – the ethnic cleansing of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and its ideological predecessor and companion, the

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[40] Testimony of Róża Dobrecka, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/2274.

[41] Testimony of Izaak Szwarc, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/327.

[42] Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 141, 145–146, 148–149, 152, 173, 179.

[43] Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 141, 148, 163.

[44] Testimony of Józef Kornblüh, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no 2605.

Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). This campaign went through various phases – first targeting the Polish population of Volhynia in the summer of 1943, and then spreading out – and took the lives of an estimated 80,000–120,000 Poles. At east 30,000 Poles perished in Eastern Galicia; Ukrainian victims of Polish self-defence and retaliation numbered in the thousands.[45] In Buczacz county, the toll may have surpassed 1,600.[46] Ethnic cleansing intensified in Eastern Galicia after the entry of the Soviet Army in 1944, as Ukrainian nationalists were intent on driving out the Polish minority and ensure the full success of the "repatriation" program implemented by the Soviets, who had annexed Eastern Polish territories and also wanted the Poles to leave.

Carried out with exceptional cruelty, the ethnic cleansing campaign tore apart many families of mixed Polish-Ukrainian background. Ukrainians were forced to renounce or even kill their Polish spouses and children who were considered to be Polish. (In mixed marriages, boys were usually baptized in the Catholic rite of their father, and girls in the Catholic rite of their mother.) The reaction of the Ukrainian population to these activities varied. Non-compliant Ukrainians and vocal opponents of this campaign faced retaliation from the UPA. At least 25 Ukrainians were killed in Buczacz county for refusing to participate in or for opposing (speaking out against) the murder of their Polish neighbours.[47] In Skomorochy, a Ukrainian named Rego who openly condemned the murder of Poles was nailed to the wall of his barn.[48] In Uście Zielone, Slavko Holub was hung and perforated with bayonets for refusing to participate in the killing of Poles. On his chest was placed a sign that read: "Who is not for us, is against us."[49]

Nonetheless, despite such terror, there were Ukrainians who came to the aid of Poles and even sheltered them during attacks on Poles in villages with a mixed population.[50] Polish sources have endeavoured to identify Ukrainian victims of the UPA, who probably number in the thousands.[51] Polish self-defence – and occasional retaliation – is frequently mentioned in the testimonies of

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[45] Damian Karol Markowski, *W cieniu Wołynia: "Antypolska akcja" OUN i UPA w Galicji Wschodniej 1943–1945* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2023), conclusion ("Krajobraz po klęsce").

[46] Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 139–182, 650–691. Ukrainians were also killed In some Ukrainian attacks, perhaps inadvertently. Ibid., 677 (Rublin, near Potok Złoty). Bartov gives a lower victim count of 835. See Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 363 n 4.

[47] Piotrowski, *Genocide and Rescue in Wołyń,* 261–262 n.75; Tadeusz Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust: Ethnic Strife, Collaboration with Occupying Forces and Genocide in the Second Republic, 1918–1947* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland, 1998), 385–386 n.540.

[48] Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 668.

[49] Piotrowski, *Genocide and Rescue in Wołyń,* 24; Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust,* 254.

[50] The following book was published in three language editions – Polish, English, and Ukrainian: Roman Niedzielko, ed., *Kresowa księga sprawiedliwych 1939–1945: O Ukraińcach ratujących Polaków poddanych eksterminacji przez OUN i UPA / The Book of the Righteous of the Eastern Borderlands, 1939–1945: About the Ukrainians Who Rescued Poles Subjected to Extermination by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej / Institute of National Remembrance, 2007), Internet: https://ipn.gov.pl/pl/publikacje/e-booki/171730,Kresowa-ksiega-sprawiedliwych-19391945-O-Ukraincach-ratujacych-Polakow-poddanych.html. Buczcz county is covered on pp. 133–139 of the English edition.

[51] Examples from Buczacz county can be found in Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 139–181, 1145–1149.

Jews who survived in the countryside with the help of Poles. Some of these testimonies are cited by Bartov, but the complexities on the ground are simply missing from his narrative. Non-Jewish society is treated as an undifferentiated mass on the sidelines of the Jewish tragedy.

Assessing the Behaviour of Jews and Non-Jews

Ilya Gerasimov, a Russian-American scholar, penned one of the most insightful reviews and critiques of Bartov's book. Gerasimov notes that Bartov's explanation of fratricide during World War II is based on "a teleological vision of primordial interethnic tensions that gradually escalated to the boiling point." He rejects this thesis as unproven. Leaving aside Gerasimov's (equally controversial) alternative explanation for understanding genocide (including the Holocaust), let us focus on the penetrating, and troubling, questions Gerasimov raises regarding Bartov's analysis and methodology.

> Methodological nationalism … leaves much of a nation's historical dynamics in a blind spot. Its underlying principle of the "realism of the group" implies the typicality of social reactions by all members of a nation. Accordingly, in this logic, everything that does not conform to the assumed "national" shared collective behavior can be conceptualized only in terms of personal (moral) deviation. This approach proves itself too narrow to account for the divergent strategies pursued by various strata within a nation even in a situation of maximum uniformity of social experience, such as collective victimization of the Jewish community during the Holocaust. … [Bartov's] approach largely ignores a social history perspective, so the entire problem of the Jewish communal administration under the Nazi occupation – who became members of the Judenrat or the Jewish police (Ordnungsdiesnt), why and how they did so – is reduced to the question of moral culpability (which is obviously important but insufficient as a historical explanation). It is said that members of the Jewish administration "served their oppressors exceedingly well" and were "enemies of the nation." But how did the moral stance of the Jewish administration during the initial period of Nazi occupation differ from the role of community leaders under the Soviet occupation or the Polish government? Retrospectively, it is obvious that there was a profound difference between the discriminatory Polish state and the repressive Soviet regime that arrested and exiled tens of thousands of Jews, and between the Soviet terror and the genocidal Nazi rule. The question remains open, however, as to whether this difference was immediately clear to the people from within," so that they would find acceptable cooperation with one regime but not with the other.
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> This question does not relativize the moral responsibility for cooperation with repressive regimes, but just renders it a broader historical problem. Judenrat and Ordnungsdienst members did not stop being Jews just because their life choices were immoral, and a proper "national" history is expected to include them in a common explanatory narrative rather than ostracizing them as "enemies." By the same token, "the involvement of the Jewish police in the roundups, deportations, and mass shootings," when "the Gestapo men were assisted by the Ukrainian and Jewish police" (P. 176) raises the issue of singling out the role of Ukrainians as perpetrators. If participation in the Holocaust of members of the Jewish community, including "a cross-section of the local Jewish elite" (P. 169), was a matter of individual moral failure, why treat Ukrainian or Polish murderers differently (as representatives of their "nations" rather than morally corrupt individuals)?
>
> In this case, Bartov chooses to take the opposite stance, treating those gentiles who saved Jews as "moral outcasts" of their nations. Apparently, he is motivated by statistics: many more people hurt Jews than saved them. Even without complicating this logic with an equally "technical" consideration (how many people were deterred from helping Jews by the threat of death?), a more basic question can be raised: What segment of the gentile population of Eastern Galicia came into any contact with Jews (as murderers or rescuers)? Out of several million adult Ukrainians and Poles, were these hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, or thousands? What number makes a certain type of behavior characteristic of an entire nation, rather than its individual members?
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> As it turns out, sometimes people did not even exhibit a clear moral choice – saving certain individuals but "betraying their friendship" with others (P. 254). At some point, Bartov was compelled to acknowledge that "under extreme circumstances people behaved in unexpected and at times conflicting ways, motivated by factors that often contradicted each other: ideological convictions and prejudice, but also altruism and courage, greed and cowardice, as well as pity and compassion; callous indifference and righteous rage, along with fear of retribution and defiance" (P. 250). This conclusion contradicts the explanation based on collective identity (shared by an entire national group and sustained over a long historical period). Both approaches seem one-sided: one ignores the role of sociopolitical structures and group solidarities, and the other assumes the reality

> of some stable predispositions, universally abiding across an entire national group. Ultimately, Bartov's book embraces the latter explanation, informed by methodological nationalism.[52]

Unfortunately, Gerasimov is also prone to unwarranted generalizations – ones that Bartov has in no way proven in his book, namely, that Poles "massively" turned against the local Jews and played a "central role" in the Holocaust. Bartov provides no evidence that Poles took part in the ghettoization of the Jews, the policing or liquidation of the Buczacz ghetto, or the local executions. The entire "case" rests on about a score of people who harmed Jews, usually by denouncing them. It's neither "massive" nor "central."

NKVD, Destruction Battalions, avengers

Bartov claims that the Soviets "proved particularly effective in mobilizing local elements to help them establish rule and root out their opponents." In particular, the NKVD established the so-called Destruction Battalions (*istrebitelnye bataliony,* IB) – "from mostly Polish local inhabitants" – in order to suppress Ukrainian insurgency. According to Bartov, these units also participated in deporting suspected UPA militants' families. In this regard, Bartov mimics the Ukrainian nationalist narrative, which also claimed that the NKVD "mostly relies on the Poles." (*Anatomy,* pp. 271–272.)

In fact, Poles were not the backbone of the Soviet counter-insurgency operations. By August 1944, more than 30,000 NKVD soldiers – who would doubtless have included many Ukrainians – had been brought in for that purpose. Between February 1944 and January 1946, the NKVD conducted some 40,000 operations, killing more than 100,000 people and capturing even more.[53] The IB was an auxiliary formation; the number of Poles serving in that formation ran in the low thousands. Nor did the NKVD rely only on the IB to apprehend members of the Ukrainian underground. The task of identifying them fell largely to NKVD agents and informers, most of whom were non-Poles.

After the Soviet takeover, a population transfer – Poles would be moved westward to Poland, and Ukrainians eastward to Soviet Ukraine – was implemented, having been imposed ("agreed to" with Poland's Soviet-installed Communist rulers) in September 1944. In conjunction with the population transfer, which was billed as voluntary, the UPA stepped up its terror tactics – as *de facto* enforcers – in order to ensure that Poles abandon their homes and leave Ukrainian lands. Concurrently, Polish men of draft age were given a choice: conscription into the Polish Communist army or the destruction battalions. Those who opted for the latter, did so contrary to the instructions of the Home Army leadership. Their decision had nothing to do with supporting Soviet rule, however, nor even primarily with revenge. Rather, it was seen to be the only effective means available to protect the lives of those Poles who had not left their rural settlements and were under increased threat from Ukrainian partisans.

The ranks of the destruction battalions (IB) also contained a significant Ukrainian component from the outset (some units were composed mostly of Ukrainians) and became increasingly – even almost entirely – Ukrainian after most Poles departed from the area by the end of 1945. While initially Poles comprised almost 60 percent of the IB in the Tarnopol region, their representation in

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[52] Ilya Gerasimov, "When Neighbors Begin to Hate," *Ab Imperio,* no. 2 (2019): 123–156, at pp. 139–141, Internet: https://muse.jhu.edu/article/733684/pdf.

[53] Grzegorz Motyka, *From the Volhynian Massacre to Operation Vistula: The Polish-Ukrainian Conflict 1943–1947* (Paderborn: Brill Schöningh, 2023), 234.

the formation in other parts of Eastern Galicia was significantly smaller.[54] Bartov takes partial note of this development only later on (at p. 286), when he acknowledges that, already in 1945, the ranks of the destruction battalions were being filled with arrested UPA members. The fight against insurgency – and deporting suspected UPA militants' families to the Soviet interior – was still in full swing.

Moreover, from the outset, the recruitment of agents and informers, especially from among the Ukrainian population, was crucial to the success of the liquidation of the UPA. But it was not only Ukrainians who became agents and informers for the NKVD. Ethnic Poles, who were not trusted by Soviets, were unlikely candidates for this task. An unknown number of Jewish avengers also became the eyes and ears of the Soviet authorities. Some of them have self-identified.

The sisters Ester and Fryda Deckier offered their services in their home town of Budzanów, in the Tarnopol region. Ester recalled:

> I started to work for the NKVD searching for murderers. We looked for peasants who killed Jews. About 180 persons were sent to Siberia: these were Ukrainian nationalists. … We worked for the NKVD for several weeks, until the Banderovtsy imposed the death penalty on us. When I found out about this, I made arrangements to leave.[55]

The Deckier sisters were not alone. There were others in Eastern Galicia who followed a similar path. Regina Hader Rock, of Rohatyn, joined the NKVD in search of revenge, as did Abraham Tracy (Trasawucki) in Skała Podlaska. They performed their tasks with exemplary zeal.

> After three months in the town, regaining strength, I first went to the NKVD (Russian Secret Police, now known as the KGB), to take revenge on those who killed our brothers and sisters and fellow Jews. I worked with the NKVD and turned over fifty farmers, also Dr. Melnik of Rohatyn, all who collaborated with the Nazis and the Gestapo. He received twenty years in jail. Many of the others were shot.[56]

> One of the things [the Soviets] did was to create a special battalion, whose task was to catch the Ukrainian partisans who had opposed them during the war. Since many of these Ukrainians had had a hand in murdering Jews, many of us were willing to join. …
>
> Like the others, I helped to search for as many Ukrainian traitors as I could. We arrested each one we found, and brought them to the small storage room in the community center, which served as the jail. All this was done with the consent of the Russians, and all of these men we brought in were given a fair [sic] trial.[57]

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[54] According to Soviet sources, in the Tarnopol region, Poles comprised 59 percent of the IB as of June 1, 1944, and 56 percent as of January 1, 1945. In the Stanisławów and Lwów regions, their share was significantly smaller. For example, in the Drobobycz obvod, as of January 1, 1945, Poles comprised about 23 percent of the IB recruits. See Markowski, *W cieniu Wołynia,* chapter 7. See also Tomasz Balbus, "Polskie 'Istriebitielne bataliony' NKWD w latach 1944–1945," *Biuletyn IPN,* no. 6 (17) (June 2002): 71–75. The participation of Poles from Buczacz county in the destruction battalions is mentioned repeatedly in Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 150, 154, 161, 163, 166, 176, 655–656, 672, 683, 688, 690, 1145. It is worth noting that In the Wilno and Nowogródek regions, Jews often joined the destruction battalions to seek revenge against "collaborators."

[55] Testimony of Ester (Deckier) Abramowicz, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/3067 (Item 3740005). The Deckier sisters fled to Lwów in June or July 1944.

[56] Regina Hader Rock, "From Hiding Place to Hiding Place," in M. Amihai, David Stockfish, and Shmuel Bari, eds., *Kehilat Rohatyn ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Rohatyn in Israel, 1962), 250 ff.; translated as *The Community of Rohatyn and Environs,* Internet: https://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/rogatin/rohatyn.html.

[57] Abraham Tracy, *To Speak For the Silenced* (Jerusalem and New York: Devora, 2007), 210.

The topic of postwar settling of scores by Jews (as opposed to Poles) is nowhere to be found in Bartov's book.

Another Missed Opportunity

In recent years, there has been a tendency to incorporate into Holocaust literature trials conducted in the postwar period of individuals involved in wartime crimes. Such trials focused on presenting damning information about the accused person and only incidentally brought out information that sheds light on the broader social context of the events under scrutiny. Unfortunately, for this reason, the trial records have been used by some historians to advance skewed interpretations based on such pathological behaviours. This should not, however, deter us from examining their content judiciously – considering both what is addressed and what is not addressed – and to supplement the record with other available information.

Iosyp (Józef) Humeniuk, a local UPA leader who operated in the vicinity of Uście Zielone in Buczacz county, fled after the Soviet army reoccupied Eastern Poland. Several years later, he was spotted in Gliwice, Poland, living under an assumed name (Józef Humiński) and posing as a Pole. (A number of Ukrainian collaborators fled to Poland after war and posed as Poles.[58]) After a denunciation by Majer Rostolder, a former resident of Ujście Zielone, in January 1949, Humeniuk was arrested and brought to trial for crimes committed during the war. Additional witnesses to these events came forward. In fact, a number of such trials took place in Poland in the 1940s and 1950s.

Although none of this is mentioned in *Anatomy of a Genocide,* Bartov was well aware of Humeniuk and his trial.[59] The Humeniuk story illustrates – and would have served to integrate for Bartov's readers – various timeframes (interwar, Soviet occupation, German occupation, Soviet takeover, postwar Poland) and narratives in a way that Bartov's essentially Judeocentric approach does not. It describes a spiral of interconnected violence, retaliation and revenge that was exacerbated by consecutive brutal occupations. Bartov's book features a photograph of OUN-UPA members from Uście Zielone (*Anatomy of a Genocide,* p. 265), but otherwise ignores what occurred there and its aftermath.

Humeniuk was a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), a terrorist organization that targeted Polish state authorities, prominent civilians and Ukrainian "traitors" in the 1930s. (There is more about this organization later on.) As such, suspected members of this organization were under surveillance by the Polish police. In July 1939, Ukrainian terrorists killed three people from Uście Zielone – the local police commander, a constable and a doctor – who had responded to a bogus report regarding a man who, allegedly, had been injured.

When the Soviets occupied the area in September 1939, Majer Rostolder joined the Red militia and became head of the Uście Zielone rayon. From seized Polish police records, he learned about the OUN activists operating in the area, headed by Humeniuk. However, Rostolder pursued them not as threats to Poland, but to the Soviet motherland he was now ardently serving. In 1940, the OUN allegedly killed Rostolder's deputy, Szymek Biler, and another functionary. Although the Soviet authorities also arrested former Polish officials and rounded up (mostly) Polish civilians and others for deportation to the Gulag, Rostolder is not forthcoming about the militia's involvement in those activities.

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[58] Mania Trau describes how she tracked down a Ukrainian named Velychko (Wełyczko) from Gródek Jagielloński in a village near Legina. Apparently, he was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. See the testimony of Mania Trau, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/2526.

[59] Bartov referred to the trial dossier (IPN 0192/336, vol. 29) in the entry he authored for Buczacz in the USHMM *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos, 1933–1945* (Vol. II: Part A, p. 764) and in his article "Genocide in a Multiethnic Town: Events, Origins, Aftermath," in *Totalitarian Dictatorship: New Histories,* edited by Daniela Baratieri, Mark Edele and Giuseppe Finaldi (New York and London: Routledge, 2014).

When the Germans arrived in July 1941, Humeniuk joined the Ukrainian police. (A move unlike Rostolder's in 1939, although he doesn't see it this way.) Humeniuk also became the local leader of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). During the almost three-year-long German occupation, Humeniuk tracked down Jews in hiding and was responsible for the deaths of many Jews and Poles. He also targeted Soviet collaborators and Red Army soldiers. The murders continued after the re-entry of the Soviet army in April 1944, with the largest attack – one that took the lives of more than 130 Poles – occurring in Uście Zielone, on February 2, 1945. At least two Ukrainians were also killed in that assault, one of them for refusing to take part in the slaughter of his Polish neighbours.

By that time, a number of Polish men had entered the so-called destruction battalions, which on occasion also protected the Polish population. However, their involvement in anti-insurgency operations incurred the wrath and retribution of the Ukrainian insurgents. Attacks on Uście Zielone in November 1944 took the lives of about a dozen residents, half of them members of the destruction battalion.[60] It was not only non-Ukrainians who were informing on the activities of UPA insurgents. According to a Ukrainian underground report, three Ukrainian women in Uście Zielone were police informants.[61] A report from the following year (1945), indicates that, on June 4, UPA insurgents killed the local commander of the destruction battalion, a Pole, and captured three Ukrainian battalion members.[62] Clearly, not all Ukrainians supported the UPA.

In his denunciation of Humeniuk, Rostolder provided the names of Jewish and Polish witnesses from Uście Zielone who had moved westward into Poland. The witnesses summoned during the investigation attested to murders of their family members, as well as other Poles and Jews, carried out by the UPA. The detailed testimony of Regina Krochmal, a Jewish survivor from Uście Zielone, is particularly graphic.

> From the moment the war broke out, when the [Red] army was retreating, Humeniuk Józef and his entire gang disarmed the army and officers, tortured them cruelly, and killed those who did not want to be disarmed on the spot, beating them in the head with rifle butts. After the Red Army entered, Humeniuk Józef was immediately wanted, but he was not caught because he was hiding in the forest and with the parents of people who cooperated with him until the outbreak of the German-Soviet war.
>
> From 1941, when the Soviet army was retreating, Humeniuk, at the head of his entire gang, placed machine guns on the roofs and fired at the troops passing there, but whomever he did not kill on the spot, he took them prisoner. I saw this fact: Humeniuk Józef in Uście Zielone trampled under his feet a soldier of the Red Army, this soldier cried and begged to spare his life because he had a wife and children, but Humeniuk Józef did not allow himself to be appeased and said that he had been waiting for this moment for a long time so that he could take revenge on the communists, then he said that a communist, Pole or Jew had no right to life, then killed him by hitting him in the head with a rifle.
>
> In 1942, Humeniuk Józef helped the Germans by collecting a contingent, helped organize an army of Ukrainian citizens for the Germans, and helped in rounding up Poles to send them to the camps. All the time he helped in Jewish operations, he went from village to village to discover people who were hiding; anyone he caught, he killed in a shameful way.
>
> At the beginning of 1943, it was in the same town, we asked director Woźniak to take us in, then director Woźniak gave us shelter and built a bunker under the floor. This went on for several weeks until one day he said that we were being followed. One day I went out in the evening to cook something, then I saw that the whole house was surrounded by this gang, led by Humeniuk Józef;

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[60] Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 176–177.

[61] Ihor Homziak and Mykola Posivnych, eds., *The Ternopil Region: "News from the Field" and "News from the Ternopil Region": 1943–1950,* Book One (*Litopys UPA,* vol. 49) Toronto and Lviv: Litopys UPA: 2010), 152.

[62] Ibid., 282.

> then they threw a grenade into the bunker, where some were killed on the spot and the rest were wounded, only two girls remained uninjured. I was in a cubbyhole and saw the director. Humeniuk personally tied Woźniak with barbed wire and hung him on the door, then cut off his fingers, and when the director screamed, he cut off his tongue and left him there. The girls who were left alive, Humeniuk and the entire gang, there were about 20-25 of them, raped them, and then killed them by hitting them in the head with an iron bar until their brains sprayed onto the ceiling.
>
> It was in the same year, this gang set fire to the village of Korościatyn, and there were a few unburnt houses left inside the village, then Humeniuk and his gang collected … he took all the remaining women and children to one drying room, ripped off the eiderdowns, poured feathers on them and set them on fire; [there] everyone was burned alive. Shortly before liberation, Humeniuk sent the (3) children of the Blochowski [Blichowski] family to Germany and set fire to the house inhabited by the Blochowski family; everyone [in it] died.[63]

The UPA attack on the Polish village of Korościatyn, which took place on February 28–29, 1944 (before the entry of the Soviet army), took the lives of some 130 Poles.[64] That massacre is mentioned briefly by Bartov. According to a Ukrainian underground report, some Poles had thrown a grenade at three Germans and a Ukrainian policeman when they entered Korościatyn on January 1, 1944. The policeman was killed and the others were wounded.[65]

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[63] "Protokół przesłuchania Reginy Krochmal z 3 marca 1949 r.," in *Polska i Ukraina w latach trzydziestych-czterdziestych XX wieku: Nieznane dokumenty z archiwów służb specjalnych, vol. 4: Polacy i Ukraińcy pomiędzy dwoma systemami totalitarnymi. 1942–1945,* edited by Grzegorz Motyka and Iurii Shapoval (Warsaw: Państwowe Archiwum Służby Bezpieczeństwa Ukrainy; Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej; Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu; Instytut Badań Politycznych i Narodowościowych Narodowej Akademii Nauk Ukrainy; Kyiv: Державний архів Служби безпеки України, Інститут політичних і етнонаціональних досліджень Національної академії наук України, 2005), 884–889.

[64] Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 154–157, 662–663.

[65] *Litopys UPA,* vol. 49, 77.

The First Soviet Occupation (September 1939–June 1941)
***Anatomy of a Genocide,* Chapter 4 ("Soviet Power")**

Despite devoting an entire chapter to this topic, a clear picture of the Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland and its impact on subsequent developments does not emerge from Bartov's monograph. The overreliance on testimonies is problematic for a number of reasons. While the large quantity of anecdotal information allows for various voices to be heard, relevant scholarship is ignored, and important events and phenomena are only vaguely alluded to or overlooked. At the same time, Bartov stresses the alleged Jewish overrepresentation among the victims of the Soviet regime and drags out the customary trope of Polish competition for victimhood.

A thorny topic that Bartov skirts around is the allegation that some Jews collaborated with the Soviet regime to the detriment of Poles. Polish testimonies that speak to this are usually ignored or downplayed in Jewish and Western scholarship, with a few notable exceptions. Some scholars dismiss Polish testimonies out of hand, labelling them as anti-Semitic. In a 2007 publication, Bartov himself stated: "As a myth, the tale of Jewish collaboration with the Communists is as fascinating as the older and still potent canard of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion.* As history, it is simply false."[66]

Given this, Bartov's extensive airing of Polish grievances and his failure to come to any conclusions on this topic has – not surprisingly – come under fire from some academic reviewers. Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, for example, argues that Polish testimonies, in particular, should be relegated to the realm of mere "perceptions" that had little or nothing to do with reality.[67] However, what Rossoliński-Liebe fails to note – as does Bartov – is that important and authoritative scholarship actually *reinforces* what Polish testimonies have to say.

Already in early 1940, Jan Karski reported on what he encountered after having visited Eastern Galicia the previous year: "The Jews have taken over the majority of the political and administrative positions. … Indeed, in most towns, the Jews did welcome the Bolsheviks with bouquets, with speeches and with declarations of allegiance and so on. But what is worse, they are denouncing Poles, especially students and politicians (to the secret police), are directing the work of the (communist) militia from behind the scenes, are unjustly denigrating conditions in Poland before the war. Unfortunately, one must say that these incidents are very frequent, and more common than incidents which demonstrate loyalty toward Poles or sentiment toward Poland."

Was Karski fantasizing? Israeli Ben-Cion Pinchuk doesn't think so. In his well-researched monograph, *Shtetl Jews under Soviet Rule,* which is based largely on Jewish testimonies, Pinchuk writes:

> Indicative of the human resources and potential in the Jewish community was the important role played by the Jews during the transition period and the first phase of organizing the new regime. There were many places, usually those removed from the major routes of the advancing Red Army, where the interregnum lasted for some days. The power vacuum created was filled quite often by local temporary executive committees. Jews played a prominent role in those committees, which lasted in many places until they were replaced by officials from the Soviet Union.
>
> The creation of the temporary committees was a local initiative … There were places where committees were created to organize the reception for the Soviet units and provide what they considered new Soviet-like authority as a temporary replacement for the disintegrating Polish administration. 'Revolutionary committees', as some of the committees were called, according to numerous Polish reports consisted almost entirely of Jews, with a few Ukrainians. A citizens' militia

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[66] Omer Bartov, *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2007), 40.

[67] Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, "Eastern Galicia and the Anatomy of a Genocide," *Journal of Genocide Research,* vol. 20, no. 4 (2018): 632–636, at p. 634.

> served as the executive tool of the committees. In the two organizations Jews played a dominant role, according to Polish sources. Jewish communists tried in some places to establish what they considered a Soviet administration. The committees behaved as if they were the government until the entrance of the Red Army. They initiated 'socialist' reforms, occasionally coming into conflict with the local population.
>
> Expression of suppressed grudges and hatreds against the haughty Polish officials could be detected during the transition. … it was a time for settling scores, a time of retribution. Detectives and policemen were disarmed and arrested. Polish officials reported that they were told by local Jews 'Your time has passed, a new epoch begins.' The Polish population felt itself alienated and threatened and tried to avoid public attention … There were many instances of arbitrariness and of settling accounts with those who were well-to-do or in authority in the old regime, Jews and Poles alike. Those who were Communists before were 'engaged now on their own in "nationalizing" stores, houses, merchandise, and settling old grudges. Arbitrarily they make arrests and investigations,' related a survivor. Harassment of the more affluent, expropriation and distribution of goods among the poor without authorization from the incoming regime, were typical of the transition time. The persecution, expropriations, and occasional imprisonment were indicative of the social changes that would take place. …
>
> Jews participated in disproportionate numbers in the Soviet-established institutions during the first few weeks of the new regime. … The Polish population could not serve as a source of manpower for the new institutions… The Jewish community particularly in the shtetlach constituted a large reservoir of manpower, relatively well-educated, reliable as far as its outside relations were concerned and, what was equally important, available and eager to cooperate.
>
> Jewish youth formed special organizations whose role was to facilitate the establishment of the new regime. In many places the first Soviet-appointed institutions contained a very high proportion of Jews. Governmental and economic institutions, the militia in particular—organized by the authorities as a local police force—employed many Jews. The shtetl Jews … were willing to fill every available opening, thus playing an important role in the initial stages of building the Soviet system in former Eastern Poland.[68]

The Yad Vashem Archives in Israel provides detailed substantiation of the same picture. "The Jews welcomed the Red Army with joy. The young people spent all their days and evenings with the soldiers." In Grodno, "all sorts of appointments were filled predominantly with Jews, and the Soviet authorities entrusted them, too, with the top positions." In Żółkiew, "The Russians rely primarily on Jews in filling positions …" In Lwów, "I must admit that the majority of positions in the Soviet agencies have been taken by Jews." A Jewish observer to the pro-Soviet demonstrations in Lwów related, "Whenever a political march, or protest meeting, or some other sort of joyful event took place, the visual effect was unambiguous—Jews." In Wielkie Oczy, the Jewish doctor recalled how local Jewish youths having formed themselves into a "*komsomol*" toured the countryside smashing Catholic shrines.[69] Were these mere "perceptions" with no basis in fact?

The Polish testimonies from Buczacz cited by Bartov are by no means exhaustive.

When a large crowd formed as the Soviets marched Polish prisoners of war along the highway to Monasterzyska, near Buczacz, young Jewish hooligans who lined the street spat at the Polish soldiers and threw rocks at them. As one witness recalled, the Poles who came out to see their loved ones being led away were appalled by this callous conduct.

> They must have been encouraged by their parents to perform such base deeds. My mother could not stand by idly looking at this any longer and took them to task. When that did not help, she grabbed one of them by the collar and gave him a light jerk. All of a sudden, out of nowhere, some older Jews appeared with red armbands on their coats and wanted to push my mother into the convoy led by the Soviets. Some Ukrainian women we knew saved her and me by raising a terrible outcry. This must have frightened the Jews because they ran off. Unfortunately, the young Jews continued to hurl insults at our soldiers.

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[68] Ben-Cion Pinchuk, *Shtetl Jews under Soviet Rule: Eastern Poland on the Eve of the Holocaust* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1991), 25–26.

[69] These references can be found in Jan Tomasz Gross and Irena Grudzińska-Gross, *W czterdziestym nas Matko na Sybir zesłali…: Polska a Rosja 1939–42* (London: Aneks, 1983), 28–33.

> These brief incidents stuck in my mother's mind for a long time. But that did not prevent her from sheltering Jews during the German occupation at risk to our lives. Perhaps among them were those who, in 1939, wanted to hand my mother over to the Soviets.[70]

Zofia Kozińska (née Kolarz), then 12 years old, vividly recalled the arrival of Soviet soldiers in her village of Siemińcze (Siemieńcze), located east of Buczacz, on February 10, 1940. Zofia's father had been arrested earlier, and died after his release due to the serious beatings he sustained in jail. Now Soviet soldiers came to seize her, her mother, and her two brothers. They were accompanied by a Ukrainian and a Jew who identified Poles earmarked for deportation to the Gulag.[71]

The morning of April 13, 1940, Soviet soldiers accompanied by a young Jew with a red armband descended on the home of Maryla Ławrowska in Buczacz. They seized her relatives and house guests Kazimiera Jarosławska and her two children. Colonel Leon Jarosławski, Kazimiera's husband, had been arrested by the NKVD in September 1939. (He was later murdered in Katyn.) The Jarosławski family was deported to the Soviet interior.[72]

Fellow Jews also fell victim to Jewish collaborators, a widespread phenomenon that Bartov overlooks. According to Israeli historian Yehuda Bauer, "Jewish agents of the Soviet secret police penetrated every corner; everyone was terrified of being denounced and deported."[73] Bauer expands on this phenomenon elsewhere:

> The Soviets encountered no difficulty in recruiting Jewish informers; some people were more than willing to denounce other Jews for real or supposed anti-Soviet behavior or simply for having been active in Bundist, Zionist, or religious activities under the previous regime. As a matter of fact, informing on others became something of a profession. As in Nazi Germany, even family members sometimes informed on each other.[74]

The Soviet terror apparatus struck primarily at ethnic Poles. Thousands of military officers, policemen, politicians, and other state officials were arrested in the fall of 1939. Some 25,700 persons were condemned to death in March of the following year. According to Soviet records, more than 97 percent of the 14,736 men held in prisoner of war camps were ethnic Poles. Their fate was sealed. An additional 18,632 men were detained in prisons in Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia, of whom 10, 865 were ethnic Poles. Of the latter group, only 11,000 were condemned to death by firing squad. In total, almost 22,000 persons (including all of the POWs) were executed in the spring of 1940 in places like Katyn, Kharkov, and Kalinin (Tver).[75] This was the single largest mass execution campaign against Polish citizens. Bartov fails to mention it. It

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[70] Testimony of Juliusz Kierenko, cited in Jerzy Robert Nowak, *Przemilczane zbrodnie: Żydzi i Polacy na Kresach w latach 1939–1941* (Warsaw: von borowiecky, 1999), 88–89.

[71] Testimony of Zofia Kozińska, AHM-0745, Ośrodek KARTA and Dom Spotkań z Historią.

[72] Piotr Szubarczyk, "A my śnimy sobie przyszłość Polski—dzieci…," *Biuletyn Instytutu Pamięci Narodowej,* nos. 5–6 (May-June 2005): 181–86, at p. 183.

[73] Yehuda Bauer, "Jewish Baranowicze in the Holocaust," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 31 (2003): 91–151, at p. 147.

[74] Yehuda Bauer, *The Death of the Shtetl* (New Haven, Connecticut and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 39.

[75] Stéphane Courtois, Nicolas Werth, Jean-Louis Panné, Andrzej Paczkowski, Karel Bartošek, and Jean-Louis Margolin, *The Black Book of Communism: Crimes, Terror, Repression* (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 209–211, 368–370.

targeted ethnic Poles almost exclusively; Jews were not specifically targeted for such mass executions. Taking note of such differences in treatment is hardly "competition for victimhood." (*Anatomy,* p. 154.)

Turning now to the entire period of Soviet occupation of Eastern Poland, Bartov states: "Poles made up close to 40 percent of those arrested by the Soviets in Western Ukraine and Western Belarus, Ukrainians and Jews 22 percent each; Jews were twice as likely to be arrested as Poles and three times more likely than Ukrainians." (*Anatomy,* p. 338 n.22.) Bartov provides no information as to the reason (grounds) for the arrests and the make-up of the prisoners who were put to death. According to Soviet data, excluding territories annexed to Lithuania, almost 110,000 persons were arrested by June 1941: 66,500 persons in Western Ukraine, and 42,700 in Western Belorussia. Perhaps 20,000 of them were killed, many of them in the final days of the Soviet occupation. Some 9,500 persons were released during the course of investigations; no fewer than 7,000 suspected of common offences or criminal acts were also eventually freed.[76]

An NKVD report from July 27, 1940, concerning the liquidation of "counter-revolutionary" underground organizations in Western Belorussia, listed 3,231 persons who had been arrested since October 1939. Among them were 2,904 Poles (i.e., almost 90 percent of all political detainees), 184 Belorussians, 8 Jews, 37 Lithuanians, and 98 of other nationalities. In other words, Jews constituted just 0.0025 percent of all active political opponents; there was one anti-Soviet Jewish activist for every 363 Polish activists.[77] According to another source, only one percent of those arrested for anti-Soviet conspiratorial activities in "Western Belorussia" were Jews, even though Jews formed at least ten percent of the total population.[78] So apart from wealth-based status (e.g., capitalists) and former political affiliation, why were Jews arrested? It appears that most were caught crossing the German-Soviet border illegally (smuggling goods in both directions) or (otherwise) engaging in illicit trade (black marketeering, speculation) and other shady economic activities. Such activities assumed enormous proportions in the Soviet zone. Many Jewish testimonies confirm as much. Israeli historian Dov Levin also writes about the widespread phenomenon of these economic crimes:

> Some of the [Jewish] refugees … began to slip into the German occupation zone, returning with various commodities that Soviet clerks and soldiers would snap up at any price. Some local residents began to resent and envy the refugees for their speculative commerce and excessive purchases of staples, which caused prices to skyrocket. Similarly, refugees were increasingly resentful of the local Jewish population treating them "like bums."
>
> Often those who accepted salaried jobs … were inclined to dip into government property and trade in it. This further widened the circle of black marketeers.
>
> The Soviet regime responded with a swift crackdown, condemning these "speculators" as "enemies of the people who sabotage the economic revitalization and dispossess the masses of laborers of their money." In their enthusiastic pursuit of speculators, gougers, and hoarders, the

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[76] Grzegorz Hryciuk, "Victims 1939–1941: The Soviet Repressions in Eastern Poland in Elazar Barkan, Elizabeth A. Cole, and Kai Struve, eds., *Shared History, Divided Memory: Jews and Others in Soviet-Occupied Poland, 1939–1941* (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2007), 173–200, at p. 183.

[77] Aleksander Chackiewicz, "Aresztowania i deportacje społeczeństwa zachodnich obwodów Białorusi (1939–1941)," in Małgorzata Giżewska and Tomasz Strzembosz, eds., *Społeczeństwo białoruskie, litewskie i polskie na ziemiach północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej (Białoruś Zachodnia i Litwa Wschodnia) w latach 1939–1941)* (Warsaw: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN, 1995), 134; Michał Gnatowski, *W radzieckich okowach: Studium o agresji 17 września 1939 r. i o radzieckiej polityce w regionie łomżyńskim w latach 1939–1941* (Łomża: Łomżyńskie Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Wagów, 1997), 120; Michał Gnatowski, "Problemy SZP-ZWZ w regionie białostockim w latach 1939–1941 w świetle dokumentów NKWD (NKGB)," *Studia Podlaskie,* vol. 8 (1998): 229–231

[78] Sławomir Kalbarczyk, "Żydzi wśród ofiar zbrodni sowieckich w latach 1939–1941," *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość,* no. 40 (1997–1998): 190

> authorities did not always distinguish between major players and "small fry." By all indications, the only important rationale in the application of punishment was deterrence.
>
> Another factor in the persecution of economic offenders was personal revenge. For example, a Jewish shoemaker in Nezvizh [Nieśwież] informed on a Jewish competitor …; the latter was sentenced to a year in prison.
>
> The press covered the anti-speculation campaign at great length. The names of offenders, the details of the charges (including the specific offense under the Soviet legal code), and, of course, the verdict, were reported in prominent locations and in outsize bold print.[79]

The activities of Jewish black-market currency dealers in Lwów were so notorious that they received special mention in a British diplomatic report filed in February 1940.[80]

At the time, these activities were the cause of considerable shame. (Nowadays, by some they are held out as racial-based persecution. Victimization inflation.) Chaim Kaplan devotes considerable attention to this matter in his wartime diary. Under the date December 23, 1939, Kaplan wrote:

> The Soviet commission to arrange for Slavic migration has begun to function. Long, snake-like lines stand before its door and wait to enter. But most of those waiting in line are Jews. Slavs do not come in large numbers.
>
> Whether there is a formal prohibition excluding Jews from this organized migration I don't know, but there is a grudge in the Soviet heart against Jewish emigrants who are Polish-born, of that there is no doubt. To my great sorrow, I must admit that "we have truly sinned." The bad behavior of some of our people in the border towns which were annexed to Russia has made us all hated and unwanted even in the eyes of the Russian government, which does not discriminate against peoples and whose basic attitudes are generally humane toward every person who accepts its authority. Many Jews did not migrate to become Soviet citizens and find work, but only to find temporary refuge, a night's shelter, hoping that conditions would improve and they could return to their former homes. In the meantime, until the storm should subside, they occupied themselves with all kinds of ugly speculation, which has since become their livelihood and life's work. The émigrés created an atmosphere of profiteering, which the Soviets hate, and therefore they have a feeling of contempt for all Jews.
>
> The Soviet government took steps to lessen the crowding and congestion in the border towns, where thousands of immigrants are sleeping under the stars. It decreed that 2,000 people would be sent to work in inner Russia. Immediately 2,000 people appeared who were pining for work and manual labor. They received 50 rubles apiece and two changes of linen. To our shame, only 800 returned to accept the work and take the journey—the rest disappeared without a trace. They simply expressed their gratitude to the Soviet government, which has extended its protection and opened its borders to them, with trickery. There were also incidents of stealing from private people. Polish-born Jews are rather high-handed in matters of "yours" and "mine," and if they don't actually steal, they "take." We have thus garnered a bad reputation with the Soviet government, which has been liberal with us. For years and years she had weeded out middlemen and profiteering. Will she be silent now in the face of the ugliness which has again entered her cities?
>
> There can be no atonement for such shameful behavior. It reflects on the character of an entire people. The Soviet-German treaty for legal immigration would have brought us salvation. … Now we have brought ruin upon ourselves and lost our only hope.[81]

As for the deportations to the Soviet interior, Bartov fails to notice that relatively few Jews from among the local population were deported by the Soviets. Instead, he emphasizes repeatedly that "Jews, who made up about 10 percent of the population, were proportionately overrepresented at 22 percent of deportations." (*Anatomy,* p. 147. At p. 339 n.23, he reports a higher ratio of 30 percent.) What Bartov neglects to mention, even though it's found in the very source he cites, is

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[79] Dov Levin, *The Lesser of Two Evils: Eastern European Jewry Under Soviet Rule, 1939–1941* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1995), 185, 272.

[80] Bogusław Gogol and Jacek Trebinka, "Wizyta brytyjskich dyplomatów we Lwowie na początku 1940 r.," *Dzieje Najnowsze,* no. 4 (2001): 150.

[81] Abraham I. Katsh, ed., *Scroll of Agony: The Warsaw Diary of Chaim A. Kaplan* (New York: Macmillan; and London: Collier-Macmillan, 1965), 89–90.

that the vast majority of Jews who faced deportation were fugitives from the German zone. Local Jews were the *least* affected by the deportations of all nationalities: "over four percent of the Poles living in the borderlands were deported, some 0.18 percent of the local Jewish population (this figure excludes refugees), at least 0.6 percent of the Ukrainians and around 1.09 percent of the Belarusians."[82] In other words, the native Polish population was the hardest hit numerically and proportionally, by far.

Bartov's simplistic narrative was deconstructed by Israeli historians decades ago, even before NKVD statistics became known. Dov Levin states:

> "there is no doubt that as many as two-thirds of these people [i.e., deportees] were refugees from the western and central parts of the country [i.e., Poland]. Data from various locations and sources suggest that the number of local Jewish residents of the eastern provinces of Poland did not exceed 5 percent of the Jewish population of these areas…"[83]

Yehuda Bauer made the same point when he wrote:

> Only a relatively small proportion of local Jews were deported—prominent prewar local politicians and intellectuals and wealthy individuals. Even most of those managed to stay by taking advantage of the corrupt nature of the regime.[84]

The native Polish population was the hardest hit for other reasons as well. The first and largest of the deportation operations, in February 1940, resulted in the expulsion of 140,000 people, primarily Poles, very often entire families. In the process, they lost their homes, farms and most other possessions. Local policemen, often Jews, who accompanied NKVD henchmen during the round-up of Poles, frequently misappropriated their property and shared the spoils with their own families. Local officials also misappropriated property seized for distribution to others. We do not learn about this phenomenon from Bartov. Since that operation occurred in the dead of winter and entire families were seized, it turned out to be the harshest in terms of human suffering. There was an especially high mortality rate among the children, many of whom froze to death in the cattle cars that transported them for several weeks deep into the Soviet interior. The majority of Jews deported to the Gulag were refugees from the German occupation, almost all of them adults. Their deportation occurred in the June 1940, under far more favourable conditions. Consequently, their mortality rate was much lower. Moreover, the refugees did not own real property and had brought few material possessions with them. Thus, Jewish material losses were not disproportionately high. Again, Bartov is silent about such important distinctions.

The truth of the matter is that the relatively small contingent of NKVD secret police and Soviet soldiers could not have carried out the arrests and deportation of hundreds of thousands of people without the help of local collaborators. Unlike the Holocaust, where the focus is increasingly on non-German collaborators, seldom do we hear about local collaborators in the context of the Soviet occupation. These collaborators drew up lists of deportees (except for fugitives from the German zone who self-identified), accompanied Soviet officials to their homes, and brought them to train stations from which they were dispatched in cattle cars to the Gulag. In

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[82] Grzegorz Hryciuk, "Victims 1939–1941: The Soviet Repressions in Eastern Poland in Barkan, Cole, and Struve, *Shared History, Divided Memory,* 195. The first two waves of civilian deportees, in February and April 1940, were overwhelmingly Polish. The third wave, in June 1940, targeted fugitives from the German zone, the so-called *bieżeńcy,* mostly Jews, who opted to return to the German zone rather than accept Soviet citizenship. Bartov mentions the *bieżeńcy,* without explaining why they were deported, in an unconnected endnote (p. 341 n.39).

[83] Levin, *The Lesser of Two Evils,* 272.

[84] Yehuda Bauer, *The Death of the Shtetl* (New Haven, Connecticut and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 55.

the Soviet context, however, we hear little, if anything, about the collaborators who facilitated these massive repressions, in full view of the surrounding population.

Another large-scale deportation was underway when the Germans arrived, unexpectedly, in June 1941. Mass executions and death marches of thousands of political prisoners ensued. The grisly sight of mounds of decaying and mutilated corpses was exploited by the Germans to incite the population against the Jews. All of this terror set the stage for what was to follow. The compartmentalization and desensitization of the population was well underway before the new German order took over.

Neighbour-on-Neighbour Violence, September 1939

Another major shortcoming of this chapter of Bartov's book is the treatment of neighbour-on-neighbour violence in September 1939. That the Soviets gave a free rein to, and even encouraged, ethnic violence in Eastern Poland is beyond dispute. Attacks on Polish soldiers by members of the national minorities, primarily Ukrainians and Belorussians, both Communists and nationalists, began even before the Soviet army invaded Poland on September 17, 1939. The violence also targeted Polish state officials, landlords, and even ordinary citizens. In the space of a few weeks, thousands of Poles were killed. Approximately, 2,000 Poles perished in Eastern Galicia, and 1,000 in Volhynia. All of this was carried out with impunity, thus signalling that neighbour-on-neighbour violence was acceptable. This is something that is well documented in Polish sources;[85] it is also confirmed by Ukrainian sources. According to the data collected by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), between August 29 and September 23, 1939, 7,729 OUN supporters took part in armed subversive activities in 183 localities (directed for the most part at the Polish authorities), capturing 3,610 Poles, killing 796, and wounding 37. (The OUN reported their own losses as 160 killed and 53 wounded.)[86] Bartov is simply unaware of this scholarship.

Most of the victims of the September 1939 murders have not been identified by name. According to incomplete Polish sources, murders of Poles occurred in the following places in Buczacz county in September 1939: Barysz (2 Poles killed), Leszczańce (2 Poles killed, several more were seriously injured), outside Monasterzyska (4 Poles killed, two more were seriously injured), Podzameczek (1 Pole killed), Soroki (13 Poles killed), Trościaniec (Polish farmsteads were set on fire), Werbka (several Polish soldiers were killed), Zubrzec (4 Polish officers apprehended by Ukrainians were executed by Red Army soldiers).[87]

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[85] Marek Wierzbicki, *Polacy i Białorusini w zaborze sowieckim: Stosunki polsko-białoruskie na ziemiach północno-wschodnich II Rzeczypospolitej pod okupacją sowiecką 1939–1941* (Warsaw: Volumen, 2000), 148; Marek Wierzbicki, *Polacy i Żydzi w zaborze sowieckim: Stosunki polsko-żydowskie na ziemiach północno-wschodnich II RP pod okupacją sowiecką (1939–1941)* (Warsaw: Fronda, 2001),Grzegorz Hryciuk, *Przemiany narodowościowe i ludnościowe w Galicji Wschodniej i na Wołyniu w latach 1931–1948* (Toruń: Adam Marszałek, 2005), 165–166, 187–188; Grzegorz Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka 1942–1960: Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii* (Warszawa: Instytut Studiów Politycznych PAN and Rytm, 2006), 72–73.

[86] Andrii O. Rukkas, "Antypolski zbroini vystupy OUN na zakhidnoukrainskykh zemliakh (veresen 1939 r.), *Sprawy Wschodnie,* no. 1 (2002): 37–60; Andrii Rukkas, "Antypolski zbroini vystupy na Volyni (veresen 1939 r.)," in Iaroslav Isaievych, et al., eds., *Volyn i Kholmshchyna 1938–1947 rr.: Polsko-ukrainske protystoiannia ta ioho vidlunnia: Doslidzhennia, dokumenty, spohady* (Lviv: Instytut ukrainoznavstva im. I. Krypiakevycha, Natsionalna akademiia nauk Ukrainy, 2003), 119–138; Andrii Rukkas, "Zbroini vystupy chleniv OUN na pochatku Druhoi svitovoi viiny," *Voienna istoriia,* no. 5 (41) (2008): 44–50; Ivan Patryliak, "Zbroini vystupy OUN proty polskoi derzhavy na pochatku Druhoi svitovoi viiny," *Voienna istoriia,* no. 5 (47) (2009); Vasyl Ukhach, "Suchasna ukrainska istoriohrafiia antypolskoho povstannia OUN (serplen–veresen 1939 r.), *Eminak: Scientific Quarterly Journal,* no. 2 (30) (June 2020): 229–237.

[87] Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 140, 159, 161, 167, 173, 174, 179, 666.

However, Buczacz county was relatively peaceful compared to what was happening elsewhere in Eastern Galicia. The massacre of some 60 Poles in the vicinity of Koniuchy, in Brzeżany county, is mentioned in the diary of a Ukrainian priest.[88] According to Polish sources, the number of victims was much higher and included a Jewish family of four from Koniuchy.[89] Historian Shimon Redlich attempts to piece the story together. He estimates that close to 100 Poles were killed by Ukrainians in the vicinity of the villages of Potutory and Koniuchy. He also mentions that a local Soviet newspaper reported the murder of two Jews in Koniuchy as an anti-Jewish pogrom. (It is not clear whether the much larger slaughter of Poles elicited any interest on the part of the Soviet media,) Much (most?) of the mayhem appears to have been carried out by prisoners, mostly Ukrainian nationalists, released from the Brzeżany prison on September 15, at the behest of the Ukrainian who headed that town's temporary committee.[90] Ukrainian historian Andrii Rukkas describes these events in much more detail.[91] (We shall return to Rukkas' article in the interwar context.) Such careful explorations are lacking in Bartov's study.

Apart from a few references in cited testimonies (e.g., at p. 132), Bartov has virtually nothing to say about these widespread murders. A comparison to well-publicized events like Jedwabne that occurred in the summer of 1941 would not be out of order. Bartov buries – and obfuscates – in an endnote (*Anatomy,* p. 336 n.5) – the following somewhat enigmatic information: "In the entire area of eastern Poland occupied by the Soviets, *several thousand* people were murdered by their neighbors."[92] It is not at all clear who was killed, by whom, when, and why. Nor is there any analysis of the impact of these murders – whose number is staggering, given the short span of time in which they were committed – on subsequent developments. They do not appear to warrant any particular attention. (Had the victims been Jews, would Bartov have overlooked them like this?) After all, Bartov quips, "these groups [i.e., Ukrainians and Jews] had good reasons to welcome the removal of Polish rule." (*Anatomy,* p. 133.)

In the previous chapter, Bartov gives prominence (at pp. 124–128) to what some of those "good reasons" were: bogus claims of genocide found in German "intelligence" reports to the Foreign Office, namely, that the Polish military personnel allegedly killed "hundreds" of Ukrainian activists in the fall of 1938 alone and arrested 30,000, and that police units allegedly continued killing and torturing peaceful Ukrainians the following summer. (As we shall see, this hoax claim also entails a misreading of at least one of the reports Bartov relies on.) Bartov does not hesitate to appropriate this story unreservedly, and to attach great significance to it. In fact, he categorizes the alleged events of 1939 as precursors to kindred Soviet and Nazi genocidal policies: the

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[88] Pavlo Oliinyk, *Zoshyty* (Kiev: Natsionalna akademiia nauk Ukrainy, Instytut ukrainskoi arkheohrafii ta dzhereloznavstva im. M.S. Hrushevskoho, 1995), 66.

[89] Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 106, 111.

[90] Shimon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzezany: Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians, 1919–1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2002), 83–84, 85.

[91] Andrii Rukkas, "Zbroini zahony Orhanizatsii ukrainskykh natsionalistiv na Berezhanshchyni (veresen 1939 r.)," *Ukrainskyi vyzvolnyi rukh: Naukovyi zbirnyk,* no. 3 (2004):145-159.

[92] Although there is an extensive scholarly literature on this topic (which Bartov appears to be unaware of), Bartov cites Timothy's Snyder' 2003 book *The Reconstruction of Nations*, pp. 170 and 176, which contain nothing about this matter. Bartov also states – incorrectly – that "[m]ost estimates of Polish victims include the entire period of 1939-45 or focus on events *after* 1943." In fact, the 1939 murders are rarely lumped together with the mass murders that actually commenced *in* 1943. Non-Polish historians readily detect this, based on Polish sources. See John-Paul Himka, *Ukrainian Nationalists and the Holocaust: OUN and UPA's Participation in the Destruction of Ukrainian Jewry, 1941–1944* (Stuttgart: Ibidem, 2021).

"attempted destruction of the [Ukrainian] elites, later employed with devastating effect by the Soviets and Nazis." He also cites an ominous prediction of the German consul in Lwów, namely, that "in case of armed conflict between Germany and Poland," the Ukrainians would "rise up as one man … take over the Polish estates and the isolated new Polish settlements in Eastern Galicia within a few days," and "drive out or slaughter the Poles."

These alleged widespread murders of Ukrainians perpetrated by Polish authorities in 1938–1939 have somehow escaped the notice of Ukrainian historians, as well as all others. (Let us be clear: there were no such murders. More on this later.) The "predictions" found in German reports absorbed what Ukrainian nationalist informers were feeding their German contacts. Basing himself on what actually transpired, Ukrainian historian Vasyl Ukhach dismisses the notion of near-universal approval among the Ukrainian population for the OUN's radical agenda. Ukhach concludes that a large-scale anti-Polish uprising did not take place for a number of reasons. In addition to insufficient organizational and military training and unfavourable external factors (withdrawal of German support for the uprising), the OUN underground leadership overestimated the willingness of the Ukrainian population's support for such a bloodbath.[93]

As American historian Timothy Snyder points out, the reality was much more nuanced than the simplistic picture painted by Bartov.

> Soviet occupying forces in eastern Poland placed the lower orders of society in the vacated heights. Prisons were emptied, and political prisoners, usually communists, were put in charge of local government. Soviet agitators urged peasants to take revenge on [Polish] landlords. Though most people resisted the call to criminality, chaos reigned as thousands did not. Mass murders with axes were suddenly frequent.[94]

The consequences for the Polish population were catastrophic. According to British historian Richard Evans:

> Their extermination [i.e., Polish officers and officials] was part of a much larger campaign by the Soviets to eradicate Polish national culture. It was accompanied by massive intercommunal violence in which many thousands of Poles were slaughtered by paramilitaries from Ukrainian and Belarussian national minorities in the Polish east, encouraged by the Soviet occupiers.[95]

This bloodbath undoubtedly paved the way for what occurred when the Germans attacked the Soviets in June 1941. And not – as Bartov would have it – the bogus Polish "genocide" of Ukrainians in 1938–1939. The notion of spontaneous, grassroots massacres must be dismissed as unproven. They were steered with a very precise message emanating from the state, and carried out with impunity. What was occurring was not a natural progression, but a seismic shift.

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[93] Vasyl Ukhach, "Suchasna ukrainska istoriohrafiia antypolskoho povstannia OUN (serplen–veresen 1939 r.), *Eminak: Scientific Quarterly Journal,* no. 2 (30) (June 2020): 229–237.

[94] Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 125.

[95] Richard J. Evans, *The Third Reich at War, 1939–1945* (London: Allen Lane/Penguin Books, 2008), 45.

The Interwar Period (1918–1939)
***Anatomy of a Genocide,* Chapter 3 ("Together and Apart")**

Bartov pushes the notion that interwar Poland was entirely bleak and oppressive for its minorities, citing extensively, inaccurately and uncritically from often unreliable sources in preference to scholarly literature. Several sensational reports employed as centrepieces, whose content Bartov didn't bother to verify, contain information and atrocity propaganda long discredited by historians. Bartov also misreads documentary sources and ignores important evidence that does not support his views. What is particularly disturbing is that neither pre-publication peer reviewers nor post-publication academic reviewers have detected any of these glaring problems.[96]

German atrocity reports: Repressive anti-Ukrainian measures, 1938-1939 – Bogus massacre – Random Polish terrorism

Perhaps the most egregious example – one that is employed to highlight the cruelty of the Polish "regime" and to foreshadow the consequences that, allegedly, followed when the Soviets and then the Germans occupied Eastern Poland. Relying on reports prepared by Nazi German officials, which are accepted at face value, Bartov paints the latter part of 1938 and the months preceding the outbreak of World War II as one long string of unprovoked atrocities by the Polish army and police. The brutality allegedly struck indiscriminately at all components of the Ukrainian population: activists, peasants, the educated classes. The scale of this brutality dwarfed even the exaggerated nationalist accounts of the 1930 pacification, which was provoked by a wave of terrorism and may have taken (at most) a handful of Ukrainian lives.

According to the German sources, which Bartov cites uncritically, punitive military expeditions to pacify the countryside, including burning down farms and abusing villagers, as well as arrests by police that entailed torturing prisoners, resulted in "*hundreds* of activists and insurgents … killed between October and December 1938 and *thirty thousand* people … arrested." These startling figures were allegedly suppressed by the Polish authorities. (*Anatomy,* pp. 124–125.) The problem is that leading historians – even those of Ukrainian background such as Orest Subtelny and Paul Robert Magocsi – have somehow managed to overlook this chilling chapter of Polish-Ukrainian relations in their authoritative histories of the Ukraine. Nor did these horrific events – allegedly the largest single massacre perpetrated in peacetime by any authorities in interwar Europe (outside the Soviet Union) including the infamous *Kristallnacht* massacre of 91 Jews – capture the attention of the international media, unlike the far less lethal pacification of 1930 (more about this later on). One would think that it would be incumbent on a professional historian to make some effort to verify sensational information of this nature from a dubious source – information that simply isn't found in mainstream scholarly literature.

Yet Bartov goes on to cite, seemingly with approval, yet another Nazi German report – this one by Gebhard Seelos, consul at the newly opened German consulate in Lwów. The following summer, in July 1939, Seelos reported on the "bestial manner in which Polish police units operate without any reason against entire Ukrainian villages and do not abstain even from murder." In August 1939, Seelos reported on the mass arrests "intended to weaken the leadership echelons" of the Ukrainians and "directed first and foremost at the clergy, doctors, attorneys, teachers and functionaries of economic institutions." Bartov takes this even further, characterizing these alleged Polish atrocities as seminal in setting the stage for the even larger genocides that were to follow: "This attempted destruction of the elites, later employed with devastating effect by the Soviets and the Nazis." (*Anatomy,* p. 127.)

Without any attempt to verify these German reports of wanton and random state violence in light of the extensive scholarship available, Bartov uses them as a springboard (foundation) for his own ruminations. "The writing was on the wall," Bartov assures his readers. (*Anatomy,* p. 128.) Insurrection by virtually all Ukrainians would accompany an "armed conflict between Germany

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[96] See, for example, the book forum in the *Journal of Genocide Research,* vol. 20 (2018), no. 4, in which four historians participated.

and Poland" (i.e., a German invasion of Poland). (*Anatomy,* p. 127.) He appears to accept Seelos' claim that "no uprising should be expected because the UNDO had proclaimed its loyalty to the Polish state for tactical reasons." (*Anatomy,* p. 334 n.56.) However, it was not the UNDO (Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance) that was calling the shots. Seemingly unaware of the two-decades-long German support – financial, military training, and supplies – for the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and its predecessor, the Ukrainian Military Organization,[97] and the large network of Ukrainians on the payroll of the Abwehr,[98] Bartov wonders what "German officials in Berlin made of this Ukrainian attraction to the Olympians of National Socialism." (*Anatomy,* 126.) that the only reason He then goes on to conclude that "in Berlin no one was paying attention or cared much about the region." (*Anatomy,* p. 128.)

The scholarly literature tells us something quite different. The Germans were watching things very closely, and steering matters as the political situation unfolded. They were directing the activities of Ukrainian subversives and formulating plans for an insurrection in Eastern Galicia. According to historian Grzegorz Motyka,

> As the Germans prepared their plans to attack Poland in 1939, they considered the possibility of triggering an uprising in Eastern Galicia with the help of the OUN and using it as a pretext for the war. For this reason, the Abwehr renewed its contacts with Ukrainian nationalists, which had been suspended in 1934 (following the Polish-German non-aggression pact). …
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> To carry out subversive actions in Poland, the Germans formed a special Ukrainian legion that was to be transported to Galicia via Slovakia or by air. It was assumed that its forces would be reinforced by OUN partisan groups as well as by Polish Army deserters of Ukrainian nationality. The legion consisted of about six hundred soldiers grouped into two kurins (battalion). It was commanded by Colonel Roman Sushko. The Abwehr estimated that in September 1939 it had about four thousand armed Ukrainian fighters on the territory of Eastern Galicia ready to take up arms. After the outbreak of the war, they were to "cleanse" the Stanisławów Voivodeship of Polish troops and police and to capture the Dniester, Zalishchyky [Zaleszczyki], Halych [Halicz], Mykolaiv [Mikołajów], and Sambir [Sambor] line, thereby cutting the Sambir-Sanok-Nowy Sącz railway connection.
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> Signing a pact with the USSR changed the Germans' position on Ukrainian independence aspirations. While they had intended to use the Ukrainian nationalists on a large scale before August 23, they then decided to do so only as a last resort, to avoid irritating their new ally. The Soviets, however, were reluctant to enter the war, which caused the question of inciting a Ukrainian uprising to resurface. On September 12, 1939, a meeting was held in Jełowa [Jellowa], Silesia, to discuss this possibility. Field Marshall Keitel presented three options for further development of the situation: … Continued Soviet inaction resulted in conditional approval to begin the rebellion a few days later. On September 15 a meeting took place between Admiral Wilhelm Canaris and Andriy Melnyk, after which the OUN head proceeded to put together the future Ukrainian government. On September 17 however, the Soviet offensive began.
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> Meanwhile, on September 12, 1939, German troops reached Lviv [Lwów]. Although the attempt to capture the city in stride was unsuccessful, local OUN militias took the Wehrmacht's arrival as a call for anti-Polish action. During the night of September 12, Ukrainian rebels captured Stryi [Stryj]. Over the next few days, uprisings took place in all districts of mixed ethnic composition.

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[97] Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust,* 194–197, 204–205. In addition to Germany, the OUN received financial and military assistance from Czechoslovakia and Lithuania; both of these countries also wanted to undermine the Polish state for their own reasons.

[98] According to German sources, on the eve of the war, 4,000 Ukrainian nationalists from Eastern Galicia had been recruited, armed, and trained in sabotage and diversion by the Abwehr, the German intelligence organization. See Andrzej Szefer, "Dywersyjno-sabatażowa działalność wrocławskiej Abwehry na ziemiach polskich w pzededniu agresji hitlerowskiej w 1939 r.," *Biuletyn Głównej Komisji Badania Zbrodni Hitlerowskich w Polsce,* vol. 32 (1987): 271–372, at pp. 274, 281–282.

> The Polish Army and state police, however, launched a decisive counterattack, bringing the situation under control quite quickly. Most diversionary operations were suppressed (with utmost severity, we might add), though some fighting did take place.[99]

Turning our attention to the German consul, Seelos – or at least his subordinate Heinrich Kurtz[100] – was engaged in espionage in preparation for the war, supplying reports to the German Foreign Office. Much of the information (hearsay) came from informers – Ukrainian nationalists who were counting on Nazi Germany's support for their cause. Bartov is not the first historian to look at these reports, but probably the first to take Seelos' charges at face value and rehash them so shoddily. Rather than "hundreds of activists and insurgents … killed between October and December 1938," as Bartov would have it, Seelos actually wrote about (and lumped together) the *pacification actions of 1930 and 1938*, "in which Poles, with incredible cruelty and sadism, horribly murdered and tortured hundreds of Ukrainians, burned countless private houses, buildings, and entire Ukrainian villages."[101]

The signs of Ukrainian nationalist inspired atrocity propaganda are all too evident. The 1930 pacification (about which there is more later on), which was a response to widespread terrorist activities by the OUN, has an extensive literature. It may have taken, at most, a handful of Ukrainian lives. Some 1,739 people were arrested, of whom 569 were released, and 1,143 were brought to trial. 25–30% of the accused received short sentences, the rest were acquitted.[102] Scholarly sources are *silent* about the far more deadly 1938 massacre – highlighted by Bartov – that allegedly took the lives of *hundreds* of Ukrainians and resulted in *30,000 arrests*. Why would a historian disseminate sensational accounts of mass murders and arrests without any attempt at verification? Why were these patently unfounded claims not detected by academic reviewers?

Wherever it occurred, terrorism and insurgency were put down brutally in the interwar period. The British response to Irish insurgency in 1919–1921 far surpassed anything seen in Poland. It resulted in in 2,346 fatalities. Of those killed, 919 were civilians, 523 were police personnel, 413 were British military personnel, and 491 were Irish Republican Army (IRA) volunteers. Thousands of republicans were interned. In December 1920, the British authorities declared martial law in much of southern Ireland. The centre of Cork city was burnt out by British forces in reprisal for an ambush of a British auxiliary patrol in the city, which wounded twelve auxiliaries, one fatally. More than 40 business premises, 300 residential properties, the city hall and Carnegie Library were destroyed by fires, many of which were started by incendiary bombs. Many civilians reported

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[99] Motyka, *From the Volhynian Massacre to Operation Vistula,* 24–26. Some of the low-level subversive activities carried out by the OUN prior to September 17, 1939 are described in Tomasz Chinciński, "Niemiecka dywersja w Polsce w 1939 r. w świetle dokumentów policyjnych i wojskowych II Rzeczypospolitej oraz służb specjalnych III Rzeszy, część 2 (sierpień–wrzesień 1939 r.)," *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość,* no. 1(9) (2006): 165–197, at pp. 191–193.

[100] Tomaz Rabant, "Antypolska działalność niemieckiej służby dyplomatycznej i konsularnej w Polsce w przededniu II wojny światowej oraz jej ewakuacja i likwidacja," *Pamięć i Sprawiedliwość,* no. 1(9) (2006): 199–215, at pp. 204–205.

[101] Grzegorz Hryciuk, "Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie w ocenie konsulatu niemieckiego we Lwowie w 1939 roku," *Toruńskie Studia Międzynarodowe,* no. 1(2) (2009): 19–32, at p. 26.

[102] The Ukrainian petition to the League of Nations reported 14 deaths, whereas Vasyl Mudryi, the editor-in-chief of *Dilo*, the leading Ukrainian daily, gave a lower toll of seven. According to an official Polish report, 5 Ukrainians and 3 Poles were killed during the operation. See Roman Skakun, *Patsyfikatsiia: Polski represii 1930 roku v Halychyni* (Lviv: Vydavnytstvo Ukrainsko katolytskoho universytetu, 2012), 77. See also the Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Internet: http://www.encyclopediaofukraine.com/display.asp?linkpath=pages%5CP%5CA%5CPacification.htm. As a result of searches, 1,287 long guns, 566 revolvers, 398 bayonets, 31 grenades, several dozen metres of fuse, and 99.8 kg of explosives were seized.

being beaten, shot at, and robbed by British forces. Two unarmed IRA volunteers were shot dead at their home in the north of the city. No one was held accountable for the destruction. At least 557 people were killed in political violence in what became Northern Ireland between July 1920 and July 1922. Of these deaths, between 303 and 340 were Catholic civilians, between 172 and 196 were Protestant civilians, 82 were police personnel, and 35 were IRA volunteers.[103]

The OUN continued to commit acts of terrorism, including murders, directed against Poles (authorities, e.g. policemen, and ordinary citizens), Jews, and Ukrainian "collaborators" right up until the start of the war.[104] In 1937, the OUN carried out 830 violent actions against Polish citizens, most of them in Eastern Galicia. Of these, 540 were classified as anti-Polish, 242 as anti-Jewish, 67 as anti-Ukrainian, and 17 as anti-Communist.[105] Between September 1938 and March 1939, 400 anti-Polish demonstrations, 47 acts of sabotage, and 34 terrorist attacks were recorded.[106] The fact that anti-Jewish violence was primarily the work of Ukrainian terrorists is buried in two endnotes (*Anatomy,* pp. 332 n.48, 333 n.53.)

Therefore, it was only natural that OUN paramilitary units, who were trained in armed subversion, experienced run-ins with Polish police. It is in this light that one should consider the Polish police "intrusions" into villages in July 1939, According to Seelos, they were random attacks – "without any reason" – on peaceful Ukrainian villagers. (*Anatomy,* p. 127.) Bartov does not bother to identify the villages in question, nor did he carry out any independent research of the alleged atrocities. (The implied message is that such wanton, unprovoked violence by Polish authorities was endemic: it could have happened anywhere and everywhere.) In his report, Seelos actually places these events in concrete villages: Szybalin, Byszki and Ceniów, in Brzeżany county.[107] What do we know about these occurrences?

The notion that Polish policemen were rampaging through the countryside randomly picking off Ukrainians is bizarre on its face. Published sources show that these were not arbitrary operations targeting ordinary Ukrainian civilians. When Polish police stationed in Szybalin investigated clandestine OUN paramilitary training exercises on January 31, 1939, an exchange of fire initiated by the Ukrainians resulted in the death of one of them, four wounded, and 10 arrests.

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[103] Eunan O'Halpin and Daithí Ó Corráin, *The Dead of the Irish Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020); Richard English, *Armed Struggle: The History of the IRA* (Oxford: Oxford Press, 2003), 39–40.

[104] See, for example, the following articles: Wojciech Włodarkiewicz, "Stan bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego w województwie tarnopolskim (1 stycznia 1939–31 sierpnia 1939 roku)," *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, vol. 25 (2018), no. 3 (63): 159-188; Wojciech Włodarkiewicz, "Stan bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego województwa stanisławowskiego od października 1938 do marca 1939 roku," *Niepodległość i Pamięć,* vol. 26 (2019), no. 2 (66): 133-162; Rafał Roguski, "Przestępstwa kryminalne w woj. Stanisławowskim w okresie styczeń–lipiec 1939 roku w świetle sprawozdań wojewody stanisławowskiego," *Studia Historica Gedanensia,* vol. 8 (2017): 194–209. The state archives in Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanisławów) also hold a large quantity of reports from the interwar period, including police reports, pertaining to Buczacz, but Bartov neglected to search there. Those records provide valuable information about the functioning of the local government and the support among the Jewish community for illegal, far-left organizations.

[105] Timothy Snyder, "The Life and Death of Western Volhynian Jewry, 1921–1945," in Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower, eds., *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2008), 77–113, here at 83–84.

[106] Dariusz Dąbrowski, *Rzeczpospolita Polska wobec kwestii Rusi Zakarpackiej (Podkarpackiej) 1938–1939* (Toruń: Europejskie Centrum Edukacyjne, 2007), 348–349.

[107] Grzegorz Hryciuk, "Stosunki polsko-ukraińskie w ocenie konsulatu niemieckiego we Lwowie w 1939 roku," *Toruńskie Studia Międzynarodowe,* no. 1(2) (2009): 19–32, at p. 28.

This event was no dark, hidden secret: it was reported in the press at the time.[108] As tensions escalated, in July 1939, Polish police conducted a large number of searches for OUN subversives in Brzeżany county, arresting 32 people (19 of whom were released).[109] A number of Poles, among them policemen, were attacked and killed by Ukrainian nationalists in Brzeżany county in 1938–1939.[110] Such murders also occurred in Buczacz county, in June and July of 1939, but Bartov doesn't mention those either.[111] No government would ignore such persistent terrorist activities.

Ukrainian historian Andrii Rukkas identifies Brzeżany county as a hotbed of subversive activity, one where scores of Poles were killed during the September 1939 insurgency.[112] Between September 17 and 20, 1939, a large number of Polish soldiers were disarmed and murdered by Ukrainian insurgents near Byszki.[113] Rather than a response to Polish violence, this was a continuation of interwar OUN terrorism. The lack of any effort on Bartov's part to explore and flesh out these "pivotal" events and to provide context is less than stellar scholarship.

Ethnocide on the eve of the outbreak of the war?

Turning now to the "attempted destruction of the [Ukrainian] elites" in the summer of 1939, what in fact took place was the short-term detention – on the eve of the German invasion of Poland – of Ukrainians with ties to radical elements. Contrary to what Bartov claims, there was no attempt on the part of the Polish authorities to destroy the Ukrainian elites or subject broad categories of Ukrainians to punitive sanctions.

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[108] See the summary based on the *Głos Brzeżański* (no. 4/1939) article of February 15, 1939 entitled "Manewry ukraińskie w Szybalinie," found in Witold Listowski, ed., *Ludobójstwo OUN-UPA na Kresach Południowo-Wschodnich: Dawne Kresy Południowo Wschodnie w Optyce Historycznej i Współczesnej,* vol. 4 (Kędzierzyn-Koźle: Stowarzyszenie Kresowian w Kędzierzynie-Kożlu, 2012), 17.

[109] Wojciech Włodarkiewicz, "Stan bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego w województwie tarnopolskim (1 stycznia 1939–31 sierpnia 1939 roku)," *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, vol. 25 (2018), no. 3 (63): 159-188, at pp. 164, 178.

[110] A Polish policeman was killed in Urmań in February 1939; a Polish policeman was killed and another injured in a gunfight in Wymysłowka in July 1939. See Wojciech Włodarkiewicz, "Stan bezpieczeństwa wewnętrznego w województwie tarnopolskim (1 stycznia 1939–31 sierpnia 1939 roku)," *Niepodległość i Pamięć*, vol. 25 (2018), no. 3 (63): 159-188. Murders of Poles also occurred in the villages of Koniuchy (1 Pole killed), Poruczyn, Taurów (3 Poles killed), Urmań (1 Pole killed), Żuków (1 Pole killed). See Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 111, 123, 129, 131, 134.

[111] Such murders occurred in the villages of Trybuchowce (1 Pole killed in June 1939), Uście Zielone (3 Poles killed in July 1939). See Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 175,176.

[112] Andrii Rukkas, "Zbroini zahony Orhanizatsii ukrainskykh natsionalistiv na Berezhanshchyni (veresen 1939 r.)," *Ukrainskyi vyzvolnyi rukh: Naukovyi zbirnyk,* no. 3 (2004):145-159. See also Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 103 (Budyłów), 104 (Buszcze), 106 (Byszki), 107 (Dryszczów), 108 (Gaik), 109 (Glinna, Hinowice), 110 (Jakubowce), 111 (Koniuchy, Kotów), 112 (Kozowa), 113 (Kozówka), 115 (Leśniki), 116–117 (Mieczyszczów), 118 (Nadorożniów), 120–121 (Płaucza Mała, where the victims included 3 Jews), 124 (Pototury), 126 (Rybniki), 129 (Taurów), 130 (Trościanie c), 131 (Uwsie), 133 (Zapust Lwowski), 134–135 (Żuków).

[113] Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 106.

From July 1939 until the first few days of September, the Polish authorities – who were closely monitoring the situation – arrested actual and potential participants in subversive activities. Several thousand Ukrainians (out of a population of over five million) were detained as a preventative measure. These persons were soon released when Polish authority crumbled in the face of the German invasion.[114] The scholarly sources do not corroborate the claim that Polish police murdered Ukrainians in the process. Moreover, as the unfolding events shows, Polish fears were entirely justified, and the measures taken were not unreasonable under the circumstances. According to Grzegorz Motyka,

> Before the war, Polish authorities were unsure how national minorities would react to its outbreak. It was feared, especially with regards to radical Ukrainian groups, that they would take advantage of war-time turmoil to carry out sabotage and diversionary actions. To prevent hostile protests, the Polish authorities arrested several thousand Ukrainian activists overnight between September 1–2, 1939, as part of a so-called immobilization of anti-state elements. However, after only a few days prisoners were released due to the unfavourable situation on the front. The same was done with those who had been earlier sentenced on political charges, Stepan Bandera being freed from prison in this manner.
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> In truth, Polish fears were not unfounded. As the Germans prepared their plans to attack Poland in 1939, they considered the possibility of triggering an uprising in Eastern Galicia with the help of the OUN and using it as a pretext for the war.[115]

Clearly, the Polish authorities did not target the Ukrainian leadership and elites, let alone the entire Ukrainian population, as was the case in Canada and the USA, where the entire Japanese population was shipped off to internment camps for the duration of the war and their property confiscated, even though there was no hard evidence that they posed any real threat.

Moreover, the dangers of an impending conflagration – and that the accompanying social upheaval would not improve conditions for the Ukrainian population – were readily apparent. The leading Ukrainian political party, the Ukrainian National Democratic Alliance (UNDO), issued a declaration on August 24, 1939, calling for restraint and realism on the part of the Ukrainian population in the face of radical agitation.

> Tensions in current international relations have reached their peak. … At present, we do not see any outside power coming to resolve the Ukrainian question. For these reasons, the propaganda telling us to wait for external help is inconsistent with the Ukrainian national raison d'état. …We condemn the various attempts to draw our society into any kind of diversionary action as the work of foreign agents, and we warn Ukrainian society, especially our youth, against them. … Without taking our eyes off the national-political aspirations of the Ukrainian people to become a fully equal and rightful member of the circle of European nations, and without giving up the political struggle for full rights of the Ukrainian people in Poland, the National Committee states that we are unfortunately entering this historical moment for the Ukrainian and Polish peoples on an unbalanced political scale. … The National Committee believes that historical necessity will lead, in the mutual interest of both nations, to an equalization of the political differences between them.

Similar declarations were made by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, again by UNDO after the outbreak of war via its vice-chairman, deputy speaker of parliament Vasyl Mudryi, as well as the Volhynian representative Stepan Skrypnyk. Significantly, Ukrainians did not boycott the Polish Army's mobilization call.[116] Unfortunately, these moderate voices receded to the background as the radicals and their supporters gained strength during the successive Soviet and German occupations.

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[114] Hryciuk, *Przemiany narodowościowe i ludnościowe w Galicji Wschodniej i na Wołyniu w latach 1931–1948,* 163.

[115] Motyka, *From the Volhynian Massacre to Operation Vistula,* 23–24.

[116] Motyka, *From the Volhynian Massacre to Operation Vistula,* 23.

British atrocity reports: Repressive anti-Ukrainian measures

Bartov relies uncritically on reports regarding the so-called 1930 "pacification" of Eastern Galicia authored by two British Labour Party parliamentarians, James Barr and Rhys Davies, who conducted a private "fact-finding" mission, yet he ignores the findings of the League of Nations who considered petitions based on these same Ukrainian sources. (*Anatomy,* pp. 103–104.) Both of these politicians had a soft spot for the Bolsheviks/Soviet Union. Rhys Davies was a member of the National Committee for the Hands Off Russia Movement, launched by British Socialists and funded in part by the Bolsheviks to organize opposition to the British intervention on the side of the White armies against the Bolsheviks, as well as to oppose support for Poland during the Polish-Soviet war (1918–1921). Their most prominent success was in stopping the sailing of the SS Jolly George with arms headed for Poland. As the Bolshevik armies approached Warsaw in August 1920, the British Labour Party responded to a proposed Anglo-French intervention in the war by announcing that they would mobilize their movements to oppose any intervention in the war. The active denial by the British Left and the Labour Party of the gulags, purges and actual genocide being committed by the Soviet Union is a matter of record.[117] Moreover, both of these Labour parliamentarians were associated with the Ukrainian Bureau in London, England, for whom Colonel Cecil L'Estrange Malone served as special consultant. After visiting Soviet Russia in 1919, Malone joined the Communist Party of Great Britain, became the first Communist in Parliament, and spent six months in prison after making seditious speeches.[118] Why would a historian simply rely on dated reports by two pro-Soviet Labour politicians and not bother to consult the extensive scholarship that has been created since?

The two British reports allege all sorts of wrongdoing on the part of the Polish authorities and, effectively, justify the terrorist activities of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The authors do not bother to point out that these groups, whose activities were condemned by Ukrainian religious leaders and most mainstream Ukrainian political leaders, also targeted Ukrainian moderates who sought cooperation with the Polish authorities. The authors of the reports attribute the poverty of Ukrainian peasants to the alleged discriminatory policies implemented by the Polish authorities during the interwar period. They claim that Ukrainians did not qualify for land distribution, that the Polish authorities seized Ukrainian cooperatives, and that bilingual schools were a sham because, allegedly, the language of instruction was actually Polish.

Bartov neglects to mention that the charges levelled against the Polish authorities in relation to the 1930 "pacification" were considered by the League of Nations and, for the most part, dismissed. Although not approving the methods used by the Polish authorities to quell the violence, the League recognized that it was the Ukrainian nationalists themselves who were to blame for consciously inviting this response by their "revolutionary activities." The League concluded that there was no governmental policy of persecuting the Ukrainian people.[119]

Let us now turn to the various allegations levelled in the British reports. Tadeusz Piotrowski's important study, *Poland's Holocaust,* refutes the key charges found in the British reports Bartov relies on. According to Piotrowski, out of a total of 872,000 acres parcelled out in Eastern Galicia

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[117] Giles Udy, *Labour and the Gulag: Russia and the Seduction of the British Left* (London: Biteback, 2017).

[118] Initially, the Ukrainian Bureau was critical of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OU) because of its terrorist activities. However, between 1934 and 1938, the Bureau pursued a *modus vivendi* with the radical Nationalists. See Orest T. Martynowych, *Vladimir J. (Kaye) Kysilewsky and the Ukrainian Bureau in London, 1931–1934* (Winnipeg: Centre for Ukrainian Studies, University of Manitoba, 2010), 9–10.

[119] Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust,* 190–194. Recent Polish publications on this topic include Adam Adrian Ostanek's *Wydarzenia 1930 roku w Małopolsce Wschodniej a bezpieczeństwo II Rzeczypospolitej* (Warsaw: Stara Szuflada, 2017) and *Sabotaże nacjonalistów ukraińskich oraz akcja represyjna władz polskich w Małopolsce Wschodniej w 1930 roku w świetle dokumentów* (Warsaw: Stara Szuflada, 2018).

between 1918 and 1938, a large portion, 495,000 acres, went to Ukrainian peasants.[120] Most of that land had previously belonged to Polish landlords.

According to Polish sources, the number of Poles from other parts of Poland who settled in Eastern Galicia in the interwar period was in the range of 44,000 to 55,000 people,[121] and not several hundreds of thousands as Ukrainian nationalist sources claim. The impact on the demographic make-up of the region was negligible. Perspective on (how to assess) this matter can be garnered from Israel's colonization of the West Bank. Even though universally denounced as illegal under international law, the construction of a far-flung network of settlements has been bankrolled by the Israeli state. Since 1967 more than 700,000 Jewish settlers have been brought in, with no signs of abating. Settler violence – unknown in interwar Poland – directed at West Bank Palestinians is an everyday occurrence.

Agrarian reforms – aimed at making land available to the landless rural population (agricultural workers) and small farm holders – were carried out in a number of countries in East Central Europe after the war. In the Baltic States, large landholdings, mostly German and Polish, were aggressively expropriated, largely without any compensation, almost exclusively for the benefit of the titular nations. Poland's more modest land reforms, which impacted former Russian demesnes, German Junkers, and ethnic Polish landlords above all, entailed at least partial compensation for the land taken and benefitted Ukrainians and Belorussians.[122]

As for the bilingual schools, in 1938 there were 2,485 such primary schools throughout Eastern Galicia, in which both the Polish and Ukrainian languages were the language of instruction. Polish children living in areas of mixed population also attended those schools. In addition, there were 452 state schools where the primary language of instruction was Ukrainian.[123] The existence of such schools is buried in an endnote, where we learn that, of Buczacz county's 109 elementary schools in 1934, 49 were Polish, 49 bilingual, and 11 Ukrainian (*Anatomy,* p. 331 n.45). Moreover,

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[120] Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust,* 180. For much lower statistics (only 27,000 of 460,000 acres, i.e., 6%, were allotted to Ukrainians), which are cited by scholars as fact without reference to their origin (*Encyclopedia of Ukraine*) and the important qualification the author (Giordano) attached to this figure ("Les données issues des sources ukrainiennes citées doivent être revues à la baisse," i.e., data from cited Ukrainian sources should be scaled down), see Christian Giordano, "Réformes agraires et tensions ethniques en Europe centrale et orientale," *Études rurales,* no. 159/160 (July–December 2001): 205–228. The updated Internet Encyclopedia of Ukraine provides different (less specific) information: "During implementation of the land reform some great estates were subdivided in Western Ukraine (so called 'parcelation'), but most of the 800,000 ha thus obtained were sold to Poles." Nonetheless, the scale of land redistribution was significant. By 1938, roughly 2,654.800 hectares of land had undergone distribution into 734,100 parcels, acquired by 629,900 people.

[121] Hryciuk, *Przemiany narodowościowe i ludnościowe w Galicji Wschodniej i na Wołyniu w latach 1931–1948,* 86 n.80. The Polish statistics are not been seriously undermined. According to Ukrainian ethnographer Volodymyr Kubiyovich, whose detailed statistics are cited later, as of January 1, 1939, there were 73,200 Polish colonists in Eastern Galicia. Some of the increase would have been undoubtedly due to their high birth rate.

[122] Wojciech Roszkowski, *Land Reforms in East Central Europe After World War One* (Warsaw: Institute of Political Studies, Polish Academy of Sciences, 1995).

[123] Piotrowski, *Poland's Holocaust,* 185.

Polish children attending schools where the primary language of instruction was Polish were required to learn Ukrainian.[124]

But one does not have to rely on scholars of Polish background to detect the rather obvious problems with these British reports. Leading historians of Ukrainian background also present a more objective picture than pushed by Bartov. The notion that Ukrainians lived in abject poverty because of Polish discrimination is simply bizarre, as is the claim that the Polish authorities suppressed Ukrainian cooperatives. In fact, Galician poverty was something Poland inherited after 150 years of Austrian rule and impacted the entire rural population regardless of their nationality. It was compounded by wartime destruction and the Great Depression, both of which hit Poland especially hard. Like the Greek Catholic Church and its institutions, as well as Ukrainian cultural life,[125] the Ukrainian cooperative movement flourished during the interwar period. Orest Subtelny's *Ukraine: A History,* which is widely used as a standard reference book in North American universities, provides a far more objective and factually grounded picture:

> ... as a result of the collapse of the Austrian and Russian empires, the struggle for independent statehood, and their inclusion into Poland, the socioeconomic conditions in which they lived remained essentially unchanged. The Ukrainian-inhabited lands, which constituted about 25% of Poland's territory, remained underdeveloped agrarian borderlands … In addition to these structural disadvantages, the Ukrainian populace had to deal with such problems as the wartime devastation; the government's discriminatory economic policies towards them; and the impact of the Great Depression. … As might be expected, the main economic difficulties lay in agriculture, where old problems, such as rural overpopulation and tiny plots, persisted from pre-First World War days.[126]
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> The cooperatives quickly established an elaborate organization. Credit unions were united in an association called Tsentrobank; rural consumer and marketing unions formed Tsentrosoiuz; the union of dairy cooperatives was called Maslosoiuz; and Narodna Torhivlia represented the urban retailers. The umbrella organization that united all the cooperatives, audited their accounts, trained their personnel, and provided general guidance was RSUK (Audit Union of Ukrainian Cooperatives). … The dairy cooperatives of Maslosoiuz were most successful in marketing their products and they dominated the West Ukrainian, and even large parts of the Polish, markets. Statistics testify to the dramatic growth of the cooperatives. In 1921 there were about 580 Ukrainian cooperatives in Eastern Galicia; in 1928 their number jumped to 2500; and by 1939 there were close to 4000. The total membership in the cooperatives on the eve of the Second World War was over 700,000, and they provided employment for over 15,000 Ukrainians.[127]

The fundamental problem was not that Poles were not sharing the pie, albeit unequally at times. It was that the pie was far too small for a burgeoning population in a highly depressed economic era. Why did Bartov carry out no verification of the damning information found in the British reports? Why did he eschew scholarship in favour of sensationalism? His take on this and many other issues is hardly “path breaking” or “cutting edge” scholarship. Rather, it is a regression.

Buczacz state gymnasium

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[124] See, for example, a 1936 school report card issued in Barysz, a largely Polish town in Buczacz county: http://www.smolec.pl/kresowybarysz/Kresowy%20Barysz%20i%20okolice%20-%20Stanis%C5%82awa%20Pucha%C5%82a%20-%20Rozdzia%C5%82%20III.pdf.

[125] *Buchach i Buchachchyna: Istorychno-memuarnyi zbirnyk* (New York: Shevchenko Scientific Society, 1972). See, for example, the entry for Żyżnomierz, a Ukrainian village on the outskirts of Buczacz, especially at pp. 522–531, which ends with the following dramatic statement: “With the arrival of the Bolsheviks in the fall of 1939, social and organizational life stopped.”

[126] Orest Subtelny, *Ukraine: A History,* Fourth Edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 433.

[127] Subtelny, *Ukraine,* 438.

Citing data regarding the ethnic and religious make-up of the student body of the state high school in Buczacz, Bartov writes that in the 1930s, “the numbers of minority teachers and students were progressively declining.” In 1933, “half of the 227 graduating students were Roman Catholics, well above their share in the local population; Jews and Ukrainians each made up only a quarter of the student body. Three years later, … Jews and Ukrainians now each constituted only a fifth of the total.” (*Anatomy,* pp. 90–91.) “By 1936 there were only twelve Jews out of a total of eighty-two students in the two third-grade classes.” (P. 93.) Bartov then goes on to opine on what was behind this discriminatory policy: “there was no discussion over the declining representation of ethnic minorities in the gymnasium; from the Polish national perspective, this issue … seemed to be well on the way to a happy resolution.” (P. 91.) In conclusion, Bartov bemoans, “Most Jewish youths had no hope of attending the gymnasium and were condemned to eking out a wretched existence as a marginalized minority in a far-off corner of an aggressively nationalist and economically backward new state.” (P. 95.)

This is a flagrant misrepresentation of the actual data, as well as of the situation of Jews – who constituted about 7½ percent of the county’s population – relative to the non-Jewish population. With a population of 140,000 in 1931, the county’s only state high school (located in Buczacz), with a fluctuating enrolment of under 500 students, could hardly have provided the vast majority of the burgeoning youth of *any* nationality with any hope of attending. High schools were relatively few in Poland and one had to pay tuition to attend them. As the data (mentioned later on) show, on the whole, Jews were in a better economic position than non-Jews. Another advantage Jews enjoyed was that about half the county’s Jewish population was concentrated in the city of Buczacz; thus, the high school was physically more accessible to them than to the vast majority of the county’s non-Jews. All of these factors, led to an enormous overrepresentation of Jewish students at the high school.

An examination of the sources Bartov cites – two official school reports[128] – further undermines his claims regarding the make-up of the student body. The reports in question happen to be readily accessible online, so fact-checking requires no large effort on the part of a reviewer of Bartov’s book. These reports simply do not back up Bartov’s claims. In fact, the percentage of Jewish students actually *increased* slightly during that period (1933–1936). The total enrolment of the high school in 1932–1933 was 227 (see page 30 of the 1932–1933 report). Bartov states, incorrectly, that this was the number of graduating students. The make-up of the student body at that time was broken down by religion only, as follows: 114 Latin-rite Catholics (50.2%), 56 Greek-rite Catholics (24.7%), 1 Armenian-rite Catholic, and 56 Jews (24.7%). The total enrolment in 1935–1936 was 215 (see page 49 of the 1935–1936 report). In this latter report, the make-up of the student body was broken down by religion as well as by nationality, separately, as follows. *According to religion*, there were 114 Latin-rite Catholics (53%), 46 Greek-rite Catholics (21.4%), and *55 Jews (25.6%)*. Thus, Bartov’s claim that Jews “constituted only a fifth of the total” in 1935–1936 is clearly erroneous. Based on nationality, there were 129 Poles (60%), 46 Ruthenians (Ukrainians) (21.4%), and 40 Jews (18.6%). It is apparent, therefore, that some students who were of the Jewish faith declared their nationality as Polish. In many cases, this was likely due to cultural assimilation. For some, it was probably done for opportunistic reasons: social advancement. As in other countries, notably Germany, identification with the dominant culture – at least nominally – was making some inroads in Poland among the Jewish educated (professional) classes, a trend that Bartov overlooks. As for Bartov’s claim, that "[b]y 1936 there were only 12 Jews out of a total of 82 students in the two third-grade classes," that too is a misrepresentation. According to the table at page 49 of the 1935–1936 report, there were 33 third-class students, of whom 16 were Jews by religion (48%). A careful reading of the names on the (larger) list of 82 students (at pages 54–55 of the report) indicates that at least 30 of these students were Jews (36.6%). An astounding lack of competence (misreading) is thus shown in marshalling these statistics in order to project a narrative of aggressive Polish nationalism. Contrary to what Bartov

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[128] “Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Państwowego Gimnazjum w Buczaczu za rok szkolny 1932–1933” and “Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Państwowego Gimnazjum w Buczaczu za rok szkolny 1935–1936,” Intenet: http://www.pbc.rzeszow.pl/dlibra/publication?id=354 and http://www.pbc.rzeszow.pl/dlibra/plain-content?id=13253, respectively.

urges, the proportion of Jewish students in Buczacz's high school was not in precipitous decline in the 1930s. A careful reading of these reports also shows that Bartov undercounts the number of Jewish teachers at the Buczacz high school.

Some observations beg to be made. Earlier on in his book (*Anatomy,* p. 39), Bartov notes that, before World War I, the high school counted 180 Jewish and 120 Roman and Greek Catholic students, implying that this state of affairs was entirely reasonable given "the preponderance of Jews among the city population." He conveniently ignores that this high school served the entire county. Since Jews constituted less than eight percent of the county's population according to the 1931 census (7.6% by religion, with 5.8% declaring Yiddish or Hebrew as their native language), Jews were actually significantly overrepresented in the student body by more than threefold in 1933–1936. They had no cause to complain about discriminatory admission practices. However, Bartov doesn't see it that way.

According to Bartov, young Jews – and Jews in general – were particularly victimized by the Polish state: "Most Jewish youths in Buczacz had no hope of attending the gymnasium and were condemned to eking out a wretched existence as a marginalized minority…" (*Anatomy,* p. 95.) In fact, proportionate to their share of the population, Jews were more advantaged than ethnic Poles, and far more advantaged than Ukrainians. The trope of the Jews' singular wretched existence in wartime Poland has long ago been exploded by reputable scholars. According to a study by British economist Joseph Marcus, the Jewish share of the country's wealth increased both absolutely and relative to the non-Jewish share in the interwar period. While representing less than ten percent of Poland's population, Jews held 22.4 percent of the national wealth in 1929 and 21.4 percent in 1938. The average Jew was clearly better off than the average non-Jew. In terms of per capita income, in 1929 the income per caput was 830 złoty for Jews, and 585 złoty for non-Jews, i.e., forty percent higher. Although very many Jews lived in poverty (as did non-Jews), Marcus argues that "the Jews in Poland were poor because they lived in a poor, under-developed country. Discrimination added only marginally to their poverty. … That Jewish poverty was mainly the result of accumulated discrimination against them is a myth and it is time to expose it as such."[129] There is no reason to believe conditions were worse in Buczacz. Proportionately, Jews could afford to pay the high school tuition more often than non-Jews. Although Bartov does not remark on that blatant Jewish overrepresentation, he does not shy away from emphasizing Jewish overrepresentation in other contexts (e.g., the Soviet deportations) when it is advantageous to do so from a Jewish nationalist perspective.

Granted, there was a decrease in the number of Ukrainian students, which was indeed a detrimental development, but "the declining representation of ethnic minorities in the gymnasium" did not impact Jews adversely. Bartov should not suggest that it did and lump Jews together with Ukrainians. Ukrainians were the only ones who were being shortchanged, in part, because of the overrepresentation of Jews which proportionately greater than the overrepresentation of Poles. Using Bartov's reasoning vis-à-vis Poles, it follows that Jews were also usurping places that should have rightfully gone to Ukrainian students (based on their share of the population). Perhaps a 25% Jewish, 60% Ukrainian, and 15% Polish split (with Poles being underrepresented by more than half their share of the population) would be more compatible with Bartov's sense of fairness. In fact, such a "happy resolution" was indeed accomplished in educational institutions during the Soviet occupation.[130]

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[129] Joseph Marcus, *Social and Political History of the Jews in Poland, 1919–1939* (New York: Mouton, 1983), 42 (Table 6), 231, 253–56.

[130] Official Soviet statistics from early 1941 give the Jewish share of various institutions of higher learning in Lwów (the only such institutions in the entire area, where Jews made up no more than 10% of the population) as follows: 44.2% at the University, 56.7% at the Polytechnic, 42.3% at the Medical Academy, 51.5% at the Pedagogical Institute, and 88.1% at the Business Academy. See Zbysław Popławski, *Dzieje Politechniki Lwowskiej 1844–1945* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich, 1992), 281 (the percentage of Jews at the Business Academy has been adjusted, as it was computed incorrectly); Grzegorz Hryciuk, *Polacy we Lwowie 1939–1944: Życie codzienne* (Warsaw: Książka i Wiedza, 2000), 132–133.

How many Poles attended Buczacz high school under Soviet rule? The official data has not been unearthed. According to one Polish student, after the deportation of Poles in the early part of 1940, Jews and Ukrainians predominated. (P. 148.) How did this development advance the cause of social justice? Who benefited most from the deportation of Poles? Did Jews increase their already marked overrepresentation? Was the loss of their Polish colleagues mourned or even missed?

Although Bartov portrays the high school in Buczacz as a hotbed of Polish nationalism, he fails to take note of the fact that the Ukrainian language ("język ruski") was a mandatory subject for students of all nationalities, even though that fact is mentioned in the school reports he cites. Why this oversight? Yet, earlier on (*Anatomy,* pp. 66–67), Bartov appears to mock Antoni Siewiński, the school principal, who pointed out that the Ukrainian language was not banned when Poles were in charge of the school, but the Polish language was banned when the Ukrainians took over in November 1918.

Anti-Jewish discrimination

A lack of clarity, context and accuracy pervades Bartov's treatment of many contentious issues during the interwar period. Let us start with a relatively minor matter. Symptomatic of the "aggressive nationalism" is – what is described as – a "Polish anti-Semitic pamphlet" from interwar Buczacz" (p. 94). An examination of this illustration, however, shows nothing more than a hand-written bill of rather poor (primitive) quality with some slogans. Hardly a pamphlet (to which it has been elevated) of some powerful group.

Bartov claims that, after World War I, "anti-Jewish Polish land reform policies" were introduced in order to confiscate Jewish property. (*Anatomy,* p. 24.) Referring to Oskar Kofler's memoir (*Żydowskie dwory*), Bartov later reiterates, "the new Polish authorities blocked the family from regaining their estate." (*Anatomy,* p 53.) This uncritical use of a memoir, without any attempt to actually consider Poland's land reform policies, smacks of ethno-nationalist history. It does not take much research to undermine Bartov's take on this matter. In his review of Kofler's memoir, historian Jerzy Tomaszewski, a recognized authority on Polish-Jewish relations, does not suggest that the "*parcelacja*" (parcelling out or subdivision) of the Kofler estate had anything to do with anti-Semitism.[131] At the time, special measures were in place with respect to property that had been abandoned during the war, a measure that did not target Jews. Since Jewish ownership of estates and agricultural properties was very small, Jews were the least likely to be adversely affected.

Unlike Bartov, Tomaszewski questions (takes issue with) Kofler's unwarranted generalizations regarding such matters as Jewish estates being "better-run" than Polish ones and the former enjoying "superior" relations with farm workers and peasants. This is the type of critical analysis that is lacking when one simply accepts selective narratives at face value. But then again, when it comes to the study of "Polish anti-Semitism" there can never be enough ammunition. Surely it's time to jettison tropes like the oft-encountered claim of Poland's "anti-Jewish taxes,"[132] and not fabricate new ones.

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[131] *Przegląd Historyczny,* vol. 91, no. 3 (2000): 488–489.

[132] Here are two of many such examples that are still in vogue, even among scholars. A memoir by an educated Jew claims that "hardly anyone paid taxes except for Jews." See Jehoschua Gertner and Danek Gertner, *Home is No More: The Destruction of the Jews of Kosow and Zabie* (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2000), 57. Based on such anecdotal sources, historian Anika Walke claim, baselessly, that the Polish state "imposed special taxes on Jews and Jewish businesses." See her Introduction to Michael Kutz, *If, By Miracle* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2013), xv. Although there was inequality among the farm and non-farm sectors, as Joseph Marcus points out, Poland's tax laws were not "anti-Semitically motivated, as regrettably most Jews believed." See Joseph Marcus, *Social and Political History of the Jews in Poland, 1919–1939* (New York: Mouton, 1983), 220–23.

Another topic that has become *de rigueur* when discussing Poland's Jewish minority are the quota restrictions introduced at some Polish universities with the aim of limiting Jewish enrolment *proportional* to their share of the population (approximately 10%).[133] Buczacz refers to this in endnote, where he also makes the baseless claim that "university authorities increasingly condoned anti-Jewish violence." (*Anatomy,* p. 333 n.52.) Such quotas were nothing new. There was a longstanding tradition of restricting Jewish admission to universities in Czarist Russia, Imperial Germany, and even the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Similar policies (or practices) were put in place post-World War I in many European countries such as Norway, Finland, Scotland, Hungary (already from the early 1920s), Germany, Austria, the Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania), Romania, and Yugoslavia.[134] Moreover, violent attacks on Jewish students were not uncommon in countries such as Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, Latvia, and Romania, with hundreds of Jews suffering injuries.[135] Similar restrictions also existed at American and Canadian universities throughout the interwar period, and as late as the 1960s at some institutions. Conditions for Blacks were, of course, far worse. During his tenure as president of Princeton, Woodrow Wilson did not admit any Black students.

The issue of whether *proportionate* quotas constitute discrimination – and how to divide the pie "equitably" (there's only so much to go around) – must be reconsidered in light of the controversy surrounding "affirmative action" or "equity-based" quotas/targets now being imposed at universities and colleges across the USA and Canada. Put in place to address Black and Latino underrepresentation, these measures have been turned around to target Asian Americans, who are overrepresented at those institutions. Internal audit data from Harvard University, which is at the centre of a Supreme Court battle against such practices, estimate that without affirmative action Asians would comprise 43 percent of every graduating class, instead of the 25 percent currently (which is also well above their share of the population).

Were conditions as bleak as Bartov contends?

Right from the outset, Bartov is intent on portraying Poland as an outlier among the states of Europe. He emphasizes that, in June 1919, "under pressure from the Western powers, Poland signed a minorities treaty." (*Anatomy,* p. 74), He neglects to mention that this requirement was imposed on *all* the new states, and that Poland's Minority Treaty – which was in fact strenuously

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[133] In the early 1920s, Jews made up about 25 percent of the entire student body at Polish universities. The situation at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lwów, the only such institution in Eastern Galicia, was as follows. In the 1921/22 academic year, there were 2226 Jewish students, which represented 46,6% of the total number of 4773 students. In 1931, their number fell slightly to 2215, but they now represented 31,9% of the total number of 7117 students. In the year 1937/38, overall enrolment decreased significantly; out of 5064 students, there were 525 Jews, or about 11%, which was still higher than their share of the Eastern Galician population.

[134] American Jewish Committee, *The Jewish Communities of Nazi-Occupied Europe* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1982), 2–3 (Estonia), 6 (Lithuania), 21 (Latvia); Peter Tibor Nagy, "The *Numerus Clausus* in Inter-War Hungary: Pioneering European Antisemitism," in *East European Jewish Affairs,* vol. 35, no. 1 (June 2005): 13–22; *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry,* vol. 31: *Poland and Hungary: Jewish Realities Compared* (London: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2019), 302–3 (Norway, Finland, Scotland).

[135] Roland Clark, "Terror and Antisemitic Student Violence in East Central Europe, 1919–1923," in Johannes Dafinger and Moritz Florin, eds., *A Transnational History of Right-Wing Terrorism: Political Violence and the Far-Right in Eastern and Western Europe since 1900* (London: Routledge, 2022), 70–90.

lobbied for by influential Jewish groups and its imposition heralded as their accomplishment[136] (Bartov dismisses any such suggestion of anti-Polish agitation as an anti-Semitic trope) – served as the template for the subsequent ones (as well as for unilateral declarations by some states). This protection became a prerequisite for countries applying for membership in the League of Nations. So, ultimately, Poland wasn't singled out. Moreover, minorities in almost all countries experienced significant problems in the interwar period. They just didn't attract international attention the way Poland did. A little more balance and perspective would be welcome.

Were conditions in Poland as bleak as Bartov paints them? Poland has come under particular scrutiny, and fire, by many historians for the treatment of its minorities in the interwar period. Bartov's implicit condemnation conforms with views that have been voiced explicitly far too often. Israeli historian Leonid Rein, for example, claims that Poland was the "most extreme example" in Europe of subjecting its ethnic minorities to the title nation and outright assimilation. He contends that "almost no other country exhibited such a discriminatory, stereotype-based policy towards national minorities as did Poland."[137] Does this extreme scenario have any basis in fact? What evidence is there that such matters were treated more liberally in other European countries? In fact, national and linguistic minorities often fared worse than in Poland, except in countries that were structurally multilingual or multinational like Switzerland or Belgium.

The undisputed leader of various kinds of genocide – including *ethnic-based* genocide – was the Soviet Union, which undertook the physical annihilation of its Polish minority in the 1930s. As Timothy Snyder points out, Poles were the first and largest group of mass victims of the national operations of Stalin's Great Terror. The scale of the "Polish Operation" was enormous by any standards.

> Taking into account the number of deaths, the percentage of death sentences to arrests, and the risk of arrest, ethnic Poles suffered more than any other group within the Soviet Union during the Great Terror. By a conservative estimate, some eighty-five thousand Poles were executed in 1937 and 1938, which means that one-eighth of the 681,692 mortal victims of the Great Terror were Polish. This is a staggeringly high percentage, given that Poles were a tiny minority in the Soviet Union, constituting fewer than 0.4 percent of the general population. Soviet Poles were about forty times more likely to die during the Great Terror than Soviet citizens generally.

Snyder concludes with this eye-opening observation – one that would astound most readers:

> The most persecuted European national minority in the second half of the 1930s was not the four hundred thousand or so German Jews (the number declining because of emigration) but the six hundred thousand or so Soviet Poles (the number declining because of executions).[138]

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[136] According to historian David Engel, ""For many years it was generally believed that the idea of creating a permanent international mechanism for protecting the rights and welfare of minorities was placed before the Paris Peace Conference by representatives of Jewish organizations, who lobbied effectively for its adoption." See "Minorities Treaties," *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe,* Internet: https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Minorities_Treaties. It is not at all clear that this belief, shared by many, is as groundless as Engel suggests.

One of the reasons Poland justifiably objected to these provisions was that they did not bind Germany, with its substantial Polish minority. As has been noted, "Poland had to assume obligations respecting Germans and her territories, but Germany was required to make no similar undertaking respecting Poles, and none of the Principal Allied Powers made any treaties whatever covering the treatment of their minorities." See H.H. Fisher, *America and the New Poland* (New York: MacMillan, 1928), 159. Germany weaponized the treaty by bringing numerous petitions against Poland to the League of Nations, and by promoting Ukrainian petitions.

[137] Leonid Rein, *The Kings and the Pawns: Collaboration in Byelorussia during World War II* (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 21, 61.

[138] Snyder, *Bloodlands,* 89, 103–104.

Pro-Soviet Jews who fled Poland for the "security" of the Soviet Union soon found themselves facing a much starker reality. During the Polish Operation in the Belorussian SSR, 1,039 Jewish political emigrés and refugees from Poland were arrested, and most of them probably perished.[139] That, in a nutshell, was the difference between security for Jews in interwar Poland and in the Soviet Union.

As for assimilation policies, we know that Greece did not recognize the existence of its Slavic Macedonian population. The Polish minorities in Lithuania and Germany were being assimilated (eradicated?) at an alarming rate. In Lithuania, the 1923 census reduced the number of Poles to 65,600 (or 3.23% of the total population), whereas the Polish slate took 7.1% of the votes cast in the parliamentary elections that year. Afterwards, things got much worse for the Polish minority, as the Polish language was removed from schools and church services. In Germany, the number of Poles fell from 301,968 to 113,010 between 1925 and 1933 (when bilingual speakers are added, the numbers fell from 1,525,556 to 440,168), and virtually disappeared in the May 1939 census, which recorded only some 14,000 Poles. While Polish minorities were shrinking rapidly in neighbouring countries due to assimilation *policies*, meanwhile, in Poland, the population of minorities speaking their native languages (except for *emigrating* Germans) was *growing* rapidly, according to national census counts.

Aggressive assimilation – and, in some cases, even eradication of undesirable minorities – was the order of the day not only in Eastern and Central Europe, but also in its southern, western and northern parts. A few examples follow, without sources (which can readily be found).

Italy had few minorities but that didn't stop the authorities from declaring war on them. The use of German in public was forbidden in the former Austrian region of South Tyrol in 1922, and the following year German place names were replaced with Italian ones. The use of German in classrooms was restricted, being banned completely in 1924. In 1926, all German-language newspapers were closed. Teachers caught teaching German were imprisoned and afterwards banished to convict islands or remote areas of southern Italy. All German teachers were relieved of their duties or were moved to the Italian provinces; all German officials were fired, replaced by a policy of "Italians only." All German economic associations (workers' and farmers') and all German clubs and societies (alpine, gymnastic, etc.) were dissolved and their property confiscated. All public announcements, signposts, signs and shop names had to be in Italian. These brutal measures of Italianization pressured 78,000 ethnic Germans to leave Italy for Austria, with Italian settlers being brought in from Southern Italy, thus dramatically changing the ethnic composition of a region that had been 95 percent German-speaking in 1919. The treatment of Italy's Slovene and Croatian minorities, who were subjected to forced Italianization in the 1920s and 1930s, was even more abysmal. The Fascists launched institutionalized, ideological warfare against the "barbarous" Slavs and Mussolini decided to "energetically cleanse" the Trieste area of Slovenians and Croatians. Slovenian and Croatian schools were closed, the use of the Croatian and Slovene language in the administration and courts was restricted and then forbidden, and some distinguished Croats and Slovenians were exiled to Sardinia and other places in Italy. The activities of Croatian and Slovenian sporting, cultural and political associations as well as financial institutions ceased. A well-functioning Slovenian school system (counting some 500 schools) as well as the Slovenian press and publishing houses were dissolved, teachers and priests were deported or dismissed from their posts, and the use of the Slovenian language in public was forbidden. The Italianization of family names was implemented without the permission of those affected by it. The headquarters of the Slovene movement was sacked (the National House in Trieste and Pula were torched in July 1920 with the connivance of the police) and Slovenes were attacked on the streets. Armed resistance against harsh Italian rule was followed by new repressions. Special courts pronounced 19 death sentences on Slovene resisters between 1930 and 1942.

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[139] Andrzej Biały, *Mniejszość polska na Białorusi Sowieckiej w latach 1921–1939* (Przasnysz: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Ziemi Przasnyskiej 2018), 346.

France has a long and inglorious history of systematic and relentless suppression (eradication) of its native linguistic minorities. Since the French Revolution, the only language permitted in official use and schools is French. All other native languages were forbidden, even in the schoolyard, and strict measures were implemented to punish transgressors. Students who inadvertently spoke even a word in their native tongues, such as Breton and Occitan, faced clogging, that is, hanging a clog (*sabot*) or other object around their necks, having to knee on a ruler, or other forms of corporal punishment. As a result of such policies and humiliations, the speakers of minority languages began to be ashamed of using their own language and over time, many families stopped teaching their native language to their children. In 1925, Anatole de Monzie, France's Minister of public education declared that "the Breton language must disappear." Under government and societal pressure, the number of speakers of non-French native languages dwindled dramatically in the 19th and 20th centuries. It is estimated that in 1860, Occitan speakers represented more than 39% of the whole French population; by the 1920s, that number went down to 26–36%, and stood at less than 7% in 1993. The systematic imposition of the French language on the native population of Corsica since France acquired the island in 1768 has resulted in the near eradication of the Corsican language. Banned from education and public life, over the next two centuries, the forced use of French grew to the extent that, by 1945, all islanders had a working knowledge of French and many had lost their proficiency in their native language. Subjugated for generations, these minorities grudgingly accepted the *status quo*. Hence no protests, and no need for French retaliation. Following World War I, the German language was eliminated from schools in the German-speaking province of Alsace, and was re-introduced as a school subject for two or three hours a week only in 1927. Occasional rioting and clashes between French nationalists and Alsatians broke out the mid- and late 1920, but eventually subsided due to lack of support on the part of Germany for the German minority in France.

The Swedes competed with the Norwegians in carrying out aggressive programs aimed at eradicating the language, cultural heritage and economic foundation of the indigenous Sami population (Lapps), who were considered to be racially inferior. Their lands were seized, forcing them to relocate northward, they were subjected to restrictive economic policies, and the use of their language and customs was outlawed. Sami children were denied admission to public elementary schools and forced to attend boarding schools where they were alienated from their people, taught in Swedish, and punished for speaking their native tongue even during breaks between lessons—a rule abolished in Sweden only in 1956. Sami people were also rounded up and mass sterilized. State policies aimed at the eradication of indigenous cultures and languages go beyond assimilation: they have been recognized as a form of genocide. Racially motivated policies were also introduced to deal with Sweden's "Roma problem." Romas were registered, monitored and prevented from entering the country. Between 1935 and 1976, 60,000 people were forcibly sterilized in Sweden, as part of a government program designed to weed out "inferior" racial types and "social undesirables" in the pursuit of a stronger, purer, more Nordic population. Apart from the mentally and physically handicapped, the undesirables included mixed race individuals, single mothers with many children, deviants, Gypsies, and other "vagabonds."

It is quite apparent that singling out Poland as an exceptionally repressive country belies a strong bias and a deplorable lack of knowledge of the treatment of minorities in the interwar period throughout Europe. So why is Bartov intent on painting the bleakest possible picture of interwar Poland? Perhaps because it fits in nicely with his ideological thesis that Poland was fertile ground for the unfolding of the Holocaust. But the Holocaust was not some natural, inevitable progression of developments internal to the Polish state, but rather the consequence of genocidal policies that were devised by those who conquered Poland – Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union – and imposed their will and methods on a subjugated nation.

Demographics

Bartov's treatment of demographics is also not up to par. The main problem is simply ignoring the available resources including scholarly research on the topic. His first reckless claim is that "almost half" of Poland's citizens were not ethnic Poles. On the same page, he states that this was approximately "40 percent." (*Anatomy,* p. 74.) Various representative census data belie that

notion. The 1931 census, which did not measure ethnicity but language and religion, counted 31,915,779 people, of whom 20,670,051 were Latin-rite Roman Catholics. That group – almost 65 percent of the country's total population – was composed almost entirely of ethnic Poles. (Exceptionally, in the Cieszyn area, part of the Polish population was Lutheran.) The exercise is really that simple. No dubious guess work needed. The notion that minorities accounted for 13 million plus is a bogus assertion.

Extensive scholarly research has been undertaken on the demographics of Eastern Galicia, so there is no need to resort to questionable estimates and partial statistics. (*Anatomy,* pp. 271, 287–288.) The following (except where referenced otherwise) is based on historian Grzegorz Hryciuk's authoritative monograph.[140]

During the interwar period, Buczacz county was part of the województwo (voivodship or province) of Tarnopol. In this region, the categories of nationality/ethnicity and religious affiliation were practically synonymous. Poles, who were a minority, were Roman Catholics of the Latin rite. Ukrainians, who were the majority population, were Greek Catholics. Greek Catholics were also Roman Catholics, but of the Eastern rite. The next largest national or religious group were the Jews. Only a tiny portion of the Jewish population (some professionals) were assimilated into the dominant Polish society.

According to the 1931 census, Buczacz county had 139,062 inhabitants. The census measured language spoken and religious affiliation, not nationality. Greek Catholics numbered 76,995 (55.37%), Latin-rite Catholics Roman Catholics numbered 51,311 (36.9%), and Jews 10,568 (7.6%). Based on linguistic criteria, 60,523 persons declared their native tongue to be Polish (43.52%), 70,336 Ukrainian (50.58%), and 8,059 Yiddish or Hebrew (5.79%). These statistics appear to have been skewed to portray the county as having a more dominant Polish character than it did.

According to Catholic Church statistics for 1939, there were 83,474 Greek Catholics and 45,462 Latin-rite Catholics, which is a further indication that the 1931 census data was not entirely accurate. (It is unlikely, however, that the adherents of Judaism were undercounted.) According to Ukrainian historian Volodymyr Kubiyovich, Buczacz county counted 150,435 inhabitants in 1939, of whom 89,115 (59.25%) were Ukrainians and 50,605 (33.64%) were Poles.

So one can safely assume that at least one third of the county's population were Poles. Most villages were predominantly Ukrainian or had a mixed Ukrainian-Polish population. The following villages in Buczacz county were inhabited largely by Poles: Duliby, Huta Nowa (parish seat), Huta Stara, Korościatyn (parish seat), Mateuszówka, Nowosiółka Koropiecka, Podlesie, Podzameczek, Puźniki (parish seat), Słobódka Dolna, Wojciechówka, and Żnibrody. The economic status of Polish villagers (farmers) did not differ significantly from that of rural Ukrainians.

Most native Poles in Eastern Galicia spoke or at least understood Ukrainian, having learned that language in the community or at school. In some predominantly Ukrainian villages, Poles often spoke Ukrainian outside the home rather than Polish. Many Poles celebrated Christmas according to both the Gregorian and Julian calendars, the latter being followed by Greek Catholics. Since the network of Greek Catholic parishes was more extensive than Latin-rite parishes (there were but 19 Latin-rite parishes in Buczacz county in 1939), many Latin-rite Poles attended Greek Catholic religious services and even baptized their children in those parishes. This encouraged assimilation of Poles to the Greek Catholic faith and, hence, the Ukrainian nationality.

There was a high degree of social integration among Poles and Ukrainians, especially in rural areas, throughout Eastern Galicia. The rate of intermarriage, which is widely used as a barometer of social integration, was the highest of any two national groups anywhere in Europe. In mixed

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[140] Hryciuk, *Przemiany narodowościowe i ludnościowe w Galicji Wschodniej i na Wołyniu w latach 1931–1948,* 78, 98, 133, 206, 225, 336.

marriages, spouses did not have to undergo religious conversion since they shared a common Roman Catholic faith, albeit of different rites. Customarily, boys followed their father's rite, whereas girls followed their mother's, although there were exceptions to this practice. Bartov skirts over this topic, (*Anatomy,* pp. 269–270.)

What Bartov neglects to mention is that, increasingly, Ukrainian nationalists embarked on unilaterally de-nationalizing people of the Latin-rite who declared themselves as Poles, the so-called *Latynnyky,* on the ground that they generally spoke Ukrainian in their day-to-day lives. According to Kubiyovich, there were as many as 515,000 *Latynnyky* in Eastern Galicia in 1939.[141] The basis on which he arrives at this estimate is questionable. The make-up of the population of Buczacz county is given as follows: 89,105 Ukrainians, 18,915 Poles, and 28,200 *Latynnyky*. In the village of Korościatyn, with 990 residents, there were allegedly 10 Ukrainians, only 20 Poles, and 960 *Latynnyky*.[142] Yet Korościatyn, the seat of a Latin-rite parish and with a Polish school, was the village most fiercely attacked by the UPA (on January 28/29, 1944), with some 140 Poles murdered. Almost all of the remaining population left for Poland.[143]

Most elementary schools were officially bilingual (Polish-Ukrainian); in unilingual Polish schools, the Ukrainian language was a mandatory subject. There was but one public high school in the entire Buczacz county, located in the city of Buczacz. Although the language of instruction was Polish, the Ukrainian language was a mandatory subject for all the students. Stressing the linguistic oppression of Ukrainians and their language, Bartov neglects to mention these facts.

According to German census data for December 31, 1941, there were 93,502 Ukrainians and only 38,677 Poles in Buczacz county. By that time a considerable number of Poles and a smaller number of Ukrainians had been deported to the Gulag. An even smaller number of Jews had been deported to the Gulag or had left with the retreating Soviet army. However, the Polish component kept decreasing even after that, perhaps in part because of Poles being shipped to Germany disproportionately as forced labourers. As at March 1, 1943, according to German data, Buczacz county counted 134,736 inhabitants: 101,049 Ukrainians (75%), 30,819 Poles (22.87%), and only 2,579 Jews. Some Poles had "switched" nationalities during the German occupation, which favoured Ukrainians. Likely, the number of Jews was higher than stated as some Jews had gone into hiding.

According to Soviet postwar sources (1944–1946), 31,769 Poles and only 245 Jews remained. Of that number, 31,355 Poles and 239 Jews opted to move westward to the redrawn Polish state. There is no accurate count of how many Poles perished at the hands of Ukrainian partisans in Buczacz county. Bartov gives a figure of 835 (p. 363 n 4.). According to another estimate, the number may have reached 1,600, of whom 950 have been identified by name.[144]

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[141] According to Kubiyovich, the total population of Eastern Galicia, as of January 1, 1939, was 5,824,100, of which 3,727,000 (64.1%) were Ukrainians; 16,300 (0.3%) were Polish-speaking Ukrainians; 874,700 (15%) were Poles; 73,200 (1.2%) were Polish colonists; 514,300 (8.8%) were *Latynnyky* (Roman Catholics who spoke Ukrainian); 569,400 (9.8%) were Jews; and 49,200 (0.8%) belonged to other ethnic groups, mainly German. See Volodymyr Kubijovyč, *Ethnic Groups of the South-Western Ukraine (Halyčyna–Galicia) 1.1.1939* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1983), xxii–xxiii.

[142] Kubijovyč, *Ethnic Groups of the South-Western Ukraine (Halyčyna–Galicia) 1.1.1939,* 13–15.

[143] Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 154–157, 662–663.

[144] Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* 181–182.

Bartov's statistics for postwar population transfers are also misleading, inaccurate, and incomplete. Bartov gives a figure 560,000 Poles removed from Eastern Galicia, and up to 750,000 from the entire western regions of the newly expanded "USSR," without specifying what he means by this ambiguous abbreviation (p. 273).

Some 772,000 persons were officially "repatriated" to Poland from the Ukrainian SSR, which also includes the province of Volhynia, in 1944–1946. In addition to some 750,000 Poles, of whom 620,000 came from Eastern Galicia, at least 30,000 Jews and 10,000 others, mostly Ukrainians, also opted to move to Poland. Moreover, large numbers of Poles had already fled that region on their own to escape ongoing ethnic cleansing or had been taken to Germany as forced labourers. Interestingly, almost all the Jewish survivors who had been liberated by the Soviet army chose to move to Poland rather than live under direct Soviet rule.[145] Some 480,000 Ukrainians were relocated from Poland to the Ukrainian SSR.

[145] Hryciuk, *Przemiany narodowościowe i ludnościowe w Galicji Wschodniej i na Wołyniu w latach 1931–1948,* 331, 334; *Przesiedlenie ludności polskiej z Kresów Wschodnich do Polski 1944–1947: Wybór dokumentów* (Warsaw: Neriton, 2000).

World War One & the Events of 1918–1921
***Anatomy of a Genocide,* Chapter 2 ("Enemies at Their Pleasure")**

On the Eve of the Great War

Bartov characterizes nationalism in Galicia in the years leading up to World War I as non-violent. The one exception he mentions, thanks to his aforementioned informant Oskar Kofler (Bartov's overreliance on this source proves to be problematic once again), is the "open conflict" that erupted during a demonstration by Ruthenian students in Lwów in 1907. (*Anatomy,* p. 35.) In fact, there was a long history of violent clashes between rural society and representatives of the authorities, often with a nationalist dimension, throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Political violence was also moving into the urban landscape of Eastern Galicia.

A far more important event which Bartov overlooks – one that sent shock waves throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire – was the assassination in Lwów of Count Andrzej Potocki, the governor (viceroy) of Galicia, on April 12, 1908. The murder was carried out by a Ukrainian student, Myroslav Sichynskyi, the son of a Greek Catholic priest and deputy to the Galician Parliament, to eliminate an alleged enemy of the Ukrainian people. (The 1993 edition of the *Encyclopedia of Ukraine,* vol. 4, paints a rather distorted picture of Potocki, ignoring the concessions he negotiated with Ukrainian political representatives.) This was the first prominent case of political terror in the entire Empire and led to demonstrations and some rioting in the streets of Lwów. Although the murder was condemned by the Greek Catholic archbishop and moderate Ukrainians, the assassin was widely praised by Ukrainian politicians and nationalist factions.

Another event that reverberated around the world, and exposed brewing social tensions in Eastern Galicia, was the June 19, 1911 massacre of dozens of Jews and Ukrainians in Drohobycz who were protesting voter fraud. The unruly demonstrators were killed by the Austrian militia at the command of the Jewish leader of the city, Jacob Feuerstein, to ensure the victory of the Jewish assimilationist candidate, aligned with the Polish elite, over the Zionist candidate. Historian Joshua Shanes' study of this violent political conflict questions the extent of the role played by nationalism. According to Shanes, "The massacre demonstrates that nationalization was a gradual process, during which other identities persisted and other factors guided political events, while exposing how nationalist leaders paradoxically used such moments to obfuscate this reality and advance their own agendas."[146]

Selectivity

While alluding to the "brutalization" of the troops of both the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies fighting for control of Eastern Galicia (*Anatomy,* p. 38), rather than provide an overview of how this impacted the various populations (nationalities) of the region, Bartov takes his cue from two memoirs from the Buczacz area (the Polish one is often mocked; the Jewish one is treated with great respect), as if they could adequately fill in this important background. His focus is largely on the fate of the Jews; the equally unenviable fate of the Russophiles is ignored. All the problems experienced by Jews are attributed to the alleged, pervasive anti-Semitism of non-Jews. Bartov is dismissive of charges that might show Jews in a bad light vis-à-vis non-Jews (*Anatomy,* p. 45), except (rarely) where they are made by a Jew (p. 55).

Historian Ilya Gerasimov makes these important observations about Bartov's methodology:

> Besides implicit historical teleology [of primordial interethnic tensions that gradually escalated to the boiling point], this conclusion is facilitated by the radical disbalance of primary sources deployed in this chapter. Out of 63 endnotes, almost two-thirds (36) refer to the unpublished diary of the boys' school principal in Buczacz, Antoni Siewiński, a staunch Polish nationalist and rabid anti-Semite. It is understandable that his record "of everything that occurred in Buczacz and its surroundings" (P.

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[146] Joshua Shanes, "The 'Bloody Election' in Drohobycz: Violence, Urban Politics and National Memory in an Imperial Borderland," *Austrian History Yearbook,* vol. 53 (2022): 121–149.

> 39) is an invaluable historical source, but it is inconceivable that Bartov would, in the same way, single out one utterly partisan document in a study of his main topic (the Holocaust) and rely on it almost religiously.[147]

The upheavals brought about by the war, with empires first pursuing selective genocidal policies and then crumbling before the eyes of their subjugated nationalities, naturally gave rise to a collision of national interests. This was recognized at the time by perceptive observers. Jews in Galicia overwhelmingly supported the Austrians throughout the First World War, even as Polish attitudes towards Austria became more hostile (and vice versa), thus leading to worsening of Polish-Jewish relations. The Jewish writer S. Ansky noted: "The Galician Jews, however, stuck to their pro-Austrian orientation, flaunting it in the most delicate circumstances, with no concern for horrible consequences." Jewish merchants were widely blamed for hoarding goods and profiteering which, in increasingly impoverished conditions, led to riots in a number of cities.[148] Henry Morgenthau, the U.S. envoy sent to monitor conditions in Poland in 1919, reported on conditions in Eastern Poland as follows:

> Now, of course, the Jews in that part of the country were a little to blame, and the reason is this: We found that … they do not want to remain with Poland, and they make no secret of it. They are pro-Russian. They believe that Lithuania should be returned to Russia or what they want is … to have a separate Canton arranged where Jewish and Hebrew would be spoken; where they would elect their man to Parliament, who could speak in their own language and have entirely self government.[149]

The phenomenon of violent reaction to profiteering was not something that was exclusive to Polish-Gentile relations. When Jews became the victims of profiteering by other Jews, they too were known to retaliate with boycotts and violence against fellow Jews. A Jewish memoir published in 1913 describes conditions in Kamieniec Litewski, a shtetl near Brześć (Brest):

> On Friday nights and the Sabbath everybody, even the poor, ate fish. … The fish were caught in the river next to the town and half a gulden for a *funt* was considered very expensive. If, at times, the price was raised to twenty groshen, this would trigger a riot. The fishmongers were accused of selling most of their catch to Brisk [Brześć], leaving Kamenets [Kamieniec] with a shortage of fish before the Sabbath. The fishmongers were warned that if they continued this practice, and caused prices to rise, they would not just suffer bodily harm, but they could be assured of never being called up to the Torah again.[150]

During wartime access to provisions of all kinds, especially food, got much, much worse. Speculation was a very real, not imagined, problem – one that plagued every country. There is no doubt that Jews were also engaged in this harmful activity in Galicia.[151] Strict measurers were

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[147] Ilya Gerasimov, "When Neighbors Begin to Hate," *Ab Imperio,* no. 2 (2019): 123–156.

[148] Michał Galas and Antony Polonsky, "Introduction," in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry,* vol. 23: *Jews in Kraków* (Oxford and Portland, Oregon: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2011): 18–21.

[149] Przemysław Różański, "Wilno, 19–31 kwietnia 1919 roku," *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów,* no. 1 (2006): 13–34.

[150] David Assaf, ed., *Journey to a Nineteenth-Century Shtetl: The Memoirs of Yekhezkel Kotik* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, published in cooperation with The Diaspora Research Institute, Tel Aviv University, 2002), 138.

[151] Christoph Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv, 1914–1947: Violence and Ethnicity in a Contested City* (West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2016), 70.

introduced by the authorities to try to combat it; in some cases, citizens took matters into their own hands.[152] The Soviet authorities also took steps to suppress such activities:

> the Red Army took Minsk and surrounding environs in July of 1920. The regime change and return of the Red Army triggered price increases, which in turn triggered renewed antispeculation sweeps. … By early 1921 the party had established a full-fledged concentration camp for speculators and other (mostly) nonpolitical prisoners. The existing camp records indicate that nearly nine out of every ten people incarcerated on speculation charges were Jews.[153]

Bartov should not be so dismissive of charges of profiteering (black marketing), given Jewish dominance over commerce in Galicia. (*Anatomy,* pp. 65, 76.)

Wartime "brutalization"

Chapter 2 contains two focuses on wartime atrocities: those perpetrated on the Jews during the First World War (1914–1918), mainly by the Russian army; and those perpetrated during the Polish-Ukrainian hostilities (1918–1919), by the opposing factions. These selective focuses – superimposed on glimpses of events in Buczacz – provide little context and understanding of the big picture unfolding at the time.

While acknowledging the "brutalization" of the war, Bartov ascribes this phenomenon to the following factors: "the opposing armies' weakened command system, deficient training of recruits, and increasingly precarious logistics, quite apart from the horrendous bloodletting at the front." (*Anatomy,* p. 38). Russian atrocities are prominent; scant attention is paid to Austro-Hungarian atrocities; Germany is not in the picture. The murder of perhaps 100,000 Jews during the Russian civil war (1918–1920) also somehow disappears from view. That is surely a deficient focus and understanding of what was happening on the ground.

As British historian Alexander Watson has astutely observed, violence *against civilians* was a "way of war," carried out by various combating armies, right from the start of hostilities. These were deliberate measures unleashed on the civilian population on grounds of policy. In August 1914, German troops laid waste to two border towns in Russian Poland, Kalisz and Częstochowa, in reprisal for what they took to be civilian resistance. Russia did likewise in East

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[152] Rioting Dutch mobs demolished and looted shops in a number of cities in the Netherlands in 1917 and 1918. The number of dead in the Amsterdam riots of summer 1917 is variously given as between nine and 26, and 114 people were injured, many seriously. See Pauline Onderwater, "Domestic Politics and Neutrality (The Netherlands)," *1914–1918 Online International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, Internet: https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/domestic_politics_and_neutrality_the_netherlands. In February 1917, food riots attributed to wartime food shortages, profiteering, and hoarding broke out in a number of East Coast United States cities. *The New York Times* reported riots in New York City's the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Manhattan, and in Boston and Philadelphia. Thousands of women, most of them Jewish immigrants, invaded and looted shops and attacked peddlers' pushcarts, overturning them and setting them on fire. See Alan J. Singer, "1917 Food Riots Led by Immigrant Women Swept U.S. Cities," *New York Almanack,* October, 16, 2018, Internet: https://www.newyorkalmanack.com/2018/10/1917-food-riots-led-by-immigrant-women-swept-u-s-cities/; Eric Ferrara, "The Food Riots of 1917," May 4, 2013, The Gotham Center for New York City History, Internet: https://www.gothamcenter.org/blog/the-food-riots-of-1917. For contextual treatments of this issue, see William Frieburger, "War, Prosperity and Hunger: The New York Food Riots of 1917," *Labor History,* vol. 25, no. 2 (1984): 217–39; Claire Morelon, "Social Conflict," in 1914-1918-online *International Encyclopedia of the First World War,* Internet: https://encyclopedia.1914-1918-online.net/article/social_conflict.

[153] Andrew Sloin, *The Jewish Revolution in Belorussia: Economy, Race, and Bolshevik Power* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2017), 66–67.

Prussia, where German and Polish-speaking civilians were killed.[154] Civilian victims in 1914–1915 include: 6,500 in Belgium and northern France – at the hands of the German forces; 3,500 in Serbia – at the hands of the Austro-Hungarian forces; and 1,500 in East Prussia – at the hands of the Russian forces. Very few Jews were among these victims, though the German invasion of Belgium did spark a wave of popular fury against the Jews because of their close identification with the Germans.[155]

While Jews suffered disproportionately at the hands of Russian forces as they advanced through (and retreated from) Eastern Galicia in 1914–1915, almost all the countless thousands of civilians brutally murdered by the Austro-Hungarian forces throughout the Austro-Hungarian Empire were non-Jews. It was not only Jews that suffered economic hardships during the war. The German authorities engaged in ruthless economic exploitation of the territories they took control of and were responsible for widespread destitution. Russian policies also impacted non-Russophile Ukrainians. The number of non-Jewish civilian victims of the Russian civil war dwarfs Jewish losses. What is equally tragic is that the conscripts ordered to carry out these atrocities encompassed members of *all* of the affected nationalities.

In his important study, *The Fortress,* which focuses on the fighting between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian armies in and around the Galician town of Przemyśl from September 1914 to March 1915, Watson backdates the inception (and normalization) of ethnic cleansing and racial atrocity on the European continent to the era of the First World War.[156]

> In and around Przemyśl, Austro-Hungarian forces were equally ruthless, especially against Ruthenian peasants. In September 1914, Watson writes, 'corpses on the roadside trees, bobbing in the wind, marked the path of the retreating Habsburg army'. Entire Ruthenian villages were burned down to clear fields of fire for the defenders. Although their communities were uprooted, many locals returned to their charred hamlets, some spending the months of the siege in a harrowing no-man's land between besiegers and besieged. …
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> Russian administration of occupied territories was notoriously anti-Semitic as well as repressive towards Poles and Ruthenians. Although Russian rule over Przemyśl lasted for a mere 73 days, just two and a half months between March and June 1915, Watson insists that "around and later in the city the Russian army perpetrated the first ambitious programme of ethnic cleansing to befall East-Central Europe." In April 1915 the Russian military administration of occupied Galicia deported 17,000 Jewish inhabitants of Przemyśl from the city into the Russian empire. By juxtaposing this anti-Jewish action … with the religious and linguistic repression of Polish and Ruthenian inhabitants of the region, Watson makes the case that there was a violent program of Russification behind tsarist policies. …
>
> Watson sums up the litany of depredations in Galicia as "the warring Habsburg and Romanov Empires' racialized fantasies of treason and brutal reprisals interlocking and spiralling." The timing and pattern of these campaigns of violence has not been fully absorbed by mainstream historical narratives of the twentieth century because the empires that committed them ceased to exist a century ago. Watson's emphasis on how early these atrocities took place, and how intense they were, now stands as an important finding that future historians of Europe's twentieth century must reckon with.[157]

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[154] Alexander Watson, "Unheard-of Brutality: Russian Atrocities against Civilians in East Prussia, 1914–1915," *The Journal of Modern History,* vol. 86, no. 4 (December 2014): 780–825

[155] See Janiv Stamberger, "The 'Belgian' Jewish Experience of World War One," *Les Cahiers de la Mémoire Contemporaine,* vol. 13 (2018): 95–124.

[156] Alexander Watson, *The Fortress: The Great Siege of Przemyśl* (London: Allen Lane, 2019); Alexander Watson, *The Fortress: The Siege of Przemyśl and the Making of Europe's Bloodlands* (New York: Basic Books, 2020).

[157] Nicholas Mulder, H-Diplo/ISSF Review Essay 51 on Watson. *The Fortress: The Great Siege of Przemyśl,* April 2, 2020.

To reiterate, the clashing protagonists were empires of the old type, and not the totalitarian states that emerged after the war in Russia (Soviet Union) and Germany. The atrocities were carried out with impunity. More importantly, they set the tone for what followed in this war as well as its aftermath. “The story of East-Central Europe’s ‘Bloodlands’ rightly begins in 1914,” Watson argues compellingly.

Fate of Eastern Galicians

Reading Bartov’s chapter on World War I, one gets the impression that the primary target of civilian atrocities perpetrated by the military were Jews, and that other nationalities were only sporadically mistreated and also targeted Jews. While it is undeniable that Jews suffered violence – mostly at the hands of the Russian army – often attributed to their pro-Austrian stance, it is not at all clear that their fate was worse than that of Ruthenes, who were considered to be Russophiles by the Austro-Hungarian forces.

Russian forces inflicted considerable violence against civilians wherever they went, especially in Eastern Galicia. In addition to Buczacz, in the summer of 1914, Russian soldiers staged pogroms in Brody, Radziwiłłów, Sokal, Nadwórna, Husiatyn, Zaleszczyki, Delatyn, Przemyśl, (as far west as) Tarnów, and many other cities and villages. Violent acts included rape and sacrilege, such as the desecrating and pillaging of Torah scrolls. A Russian military pogrom in Lwów in September 1914 took the lives of between 20 and 50 Jews, as well as some Christian lives. (Bartov is silent about the 1914 pogrom in Lwów.) During the great Russian retreat, from April to October 1915, approximately 100 separate events could be categorized as pogroms. Mass deportations of Jews from the war zone were also frequent. But Jews were not the only victims of such atrocities. Ukrainians and Poles also suffered abuse at the hands of the Russian army.

In areas under Austro-Hungarian control, the first and foremost civilian (non-combatant) victims were the Ruthenes, speakers of various Ukrainian dialects who were suspected by the military authorities of favouring the cause of the Russians. They were strung up from trees at the side of roads by the dozen. As one commander reminisced: “There were some [Ruthene] villages in which the entire population had to be hanged, because they pulled out Russian rifles … and fired salvos at us.”[158] When the Austrians recaptured Eastern Galicia in the fall of 1914, the fate of Ruthenes was no worse than that of Jews at the hands of the Russian forces. According to historian Christoph Mick:

> Several thousand Ruthenians were summarily hanged on suspicion alone or were sentenced to death by military courts and executed. Others were arrested and detained in camps. In November 1915 some 5,700 Ruthenians were interned under terrible conditions at Camp Talerhof near Graz.”[159]

Bartov makes no mention of the brutal Austro-Hungarian repression of Ruthenian and Ukrainian Russophiles. Nor of the fact that some Jews lent a hand to the authorities in combatting them. According to historian Alexander Prusin, pro-Austrian Jews “displayed a conspicuously hostile attitude” toward these alleged traitors. In several instances, Jewish mobs assaulted the columns of arrested suspects. Some Jews denounced Ukrainians suspected of pro-Russian activities, and the Austrian authorities “carried out swift and merciless justice.”[160]

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[158] Alexander Watson, *The Fortress: The Great Siege of Przemyśl* (London: Allen Lane, 2019); Alexander Watson, *The Fortress: The Siege of Przemyśl and the Making of Europe’s Bloodlands* (New York: Basic Books, 2020).

[159] Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L’viv, 1914–1947,* 19.

[160] Alexander V. Prusin, “A ‘Zone of Violence’: The Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Eastern Galicia 1914–1915 and 1941,” in Bartov and Weitz, *Shatterzone of Emipres,* 362–377, at p. 369.

Poles were also falsely accused by Jews to the Russian authorities. Bartov mentions a Polish pastry shop owner in Buczacz who was denounced by two Jews as an alleged informant of the Russian secret police. (*Anatomy,* pp. 55–56.) Rev. Bernard Szafrański of Łopatyn was denounced for allegedly spying for the Austrians. He was imprisoned for a year and sentenced to be executed, but his punishment was commuted to banishment in Siberia for life.[161]

According to Bartov, the cause of violence directed at Jews had one reason only: anti-Semitism. Such a monocausal attribution is not supported by the evidence. Stephen Velychenko argues compellingly that "violence against Jews stemmed not only from the ideology of antisemitism, but was also structurally determined – related to behaviour and social function."[162] Outside instigation also played an important role. Alexander Prusin notes, "In some instances the Russians incited the local population to anti-Jewish excesses or, after having looted Jewish stores and houses, distributed the booty to the villagers and townspeople."[163] Looting – a universal phenomenon during upheavals – was most often situational (opportunistic). An affluent Jew who witnessed the retreat of the Russian army declared, "Why, we've even got Jews who joined the pogroms and looted Jewish property."[164]

The Polish-Ukrainian War (1918–1919) – Atrocity Propaganda

After the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire on October 31, 1918, hostilities broke out between Poles and Ukrainians over Eastern Galicia, which lasted until July of the following year. A bitter struggle engulfed Lwów, where Poles formed a majority and Jews a substantial minority, followed by Ukrainians, after Ukrainians wrested control of the city. Bartov describes this fighting as one that "had cost the lives of ten thousand Polish and fifteen thousand Ukrainian troops, not counting the *mass violence against civilians* and the substantial destruction and plunder of property, as well as several brutal pogroms *by the Polish military* against Jewish communities." In this context, Bartov notes: "The worst pogrom occurred in Lwów in November 1918, when 150 Jews were killed and 400 wounded." (*Anatomy,* pp. 71, 319 n 47.) In fact, the fatality toll in Lwów was much smaller by at least half; the rioting was not the work of the military, rather the military subdued it; and the stories of mass violence against civilians were also exaggerated.

Jewish agencies rushed to circulate sensationalist reports about the Lwów pogrom, alleging that the number of victims was as high as 3,000, including hundreds burned alive in synagogues and other buildings. This was part of an orchestrated, worldwide campaign denouncing the Polish authorities, as well as the Polish nation as a whole, for their alleged policy aimed at "exterminating" (sic) the Jewish population.[165] A report published in the Kraków Jewish

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[161] See Beata Cichecka-Wronowska and Jan Tomaszewski, "Łopatyńscy księża w latach 1920–1945," Internet: http://www.stowarzyszenielopatyn.pl (index.php/parafia-w-lopatynie/125-lopatynscy-ksieza-w-latach-1920-1945.

[162] Stephen Velychenko, *Life and Death in Revolutionary Ukraine: Living Conditions, Violence, and Demographic Catastrophe, 1917–1923* (Montreal; Kingston (Ontario): McGill-Queen's University Press, 2021).

[163] Alexander V. Prusin, "A 'Zone of Violence': The Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Eastern Galicia 1914–1915 and 1941," in Bartov and Weitz, *Shatterzone of Emipres,* 368.

[164] S. Ansky, *The Enemy at His Pleasure: A Journey Through the Jewish Pale of Settlement During World War I* (New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2002), 41.

[165] L. Chasanowitch, ed., *Les pogromes anti-Juifs en Pologne et en Galicie en novembre et décembre 1918: Faits et documents* (Stockholm: Bokförlaget Judaea, 1919), especially at pp. 10–11, 59–60, 68–69, 98–99, 138.

newspaper *Nowy Dziennik* claimed that thus far 956 Jewish victims had been buried, and that it was impossible to reckon the number of bodies lying in burnt houses and under the ruins of synagogues.[166] On November 30, 1918, almost a week after the rioting ended, the *New York Times* published a report under the heading, "1,100 Jews Murdered in Lemberg Pogroms; Hundreds Burned to Death in a Synagogue or Shot in Flight; 600 Houses Burned." The skepticism that such grossly exaggerated reports gave rise to may have helped Nazi atrocities during World War Two to be underestimated or even disbelieved.[167]

Bartov cites a preliminary report, based on data provided by Jewish sources, that claims 150 Jews were killed. In fact, these exaggerated numbers were soon discredited authoritatively and discarded. According to the Jewish Rescue Committee, 72 or 73 Jews were killed. The official police report, which is the most detailed and reliable source as it was based on an extensive investigation and hospital records, lists the names of 44 persons killed, including 11 Christians (10 Roman Catholics and one Greek Catholic, probably a Ukrainian), and gives the number of injured as 443. Citing this report, a Polish government commission concluded that there were close to 50 fatalities, both Jews and Christians. Among the victims were a number of Jewish militiamen. The British government investigation led by Sir Stuart Samuel gave a toll of 52 fatalities; the U.S. Morgenthau Commission – which described the events as "excesses" – gave a figure of 64. The Morgenthau report identified eight major incidents in the years 1918–1919, only one of which occurred in Eastern Galicia, and estimated the number of victims at around 280. None of the excesses were blamed on official government policy. The report also stated: "Just as the Jews would resent being condemned as a race for the action of a few of their undesirable co-religionists, so it would be correspondingly unfair to condemn the Polish nation as a whole for the violence committed by uncontrolled troops or local mobs."[168]

(It should be borne in mind that there was an explosion of racial and ethnic violence throughout Europe, during and in the aftermath of the war, e.g., Britain, France and Czechoslovakia. In the period from the end of the war until 1920, around 150 people were killed in the ethnic and political turmoil that targeted Germans and Jews in the Bohemian lands.[169] Hundreds of Blacks were killed by White mobs in more than two dozen American cities during the "Red Summer" of 1919. Race riots – called "pogroms" if they occurred in Eastern Europe – took place before and after, e.g.,Tulsa (2021), taking the lives of hundreds of Blacks.)

There is more to the story of the tragic events in Lwów of November 22–24, 1918 than is usually mentioned in English language publications. The Jewish militia fought alongside the Ukrainian forces during the siege of Lwów, in violation of the undertaking of neutrality in the Polish-Ukrainian conflict given by Jewish community leaders. Jewish militiamen participated in the execution of Polish POWs by Ukrainian forces on November 14–15. The Jewish militia was not notified by the Ukrainian general staff about the retreat of their defeated forces. As a result, on November 22, shots were still being fired at Polish soldiers, four or five of whom were killed by Jewish militiamen. During their retreat from the city, the Ukrainian forces had opened the prisons and released many hardened criminals. Representatives of all ethnic groups, including Ukrainians

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[166] "Events in 5679: June 1, 1918 to May 31, 1919," *The American Jewish Year Book,* vol. 21, 252–253.

[167] The Bryce report: Committee on alleged German outrages, Internet https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/bryce-report-committee-alleged-german-outrages.

[168] Report on the Mission of the United States to Poland. October 3, 1919, Internet: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Mission_of_The_United_States_to_Poland:_Henry_Morgenthau,_Sr._report. The report written by two other members of the commission were less critical of the Polish government.

[169] Ota Konrád, "Two Post-war Paths: Popular Violence in the Bohemian Lands and in Austria in the Aftermath of World War I," *Nationalities Papers,* vol. 46, no. 5 (2018): 759–75.

and Jews, were involved in the rioting and looting. Christian stores were also looted. Once in control of the situation, the Polish authorities acted promptly and carried out a thorough investigation. Hundreds of suspected rioters and looters were arrested, including criminal elements, rogue soldiers and army deserters. By February 20, 1919, 80 persons (55 Roman Catholics, 20 Greek Catholics, 3 Jews, 1 Protestant, and one person whose religion was not established) had been brought to trial and found guilty of various crimes. Most of those convicted came from the lower social stratum or persons with a criminal history. Investigations continued until the summer of 1919; 164 persons, including 10 Jews, received prison sentences. The Polish authorities paid out compensation to those who sustained losses (many fraudulent claims were submitted).[170] So in a nutshell: a serious investigation of racial riots, severe sentences for convicted culprits, and compensation for the victims. How often did that occur in Central and Eastern Europe (or even the U.S.A.) at the time?

Bartov states that both Polish and Ukrainian forces perpetrated “mass violence against civilians.” The chronology from Buczacz he sets out describes abuses – including individual killings (at least two of them Jews) – perpetrated by Ukrainians against Poles and Jews (*Anatomy,* pp. 66–71). Bartov alleges that Poles behaved “precisely” the same way towards Ukrainians (pp. 73), but provides no details of Polish excesses against Ukrainians and Jews in Buczacz. Jewish sources

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[170] There is an extensive literature on the Lwów pogrom; only a few titles are mentioned here: Leszek Kania, *W cieniu Orląt Lwowskich: Polskie sądy wojskowe, kontrwywiad i służby policyjne w bitwie o Lwów 1918–1919* (Zielona Góra: Uniwersytet Zielonogórski, 2008), 95–103, 116–162, 194–199, 276–279, 282–291, 332–335; Zbigniew Zaporowski, “The Victims of Riots and Robberies on 22–24 November 1918 in Lviv in the Light of the Findings of the Lviv Police Directorate,” Institute of National Remembrance, Internet: https://ipn.gov.pl/en/digital-resources/articles/1504,Zbigniew-ZaporowskiThe-victims-of-riots-and-robberies-on-22-24-November-1918-in-.html; Damian K. Markowski, *Lwów or L’viv: Two Uprisings in 1918* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021), 121, 300–212 (The latter book is a translation from the Polish.) Ukrainian and Jewish sources confirm that Jewish militias and other Jewish formations provided armed support for the Ukrainian forces in Lwów, Przemyśl, Tarnopol, and other towns. See Yaroslav Tynchenko, “The Jewish Formations of Western Ukraine in the Civil War,” in *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry,* vol. 26: *Jews and Ukrainians* (Oxford and Portland, Oregon: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2014), 197–212.

mention excesses perpetrated by Ukrainians in many towns in Eastern Galicia: Tarnopol,[171] Brody,[172] Rohatyn,[173] Jaworów, Czortków,[174] Jezierzany,[175] Złoczów, Kałusz, among others.

According to Polish sources, the military forces of the Western Ukrainian People's Republic (ZUNR) and their supporters (especially paramilitaries) were responsible for the murder of hundreds of Polish civilians: Sokolniki (November 11 and December 29, 1918, about 50 killed), Biłka Szlachecka and Biłka Królewska (November 24, 1918, about 50 killed), Złoczów[176] (March 26–27, 1919, 28 executed), Brzeżany (17 executed), and many other smaller ones. Thousands of Polish prisoners died in Ukrainian captivity, and many of them were tortured.[177] There were doubtless many atrocities committed by Poles too, but their extent is unclear.[178]

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[171] On February 15, 1919, "a Ukrainian mob broke into the city and proceeded to rob shops, break windows, and attack homes. The [Jewish] militia got into a battle with the rioters and took control of the situation. Several militia members got wounded in the battle, among them, Ya'akov Planer, who was critically wounded." See Ben-Tzion Fett, "From an Austrian to a Ukrainian Regime," in Ph. Korngruen, ed., *The Encyclopaedia of the Jewish Diaspora: Tarnopol* (Jerusalem, 1955), columns 167–168.

[172] "In April 1919 many Jews and Poles were recruited for labor battalions. At that same time, attacks on traveling Jews by Ukrainian soldiers were common. Four Jews were murdered, many beaten, and there were instances of rape. Jewish homes and stores were looted." See Natan Michael Gelber, "The History of the City of Brody and Its Jewish Community," in Aviv Meltzer, et. al, eds., *An Eternal Light: Brody in Memoriam* (Jerusalem: Organization of Former Residents in Israel, 1994), 19–52 (English Section).

[173] "Before the Ukrainians left, they plundered the Jewish population. Many fell in this attack against the Jews." See Dr. Isaac Lewenter. "The Rohatyn Way," in M. Amihai, ed., *Kehilat Rohatyn ve-ha-seviva* (Tel Aviv: Former Residents of Rohatyn in Israel, 1962), 86–100, translated as *The Community of Rohatyn and Environs,* Internet: https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/rogatin/Rohatyn.html.

[174] "At Jaworow (north-west of Lemberg), at Czortkov (west of Husiatyn), and at Louaczna, Ukrainians pillage Jewish shops." See "Events in 5679: June 1, 1918 to May 31, 1919," *The American Jewish Year Book,* vol. 21, 256.

[175] "When the Petlurians were in town, the Jews were afraid to leave their homes. The Petlurians rioted, raped, and murdered Jews as they arrived in town and as they left town." Eliyahu Goldenberg, "Riots on Shabbat Shuva," in *Memorial Book: Jezierzany and Surroundings,* Internet: https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/ozeryany/ozeryany.html, translation of M.A. Tenenblatt, ed., *Sefer Ozieran ve-ha-seviva* (Jerusalem: The Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora, 1959), columns 123–124.

[176] Confirming Polish sources, the town's Jewish memorial book states: "The investigation of a group of Poles by the Ukrainian authorities ended in harsh tortures and tragic deaths of the group's members in April 1919. They were suspected of being members of the underground that was connected to the Polish enemy. Among those who were executed, were 17 years old students from the local high school." See Ron-Tzimmer, "Zloczow Chronicles," in Baruch Karu (Krupnik), ed., *The City of Zloczow* (Tel Aviv: Zloczow Society, 1967), columns 115–116.

[177] There is an extensive literature on this topic which is canvassed in the following publications: Rafał Galuba, *"Niech nas rozsądzi miecz i krew…": Konflikt polsko-ukraiński o Galicję Wschodnią w latach 1918–1919* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2004); Artur Brożyniak, "Zapomniane zbrodnie Ukraińskiej Halickiej Armii: Zarys Problematyki," *Przemyskie Zapiski Historyczne,* vol. 21 (2017): 113–122; Marcin Skalski, "Zbrodnie na Polakach w czasie wojny polsko-ukraińskiej 1918–1919: Preludium Rzezi Wołyńskiej," *Res Cresoviana,* no. 1 (2019): 169–181.

[178] For a recent Ukrainian perspective on this topic, see Velychenko, *Life and Death in Revolutionary Ukraine,* especially the Introduction and chapter 5.

Later on, over the space of four pages (pp. 78–81), Bartov cites – uncritically – from two reports,[179] highlighting atrocities committed by the opposing side and stressing their "heinousness." Bartov acknowledges that these reports were part of a "propaganda campaign" (initiated by the Ukrainian side) to win over international support for their respective side's cause (territorial claims). It does not take much delving to see that they bear all the hallmarks of the kind of "atrocity propaganda" that was in circulation when Germany invaded Belgium in August 1914. Contemporary British reports were full of atrocity stories from Belgium of every (beyond) imaginable description.[180] (Citing from those reports provides important perspective on how to assess events in allegedly "more barbaric" parts of Europe.)

> Murder, rape, arson and pillage began from the moment when the German Army crossed the frontier …
>
> The burning of the villages in this neighbourhood, and the wholesale slaughter of civilians, such as occurred at Herve, Micheronx and Soumagne …
>
> Civilians Shot Indiscriminately and without any Inquiry: Killing of Civilians deliberately planned by the Higher Military Authorities and carried out methodically …
>
> Women Murdered And Outraged: women were publicly raped in the market place of the city, five young German officers assisting …
>
> The Murder And Ill-Treatment Of Children: On one occasion children were even roped together and used as a military screen against the enemy; Two children were killed in a village … quite wantonly as they were standing in the road with their mother. They were three or four years old, and were killed with the bayonet.
>
> Brutal Treatment Of The Aged, The Crippled And The Infirm
>
> Use Of Civilians As Screens
> Looting, Burning And Destruction Of Property: There is an overwhelming mass of evidence of the deliberate destruction of private property by the German soldiers.
>
> Villages, even large parts of a city, were given to the flames as part of the terrorising policy.

In fact, this very point was made by Maciej Górny, a Polish historian who looked into the background of the reports and their factual basis. One of the stories Bartov features, accompanied by a gruesome photo (p. 80 – Mroczkowska), actually occurred eight months *before*

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[179] For the Polish report, "Raport dyr. Departamentu Informacji w Warszawie dla polskiego Ministerstwa Spraw Zagranicznych na temat ukraińskich zbrodni podczas wojny 1918–1919, Warszawa sierpień 1919," published in Italian and Polish, see Józef Wołczański, ed., *Kościół rzymskokatolicki i Polacy w Małopolsce Wschodniej podczas wojny ukraińsko-polskiej 1918–1919: Źródła,* vol. 1 (Lwów and Kraków: Wydawnictwo Bł. Jakuba Strzemię Archidiecezji Lwowskiej ob. łac., 2012), 672–711. The Ukrainian report, *Polish Atrocities in Ukrainian Galicia: A Telegraphic Note to M. Georges Clemenceau* (New York City, 1919), is available online.

[180] *The Truth About German Atrocities* (London: Parliamentary Recruiting Committee, 1915), Internet: https://www.westernfrontassociation.com/world-war-i-articles/the-truth-about-german-atrocities/
The accuracy of the Report of the Committee on Alleged German Outrages, on which the above publication is founded, was challenged after the war. According to one assessment (https://www.bl.uk/collection-items/bryce-report-committee-alleged-german-outrages),
"While not actually lying, it overemphasised cruelty against women and children and did not challenge refugees' panic-infused allegations, such as the story that German troops hacked off children's hands. However, Bryce was well respected and the report was seen as credible at the time in the US. It struck a propaganda blow by portraying the Germans as evil and unjust, and violating international standards of warfare, in contrast to the Allies' legitimate methods of conflict. Germany responded with its less credible 'White Book', fabricating Belgian excesses and falsely maintaining they were merely countering activity by snipers – claims that Belgium in turn refuted with its 'Grey Book'."

the conflict started and *outside* the conflict area in Eastern Galicia. None of this is news. Already in August 1919, the Papal Nuncio Achille Ratti (the future Pope Pius XI) reported to the Holy See his embarrassment with stories that were not only exaggerated but simply fake. The historian quips, with obvious hyperbole, "Obviously, in the absence of Galician atrocities, other events were re-used and in some cases simply invented."[181] In fact, there were no shortage of excesses either in Western or Eastern Europe. The historian goes on to present an interpretation of the conflict – also arrived at without an adequate factual foundation – that is quite different from Bartov's:

> This short Polish-Ukrainian war in Galicia was, perhaps, closer to the modern western military technique and tactics than any of the numerous postwar conflicts in East Central Europe. Both sides respected the rules and limitations of The Hague and Geneva Conventions, at least in principle. In February 1919 they even agreed to regularly remind the soldiers of their responsibilities in this respect in the army newspapers. Linguistic proximity contributed to mutual understanding as shown by frequent cease-fire and prisoner exchange agreements. With one notable exception of the unsuccessful attempt by the West Ukrainian People's Republic to gain control over Lviv [Lwów] – defended by the local Polish population – the war consisted mostly of regular offensives and counter-offensives followed by the issuing of laws and the organizing of local authorities, conscription to the currently winning national armed forces, and the raising of taxes, all of which largely irrespectively of the local population's nationality. Internment of some representatives of the local national elites, though sometimes brutal, also mirrored German, French, and British conduct in 1914. In rural areas of Eastern Galicia ethnic boundaries had become blurred and correspondingly the layer of self-proclaimed Polish or Ukrainian nationalists grew thin. Crimes, including the widely discussed pogrom in Polish Lviv that followed the seizure of the city by the Poles, in November 1918,14 were committed mostly either in absence of the government or at the moment of a shifting of power from one side to another. Most civilian victims were prisoners of internment camps operated by both sides of the conflict, with the deaths ascribed to either typhoid or influenza.

Górny is not the only historian to raise such concerns. The extent of violence directed towards the civilian population has also been called into question by German historians Christoph Mick (who downplays Ukrainian atrocities and exaggerates Polish ones[182]) and Jochen Böhler, but their conclusions are also all over the place. Górny does mention an important development that somehow escaped Bartov's attention:

> In a largely regular struggle between the Polish and the Ukrainian army, Poles gained the upper hand in June 1919. Almost immediately thereafter, both former enemies united in an attempt to regain Eastern Ukraine from the Bolsheviks.

Bartov states the report on Ukrainian atrocities issued by the Polish Foreign Office presented the Ukrainians as victims of "provocative agitation carried out by foreigners," and that "Polish nationalists argued that their Ruthenian brethren were merely manipulated by enemies of Poland, such as Russians, communists, and Jews." (*Anatomy,* p. 79), Why this manipulation? Why this fixation on Jews? In fact, the Polish report did not refer to Russians, communists or Jews at all, but only to Germans. At the time, Germany was championing the Ukrainian cause and financing the ZUNR's anti-Polish propaganda for its own reasons.

The Russian Civil War (1917–1923) – Atrocity Conflation

The Russian Revolution of 1917 and ensuing civil war raised the degree and level of brutalization in the former Russian Empire (and Eastern Europe) to unprecedented levels as warring factions vied for control of power and territory, striking at anyone who was thought to stand in their way. The extent of the violence directed at Jews, which has an extensive literature, was truly staggering.

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[181] Maciej Górny, "Identity under Scrutiny: The First World War in Local Communities," in Yvonne Kleinmann, Jürgen Heyde, Dietlind Hüchtker, Dobrochna Kałwa,Joanna Nalewajko-Kulikov, Katrin Steffen, and Tomasz Wiślicz, eds., *Imaginations and Configurations of Polish Society: From the Middle Ages through the Twentieth Century* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2017), 261–277.

[182] Mick, *Lemberg, Lwów, L'viv, 1914–1947,* 180, 191.

The fate of hundreds of thousands of non-Jewish victims is hardly ever mentioned. Polish landowners, clergy, and intelligentsia were frequent victims of the Bolshevik troops and hordes. Beat the "*polskie pany*" (Polish landlords) was the catchphrase of the day. When Budyonny's army entered Młynów, in Volhynia, in May 1919, Countess Julia Chodkiewicz and her daughter, Zofia, were tortured and murdered by a Bolshevik-incited band and their palace was plundered.[183] Why is their fate any less significant, and moving, than the fate of Jews caught up in the horrors of this turmoil? Why is the latter an ominous portent, but the former just one of many such unfortunate events?

But Jews were not just victims; they were also active combatants in these deadly struggles. Although this deadly confrontation engulfed – primarily – the lands that were to become Soviet Ukraine, they were not – primarily – of Ukrainian making. Bartov does not mention this important aftermath of the Great War that was taking place just beyond the (eastern) borders of Eastern Galicia.

Characteristic of a slew of recent, like-minded publications from the past decade – that advance the sensational, ideologically-driven narrative that these events were in fact a precursor, or even the onset of the Holocaust (as if the Holocaust was something naturally or inevitably occurring in these lands, even though it was imposed *from outside* by a conquering, totalitarian regime) – is the following promotional write-up for Jeffrey Veidlinger's ominously-titled book *In the Midst of Civilized Europe: The Pogroms of 1918-1921 and the Onset of the Holocaust*:[184]

> In 1919, nearly *one hundred thousand Jews were murdered in Ukraine and Poland in pogroms*. These ethnic riots dominated headlines and international affairs of their time as aid workers warned that six million Jews were in danger of complete extermination. Twenty years later, these dire predictions came true. This talk examined how the genocidal violence that engulfed the region right after the revolution laid the groundwork for the Holocaust.

Allegedly, "the pogroms of 1918-1921, in which some 100,000 Jews were slaughtered, are largely forgotten, overshadowed by the Holocaust." As if the memory of the much larger number of non-Jewish victims of the Russian civil war or the Gulag attracted any significant attention in North America.

Let us be clear: Bartov does not engage openly in this debate (or conflation), but it is something that should have been tackled: the elephant in the room. "One hundred thousand Jews … murdered in Ukraine and Poland in pogroms." Let us be clear as to what the conflation (blurring) entails. What is the statistical correlation of the events in Poland (within its interwar borders) and Ukraine (within its interwar Soviet borders)? There is no big secret here. The events in Poland were investigated by several international commissions already in 1919.

The American Commission led by Morgenthau arrived at a total of several hundred Jews killed by Poles, as opposed to the tens of thousands murdered by various Bolshevik, White (Russian), Ukrainian, and Belarusian factions. The Morgenthau report identified eight major incidents in the years 1918–1919 and estimated the number of victims at around 280. None of the excesses were blamed on official government policy. The report also stated: "Just as the Jews would resent being condemned as a race for the action of a few of their undesirable co-religionists, so it would

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[183] Wojciech Roszkowski, *Communist Crimes: A Legal and Historical Study* (Warsaw: Institute of National Remembrance–Commission for the Prosecution of Crimes Against the Polish Nation, 2016), 85.

[184] New York: Metropolitan Books/Henry Holt, 2021.

be correspondingly unfair to condemn the Polish nation as a whole for the violence committed by uncontrolled troops or local mobs."[185]

As for atrocities perpetrated in Ukraine, according to a highly credible, scholarly study published in 1928 in *Shriftn far Ekonomik un Statistik,* the Polish army (who supported the Ukrainian forces in their advance on Kiev) was responsible for 134 of 31,071 Jewish deaths during his period.[186] Or to put it more graphically, *0.4%* of the Jewish victims. The author's table with victim count and perpetrator is well worth reproducing.

TABLE VI

DISTRIBUTION OF KILLED ACCORDING TO PERPETRATORS OF POGROMS

Perpetrators of Pogroms	Total Number of Pogroms and Excesses	Pogroms and Excesses without Killed		Pogroms and Excesses with Number of Killed Known			Percentage of Total Killed	Percentage of Total of Pogroms
		Number	Percentage of Total Number of Pogroms	Number of Pogroms	Number of Killed	Number of Killed per Pogrom		
Petlura's Army	493	138	28	328	16,706	50.9	53.7	40.0
Denikin's Army	213	50	23.5	138	5,235	37.9	17.0	17.2
Grigoriev's Army	52	3	5.8	45	3,471	77.1	11.2	4.2
Soviet Army	106	52	49.1	51	725	14.2	2.3	8.6
Polish Army	32	19	59.4	9	134	14.9	0.4	2.6
Balakhovich's Army	9	1	11.1	7	149	21.3	0.5	0.7
Bands and Insurgents	307	85	27.7	203	4,615	22.7	14.8	24.8
Others	24	10	41.7	7	36	5.1	0.1	1.9
TOTAL	1,236	358	29.0	788	31,071	39.4	100.0	100.0

If we add the approximate victim counts for Poland and Ukraine together, we arrive at about 400 Jewish victims at the hands of Poles. If we accept a higher victim count of 100,000 for Ukraine, the Polish component would in all likelihood not exceed 0.4%. Not to mention that the events in Poland had little to do with what was happening in Ukraine, where Polish involvement was peripheral to the overall struggles.

Rather than an epilogue to war, as Morgenthau and others saw it, a counter-narrative of prologue to genocide emerged, one that has been resurrected in recent years. At the time, strident, doomsday scenarios – that also targeted Poland in equal measure – proliferated.

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[185] Report on the Mission of the United States to Poland. October 3, 1919, Internet: https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Mission_of_The_United_States_to_Poland:_Henry_Morgenthau,_Sr._report. The report written by two other members of the commission were less critical of the Polish government.

[186] Nahum Gergel, "The Pogroms in the Ukraine 1918–21," in *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Science*, vol. 6 (1951): 237–252, at p. 248 (Table 6). For a comparison of the situation of Jews under Polish rule and the incomparably worse conditions that prevailed in Ukraine, see Oleg Budnitskii, *Russian Jews Between the Reds and the Whites, 1917–1920* (Phildalephia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Lidia B. Miliakova, ed., *Kniga pogromov: Pogromy na Ukraine, v Belorussii i evropeiskoi chasti Rossii v period Grazhdanskoi voiny 1918–1922 gg.: Sbornik dokumentov* (Moscow: ROSSP-EN, 2007); Nokhem Shtif, *The Pogroms in Ukraine, 1918–19: Prelude to the Holocaust* (Cambridge, UK: Open Book Publishers, 2019).

> On Sept. 8, 1919, for instance, The New York Times reported on a convention held in Manhattan to protest the bloodshed then underway in Eastern Europe. “UKRAINIAN JEWS AIM TO STOP POGROMS,” the headline read; “MASS MEETING HEARS THAT 127,000 JEWS HAVE BEEN KILLED AND 6,000,000 ARE IN PERIL.” The article concluded by quoting Joseph Seff, president of the Federation of Ukrainian Jews in America: “This fact that the population of 6,000,000 souls in Ukrainia *and in Poland* have received notice through action and by word that *they are going to be completely exterminated*—this fact stands before the whole world as the paramount issue of the present day.”[187]

So very insightful. Such premonition. No grasp of where the looming, existential threats were coming from. Not a peep about Germany, despite its World War One atrocities and genocide in Namibia. No inkling that the Gulag, Holodomor and Great Terror were on the horizon, despite the Circassian genocide. Did anyone pay attention to these colonial genocides at the time? Just the boogeyman (actually phantom) … Poland.

The transformation of the Poles into the new Amalek was already underway during World War I. In January 1915, Zionist leader Shmaryah Levin accused the Poles of “treachery and duplicity” and explicitly blamed them for the murder of more than a thousand Jews and the expulsion of tens of thousands. Poles, he claimed, worked “cold-bloodedly” to wage “their own war” against the Jews. As the war raged on, more Jewish commentators pointed a finger at the Poles as the main culprits. A year later, Hebrew writer Yitshak D. Berkovitch, son-in-law of famed Yiddish author Sholem Aleichem, wrote: “If there is a people in the world, which has shown us its despicable cruelty, all of its wild rage … it is the Polish people. … If the Poles become masters of the land, our fate will be bad and bitter.”[188]

Unfortunately, one can detect continuity (disturbing similarities) between this narrative and the reaction of Jewish-American leaders to Poland’s proposed 2018 anti-defamation law.[189] The boogeyman (phantom) makes its reappearance. Jack Rosen, president of the American Jewish Congress and chairman of the American Council for World Jewry, alleged that Poland has put itself “in the same team as Iran and other Islamic terror states and the alt-right in the US and Holocaust deniers.” *Plus ça change* …

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[187] Jeffrey Veidlinger, “The Kiling Fields of Ukraine,” *Tablet,* February 23, 2022. The author describes an incident that seems to go counter to his narrative of Polish eliminationist proclivities inspired by the Catholic religion: “Nisen Yurkovetsky … showed us the scar where, during the pogroms of 1919, the bullet that killed his mother had grazed him as she held him in her arms. The infant Yurkovetsky was rescued when a Polish priest noticed some movement in the mass grave that held the rest of his family.”

[188] Gil Ribak, “‘Beaten to Death by Irish Murderers’: The Death of Sadie Dellon (1918) and Jewish Images of Irish,” *Journal of American Ethnic History,* vol. 32, no. 4 (Summer 2013): 41–74, at p. 47; Gil Ribak, “Between Germany and Russia: The Images of Poles and the Ensuing Cultural Trajectories among Yiddish and Hebrew Writers between 1863 and World War I,” *Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies,* vol. 28 (2016): 225–248, at p. 238–39. This anti-Polish agitation continued during the interwar period.

[189] The allegedly offensive provision read: “Whoever, publicly and contrary to the facts, attributes to the Polish Nation or the State of Poland responsibility or co-responsibility for Nazi crimes committed by the German Third Reich…” The law does not appear to have ever come into force.

The Pre-World War One Period
Anatomy of a Genocide, Chapter One ("The Gathering Storm")

As pointed out by reviewers who are knowledgeable about this period, the chapter that deals with the pre-World War I era is undoubtedly Bartov's weakest in terms of historical accuracy. Equally questionable is Bartov's approach to the history of Eastern Galicia, labelled ominously "The Gathering Storm", as if everything for centuries inevitably led up to the Holocaust. Characteristically, Jews are bereft of agency. They are always depicted as the objects of someone else's hatred, violence or cruelty. Never the other way around. Christians are, allegedly, incessantly conspiring against the Jews.

Flawed historical narrative

Bartov demonstrates a poor grasp of political events. For example, he states that the creation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1569 "facilitated the takeover of vast tracks of Eastern Europe and Ukraine." (*Anatomy,* p. 8.) The Union of Lublin in 1569 formally united two countries that had previously shared common rulers. No new territory was taken over by this united state; some Ukrainian territories were transferred from Lithuania to Poland. Christian losses occasioned by the Cossack (Khmelnitsky) uprising of 1648 were greater than Jewish losses, but this is not mentioned. While an important source, Nathan Hanover's embellished chronicle, which is the centrepiece of Bartov's coverage of the massacres that occurred during the Cossack uprising, is hardly the only source worth noting. Hanover's chronicle has been criticized by a number of historians, including Shaul Stampfer and Edward Fram. Historian Jonathon Israel argues that the uprising "was less a turning-point in the history of Polish Jewry than a brutal but relatively short interruption in its steady growth and expansion."[190]

Right from the outset, Bartov introduces the theme of betrayal of the Jews by the Poles. At page 10, he writes that the Jews' "own townsmen at times eventually betrayed them." He returns to this at page 12 where he states that when the Ottoman Turks attacked Buczacz in 1675, "While the nobles and some city dwellers escaped into the castle, the Jewish inhabitants were stranded in front of the locked gates and … 'were slaughtered by the Turks …'" In the endnote (at p. 304), Bartov cites as his source an article ("History of the Jews in Buczacz") by Dr. N. M. Gelber from the Buczacz memorial book (*Sefer Buczacz*), which actually says something quite different:

> In the middle of the 17th century the Cossacks raided Buczacz (the calamities of 1648). The Jews fought alongside their fellow townsmen. Armed with rifles and gunpowder and sometimes manning the cannons, the Jewish population defended the town together with the Christians. …
>
> In 1675, when the Turks attacked the town, the aristocrats and townspeople succeeded in fleeing into the fortress. The town was burnt to the ground and many Jews that failed to escape were captured by the Turks outside the fortress gates and slaughtered on the spot. Those in the fortress defended themselves gallantly, maintaining their resistance until the army arrived under the command of Jan Soviski [Sobieski] the 3rd, who drove away the Turks.

It is clear from the above passage that Jews were among the city dwellers who escaped into the castle. Gelber does not make or even suggest the charge of betrayal pushed by Bartov. On what scholarly source did Bartov rely to reinterpret these events?

Some reviewers have detected the disconnects apparent in Bartov's narrative. Although acknowledging his own lack of in-depth knowledge of this period, historian Ilya Gerasimov remarks pointedly on the gaps in logic in Bartov's treatment of these matters.

> … if the Jewish community of Buczacz (and all Galicia) had been just about obliterated during the Khmelnitsky Uprising, the Ottoman invasion, or the Austrian occupation, how can its prosperity be explained by the next cycle of misfortune? Literally, on the left side of a page spread we learn that

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[190] Jonathon I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism 1550–1750,* 3rd ed. (London; Portland, Oregon: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization/Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), 99.

> in 1675, Buczacz's Jews were not allowed to hide with gentiles in the town's castle and "were slaughtered by the Turks" (P. 12), and on the right side we find out that in 1684, "inside the city … live only Jews and some Poles" (P. 13).[191]

At. p. 14, Bartov notes (bemoans) that Jewish students were extremely rare at the Buczacz Collegium in pre-partition Poland, without mentioning that this was essentially a Christian institution run by Basilian priests; that Jews, at that time, had no desire to be educated by the Catholic clergy; and that the Austrian authorities shut down this Polish high school (and many others) in 1784.

Trope peddling

At page 21, Bartov introduces the theme of the "traditional peasant perception of Jews," who allegedly "internalized the Christian view of the Jews as damned for having murdered Jesus." Of course, such perceptions are not something new, static, universally held or readily measurable. Moreover, peasants were essentially powerless pawns; their position in society as serfs was below that of the Jews. The image of peasants as stupid, crude, drunken, and violent idolators is a staple of traditional Jewish views. It even entered into Jewish folklore. According to historian Israel Bartal,

> The peasants in the Russian Empire were serfs on the estates of the nobility until 1861 … Their collective name in the languages of the Jews was *goyim,* a word that could have extremely negative connotations of stupidity and ignorance, coarseness, sexual promiscuity, drunkenness, and violence.[192]

Yet Bartov has nothing to say about Jewish perceptions of non-Jews, peasants in particular. Why such a one-sided approach? One would have thought, by now, that the existence of unfavorable attitudes among Jews would be a matter of record rather than being met with silence, skepticism, outright denial or the basis for one-sided anti-Christian tropes.

Jewish scholars who have studied this topic have concluded that unfavourable Jewish attitudes toward non-Jews were not dependent on the alleged misconduct of the "other," but rather were strongly influenced by Jewish religious beliefs. At p. 18, Bartov mentions Hasidism *en passant* ("Hasidic mysticism and obscurantism"), but neglects to mention its other – far less savoury – dimensions. Based on a study of Hasidic sources, Jewish scholar Moshe Rosman presents a more complex – and more accurate – perspective on this topic.

> Alongside the belief in the non-Jews' demonic nature and the fear and mistrust of Gentile society, some of these tales hint at a very different evaluation of the theological-moral standing of the non-Jews. According to Jacob Katz, given the religious rivalry between Judaism and Christianity, the members of each group adopted a double standard of morality towards each other. There was no religious rationale for treating outsiders according to ethical norms.[193]
>
> Rabbinic laws and communal ordinances attempted to restrict contact with non-Jews, and Jewish folklore often assigned a demonic role to its gentile characters. But in their otherness, Jews

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[191] Ilya Gerasimov, "When Neighbors Begin to Hate," *Ab Imperio,* no. 2 (2019): 123–156.

[192] Israel Bartal, "Relations between Jews and Non-Jews: Literary Perspectives," *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe,* Internet: https://yivoencyclopedia.org/article.aspx/Relations_between_Jews_and_Non-Jews/Literary_Perspectives.

[193] M. J. Rosman, "A Minority Views the Majority: Jewish Attitudes Towards the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth and Interaction with Poles," *Polin: A Journal of Polish-Jewish Studies,* vol. 4 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell for the Institute for Polish-Jewish Studies, 1989), 37.

> maintained a positive evaluation of themselves and their way of life, entertaining feelings of Jewish solidarity and rejection of, and even superiority to, the hegemonic culture.[194]

Historian Raphael Mahler writes in a similar, candid vein about internalized theological prejudices among Jews – one that undoubtedly influenced the perception of non-Jews.

> The views of the Hasidim … were a direct outgrowth and development of the Weltanschauung of the Kabbalah. The Jewish people were not simply the chosen, but were the only people of God; "Israel and the Torah and the Holy One, blessed be He, are one." According to the Midrash, the whole world was created only for the sake of the Jews … Consequently, their feelings of social involvement did not reach beyond their own people.
>
> The positive expression of this attitude was the principle of the unconditional solidarity of the Jews and the idea of *ahavat yisrael* (love of the Jewish people), [which became a main theme] in the stories and legends of the prominent Hasidic rebbes in the first half of the nineteenth century. However, a negative attitude toward Gentiles, which took the form of contempt, was also an unavoidable consequence of this position. As Mendel of Rymanów put it, "A Gentile does not have a heart, although he has an organ that resembles the heart." Simon of Jarosław asserted that the Gentiles will be held responsible not for their evil decrees—these were actually divinely inspired and had been prophesied in order to "cleanse [the Jews] of their sins"—but for their "vengefulness and revelry in the distress of the Jews." The symbol for the Gentile in the Hasid's consciousness was the brutal landowner or the enslaved and boorish peasant.[195]

While Bartov has a great deal to say about non-Jews harming Jews, there is silence about the fact that the roles were sometimes reversed. The deleterious role of Jews in the exploitation of peasants (serfs) by landlords – here Bartov perpetuates the myth of Polish "colonization[196] – is dismissed as an ugly anti-Semitic trope. After bemoaning Austrian-imposed measures causing Jews to lose their livelihoods as lessors of estates, mills, inns, taverns, and breweries (p. 16) and the maligning of Jews in the Ukrainian press stemming from these occupations (p. 20), Bartov asserts: "the starkest symbol of alleged Jewish venality was the village tavern, perceived by Polish and Ukrainian nationalists as the cause of the peasants' chronic alcoholism … peasants learned to blame their own drunkenness on the Jews." (*Anatomy,* p. 21.)

In pre-partition Poland (and until serfdom was abolished in Russia in 1861; Austria retained corvées until 1848), the Jews occupied an intermediate position – "middlemen" – between the landlords and the peasants, one that perpetuated inequities against the latter constituency. The primary exploitative device was the so-called *propinacja,* a liquor production and sale monopoly enjoyed by landowners on their estates and private towns. The landlords were often absent; their monopolies were usually operated by Jewish leaseholders. This alliance – in which Jewish middlemen played an integral and voluntary role – was exploitative and highly oppressive. Justifiably, it provoked resentment on the part of the peasants. The role on "middlemen

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[194] Moshe Rosman, "Poland before 1795," in Gershon David Hundert, ed., *The YIVO Encyclopedia of Jews in Eastern Europe* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008), vol. 2, 1388.

[195] Raphael Mahler, *Hasidism and the Jewish Enlightenment: Their Confrontation in Galicia and Poland in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1985), 16–17. See also p. 307.

[196] The myth that these were ethnic Polish landlords who acquired their vast landholdings when Poland "colonized" Ukraine has been exposed as baseless. By and large, the landlords were native Ruthenians of the Orthodox faith who had already acquired their landholdings before these territories were incorporated into Poland. Red Ruthenia (Ruś Czerwona) became a part of Poland, and the provinces of Kiev, Bracław, and Volhynia in 1569. Over time, many of these landlords became culturally Polonized and some converted to Catholicism. See Andrzej Nowak, *Dzieje Polski*, vol. 5: *1572-1632 Imperium Rzeczypospolitej* (Kraków: Bialy Kruk, 2021), 237, 238, 240, 241.

minorities" has an extensive scholarship that encompasses many cultures and lands.[197] This clash of interests cannot – and should not – be reduced simply to blaming exploited peasants for their alleged ingrained anti-Semitism and chronic alcoholism.

Although not wholly responsible for the inequities, Jews were active players in a system that advanced those inequities and benefitted themselves. Around 1750, about 85% of Poland's Jews were in some way associated with the liquor trade. Moreover, the very sustenance of many Jews was dependent upon the *propinacja,* and thus they had a vested interest in its perpetuation. Historian Hillel Levine comments, "The drink was both the effect and the cause of that broken resistance and degradation. The Jew, as the primary representative of this system, as the monetizer of unmarketable grain, could avert facing his contribution to the plight of the serf – a 'Goy', he might mutter in self-righteousness, 'drunken sloth is the essence of the Gentile.'"[198]

According to historian Glenn Dynner, Jews stuck with tavern keeping largely because of economic self-interest: "But many Jews could not evidently see why they should renounce a lucrative industry like liquor and enter less lucrative ones like agriculture and army service …" In spite of his qualifications, Dynner apportions blame for the *propinacja* evenly, "Jewish tavernkeepers may not have been the architects of this ghastly enterprise nor even its main beneficiaries, but they were fully complicit."[199]

Were there other ways in which Jews harmed non-Jews? Slave raids by the Crimean Khanate into the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Southern Russia led to the capture of possibly several hundred thousand people. According to one scholar,

> Trade in slaves and captives was one of the most important (if not the most important) sources of income of the Crimean Khanate in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.
>
> The sources testify that [the] Jewish population played a highly significant role in the trade in slaves and captives of the Crimean Khanate in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. The ways, in which the Jews were engaged in this business, were varied and diversified—from mediators in trade and money-lenders to commandants of the Jewish fortress of Çu-fut Qaleh, from wealthy slave-owners to misfortunate victims of the Tatar predatory raids. Moreover, the Jews played [an] important role in international trade and were sometimes appointed influential state officials of the Crimean Khanate.[200]

The emergence of modern Jewish nationalism

While Jews were integrating and assimilating culturally throughout Europe in the 19th century, and abandoning Yiddish in favour of local languages, the opposite was happening in the lands of the

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[197] For a discussion of this topic, see Edna Bonacich, "Theory of the Middleman Minorities," *American Sociological Review,* vol. 38, no. 5 (October 1973): 583–594; Amy Chua, *World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred and Global Instability* (New York: Doubleday, 2003). Yuri Slezkine has noted that the difficulties experienced by Jews, as traders and middlemen, were or are paralleled by those of other nationalities that fill the same niche all over the world. For instance, the pre-World War II European-Jewish conflicts revolving around Jewish economic dominance were similar to those between Chinese and native Malayans. See Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University, 2004), 37.

[198] Hillel Levine, *Economic Origins of Anti-Semitism: Poland and Jews in the Early Modern Period* (New Haven, Connecticut and London: Yale University Press, 1991), 9–12.

[199] Glenn Dynner, *Yankel's Tavern: Jews, Liquor, and Life in the Kingdom of Poland* (Oxford University Press, 2014), 26, 174.

[200] Mikhail Kizilov, " Slaves, Money Lenders, and Prisoner Guards: The Jews and the Trade in Slaves and Captives in the Crimean Khanate," *Journal of Jewish Studies,* vol. 58, no. 2 (Autumn 2007): 189–210.

former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Jewish nationalism (separatism) and then Zionism became the dominant – and potent – political forces. Although lacking their own territorial ambitions (since the Jewish population was dispersed), they too became players on the political scene. Jewish nationalists were prepared to lend their support to advance or counter territorial aspirations that they did not perceive to be in their own interest. The stance of "neutrality" was employed selectively in choosing sides during such disputes.

As Joshua Shanes' study of the Austrian-ruled province of Galicia shows,[201] modern Jewish nationalism shared features in common with other nationalisms. It manifested itself primarily in the nascent but growing Zionist movement, which promoted exclusivist Jewish ethno-nationalism, i.e., Jewishness was seen as an innate and immutable characteristic; religious symbolism and the "glorious" past of ancient Israel were appropriated for its nationalist propaganda.[202] It bitterly opposed assimilationist politicians and Orthodox Jews who sought cooperation with the dominant Poles, even though the former merely intended the modernization of Jewish society and the integration of Jews into non-Jewish societies as Jews, and the latter eschewed both modernization and integration,[203] It was permeated with a high degree of chauvinism and even displayed open hatred towards its opponents and other national groups: its inflammatory nationalist rhetoric unfairly denigrated Jewish assimilationists and Orthodox Jews and led to their increasing marginalization and "illegitimacy" in the political spectrum and society, looked down on other national groups as "inferior," and railed against Poles and Polonization, because of its perception of an irreconcilable conflict between Polish and Jewish interests.[204] Moreover, it did not shy away from political violence to combat its opponents.[205]

Shanes makes it abundantly clear that Jewish nationalism was not simply "constructed," but rather derived from Jewish ethnicity embedded in Jewish religious tradition.

> Galician Jews constituted a distinct ethnic group in the region: linguistically, religiously, economically and socially. Moreover, Judaism itself provided the linguistic and cultural building blocks with which Jewish nationalists could construct a modern nationalist consciousness: a collective understanding of Jewish peoplehood, reinforced by liturgy and ritual, a shared historical connection to a specific territory, and a unique common language.[206]

Jewish nationalism was an integral development among Galician Jewry, and not so much of a defence against the alleged anti-Semitism of others' nationalisms.[207] Its ultimate goal was "to

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[201] Joshua Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[202] Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia,* 13, 63, 89–90, 92, 128–129, 138–141, 229, 233, 286.

[203] Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia,* 10, 65, 109, 150, 251, 260–261.

[204] Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia,* pp. 51, 60–61, 64, 80, 81, 128, 137, 144–145, 150, 216–217, 223, 227, 243–245, 250–253, 257, 264.

[205] Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia,* 236–237, 271–272, 279.

[206] Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia,* 286.

[207] Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia,*.49, 50.

organize Jews politically as Jews."[208] Cooperation was shunned in favour of confrontation. Jewish nationalists tended to be self-declared enemies of the Polish cause. They had no loyalty to Poland, and even those Galician Jews considering themselves Polish did not usually identify with Polish national aspirations. On the other hand, Galician Zionists, as almost all Habsburg Jews, openly declared their loyalty to Austria, even though Austria did not recognize Jews as a national or ethnic group and denied them linguistic rights. In January 1914, Galician Zionists even issued a resolution calling Jews to arms against Czarist Russia.[209] By 1914, most Jews in Galicia had come to accept an ethno-nationalist definition of their community and demanded political rights. Jews did not do so in countries like Germany, France or Czechoslovakia (after World Way I). Shanes' pivotal study on the transformation of Galician Jewry, and its important political ramifications, gets short shrift from Bartov.

Historian Samuel Kassow, whose study is also overlooked, gives a more accessible treatment of how relations between Jews and non-Jews unfolded in the latter part of the 19th century and the first decade of the 20th century. It also refers to important developments Bartov ignores. The prospect of the town's Jewish majority assimilating with the surrounding non-Jewish majority or identifying with either the Poles or the Ukrainians, in preference to the Austrian rulers, was never a real possibility for many reasons. Cultural assimilation was limited in scope and applied only to a very small minority of Jews. Kassow writes:

> Buczacz was a poor town, like most towns in Galicia, with little industry. Jews dominated trade, mainly in grains and other agricultural products, but the low purchasing power of the peasant population severely limited economic possibilities. In time, the growth of both Ukrainian and Polish cooperative movements would deal another heavy blow to the economic position of the Jews. Dim economic prospects served as powerful stimulus to emigration. …
>
> While East Galicia and Podolia were Hasidic strongholds—the native grounds, after all, of the Ba'al Shem Tov—Buczacz stood out as a bastion of the Haskala [Jewish Enlightenment]. Hasidim were a minority, and their relative weakness made it easier for strong Zionist organizations to grow in Buczacz before World War I. A third of the students in the local Polish high school were Jews, and they received a solid grounding in classics and exposure to Polish and European high culture. Many of the high school's most popular teachers were Jews. The town boasted a large Baron de Hirsch primary school, set up to give Jewish students both a general and vocational education. Some of its graduates went on to the gymnasium, others entered trades. By the beginning of the century, several alumni who had remained in Buczacz had already formed a fledgling labor movement.
>
> Although young Jews received a Polish education, they did not become young Poles. The Galician Jewish intelligentsia, however acculturated, was surrounded by a strong and vibrant Yiddish-speaking folk culture nourished in many places by deep-seated Hasidic traditions.
>
> Buczacz Jews—like other Galician Jews—considered themselves lucky that they did not live across the border in Russia. They did not have to worry about stiff quotas barring them from high schools and universities. The Polish political elite had built up a network of Polish high schools that freely admitted Jewish students, making Polish the preferred language of educated Galician Jews. …
>
> Although the Jews enjoyed the political and educational benefits of Habsburg rule, clouds loomed on the horizon … The same reforms that brought emancipation to the Jews in the 1860s also placed political power in Galicia in the hands of the Polish nobility. Most middle-class Jews shifted their allegiance from German culture to Polish. Many Jewish leaders also preached assimilation: Jews should become "Poles of the Mosaic persuasion." But by [1900] support for the assimilationists had largely collapsed in Galician Jewish society. … According to some memoirs, by the eve of World War I the social gulf between Jews and Poles, especially in East Galicia, had grown enormously. …
>
> By the turn of the century much of the non-Hasidic Galician Jewish middle class was turning to Zionism. … Galician Zionism, which largely conducted its business in refined Polish, symbolized Jewish nationalism, a Jewish self-consciousness that could easily coexist with the adoption of non-Jewish culture. Galicia would anticipate a characteristic development of the interwar Jewish life in Poland: growing acculturation that at the same time rejected assimilation. As tensions escalated

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[208] Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia,* 11.

[209] Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia,* 282.

> between Ukrainians and Poles, especially in Eastern Galicia, Jewish nationalism also became an expedient way of declaring neutrality and avoiding a potentially dangerous crossfire. Aware that they had no hope of attracting Jews to Ukrainian culture, Ukrainians preferred Zionism and Jewish nationalism to overt Jewish identification with Polish culture and aims. In turn, Polish nobles preferred Jewish assimilationists or pliant Hasidic rebbes who denied desperate Jewish national status and obeyed the dictates of the Polish leadership. …
>
> In the decade before World War I, two major events sparked Jewish-Polish confrontation and encouraged an intense process of national redefinition: the new 1907 election law and the 1910 census. The 1907 law, which expanded the suffrage, changed the rules of the political game. Zionists now saw their chance to make major gains, and the Polish elite had more reason to fear losing control over a Jewish vote that often held the balance between Poles and Ukrainians. … The 1910 census saw heavy Polish pressure on Jews to declare Polish [rather than German] as their mother tongue and thus bolster Polish claims to predominance in the area; the [Austrian] census authorities refused to recognize Yiddish as an option. … All over Galicia, including Buczacz, the census battle became the symbol of Jewish independence from Polish tutelage. …
>
> One by-product of the 1910 census fight was a renewed interest in modern Yiddish culture among a small but growing minority of the Jewish intelligentsia. They could count for support on a nascent Jewish labor movement. …
>
> On the eve of World War I, therefore, Galician Jewry had undergone a marked process of political self-definition. Assimilation as an ideology had collapsed; political changes in the Habsburg Empire hastened the modernization of Jewish politics. For the first time Jewish labor parties were becoming a factor in Jewish politics. A sizeable Jewish intelligentsia had emerged, well educated in Polish and German but identified with Jewish nationalism.[210]

Bartov acknowledges that Jews formed coalitions with the Ukrainians, who constituted a majority in Eastern Galicia, against the Poles in the 1907 national parliamentary election (p. 33). It is instructive to note that Jews also sided with the non-Polish minority population in Poznań, Białystok, and Wilno against the interests of the Polish majority population and Polish statehood. Jews were thus active players on the political scene who asserted and advanced their own national interests in opposition to those of the Polish population. When a Polish author takes note of "the idea of a separate Jewish political identity," a development that Bartov appears to otherwise champion, the Pole is mocked. All Bartov is capable of is imputing to that author something he didn't actually say. Bartov quips, "In other words, Poland had been betrayed by its Jews and would never again be able to trust them to defend its national cause." (*Anatomy,* p. 34.) The theme of betrayal runs throughout this chapter, and often takes over its content to the detriment of rigorous scholarly analysis.

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[210] Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History? Rediscovering a Hidden Archive from the Warsaw Ghetto* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007; New York: Vintage Books/Random House, 2009), 17–22.

Corrections, Addenda, Miscellaneous Comments re Anatomy of a Genocide

p. 131 – Jadwiga Janicka, the wife of an unidentified army captain → Zdzisław Janicki (notary)

pp. 132, 394 – Trościniec → should be: Trościanic (Query: was the fire started on August 28, 1939 or in September 1939? See Komański and Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946,* p. 174)

pp. 144, 337 – Leopold Fenerstoin → should be: Feuerstein

p. 182 – Mandel, who escaped the execution site on Fedor Hill → Marek Ajzensztajn (Eisenstein) (see the Oral history interview with Stanisław A. Kozakiewicz, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession no. 1998.A.0300.302, RG-50.488.0302)

p. 246 – the rescue of Rózia Brecher in Myszkowce took place in Kopyczyńce county

p. 250 – Kowalski (dogcatcher, Jew-catcher) → probably the same as (Ukrainian) Nahajowski: pp. 235–236

pp. 254, 375 – Polish partisan "Edek" → Edward Niedźwiecki

pp. 281, 378 – Grabowce → should be: Grabowiec (the Szczyrba rescue story occurred outside Buczacz county)

pp. 283–284, 374 – Czechowicz → should be: Orzechowicz

pp. 309, 313, 314 (several entries) – Kofler, *Żydowski dwory* → should be: *Żydowskie dwory*

p. 336 – Romański → should be: Henryk Komański

pp. 349, 376 – Dr. Fuchs → Zygmunt Fuchs

p. 358 – Neither Lucy Gertner nor Barbara Schechter's rescue occurred in Buczacz county. Lucy Gertner was sheltered in a convent of Polish nuns in Nyrków, near Czerwonogród, in Zaleszczyki county. Barbara Schechter was from Buczkowce (not Buczacz), in Rohatyn county, Stanisławów voivodship.

YAD VASHEM RECOGNITIONS FROM BUCZACZ COUNTY

78 Christians from Buczacz county have been recognized by Yad Vashem as Righteous Among the Nations. The vast majority (65) of these rescuers are not mentioned by Bartov. The list consists of 54 Poles, 20 Ukrainians, and 4 members of a mixed Polish-Ukrainian family. Poles, who were far less numerous than Ukrainians in the county, are significantly overrepresented among the rescuers.

LEGEND
YV = Yad Vashem
POL = Pole(s)
UKR = Ukrainian(s)
AŻIH = Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw)

Baran, Józefa [POL] – Buczacz (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Baran, Mikhail, Agafia, Ilya, Mariya, & Grigoriy [UKR] – Petlikowice Nowe (Bartov, 253)

Capf, Adolf & Halina [POL] – near Buczacz (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Chaikovskiy, Stepan & Anna [UKR] – Kurdybanówka (Kurdwanówka) (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Chaikovski, Pavel, Teofila & Vladimir [UKR] – Buczacz & Kurdwanówka (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Dukiewicz, Michał & Genowefa [POL] – Podlesie (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Dzhivulskiy, Vasiliy, Marina, Anastasiya, Yekaterina & Pavlina (Kuzevich) [UKR – Sabbatarians] – Rublin (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Działoszyński, Antonina, Jan, & Czesława [POL] – Puźniki (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Grzebyk, Jan, Maria, Stanisław & Stefania (Wołoszyniak) [POL] – Monasterzyska (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Kania, Antoni (priest) [POL] – Huta Nowa (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Kaprocki, Wawrzyniec & Aniela [POL] – Wojciechówka (*not mentioned by name* – Bartov, 242, 359 n10)

Koryzna, Wiktoria, Stanisław, Mieczysław, Józefa (Lisowska), Teofila (Kamińska), & Stanisława (Gryńdziak) [POL] – Puźniki (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Kozak, Michał [POL] – Buczacz (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Kozak, Ivan & Paulina [UKR] – Trybuchowce (Bartov, 241-242)

Kraupa, Jan & Józefa [POL] – Nagórzanka (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Lehka (Lechki), Karola (Karolina) – mother; daughters: Helena (Osipenkova), Kazimiera (Semenyuk), Józefa (Krutnik) [POL] – Żyznomierz near Buczacz (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Najbar, Franciszek & Maria [POL] – Barysz (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Pająk, Kazimierz & Stefania [POL] – Gaje Buczackie (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Paluch, Helena & Mieczysław, & **Sroka**, Henryk [POL] – Buczacz (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Płotkowski, Franciszek, Maria, & Jan [POL] – Seńków (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Przysiecki, Witold & Maria, & **Kułakowska** Klaudia [POL] – Monasterzyska (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Rybak, Janina [POL] – Monasterzyska (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Słupski, Kazimierz [POL] – Puźniki (*mentioned in an endnote*)

Synenko, Yevgeniy & Yuliya (née Pokora) [UKR HUSBAND / POL WIFE] – Beremiany (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Świerszczak, Manko (Marian) & Maryna [POL HUSBAND / UKR WIFE] – Buczacz (Bartov, 254)

Tatomir, Jan, Julia, Józefa (Żak) & Janina (Szymczak) [POL – Jan may have been Ukrainian] – Jazłowiec (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Tęczyński, Janusz [POL] – Monasterzyska (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Weinglas, Maria & Kazimiera (Gurba) [POL] – Monasterzyska (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Wesołowska, Aniela (Franciscan of the Family of Mary) [POL] – Puźniki (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Wicherek, Mieczysław, Maria, & Józefa (Czernicka) [POL] – Medwedowce (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

Zarivny, Józef & Barbara [UKR HUSBAND / POL WIFE] – Nagórzanka (Bartov, 243–44, 359–60) → Wojciechówka

Zawadija, Hanna [POL] – Buczacz (*not mentioned by Bartov*)

LOCALITIES WHERE DOCUMENTED RESCUE OCCURRED

LEGEND
YV = Yad Vashem Righteous

Barysz [YV]
Beremiany [YV]
Bertniki
Buczacz & Outskirts [YV]
Ćwitowa
Duliby (Polish village)
Dźwinogród
Gaje Buczackie [YV]
Głęboka Dolina
Gutyszyna
Huta Nowa (Polish village) [YV]
Jazłowiec [YV]
Józefówka
Korościatyn (Polish village)
Kurdybanówka/Kurdwanówka [YV]
Mateuszówka (Polish village)
Medwedowce [YV]
Monasterzyska [YV]
Nagórzanka [YV]
Nowosiółka Koropiecka (Polish village)
Petlikowce Nowe [YV]
Petlikowce Stare
Pilawa
Podlesie [YV]
Podzameczek
Porchowa
Potok Złoty
Puźniki (Polish village) [YV]
Przewłoka
Rublin [YV]
Rzepińce
Seńków or Senków
Sokulec
Trybuchowce [YV]
Uście Zielone
Wojciechówka (Polish village) [YV]
Woziłów → Potok Złoty
Zalesie Koropieckie
Żnibrody (Polish village)
Zubrzec
Żyznomierz [YV]
Locality Not specified

SELECTED SOURCES MENTIONED:

- The Righteous Among the Nations Database, Yad Vashem, Internet: https://righteous.yadvashem.org/
- Israel Gutman and Sara Bender, eds., *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations: Rescuers of Jews during the Holocaust,* vol. 4 & 5: *Poland,* Parts 1 & 2 (Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2004)
- Sebastian Piątkowski ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945,* vol. *5: Dystrykt Galicja Generalnego Gubernatorstwa i Wołyń* (Lublin–Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2021)

A Polish woman had saved my life
by Szymon Niemend
Ghetto Fighters House Archives (Israel)

Szymon Niemend (1911–2004) was the son of the celebrated Buczacz photographer Ignacy Niemend. In 1932 he began studying composition and singing at the Lwów Conservatory. He made his living as a musician. When WWII broke out, Szymon returned to his hometown of Buczacz. During the years of the war, his mother and most of his extended family were murdered. Szymon hid under an alias at the houses of Poles and in the nearby forests. When the Red Army entered Buczacz in March 1944, he joined the army and served as a musician. Following his release in 1945, he returned to Lwów and completed his academic degree. Szymon worked as a music teacher and joined the Russian Composers Association. In 1953, Szymon managed to leave the Soviet Union with his wife and son and move to Poland. They settled in Katowice where Szymon worked as a lecturer at the Music Academy. In 1970, the family immigrated to Sweden where Szymon continued to work as a music teacher. He began to paint in an effort to ease the post traumatic symptoms he suffered because of his wartime experiences. Szymon exhibited his work in Israel, Germany and Sweden. Several of his paintings are kept at the Dachau Museum in Germany, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, and the Ghetto Fighters' House Museum. Szymon passed away in 2004 in Stockholm.

Barysz

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Franciszek & Maria Najbar (YV – Poles)
- Jan Dziuban (Polish priest)
- Alfons Walkiewicz (Polish priest)
- "Valineski" (identity unclear – Pole)

➢ **Franciszek Najbar (husband)**

➢ **Maria Najbar (wife)**

➢ **Rev. Jan Dziuban**

➢ Dr. Aleksy (Oleksii) Banach → Buczacz

Rescue story:
Dr. Max Anderman was one of the few Jewish physicians in Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, who was allowed to practice medicine outside the ghetto after the German occupation began. This came about because of the intercession of Dr. Anderman's Ukrainian friend, the district physician, Dr. [Aleksy or Oleksii] Banach. In the course of 1942, as the danger facing the Jews in this city mounted, Banach arranged a special work permit for Anderman in Barysz, a large village near Buczacz, where he served a rural population of Ukrainians and Poles. Dr. Anderman, who moved to the village with his family, established friendly relations with priests in the area – especially the Polish Catholic priest [Jan] Dziuban. When the Jewish community in Buczacz was liquidated, Dr. Anderman realized that his family would face the same bitter fate and, at Father Dziuban's recommendation, turned to Franciszek Najbar and asked him to arrange shelter for himself, his wife, and their four-year-old son. After Franciszek consulted with his wife Maria, the Najbars, young peasants who owned a modest farmstead, agreed to accommodate the Jewish refugees in their loft. When Anderman asked how he could reward them, they answered that if the Germans discovered them they would share the same fate and that if they survived, they would discuss reward at an appropriate time. The Najbars took in the Andermans unconditionally and concealed them for ten months despite the danger. They met all their wards' needs, and Maria, who had a young child of her own, provided the Andermans' young son with the daily milk ration that he required. In the spring of 1944, the Red Army liberated Buczacz and the Andermans returned to their home. The Najbars sought no remuneration for their acts of rescue, which they carried out for reasons of virtue and humanitarianism. When Ukrainian nationalists torched the Najbars' house after the war, the Andermans came to their rescuers' assistance and accommodated them in their own home. Later, the two families – independently of each other – moved to Wroclaw [Wrocław] (within Poland's new borders), and when they met, Dr. Anderman helped the Najbars settle into their new place of residence. The two families lived in familial proximity until 1956 and stayed in touch even after the Andermans immigrated to Israel. After Franciszek died, the Andermans continued to supported Maria and her children.
On December 23, 1987, Yad Vashem recognized Franciszek Najbar and his wife Maria as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons

Anderman, Max
Anderman, Avi
Anderman, Horowitz, Sela, Sara

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE
Also: *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* volume 5: Poland, Part 2, 537–538.

➢ **Rev. Alfons Walkiewicz**

Rescue story:
Rozalia (Róża) Allerhand (b. 1930) left her hiding place in Monasterzyska, near Buczacz, where she had been staying with a Polish family, and travelled by train to Kraków accompanied by Rev. Alfons Walkiewicz, a vicar from the town of Barysz, near Buczacz. She was able to pass a

German inspection without documents with the assistance of Rev. Walkiewicz, who pretended to be her brother. He placed Rozalia with the Kłosowski family in Kocmyrzów, a village near Kraków, where she survived the war going by the name of Kasia, under the protection of Rev. Ignacy Czabański from the local parish in nearby Luborzyca. There, Rozalia met Mania Malz or Maltz (Mina Schwinger), a Jewish girl from Bukowsko near Sanok, who had obtained a birth and baptismal certificate from a priest in her village in the name of Czesława Sokołowska. Mania was directed to the same Polish family via two contacts, one in Kraków, the other in Kocmyrzów. The Jewish girls' true identities were not known to each other at the time. Rozalia's brother, Aleksander Allerhand, relates this story in SOURCE: Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Harmonica: Jews Relate How Poles Saved Them from the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Polska Agencja Informacyjna, 2001), at pages 76–77 and 81.

➢ **"Valineski" (identity unclear)**

Rescue story:

After leaving the ghetto in Buczacz, Bleema Fenster (later Betty Katz, b. 1930) moved from place to place. On two occasions she turned to unknown priests for help. A priest in Buczacz provided her with a false birth and baptismal certificate and allowed her to stay in the rectory for several days. He taught her the prayers she needed to know to pass as a Catholic. After this document was taken from her, Bleema approached another priest near Buczacz, from whom she received the birth and baptismal certificate of a deceased person. She survived with the help of several Poles. In her testimony, Bleema also mentions Podzameczek and Barysz.

SOURCE: Testimony of Betty Katz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 15424.

Beremiany

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Yevgeniy & Julia Synenko (YV – Ukrainian husband; Polish wife)
- Pokora (Pole – Julia Synenko's brother)
- Synenko (Ukrainian – Yevgeniy's Synenko's father, outskirts of Buczacz)
- Dwoliński family (Poles)
- Other unidentified villagers

➢ **Yevgeniy Synenko (husband)**
➢ **Yuliya [Julia] Synenko (née Pokora) (wife)**
➢ **Pokora (Julia's brother)**
➢ **Synenko (Yevgeniy's father)**

Rescue story:
Elhanan Landman was born in 1933 in Stanislawow [Stanisławów] (later, Ivano-Frankovsk), the only son of Dr. Hersh Landman a lawyer, and his wife Pepa (née Anderman). With the beginning of the German occupation, Dr. Landman was among the first victims – he was murdered on August 4, 1941 together with many other members of the city's intelligentsia. Pepa and her son survived a number of Aktions in the Stanislawow ghetto, until Pepa managed to procure papers under an Aryan name. In November 1942, she fled with her son to Lwow [Lwów]. She lived in Lwow openly while Elhanan had to be hidden. When the situation turned worse, Pepa decided to flee to her native town of Buczacz, where she hoped to find her parents still alive. One Sunday morning in the spring of 1943, they arrived safely to Buczacz.
Very few Jews remained by then in the town, and Pepa's parents, Saul and Sara Anderman, were not among them. Someone advised her to inquire where they might be at the local grocery since its owner, Yevgeniy Synenko, was known to be on friendly terms with Saul Anderman. Posing as a Pole, Pepa went to the Synenkos home, where Yevgeniy's wife, Yuliya, welcomed her in. Somehow Yuliya understood that Pepa was the Andermans' daughter, and the latter confided in her. Pepa was happy to hear that her parents were alive, hiding in the forest with other Jews and receiving provisions from the Synenko couple. She asked Yuliya if it was possible for her son Elhanan to join them in the forest – the boy was circumcised and could not live openly. She was told that it was impossible for security reasons. Instead, Yuliya took the boy to her native village of Bremiany [Beremiany]. With the help of Yuliya's brother, Mr. Pokora, a hiding place was found in the attic of a carpenter workshop. Yuliya and her husband paid all the expenses for his maintenance. Two more Jews joined Elhanan sometime later – a tailor by the name of Isaak and Dr. Jozef Kornbluh [Józef Kornblüh – later sheltered by Poles in Żnibrody]. Since the attic had become too small for the three of them, Mr. Pokora (Yuliya's brother) excavated a hole inside the workshop's cellar. It was so small that the people inside could only lie down. They spent their days sleeping and at night they would climb up and stay in the workshop.
On January 24, 1944, a carpenter came running into the workshop urging the Jews to flee because their hiding place had been discovered. They started running towards the forest and lost each other. When Elhanan understood he was all alone, he started looking for a path to the Strypa River that he knew would lead him back to Buczacz. It took him more that 24 hours to reach the town. He recognized the Synenkos' home and went straight inside. Yevgeniy and Yuliya could not keep the boy themselves – their grocery shop was in the same building as their living quarters, and as such too much in the public eye; besides, the Synenkos had three little children who might disclose Elhanan's presence. So Yevgeniy took the boy, hidden under the straw in his cart, to his father's farm, situated on the outskirts of Buczacz, off the road to Czortkow. He stayed there, hidden in the stable's loft, until the first liberation of the area on March 28, 1944. There were also two Jewish women disguised as Ukrainians working at that farm; besides, one day Yevgeniy Synenko brought a group of Jews that stayed for a while until he found them a safer shelter.
During the short period of the first liberation, some of the Jews went back into town. Almost all of them were caught and murdered when the Germans recaptured Buczacz on April 3. On April 16, 1944, Yevgeniy Synenko took Elhanan to another hiding place where the boy joined a few other Jews. That was the last time he saw his rescuer.

After the final liberation of Buczacz by the Red Army, on July 21, 1944, Yevgeniy was arrested and deported to Siberia, where he apparently perished. His wife Yuliya left for a town in Poland within its new borders. Elhanan found his mother, who had survived under a false identity. After a short stay in Lwow, they started their way to the west and in 1948 settled in Montevideo, Uruguay. Pepa Landman corresponded for some time with Yuliya until the letters stopped coming. In 2008 Alejandro (Elhanan) Landman made a trip to Buczacz and indicated the house where his rescuers had lived, but did not succeed in finding exact information about their fate.
On October 12, 2008, Yad Vashem recognized Yevgeniy Synenko and his wife Yuliya (née Pokora) as Righteous Among the Nations.
Rescued Persons

Landman, Alejandro, Elhanan

Kaplan, Elijahu

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

➢ **Dwoliński family**

Rescue story:
Mira (Maria) Ledowski-Krum was born in 1937 in a Jewish family living in Tłumacz near Stanisławów (today's Ukraine). After the war had broken out and the Soviet Army had entered the area, Mira lived with her parents and siblings on the farm owned by her grandmother, Anna Hartenstein née Haber. German troops seized Tłumacz in 1941, but for a short period after that, the inhabitants of the farm still enjoyed relative freedom and were allowed to live outside of the local ghetto in exchange for supplying German soldiers with food.
Soon afterwards, however, Mira's family was sent to the ghetto in Tłumacz. When the Jewish quarter was liquidated towards the end of 1942, Mira's entire family, as well as grandma Anna Hartenstein together with her daughter Lula and Lula's son, were killed in the death camp in Bełżec. Mira, her father, her mother Adela, and Adela's brother, Lonek, managed to avoid the liquidation by hiding in a hiding place in the attic of a neighbouring house. Adela took an infant boy to the hideout, but tragically, the child was strangled so that the hiding place would not be compromised. Germans performed searches in all houses, but they did not discover the Krums' hideout. Thanks to the help of a Polish soldier, who, as Mira remembers, was referred to as "the Bear," the family managed to escape from Tłumacz.
Mira, her parents, and Lonek moved to the open ghetto in Buczacz, but they had to flee again once the process of deportation from the ghetto was initiated. They ended up in the locality of Beremiany. There, they received help and shelter from the **Dwoliński family** – a married couple with two children. Mr Dwoliński ran a mill. For over 10 months, the family hid the Krums, Lonek Hartenstein and several other Jews in the basement of their house. A part of the room was concealed with wooden boards and bags filled with grain. The Polish family took good care of those in hiding – they supplied them with food and took out dross. On Christmas Eve in 1942, Mrs Dwolińska invited people hiding in the basement to join them for dinner.
The living conditions in the hideout, however, were quite dire. There was no light in the basement and everything was damp. Despite those difficulties, Adela still believed they would survive. She took care of her daughter and always managed to come up with an activity or a game for her to learn something. "My mother's methods were ingenious. […] It never really occurred to me that I was living in a basement. […] She created a sort of a magical world which did not restrict me at all. […] I had plasticine to play with, because you could easily scrape clay off of the walls and mould it into animals, make various creatures and birds. […] From the early morning until the very end of the day my mother, who had been trained in teaching young children, would tell me marvellous stories and teach me poems," Mira reminisced in an interview given to the POLIN Museum in 2015. She is still able to remember and recite the poems of Tuwim which she learned by heart during the war.
Mira really wanted to learn to read and asked her mother to teach her. "My mother then replied that it was out of the question. «You will learn to read when the war is over. You will attend first grade and learn to read and write together with other children. I don't want you to go to school and do nothing but be bored.» I found it very unpleasant. […] But looking at it now, as a teacher, I understand that my mum helped me to look beyond the present: when I get out of here and go to school, I will learn to read. I won't be staying here forever."

One day, someone denounced the Dwoliński family and a search was performed in their house. It was a miracle that the Jews hiding in the basement were not discovered. The owner of the house asked the Krum family to leave. The risk was too high.
While the family was wandering around in search of another hiding place, they were denounced by a Polish forest officer and Mr Krum was killed right before the eyes of his wife and daughter. Those events took place on 30 April 1944. Adela's brother, Lonek, joined a partisan unit.
Adela and Mira were left alone. The mother created a new identity for her daughter – from then on, she was called Marysia Kowalik and was the daughter of an officer of the Polish Army, an internee in a POW camp. She also taught her Catholic prayers and rites, which was supposed to make the story and Polish identity of the girl more believable. Adela had been brought up in an assimilated family, had attended the Teaching Academy of the Sisters of Notre Dame and had many Polish friends, so she was very familiar with Christian prayers and customs.
The mother and the daughter wandered from village to village. After 7 or 10 days, they ended up in the house of Antonina Działoszyńska in the village of Puźniki near Koropiec. Antonina, a widow, lived there with her children – Jan and Czesława. Mira reminisces: "The door opened and there stood a woman who had never seen us before and vice versa. And she said: «A guest is a blessing from God, please come in. If Holy Mary has protected you so far and led you to my house, it means that I have the responsibility of helping and protecting you.»" Antonina decided to take Mira and Adela in, even though she suspected they were Jewish. She told her children that Adela was a cousin of her deceased husband from Buczacz.
The local parish priest helped to get fake documents for the hiding women. Both Adela and Mira helped Działoszyńska with housework and farmwork and attended Sunday masses in the local church together with the entire family. When Germans organised searches in the village, Czesława and Jan would take Mira outside of the house and Adela would go out into the fields or to the nearby forest. The woman would also provide additional education to Antonina's children.
In August 1944, a German soldier moved into Działoszyńska's house. One day he called Mira and sat her on his lap. "I was sitting right there on his lap when he embraced me and told me he had a daughter just like me. And that she wore braids, too. And then he asked me something and I answered in Jewish. He suddenly stood up and went to his room. My mother then said, without even raising her head: «He must have gone to get his revolver.» But he returned with an envelope and said: «This is a letter to my wife. If Germans catch you or take you to Vienna, I asked her to take care of you.»"
Mira and Adela survived the war. Thanks to the help of priest Tabaczkowski from Tłumacz, so did Adela's youngest brother, Wilhelm Hartenstein, who had been given the false name of Roman Szelożyński. He now lives in Gdańsk and still uses this name.
After the war, having briefly lived in Monasterzyska and Jelenia Góra, Mira and Adela moved to Wrocław. Mira enrolled for the Polish Studies programme at the university, but following an anti–Semitic incident which took place in the school in 1957, she dropped out after three semesters and migrated to Israel.
The women did not keep in touch with Działoszyńska and her children. It was after many years that Mira managed to find the family of Działoszyńska. On her initiative, Antonina was given the title of Righteous Among the Nations.
Mira Ledowski–Krum worked as a school teacher for 36 years; she taught Hebrew and the Bible. She currently teaches Polish in the Polish Institute in Tel Aviv. As she herself underlines, she has always had warm feelings towards Poland.
SOURCE: POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews: Polish Righteous
https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-dzialoszynski-family-0
According to another account, Leizer and Adela Krum and their 4-year-old daughter stayed with the Sinetzky family, in return for payment, for several days during a round-up of Jews in Buczacz. The Sinetzkys then took the Krums to their friends, the Dwoliński family, in Beremiany, who sheltered them for ten months, from May 1943 to February 1944. The property was raided by the police looking for Jews. When they did not locate the hiding place, they stood the Dwolińskis and their 9-year-old daughter up against the wall and threatened to shoot them. The Dwolińskis denied they were keeping Jews, and the Germans and Ukrainians eventually gave up the search. The Dwolińskis were no longer willing to shelter their charges. The Krums found shelter with a Pole, Marian Fiałkowski in Buczacz, and remained there until March 25, 1944. Fiałkowski was also sheltering Isaiah and Jania Shteuber at the time. The Krums had to go into hiding again when the Soviet army withdrew from the area and the Germans reentered. The Krums were taken in by a Christian family named Niedźwiedź. However, the Germans billeted in the house,

cutting off contact with the bunker. The Germans ordered the entire population to be evacuated, which allowed some Jews to leave their hideouts and flee to the villages. On April 30, 1944, Leiser ventured out to look for a shelter for his family. Since he looked like a Jew, he was spotted by a German and shot. Adela set off with her daughter and arrived at Puźniki.
SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 127–132.
See also: Działoszyński family → Puźniki

➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story:
Hilda Weitz (b. 1927 as Hindzia Miller) was sheltered by a Ukrainian family in Buczacz. Later on, she and her younger brother were hidden by a blacksmith's family. That man, his wife, and their child eventually fled the village, fearing they will come to look for Jews. Shortly after, the Soviets arrived.
SOURCE: Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Emipres: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420, here at p. 411. The rescue story is not mentioned in Bartov's *Anatomy,* pp. 151, 347.
According to her testimony, Hindzia Miller used a false name, Katherine Milevska (Milewska), and hid in Buczacz, Żnibrody, and Beremiany. Only one aid giver – Rozyanski (Różański?) – is mentioned by name.
SOURCE: Testimony of Hilda Weitz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 47637.

Bertniki

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Jan & Anna Palczak (husband & wife – Poles)
- Katarzyna Pancewicz (Pole)

➢ **Jan & Anna Palczak**
➢ **Katarzyne Pancewicz**
Rescue story:
Helped a number of Jews including Abraham, Ewa & Mundek Bein; Rubin, Francia & Toncia Merfeld; Beniamin Bauchman.
SOURCE: Sebastian Piątkowski ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945,* vol. *5: Dystrykt Galicja Generalnego Gubernatorstwa i Wołyń* (Lublin–Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2021), document 2.

Buczacz & Outskirts

In 1941, the Germans created a new township (*gmina*) called Buczacz (much smaller than the county of Buczacz), which included 12 communities: Dźwinogród, Leszczańce, Medwedowce, Nagórzanka, Nowostawce, Pilawa, Podzameczek, Rukomysz, Soroki, Wojciechówka, Żurawińce, and Żyżnomierz. Some of the rescue in this area is listed under the above-named villages. Rescue in unspecified places near Buczacz is listed here.

Most of the rescuers are not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:

- Józefa Baran (YV – Pole)
- Adolf & Halina Capf (YV – Poles)
- Michał Kozak (YV – Pole)
- Helena Paluch, her son Mieczysław Paluch & grandson Henryk Sroka (YV – Poles)
- Marian & Maryna Świerszczak (YV – Polish husband; Ukrainian wife)
- Volodymyr Pinchuk & his wife (Ukrainians)
- Wiszniewski (Ukrainian)
- Hanna Zawadija (YV – Pole)
- Eugeniusz & Jerzy Orzechowicz (Poles)
- Sienkiewicz couple (Poles)
- Catholic priests (Poles & Ukrainians)
- Rev. Ludwik Staufer (Pole)
- Kazimierz Dorosz (Pole)
- Krupiarz family (Poles)
- Stanisław Kozakiewicz (Pole)
- Zbigniew Pyzik (Pole)
- Stanisław Lewicki (Pole)
- Marian Kozakiewicz (Pole)
- B. Pastucha (Pole)
- Fijałkowski family (Poles)
- Ptasznik (Pole)
- Kaczmarska (Pole)
- Czajkowski family
- Kaszowski family
- Stanisław and Stanisława Wojnarowski (Poles)
- Julia Trembacz (Poles)
- Pavlo Sarachman (Ukrainian)
- Aleksy (Oleksii) Banach (Ukrainian doctor)
- Sinetzky family
- Marian Fiałkowski (Pole)
- Niedźwiedź family (Poles)
- Kaznovskyi (Ukrainian)
- Alpinski (Ukrainian)
- Shenko (Ukrainian)
- Ukrainian policemen
- Many other unidentified rescuers

➢ **Baran, Józefa**

Rescue story:

In 1942, Dawid and Klara Schwarz and three of their children were murdered by the Germans in Buczacz, in Eastern Galicia. The sole survivor of the family, 14-year-old Izabella, was taken in by Józefa Baran, who had witnessed the slaughter. Józefa gave Izabella the name and documents of her deceased daughter, and Izabella remained with her for some three months. The Ukrainian police became suspicious of the girl's identity, however, and Józefa asked her sister, Adela Falitarczyk, to shelter Izabella instead. Adela, who had a three-year-old daughter, brought Izabella over to the farm that she and her husband, Ludwig [Ludwik], owned in the village of Zapole, in the Nowogródek district. Six members of the Iser family were already hiding there, and

the seven fugitives remained with the Falitarczyks for over two years, until their liberation in the summer of 1944.
On August 11, 1992, Yad Vashem recognized Józefa Baran and Adela and Ludwig Falitarczyk as Righteous Among the Nations. File 5394
Rescued Persons

Chorążyczewska, Baran, Schwarz, Izabella, Bronisława

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATION DATABASE

- **Adolf Capf (husband)**
- **Halina Capf (wife)**

Rescue story:
Halina and Adolf Capf lived on a tiny farm in the town of Buczacz in the Tarnopol district. In February 1943, during the final destruction of the Stanislawow [Stanisławów] ghetto, Wita Kaswiner (later Reichaw) escaped, after her entire family had perished. After wandering for days and nights through villages and fields, Wita reached Buczacz, where relatives of hers lived. In Buczacz, Wita was approached by Bronia Palek [Bronisława Pałek], a Jewish woman, who advised her to seek help from Adolf and Halina Capf, known for their sympathy towards Jews. The Capfs took Wita in without any thought of payment, and obtained forged documents for her stating that she was Ukrainian. Since their own home was tiny, the Capfs rented a room for Wita, who worked on the farm, and ate her meals with them. Soon, however, the landlord became suspicious and threatened to denounce her to the Gestapo. Fearing for her safety, the Capfs had Wita transferred to Warsaw and sent her money for her upkeep. Another fugitive who found shelter with the Capfs was Bronisława Palek. After a neighbor informed on her, Palek was arrested by the local police and imprisoned. When she managed to escape from prison, the Capfs agreed to take her back, despite the enormous risk involved. In saving Wita and Bronisława, the Capfs were guided by humanitarian motives only, and never considered their personal interests. After the war, the Capfs moved to Lodz [Łódź], Bronisława Palek immigrated to London, and Wita Kaswiner immigrated to Israel. In 1989, the Capfs' daughter came to visit Wita in Israel.
On January 5, 1984, Yad Vashem recognized Halina Capf and Adolf Capf as Righteous Among the Nations.
Rescued Persons

Reichaw, Kaswiner, Wita

Holzer, Palek, Bronisława

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

From May to August 1943, Bronisława Pałek [Holzer] stayed with **Poles** in Kurdybanówka, a largely Ukrainian village, together with 8-year-old nephew. After a neighbour found out and Ukrainian militia raids ensued, the Polish farmer was afraid to keep them any longer. Ukrainian villagers killed a number of Jews including her nephew. Pałek then stayed with Polish friends, the Capfs, in Buczacz. While living in fields for 6 weeks, she obtained food from a police confidant.
SOURCES: Testimony of Bronisława Pałek, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/1130; Testimony of Bronislawa Palek, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.62/170 (Item 3732364).

- **Michał Kozak**

Rescue story:
After escaping from a work camp in Jagielnica (Czortków county), Samuel Rosental from Buczacz and some other Jews, among them a man named Czaban, were sheltered for two and a half months by Michał Kozak, an estate manager.
SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE
Also: Testimony of Samuel Rosental, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/2086.

- **Paluch, Helena (mother)**
- **Paluch, Mieczysław (son)**
- **Sroka, Henryk (grandson)**

Rescue story:

Even before the war, Helena Paluch was closely involved with the Jews of Buczacz, in the Tarnopol district, in East Galicia, and Jews lived in her home. She raised her orphaned grandson Henryk Sroka and he had many Jewish friends among his classmates in the local high school. In March 1943, after the Germans liquidated the Buczacz ghetto, Paluch gave shelter to the Tanne, Biller and Anderman families in a camouflaged bunker she built with her son Mieczysław and grandson Henryk for them. After the city was liberated by the Red Army, Klara Biller, Jakub Anderman and Jadwiga Tanne remained alive, and after the war Tanne married Sroka, whom she knew from before the war when they were classmates, and they moved to Warsaw. Biler and Anderman immigrated to Israel.
On March 4, 1987, Yad Vashem recognized Helena Paluch, her son Mieczysław and grandson Henryk Sroka as Righteous Among the Nations.
Rescued Persons

Tyer, Biller, Klara
Sroka, Tanne, Jadwiga
Anderman, Jakub
Zilberstein, Halina

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

It is not clear whether Helena Paluch is one and the same as Helena Poloch, who agreed to rescue Leah, the only daughter of Ms. Sleicher (Schleicher?), whose husband lived in the USA. After the war, the rescuer handed the child over to a Jewish institution for children in Łódź, and she was eventually reunited with her father.
According to the Buczacz memorial book, the girl's mother told the rescuer that the child's father would pay the rescuer "in gold" for sheltering their daughter. There is no reason to believe that the promise was genuine, although some form of compensation may have been expected. The Jewish organization that took the child supposedly paid the rescuer 360,000 złoty (mistranslated as "gilden"), about the equivalent of $1,000 US at the time.
SOURCE: I. Kahan (Yisrael Cohen), ed., *Sefer Buczacz: Matsevet zikaron le-kehila kedosha* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1956), 264 ff.; translated as *Book of Buczacz: In Memory of a Martyred Community,* Internet: https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/buchach/buc284.html.

- **Mańko [Marian] Świerszczak (husband)**
- **Maryna Świerszczak (wife)**
- **Volodymyr Pinchuk, his wife & his stable hand**
- **Wiszniewski (Pinchuk's brother-in-law)**
- Dukiewicz, Michał (husband) → see Podlesie
- Dukiewicz, Genowefa (wife) → see Podlesie

Rescue story:
As youngsters before the war, Jechiel Rosen and his brothers, Samuel and Henry, used to play football in a playing field adjoining a Polish cemetery, in the town of Buczacz, in the Tarnopol district. In the course of time, a friendship developed between the Rosen boys and Manko Świerszczak, a gravedigger and custodian of the cemetery, whose friendly nature soon endeared him to the boys. In June 1943, when the last of the Jews were deported from Buczacz, the Rosen brothers and their mother fled and made their way to the cemetery, where they knocked on Świerszczak's door. Manko Świerszczak, with his wife Maryna's approval, led the four Rosens to the cemetery where, together, they dug a bunker in which they hid. Later, they were joined by four other Jews whom Świerszczak had saved, but the newcomers left shortly after and were never heard of again. After neighbors informed the Gestapo that the Świerszczaks were buying excessive quantities of food, their house was searched. Although they Germans found no trace of the refugees, Świerszczak was arrested. Despite being tortured for several days, he did not betray his charges. In the winter, when it was too cold to stay in the bunker, the Świerszczaks dug a hiding place for the Rosens under the floorboards of the funeral parlor in the cemetery. Their willingness to endanger their lives for Jewish refugees was inspired by humanitarian motives, which overrode considerations of personal safety or economic hardship. On the contrary, they considered it an honor to save the lives of the Jewish refugees who came their way. One day,

German soldiers retreating from the Red Army entered the funeral parlor. The floor collapsed under their weight and the soldiers fell through the floorboards on to the Jewish refugees. The boys' mother was shot on the spot, but the three brothers managed to escape. After their narrow escape, the three brothers stayed with Michał and Genowefa Dukiewicz, a peasant couple they knew, who lived in a nearby village of Podlesie, until the area was liberated by the Red Army in March 1944. After the war, the survivors immigrated to Israel while their rescuers moved to an area within the new Polish borders.
On July 7, 1983, Yad Vashem recognized Maryna and Manko Świerszczak and Genowefa and Michał Dukiewicz as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons

Rosen, Henry, Henryk
Rosen, Samuel (Milek)
Rosen, Jechiel, Hil
Rosen, Bergman, Klara

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE
Also: Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 254; Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Emipres: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420, at pp. 411–412; Testimony of Samuel Rosen, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/1935; Testimony of Samuel Rozen, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2055 (Item 3555721).

POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews: Polish Righteous:
Story of Rescue: The Świerszczak & Dukiewicz families
The Rosen Jewish family lived in Buczacz (now Ukraine), at 2 Podhajecka street. Following the death of her husband in 1935, Klara Rosen raised her three sons alone – Heniek, Milek and Jachiel. Milek, who years later would write about his family's wartime experiences, was 14 years old when World War II broke out.
On 17th September 1939, Buczacz was occupied by the USSR and annexed to the Ukraine. As Milek recalls, the first Wehrmacht units entered Buczacz two weeks after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war – at noon on 5th July 1941. At that time, the Jewish community comprised around 60% of the town's population and found itself in great danger. The Germans systematically conducted operations aimed at rounding up and murdering the Jews of Buczacz. The first operation took place on 7th October 1942, the last on 15th May 1943. On 24th June, the German authorities officially declared Buczacz a town free of Jews (*judenfrei).*
During the German occupation, Milek obtained a work permit and, together with other tradesmen, was taken to work on the railway tunnel in Buczacz–Nagórzanka. During the first German operation in 1942, he fled and, together with his family, hid in the chapel attic of a Polish cemetery near Fedor Mountain. The whole family hid in there over the cause of the following four operations.
Milek had been friends with Mietek from before the War. He was the son of the local gravedigger, Mańko Świerszczak. The boys often helped him in his work at the cemetery. After Mietek died (he perished while handling ammunition during the German-Soviet war), his father, and his wife Maryna, decided to look after their son's friend and his family. One time, he said to him, "Listen Milo, I'll save you and your family." In his memoirs, Milek calls Mańko a "human angel".
Mańko found a hiding place for the Rosen family in the Polish cemetery, in an old, walled crypt containing only one coffin. Together, they camouflaged it well, covering the rectangular entrance with turf. Mańko lined the hiding place with straw and the Rosen family gathered up whatever food they could manage and stored it there – flour, sugar and other produce.
In May 1943, the Germans ordered the transportation of the Jews of Buczacz to Tłuste, Jagielnica and Kopyczyńce. As it turned out, it was a fiction. Along the way, all the Jews were murdered and buried in the nearby fields. Right after the operation, Milek, his mother and brothers, hid in the cemetery. Thanks to that hiding place, they managed to survive. Milek recalls

that, from that moment, there was no return to freedom. His grandmother and aunt perished in that operation.
From the end of May 1943, the Rosen family hid in that crypt. They only emerged at night for air. As Milek recalls, “Sitting in the dark, we knew nothing – neither what day it was, nor the date. I wanted to write a diary, but that was impossible – night was day for us, and vice versa. I knew that cemetery like my own home”.
At night, they lay on the grass and looked up at the stars. They tried washing themselves using the leaves which were covered with dew. During a storm, they lit a small hearth in the empty cemetery and cooked soup using corn flour. They also used a well, located close by in the garden on the Czyżewski property.
After exhausting their original supplies, Mańko obtained them more food for which they gave him money. When their financial resources ran out, the gravedigger supported them himself from his own modest funds. Sometimes Stasia, Świerszczak’s daughter brought food to the cemetery. She left a packet at a pre-arranged spot. She was, however, unaware of the Rosens’ presence there. She thought she was just bringing food for the father. The brothers made up for the lack of food by stealing from nearby orchards. As Milek recalls, they took ”everything that they could manage to carry”.
Mańko’s aid was an extraordinarily dangerous undertaking. Once, he was arrested by Ukrainian militia, accused of hiding Jews. Someone had denounced him, stating that he was buying a bit too much food. During the interrogation, he was severely beaten. However, he never betrayed Milek and his family.
When winter came, the crypt was in a dangerous situation – tracks in the snow would have betrayed the hiding place. Then Mańko and the Rosen brothers built a bunker beneath the floor of the crypt.
Fiszel Szwarz, a butcher and relative of the Rosens’, joined them that winter in the crypt. At that time, conditions there were markedly worse. All were facing death through starvation. Szwarz then wrote to a butcher friend, a Ukrainian named Piszczuk [Volodymyr Pinchuk – see below], asking him to send food. After a few days, he appeared at the cemetery with a sack full of bread, sausage and other foods, plus vodka. As Milek recalls, ”That night, we feasted on the contents of Piszczuk’s sack – we ate and drank until sated. That was probably in December or January, maybe Christmas Eve or New Year’s Eve”.
In March 1944, the German army retreated. An anti-aircraft gun was placed next to the cemetery. One day, during a fierce storm, soldiers took shelter in the crypt. Under their weight, the floor collapsed, revealing the Rosens’ hiding place. Klara told her sons, ”Run away children. Maybe you’ll save yourselves”. When she emerged from the crypt to distract the Germans, she was shot. The Rosen brothers managed to escape. At the beginning, they hid with Wiszniewski, a Ukrainian, who was Piszczuk the butcher’s brother-in-law. They hid in a small cell where, as it turned out, other Jews were hiding. A few days later, they were discovered by a German looking for chickens at the farm. Fortunately, the soldier left them alone. But, from that moment on, that hiding place was dangerous. The brothers had to find somewhere else to hide.
They remembered an acquaintance, Michał Dukiewicz, who lived in nearly Podlesie. They reached his farm. At the sight of the ragged boys, Dukiewicz burst out crying. Immediately, he fed them and hid them in his barn. After a few days, Dukiewicz brought them happy news. The German army was retreating. On 25th March 1944, the Rosen brothers left their hiding place. Milek recalls how they called Dukiewicz *Michał the Angel*.
In April, the Germans returned. The Rosens fled with the retreating Soviet army. In the USSR, the two eldest joined the newly formed First Polish Army. Later, Henryk took part in the liberation of Kraków, whereas Milek served in the army entering Warsaw in 1945. After the War, Henryk moved to Chicago, Jachiel settled in Eilat in Israel. Both have since passed away. Milek Rosen emigrated to Israel in 1946, where he lives to this day.
Milek recalls, “Those two angels, the late Mańko Świerszczak and the late. Michał Dukiewicz, were honoured as Righteous Among the Nations. Their names are inscribed in Jerusalem on a heroes plaque and trees have been planted in their names. On All Souls Day, I pray for them and ask God for them to be admitted into the circle of our holiest. Amen!”.

Samuel Rosen (Rozen) also hid with Włodzimierz Pińczuk (Volodymyr Pinchuk), a Ukrainian butcher, for 7 days in March 1944, at the end of German occupation. Samuel Rosen recalled that Pinchuk delivered food to him and other Jews: “Myself, I was surprised how generous this

Ukrainian was towards Jews. He didn't know us at all, but we turned to him for help by writing a letter, because we'd heard that he helped Jews … he sent his stable hand in the night to bring us twenty-five loaves of bread, loads of ham, vodka, candy, etcetera…. His wife gave us milk and honey, and she cried about our fate."
SOURCE: Testimony of Samuel Rosen, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/1935.

➢ **Zawadija, Hanna**
➢ Fiałkowska, Stefania (Hanna's niece) → Chorostków (Kopyczyńce county)
Rescue story:
In 1941, immediately after the Germans occupied the town Buczacz, in the Tarnopol district, the parents of 11-year-old Eliezer Fuchs were murdered. Hanna Zawadija, his former nanny, smuggled him out of the ghetto, and arranged for him to stay with her sister, who lived together with her husband and 16-year-old daughter, Stefania Fiałkowska, in the nearby town of Chorostków. Fuchs, who was introduced to the neighbors as an illegitimate relative, was looked after devotedly by Fiałkowska. In the spring of 1943, when the village policemen suspected Fuchs' identity, a temporary hiding place was arranged for him in the area, while Fiałkowska continued to provide him with food and see to his needs. In late 1943, Fiałkowska arranged for Fuchs to stay with her brother in the town of Czortków, where he remained until July 1944, when the Red Army liberated the area. After the war, Fuchs immigrated to Israel while his rescuers moved to an area within the new borders of Poland.
On January 27, 1997, Yad Vashem recognized Stefania Fiałkowska as Righteous Among the Nations. On July 16, 2001, Yad Vashem recognized Hanna Zawadija as Righteous Among the Nations. File 7379.
Rescued Persons
Fuchs, Eliezer
SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

➢ **Eugenia and Jerzy Orzechowicz**
Rescue story:
Eugenia and Jerzy Orzechowicz sheltered several Jews among them Maurycy Altschüler (Munio Autchiler), a ghetto policeman, and Herman Rotfeld, a 5-year-old Jewish boy from Stanisławów. According to Eugenia's testimony, she hid Jewish children whenever an *Aktion* was expected. She was arrested and tortured by the Germans for hiding Jews, allegedly after being betrayed by her husband, who ran off with Anna Zilber, a Jewish woman they had hidden.
SOURCES: *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 283–284 (Eugenia Orzechowicz is misidentified as Czechowicz; Herman Rotfeld and Anna Zilber are not mentioned); Omer Bartov, "Interethnic Relations in the Holocaust as Seen Through Postwar Testimonies: Buczacz, East Galicia, 1941–1944," in Doris L. Bergen, ed., *Lessons and Legacies,* vol. VIII: *From Generation to Generation* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008), 101–124, based on Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 303/VIII/223, 72.
Also: Joanna B. Michlic, "'I will never forget what you did for me during the war': Rescuer–Rescuee Relationships in the Light of Postwar Correspondence in Poland, 1945–1949," *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 39 (2): 169–207, at p. 29; Joanna Beata Michlic, "Daily Life of Polish Women, Dedicated Rescuers of Jews during and after the Second World War," in Simone Gigliotti, Jacob Golomb, and Caroline Steinberg Gould, eds., *Ethics, Art, and Representations of the Holocaust: Essays in Honor of Berel Lang,* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2014), 227–228.

➢ **Sienkiewicz couple**
Rescue story:
Róża Dobrecka, a well-educated young woman, escaped from the Warsaw ghetto with her 5-year-old son Seweryn, in summer 1942. They arrived in Buczacz just before the *Aktion* of February 1943. Her husband and mother later joined them, as did her brother, Olek, who became a ghetto policeman, and her sister, Hala. They pretended to be Poles whenever they left the ghetto, and were helped by Polish acquaintances. Bartov does not mention the helpers' names. (*Anatom y,* p, 257.) In her testimony, Dobrecka reveals that they were a married couple by the name of Sienkiewicz. They provided her and her family members with temporary refuge and other assistance. Dobrecka mentions a cruel Austrian Jew named Wolf, a Gestapo collaborator, and a Jew from Warsaw, who accompanied him on his exploits. Wolf was in charge of a work camp for Jews in Czortków. He frequently visited Buczacz, where he was seen in the company of SS corporal Paul Thomanek. In addition to demanding Jewish girls for orgies, they were known to

shoot at Jews in the streets. (Bartov mentions Wolf in *Anatomy,* at pp. 194 and 257, as a Jewish Ordnungsdienst chief and Gestapo-man. At pp. 361–362, we learn that this "Pole" was put on trial by the Soviets after the war and condemned to death by hanging.) Dobrecka mentions a gang of Jewish thieves headed by Ucio(?), who pilfered Jewish homes in the ghetto. Bartov neglects to mention that episode. Dobrecka decided to return to Warsaw with her son; the other members of her family perished. When leaving Buczacz by train, she was recognized by a Ukrainian policeman, but he did not harm them. Bartov doesn't mention that episode. (*Anatomy,* pp. 257–258.)
SOURCES: Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 257–258; Testimony of Róża Dobrecka, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/2274.
Also: Testimony of Seweryn Dobrecki, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/3611.

- **Catholic priests (Polish & Ukrainian)**

Rescue story:
A delegation of Jews from Buczacz entrusted Torah scrolls and other religious objects to the Polish Latin-rite Roman Catholic church and to the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Basilian monastery in that town. After the war, those objects were recovered and given to the Jewish community in Wrocław.
SOURCE: Account of Shmuel (Samuel) Rosental (Samuel Rosenthal) in I. Kahan (Yisrael Cohen), ed., *Sefer Buczacz: Matsevet zikaron le-kehila kedosha* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1956), 258–263, translated as *Book of Buczacz: In Memory of a Martyred Community*, Internet: httpsf://www.jewishgen.org/Yizkor/buchach/buchach.html; Testimony of Samuel Rosental, Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/ 2086.

Polish Catholic priests from Buczacz and vicinity, in particular Rev. Ludwik Staufer, a catechist from 1931, pastor of Buczacz parish from 1939 to March 1942, and resident priest until 1945, is mentioned by name or alluded to in several accounts. Rev. Władysław Sygnatowicz a vicar in Buczacz from February 1942, was the acting pastor after the departure of the pastor in April 1944 due to threats to his life. Rev. Sygnatowicz left Buczacz in October 1945, when he was "repatriated" to Poland with his parishioners. (See "Władysław Sygnatowicz," Internet: http://mtrojnar.rzeszow.opoka.org.pl/ksieza_niezlomni/wladyslaw_sygnatowicz/.)

- **Catholic priests (Poles)**
- **Unidentified Poles**

Rescue story:
After escaping from the ghetto in Buczacz, Bleema Fenster (b. 1930, later Betty Katz) moved from place to place. On two occasions she turned to unknown priests for help. A priest in Buczacz provided her with a false birth and baptismal certificate and allowed her to stay at the rectory for several days, during which time he taught her the prayers she needed to know to pass as a Catholic. After this document was taken from her, Bleema approached another priest near Buczacz from whom she received the birth and baptismal certificate of a deceased person. She survived with the help of a number of Poles. In her testimony, Bleema also mentions Podzameczek and Barysz.
SOURCE: Testimony of Betty Katz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 15424.

- **Kazimierz Dorosz**
- **Polish Catholic priest**
- **Other rescuers**

Rescue story:
Malka (Mali) Karl escaped from the Lwów ghetto in 1942, just before the ghetto was liquidated, with her three young daughters: Fela (later Grubiar) the oldest; Anita (b. 1938), called Haneczka; and Esther (b. 1941, later Oxenstein), the youngest. With the help of Polish friends, they were able to board a train and leave the city. Upon arriving in Buczacz, Malka held herself out to be the wife of a Polish army officer who had been sent to Germany. This was a rather unlikely story, especially given the timing of her arrival. With the help of a Polish woman named Kazia whom she befriended, but who apparently was unaware that she was Jewish, Malka was able to obtain an identity document and ration card under the name of Maria Korol. She rented a room from a married couple by the name of Gadziszewski, who later learned that Malka was Jewish. (When the Gadziszewskis left Buczacz, they transferred ownership of their house to Malka's youngest

daughter.) Malka's cousin or niece, Lusia Barach, was also residing in Buczacz openly, passing as a Pole with the help of her Polish boyfriend Kazimierz Dorosz. Lusia and her boyfriend helped Malka with her cover. Although they were not familiar with Catholic rituals, except for some prayers Malka taught herself and her daughters, the family started to attend Sunday mass at the Catholic church, seemingly without arousing suspicion. A further complication arose when the German authorities cracked down on the proliferation of false documents. However, an unidentified priest came to their rescue.

> Suddenly one day an order was issued by the Municipality. All Catholic people had to present their birth certificate and work permit in order to be given a new identification document. Where would I get these birth certificates? …
>
> When it was my turn to go to the Municipality, I explained that all the identification documents had been left in Lwow [Lwów] and that my husband was not in Poland because he had been sent to Germany. The Municipality send [sic] me to see the local priest so he could testify about my condition. I went to the parish with my daughter Dziunia, whom the priest knew well. When he asked for my name I said I was Maria Korol and that Pietrzycka was my mother's last name. I registered my daughters as Felicia, Anita and Martha and gave, in each case, as the date of baptism, the eighth day that followed their date of birth. That night I was very restless. I couldn't sleep thinking that if the priest sent for my documents in Lwow, he would find out that everything was a fake. The next day I went to the parish, expecting the worst to happen. Then my fear turned to happiness when I received the documents signed and sealed. I couldn't believe what had happened!
>
> SOURCE: Mali Karl, *Escape to Life* (U.S.A.: n.p., 2020), 134–135.

Since there was no conceivable reason why a Polish Catholic woman could not have turned to the actual parish where she and her children were baptized to obtain genuine certificates in their own names, which was what Mali ostensibly wanted, but was asking a priest in another parish to produce documents he had no authority to issue, the ruse was rather transparent and was surely detected by the obliging priest.

When Malka's husband, Samuel, escaped from the Janowska camp in Lwów, he came to join his family in Buczacz. Because of his Jewish accent, he had to remain hidden. Kazimierz Dorosz rented a room for Samuel in his aunt Zosia's cottage. When Samuel got sick, he was treated by a Polish doctor who was aware that he was Jewish. Afterwards, Samuel moved in with his family. He hid behind a closet and did not venture outside. When the German army evacuated the residents of Buczacz as the Soviet army was approaching, Samuel stayed behind. He was discovered inadvertently by Germans and executed. Lusia Barach also perished, having been apprehended when she brought food for Samuel. Her boyfriend, Kazimierz, was imprisoned for hiding a Jewish girl. Malka also stated that Jewish partisans took revenge on, i.e., killed, four Polish boys who disclosed Jewish hideouts.

Only a small part of the foregoing story, which is based on Malka's published memoir, is found in Bartov's *Anatomy of a Genocide* (at pp. 238–239). Bartov relies on the testimony of Malka's daughter, Anita, who was four to five at the time, which is not as detailed as or consistent with her mother's memoir. Some of the events Anita related are obviously inaccurate, others appear to be embellished. Many of the graphic details of the murders Anita allegedly witnessed, e.g., a German policeman ripping a Jewish infant in half and beating babies against a cement wall, are not found in her mother's memoir. Anita does mention one interesting episode that rings true. The three sisters played a game that entailed running after the oldest sister, who had dark hair and a Jewish appearance, and calling her a "Jew". Such slips could easily have given away their Jewish identity.

SOURCES: Testimony of Anita Karl, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 9899; A Holocaust Survivor's Story: Anita Karl, December 2, 2022, Nova Southeastern University, Internet: https://sharkmedia.nova.edu/media/A+Holocaust+Survivor%27s+StoryA+Anita+Karl/1_ru2nw0mn/126245761.

- **Władysław Krupiarz and his parents**
- **Rev. Ludwik Staufer**
- **Stanisław Kozakiewicz**
- **Zbigniew Pyzik**
- **Stanisław Lewicki**
- **Marian Kozakiewicz**

➢ **Ukrainian woman**

Rescue story:

Lejb (Lejba) Aspis, a teenager from Bohorodczany, near Stanisławów. arrived in Buczacz in 1942 alone, looking for shelter with his aunt. By that time his aunt had been taken away by the Germans, so Lejb wandered the fields near the town. A group of Polish boys who were herding cattle, among them Władysław Krupiarz, Stanisław Kozakiewicz, and Zbigniew Pyzik, came across Lejb and took pity on him. They provided him with food and makeshift shelter. The Krupiarz family decided to take Lejb under their wing as, ostensibly, their orphaned nephew, Stanisław Wolański. They approached Rev. Staufer for a birth and baptismal certificate for Lejb under that name. It appears that Lejb perished in unclear circumstances shortly before or during the German army's retreat from Buczacz

SOURCE: Testimony of Władysław Krupiarz in Sebastian Piątkowski ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945,* vol. *5: Dystrykt Galicja Generalnego Gubernatorstwa i Wołyń* (Lublin–Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2021), document 12.

Krupiarz's account is corroborated by Stanisław Kozakiewicz (b. 1930), who provided a great deal of information about wartime Buczacz:

- His father, Marian Kozakiewicz, a lawyer, was arrested on 21 or 23 of September 1939; he was released in April 1941, because he was the son of a poor farmer (Note: Marian Kozakiewicz is mentioned in connection with the rescue of Jews in Puźniki by → Rev. Kazimierz Słupski)
- Leopold Feuerstein, a Jewish lawyer, was arrested by Soviets and deported to the Soviet interior (Bartov mentions this in *Anatomy,* at pp. 144–145, misidentifying him as "Fenerstoin"); Feuerstein's wife and sons were also deported to the Soviet interior
- Before the war, there were 16 lawyers' offices (kancelaria) in Buczacz (11 Jewish, 1 Polish, 4 Ukrainian); after the German invasion, some Jews approached Marian Kozakiewicz's wife to have her husband reopen his law office (her husband was working as a forester at the time)
- After escaping from an execution site, Lejba "Ajwisz", i.e. Aspis, was helped by Christians who gave him food; called "Staszek," he was sheltered in Krupiarz's stable on outskirts of Buczacz
- Engelberg, a mill owner, lived on outskirts of Buczacz (Bartov mentions him: *Anatomy,* p. 135); he was denounced by his Ukrainian workers; two of his sons escaped and formed (joined) a group of 8 armed Jews who were based near Puźniki (described as a settlement of World War I veterans); they gathered Jews hiding in forests and would come to Buczacz from time to time to get medicine from the pharmacist Stanisław Lewicki; they were in contact with Lejba "Ajwisz"
- Dr. Bernhard Seifer moved to Buczacz from Tarnopol in 1936; he had son and a daughter; he became a *Judenrat* member; he escaped with money collected from Jews; he survived in hiding, as did his son, Dunia, who was hidden by farmers (their rescue is described under Puźniki)
- A young Ukrainian woman rescued Marek Ajzensztajn (Eisenstein?) in her home; they later married and moved to Poland, where he changed his name; they had 2 sons; he is buried at the cemetery in Pyry, near Warsaw (Bartov alludes to this story regarding "Mandel": *Anatomy,* p. 182)

SOURCE: Oral history interview with Stanisław A. Kozakiewicz, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession no. 1998.A.0300.302, RG-50.488.0302

➢ **B. Pastucha**
➢ **Fijałkowski family**
➢ **Ptasznik**
➢ **Kaczmarska**
➢ **Other rescuers**

Rescue story:

Józef Kornblüh was sheltered by a number of Poles, sometimes for payment. However, much of the story is missing from Bartov's account. (*Anatomy of a Genocide,* pp. 258–259.) According to Józef Kornblüh's testimony:

- In June 1943, he and a female cousin were hidden by a Pole named B. Pastucha, a municipal employee (with a wife, two children and a sister), on the outskirts of Buczacz, for payment
- Pastucha had earlier sheltered a female neighbour and Henryk Raab for payment
- Fearful of ongoing German raids, Pastucha told them to hide in the fields
- They then found shelter with Fijałkowski, Pastucha's neighbour, but Fijałkowski got frightened and would only keep the Jewish woman (Kornblüh's cousin)
- Fijałkowski's son found a shelter for Kornblüh with his brother-in-law, Ptasznik, for payment, for about a month

- Fijałkowski's son then found another shelter for Kornblüh with Kaczmarska, the widow of a forester, for several months, for payment
- While living in the forest, Kornblüh was given food by an elderly woman
- Kornblüh returned to Fijałkowski's (father) home; he was also taken in by Fijałkowski's female neighbour for a few days
- Another Polish woman took pity on Kornblüh, and took him to Beremiany [→see Synenko], but he had to leave because of a Ukrainian neighbour
- Kornblüh then moved to Żnibrody, where he was sheltered by an unidentified Polish family, who he says were very good people, for 10 weeks until the arrival of the Soviets

SOURCES: Testimony of Józef Kornblüh, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), nos. 301/3279 & 3283.

Kornblüh's rescue is described in another publication as follows:

> Józef Kornblüh from Buczacz changed his hiding place over a dozen times. In June 1943, he hid in the house of a sympathetic Pole, Pastucha, an employee of the local magistracy. After a few weeks, Pastucha, terrified that he would be caught, told Kornblüh to leave. Subsequently, Kornblüh used a field, the attic of a logging hut owned by a man named Fijałkowski, the house of a Pole named Ptasznik, the woods (where he met a Polish beggar woman), and numerous peasant homesteads from which he was either thrown out or fled. In the end, he managed to survive thanks to a family of Polish peasants who allowed him to stay for ten weeks.
> SOURCE: Anna Wylegała, "Operation Reinhard in District Galicia: Three Levels of Narrative about the Holocaust," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies,* vol. 34, no. 3 (Winter 2020); 478–505, at p. 486.

➢ **Stanisław and Stanisława Wojnarowski**
➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story:

After escaping from Buczacz during an *Aktion*, Szlomo Blond wandered in the forest where he encountered some Poles on the outskirts of the town who were prepared to shelter him: Stanislaw Wojnarowski and his wife, Stanisława. Blond returned to Buczacz after the *Aktion*. Szlomo and his wife Penina stayed with his benefactors whenever conditions in Buczacz got bad. In Janyay 1943, his wife went to stay with the Krzemiński family near Tłumacz, whereas Szlomo stayed with the Wojanarowskis from until May 1943, at which time he went to join his wife. He wrote about his benefactors in glowing terms: "What he did, I wouldn't even do for my brother." Afterwards, the Wojnarowskis sheltered Shlomo Ritzer, from Tłumacz, and his cousin Rozha Weinstock, from Monasterzyska, who had stayed earlier with an unidentified, old Polish couple. This story is not mentioned by Bartov.

SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 17–19, 98–103; Testimony of Szlomo Blond, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/2563 (Item 3556139).

➢ **Czajkowski family**
➢ **Kaszowski family**

Rescue story:

Shulamit Dolman, then Sonia Grines (b. 1924), from Koropiec identified the following persons who helped her survive: the Czajkowskis and Kaszowskis, in or near Buczacz, and Krokoszyńska, Karpiński and Mania (Maria) and Jadzia (Jadwiga) Chaszczewska of Nowosiółka Koropiecka, where she hid in the nearby forest.

SOURCE: Testimony of Shulamit Dolman, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 19784.

Also: Testimony of Sonia Grines, Yad Vashem Archives, file M.1.E/1576 (Item 3541304).

➢ **Julia Trembacz**

Rescue story:

According to Julia Trembacz (Julija Mykhailivna Trembach), a resident of Buczacz, she hid a young Jewish woman and her baby in a hayloft, with her husband's permission. They were taken by a group of Jews. She also helped other Jews.

SOURCES: Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Emipres: Coexistence and*

Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420, at p. 410; Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 279–280.

➢ **Pavlo Sarachman**

Rescue story:

Joe Perl (born in Monasterzyska in 1931) was hidden with his mother by Pavlo Sarachman, a local leader of the Ukrainian "Banderowcy" who was involved in hunting down and killing Jews. When the Soviets took Buczacz in March 1944, the man said to them: "Don't walk out of my house [in the daytime] because I don't want anyone to see that I had been helping Jews." They had to "sneak out like thieves in the middle of the night." Joe Perl also received help from persons identified as Hanka and Nicola in Nagórzanka,

SOURCE: Testimony of Joe Perl, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 25051.

Bartov does not mention this rescue in *Anatomy of a Genocide,* but did mention it in a previous publication: Omer Bartov, "Interethnic Relations in the Holocaust as Seen Through Postwar Testimonies: Buczacz, East Galicia, 1941–1944," in *Lessons and Legacies VIII: From Generation to Generation,* ed. by Doris L. Bergen (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008), 101–124.

➢ **Dr. Aleksy (Oleksii) Banach**

Rescue story:

Dr. Max Anderman was one of the few Jewish physicians in Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, who was allowed to practice medicine outside the ghetto after the German occupation began. This came about because of the intercession of Dr. Anderman's Ukrainian friend, the district physician, Dr. [Aleksy or Oleksii] Banach. In the course of 1942, as the danger facing the Jews in this city mounted, Banach arranged a special work permit for Anderman in Barysz, a large village near Buczacz, where he served a rural population of Ukrainians and Poles. Dr. Anderman, who moved to the village with his family, established friendly relations with priests in the area – especially the Polish Catholic priest [Jan] Dziuban. When the Jewish community in Buczacz was liquidated, Dr. Anderman realized that his family would face the same bitter fate and, at Father Dziuban's recommendation, turned to Franciszek Najbar and asked him to arrange shelter for himself, his wife, and their four-year-old son. After Franciszek consulted with his wife Maria, the Najbars, young peasants who owned a modest farmstead, agreed to accommodate the Jewish refugees in their loft. When Anderman asked how he could reward them, they answered that if the Germans discovered them they would share the same fate and that if they survived, they would discuss reward at an appropriate time. The Najbars took in the Andermans unconditionally and concealed them for ten months despite the danger. They met all their wards' needs, and Maria, who had a young child of her own, provided the Andermans' young son with the daily milk ration that he required. In the spring of 1944, the Red Army liberated Buczacz and the Andermans returned to their home. The Najbars sought no remuneration for their acts of rescue, which they carried out for reasons of virtue and humanitarianism. When Ukrainian nationalists torched the Najbars' house after the war, the Andermans came to their rescuers' assistance and accommodated them in their own home. Later, the two families – independently of each other – moved to Wroclaw [Wrocław] (within Poland's new borders), and when they met, Dr. Anderman helped the Najbars settle into their new place of residence. The two families lived in familial proximity until 1956 and stayed in touch even after the Andermans immigrated to Israel. After Franciszek died, the Andermans continued to supported Maria and her children.

On December 23, 1987, Yad Vashem recognized Franciszek Najbar and his wife Maria as Righteous Among the Nations.

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

Also: *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* volume 5: Poland, Part 2, 537–538.

➢ **Sinetzky family**

➢ **Marian Fiałkowski**

➢ **Niedźwiedź family**

Rescue story:

Leizer and Adela Krum and their 4-year-old daughter stayed with the Sinetzky family, in return for payment, for several days during a round-up of Jews in Buczacz. The Sinetzkys then took the Krums to their friends, the Dwoliński family, in Beremiany, who sheltered them for ten months, from May 1943 to February 1944. The property was raided by the police looking for Jews. When

they did not locate the hiding place, they stood the Dwolińskis and their 9-year-old daughter up against the wall and threatened to shoot them. The Dwolińskis denied they were keeping Jews, and the Germans and Ukrainians eventually gave up the search. The Dwolińskis were no longer willing to shelter their charges. The Krums found shelter with a Pole, Marian Fiałkowski in Buczacz, and remained there until March 25, 1944. Fiałkowski was also sheltering Isaiah and Jania Shteuber at the time. The Krums had to go into hiding again when the Soviet army withdrew from the area and the Germans reentered. The Krums were taken in by a Christian family named Niedźwiedź. However, the Germans billeted in the house, cutting off contact with the bunker. The Germans ordered the entire population to be evacuated, which allowed some Jews to leave their hideouts and flee to the villages. On April 30, 1944, Leiser ventured out to look for a shelter for his family. Since he looked like a Jew, he was spotted by a German and shot. Adela set off with her daughter and arrived at Puźniki.
SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 127–132:

➢ **Ukrainian policeman**

Rescue story:
Hersch and Pnina Griffel lived in the town of Buczacz (in the Tarnopol district, in present-day Ukraine) with their two daughters, Dvora (b. 1930) and Aliza (b. 1936), and Pnina's mother, Hinda Schwarz. The Griffels owned a flour mill and a grocery store in town and were a well-to-do family. In September 1939 Poland was occupied by Germany, and in early July 1941 German troops entered Buczacz. The Griffels stayed in their home, which was located within the boundaries of the ghetto that was established toward the end of 1942. Two deadly Aktions (mass executions) followed, and in the spring of 1943, the Griffels, along with the other few Jewish survivors who were still left in town, decided to move to the nearby town of Czortkow [Czortków], where a larger ghetto existed. Hersch had family there, so the Griffels moved to their relatives' house.
In July 1943 another *Aktion* took place, which the family survived by hiding in a closet. It was then that the Griffels decided to escape. *With the help of a Ukrainian policeman, they secretly left the ghetto*, hoping to reach Hersch's native village of Biala Boznica [Białobożnica] to seek help. When they arrived, however, no one would help them, and the family was left stranded, tired, and hungry. For the next few days, they wandered around the area, sleeping in the fields and begging for food.
In their wanderings they came to the outskirts of the village of Tribuchowce [Trybuchowce]. In desperation Pnina went up to knock on the door of a small, isolated house. When asked who was there, she answered: "Unfortunate souls." Paulina Kozak, the woman of the house, opened the door and let them in. She immediately made food for the group, which in addition to the Griffels now included a Jewish woman by the name of Drescher and her daughter.
Paulina and her husband, Ivan, who had three children, decided to shelter the Jews in their home. They were extremely poor people, so the Griffels gave them what little money they had left in order to help them feed seven additional mouths. After a few weeks the Kozaks became anxious, and it was decided that the group should split: Pnina, little Aliza, and Grandma Hinda went to live in the home of one of Ivan's brothers, and Hersch and Dvora were sent to Paulina's brother Michailo. Mrs. Drescher and her daughter also left and hid somewhere in the village, but it was not too long before the mother was caught and killed. Her daughter survived, and after the war she was taken by her uncle to the United States.
The Griffels remained in their respective hiding places until they could no longer stay there, fearing detection. In December 1943 they all returned to Buczacz, where they had nothing left. The women remained in an abandoned house on the outskirts of town while Hersch went out again to look for shelter. He eventually arrived in the village of Wojciechówka and found a woman by the name of Aniela Kaprocka (recognized as Righteous Among the Nations in 1978), who agreed to take them in. The Griffels stayed with her until the area was liberated in March 1944. Over the next few years, the Griffels kept in touch with Ivan and Paulina, and Dvora and Aliza even went back to visit them in the village. But soon the Griffels learned that the Kozaks had been exiled to Siberia, never to be heard from again.
In 1948 the Griffels immigrated to Israel, and in 2012 Dvora and Aliza applied to Yad Vashem to honor the Kozaks. They never forgot the kindness of their rescuers and their willingness to help "unfortunate souls" despite the immense risk. Although they have been lost to the Griffels, Ivan

and Paulina's names and their acts live on with Dvora and Aliza's families.
On July 3, 2012, Yad Vashem recognized Ivan and Paulina Kozak as Righteous Among the Nations.
SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

➢ **Ukrainian policeman**

Rescue story:

In January 1944, Alicia Appleman-Jurman wandered into a barn and discovered a man hiding behind a false wall. The man told her of his lucky escape from that first massacre, even though a bullet had hit him in the thigh. He claimed to have been the only survivor: "There was one man that I thought would make it," he told her. "He had a good chance. The German, seeing his medal for bravery from the Austrian Emperor Franz Joseph, was impressed enough to let him escape… The German told him to run, but a Ukrainian policeman shot him in the back." This was Alicia's father. The man Alicia met was a furrier. So was Yisrael Munczer's father, who also claimed to have been the sole survivor of the "registration" massacre. They may well have been the same person. Yisrael's father, however, *was saved from the massacre thanks to **a** Ukrainian policeman*. As they were being shot into a pre-dug trench, he pretended to be hit and then crawled to the side and jumped into a well. A German policeman saw him and sent over an armed Ukrainian to watch over him. This man apparently knew the Jew he was guarding and told him to run off, shooting after him to make it seem that he had simply escaped. In winter 1944, however, while hiding in a barn, Munczer's father was betrayed and shot.
SOURCE: Omer Bartov, "Interethnic Relations in the Holocaust as Seen Through Postwar Testimonies: Buczacz, East Galicia, 1941-1944," in *Lessons and Legacies VIII: From Generation to Generation,* ed. by Doris L. Bergen (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008), pp. 101–124 Yisrael Munczer, *A Holocaust Survivor from Buczacz* (Gefen: Jerusalem, 1990) (in Hebrew), 15, 33.

➢ **Unidentified Poles**

Rescue story:

Genia Weksler (b. 1935), her mother and younger brother survived with the help of a number of Poles. During the *Aktion* in Buczacz, Jews with whom Genia was hiding wanted to choke her because she was coughing. After leaving the Buczacz ghetto, Genia, her mother and brother stayed with Poles for a short time before moving to the Stanisławów ghetto. They returned to Buczacz, where they stayed with Poles for about a month. Afterwards, they stayed with Polish farmers. They were asked to leave after Germans came to the farm for the food quota, beat the farmer and searched the barn where the Jews were hidden. Next, they stayed with a Polish farmer in another village, and then in yet another village, where they posed as Poles. The villagers were aware of or suspected their Jewish identity.
SOURCE: Testimony of Genia Weksler, Archive of the Jewish Historical Museum (Warsaw), no. 301/1865.
Most of this help is missing from Bartov's book. (*Anatomy of a Genocide,* p. 241). Bartov does include the following incident:

> Toward the end of the occupation Genia worked in a remote village. "I grazed cattle. I didn't like playing with children. I was afraid. I didn't speak Polish very well. In the house they often talked about Jews," saying "'Jews are cheats.' … The children always played 'Germans and Jews' … and 'Jew hunt.' I was often told that I have Jewish eyes, black Jewish hair. I answered that if 'you take a closer look it is possible that I'm completely Jewish.'"

Bartov neglects to mention that Jewish children commonly played these same games in the ghettos.[211]
On Genia Weksler, see also Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Emipres: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420, at p. 410.

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[211] Patricia Herberer, *Children during the Holocaust* (Lanham, Maryland: AltaMira Press/Rowman & Littlefield, 2011), 301; Dov Freiberg, *To Survive Sobibor* (Jerusalem and New York: Gefen, 2007), 121; Shimon Redlich, *Life in Transit: Jews in Postwar Lodz, 1945–1950* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2010), 140.

➢ **Unidentified rescuers**

Rescue story:

Hilda Weitz (b. 1927 as Hindzia Miller) was sheltered by a Ukrainian family in Buczacz. Later on, she and her younger brother were hidden in a village, by a blacksmith's family. That man, his wife, and their child eventually fled the village, fearing a search for Jews. Shortly thereafter, the Soviets arrived.

SOURCE: Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Emipres: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420, at p. 411. This rescue story is not mentioned in Bartov's *Anatomy,* although Hilda Miller (Weitz) is mentioned (see pp. 151, 347).

According to her testimony, Hindzia Miller used a false name, Katherine Milevska (Milewska), and hid in Buczacz, Żnibrody, and Beremiany. Only one aid giver – Rozyanski (Różański?) – is mentioned by name.

SOURCE: Testimony of Hilda Weitz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 47637.

➢ **Unidentified villagers**

Rescue story:

After escaping from Stanisławów, Sara Knol joined her mother and her two daughters in Monasterzyska. Her daughters had been brought there by a Christian woman named Mania Radlowska. During an *Aktion,* Klara and her family escaped to Buczacz. Klara and her daughters escaped again during the *Aktion* in March 1943 and hid in a bunker. She survived with the help of local farmers. (Her daughters perished.)

SOURCE: Testimony of Sara Knol, Yad Vashem Archives, file M.1.E/1428 (Item 3712985).

➢ **Unidentified villagers**

Rescue story:

Zeev Nerfen (b. 1927) was helped by villagers in his native Przewłoka. Afterwards, he and his mother were taken to the Buczacz ghetto where they lived with his maternal grandparents. He received assistance from Christians in Buczacz, as well as in nearby forests where he was hiding with his uncle Yitshak Pikholts, Dunyah Tovah, and Rubel.

SOURCE: Testimony of Zeev Nerfen, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 32547.

➢ **Unidentified Polish rescuers**

Rescue story:

Szymon Niemand (b. 1911 in Buczacz), son of the Buczacz photographer Ignacy Niemend, hid under an alias at the houses of Poles and in the nearby forests. When the Red Army entered Buczacz in March 1944, he joined the army and served as a musician.

SOURCE: Ghetto Fighters House Archive: https://www.gfh.org.il/eng/Archive

PAINTING: Shimon Niemand, a Polish woman had saved my life - Catalog No. 3822

➢ **Unidentified Polish villagers**

Rescue story:

According to Bartov, Beno Wechsler (b. 1931) was helped by Polish villagers until the spring of 1944. Beno's mother and brother also survived in unclear circumstances.

SOURCE: Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 361 n.23, based on the testimony of Beno Veksler, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/9078.

➢ **Unidentified villagers**

Rescue story:

After escaping from Buczacz, Anne Herzog Resnik (Resnick, b. 1939) and her parents were hidden by farmers.

SOURCE: Oral history interview with Anne Herzog Resnik, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession no. 1996.A.0528, RG-50.030.0448.

➢ **Unidentified rescuers**

Rescue story:

Jacob Heiss (b. 1930) and his family survived thanks to acts of kindness; hiding in the sewers, they given food by local Poles, including a dogcatcher named Kowalski, who allegedly turned in other Jews.
SOURCE: Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 249–250.

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Rescue story:
Shoshana (Rose) Kleiner (later Shoshana Ages) was hidden by farmers in a nearby village.
SOURCE: Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 358.

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Rescue story:
Fania Feldman (Fannie Kupitz) received assistance from Ukrainians in various villages,
SOURCE: Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 251–253.

➢ **Unidentified Polish family**
➢ **Ukrainian and Polish priests**
Bartov mentions a Ukrainian woman, Maria Khvostenko, who states that a Polish family in Buczacz attempted to save their Jewish friends and were all shot, except for their daughter. Reportedly, a Jewish woman was hidden in the Basilian monastery, and another hid in the cellar of the Roman Catholic church.
SOURCE: Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 279.

➢ **Kaznovskyi**
➢ **Alpinski**
➢ **Shenko**
Rescue story:
Bartov mentions several other Ukrainians who helped Jews: the father of the Ukrainian police Volodymyr Kaznovskyi, who hid several Jews (his son, a notorious murderer, refrained from acting against his own father when he discovered this); Yitzhak Bauer's prewar neighbour Alpinski, who provided him and his brother with food, and a man called Shenko, who also provided the Bauers with food and hid three Jewish women in his barn. Alpinski was denounced and murdered along with his wife and younger daughter.
SOURCE: Bartov, *Anatomy,* 255–256.
Also: Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Emipres: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420, at p. 412.

➢ **Unidentified Polish rescuers**
Rescue story:
Rachel (Rosalia) Schwechter (born in Tłumacz in 1921) escaped from the ghetto Tłumacz with the help of Poles who knew her father. She moved to Buczacz with her family. After a mass killing, while escaping to the forest, her mother and sister were shot. She built a hiding place and lived there through the winter with the help of a Pole. She moved to another hiding place in 1944 for fear of discovery. She was liberated by the Soviet army.
SOURCE: Rachelle S. [Rachel Schwechter] Holocaust testimony, Fortunoff Video Archive, HVT-986. Bartov mentions this testimony in an endnote, implying that the rescuers were Ukrainians. (*Anatomy of a Genocide,* 361 n.24.)

➢ **Unidentified rescuer**
Rescue story:
Aliza Reinisch escaped from the Buczacz ghetto to the home of the family's former housemaid. She joined Jewish partisans in the forest. She was liberated by the Soviet army.
SOURCE: Testimony of Aliza (Reinisch) Nir, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/11147 (Item 3741667). Bartov mentions this testimony but does not describe the rescue. (*Anatomy of a Genocide,* 151, 246–247.)

➢ **Unidentified rescuer**
Rescue story:

In another publication, Bartov mentions a Ukrainian (?) woman from Buczacz who, according to her daughter Stefania, hid a Jewish girl named Hanka in the cellar of her home.
SOURCE: Omer Bartov, "Interethnic Relations in the Holocaust as Seen Through Postwar Testimonies: Buczacz, East Galicia, 1941–1944," in *Lessons and Legacies VIII: From Generation to Generation,* ed. by Doris L. Bergen (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008), 101–124, based on Tetiana Pavlyshyn, "The Holocaust in Buczacz," *Nova Doba* 48 (December 1, 2000), collected by Mykola Kozak, translated by Sofia Grachova.

➢ **Unidentified helper**

Rescue story:
While staying in the Buczacz ghetto, Elsa Redner relied on a Christian woman to go to the homes of Christians in Tłumacz with whom she had left items, and to bring them to Buczacz.
SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 117.

➢ **Unidentified helper(s)**

Rescue story:
Dr. Yehiel Minzer and the Stark family were hidden in Buczacz until the Soviet takeover in March 1944. They were murdered by the Germans after their counter-offensive drove the Soviets back.
SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 160.

➢ **Unidentified villagers**

Rescue story:
After escaping from the Buczacz ghetto the day before the third (final) *Aktion,* the Hoffman family – consisting of Morris and Hancha Hoffman and their two children, Julius and Bronia (b. 1931) – found shelter on a nearby farm with an elderly Polish couple to whom they had given some of their belongings. After several weeks, their hosts became afraid to keep them any longer when a man was shot by the Germans for hiding Jews. Hancha took her daughter Bronia to her home village of Uście Zielone to see if they could find another hiding place, while Morris and Julius stayed behind for the time being. They found shelter – with interruptions and tumults – with a Ukrainian man who had once worked for the family. Since it was not possible for her husband and son to join them in Uście Zielone, Hancha wrote letters to their hosts threatening future denunciation to the Soviets should anything happen to them. After the Soviets arrived, the family emerged from hiding and returned to Buczacz. However, the Germans soon returned and the Hoffmans had to leave their residence. Bronia's father hid her in an attic where two Jewish men and a woman were also concealed, while the rest of the family fled to the woods. The Jewish woman ventured out, pretending to be Christian, but was caught by the Germans. She promptly brought the Germans to the hideout where they seized the two men, but did not find Bronia, even though the Jewish woman explicitly mentioned her and even described her attire. The Germans shot the three Jews whom they had apprehended. Bronia was subsequently loaded on a transport train with civilians who were rounded up by the Germans for labour duty in Germany, but she managed to escape when the train stopped in Brzeżany. Passing as a Polish-Ukrainian girl, she found employment with two farmers, one Polish, the other Ukrainian. After the Soviets entered the area, Bronia returned to Buczacz but there was no trace of her family members.
SOURCE: Testimony of Bronia Kahane, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 5296.

➢ **Unidentified rescuers**

A number of other Jews not mentioned by Bartov survived in hiding in the Buczacz area.

- David Ashkenaze (Aschkenazy, b. 1934) hid in and near Buczacz, possibly Zubrzec → Testimony of David Aschenaze, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 38119.
- After escaping from Buczacz with her sister, Esther Paul (b. 1932) was sheltered by a Polish family in a nearby village → Testimony of Esther Paul, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/6723 (Item 3560394).

- After escaping from Buczacz, Mosze Bider was hidden by a Christian for payment for some seven weeks → Testimony of Mosze Bider, Yad Vashem Archives, file M.1.E/659 (Item 3540527).
- Fanny Strauber (b. 1911) hid in Buczacz with the help of Christians before going to Germany under a false identity posing as a Polish worker → Testimony of Fanny Strauberr, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 54548
- Haynrikh Hauzer (Henryk Hauzer, b. 1921) mentions helpers in Krystynopol, near Lwów, Buczacz, and Chryplin, near Stanisławów → Testimony of Haynrikh Hauzer, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 16911.
- Tova (Robel) Mashiah (b. 1933 in Buczacz) returned to Buczacz with her father after being deported to the Tłuste ghetto. She hid in a forest with the help of a forester. Testimony of Tova (Robel) Mashiah, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/V.T/4899 (Item 5222695).
- Jehoszua Diamand (b. 1928 in Buczacz), after escaping during an *Aktion*, lived in the forest until the arrival of the Soviet army. Testimony of Jehoszua Diamand, Yad Vashem Archives, M.1/M.1.PC/161 (Item 5221121).

Ćwitowa
(near Buczacz)

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Zacharchuk / Zacharczuk family (Ukrainian husband, Polish wife)

Testimony of Isidor Gelbart (Israel Gelbert):

> On Sunday, June 13, 1943 my wife and I left Buchach [Buczacz]. We successfully crossed the town and followed our farmer across the Fedor to his house. The farmer's name was Nicolai Zaharchiuk and he was Ukrainian. He and his Polish wife, Marina, lived in Choitova, near Buchach. We arrived at the farmer's home and went to his barn where our 12 and 18-year-old sons were waiting for us. They were very happy to see us as they had heard of the last Buchach Aktzia and had had no news from us. …
> Our hideout was in the attic of the barn. The farmer had used boards to build a false wall in the attic, which was 2 meters in from the real wall. This 2 meter wide space provided room for 5 persons. A large amount of straw was placed in front of the false wall in order to make it less noticeable. This is where we lived during the last stage of the German occupation of Buchach, often in hunger and thirst. …
> We passed the time in our attic in darkness, lying down and talking about what was going on. We ate a late breakfast, essentially consisting of potatoes, in the afternoon or evening. Our farmer improved our treatment, as the situation on the battlefront got better. We received better food and once every four weeks he allowed us to go to his house to bathe, shave, and change our clothes. These were our happiest moments.

SOURCE: Israel Gelbert, “Fourth Witness” in I. Kahan (Yisrael Cohen), ed., *Sefer Buczacz: Matsevet zikaron le-kehila kedosha* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1956), 272ff.; translated as *Book of Buczacz: In Memory of a Martyred Community,* Internet: https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/buchach/buchach.html

Also: Memoirs of Isidor Gelbart, born in Zaleszczyki in 1899, about his experiences in the Buczacz ghetto and in hiding in Cwitowa, 1941–1944.
Escaping from town in June 1943 and hiding with the Zacharchuk family of Cwitowa; remaining in hiding until 1944.
SOURCE: Yad Vashem, Record Group O.33 – Testimonies, Diaries and Memoirs Collection, File Number 640 (Item ID 3542873).

Duliby
(Polish village near Jazłowiec)

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Various Polish villagers

Rescue story:
Jews from Buczacz would go to Polish villages such as Duliby to acquire food. Polish villagers assisted forest Jews and Jewish partisans.
SOURCE: Józef Wołczański, *Eksterminacja narodu polskiego i Kościoła Rzymskokatolickiego przez ukraińskich nacjonalistów w Małopolsce Wschodniej w latach 1939-1945: Materiały źrodłowe, część II* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo bł. Jakuba Strzemię Archidiecezji Lwowskiej ob. łac., 2006), 520–523.

Rescue story:
A group of Jews including partisans, who hid in the forest near Duliby, would call on the villagers for provisions.
SOURCE: Stanisław J. Kowalski, *Jazłowiec pod okupacją sowiecką, niemiecką i ukraińską 1939–1945,* [1992], Bilblioteka Cyfrowa Ośrodka KARTA, file AW II/1339/2K, Internet: https://dlibra.karta.org.pl/dlibra/publication/80845/edition/65646

Dźwinogród
(near Buczacz)

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Kulas family (Poles)
- Various Polish villagers

Gila Shmulowitz, from the village of Dźwinogród (misidentified as Winogród), recalled:

> "We had to leave that place of abode after the proclamation of Judenrein. We went into the fields. We spent the whole summer there, and yet, since we knew everyone in Winogród [sic], we were coming to their places at night and got some food. After they had gone to bed, we sneaked into the cowsheds and the stables for the night. …
>
> After the harvest we hid in the woods. We were sitting in holes … In November, when the peasants collected everything from the fields we found shelter in a dugout. In the evenings we also went to get food. More often than not my sister [who had a distinctive Jewish appearance] did this. She used to bring back bread, sugar and potatoes.
>
> Winter came. And we were still stuck in the dugout. It was terrible. The cold was the worst part. We entered the village and went round to one Polish peasant, who was forty or forty-five, called Wacek; his wife's name was Michalina. I don't remember their surname. They had children—don't know how many and two cows. 'You will be warm in my stable, stay here,' said Wacek to my father [Ajzyk]. He used to bring us bread and soup. …
>
> We stayed at Wacek's for about a month. We left his stable when the Russkies came."

SOURCE: Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Harmonica: Jews Relate How Poles Saved Them from the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Polska Agencja Informacyjna, 2001), 106–108, translated from the Polish *Ustna harmonijka: Relacje Żydów, których uratowali od Zagłady Polacy* (Warsaw: Niezależne Wydawnictwo Polskie, 2000).

The Kulas family sheltered an unidentified Jew who escaped wounded from an execution site.

> I remember World War II well. I was eleven at the time. I lived with my parents near Buczacz, in the village of Dźwinogród. I experienced the nightmare of air raids, starvation, typhus, death. I lived through the period of mass executions of Poles of Jewish nationality. I went to school with my Jewish peers. In 1942, after the occupation of these areas by the Germans, mass round-ups and executions took place. I remember how Jews were driven out of their houses, and joined to a large group in the city centre. Together with their families, under a strong escort (with dogs), they were led to Fedor Mountain. A deep pit had been dug there. A victim was placed on a plank and then shot in the back of the head. One of the men survived the execution and, despite his wounds, managed to reach our homestead at night. My parents hid him in the attic. Despite the lack of medication and professional medical care, the wounded man recovered. My daily duty was to bring him food. He survived that way until April 1944. The moment of liberation was close. The front was approaching fast. The Germans displaced us a few kilometres closer, near the village of Barysz, building a new defence line in Dźwinogrod. The Germans on the Dźwinogród-Rukomysz-Zielona front line plundered the houses and found the Jews who had been hidden for so long. They killed all of them and ordered the Poles to bury the bodies still alive. The front and the fighting that lasted until July 1944 left a great deal of destruction. Corpses floated along the Strypa River, dead and wounded lay in the fields and ditches. Bombs fell on Buczacz and its vicinity, bridges, tunnels and railway tracks were blown up. In November 1945 we had to leave our patrimony.

SOURCE: Letter by Kazimierz Kulas published in *Niedziela* (Edycja zielonogórsko-gorzowska), no. 43 (2001) (Internet: http://niedziela.pl/artykul/3895/nd).

Gaje Buczackie

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Kazimierz & Stefania Pająk (YV – Poles)

➢ **Pająk, Kazimierz (husband)**
➢ **Pająk, Stefania (wife)**

Rescue story:
Stefania and Kazimierz Pająk, poor farmers that lived in the small village of Gaje Buczackie, in the Tarnopol district, decided to help a group of Jews that survived the massacre of the Jews in the surrounding villages carried out by Germans and Ukrainian nationalists. The group hid out in a forest that crossed through the town of Buczacz and the village Gaje Buczackie. Motivated by pure altruism and without asking for anything in return, Pajak and his wife would enter the forest where the group was hiding to provide them with food and clothing, bring them news of the front and warn them of dangers threatening their lives. As the Soviet front grew closer in the spring of 1944, the Germans raided the forest and in the search they conducted, caught Kazimierz Pająk in the company of the group of Jewish fugitives. They murdered Pajak and most of the Jews on the spot, and only Jehudit Ketner was somehow miraculously saved. After the war, Jehudit immigrated to Israel. Stefania and her two children were arrested, but on the way to the prison managed to escape and were saved. After the war, Stefania Pająk moved with her children to an area within the new Polish borders.
On May 5, 1998, the Yad Vashem recognized Stefania Pająk and her husband Kazimierz Pająk as Righteous Among the Nations. File 8067.

Rescued Persons
Kutner, Spiegiel, Yehudit, Maria
Spiegiel, Abraham

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATION DATABASE

According to Polish sources, some 40 Jews were hiding in the nearby forest. Kazimierz Pająk's son, Julian, was also killed at the time. Stefania Pająk and her two daughters, Izydora and Stanisława, were arrested but managed to escape and survived.
SOURCE: Aleksandra Namysło and Grzegorz Berendt, eds., *Rejestr faktów represji na obywatelach polskich za pomoc ludności żydowskiej w okresie II wojny światowej* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2014), 330.

See also GŁĘBOKA DOLINA below.

Głęboka Dolina
(near Gaje Buczackie)

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Kutnowski family (Poles)
- Various other villagers, mostly Poles, among them Boczar, Korkosz, Durda, and Skrabka
- Edward Niedźwiecki, a local Home Army leader

Testimony of Moshe Wizinger:
[p. 348]
I was a Jew and asked if she knew of other Jews in the area. "I don't know where they are," she answered, "but they pass here every day. My mother always gives me more bread in case someone hungry walks by," she added. Saying that, she untied her bundle and gave me a large chunk of bread. "Unfortunately, I don't have more coffee," she said, "but if you wait, I will milk one of the cows and give you some milk in a jug." I readily agree, but I also suggested that it would probably be better for me to hide in the willows. "Don't worry," she said. "The Germans never come here."
At that same moment, two figures appeared from beyond the grass and walked toward us. I got up in fear, not knowing what to do, but then I heard the girl's voice: "It must be the Jews. They always come this way." I stood looking anxiously at the figures. When they were close, they also stopped. I waved to them and shouted something in Yiddish. I soon recognized them. They were **Nacio Fritz and Benio Selzer**. …
[p. 349]
they told me that others were hiding in the wheat field: Nacio's mother, sister, and brother. Benio's father was also there. Apart from them, the **Waserfal family** was also hiding somewhere in the fields of Głęboka Dolina, as were the two teenagers **Hesio and Salo Silberstein**. During the day they usually lay hidden in the wheat and at night they would walk up to individual huts in the nearby forests and ask for food. Some gave them food out of pity, others for money, still others would chase them away with their dogs and threaten to hand them over to the Germans. Sometimes, peasants coming out to the fields would bring them some food. Thanks to the spring in the willows they had enough water. No Germans or Ukrainians had appeared yet in the fields of Głęboka Dolina.
…
Nacio's brother Janek acquainted me with the surroundings. I learned that the first wooded area with two huts was inhabited by the old **Kutnowski couple and their son Antoszek. Their daughter Elżbieta lived in the second hut with her husband and two children [daughter: Stasia/Staszka]**. It was enough to approach the shrubbery for the old woman, whom they called "babcia" (grandmother), to appear on the threshold. She was alerted by the barks of the dogs. She would call them names and lament that because of the Jews her house would be burned down and all of them would be killed. Nevertheless, she would soon bring out a big bowl of potato soup or wheat doughnuts and order them to eat. Her daughter Elżbieta and granddaughter Stasia would appear behind her with some bread
[p. 350]
and a jug of milk. In the second grove, about two hundred meters from the Kutnowskis, was the household of the peasant **Skrabka**, who lived there with his wife and two grown sons. Nobody knew much about him. Only from time to time, the tall elderly man could be seen working in the fields together with his sons. Behind them was the household of **Jaśko Korkosz**, who lived there with his wife and five young children. And further on was the house of the **Boczar family**.
"Now look there," Janek pointed to some houses that could be seen beyond. "That place is off limits for us. That big house belongs to the ethnic German [Joachim] Nowak. Not knowing this, Salo went to their house one morning and they chased him away with dogs. Two of Nowak's sons tore off his coat and boots, and warned that if they ever saw him again, they would tie him up and hand him over to the Germans." Before evening, I also learned that behind the Boczars' place were the houses of the Ukrainian **Durda** family. No one knew much about them either.
The three of us left together. Nacio, Benek, and me. We were walking openly, because the area seemed safe. First, we decided to visit "babcia" … When we got near the house the dog started barking his head off and soon an old woman with a scarf on her head appeared.
"Good Evening, grandmother!" Nacio shouted. "Again, the devil has brought you," she retorted in anger. "Go away, I will soon call the dogs on you." Having said that, she slammed the door behind her and disappeared inside the hut. I thought this was it and I could not understand why we did not leave immediately. Suddenly the grandmother appeared on the threshold carrying a large bowl filled with something. She came up to us, handed Nacio the bowl with two spoons and only then she noticed me. "Tfu," she spat. "Is this some kind of demon or what? Look at this hairy devil, what brought it here?" Saying this, she turned towards the other hut and called out loudly: "Elżbieta! Bring another spoon with you because another devil has appeared from

nowhere!" We ate in silence, and while Elżbieta observed us with curiosity, the grandmother would not stop whining: "Look what falls into the lap of poor people. They won't go and bother the rich. Those who have fifty acres of land will not share a piece of bread with a poor person. And God is watching this and does not punish them. It is a real Sodom and Gomora."
[p. 351]
the grandmother walked out in front of us and yelled: "Come into the hut." Elżbieta held the dog and soon we found ourselves in a poor peasant hut with a low roof, barely lit with a kerosene lamp. In the hut, we saw an old man sitting on a bench. He turned out to be grandmother's husband. Antoszko, the son, a well-built twenty-year-old, was also there. Soon, a young girl, Staszka, and her brother Ilonko, Elżbieta's children about whom I had heard before from Janek, also came in. We started talking. Staszka handed me a three-day-old German newspaper and asked me to read it and see if there was anything new about the war. I greedily grabbed the paper. It was the official German "Lemberger Zeitung," dated 8 July 1943. On the front page, the Germans announced in large letters that all the Bolshevik attacks on the region of Orel and Kursk had been successfully repulsed. Next, Goebbels gave assurances that the eastern territories would not be surrendered without fighting to the end. Finally, the paper threatened that even if the Germans were forced to leave some of these territories for a brief period, they would leave them in such a state that not even birds would ever find any food there.
I wondered about the content of these articles. I had never come across anything like this in the German press. After all, this was open acknowledgement of defeat. I began to explain the meaning of what was written to the others and soon we started talking about more realistic matters. Grandmother, now without any reference to devils, assured me that she really felt pity for us and would gladly help us more, but
that the Germans had requisitioned all their wheat and potatoes so that they themselves were on the verge of starvation. She advised us to try and go to the house of Szkrabka [Skrabka], who was richer than she was. Maybe they would not refuse to help people less fortunate than they were. All the more so, considering the rumors that the Soviets could still arrive this winter. She warned us not to go near the buildings of the ethnic
Germans or the Ukrainians. Most of all we should beware of Nowak's house. His daughters were often visited by Germans, who sometimes stayed overnight. …
When we reached the hideout, where the others were waiting, we found a new guest, a Jew who had been hiding in one of the villages. … Zanwet, as he was called …
[p. 352]
Janek and Beniek's father arrived, bringing with them a pot of potatoes they had been given by the Boczars.
…
I was awakened by yells, shots, and the sound of running feet. I heard the shouts "Halt! Halt, stop!" And then again shouts, shots, and running. Instinctively, I burrowed deeper into the hay, shut my eyes, and waited for the end. Instead, the shots became ever more distant. The yells could not be heard anymore. After some time, it became quiet. I carefully poked my head out of the hay and looked around me. Since I did not see anyone around, I ran out of the haystack to the field. While running, I recognized the bodies of Zanwet and Benio's father. Once I reached the wheat, I began crawling on the wet ground so as to get as far away from the edge of the field as possible. I heard voices coming closer to the stack of hay from which I had just escaped. I recognized the voice of Binka Waserfal begging the Germans to spare her life. …
I found Hesio, on his own. He told me that he had escaped the Germans at the last moment. They shot after him, but luckily did not hit him. A bit later, Janek, Nacio, and Benek crawled in. It became clear that Binka's brother Szlomo had also been killed by [p. 353] the Germans, so the number of that day's victims rose to four. **…**
We learned that hardly a day went by in which the Germans did not catch a few Jews. When caught, they were forced to dig ditches for themselves. Next, compelled by beatings, they had to undress and lie face down in the ditches, tightly packed one next to the other, their legs and arms stretched out. Those who were not in the position required by the Germans were pelted with stones until the latter are satisfied. Finally, they were shot, and then another group was forced into the ditch. …
It was Jaśko [Korkosz]. We joined him and soon were eating fried potatoes with sour milk. Additionally, Jaśko also brought us a loaf of bread and some cooked beans. … We said goodbye to Jaśko and headed in the opposite direction.
We walked by Szkrabka's [Skrabka] cornfield, where he and his sons were working. Nacio greeted them loudly, wishing them luck in their work. At first [p. 354] nobody responded, but after we had already passed them, I suddenly heard a voice from behind: "Hey you!" We turned around. The old Szkrabka had stopped working and was looking at us. "Come here," he said in a Masurian dialect. We approached. "Sit down so that you cannot be seen," he said. When we sat down, he asked about the Jews killed by the Germans the day before. We began telling him when he interrupted: "And how many Germans were there altogether?" "Three," I answered. "And how many of you?" "Eight," said Nacio. "And you could not handle the three of them?!" he yelled. "Shame, shame on you. These Jews have really lost their minds!" The old man was getting really mad.
I interrupted him, saying that the Germans had weapons while we were unarmed, totally vulnerable, plus they attacked us when we were asleep. "Hmmm…" he retorted, "unarmed, but had you been given

weapons, at the sight of the first German you would have thrown down your weapons and hidden in the wheat." We watched him without understanding the meaning of his words and where he was heading. We only noticed that he was very serious while talking to us. And we observed one other thing: that he had trouble walking, as if his right leg had been paralyzed. "Władek," he turned to his son, "give them each a piece of bread. And now go," he said to us. "And you, the tall one," he pointed at me, "come here tonight when it gets dark and wait at the same spot." Having said that, he returned to his work, while Nacio and I went, trying to figure out what Szkrabka had meant.

That day, we could barely wait for evening, we were so curious. What did Szkrabka have in mind and what would result from my meeting with him? As soon as it got darker, I went to the designated meeting place. It must have been around 8 p.m. There was no one there. I sat on the side of the path and let my mind wander. That same day we had learned from the peasants working in the fields that the night before an armed group of people had stormed the house of the Landkommissar. Since no one was there, they only took the clothes, shoes and weapons that were found there. The terrified maid, who was forced to keep silent with a pistol aimed at her head, reported the following day that the clandestine attack had been undertaken by a group of young Jews. Almost at the same time, another group, also identified as Jews, stormed the house of the notorious Nahajowski, the town's dog catcher, who was a specialist in finding the hideouts of Jews. Nahajowski tried to escape through the window, but they caught and shot him. …

The drift of my thoughts was interrupted by the sound of approaching steps and soon I saw Szkrabka's younger son [p. 355] Władek. "Come to Father," he said quietly. I stood up and we walked to their house. I found myself in a very clean and well-kept peasant dwelling. Pictures of saints were hanging on the walls. A kerosene lamp hung from the ceiling. Szkrabka, his wife, and two sons were in the room. One of them was Władek, who had brought me there and the other was the older son, Jaśko. I greeted them and Szkrabka told me to sit down on the wooden sofa. Then he asked me how old I was. When I said I was twenty-three, he laughed and called out: "With that beard you look more than forty!" He then told his older son to shave my beard.

After half an hour, all shaven, I was sitting at the table, eating hot cabbage soup and still wondering why I had been brought there. Szkrabka's wife cleared the table. His sons left the room and Szkrabka and I were left alone. He sat opposite me and filled his pipe. After smoking it for some time and carefully observing me as he did, he asked me to tell him my whole life story. Next the conversation turned to prewar political topics and finally to the war. At a certain point Szkrabka asked me, if we had any hope of surviving the occupation by wandering around the fields. I answered that what had sent us into the fields was our instinct of self-preservation. It told us to gain as much time as possible. We were deluding ourselves that maybe some miracle would occur and change our fate, but in fact none of us seriously thought that we would be able to survive the war.

Again, Szkrabka's penetrating eyes observed me and I heard the question: "Why don't young, strong boys like you have the courage to do something beyond hiding from the Germans and waiting for the hour or moment of death." I told him what I had heard that night about the armed groups and that nobody would have been happier than me if I had the opportunity to join one of them. The room was plunged into silence again, only the smoke from his pipe rose up and covered the light of the lamp. The room grew darker. It appeared as if a thick fog had enveloped it. Suddenly, Szkrabka got up and limped toward me. He stopped just in front of me. In the light of the lamp, obscured by clouds of smoke, he looked to me like a giant. I raised my head and saw his eyes looking into mine with such force that I felt they were penetrating my very soul, as if trying to uncover all my hidden thoughts.

I calmly returned his gaze, looking straight into his eyes. Then, I heard him speaking slowly. I began to grasp the meaning of his words in my subconscious. "What you will hear now you must keep sealed inside and be as silent about as a tomb. One of those armed people in the forest visited me a few days ago. I told him about you and asked him to take care of you, because I felt sorry for your young lives. In a few days, he will visit me again and then I will call you so that you can meet. If he [p. 356] takes you on, you will not have to hide from the Germans anymore. On the contrary, you will be looking for them. You will have the chance to avenge the lives of your families. And if you die, you will die not like a defenseless herd, but in glory, as heroes, as befits those who love freedom more than their lives. But beware not to bring shame upon an old man like me, so that no one will ever say that I promoted cowards or traitors. And now go," he said, "and every night let one of you wait in the field in the same place as today so that I can call you when the time comes."

I left his house nearly drunk with all that I had been through. My head was on fire, my throat felt as if it was choking. God, is this a dream? So partisan units really exist? And what good fate brought me there? …

We were all very eager to join in. We were just afraid something would go wrong at the last moment. Maybe they would not let us join. Now we blessed that period in the Polish Army where we learned how to shoot. …

It was late; we got together and went to "babcia." We sat in the hut and ate potatoes with noodles. When Staszka first saw me without the beard she could not recognize me; then she said I looked like my own son. Suddenly the dog outside began barking. We ran out: it was Janek. He was out of breath from running and shouted: Go to Szkrabka, quickly! They are waiting for you. I ran like the wind and soon arrived at Szkrabkas' house. Władek was already waiting in front of the house and led me in. …

[p. 357]

The first ice has been broken. Soon a lamp was lit, and I saw opposite me a young man in high boots, khaki trousers and a blue shirt. He introduced himself as Marian. After a brief conversation, he said he would recommend me to **one of the leaders of the armed groups of the Armia Krajowa** [AK, Home Army],67 **someone by the name of Edek** [Edward Niedźwiecki]. He also suggested that I speak to Edek about the radio. Finally, he promised that within three days someone from Edek's people would come and take us to the forest. I then mentioned the matter of the women. The women, for the time being, had to remain in the field. They would receive food from the local Polish peasants until we found a safe shelter for them. … Władek came running again and called us to his house. When we entered the room, we found two young men sitting at the table. One of them, a slim, blue-eyed man with blond hair rose to greet us. "So, how are you lads?" he said. Then he shook our hands and said, "from now on call me Edek. And this here is Romek," he pointed to his colleague. We sat down to supper during which we had a lively conversation. Edek showed great interest in the issue of the radio and asked what would be necessary to be able to receive transmissions in the forest. I answered that first we would have to somehow acquire a battery-powered radio. Then I could contact my friend Dziunek Dąbrowski, another radio technician, who possessed all the necessary tools for this work. I was sure he would be glad to help us. …
[p. 358]
We bid farewell to Szkrabka, but before we left, he made the following speech: "Today you are leaving for the forest. Maybe you will get weapons tomorrow. Remember. Never use these weapons to harm the innocent. In the days ahead, don't ever forget what you have been through. Until now you have fought in order to live. From now on you live in order to fight. Let your hearts not be merciful when you see your enemies crying for pity. Let the figures of your families, fathers, and mothers appear before your eyes. When you meet your enemies do not look for material gain. Just take their lives. Be fair in your fight, because only the just can win. And now, Go with God." He shook hands with every one of us. His wife wished us luck and gave each one of us a wooden spoon and demanded that after the war we bring them back. After also saying goodbye to Władek and Jaśko we went out into the dark.
First, we went toward Nagorzanka [Nagórzanka]. … On the way, Edek asked us about our life in the fields. We told him about the Poles to whom we owed our lives, about our fear of the Ukrainians, and how the ethnic German Nowak set the dogs on Sala. Edek was surprised that we let them do it. "We did not have a weapon," said Nacio.
[p. 360]
In Edek's view the peasants were not bad by nature. "It is poverty, in which they have been mired for generations, that has made them greedy to the point that for them the end often justifies the means. This is especially the case when they want to help themselves and their often-numerous family members. Apart from that, they are accustomed to constant fear of and respect for people wearing uniforms with golden buttons, and are eager to avenge themselves on the weak, no matter who they are, for what the Germans have done to them. Try to come up at night to the poorest peasant and plead with him for some food. At best, he will ask for a pair of shoes from you in exchange. But if you raid his house with a pistol in your hand, fire a shot next to his ear, and beat him on the face, he will give you everything you want. And he will be pleased that you let him live. Of course, there are exceptions, but you can identify them very quickly." …
Suddenly Edek stopped and said: "Lead me to your Marynka, we will teach her a small lesson." We walked quickly and soon approached the house near Nagorzanka I knew so well.
[p. 361]
I saw Edek holding a torch in his left hand, pointing the light at Marynka's prostrate body as he continued to kick her all over. [Maryna Świerszczak, a Ukrainian woman recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile, was punished with a severe thrashing for turning away a Jewish fugitive.]
[pp. 363 363]
In all, there were eight people in the clearing, and they were the core of the unit. Together with us we made fifteen. **…**
Edek who told me about the evening's mission. In the nearby village of Porchowa [18 km southwest of Buczacz] the Germans had commandeered a large estate. The German estate manager had been trying to incentivize the peasants to speed up delivery of the quotas.
[p. 364]
Our mission that night was to take over the warehouse with the bonus goods and to distribute them to the local population. Next, we were to burn down the estate and milk factory which was operating solely for the Germans. Finally, we were to collect food for ourselves for a few days and return to the forest.
[p. 366]
Marian brought us the most recent edition of the "Biuletyn Informacyjny" [news bulletin] issued by the leadership of the AK, and the approval by the leadership to undertake the operation against the ethnic German Nowak that Edek had proposed. … "Tonight, are leaving to Gaje [Buczackie]. And tomorrow night we will take care of Nowak."
[p. 367]

After taking over the house, we were instructed to read out Nowak's and his two sons' death verdict and execute them. His daughters would be spared, but we would shave off their hair with a shaving machine we prepared in advance.
[p. 368]
"In the name of Poland! The Court Martial of the AK, in considering the case of the Nowak family, finds them guilty as traitors to the Polish nation, for collaboration with the occupier, operating against the Polish population, and culpable in the murder of four Jews shot to death in Głęboka Dolina. Nowaks' daughters have shamed the good name of Polish women by having relations with Germans for personal gain … . Therefore, the Field Court … has decided on the following verdict: Joachim Nowak and his sons will be executed. His three daughters will have their heads shaven and so be shamed and serve as a warning to others against behaving in this manner … ." …
He [Edek] turned to us: "Whose father was killed in Głęboka Dolina?" he asked. "Mine," answered Benek, his voice shaking. Edek raised his hand, turned to Benek and, pointing at Nowak, said: "Shoot."
[p. 369]
We stopped again at Szkrabka's house, where we dumped a sack of flour seized from Nowak's house. This flour was meant for [Nacio Fritz's brother] Janek's mother and sister, who were still living at Szkrabka and Kutkowski's in Gaje [Buczackie].
[p. 370]
Already the following evening, we set out to Szkrabka's house. Marian and Nacio came with me. We did not encounter any obstacles on the way, and we reached the house at midnight. We found Nacio's mother and sister there, where they were spending the night. Szkrabka told us that our attack on Nowak's house had made a great impression on the local peasants. The day after the attack, the Germans arrived. They interrogated the neighbors, but soon left in a hurry, taking Nowak's wife and daughters with them. We also learned that some more Jews had arrived in Głęboka Dolina and were being helped by the local Poles. Szkrabka suggested that we pay a visit to the Ukrainian Durda family and warn them that if anything bad befalls the Jews hiding in Głęboka Dolina, they would share Nowak's fate.
[p. 371]
…we were visited by [Józef] Łużny, commander of the neighboring AK unit from [p. 372] Korościatyn … [August? 1943] He wanted to coordinate our two units in order to stage an attack on the prison in the town of Monasterzyska. Apart from those who had been imprisoned because of cheating on their requisition quotas, some members of the AK who had been caught with illegal materials or those who were known to sympathize with the partisans were also held there. The latter were to be executed soon, and the Gestapo unit in charge was expected to arrive in town any day. According to Łużny's plan, our unit was to burn down the tobacco factory in the town. That would bring all the German and Ukrainian forces to that area of town. Łużny's group would then attack the building of the police and the prison. …
After a two-hour consultation the final plan was agreed: the following day, Thursday, there would be a market in town to which many peasants came, and Łużny's unit would take advantage of this fact, mix in with the peasants and take positions near the prison building. The weapons for the operation, hand grenades and pistols, would be hidden in their pockets. Łużny and another member of his group would arrive in a horse-drawn cart, dressed as peasants. A rifle and armor-piercing bullets would be stowed in the cart. The signal for the beginning of the attack on the prison was to be the fire at the tobacco factory and the ensuing panic.
[p. 375 – Wizinger shot 2 Ukrainian policemen during the raid on Monasterzyska]
Edek raised his head, looked at me and nodded lightly in the direction of the policemen. … I was looking now at the two policemen, the blood oozing from their bodies to the floor.
[p. 376]
Running through the streets, we reached the prison where we met Łużny's group and the already freed prisoners. There were no Germans or police. With the first shot they had disappeared. … Our unit had grown because some of the freed prisoners had joined us. We were nineteen, of whom six were Jews.
Today we received a response from the AK headquarters to my proposal that we sabotage the telegraph lines alongside the railroads and roads. The headquarters not only praised the idea but appointed me commander of the group. It was to consist of five men. We were charged with paralyzing the telephone and telegraph communications in our region. What we needed were steel hooks in order to be able to climb up the poles, and Edek had promised that we would leave tonight specifically in order to acquire them. And indeed, at nightfall Edek, Nacio, Romek, and I set out from the camp.
[p. 377 – they came across 3 Russian partisans near Barysz]
All three were members of the famous [Sydir] Kovpak partisan formation. They had taken part in the Carpathian campaign and were cut off, with several other fighters from their unit, on the way back during a battle.
[p. 378]
The planned raid on the post office in Barysz, was transformed into an operation against the police station, cooperative, post office, and the estate managed by the Germans. … This time, our booty was two German rifles, two typewriters and a telephone … . The Ukrainian we caught was a known collaborator. Initially, he

had served in Buczacz and had participated in roundups of Jews. Now he was the representative of the authorities in Barysz. Nacio took care of him. …
In the beginning of September [1943], the Germans began requisitioning quotas from the new harvests. … Our mission was to prevent the Germans from requisitioning that quota. The first village that received the order to provide the designated quota was Werbka [35 kilometers southwest of Buczacz]. For our part, we sent a message to the village head, threatening him with death and warning that we would burn down the first farms that filled the requisitioning quotas.
[p. 380]
Upon returning to our camp, we decided that same night to send letters to all the village heads in the area, proposing a deal similar to the one we had made with the village head of Werbka. Tough days and nights were ahead of us. Seriously worried about our activities, the Germans brought in a special Waffen-SS unit of about 250 men, who were joined by Ukrainian police and German gendarmes. Their mission was to hunt down and destroy Edek's unit. They often set up ambushes that we avoided only thanks to Edek's quick thinking. We moved our camp sites in the forests nearly every day.
[p. 382]
… an announcement arrived from the AK headquarters, noting that an attack had been carried out on a "Nur fur Deutsche" railcar. As a result, six German officers, including a major, were killed. Natan Fritz, a member of the AK fighting group, had received the Cross of Valor.
… [Zalesie, near Puźniki – 2 members of the partisan group were killed and a 3-year-old girl] … a unit of Banderites had surrounded the hut while Zosia and Bronek were inside
[p. 412]
where "babcia" [Kutnowska] lived. We drove in there and soon Elżbieta, who had woken up, boiled some milk for us. We stayed the night in the barn and in the morning Benek told Szkrabka about the whole incident. Szkrabka decided that initially we would stay with "babcia." Right away, Elżbieta, along with Antoszek, began to prepare a shelter for me. They made a hole in a big pile of hay in the barn and inside they built a sort of nest in which I was able to lie comfortably and even move. During the daytime Staszka would often come for a chat and also bring me food and water. I learned from her that **other Jews were hiding in the house. A Jewish woman from Barysz with her daughter Gizia, and another fifty-year-old Jewish woman from Buczacz called [Rosa] Hirschhorn.**[n88] They were hidden inside a double wall in the stable.
[n88 On Hirschhorn and her grandson, Izidor Hecht ("Junk," later known as Viktor Gekht), who survived with her, see Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide*, 130, 151, 242–45, 360 n.12. Jozef and Barbara Zarivny of Nagórzanka sheltered Izidor's maternal grandmother, Rosa Hirschhorn, his aunt and her 3-year-old daughter; only Izidor and Rosa survived a Ukrainian police raid on their farm]
[p. 413]
From that day on, every evening I would be helped into the house by Antoszek and Staszka and would stay there until late at night. … Staszka would appear. She was the one who offered me the most kindness, and it is especially thanks to her that I survived those critical moments.
[p. 414]
There are many ways to describe someone's heroism, but *I would never have enough words to express the extent of "babcia," Staszka, and Elżbieta's bravery during those days*. Every time the dog barked, or a person or cart appeared in the distance, their hearts filled with terrible fear. I would immediately be taken to my hiding spot and only after some time would Staszka come, still pale but already with laughing eyes, and announce that someone had merely passed by. Despite this, I never heard them utter a word of fear or complaint. I myself had to tell them over and over again that if the Germans or the police found me, they should explain that I had only arrived an hour before and had threatened them with my weapon or with the revenge of the partisans if they told anyone. But "babcia" would usually not let me finish, saying that everything was in God's hands, and that the will of man amounted to very little. …
One evening, Szkrabka came with the local healer, who inspected my leg and then proceeded to take off the planks.
[p. 415]
One night, appearing from nowhere, Benek woke me up. I could tell from his voice that he was very agitated. Janek was wounded and had arrived at Szkrabka's home. I quickly put on my shoes and slowly dragged myself after Benek to Szkrabka's. Janek was lying there. He had lost a lot of blood and was very pale. He had been shot four times. Two of the bullets were still stuck in his body. It took us until morning to tend to his wounds. One of the bullets was in his right arm above the elbow, the other in his left thigh. Apart from that, his shoulder blade had been bruised and a bullet had gone through his thigh in the groin area. In the morning we left by cart to Jasiek Korko [Korkosz], where Janek was expected to stay for some time. It was only on the following day, while staying in my barn shelter, that I learned how Janek had been injured. For some time now, part of Polish society, especially the Polish ethnic Germans who, just before the final defeat of the Germans, suddenly seemed to remember that they were Poles, had become unhappy with the good relations between the Home Army and the Soviet partisans. They did not care that it was only thanks to the help of the lieutenant colonel that we had managed to stop the Banderites from exterminating the local Polish population. Instead, citing the example of Katyn, they argued that they had to kill two birds with one

stone. That meant that one had to wait for the defeat of both Germany and the Soviet Union. They did not say who would defeat them. As Edek said to one of these Poles in a conversation: “You are waiting for the defeat of Russia, but for whose sake? I hope not for the ethnic German Buchhalt of Barysz, who is making nice with you while informing the Germans of your every move!”
One day something incredible happened. A Polish priest was attacked in one of the villages. All his belongings, including his only cow, were looted and the sacred images were desecrated. Of course, the gentlemen of the Buchhalt clan made a big deal out of it. They blamed the Poles, the Jews, and the Soviets. In the meantime, it became obvious that none of our units were even near that area at the time of the raid. In addition to that, it was impossible to even think that one of our own men, or any of the lieutenant colonel’s units, would have dared do something like this. The deeply distressed Edek decided to solve the riddle right away.
[p. 416] → [NOTE: According to Polish sources, Edward Niedźwiecki was one of four Poles killed by German gendarmes on December 26, 1943, near Monasterzyska. Edek’s companion, Jan Butrowski, perhaps the source of Wizinger’s information (Wizinger refers to him as simply as Janek), managed to escape.]
That same night, he set out with fifteen of his lads, including Janek. After talking to the priest, it became clear that the attackers had spoken Russian with each other. But their Russian was so bad that it was easy to tell that they were only pretending to be Russians. According to the priest they might have been Banderites in disguise, or even… The priest could not complete his sentence because the house came under fire and bullets came flying through the window. Edek was the first to recover. He turned off the lamp, ran to the door, fired a few bursts from his automatic and jumped out of the house. At that same instant, a hand grenade exploded at his feet and tore him to shreds. Janek jumped out of the window and was immediately riddled with bullets. He lay there pretending to be dead. He heard the injured moaning and someone ordering in Polish to finish them off. He recognized the voice of the ethnic German Tadeusz Buchhalt. Standing over Edek’s body he said: “You wanted Jewish-Communist rule? There you have it.” Janek also recognized the voice of Szydłowski, another ethnic German and an inspector in the criminal police in Buczacz. When everything calmed down, Janek crawled cautiously through the yard to the garden and from there ran through the fields to the forest, …
It was almost November [1943]. The Soviets had occupied Kyiv and crossed the Dnieper River for good. [Kyiv was liberated on 6 November] That evening, we were drinking at Szkrabka’s to celebrate the latest victory of the Red Army. We were already feeling so well that we began thinking about returning to one of the units. But Szkrabka was against this and said that if we were feeling well, we should guard the villages in the area at night. Since the lieutenant colonel had left the area, the Banderites were once again attacking Polish villages. We readily agreed and set out every night to patrol the area.
[p. 417]
One day, after returning from town, Elżbieta told us that the night before a group of unknown, probably Jewish assailants, had shot through the window of the town dog catcher Kowalski’s house. Kowalski, who had specialized in searching for Jewish hideouts, was wounded and died on the way to the hospital. Naturally, such incidents intrigued us very much but despite numerous efforts, we were unable to find out who was behind them or to contact these people.
A few weeks later, probably the same people raided the house of a certain woman called Dudzicka, who had denounced a Jewish child to the Germans. The woman was killed before she could call for help. This time we managed to find out that the attackers belong to Ducio [Dawid] Friedlender’s group. The group operated on the other side of town, the side of the village of Pyszkowce [5.5 km east of Buczacz]. …
One day, with Staszka’s help, I sent a letter to my acquaintance, the Ukrainian *Marusha Serebrovska* [Marusia Serebrowska], who was well known for helping the Jews even before the liquidation of the Ghetto. Jews often found shelter in her house during roundups. A young Jewish girl had been in hiding there from the time the Germans had entered town. In the letter, I asked her to help us make contact with Ducio’s group. She was the go-between that Ducio used to provide hidden Jews with food. She gave us all the details concerning Ducio’s outfit. They were armed with a few pistols and three old sawed-off shotguns. Despite this, they were the ones who had attacked the Landkommissar. Berek Gross had shot Nahajowski. Ducio’s brother, Ozio Friedlender, had killed Kowalski, and Ducio himself had shot Dudzicka. They were living in a cave in the forest near the waterfall.
[p. 418]
Christmas arrived, followed by the Polish New Year, which we spent with the Poles. For the Ukrainian New Year, we were invited to our friends, the Durda family. One night, while on guard, we saw from the distance two figures approaching on the snow-covered field. We were dressed in white sheepskins and nearly invisible in the snow. For that reason, they did not notice us until they were close. They stopped only when they heard my voice. I recognized the two boys. One was Janek Langberg and the other a boy from the vicinity of Buczacz whose name I did not know. We went together to “babcia,” where we told each other what we had been through. Ducio’s group consisted of fifteen boys. They had learnt about us from Marusha, whom they praised very highly. We sat up until morning and spent the following day together as well. The following evening, they departed together with Janek and Benek, who had decided to join them in the forest. I had to stay behind in Gaje. I was feeling better, but walking was still painful, and I would not have been able to walk very far.

February went by and it was the beginning of March. The Red Army was approaching the Zbrucz River The night before some of the boys were crossing the road to Potok Złoty and came across a group of Germans. There was firefight and as a result Janek and Ducio were killed.
[p. 422]
Buczacz, 24 March, 1944, at 2 p.m.98
The End.
RELEVANT NOTES:
On Nahajowski and Kowalski see Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide*, 235–36, 250. [Both are described as “dog catchers,” and perhaps they are one and the same person.]
On Maryna (Marynka in diminutive form) Świerszczak see Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide*, 254. Świerszczak was honored by Yad Vashem in Jerusalem as one of the righteous among the nations, especially on the basis of testimonies by Shmuel Rosen and his brothers, who were saved by him. Wizinger’s very different account, held in the archives of Yad Vashem, was obviously not consulted. See Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide*, 254, 361 n.23.

SOURCE: Omer Bartov, ed., *Voices on War and Genocide: Three Accounts of the World Wars in a Galician Town* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2020)

Gutyszyna

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Kret family (Poles)

Rev. Kazimierz Słupski, the pastor of Puźniki, who sheltered several Jews and was recognized by Yad Vashem, approached trusted parishioners to take Jews into safekeeping. Dr. Bernard Seifer from Buczacz was taken in by the Kret family in the village of Gutyszyna on the outskirts of Barysz.
SOURCE: Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin, eds., *Righteous Among Nations: How Poles Helped the Jews, 1939–1945* (London: Earlscourt Publications, 1969), 337–339.

Huta Nowa
(Polish village near Monasterzyska)

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Antoni Kania (YV – Polish priest)
- Grabowski (Polish priest) → nearby unidentified village

➢ Ferenc, Mikołaj → Markowa (Podhajce county)
➢ **Kania, Antoni → Huta Nowa**
➢ **Rev. Grabowskl**
➢ Krajewska, Leokadia → Rożyszcze (Volhynia)
➢ Krajewski, Edmund → Rożyszcze (Volhynia)

Rescue story:
Ewa Trauenstein (later Turzyńska) and her son, Leon, were sheltered in Tarnopol voivodship successively by three Polish priests: Rev. Mikołaj Ferenc, a Capuchin (until 1943) and administrator of the Roman Catholic parish in the village of Markowa, in the county of Podhajce – until that village was attacked by Ukrainian nationalists on January 15, 1944, and Rev. Ferenc was killed together with 56 Polish villagers; Rev. Antoni Kania, the pastor of Huta Nowa, near the town of Monasterzyska, in the county of Buczacz; and Rev. Grabowski, with whom they stayed briefly, in a nearby village, until the arrival of the Red Army. Rev. Kania, a Home Army chaplain, found hiding places for several Jews, among them Dr. Leon (Leizor) Bandler from Monasterzyska, who posed as the village wagon driver in Huta Nowa. Dr. Bandler settled in Wrocław after the war. Yad Vashem recognized Rev. Ferenc and Rev. Kania as Righteous Among Nations in 2013.
SOURCE: Ewa Turzyńska, *Sądzonym mi było żyć…* (Warsaw: Żydowski Instytut Historyczny im. Emanuela Ringelbluma, 2009), 143-163, 175-182.
Rev. Mykhailo Shchurovskyi, the local Ukrainian priest, implored Rev. Ferenc to take refuge in his home when he learned of the impending UPA raid on Markowa. Rev. Ferenc declined, preferring to share the fate of his parishioners. Rev. Shchurovskyi officiated at the funeral mass of Rev. Ferenc and the murdered Poles, cancelled the important Feast of the Jordan procession and mass, and left his post in protest and fear of retribution.
SOURCE: Roman Niedzielko, ed., *Kresowa księga sprawiedliwych 1939–1945: O Ukraińcach ratujących Polaków poddanych eksterminacji przez OUN i UPA / The Book of the Righteous of the Eastern Borderlands, 1939–1945: About the Ukrainians Who Rescued Poles Subjected to Extermination by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army* (Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej, 2007), 147–148.

Rescue story:
Ewa Grus was born in 1913 and given up for adoption. Her new parents, Leon and Gustawa Segal, named her Lusia and took her to live with them in Rozwadów. They loved her very much and took care of her every need. When she finished her studies, she joined her father, Leon, working in his pharmacy. In 1933 she married Moshe Trauenstein, who was much older than she was. In 1935 they had a son whom they named Leon, in honor of Lusia's by then deceased adoptive father.
When they learned that the Germans were about to bomb Rozwadów, Lusia and her mother, husband, and son ran away eastward with other Jews escaping the city. They tried to live in Lwów (today Lviv) for a while, attempting to live normally: Lusia worked in a pharmacy, and Moshe sometimes brought milk and potatoes from a friendly farmer in Zimna Woda.
Eventually life in Lwów became difficult, and the family wandered on. They moved to Gustawa's relatives in Różyszcze. Again Lusia found a job in a pharmacy. Once, at great personal danger to herself, she had the opportunity to save the life of a pig farmer called Dobrowolski by obtaining nitroglycerin, which at the time was hard to come by. When in 1941 the city came under bombardment and a ghetto was established, Dobrowolski, now a Nazi officer, returned and reminded Lusia that he owed her his life and would pay her back.
Moshe Trauenstein, Lusia's husband, volunteered for the Judenrat (Jewish council), which soon ran into difficulties that resulted in all of its members being shot. Lusia decided she would not return to the ghetto, and she had her mother and son hide in the basement of the pharmacy. The

Nazi officer Dobrowolski appeared again, and when she told him of her plan, he said nothing and left. She continued working in the pharmacy, and her family went on living in the basement.
One day the officer returned and said that the family had to leave town. He provided them with identity papers and money but told them they had to find their own transportation. After he left, a woman Lusia recognized from the period of Russian occupation walked in. Her name was Leokadia Krajewska, and when Lusia shared her concerns, Krajewska promised to try to find transportation for her and her family, which she managed to do. Her brother, Edmund Krajewski, came to drive the Segal-Tauersteins to safety. The Krajewskis also gave them some money and took Lusia's real papers for safekeeping.
Again they tried their luck in Lwów, but things did not work out for them there. Lusia went to Markowa to try to find Mikołaj Ferenc, a local priest who had promised her husband that one day he would help him out. Ferenc agreed to help, and Lusia and her son stayed in his house. Lusia's adoptive mother, Gustawa, passed away during this period. Lusia and Leon spent about seven months in Ferenc's house. Lusia helped around the house, and Leon tried his best as well.
In January 1944 Banderovists (members of the military wing of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) came into Markowa and murdered all the men, including Ferenc. It was then up to Lusia and Leon to find a new place to hide. They passed through several houses where people put them up until the Nazis came hunting for Jews. At one point Leon's legs were severely burned while helping with the work in one of the houses. A German doctor happened to see the child and brought medicine to heal him. He also told Lusia to run away from the place because it was going to be destroyed.
The next stop on the grueling journey was Nowa Huta and the home of Antoni Kania, a priest. Kania knew Lusia and Leon were Jewish, but he took them in anyway. The house was full of people who had escaped the destroyed village, and there was much housework to be done. Life was difficult, but it went on. Leon's legs healed. Lusia decided she would go to Lwów to see about her papers. Kania put her in touch with a Jewish doctor [Leizor Bandler] he had helped previously. The doctor aided her in moving about safely. She managed to find Leokadia Krajewska, who was living in her barn because her house had been burned down. When the house burned, Leokadia had kept Lusia's papers on her body, thereby rescuing them from the fire. The reunion was joyful and full of memories, but there was still the question of getting back to Rozwadów. Fortunately, a Soviet officer who had a venereal disease struck a deal with Lusia—she would help him take care of his health, and he would provide fake documents for her and her son to get to Rozwadów. Lusia and Leon arrived there safe and sound and survived the remaining weeks of the war.
On April 2, 2013, Yad Vashem recognized Mikołaj Ferenc, Antoni Kania, and Leokadia and Edmund Krajewski as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons

Turzynska, Trauenstein, Gross, Sigall, Ewa

Trauenstein, Turzyński, Leon

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

Jazłowiec

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Tatomir family (YV – Poles; the husband may have been Ukrainian)
- Janina Chomiak (Pole)
- Jan Szablowski (Pole)
- Teofila Zimirska (Pole)
- Piszcz (Pole)
- Franciszek Kowalski (Pole)
- Kornel and Kazmierz Szablowski (Poles)
- Kuliczkowski family (Poles)
- Other villagers

➢ **Tatomir, Julia (wife)**
➢ **Tatomir, Jan (husband)**
➢ **Żak, Józefa (Tatomir) (daughter)**
➢ **Szymczak, Janina (Tatomir) (daughter)**

Rescue story:
During the war, Julia and Jan Tatomir lived in the village of Jazlowiec, in the county of Buczacz, Tarnopol district. Jan was a bricklayer, but during the war, he had almost no work and could hardly provide for his nine-person family. Jan had a reputation for being a kind and honest person; that was the reason why people in need of help often sought Jan out.
The first to find her way to Jan was Elza Redner (later Elza Bernstein) and her four-year-old son [Henio]. The second to appear was Liba Mandel and her eighteen-year-old son, Jakub. Next came Nella Buchsbajewa and Antonina Kalafer. All of them reached the Tatomir family after wandering for long stretches of time and after many painful experiences.
Jan accommodated the fugitives in a bunker built specifically for this purpose by himself and his family. To keep the bunker a secret, Jan dug at night and the women took the dug out earth in boxes away from the house. All of the family members took part in caring for the hidden Jews, but Julia and her daughter Józefa were most involved. After Jan's death (he was murdered by the Germans in 1943), Julia and her [six] children had to carry the entire load themselves. A few searches were held at the Tatomir's home. "On all those occasions, the blood froze in our veins and our hearts leaped out of our throats," wrote Józefa in her testimony to Yad Vashem.
In March 1944, when the battlefront was approaching the Tatomirs' hometown, the Germans announced that all inhabitants of the area were to be evacuated. Staying alone in the bunker in those conditions would have been a death sentence for the hiding Jews (either by being captured by the Germans or from starvation) so Józefa turned to the Germans and offered them help in the kitchen. The Germans accepted her proposal and hence allowed her family to stay in their home. Thanks to that move, the Jews were able to survive. "Julia Tatomir together with her already grown children... did not restrict their material and moral efforts... and only thanks to them did I, as well as the above mentioned persons, survive and manage to build a family of my own," emphasized Nella in her testimony.
After the war, the rescued Jews left Poland, some settling in Australia and Germany. The Tatomirs moved to Legnica in Lower Silesia. On May 3, 1984, Yad Vashem recognized Jan Tatomir, his wife, Julia Tatomir, and their daughters, Józefa Żak and Janina Szymczak, as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons
Kalafer, Hochman, Antonina
Bernstein, Redner, Elza
Redner, Bernstein, Henio
Mandel, Liba
Mandel, Kuba
Buchsbajewa, Drohobyczer, Nella

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE
Also: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 111–26. This account states Jan Tatomir brought several other Jews to his farm from Buczacz: Rabbi R. Simcha-Yoel of Potok Złoty, and his two daughters and son-in-law; the sochet of Czortków, a couple, two 18-year-old girls, Tanche and Nella Steinberg, and two camp policemen. Four of these Jews were found by the Ukrainian police in Tatomir's barn, the others dispersed. The account also mentions the protection extended to the Jews by Jan Tatomir's Polish son-in-law, especially after Jan's death.

➢ **Janina Chomiak**
Rescue story:
Salcia Ribner hid her child with Janina Chomiak, a Polish woman, and brought food to her from time to time. The Ukrainian policeman Konowalczuk spotted her and investigated where she was going. He shot Salcia Ribner and brutally beat Janina Chomiak, whom he ordered to take the child and place it on the snow. He shot the child several times, forcing Janina Chomiak to watch. Mosze Ribner, Salcia's husband, was hiding somewhere in the vicinity. He sent a threatening letter to Konowalczuk, who then started to track him down. Several weeks later he located Mosze's hideout, pulled him out, and executed him on the square in front of the town hall.
SOURCE: Henryk Komański and Szczepan Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946* (Wrocław: Nortom, 2004), 681.

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Rescue story:
After escaping from Buczacz together with her mother and brother, Pepa Sternberg (later Gold, born in Buczacz in 1924) was initially sheltered by a Christian family in Jazłowiec. They had to leave their place of refuge because of a German raid. It appears that her mother and brother perished. The family's former Polish maid, who was afraid to keep Pepa in her own home, brought her to Wojciechówka, described as a Polish settlement and a village of weavers. She was sheltered and protected by various Polish families, as were many other Jews. She remained there from November 1943 until the entry of the Soviet army in March 1944. She spent her time knitting in the houses or barns of several Poles. Her presence was widely known in the village. She was almost killed as a Pole when the Polish village was attacked by Ukrainians in February 1944. When a neighbour warned her of the approach of German soldiers, Pepa took shelter in an empty house that had belonged to Jews. Fortunately, she escaped detection. Pepa turned to the family's former family maid for food, wash and rest. After the Soviet army arrived, she returned to Buczacz, where a Ukrainian friend gave her shoes, a coat, and bread.
SOURCES: Testimony of Pepa Gold, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 39449 (the village is misidentified as Wojciechowice in the accompanying notes but not by her in the testimony); Oral history interview with Pepa Gold, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession no. 1993.A.0088.4, RG-50.002-0004 (village not identified); Joseph J. Preil, ed., *Holocaust Testimonies: European Survivors and American Liberators in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 166–167.

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Rescue story:
Netka Goldberg (b. 1928), was deported from Jazłowiec to Buczacz with her family, except for her father, in September 1942. During the mass executions in Buczacz, she lost her mother, three

sisters and two brothers. Netka is able to reunite with her father, and they go to Zaleszczyki [Małe] to work on a farm. Her father is captured by the Ukrainian police in September 1943 and killed on the spot. Netka returns to Jazłowiec, where she is taken in by her cousins. Soon after, her cousins are killed by Ukrainian SS troopers. Netka first hides in the forest, and afterwards goes to Porchowa, where she presents herself as a Pole. After the entry of the Soviet army, she returns to Jazłowiec, where she meets a cousin, Anna Forschmidt. They leave for Gliwice, and eventually arrive at the Foehrenwald DP camp in November 1945.
SOURCE: Questionnaire regarding Netka Goldberg, Yad Vashem Archives, file M.1/M.1.PC/174 (Item 5262370).

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Rescue story:
Eliezer Bider (b. 1929) hid in Jazłowiec and Porchowa.
SOURCE: Testimony of Eliezer Bider, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 37231.

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Testimony of Malka (Miller) Ben Hador, born in Jazlowiec, 1937, regarding her experiences in Jazlowiec, the Buczacz Ghetto, escape from the ghetto, wandering, hiding and life using a false identity.
Religious Zionist home; her father is a fur trader. Russian rule, 1939-1941; move of her family to her aunt in Potok Zloty for about two months; entry into the Buczacz Ghetto, 1942; her father receives a permit to work in trade; stay in the ghetto until November 1943; escape to the fields and wandering; living in a bunker in Jazlowiec, wandering in villages and fields in the Jazlowiec area; hiding with other Jews in a pit in a forest; escape to a Polish village, March 1944; deportation with the civilian population; escape from the convoy and arrival in Potok Zloty; living opposite German Army headquarters while using a Polish identity; liberation by the Red Army, July 1944. DP camp in Germany; aliya to Israel, 1949; absorption.
SOURCE: Yad Vashem, Record Group O.33 – Testimonies, Diaries and Memoirs Collection, file O.33/11292 (Item 3747750).

➢ **Unidentified villager**
Testimony of Itschak Bronstein Sheffer Seffer, born in Nizni Studeny, Czechoslovakia, 1925, regarding his experiences in the Iza Ghetto, Auschwitz, Mauthausen and Ebensee.
Life before the war. Annexation to Hungary, 1938; violence of the Hungarian gendarmes; deportation to Jazlowiec, summer 1941; life as refugees; work for a Ukrainian farmer using a false identity; mass murders of Jews; family is hidden by a Ukrainian employer; crosses the border illegally and return to Nizni Studeny; hiding during the re-deportation of the family; German occupation, March 1944; deportation to the Iza Ghetto; deportation to Auschwitz; transfer to Mauthausen; transfer to Ebensee; injury and hospitalization; help from a Jewish physician; liberation by the US Army, May 1945. Life after the war; aliya to Israel, 1948.
SOURCE: Yad Vashem, Record Group O.33 – Testimonies, Diaries and Memoirs Collection, File Number VT/8246 (Item ID 7038293)

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Rescue story:
For a time, Fanke Schprechman rented a room for herself and her child in Jazłowiec. Elsa Redner's sister-in-law and child, who were hiding in Jazłowiec, were caught and shot in the cemetery.
SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 117, 122.

➢ **Jan Szablowski**
➢ **Stanisław Kulesza & his uncle**
➢ **Teofila Zimirska**
➢ **Piszcz**
➢ **Franciszek Kowalski**
➢ **Kornel and Kazmierz Szablowski**

Rescue story:
Jan Szablowski (Szabłowski) sheltered a Jewish girl, whom he later married.
Stanisław Kulesza hid a Jewish family in a hideout in a field and elsewhere on his farm.
Stanisław Kulesza's paternal uncle sheltered a pharmacist from Stanisławów and his family.
Leon and Emilia Rola provided food to a group of ten Jews hiding in the forest.
Jews hiding in the forest would visit the homes of Poles and obtain food.
After the Jews were deported to Buczacz, Ukrainian policemen hunted down the fugitives, many of whom were caught and shot. (Some of the Jewish victims are listed.)
Teofila Zimirska (Kołodziej) hid a Jewish infant, who was found by the Ukrainian police and shot. She tried to protect a Jewish boy, but he was ripped from her hands by a Ukrainian policeman.
A group of Jews hid in the forest near the nearby Polish village of Duliby, where Jewish partisans would go for provisions.
Jews would help themselves to food from the fields of the convent of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, with the tacit approval of the nuns.
A Pole by the name Piszcz, who owned a farm on the Strypa River near Jazłowiec, that served as a base for Jewish partisans who were active in the area. Several Poles – Franciszek Kowalski and the brothers Kornel and Kazimierz Szablowski – collaborated with Piszcz by providing the Jews with ammunition purchased from Hungarian soldiers stationed in Jazłowiec. The Jewish partisans had good relations with the Polish self-defence group in Duliby.
SOURCES: Stanisław J. Kowalski, *Jazłowiec pod okupacją sowiecką, niemiecką i ukraińską 1939–1945,* [1992], Bilblioteka Cyfrowa Ośrodka KARTA, file AW II/1339/2K, Internet: https://dlibra.karta.org.pl/dlibra/publication/80845/edition/65646
Józef Marecki, "Prześladowania ludności polskiej przez Ukraińców w Jazłowcu i okolicy podczas II wojny światowej," *Fides, Ratio et Patria: Studia Toruńskie,* no. 5 (2016): 125–67.

➢ **Kuliczkowski family**
From spring 1942 until October 1943, Kazimierz and Kazimiera Kuliczkowski regularly helped seven Jews from the Zelman (Celman) and Szechter (Schachter) families who were hiding in the forest by providing them with foodm clothing and temporary shelter. They then disappeared and appear to have been shot by Ukrainian policemen.
SOURCE: Czesław Kuliczkowski, *Jazłowiec, Żydzi i Kuliczkowscy,* Internet: https://archiwumkresowe.pl/jazlowiec-zydzi-i-kuliczkowscy/

Józefówka
(near Buczacz)

Not mentioned by Bartov in Anatomy of a Genocide.

Rescuers:
- Orsiawski family (Polish husband, Ukrainian wife)
- Mrs. Blawadowa, probably Bławat (Pole)
- Other villagers

➢ **Orsiawski couple**
➢ **Mrs. Blawadowa**
Rescue story:
Etunia Bauer Katz (b. 1922) mentions the help her family – consisting of her parents, Osher and Frieda Bauer, and her three siblings, Bronia, Molus, and Rumek – received in Józefówka from the Orsiawski couple (Polish husband, Ukrainian wife), and then from Mrs. Blawadowa, probably Bławat, a kindly Polish widow who lived in a one-room cottage with her two children. They decided to leave Bławat's home as a precaution when some villagers happened to find them there. Afterwards, they relocated to nearby Mateuszówka, where they were helped by a number of villagers. (See also Mateuszówka.)
SOURCES: Etunia Bauer Katz, *Our Tomorrows Never Came* (Fordham University Press: New York, 2000), 59–72; Testimony of Ethel Katz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 51451.

➢ **Polish villagers**
On March 8, 1944, just two weeks before the Red Army entered Buczacz, Etunia Bauer Katz's family was discovered hiding in their former manor house in Józefówka. A Ukrainian "Banderowcy" squad broke in and killed her father, her older sister, Bronia, and her two remaining younger brothers, Rumek and Molus. The eldest brother had already been murdered in the first mass shooting in 1941. The family was betrayed by their neighbours, who had known them for many years. Only Etunia escaped. She was saved by two Polish lads who were patrolling the perimeter of their village, Wojciechówka, to protect it from attacks by Ukrainian bands.
SOURCE: Omer Bartov, "Interethnic Relations in the Holocaust as Seen Through Postwar Testimonies: Buczacz, East Galicia, 1941–1944," in Doris L. Bergen, ed., *Lessons and Legacies VIII: From Generation to Generation,* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008), 101–124, based on Etunia Bauer Katz, *Our Tomorrows Never Came* (Fordham University Press: New York, 2000), 96–99.

Korościatyn
(Polish village)

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Polish villagers

Rescue story:
According to the testimony of Jewish and Polish witnesses, in conjunction with the 1949 investigation of Iosyp Humeniuk, a Ukrainian police officer and UPA leader active in the vicinity of Uście Zielone, Humeniuk took part in the pacification of the Polish village of Korościatyn where Jews were also hiding.
SOURCE: Trial dossier, Institute on National Remembrance, IPN 0192/336, vol. 29.

Kurdybanówka / Kurdwanówka

This village had a predominantly Ukrainian population.

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Chaikovskyi family (YV – Ukrainians)
- Chaikovskyi family (YV – Ukrainians)
- An unidentified Polish family

➢ **Chaikovskiy, Stepan**
➢ **Chaikovskaya, Anna (wife)**

Rescue story:
Stepan and Anna Chaikovskiy, farmers, lived with their four daughters in the village of Kordibanovka [Kurdybanówka] (today Kurdybanivka) in the vicinity of Buczacz (now Buchach, Ternopil' District). The Germans occupied the area on July 5, 1941. In June 1943, Stepan came across a Jewish family, people that he did not recognize, hiding in the Christian cemetery. There was Ben-Zion Held, his sister, Sosia, his wife, Hana, and Ben-Zion's five-year-old daughter, Rachel. Against all odds, they had survived the numerous killing operations and round-ups in Buczacz and fled from the ghetto during its liquidation. They had taken to hiding in the fields and the forest, eating whatever food they had managed to steal. On hearing their story, Stepan suggested that the Helds hide out in his barn. His offer was accepted gratefully. Stepan also took in the Halpern family, who were hiding in Buczacz. Lea Halpern, Ben-Zion's sister, her husband, Moshe, and their 13-year-old son, Mordecai, were on the edge of physical collapse after not having eaten for several days. The Halpern's sufferings were increased by the recent loss of their 17-year-old daughter and sister, Sara. She had been hiding with a local woman, but was discovered and killed. The Helds and the Halperns remained hidden by the Chaikovskiys for nine months. Anna and her older daughters brought them food and cared for their sanitary needs. Once, when a rumor spread that Jews were hiding in the village, Stepan asked his wards to leave and they moved to the forest for several days. When things quieted down, he brought them back in. On March 24, 1944, Soviet troops forced the Germans out of Buczacz and the nearby villages, and the seven survivors returned to their native town. But two weeks later, during a German counterattack, they found themselves again under German rule for another three more months. During that period, Ben-Zion Held was wounded in his leg and died three weeks later. Moshe Halpern also died, of malnutrition and hard labor. Hana died shortly after the final liberation on July 21, 1944. The remainder of the survivors were repatriated from the USSR to Poland and then, in the late 1940s, immigrated to Israel. Lea Halpern raised her orphaned niece, Rachel Held (later, Brunholz). At the beginning of the twenty-first century, Rachel and her cousin, Mordecai, found the Chaikovskiys' daughters who had moved to Rivne, and hosted the youngest of them, Miroslava Luchka, in Israel. On August 25, 2003, Yad Vashem recognized Stepan and Anna Chaikovskiy as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons
Halpern, Moisey
Held, Sosia
Halpern, Mordecai
Brunholtz, Held, Rachel
Halpern, Lea
Held, Hana
Held, Benzion

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

Also: Testimony of Rachel Halpern, Yad Vashem Archives, file M.1.E/2309 (describes her family's life in hiding in the cellar of a Polish farmer);
Mordechai Halpern, *My Family and the City in its Flowering and Its Destruction* (Petah Tikva, 2002) (Hebrew).

- ➢ **Chaikovski, Vladimir**
- ➢ **Chaikovski, Pavel (father)**
- ➢ **Chaikovskaya, Teofila (mother)**

Rescue story:
Yehudit Akkerman was born in 1924 in Buczacz (Tarnopol district). In 5 July 1941 Buczacz was occupied by the Germans. Shortly after, 17-year-old Yehudit began working as a cleaning lady for a man in town, Michail Chaikovski.
A large Aktion took place in Buczacz on 27 November, 1942, in which 2,500 men, women and children were deported to the Belzec extermination camp and many others killed in the streets. Among them were Yehudit's mother Gizela and her younger siblings, Malka, Dora and Chune. Yehudit's older sister Radzia was discovered in her hiding place with her young son, and was shot on the banks of the river. Following the massacre Yehudit's father Iosif bid her to rescue herself, in every possible way. They parted ways, and Iosif was murdered a year later.
Yehudit turned to her employer's brother, Vladimir, who was never afraid to show empathy towards Jews and was willing to help. Vladimir hid Yehudit in his rented apartment in town, and at the same time provided food to other Jewish families in hiding. After a while the two moved to the village of Kurdwanowka [Kurdybanówka], where Vladimir's parents lived. Pavel and Teofila Chaikovski welcomed Yehudit, and arranged a hiding place for her under a hay stack in the barn. Following a denunciation the Chaikovski's farm was searched, but luckily Yehudit was not found. She left the farm with Vladimir, and the two began wandering from place to place.
The area was finally liberated in March 1944, after which Yehudit and Vladimir returned to Buczacz. They married in 1950, and had two sons; the oldest of which, Bogdan, made Aliyah to Israel in 1999.Yehudit followed him, but returned to the Ukraine after a year. Vladimir passed away in 2001. On 21 June 2011 Yad Vashem recognized Vladimir Chaikovski and his parents, Pavel and Teofila, as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons

Chaikovskaya, Akkerman, Yehudit

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

- ➢ **Unidentified Polish villagers**

From May to August 1943, Bronisława Pałek [Holzer] was sheltered by **Poles** in Kurdybanówka, a largely Ukrainian village, together with 8-year-old nephew. After a neighbour found out and Ukrainian militia raids ensued, the Polish farmer was afraid to keep them any longer. Villagers killed a number of Jews including her nephew. Pałek then stayed with Polish friends, the Capfs, in Buczacz. While living in fields for 6 weeks, she obtained food from a police confidant.
SOURCES: Testimony of Bronisława Pałek, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/1130; Testimony of Bronislawa Palek, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.62/170 (Item 3732364).

Mateuszówka
(Polish village)

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Various vllagers

➢ **Wasik (Pole)**
➢ **Supczak (Ukrainian)**
➢ **Supczak and wife (Ukrainian – Pole)**

Etunia Bauer Katz (b. 1922) mentions the help her family – consisting of her parents, Osher and Frieda Bauer, and her three siblings, Bronia, Molus, and Rumek – received from a number of villagers in Mateuszówka, a Polish colony near Dobropole. They obtained food from two village elders with whom her father had a friendly relationship: Wasik [Wąsik?], a Pole who refused to accept payment for anything, and Supczak, a Ukrainian. Supczak arranged for his brother, who had a Polish wife, to shelter the Bauer family. They were assisted by other villagers as well. (See also Józefówka.)

SOURCE: Etunia Bauer Katz, *Our Tomorrows Never Came* (Fordham University Press: New York, 2000), 73-99; Testimony of Ethel Katz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 51451.

Medwedowce
(near Buczacz)

Vague reference to help from villagers (Anatomy of a Genocide, p. 252).

Rescuers:
- Wicherek family (YV – Poles)
- Kazimierz Manusiewicz (Pole)
- Other villagers

➢ **Wicherek, Mieczysław (husband)**
➢ **Wicherek, Maria (wife)**
➢ **Czernicka-Wicherek, Józefa (daughter)**

Rescue story:
Mieczysław Wicherek lived with his wife and daughter, Józefa, in the village of Medwedowce near Buczacz (Eastern Galicia). In 1943, when the Jews of Buczacz were being deported, Jakub Szwarc went to Wicherek. Wicherek and Szwarc knew each other from before the war, through commercial ties. (Schwartz operated a small store in the village before the war.) The Wicherek family agreed to help Jakub and his family. Altogether, the Wichereks hid six people in their apartment (cottage): Jakub (Jankiel), his wife (Frieda), their son Moshe (Mundzio), two of Jakub's cousins (the Schechners: Mathilda Schwartzbach and Dziunek Schectman, according to Rosner), and Mina Rosner (née Pohorille). "They built a hiding place for us, they guarded and fed us … they were our contact with the world," wrote Moshe Szwarc in his testimony. He added that Józefa used to come in [sic] to them in the evenings and tell them what was going on in the town and the neighborhood. She also took out their waste products. Wicherek would buy produce in far-off places so as not to draw his neighbors' attention to the increased quantity of food he was buying. His wife was busy cooking all day long. Towards the end of the war, during the fighting between the Germans and Russians in the area, Wicherek's wife was shot through the heart and died immediately. Wicherek's married daughter (Wisia) was also shot and killed by a stray bullet. "I am not sure there is enough ink to describe the kindness and friendliness of those people," wrote Mina Rosner about the Wicherek family.
On September 12, 1990, Yad Vashem recognized Mieczysław Wicherek, his wife Maria, and their daughter, Józefa Czernicka (née Wicherek), as Righteous Among the Nations.
Rescued Persons
Rosner, Pohorille, Mina, Eleonor
Schechtman, Dziunek
Schwartz, Frida
Schwartz, Moshe
Schwartz, Yakov
Schwartzbach, Mathilda
SOURCE: *The Encyclopedia of the Righteous Among the Nations,* volume 5: Poland, Part 2, 861; YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE
Also:
Mina Rosner, *I Am a Witness* (Winnipeg: Hyperion Press, 1990).
Testimony of Moshe Mundek Schwarz (b. 1936), Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/12229 (Item 4432070).
Yehuda Bauer, *The Death of the* Shtetl (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 107, based on the testimony of Moshe Schwartz / Mosheh Shvarts, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 45180.

➢ **Kazimierz Manusiewicz**

Rescue story:
Aba Reiner (b. 1916) identified an aid giver by the name of Padewski in Monasterzyska, and Kazik (Kazimierz) Manusiewicz in Medwedowce. Reiner used two aliases: Janek Parntsok and Janek Skowroński.
SOURCE: Testimony of Abah Rayner, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 38071 (Hebrew).

➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story:

Zev Anderman and his family found shelter with several Polish and Ukrainian families in the villages of Podzameczek, Medwedowce, and Pilawa during the *Aktions* in Buczacz. Afterwards, he and his uncle hid in the village of Petlikowce Nowe with the brothers Mykhailo and Ilko Baran, who were already hiding several other Jews. They stayed there until spring 1944. The Baran brothers are said to have saved 15 Jews.
SOURCE: Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 252–254.

➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story:
Yisrael Munczer and his mother were sheltered by a farmer in Medwedowce.
SOURCE: Testimony of Yisrael Muncher, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/5878 (Item 3560673) re hiding with his mother in fields and with farmers in Wojciechówka and Medwedowce.
Also: Yisrael Munczer, *A Holocaust Survivor from Buczacz* (in Hebrew) (Gefen: Jerusalem, 1990).

Monasterzyska

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Grzebyk family (YV – Poles)
- Przysiecki & Kułakowska (YV – Poles)
- Rybak (YV – Pole)
- Tęczyński (YV – Pole)
- Weinglas family (YV – Poles)
- Jaworski family (Pole)
- Wasik family (Poles)
- Piotrowska (Pole)
- Padewski (Pole)
- Howath (Pole)
- Kubicz (Pole)
- Ostapnik family (Poles)
- Others

➢ **Grzebyk, Jan (husband)**
➢ **Grzebyk, Maria (wife)**
➢ **Wołoszyniak-Grzebyk, Stefania (daughter)**
➢ **Grzebyk, Stanisław (son)**

Rescue story:
Jan and Maria Grzebyk, their daughter, Stefania, and son, Stanisław, all lived in Monasterzyska, Buczacz district (Tarnopol voivodeship). In 1942, while visiting Tarnów, Stefania met a Jewish woman named Salomea Szpangled, and later her husband Naftali (Tulek) and Henryk Keller and his family; all of whom lived in the Tarnów ghetto. Stefania used to put on her a white band with a star, in order to enter the ghetto, and to meet with them. With her help, Tulek and Salomea fled the ghetto and moved to Lubenia, near Krosno, where they both survived the war and then immigrated to Israel. Stefania later helped Henryk and his brother, "Nasiek," (Menasze; later Mieczysław Dombrowski), his sister Rutka Keller, and their parents (Chaim & Leopoldine Keller) to escape from the ghetto and they all found refuge in Boguchwała, near Rzeszów.
In November 1942, Dora (Debora) Weg, whom Stefania met through Tulek, was brought to Stefania's parents' house, where she stayed for three months. Since she had neither documents nor money, she could not stay any longer, and Stefania's brother, Stanisław, decided to conscribe with her for forced labor in Germany. He arranged the necessary documentation so that Dora could pretend to be his wife. During their stay in Hainichen, near Dresden (in Germany); Dora gave birth to a daughter, Anna. When they returned to Poland in August 1945, Dora and Stanisław got married.
Dora's sister Sara (later Lucyna Meloch), was also hidden by Stefania for three months.
On November 20, 1986, Yad Vashem recognized Jan Grzebyk, his wife, Maria Grzebyk, their daughter, Stefania Wołoszyniak-Grzebyk, and their son, Stanisław Grzebyk, as Righteous Among the Nations. File 3490
Rescued Persons

Grzebyk, Weg, Debora, Maria
Meloch, Weg, Sara, Lucyna

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE
Also: Testimonies of Maria Grzebyk and Stefania Wołoszyniak (née Grzebyk) in Sebastian Piątkowski, ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945,* vol. *5: Dystrykt Galicja Generalnego Gubernatorstwa i Wołyń* (Lublin–Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2021), documents 92 & 95.
Testimonies of Maria (Weg) Grzebyk and her husband Stanisław Grzebyk, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview codes 5776 and 35406.

According to another testimony of Debora Weg Grzebyk:
Stefania Grzebyk provided Debora Weg with her address in Monasterzyska in the event that she was in need of help. After escaping from the Tarnów ghetto in the fall of 1942, Debora was

sheltered overnight in Tarnów by the Wałęga family. Wałęga, a railway worker, got Debora on a train and his son, Józef, accompanied her to Monasterzyska. After some time, Stefania's brother, Stanisław was able to obtain an identity document for Debora as Maria Grzebyk, his wife, and together they volunteered for work in Germany in February 1943. Stefania also rescued Debora's sister, Sara Weg (later Lucyna Meloch), whom she housed with the Gawłowski family in Monasterzyska. (The Gawłowskis [allegedly] were not aware Sara was Jewish.)
SOURCE: Szymon Datner, *Las sprawiedliwych: Karta z dziejów ratownictwa Żydów w okupowanej Polsce* (Warsaw: Ksiazka i Wiedza, 1968), 49–51.

- **Przysiecki, Witold (husband)**
- **Przysiecka, Maria (wife)**
- **Kułakowska, Klaudia (mother-in-law)**

Rescue story:
Before the war, the Mildwurms lived in Lwów, next door to Klaudia Kułakowska. When the area was under Soviet control, the Mildwurms helped Kułakowska, when she ran into financial difficulties. After the Germans occupied the city and began persecuting the Jews, Kułakowska repaid the Mildwurms by saving their young daughter, Celina (later Anna Kłodzińska-Piątkowska). During one of the Aktionen in Lwów, all the Mildwurms, except for Celina, perished. Celina escaped, and made her way to Kułakowska's home, where she was given a warm welcome. After obtaining "Aryan" documents for Celina, Kułakowska arranged for her to stay with Maria and Witold Przysiecki, her daughter and son-in-law, who lived with their little daughter in the town of Monasterzyska in the Tarnopol district. Witold Przysiecki traveled especially to Lwów to fetch Celina home. He found work for Celina, who stayed with them until the summer of 1944, when the area was liberated. In risking their lives for Celina Mildwurm, the Przysieckis were guided by humanitarian considerations and never expected anything in return. Celina was not the only one to be helped by the Przysieckis. After the war, Celina moved to Warsaw, while her saviors moved to Lower Silesia.
On March 7, 1990, Yad Vashem recognized Klaudia Kułakowska, her daughter, Maria Przysiecka, and her son-in-law, Witold Przysiecki, as Righteous Among the Nations. File 4535

Rescued Persons

Kłodzińska, Piątkowska, Mildwurm, Anna, Celina

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE
In her Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, **University of Southern California,** testimony (Interview code 6978), Anna Kłodzińska-Piątkowska also mentions Bogusława Przysiecka.

- **Rybak, Janina**

Rescue Story
One day in 1943, as the ghettos in Eastern Galicia were in the midst of final liquidation, Perla Reibel, who had endured much hardship, reached the home of Janina Rybak, a devout Catholic, in Monasterzyska, in the Tarnopol district. Rybak was a poor woman who lived with her only son, but despite the risk, she agreed to conceal Reibel in her small apartment. Although her decision caused her difficulties, Rybak took care of her ward and regularly prayed for her well-being until the area was liberated in the summer of 1944. In her post-war testimony, Reibel wrote, "I am convinced that without the assistance of Janina Rybak, I would have had no chance of emerging from this war alive." Everything Rybak did to rescue Reibel was for humanitarian and religious motives, not for material reward. After the war, Reibel emigrated to the United States and her rescuer moved to a location within Poland's new borders.
On July 6, 1981, Yad Vashem recognized Janina Rybak as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons

Chapnik, Reibel, Perla

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

- **Tęczyński, Janusz → Monasterzyska**
- Kiefor, Ivan → Seredne (Podhajce county)

- Kiefor, Mrs. (wife)
- Kiefor, Olimpiya (daughter)

Rescue story:

Ivan Kiefor, his wife, and their daughter, Olimpiya, were well-to-do farmers living in the village of Szeredno [Seredne], district of Tarnopol (today Serednye, Ternopil' District). Benjamin Scheer from Podhajce (Pidhaytsi) had been their dentist since the 1930s. Upon hearing that the Germans were murdering the Jews of the area, Scheer contacted Kiefor and Janius [sic] Tęczyński, also a former patient, originally from Poland but then living in the nearby town of Monasterzyska (Monastyrys'ka), and asked for assistance. The Kiefors and Tęczyński agreed to hide Scheer and his family should it be necessary, in return for payment. When the Jews were deported from Podhajce, Scheer tried to escape and was shot and killed. His wife and two sons were moved to the labor camp in Tarnopol and on the eve of its liquidation, in July 1943, they managed to flee. Twenty-year-old Max headed for Tęczyński's home in Monasterzyska, and his mother, Pepi, and younger brother, Zbyszek (later Bernard) went to the Kiefors. According to prior arrangement, the Jews were to pay their hosts 20 dollars in gold coin per week. With this money, the Kiefors purchased food for their wards as well as for eight other Jews hiding in the forest not far from their village. Thirteen-year-old Olimpiya and Zbyskek became close friends and she regularly brought him books, told him news from the front, and spent time with the Jews in order to help raise their spirits. Pepi and her son stayed with the Kiefors, in the loft of their stables, for nine months, until the Red Army liberated the area on March 26, 1944. They were later reunited with Max and together they immigrated to the United States. In 1948, Pepi managed to arrange for the Kiefors to join them in America and they all settled in New York and remained good friends for many years.

On September 4, 1991, Yad Vashem recognized Ivan Kiefor, his wife, their daughter, Olimpiya Kiefor, and Janius Tęczyński, as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons

Sheer, Max

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

- **Weinglas, Maria**
- **Weinglas, Kazimiera (daughter)**

Rescue story:

Maria Weinglas lived with her daughter Kazimiera (Gurba) in Monasteryzyska, near Buczacz in Eastern Galicia. Maria's husband left for Argentina one year after Kazimiera was born and contact with him was lost. Maria worked in a tobacco plant. She lost her job in 1941 when the Germans destroyed the factory.

One day in 1942, Maria told her daughter that they had to help a Jewish family. She explained that: "We cannot be indifferent to the suffering and injustice that the Germans cause the Jews; we need to save them and hide them," wrote Kazimiera in her testimony to Yad Vashem.

Maria and Kazimiera dug out two hideouts in their apartment, one beneath the floor in a room and the other under the porch. A third shelter, the entrance to which was located outside the house, was prepared in the cellar. In these hideouts, Maria and Kazimiera sheltered Nathan Fuchs and three of his relatives – Netta Gross, Nathan's sister, her daughter, Willa, and Zygmunt Gross, Netta's brother-in-law, – from 1942 until the liberation.

Since Maria did not work, feeding the Jews constituted a problem. Initially, Maria sold everything she possessed and then, when she had nothing more to sell, she and her daughter began making soap to sell. Later, they made sweaters from wool that they obtained from unweaving carpets. When Maria and Kazimiera were faced with the possibility of being taken to Germany for forced labor, they decided to obtain tobacco plants. Part of the tobacco they gave as a levy; the rest they exchanged for food for themselves and their dependents.

There were a few searches of Maria's house and, after one of them, Kazimiera was ordered to report to the Gestapo. She then escaped to Stanislawow [Stanisławów], where she hid until the liberation. After the liberation, she returned home and began talking with Maria about repatriation. In time, Maria and Kazimiera moved to Krakow [Kraków]. Netta and Nathan died soon after the war. Zygmunt Gross immigrated to Italy, and Willa Gross, after marrying, moved to Germany.

On July 1, 1992, Yad Vashem recognized Maria Weinglas and her daughter, Kazimiera Weinglas, as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons
Fuchs, Natan
Gross, Fuchs, Netta
Gross, Willa
Gross, Zygmunt

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

- **Jaworski family: Stefania & her daughters, Irena & Stanisława**
- **Wasik family**
- **Piotrowska**

Stefania Jaworska (née Przyiecka), a Polish woman, sheltered two Jewish women: Lusia Krygier and Rozia Altherr. Stefania Jaworska lived with her mother, who was also part of the rescue effort. Lusia Krygier was actually Lusia (Ludwika) Gutwirth; her mother's maiden name was Krieger. The Gutwirth family hailed from Gorlice, but moved to Monasterzyska at the beginning of the war, when the town was under Soviets rule. Lusia was also sheltered temporarily by the Wasik family and by Piotrowska, a teacher. She settled in Paris after the war. Her married name was Louise Ulman. She stayed in contact with her rescuer, Stefania Jaworska, who settled in Prudnik.
Rozia Altherr was actually Róża/Rózia Altheim (or Altchaim, née Baer), the wife of a lawyer from Monasterzyska. She also survived the war, settled in Wrocław, and later immigrated to Israel.
For a short duration, Stefania Jaworska also sheltered Dr. Helman, who was part of a group of Jews from Germany, Later, he was hidden by Helena Sziter, but her brother, Edward Sziter, who is described as a scoundrel ("łotr"), denounced him to the Gestapo and he was shot.
SOURCES:
Memoir of Stefania Jaworska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 302/284.
Testimony of Stefania née Przysiecka Jaworska, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/7033.
Testimony of Stefania Jaworska in Sebastian Piątkowski, ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945,* vol. *5: Dystrykt Galicja Generalnego Gubernatorstwa i Wołyń* (Lublin–Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2021), document 93.
Page of Testimony submitted by Louise Gutwirth Ulman:
http://yvng.yadvashem.org/nameDetails.html?itemId=5865496&language=en

- **Padewski**

Rescue story:
Aba Reiner (b. 1916) identified an aid giver by the name of Padewski in Monasterzyska, and Kazik (Kazimierz) Manusiewicz in Medwedowce. Reiner used two aliases: Janek Parntsok and Janek Skowroński.
SOURCE: Testimony of Abah Rayner, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 38071 (Hebrew).

- **Edmund Horwath**

Helped Roman Szelożyński (Wilhelm Hartenstein – mentioned in Mira Ledowski-Krum's account under Puźniki) and other Jews.
SOURCE: Sebastian Piątkowski, ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945,* vol. *5: Dystrykt Galicja Generalnego Gubernatorstwa i Wołyń* (Lublin–Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2021), document 94.

- **Kubicz**
- **Other Poles**

Rescue story:
Jean Lazinger (née Gusia Weinstock, born 1930 in Monasterzyska), lived in Lwów with her family (father Hertzl, mother Sala, brother David). In summer 1941, they relocated to Monasterzyska, where her mother's parents (Kalenberg) lived on a farm. They were helped by a Pole named Kubicz and stayed with other Poles. After a number of months, they returned to Lwów.
SOURCES:

Testimony of Jean Lazinger, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 41924.
Heather Lazinger, edited by Maryann McLoughlin O'Donnell, *Angel Wings Around Her: The True Story of Gusia Weinstock, A Survivor of Bergen Belsen* (U.S.A.: n.p., 2005).

➢ **Ostapnik family**

Rescue story:
In a village near Monasterzyska, the Ostapnik family sheltered a Jewish family of five persons, Samet and Nadel.
SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 132.

➢ **Other Poles**

Rescue story:
Rozalia (Róża) Allerhand (b. 1930) left her hiding place in Monasterzyska, near Buczacz, where sha had been staying with a Polish family, and travelled by train to Kraków accompanied by Rev. Alfons Walkiewicz, a vicar from the nearby town of Barysz. She was able to pass a German inspection without documents with the assistance of Rev. Walkiewicz, who pretended to be her brother. He placed Rozalia with the Kłosowski family in Kocmyrzów, a village near Kraków, where she survived the war going by the name of Kasia, under the protection of Rev. Ignacy Czabański from the local parish in nearby Luborzyca. There, Rozalia met Mania Malz or Maltz (Mina Schwinger), a Jewish girl from Bukowsko near Sanok, who had obtained a birth and baptismal certificate from a priest in her village in the name of Czesława Sokołowska. Mania was directed to the same Polish family via two contacts, one in Kraków, the other in Kocmyrzów. The Jewish girls' true identities were not known to each other at the time.
SOURCE: Elżbieta Isakiewicz, *Harmonica: Jews Relate How Poles Saved Them from the Holocaust* (Warsaw: Polska Agencja Informacyjna, 2001), 76–77, 81.

For a time, Klara (Hecht) Shatner and her mother hid in Monasterzyska before returning to Buczacz. After being sent to a labour camp, Klara escaped and hid in bunker until liberation.
SOURCE: Testimony of Klara (Hecht) Shatner, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/VT/6308 (Item 5735478).

After escaping from Stanisławów, Sara Knol joined her mother and her two daughters in Monasterzyska. Her daughters had been brought there by a Christian woman named Mania Radlowska. During an *Aktion,* Klara and her family escaped to Buczacz. Klara and her daughters escaped again during the *Aktion* in March 1943 and hid in a bunker. She survived with the help of local farmers. (Her daughters perished.)
SOURCE: Testimony of Sara Knol, Yad Vashem Archives, file M.1.E/1428 (Item 3712985).

Nagórzanka
(on the outskirts of Buczacz)

Bartov mentions the assistance of Ukrainian villagers in an endnote (Anatomy, p. 361 n.24), but not the Kraupa family and other rescuers. The Zarivny family is mentioned on pp. 242-244. According to a reliable source, however, that rescue occurred in Wojciechówka (Anatomy, p. 360, n.12).

Rescuers:
- Kraupa family (YV – Poles)
- Luczow family (Ukrainians)
- Kendik & others (Poles)
- Jan Fijałkowski (Pole)
- Hanka and Nicola
- Other villagers
- Zarivny (Zarówny) family (YV – Ukrainian husband, Polish wife): see → Wojciechówka

➢ **Kraupa, Jan (husband)**
➢ **Kraupa, Józefa (wife)**

Rescue story:
In the spring of 1943, Juliusz and Rosa Schapira who, together with a group of local Jews, worked on a farm in Nagorzanka in the county of Buczacz, in the Tarnopol district, became acquainted with Jan and Józefa Kraupa, a warm couple who ran a tavern in the nearby village. Once the harvest season was over, the Jewish workers on the farm realized that they were doomed, and that escape was not an option in an area riddled with antisemites. When all seemed lost, the Schapiras turned to the Kraupas who, guided by humanitarian motives, which overrode considerations of personal safety, or economic hardship, hid the refugees in one of the tavern's guest rooms, and locked the door on them. Despite the danger, the Kraupas fed and clothed the refugees and saw to all their needs until the area was liberated in the spring of 1944. After the war, the Szapiros immigrated to the United States.
On January 5, 1984, Yad Vashem recognized Józefa and Jan Kraupa as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons
Schapira, Schwarz, Rose, Rosa
Schapira, Julius

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

➢ **Luczow, Jozef (Iosyp) (husband)**
➢ **Luczow, Troika (wife)**

Rescue story:
Simha Tischler (born in Buczacz in 1921) was sheltered for much of the time by Jozef (Iosyp) and Troika Luczow, a Ukrainian family living in Nagórzanka, near the city. In a 1997 videotaped testimony he commented about his rescuer: "You could say that a brother would not have done more [for me] than he did." Tischler had contempt for the Jewish Kapos and respect for his Ukrainian friends. But he and his father were also denounced and ended up spending 11 months in a pit underground with hardly any food or water.
SOURCES:
Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* p. 361 n.24, based on the Testimony of Simcha Tishler (Tischler), Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/10229;
Omer Bartov, "Interethnic Relations in the Holocaust as Seen Through Postwar Testimonies: Buczacz, East Galicia, 1941–1944," in *Lessons and Legacies VIII: From Generation to Generation,* ed. by Doris L. Bergen (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008), pp. 101–124.

➢ **Kendik, Bronisław**

Rescue story:
According to Bronisław Kendik, he and other Poles from Nagórzanka helped Lejb Schmeterling as well as members of the Zuller (Zuhler) family.

SOURCE: Sebastian Piątkowski ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945,* vol. *5: Dystrykt Galicja Generalnego Gubernatorstwa i Wołyń* (Lublin–Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2021), document 97.
According to Bartov, Leon Schmetterling credits Ukrainians in Nagórzanka with saving him.
See Bartov, *Anatomy,* p. 361 n.24, based on the testimony of Leon Schmetterling, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 2659.

➢ **Fijałkowski, Jan**

Rescue story:
After escaping from Buczacz with her husband in May 1943, Giza Ferber (née Ehensztajn, born in Buczacz in 1903) and her husband hid in barns and fields near Nagórzanka and begged farmers for food. After six weeks, the farmer **Jan Fijałkowski** took them in, hiding them in his cowshed and attic for three-and-a-half months. They then moved around in the area, but would stay with Fijałkowski at night.
SOURCE: Testimony of Giza Ferber, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/2528.
Note: This story is not mentioned by Bartov, even though Giza Ferber's testimony is mentioned on p. 367 n.65.

➢ **Hanka & Nicola**

Rescue story:
Joe Perl (born in Monasterzyska in 1931) was hidden with his mother by Pavlo Sarachman, a local leader of the Ukrainian "Banderowcy" who was involved in hunting down and killing Jews. When the Soviets took Buczacz in March 1944, the man said to them: "Don't walk out of my house [in the daytime] because I don't want anyone to see that I had been helping Jews." They had to "sneak out like thieves in the middle of the night." Joe Perl also received help from persons identified as Hanka and Nicola in Nagórzanka,
SOURCE: Testimony of Joe Perl, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 25051.
Bartov does not mention this rescue in *Anatomy of a Genocide,* but did mention it in a previous publication: Omer Bartov, "Interethnic Relations in the Holocaust as Seen Through Postwar Testimonies: Buczacz, East Galicia, 1941–1944," in *Lessons and Legacies VIII: From Generation to Generation,* ed. by Doris L. Bergen (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008), 101–124.

➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story, as related by Moshe Wizinger, who fought in the ranks of the Home Army:

> I decided to go to the village of Nagorzanka [Nagórzanka] after it got dark. Many peasant friends of mine, mostly Poles, lived there. Andrej [Andrzej], who had taken part together with me in the attack on the German wheat storehouse, also lived there. ...
>
> Andrej's house was not far away from there and that was where I went next. When I reached the house, I noticed a light in one of the windows, and soon the dog started barking. I saw Andrej as he crossed the yard and approached the gate where I was standing. When he saw me, he put the dog back in the kennel and invited me into the house. Soon, I was sitting in the small room of this wretched hut, lit by a kerosene lamp. I was eating bread and drinking milk given me by Andrej's wife. When I satisfied my first pangs of hunger, I told Andrej what I had been through in the last few days, without concealing how I had been greeted by Maniek's wife.
>
> Then we discussed what to do with me. Andrej decided to invite his neighbor Jasiek [diminutive of Jan], another friend of mine, to join us. He arrived quite sleepy, having been called there by one of Andrej's sons. Jaśko [Jasiek] thought it would be best for me to stay hidden in the wheat fields behind the village during the day. We planned that every evening I would come up to the barn behind the house where they would bring me something to eat. Andrej reminded me not to raise my head so that I would not give away my hideout. They also instructed me how to walk through a wheat field without leaving traces behind. There was no more bread —they too had very little—so I left Andrej's house provided with a bottle of water and some boiled potatoes.
> …
>
> At last it was night again. I got up and walked to Andrej's hut. Andrej was already waiting for me in front of the barn. He took me inside, and his wife brought in a big bowl of noodles. Soon, Jasiek's wife came with some corn rolls. She told me that at night I could stay in the barn, but that in the morning I'd have to leave to hide in the wheat field because the Germans often searched the village for hidden Jews.

SOURCE: *Voices on War and Genocide: Three Accounts of the World Wars in a Galician Town,* edited by Omer Bartov (New York: Berghahn Books, 2020), pp. 342–344.

In *Anatomy of a Genocide,* Bartov does not mention the story of Cyla Sznajder; he did mention that story in previously published articles. It turns out, however, that the events in question did not occur in Buczacz county after all, but in Czortków county.

See Omer Bartov, “Wartime Lies and Other Testimonies: Jewish-Christian Relations in Buczacz, 1939–1944,” *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, vol. 25, no. 3 (2011): 486–511; Omer Bartov, “Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944,” in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Emipres: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), pp. 399–420, at p. 411. Compare with the Testimony of Cyla Huss-Sznajder, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no 301/5699.

Nowosiółka Koropiecka
(Polish village)

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Krokoszyńska (Pole)
- Karpiński (Pole)
- Mania & Jadzia Chaszczewska (Poles)
- Henryk Kamiński (Pole)
- Other villagers

➢ **Krokoszyńska**
➢ **Karpiński**
➢ **Mania & Jadzia Chaszczewska**
➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story:
Shulamit Dolman, then Sonia Grines (b. 1924), from Koropiec identified the following persons who helped her survive: the Czajkowskis and Kaszowskis, in or near Buczacz, and Krokoszyńska, Karpiński and Mania (Maria) and Jadzia (Jadwiga) Chaszczewska of Nowosiółka Koropiecka, where she hid in the nearby forest.
SOURCE: Testimony of Shulamit Dolman, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 19784.
Also: Testimony of Sonia Grines, Yad Vashem Archives, file M.1.E/1576 (Item 3541304).

➢ **Henryk Kamiński**

Rescue story:
Leon Lepold (Lanzie Leopold) was caught by a German and Ukrainian detail during a round-up of Jews in Kopyczyńce and taken to a forest to dig a mass grave for the Jews murdered in the round-up. He and a boy managed to slip away and wandered in the forest. They came across a friendly farmer, the village headman, who hosted the fugitives for several days, but was afraid to keep them longer. They then proceeded to Buczacz and entered the ghetto. Lepold joined a group of Jews who left for the forest to join a partisan group. For a while he was a member of the "Tłumacz gang," a group of Jews from Tłumacz and Buczacz led by Munio Wurman and his wife Gusta. Munio and Gusta say that they were given invaluable help by the Polish peasant Henryk Kamiński of Nowosiółka village, by way of food and medicines. Allegedly, he was murdered by one of the gangs when it was found out that he had been helping Jews.
SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 160–161.

The assistance of the Polish villagers is mentioned in other Jewish accounts:

> The other members of the group left Buczacz for the forests of Pużniki [Puźniki], and later went to the forests of Sokolowo [Sokołów], where they spent the remaining months until the liberation. They did not actually fight against the Germans, but did in fact defend themselves with meager means at their disposal and fled punitive German-Ukrainian operations. They were helped by the Subotniks (the Staroveryi or "Old Believers" sect)*, living in the area and by the Polish village of Nowosiolka [Nowosiółka], who were terrorized …
> *These were most likely Seventh-Day Adventists, not Old Believers.
> SOURCE: Yehuda Bauer, "Buczacz and Krzemieniec: The Story of Two Towns During the Holocaust," in *Yad Vashem Studies,* vol. 33 (2005): 245–306, at p. 298.

Zygmunt Szafrański, a Polish resident of Nowosiółka Koropiecka, recalled the assistance provided by the villagers to Jews hiding in a bunker in the nearby forest: "Jews from Koropiec paid some men from the village to build them a bunker in the forest. It was lined with wood from the inside. From time to time, a Jewish woman came out and came to the outskirts of the village for food. People gave them food: potatoes and bread." At least five Jews from this bunker survived.

SOURCE: Reminiscences of Zygmunt Szafrański, Internet: http://nowosiolkakoropiecka.gorzow.iq.pl/index.php/pl/wspomnienia

Petlikowce Nowe

Bartov mentions this rescue story on pp. 253-254.

Rescuers:
- Baran family (YV – Ukrainians)
- Other villagers

➢ **Baran, Mikhail (Mykhailo) (husband)**
➢ **Baran, Agafia (wife)**
➢ **Baran, Ilya (Ilko) (Mikhail's brother)**
➢ **Baran, Mariya (Ilya's wife)**
➢ **Baran, Grigoriy (Ilya's son)**

Rescue story:
Mikhail and Ilya Baran, brothers, lived with their families in the village of Petlikovce Nove [Petlikowce Nowe] (today Novi Petlykivtsi, Ternopil' District) where they were farmers. Both brothers and their families were familiar with Avraham Khalfan [Halfan] and his wife, Sara who lived in Buczacz (now Buchach). Avraham was a dentist and Sara an internist, and both would come to the village to treat patients. In the summer of 1942, one of the residents of the village asked Ilya if he would be prepared to hide Avraham and Sara, along with Avraham's sister and son, Eliyahu, who were hiding in his house. The villager mentioned that Avraham had been paying for the hiding place and was prepared to continue paying. Ilya's wife, Mariya, hesitated but in the end complied with her husband's wishes. At the end of that summer, the doctors and family moved to Ilya's home. In July 1943, when the last of the Jews of Buczacz were executed, two others, Avraham's colleagues, joined them. Mikhail also hid Jews during that same period. One day when he was working in the field, he was approached by two familiar faces, Shlomo Grines and nephew, Willi Anderman. The two had escaped during the murder operation and had hidden in the forest. Now they sought a new place to hide and Michail offered to hide them in his home. They were later joined there by their friend, Yakov Hornreich, also from Buczacz. The three hid in the attic. Unlike Avraham, they were penniless. Because Mikhail had a hard time financially, Ilya would at times help him buy food. Through cracks in the attic, the Jews could look out at the Barans' yard and watch their little son at play. Hornreich, a tailor, sewed clothes for the boy. When the Soviets arrived in Buczacz and the vicinity, at the end of March 1944, the survivors left Petlikovce Nove and moved eastward with the retreating Red Army. The area was successfully liberated again in July 1944. After the war, some of the survivors immigrated to Israel. Willi, who was 14 in 1943, was the only one of the nine survivors who returned to visit Buczacz and the vicinity (today in the Ukraine) and renewed his contacts with the children of his rescuers.
On June 11, 2001, Yad Vashem recognized Mikhail and Agafia Baran as Righteous Among the Nations. On September 4, 2001, Yad Vashem recognized Ilya and Mariya Baran and their son, Grigoriy, as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons
Khalfan, Sara
Khalfan, Eliyahu
Grünes, Grines, Shlomo
Hornreich, Yakov
Anderman, Willi, Zeev
Khalfan, Avraham
Khalfan, First name unknown
Ainhorn, Yakov

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

➢ **Unidentified villagers**

Rescue story:
Zev Anderman and his family found shelter with several Polish and Ukrainian families in the villages of Podzameczek, Medwedowce, and Pilawa during the *Aktions* in Buczacz. Afterwards, he and his uncle were hiding in the village of Petlikowce Nowe with the brothers Mykhailo and Ilko Baran, who were already hiding several other Jews, and stayed there until spring 1944. The Baran brothers are said to have saved 15 Jews.
SOURCE: Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 252–254.

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Rescue story:
According to Avraham Halfan (Khalfan), "My wife and, my sister-in-law and her son hid in the village in the house of a farmer. It cost us much money."
SOURCE: I. Kahan (Yisrael Cohen), ed., *Sefer Buczacz: Matsevet zikaron le-kehila kedosha* (Tel Aviv: Am Oved, 1956), p. 234; translated as *Book of Buczacz: In Memory of a Martyred Community,* Internet: https://www.jewishgen.org/yizkor/buchach/buchach.html

Petlikowce Stare

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Unidentified villagers

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Rescue story:
A Jew by the name of Josio Kramer was hidden in this village. No further particulars are known.
SOURCE: Henryk Komański and Szczepan Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946* (Wrocław: Nortom, 2004), p. 653.

Pilawa
(near Buczacz)

Mentioned by Bartov en passant.

- Unidentified villagers

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Rescue story:
Zev Anderman and his family found shelter with several Polish and Ukrainian families in the villages of Podzameczek, Medwedowce, and Pilawa during the *Aktions* in Buczacz. Afterwards, he and his uncle were hiding in the village of Petlikowce Nowe with the brothers Mykhailo and Ilko Baran, who were already hiding several other Jews, and stayed there until spring 1944. The Baran brothers are said to have saved 15 Jews.
SOURCE: Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 252–254.

Podlesie
(Polish village on the outskirts of Buczacz)

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Dukiewicz family (YV – Poles)
- Krupiesz
- Unidentified villagers

➢ **Dukiewicz, Michał (husband)**
➢ **Dukiewicz, Genowefa (wife)**
➢ Świerszczak, Manko → see Buczacz
➢ Świerszczak, Maryna → see Buczacz

Rescue story:
As youngsters before the war, Jechiel Rosen and his brothers, Samuel and Henry, used to play football in a playing field adjoining a Polish cemetery, in the town of Buczacz, in the Tarnopol district. In the course of time, a friendship developed between the Rosen boys and Manko Świerszczak, a gravedigger and custodian of the cemetery, whose friendly nature soon endeared him to the boys. In June 1943, when the last of the Jews were deported from Buczacz, the Rosen brothers and their mother fled and made their way to the cemetery, where they knocked on Świerszczak's door. Manko Świerszczak, with his wife Maryna's approval, led the four Rosens to the cemetery where, together, they dug a bunker in which they hid. Later, they were joined by four other Jews whom Świerszczak had saved, but the newcomers left shortly after and were never heard of again. After neighbors informed the Gestapo that the Świerszczaks were buying excessive quantities of food, their house was searched. Although they Germans found no trace of the refugees, Świerszczak was arrested. Despite being tortured for several days, he did not betray his charges. In the winter, when it was too cold to stay in the bunker, the Świerszczaks dug a hiding place for the Rosens under the floorboards of the funeral parlor in the cemetery. Their willingness to endanger their lives for Jewish refugees was inspired by humanitarian motives, which overrode considerations of personal safety or economic hardship. On the contrary, they considered it an honor to save the lives of the Jewish refugees who came their way. One day, German soldiers retreating from the Red Army entered the funeral parlor. The floor collapsed under their weight and the soldiers fell through the floorboards on to the Jewish refugees. The boys' mother was shot on the spot, but the three brothers managed to escape. After their narrow escape, the three brothers stayed with Michał and Genowefa Dukiewicz, a peasant couple they knew, who lived in a nearby village of Podlesie, until the area was liberated by the Red Army in March 1944. After the war, the survivors immigrated to Israel while their rescuers moved to an area within the new Polish borders.
On July 7, 1983, Yad Vashem recognized Maryna and Manko Świerszczak and Genowefa and Michał Dukiewicz as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons
Rosen, Henry, Henryk
Rosen, Samuel
Rosen, Jechiel, Hil
Rosen, Bergman, Klara

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews: Polish Righteous
Rescue story: The Świerszczak & Dukiewicz families
The Rosen Jewish family lived in Buczacz (now Ukraine), at 2 Podhajecka street. Following the death of her husband in 1935, Klara Rosen raised her three sons alone – Heniek, Milek and Jachiel. Milek, who years later would write about his family's wartime experiences, was 14 years old when World War II broke out.

On 17th September 1939, Buczacz was occupied by the USSR and annexed to the Ukraine. As Milek recalls, the first Wehrmacht units entered Buczacz two weeks after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war – at noon on 5th July 1941. At that time, the Jewish community comprised around 60% of the town's population and found itself in great danger. The Germans systematically conducted operations aimed at rounding up and murdering the Jews of Buczacz. The first operation took place on 7th October 1942, the last on 15th May 1943. On 24th June, the German authorities officially declared Buczacz a town free of Jews (*judenfrei).*

During the German occupation, Milek obtained a work permit and, together with other tradesmen, was taken to work on the railway tunnel in Buczacz–Nagórzanka. During the first German operation in 1942, he fled and, together with his family, hid in the chapel attic of a Polish cemetery near Fedor Mountain. The whole family hid in there over the course of the following four operations.

Milek had been friends with Mietek from before the War. He was the son of the local gravedigger, Mańko Świerszczak. The boys often helped him in his work at the cemetery. After Mietek died (he perished while handling ammunition during the German-Soviet war), his father, and his wife Maryna, decided to look after their son's friend and his family. One time, he said to him, "Listen Milo, I'll save you and your family." In his memoirs, Milek calls Mańko a "human angel".

Mańko found a hiding place for the Rosen family in the Polish cemetery, in an old, walled crypt containing only one coffin. Together, they camouflaged it well, covering the rectangular entrance with turf. Mańko lined the hiding place with straw and the Rosen family gathered up whatever food they could manage and stored it there – flour, sugar and other produce.

In May 1943, the Germans ordered the transportation of the Jews of Buczacz to Tłuste, Jagielnica and Kopyczyńce. As it turned out, it was a fiction. Along the way, all the Jews were murdered and buried in the nearby fields. Right after the operation, Milek, his mother and brothers, hid in the cemetery. Thanks to that hiding place, they managed to survive. Milek recalls that, from that moment, there was no return to freedom. His grandmother and aunt perished in that operation.

From the end of May 1943, the Rosen family hid in that crypt. They only emerged at night for air. As Milek recalls, "Sitting in the dark, we knew nothing – neither what day it was, nor the date. I wanted to write a diary, but that was impossible – night was day for us, and vice versa. I knew that cemetery like my own home".

At night, they lay on the grass and looked up at the stars. They tried washing themselves using the leaves which were covered with dew. During a storm, they lit a small hearth in the empty cemetery and cooked soup using corn flour. They also used a well, located close by in the garden on the Czyżewski property.

After exhausting their original supplies, Mańko obtained them more food for which they gave him money. When their financial resources ran out, the gravedigger supported them himself from his own modest funds. Sometimes Stasia, Świerszczak's daughter brought food to the cemetery. She left a packet at a pre-arranged spot. She was, however, unaware of the Rosens' presence there. She thought she was just bringing food for the father. The brothers made up for the lack of food by stealing from nearby orchards. As Milek recalls, they took "everything that they could manage to carry".

Mańko's aid was an extraordinarily dangerous undertaking. Once, he was arrested by Ukrainian militia, accused of hiding Jews. Someone had denounced him, stating that he was buying a bit too much food. During the interrogation, he was severely beaten. However, he never betrayed Milek and his family.

When winter came, the crypt was in a dangerous situation – tracks in the snow would have betrayed the hiding place. Then Mańko and the Rosen brothers built a bunker beneath the floor of the crypt.

Fiszel Szwarz, a butcher and relative of the Rosens', joined them that winter in the crypt. At that time, conditions there were markedly worse. All were facing death through starvation. Szwarz then wrote to a butcher friend, a Ukrainian named Piszczuk [Volodymyr Pinchuk – see below], asking him to send food. After a few days, he appeared at the cemetery with a sack full of bread, sausage and other foods, plus vodka. As Milek recalls, "That night, we feasted on the contents of Piszczuk's sack – we ate and drank until sated. That was probably in December or January, maybe Christmas Eve or New Year's Eve".

In March 1944, the German army retreated. An anti-aircraft gun was placed next to the cemetery. One day, during a fierce storm, soldiers took shelter in the crypt. Under their weight, the floor

collapsed, revealing the Rosens' hiding place. Klara told her sons, "Run away children. Maybe you'll save yourselves". When she emerged from the crypt to distract the Germans, she was shot. The Rosen brothers managed to escape. At the beginning, they hid with Wiszniewski, a Ukrainian, who was Piszczuk the butcher's brother-in-law. They hid in a small cell where, as it turned out, other Jews were hiding. A few days later, they were discovered by a German looking for chickens at the farm. Fortunately, the soldier left them alone. But, from that moment on, that hiding place was dangerous. The brothers had to find somewhere else to hide.
They remembered an acquaintance, Michał Dukiewicz, who lived in nearly Podlesie. They reached his farm. At the sight of the ragged boys, Dukiewicz burst out crying. Immediately, he fed them and hid them in his barn. After a few days, Dukiewicz brought them happy news. The German army was retreating. On 25th March 1944, the Rosen brothers left their hiding place. Milek recalls how they called Dukiewicz *Michał the Angel*.
In April, the Germans returned. The Rosens fled with the retreating Soviet army. In the USSR, the two eldest joined the newly formed First Polish Army. Later, Henryk took part in the liberation of Kraków, whereas Milek served in the army entering Warsaw in 1945. After the War, Henryk moved to Chicago, Jachiel settled in Eilat in Israel. Both have since passed away. Milek Rosen emigrated to Israel in 1946, where he lives to this day.
Milek recalls, "Those two angels, the late Mańko Świerszczak and the late. Michał Dukiewicz, were honoured as Righteous Among the Nations. Their names are inscribed in Jerusalem on a heroes plaque and trees have been planted in their names. On All Souls Day, I pray for them and ask God for them to be admitted into the circle of our holiest. Amen!".

See also Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Emipres: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420, at 411–412 (referred to as Dutkiewicz).

- ➢ Franciszek Pasławski → see Dobrowody (Podhajce county)
- ➢ **Krupiesz**
- ➢ **Unidentified villagers**

Rescue story:
In June 1943, Bina Salzman (later Tischler), her mother Mina Salzman and aunt Regina Zukler [Zuhler] fled from the Buczacz ghetto, in the Tarnopol district, in Eastern Galicia, which was about to be liquidated. For close to a year, they hid with local villagers in return for payment [see below], and in March 1944, after the Red Army first occupied Buczacz, they left their hiding place for the first time. But the Red Army was forced to retreat, and the two Jewish fugitives, who did not have time to flee, found themselves trapped once again by the Germans in the village of Podlasie [Podlesie]. At one point, they were almost sent to forced-labor camps in Germany together with a group of Polish women. Among the Polish women, there were some that knew that Salzmans and Zuler were Jewish, and fearing that these women would betray them to the Germans, they fled. They arrived in the village of Dobrowody [in Podhajce county], where Franciszek Pasławski, a schoolmate of Bina, and a former student of Zukler in the local high school, lived with his parents. Approaching Pasławski's home, they were stunned to see the entire yard filled with German soldiers. But Pasławski noticed them in time and came toward them to warn them not to give away the fact that they were Jewish. Without disclosing the fact that they were Jewish and motivated by a genuine friendship, Pasławski took them into his home and introduced them as Polish refugees looking for a place to stay. The two [three] women remained in the home of Pasławski's parents without paying them anything until the liberation by the Red Army in July 1944. After the war, Salzmans and Zuler immigrated to Israel and maintained close contact with Pasławski, who moved to an area within the new Polish borders.
On March 4, 1987, Yad Vashem recognized Franciszek Pasławski as Righteous Among the Nations. (File 3597)
Rescued Persons
Salzman, Halpern, Mina
Tischler, Salzman, Bina
Zuhler, Regina

According to her Shoah Foundation testimony, Bina Tischler (b. 1925), who used the name Krystyna Górska, was hidden in Podlesie by Krupiesz. She also mentions Catholic clergy (segment 121) as well as Janek Fuławka.
SOURCE: Testimony of Binah Tishler, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 32036.
According to Bronisław Kendik, he and other Poles from Nagórzanka helped members of Zuller (Zuhler) family.
See Sebastian Piątkowski ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945,* vol. *5: Dystrykt Galicja Generalnego Gubernatorstwa i Wołyń* (Lublin–Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2021), document 97.

POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews: Polish Righteous
Story of Rescue: The Paslawski family
Franciszek Pasławski, born in 1922, lived with his parents and younger siblings in the village of Dobrowody near Buczacz situated in Tarnopol province. His family belonged to neighborhood nobility. The village was inhabited by many Jews. However, the situation in Buczacz, where Pasławski attended gymnasium (*a junior high school*), was quite different. One of his Jewish friends was Bina Salzman. The girl's aunt, Regina Zuhler, taught the German language in the school.
After the last liquidation action conducted in the ghetto of Buczacz in June 1943, Regina Zuhler and her sister Mina Salzman with daughter Bina hid at the local peasants' houses for many months. When the Red Army marched into this territory on March 23, 1944, the fugitives, like many other Jews, stopped hiding and left their shelters. However, a successful German counterattack put their lives in jeopardy once again. Together with other women, they were to be deported to a labor camp on the territory of the Third Reich.
Fearing recognition, they escaped from the transport at the station of Monasterzyska and made their way towards Dobrowody, as one of the women remembered her friend living there. Franciszek introduced the fugitives to his family as acquaintances from Buczacz that had lost their homes as a result of warfare. He used the same explanation in his conversations with neighbors. The women did not possess any documents. They began to wear the clothes typical of peasants so as not to distinguish themselves from other inhabitants.
In this way they lived safely in the village until July 1944. It was Pasławski's parents that took care of them – the man himself, as a Home Army soldier, had to leave the area in fear of losing his life at the hands of Ukrainians. He made it to Kielce province and joined the Home Army forces. Before his departure, he confided to his parents the true identities of his friends.
In his interview for the Museum of the History of Polish Jews, Franciszek Pasławski tells about the protection provided for another Jewish family from Cracow. In 1942, the family, equipped with the "Aryan papers", found employment in the estate where Franciszek worked himself. He received this order from the Home Army detachment to which he belonged.
After the war, Franciszek Pasławski passed his "matura" exam and graduated from the faculty of architecture in Gdańsk, where he worked at the reconstruction of the city. Since the 1990s, he lives in Canada for half a year, and the second half he spends in Poland. Soon after the war, Regina Zuhler, Mina and Bina Salzman left the territories that had been incorporated into the USSR. First they lived in Cracow, where they met Franciszek Pasławski by chance. Then they emigrated to Israel. The rescuer and the survivors lost contact with each other until the mid-1960s, when the rescued women got in touch with the Pole again. Pasławski visited the Jewish survivors in Israel in the middle of the 1970s.

Podzameczek
(Polish village on the outskirts of Buczacz)

Mentioned by Bartov en passant.

- Unidentified villagers

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Rescue story:
Zev Anderman and his family found shelter with several Polish and Ukrainian families in the villages of Podzameczek, Medwedowce, and Pilawa during the *Aktions* in Buczacz. Afterwards, he and his uncle were hiding in the village of Petlikowce Nowe with the brothers Mykhailo and Ilko Baran, who were already hiding several other Jews, and stayed there until spring 1944. The Baran brothers are said to have saved 15 Jews.
SOURCE: Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 252–254.

➢ **Unidentified Poles including Catholic priests**
Rescue story:
After leaving the ghetto in Buczacz, Bleema Fenster (later Betty Katz, b. 1930) moved from place to place. On two occasions she turned to unknown priests for help. A priest in Buczacz provided her with a false birth and baptismal certificate and allowed her to stay in the rectory for several days. He taught her the prayers she needed to know to pass as a Catholic. After this document was taken from her, Bleema approached another priest near Buczacz, from whom she received the birth and baptismal certificate of a deceased person. She survived with the help of several Poles. In her testimony, Bleema also mentions Podzameczek and Barysz.
SOURCE: Testimony of Betty Katz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 15424.

Porchowa

Bartov mentions some rescue activities.

Rescuers:
- Michał Boczar (Pole)
- Other villagers

➢ **Michał Boczar**
Rescue story:
Michał Boczar hid and fed five Jews for 10 months, among them Basia and Sara Strauber of Potok Zielony.
See Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* pp. 282–283, 366–367 n.23, based on the statement of Michał Boczar, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 303/VIII/222, 49–50, and Strauber depositions.

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Rescue story:
Netka Goldberg (b. 1928 in Czortków). Deportation to Buczacz with her family, 1942; mass executions in Buczacz, including the shooting of her mother, three sisters and two brothers; survival of Netka Goldberg; move with her father to Zaleszczyki [Małe]; murder of her father by Ukrainian police; return to Jazłowiec; life with her cousins in Jazłowiec; murder of her cousins by Ukrainian SS troopers; in hiding in the forest and later in Porchowa; liberation by the Red Army. Return to Jazłowiec and Gliwice; arrival at the Foehrenwald DP camp, November 1945.
SOURCE: Questionnaire regarding Netka Goldberg, Yad Vashem Archives, file M.1/M.1.PC/174 (Item 5262370).

➢ **Unidentified villagers**
Rescue story:
Eliezer Bider (b. 1929 in Porchowa). Hiding in Jazłowiec and Porchowa.
SOURCE: Testimony of Eliezer Bider, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 37231.

Potok Złoty

Also mentioned: Woziłów

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Zawialski family (Poles)
- Libits
- Pilipov
- Jula
- Ivtona
- Staszek
- Macek family
- Other villagers

➢ **Zawialski family**

Rescue story:
Eva Lepold (née Jungfrau, b. 1930) hid with her parents and sister in basements and abandoned buildings in their home town of Potok Złoty. The Zawialski family, consisting of a mother, and her sons – a doctor, Franciszek, and teacher, provided them with food on a regular basis.
Eva's husband, Leon Lepold also survived with the assistance of Poles, as a member of a Jewish resistance group that operated in the vicinity of Tłumacz (south of Buczacz county), as well as in Buczacz county [→ see Wojciechówka]. Leon takes issue with those Jews who blamed the Poles for their alleged role the Holocaust. "I'm saying, from a fact, from my own experience, if there weren't be the Pollacks, none of us would survive. None of us! …. a lot of Polish people were murdered, hung, burned, shot to death, because they were hiding Jewish people. I said, if it would be the opposite, Jewish people wouldn't do that for the Polish people."
SOURCE: Oral history interview with Leon Lepold and Eva Lepold, Accession no. 1992.A.0128.63, RG-50.165.0063, Internet: https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn511288; Transcript: https://collections.ushmm.org/oh_findingaids/RG-50.165.0063_trs_en.pdf
Also: William B. Helmreich, *Against All Odds: Holocaust Survivors and the Successful Lives They Made in America* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1996; Abingdon, Ohio and New York: Routledge, 2017), 253.
Also: Testimony of Leon Lepold, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 4369. This testimony mentions two other Polish helpers: Michał Migauski (Migowski) and Mietek Knebloch.

Rescue story:
Sophie Gefen (née Strauber, b. 1906) received assistance from "Zaviensky" and "Zowolski" (perhaps Zawialski) in her native Potok Złoty before she moved to the Białystok area, where she survived the war.
SOURCE: Testimony of Sophie Gefen, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 17785.

➢ **Libits**
➢ **Pilipov**
➢ **Jula**
➢ **Ivtona**
➢ **Staszek**

Rescue story:
Sala Freiberg (later Shulamit Aberdam, b. 1932) identified a number of Christians who came to her assistance while hiding in the vicinty of Potok Złoty and nearby Woziłów: Libits, Pilipov, Jula, Ivtona, and Staszek. For time she had been confined in the Buczacz ghetto, from which she escaped.
SOURCE: Testimony of Shulamit Aberdam, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 43389.
Also: Testimony of Shulamit Aberdam, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/9368 (Item 3563800).

➢ **Macek family**

Rescue story:

Regina Urman of Tłumacz, survived with help of a number of persons. Maria Mazur gave her the birth certificate of her daughter, Emilia, who was Regina's schoolmate. Regina first stayed with a Ukrainian farmer by the name of Salavay (Saławaj or Sołowiej) in Horyhlady. She then stayed with an old widow and her daughter, nearby. Afterwards, she turned to a woman named Mackowa in Tłumacz who provided her with warm clothing and temporary shelter. Mrs. Mackowa then directed her to her relatives, the Macek family, in Potok Złoty, who knew Regina from their many visits to Tłumacz. However, she couldn't remain there for long. After a brief stay in Buczacz, she made her way to Horodenka, a four-day journey by foot during which she spent the nights in the homes of peasants who wrre willing to put her up and treated her with kindness. In Horodenka, she went to the Terlecki family, whose name she had been given by the Maceks. Wanda Terlecka agreed to take her in, on the recommendation she had received from the Macek family. Regina was held out to be a relative of hers. Finally, she obtained a domestic position in Horodenka with the Chamov family.

SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 133–140.

➢ **Ukrainian priest**

Rescue story:

Chaia (Iur) Kahanov (b. 1926 in Potok Złoty) obtained a birth and baptismal certificate from a priest that allowed her to pose as a Ukrainian woman. She was deported to Germany as a forced worker. She managed to escape with other workers and, eventually, crossed the border illegally to Romania, where she was held in prison until liberation.

SOURCE: Testimony of Chaia (Iur) Kahanov, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/13815 (Item 10063201).

Puźniki
(Polish village)

Eleven Poles from the village of Puźniki have been recognized by Yad Vashem, a greater number than any other locality in the county, including the city of Buczacz itself. Bartov reduces the rescue effort to all of one sentence buried in an endnote: "Father Kazimierz Slupski saved several Jews in Puźniki, including the gymnasium teacher Adolf Korngut and the Judenrat member Bernhard Seifer." (Bartov, Anatomy of a Genocide, 364, note 9.) None of the other ten Poles awarded by Yad Vashem or other documented rescue efforts mentioned in the book. Bartov does mention (at p. 272) the Ukrainian massacre of some 100 Polish residents of Puźniki on February 13, 1945.

Puźniki was a Polish village of about 1,000 inhabitants, with a parish church and a weaving school. It was also a Home Army (AK) stronghold. The local priest, Kazimierz Słupski, a nun, and a number of other Poles were involved in rescuing of Jews, something that was an open secret in the village. These stories could have been integrated into a coherent portrayal of Polish-Jewish relations. Instead, all we get in Bartov's book is barely a snippet.

The wartime fate of the village of Puźniki is described in Henryk Komański and Szczepan Siekierka's *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946* (Wrocław: Nortom, 2004), at pp. 170–171, 650–653, 655–658, 664–668, 673–674, as well as in many other sources.

Rescuers:
- Działoszyński family (YV – Poles)
- Koryzna family (YV – Poles)
- Kazimierz Słupski (YV – Polish priest)
- Aniela Wesołowska (YV – Polish Franciscan Sister of the Family of Mary)
- Maria Komarnicka (Pole)
- Another Koryzna family (Poles)
- Jędrzej Łacina (Pole)
- Krowicki family (Poles)
- Komidzierski family (Poles)
- Kosiński family (Poles)
- Other villagers

➢ **Działoszyńska, Antonina (mother)**
➢ **Działoszyński, Jan (son)**
➢ **Działoszyńska, Czesława (daughter)**
➢ **Komarnicka, Maria (Antonina's sister)**

Rescue story:
In the early spring of 1944, there was a knock on the door of the Działoszyński house in the village of Puźnik [Puźniki], Poland. The Działoszyńskis were very poor: Antonina Działoszyński's husband had died in 1936, and her eldest son, Antoni, in 1941. She lived with her remaining children, Jan and Czesława, trying to make ends meet by working the land and doing odd jobs for wealthy neighbors. When Antonina went to open the door, her brother-in-law, Marian Działoszyński, was standing there with a beautiful young woman and a little girl. Antonina spoke to Marian for a while, and then took the woman and the girl inside, telling her children that the strangers were her cousin Adela from Buczacz and her young daughter Marysia. She explained that they had lost their house, and would stay with them for a while.
In fact, Adela and "Marysia" (actually, Mira) had been wandering about since the beginning of the war, helped time and again by Poles [the Dwoliński family in Beremiany] who later threw them out. [NOTE: The Krums were told to leave because of a German raid that almost resulted in the execution of the Dwoliński family. See the subsequent accounts.] Adela's husband had been murdered in 1944, after which the desperate Adela taught her daughter to "act Polish" and say she was the child of a Polish lieutenant. They traveled about the region until they reached Puźniki and encountered the Działoszyńskis. At first, Adela tried to convince Antonina of her fabricated story, but then broke down and admitted she was Jewish. Despite the inherent danger of offering

Adela and Mira refuge, kindhearted Antonina did not withdraw her offer to give them shelter and food.
Adela and Mira stayed in the attic, pulling the ladder up after them each night when they went to sleep. One day, German soldiers came into the house looking for Jews. Antonina was frozen with fear, but her daughter Czesława piped up, telling them that there was no one else there. After a perfunctory check, the Germans left.
Marian Działoszyński had given Adela an armband with the letter “P” that he had taken from his bedridden mother. Antonina also managed to obtain false identification papers for Adela and Mira. This enabled Adela to move about town with Antonina without raising suspicion. They went everywhere together, including to Mass, and did everything with each other around the house. The children also played together all the time. Whenever the Germans approached the village, Antonina sent the children out to play and went to the fields with Adela. At night, Adela would read stories to children and help them with their studies. She also knitted sweaters and shawls that she sold to bring in money for food and other household needs.
For three weeks in April-May 1944, Adela and Mira moved to a safer hiding place at the home of Antonina’s sister, Maria Komarnicka, whom they helped with her household chores. In May, they returned to the Działoszyńskis’, where they stayed until liberation in the summer of 1944. After the war, they moved away from the area, and eventually arrived in Israel. The Działoszyńskis were also forced to move – to Buczacz.
In her later years, Mira became a Polish teacher at a youth center. She based the exercises she gave to the young students on her experiences during the war. On one occasion, she accompanied a youth group on a tour of Belżec. The director of the museum, Robert Kuwalek, overheard her telling her story to the young people, and offered his help locating her rescuers’ family. By the time contact was restored, only Czesława was still alive. In December 2007, Mira came to visit her dear friend in Buczacz.
On January 8, 2008, Yad Vashem recognized Antonina Działoszyńska and her children, Jan and Czesława, as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons

Ledowski, Krum, Maria, Miriam
Krum, Adela

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

According to another account, Leizer and Adela Krum and their 4-year-old daughter stayed with the Sinetzky family, in return for payment, for several days during a round-up of Jews in Buczacz. The Sinetzkys then took the Krums to their friends, the Dwoliński family, in Beremiany, who sheltered them for ten months, from May 1943 to February 1944. The property was raided by the police looking for Jews. When they did not locate the hiding place, they stood the Dwolińskis and their 9-year-old daughter up against the wall and threatened to shoot them. The Dwolińskis denied they were keeping Jews, and the Germans and Ukrainians eventually gave up the search. The Dwolińskis were no longer willing to shelter their charges. The Krums found shelter with a Pole, Marian Fiałkowski in Buczacz, and remained there until March 25, 1944. Fiałkowski was also sheltering Isaiah and Jania Shteuber at the time. The Krums had to go into hiding again when the Soviet army withdrew from the area and the Germans reentered. The Krums were taken in by a Christian family named Niedźwiedź. However, the Germans billeted in the house, cutting off contact with the bunker. The Germans ordered the entire population to be evacuated, which allowed some Jews to leave their hideouts and flee to the villages. On April 30, 1944, Leiser ventured out to look for a shelter for his family. Since he looked like a Jew, he was spotted by a German and shot. Adela set off with her daughter and arrived at Puźniki.
SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – “the Righteous Gentiles”, Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 127–132.

POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews: Polish Righteous
https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/story-rescue-dzialoszynski-family
Rescue story: The Działoszyński family
Mira (Maria) Ledowski-Krum was born in 1937 in a Jewish family living in Tłumacz near Stanisławów (today’s Ukraine). After the war had broken out and the Soviet Army had entered the area, Mira lived with her parents and siblings on the farm owned by her grandmother, Anna Hartenstein née Haber. German troops seized Tłumacz in 1941, but for a short period after that,

the inhabitants of the farm still enjoyed relative freedom and were allowed to live outside of the local ghetto in exchange for supplying German soldiers with food.
Soon afterwards, however, Mira's family was sent to the ghetto in Tłumacz. When the Jewish quarter was liquidated towards the end of 1942, Mira's entire family, as well as grandma Anna Hartenstein together with her daughter Lula and Lula's son, were killed in the death camp in Bełżec. Mira, her father, her mother Adela, and Adela's brother, Lonek, managed to avoid the liquidation by hiding in a hiding place in the attic of a neighbouring house. Adela took an infant boy to the hideout, but tragically, the child was strangled so that the hiding place would not be compromised. Germans performed searches in all houses, but they did not discover the Krums' hideout. Thanks to the help of a Polish soldier, who, as Mira remembers, was referred to as "the Bear," the family managed to escape from Tłumacz.
Mira, her parents, and Lonek moved to the open ghetto in Buczacz, but they had to flee again once the process of deportation from the ghetto was initiated. They ended up in the locality of Beremiany. There, they received help and shelter from the Dwoliński family – a married couple with two children. Mr Dwoliński ran a mill. For over 10 months, the family hid the Krums, Lonek Hartenstein and several other Jews in the basement of their house. A part of the room was concealed with wooden boards and bags filled with grain. The Polish family took good care of those in hiding – they supplied them with food and took out dross. On Christmas Eve in 1942, Mrs Dwolińska invited people hiding in the basement to join them for dinner.
The living conditions in the hideout, however, were quite dire. There was no light in the basement and everything was damp. Despite those difficulties, Adela still believed they would survive. She took care of her daughter and always managed to come up with an activity or a game for her to learn something. "My mother's methods were ingenious. […] It never really occurred to me that I was living in a basement. […] She created a sort of a magical world which did not restrict me at all. […] I had plasticine to play with, because you could easily scrape clay off of the walls and mould it into animals, make various creatures and birds. […] From the early morning until the very end of the day my mother, who had been trained in teaching young children, would tell me marvellous stories and teach me poems," Mira reminisced in an interview given to the POLIN Museum in 2015. She is still able to remember and recite the poems of Tuwim which she learned by heart during the war.
Mira really wanted to learn to read and asked her mother to teach her. "My mother then replied that it was out of the question. «You will learn to read when the war is over. You will attend first grade and learn to read and write together with other children. I don't want you to go to school and do nothing but be bored.» I found it very unpleasant. […] But looking at it now, as a teacher, I understand that my mum helped me to look beyond the present: when I get out of here and go to school, I will learn to read. I won't be staying here forever."
One day, someone denounced the Dwoliński family and a search was performed in their house. It was a miracle that the Jews hiding in the basement were not discovered. The owner of the house asked the Krum family to leave. The risk was too high.
While the family was wandering around in search of another hiding place, they were denounced by a Polish forest officer and Mr Krum was killed right before the eyes of his wife and daughter. Those events took place on 30 April 1944. Adela's brother, Lonek, joined a partisan unit.
Adela and Mira were left alone. The mother created a new identity for her daughter – from then on, she was called Marysia Kowalik and was the daughter of an officer of the Polish Army, an internee in a POW camp. She also taught her Catholic prayers and rites, which was supposed to make the story and Polish identity of the girl more believable. Adela had been brought up in an assimilated family, had attended the Teaching Academy of the Sisters of Notre Dame and had had many Polish friends, so she was very familiar with Christian prayers and customs.
The mother and the daughter wandered from village to village. After 7 or 10 days, they ended up in the house of Antonina Działoszyńska in the village of Puźniki near Koropiec. Antonina, a widow, lived there with her children – Jan and Czesława. Mira reminisces: "The door opened and there stood a woman who had never seen us before and vice versa. And she said: «A guest is a blessing from God, please come in. If Holy Mary has protected you so far and led you to my house, it means that I have the responsibility of helping and protecting you.»" Antonina decided to take Mira and Adela in, even though she suspected they were Jewish. She told her children that Adela was a cousin of her deceased husband from Buczacz.
The local parish priest [Kazimierz Słupski] helped to get fake documents for the hiding women. Both Adela and Mira helped Działoszyńska with housework and farmwork and attended Sunday

masses in the local church together with the entire family. When Germans organised searches in the village, Czesława and Jan would take Mira outside of the house and Adela would go out into the fields or to the nearby forest. The woman would also provide additional education to Antonina's children.
In August 1944, a German soldier moved into Działoszyńska's house. One day he called Mira and sat her on his lap. "I was sitting right there on his lap when he embraced me and told me he had a daughter just like me. And that she wore braids, too. And then he asked me something and I answered in Jewish. He suddenly stood up and went to his room. My mother then said, without even raising her head: «He must have gone to get his revolver. »But he returned with an envelope and said: «This is a letter to my wife. If Germans catch you or take you to Vienna, I asked her to take care of you.»"
Mira and Adela survived the war. Thanks to the help of priest [Edward] Tabaczkowski from Tłumacz, so did Adela's youngest brother, Wilhelm Hartenstein, who had been given the false name of Roman Szelożyński. He now lives in Gdańsk and still uses this name.
After the war, having briefly lived in Monasterzyska and Jelenia Góra, Mira and Adela moved to Wrocław. Mira enrolled for the Polish Studies programme at the university, but following an anti–Semitic incident which took place in the school in 1957, she dropped out after three semesters and migrated to Israel.
The women did not keep in touch with Działoszyńska and her children. It was after many years that Mira managed to find the family of Działoszyńska. On her initiative, Antonina was given the title of Righteous Among the Nations.
Mira Ledowski–Krum worked as a school teacher for 36 years; she taught Hebrew and the Bible. She currently teaches Polish in the Polish Institute in Tel Aviv. As she herself underlines, she has always had warm feelings towards Poland.

- **Koryzna, Wiktoria (wife)**
- **Koryzna, Stanisław (husband)**
- **Koryzna, Mieczysław (son)**
- **Lisowska (née Koryzna), Józefa (daughter)**
- **Kamińska (née Koryzna), Teofila (daughter)**
- **Gryńdziak (née Koryzna), Stanisława (daughter)**

Rescue story:
In the winter of 1942, the Szechners, who lived with their baby daughter, Rojza, in the town of Monasterzyska, in the Tarnopol district, escaped and hid with a group of Jews from their village in the nearby forests. The Szechners, concerned for their baby's health in the harsh winter conditions, decided to hand her over to Stanisław and Wiktoria Koryzna, acquaintances of theirs who lived with their four children in a small cottage in the remote village of Puźniki, near Buczacz. Despite the danger, the Koryznas agreed to help their Jewish acquaintances without expecting anything in return. In a dangerous and complex operation mounted by Stanisław, his son Mieczysław and daughter Józefa, the Jewish baby, wrapped in sacks and covered in straw, was brought by wagon to their home at dead of night. The Koryznas, guided by love of mankind and humanitarian consideration, looked after little Rojza lovingly and kept her presence hidden from their neighbors. After the war, upon discovering that Rojza's parents had perished in the forest, they handed her over, with a heavy heart, to her uncle and aunt. Rojza Szechner, later Shoshana Lederer, immigrated to Israel, where she kept up a regular correspondence with the Koryznas' son and daughters who, after the war, moved to an area within the new Polish borders.
On October 16, 1988, Yad Vashem recognized Wiktoria and Stanisław Koryzna as Righteous Among the Nations.
On June 21, 1989, Yad Vashem recognized their son, Mieczysław, and daughters, Józefa Lisowska-Koryzna, Teofila Kamińska-Koryzna and Stanisława Gryńdziak-Koryzna, as Righteous Among the Nations. File 4018.

Rescued Persons

Lederer, Szechner, Shoshana, Róża

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

POLIN Museum of the History of Polish Jews: Polish Righteous

https://sprawiedliwi.org.pl/en/stories-of-rescue/we-constantly-feared-our-lives-story-koryzna-family

"We constantly feared for our lives" – the story of the Koryzna family

Prior to the outbreak of World War II, the Koryzna family lived in the village of Puźniki (Buczacz District, Tarnopolskie Province), in which lived both Polish and Ukrainian families. The village had a Catholic church and a four-class school.

Stanisław and Wiktoria Koryzna had a farm and a small one-room house. Their son, Mieczysław, went to school in nearby Monasterzyska, where he had Jews as classmates. His three sisters, Józefa, Teofila and Stanisława, helped their parents run the farm.

"Before the War, everyone lived in harmony", recalls Teofila Kamińska (nee. Koryzna). "No one cared if you were a Ukrainian or a Jew. I even had friends who were Ukrainian".

There were no Jews in Puźniki, but Jewish merchants would visit the village. Stanisław Koryzna was on good terms with many Jewish families in the area, especially the Falk family of Monasterzyska. Szalom Falk would buy cereal crops from Stanisław and would lend him money when the Koryzna family needed it. One time, for example, he helped Mieczysław with textbooks when he was to study at the La Salette Seminary for Missionary Priests in Dębowiec near Lublin.

The Falk family were related to the Szechner family who, before the War, also lived in Monasterzyska and were engaged in trade. The daughter of Szalom Falk (1905-1943?) and his wife Cypora (Fajga)-Henia (1911-1943) married Emil Szechner (1911-1943), who was a cereal trader. At the beginning of 1942, they had a daughter, Rosa.

During the Soviet occupation, Wiktoria's parents, as refugees from Kraków, were deported to Siberia, while Stanisław was arrested by the NKVD. After a few days, he was released.

After the Germans entered in July 1941, the Jews of Monasterzyska were made to engage in forced labour. At the beginning of October 1942, the Germans rounded up around 800 men, women and children, who were then deported to the extermination camp in Bełżec. On 17th October 1942, the remaining Jews of Monasterzyska were transported to Buczacz.

Most likely in October 1942, the Szechner family fled into the forest and hid there amongst a group of other Jews. Wishing to save the little daughter who was less than one year old, they turned to the Koryzna family for help. Under cover of night, the little girl was brought, hidden under straw. According to Mieczysław and Józefa, Stanisław, together with his son and eldest daughter, went to collect the baby from the Buczacz ghetto. The next morning, the Koryzna family staged a scene which implied that the child had been left by a woman who had stayed with them overnight. They also claimed that she had left a letter asking them to care for the child and that she had been baptised on Candlemas (2nd February 1942). For this reason, the girl, for whom the Koryzna were to care, was to be named "Maria". They called her "Nusia".

Stanisław officially notified the Sołtys (Village Administrator) of the abandoned child. The child's appearance aroused no suspicion amongst the neighbours. As Teofila recalls, "She had blonde hair, just like us – maybe a little darker. She differed little from us". So there was no need to hide Rosa from the neighbours. Teofila and Stanisława took her to church, treated her as their younger sister and slept with her in the same bed.

However, the Koryzna family felt under constant threat for fear of denunciation. In a 1989 letter to Yad Vashem, Józefa recalls, "When I went to learn dressmaking, I took her with me. I sewed dolls for her out of rags. My friends made fun of me, that I was playing with a Jewish child (...)". [*NOTE: Everyone knew or suspected the child was Jewish, but no one denounced the Koryzna family*]

However, denunciations did occur in their area. Two Jews, in hiding locally, perished due to denunciation. The child's parents also died in the forest. Most of all, the Koryzna family feared the Ukrainian police.

Stanisław also helped Jews hiding in nearby forests. He left blankets in the barn for anyone who wanted to spend the night there. Teofila remembers that, probably in December 1943, "six Jews were with us over Christmas. On Christmas Eve, my father took them all in. My mother wasn't all that happy because among them were very small children. They were covered in lice because they had slept in the forest next to a bonfire".

The feeling of threat reached its height in the summer of 1944 when German soldiers were billetted in the Koryzna home. Stanisław and Wiktoria were afraid that the Germans would guess little Rosa's true origins. Moreover, their son Mieczysław had to go into hiding to avoid being sent to Germany as a forced labourer. In July 1944, part of the family - Wiktoria, Mieczysław,

Stanisława, Józefa and little Nusia – left for Radziszów, near Kraków. Only Teofila stayed at home in order to help her sick father gather in the last crops.
In Radziszów, Wiktoria and her children were evicted from two apartments because their landlords had guessed Nusia's Jewish origins. Eventually, they were taken in by Franciszka Zięba, a widow with five children. Mieczysław remembers that period as especially difficult, "We constantly feared for our lives. There was not enough food and an overall lack of life's essentials".
On the night of 12th February 1945, the village of Puźniki was burned down by a unit of the UPA (the Nationalist Ukrainian Insurgent Army). Some of the inhabitants were murdered. Stanisław Koryzna lost all his belongings and, together with Teofila and his aunt, fled to Buczacz. There, he met Henia's aunt, Jenta Lerch, who had survived the Holocaust with her son. They managed to get to Kraków, where Mieczysław located them.
In August 1945, the Koryzna family left for the so-called "Recovered Territories", to Niemysłowice, near Prudnik. Emil Szechner's brothers – Arie (Leon, 1907-1995) and Jonas (1909-2007) returned from the Soviet Union. Having learned that their niece had survived the Holocaust, they came to collect Nusia. At the beginning, her carers refused to return the child, even refusing to take money. "Mum understood that my father and we didn't want to give up the child. But she thought that the child should be returned. My father thought that we should respect the wishes of the child's mother who said that 'if I don't survive, don't give the child to anybody. Bring up the child as one of your own'", explains the Koryznas' daughter. The decision to return the child was a painful one for them all.
In 1946, Rosa was taken to Legnica where her uncles lived, running a shoe shop together. With them, in 1950, she left for Israel. Rosa (in Israel, she changed her name to "Shoshana") and her family sent Wiktoria and her, already adult, children parcels and financial help. They also remained in correspondence contact. In 2008, Shoshana wrote to Teofila Kamińska, "I was a little girl during the War. I don't remember you but, with gratitude, I remember your mother. I'm really sorry that I didn't meet with her more, but I remember many emotional things from those times".
In Israel, Shoshana established a family, raised two sons and worked as a teacher.
In 1988, the Yad Vashem Institute honoured Wiktoria and Stanisław Koryzna with the title of Righteous Among the Nations. In 1990, the same honour was awarded to Mieczysław Koryzna, Józefa Lisowska (nee Koryzna), Teofila Kamińska (nee Koryzna) and Stanisława Gryndział (nee Koryzna).

- **Maria Koryzna**
- **Joanna Krowicka**
- **Jędrzej Łacina**
- **Komidzierski family**

Rescue story:
Renata Tannenzapf (later Renate Krakauer), who was born in Stanisławów in 1941, was entrusted by her parents to the care of a Puźniki villager by the name of Maria (Marynia) Koryzna, via Maria's sister, Józefa Kostecka, Renata's maternal uncle's former maid. Renata's parents, Charlotte and Wilhelm (William) Tannenzapf, came to Puźniki later to join their daughter, who was known as Tusia. They were sheltered by Joanna (Joasia) Krowicka, in a neighbouring cottage.[212] Renata lived in the village openly, and Rev. Kazimierz Słupski was aware of her presence and Jewish origin. Renata recalled:

> Once outside the ghetto walls, my mother ripped off her blue-and-white Star of David arm band and ran down the cobblestone street [of Stanisławów], fully expecting a bullet in the back. By this time I was well trained to be quiet. … We reached the safety of the apartment of a former neighbour, who pulled us in quickly, no doubt fearing for her life. That night I was nestled in between my mother and Pani (Mrs.) Poliszowa on her bed.
>
> My happiness didn't last long. The next day, my mother handed me over to Józia [Józefa Kostecka], who had been a maid in her brother's house, to take me to her widowed sister in Pozniki [Puźniki], a neighbouring village. Marynia and her two young sons were my new family for the next

[212] William Tannenzapf and Renate Krakauer, *Memories from the Abyss / But I Had a Happy Childhood* (Toronto: Azrieli Foundation, 2009), 31–42. See also Krzysztof Strauchmann, "Uratowała Żydówki, rodzina złożyła jej hołd," *Magazyn Nowej Trybuny Opolskiej,* October 24, 2008; "Czas wojny w Puźnikach: Wspomnienia Bogusława Krowickiego," Puźniki, nasze korzenie, Internet: https://puzniki.pl/1352/czas-wojny-w-puznikach-wspomnienia-boguslawa-krowickiego/.

eighteen months. With my blond hair, blue eyes and button nose, I fit in easily as the baby sister. Suffering from malnutrition and one childhood illness after another, it took a while for me to become a healthy normal toddler.

Marynia treated me like her baby girl and I even began to call her Mama. I can imagine that her two boys, aged six and three, must have felt some resentment at this little Jewish impostor suddenly parachuted into their poor little home. But in the same way that my own preschool daughter used to trail her adored older brother, I can see myself following the boys around, perhaps to their annoyance, on my newly sturdy legs. They knew I was Jewish. …. the boys soon began to show their affection for me. The first and last serving in the communal bowl on the table was always reserved for me whether it was potatoes, pierogi or cabbage soup. At night they squeezed over on the bed they shared to make room for their new "little sister," Tusia. I'm sure that it made the little boys feel important to be my protectors. They could have but didn't betray me to the Nazis and Ukrainians who came on regular inspections of the village. And on Sundays, I can see us all trooping off to church as a family, the cute little blond girl holding the hand of each brother. The priest knew I was Jewish, and people found out after the war that he had been hiding a Jewish woman.

Unbeknownst to me, both my parents had escaped to the village before the ghetto was liquidated, one hidden in Marynia's hayloft and the other in the attic of her neighbour [Joanna Krowicka] on the other side of the creek. From their vantage points, they were able to see me through the cracks, running around barefoot all summer ….

There was great animosity between the Polish and Ukrainian people in this part of Poland. The Ukrainians had nationalist aspirations and had allied themselves with the Germans in the war. This left the Poles to face two enemies—the Nazis and their Ukrainian neighbours. One day [in September 1943] Ukrainians from a neighbouring village attacked Pozniki, which was a Polish village, by torching the straw roofs. All the homes went up in flames except Marynia's. How was this one cottage spared? The peasants must have muttered and whispered that it was some kind of Jewish black magic.

The village priest knew that his people were frightened, uneducated and superstitious. … But the priest also believed that they were God-fearing people, so on the following Sunday he preached about the protective hand of the Lord, who shields the innocent from danger. Anyone who betrayed an innocent was courting the wrath of God. The villagers understood the veiled reference to the Jewish child hidden among them and they kept silent.[213]

The Koryznas' neighbour, Jędrzej Łacina, rescued a Jewish woman named Blima and her daughter, Bela. The rescue effort of the Komidzierski family, who hid Blima's husband, ended in tragedy when the Germans found the hiding place and shot him as he was trying to escape.[214] More than 100 Poles were murdered by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in their attack on Puźniki on February 13, 1945, after the Germans had been expelled from the area by the Soviet army.[215]

- **Rev. Kazimierz Słupski**
- **Sister Aniela Wesołowska**
- **Kosiński family**

Rescue story:

The local pastor, Rev. Kazimierz Słupski, sheltered several Jews and helped many others to survive. Rozalia Bauer, a Jewish pharmacist from Buczacz,[216] who was passing as Teresa Krzyżanowska, stayed at the presbytery for more than three years without any remuneration. For part of this period, the Germans installed an officers' school on the ground floor of the presbytery, thus making the rescue more precarious. Several Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary,

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[213] Tannenzapf and Krakauer, *Memories from the Abyss / But I Had a Happy Childhood,* 113–116.

[214] Krzysztof Strauchmann, "Uratowała Żydówki, rodzina złożyła jej hołd," *Magazyn Nowej Trybuny Opolskiej,* October 24, 2008; Testimony of Teofila Koryzna Kamińska, Polscy Sprawiedliwi, Internet: http://www.sprawiedliwi.org.pl/pl/media/77/.

[215] Henryk Komański and Szczepan Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939–1946* (Wrocław: Nortom, 2004), 170–71.

[216] Query whether Shimon Redlich was referring to Rozalia Bauer in his aforementioned book, *Together and Apart in Brzezany*, when he mentions, at pp. 27 and 126, a young woman from Buczacz, born in 1922 to an affluent and culturally assimilated Jewish family, who was sheltered by a Polish priest, who was a friend of the family. Apparently, she played the church organ and married a Pole after converting. Apparently, she survived and lived in Poland as a Catholic.

whose superior was Sister Aniela Wesołowska, also resided in the presbytery and assisted with the rescue. Whenever the danger heightened, Bauer would put on a nun's robe.
Rev. Słupski also provided a hiding place for Adolf Korngut, a high school teacher from Buczacz.[217] Dr. Bernard Seifer from Buczacz[218] also frequented the presbytery. Apparently, these Jewish professionals had been introduced to Rev. Słupski by Marian Kozakiewicz, a Polish lawyer from Buczacz.[219]
Dr. Seifer was sheltered by the Franciscan Fr. Wincenty Alfons Dwucet in the village of Panowice (Podhajce county). His son, Dunia, was sheltered by the Kret family in the village of Gutyszyna, which was arranged by Fr. Dwucet.[220] Rev. Słupski approached trusted parishioners, asking them to take Jews into their care. A Jewish boy known as Michał was sheltered by the Kosiński family, having been directed there by Rev. Słupski. Michał moved about in the village, and his origin was an open secret.[221] Jews living in the forest would often come to the presbytery, where they were fed by the nuns and given food to take away with them.
Rev. Słupski and Sister Aniela Wesołowska were awarded by Yad Vashem in 2018. Rev. Słupski penned the following account:

> During the war I administered the parish of Puźniki (Buczacz County) … Being an eye-witness of the Gehenna of the Jewish people in the land along the Dniestr River during the anti-Jewish action [*Aktion*], I not only felt a deep sympathy for the Jews but also tried to alleviate their sufferings and ordeal as much as I could. I approached my trusted parishioners with a request to take Jews into [their] safekeeping. I also kept Jews at my presbytery. Thus, when visiting a chemist's in Buczacz, while buying medicines for partisan fighters, I made the acquaintance of Mrs Rozalia Bauer, a Jewish pharmacist, who asked me to find a hiding place for her among my parishioners. Before I could arrange for a safe place, she knocked at my door in the Puźniki presbytery one night in October [1941] and asked for shelter there and then. A harsh anti-Jewish action was on in Buczacz at the time in which Jews perished. I admitted her without hesitation. I could not do otherwise. She stayed with me for more than three years, until the Red Army came in 1945 [sic, 1944]. There was no fee, of course. There were nuns from the Congregation of the Family of Mary at my presbytery. Whenever the situation was dangerous Mrs. Bauer donned a nun's frock. There were many dangerous moments over the year, especially when, for a certain period, the Germans installed their officers' school on the ground floor of the presbytery. Spies and informants were rampant, too. At the most dangerous moments I always made it a point to face the danger dauntlessly. I would lead Sister Rozalia, broom in hand, to do some cleaning in the church. On one dangerous occasion, seeing the peril which constantly hung over my head (for providing a haven for Jews), the woman wanted to give herself up into German hands out of her own volition. I refused categorically. I reminded her then that

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[217] In the interwar period, Adolf Korngut (1907–1973) taught at the State Humanistic High School in Buczacz. In 1935, he married Boleslawa Keffermüller, a Polish Catholic widow, who was the girls' school principal. Although of Jewish origin, Korngut appears to have assimilated into Polish society. It is not clear whether he converted. After the war, Korngut oversaw the reactivation of the Polish high school in Buczacz. Afterwards, he and his wife moved to Kluczbork, where he was the principal of a high school. See Jerzy Duda, "Z Buczacza do Kluczborka: Historia kresowej, nauczycielskiej rodziny," *Indeks: Pismo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego,* no. 7–8 (October 2013), 99–101; Jerzy Duda and Bolesław Smereczyński, "Dr Adolf Bolesław Korngut: Wspomnienie 14 I 1907–03 XI 1973," Komisja Historyczna przy Zarządzie Okręgu Związku Nauczycielstwa Polskiego w Opolu, *Gazeta Wyborcza* (Opole), no. 123, May 27, 2004. Internet: https://www.romangi.eu/ogrod/osoby/korngut/Korngut%20a.html.

[218] According to Bartov, Dr. Bernhard Seifer, who was a member of the Judenrat under the Germans, became notorious for his behaviour. See Bartov, *Anatomy of a Genocide,* 171–174, 257.

[219] "Boso po śniegu, uciekając przed śmiercią: Wspomnienia Stanisława Baranieckiego," Puźniki, nasze korzenie, Internet: https://puzniki.pl/1089/boso-po-sniegu-uciekajac-przed-smiercia-wspomnienia-stanislawa-baranieckiego/.

[220] Zygmunt Zieliński, ed., *Życie religijne w Polsce pod okupacją hitlerowską 1939–1945* (Warsaw: Ośrodek Dokumentacji i Studiów Społecznych, 1982), 484.

[221] "Boso po śniegu, uciekając przed śmiercią: Wspomnienia Stanisława Baranieckiego," Puźniki, nasze korzenie, Internet: https://puzniki.pl/1089/boso-po-sniegu-uciekajac-przed-smiercia-wspomnienia-stanislawa-baranieckiego/; "Czas wojny w Puźnikach: Wspomnienia Bogusława Krowickiego," Puźniki, nasze korzenie, Internet: https://puzniki.pl/1352/czas-wojny-w-puznikach-wspomnienia-boguslawa-krowickiego/.

I was an instrument in the hands of the Lord through which He meant to save her. And so it was. She stayed with me happily until the end.

I also provided a hiding place for Mr Adolf Korngut at the presbytery, a philologist and professor in a Buczacz secondary school. He was of Jewish extraction and, as we know, the Nazis did not fail to murder such people either. When 'Jewish actions' in Buczacz were intensified, the professor fled to Puźniki and found refuge in a small room next to my dormitory. During hunts for Jews and various searching operations, he went down to a shelter under the staircase. A Nazi major had his quarters in a ground floor room underneath Professor Korngut's. He often drank too much, and one night, quite drunk, he fired his pistol into the ceiling. The bullet pierced through the bed on which Mr Korngut was sleeping, but luckily did not wound him. Doctor Seifert [Bernard Seifer], a Jewish specialist in internal diseases from Buczacz, also frequented my presbytery. He had his retreat with the Kret family in my parish, near the woods, at a place called Gotyszyn [Gutyszyna, on the outskirts of Barysz]. Very frequently and covertly, other Jews from the woods would come to the presbytery, including children. There, they were fed by our Sisters and provided with bread and other food for their return way, while Mrs Rozalia Bauer dressed their wounds and dispensed medicines. There were frequent searches for Jews in the village.[222]

Rev. Kazimierz Słupski urged his parishioners to help those in need. Confirmation of his solicitous attitude can be found in several testimonies. Antonina Działoszyńska, a very poor widow with two young children, sheltered two fugitives from Tłumacz: Adela Krum, who pretended to be the wife of an imprisoned Polish officer from Buczacz named Kowalik; and her young daughter, Mira, who went by the name Marysia (later Mira Ledowski). (This rescue was mentioned earlier.) They had been moving from village to village, begging for food and sometimes hiding in forests before they arrived in Puźniki. Mira recalled that Działoszyńska invited them into her small cottage near the church in April 1944. "She sat us by the table, and there we saw the seventh, eighth and ninth wonder of the world—a huge bowl of steaming hot potatoes. We hadn't seen hot food for a long time. After the meal my mother thanked her and wanted to leave, but Mrs. Działoszyńska insisted on us staying, and we finally slept amongst people, and not under the earth." A devout Catholic, Działoszyńska believed that the Blessed Virgin Mary had protected the Jewish mother and her child and brought them to her home, so she had a duty to protect them from misfortune. She turned to Rev. Słupski to issue false documents for her charges. They lived openly, not in hiding, posing as relatives of the Działoszyńskis, and attended Sunday mass in the local church.[223]
A number of other Poles from Puźniki came to the assistance of Jews. The Koryzna family, consisting of Stanisław, his wife, Wiktoria, and their four children, rescued Shoshana Lederer (born in 1941 as Rojza Szechner, known as Róża), from Monasterzyska. This child's presence was also known to Rev. Słupski, the local pastor. (This rescue was mentioned earlier.)

➢ **Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary**

Rescue story:

The Franciscan Sisters of the Family of Mary, who had a small convent in Puźniki headed by Sister Aniela Wesołowska, came to the assistance of Basia Geler Mandel, a fugitive from Buczacz.

Basia and [her fiancé] Meier hid in the woods for another five months. They knew that they could be captured or killed at any time. The couple agreed that if they were discovered and had to separate to escape, they would meet up at a specific bunker in the former Jewish ghetto [in Buczacz]. They hoped that by then it would be safe to go back. The Nazi presence there was likely to have diminished since the ghetto had been cleared out. Eventually, their plan was put into action.

"We were spotted again and shot at. We had to run in different directions. I lost my balance on a steep cliff and rolled down it. I landed near a lake and hid behind some bushes. I stayed there until it was night. I did not know where to go. I was completely lost, and it had started to rain. I was drenched, but I kept on walking. I saw a church. I was desperate, so I took a chance and knocked on the door.

Some nuns answered it. They looked at me and knew I was Jewish, but they decided to help me. They took me in that rainy night and hid me for nearly a week. This placed them at great risk, and

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[222] Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin, eds., *Righteous Among Nations: How Poles Helped the Jews, 1939–1945* (London: Earlscourt Publications, 1969), 337–339.

[223] "The 'Righteous Among Nations' Have Been Awarded," October 21, 2008, Internet: http://naukawpolsce.pap.pl/en/news/news,287259,the-righteous-among-nations-have-been-awarded.html.

they were afraid to let me stay longer. The nuns dressed me in a nun's habit before I left and pointed me in the direction of the old Jewish ghetto. I had to make it back. If Meier was still alive, I would find him there. …

As I walked, I carried a crucifix the nuns had given me. … I made it back to the bunker where I was supposed to meet Meier. He was there waiting for me. There were also others hiding there. … There were fifteen of us in that bunker. One was a year-and-a-half-old girl. All of us survived …"

SOURCE: Elaine Landau, *Holocaust Memories: Speaking the Truth in Their Own Words* (New York: F. Watts, 2001), 31–32.

- **Old Believers? – perhaps Sabbatarians / Seventh Day Adventists – from a nearby village**

When the remnants of the ghetto population were deported from Buczacz to surviving nearby ghettoes [sic]—in order to be liquidated there—the Bazan group split, and some of them tried to foment uprisings in the ghettoes [sic] to which they had been sent, but these attempts failed. The main group fled to the forest of Puzniki**,** not far from the shtetl, and maintained itself there until liberation. They were partly armed and defended themselves against the Banderovtsy, but they did not engage in any other armed actions. Peasants belonging to the Old Believers' sect helped them.

SOURCE: Yehuda Bauer, *The Death of the Shtetl* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 123.

Przewłoka

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Unidentified villagers

Rescue story:
Zeev Nerfen (b. 1927) was helped by villagers in his native Przewłoka. Afterwards, he and his mother were taken to the Buczacz ghetto where they lived with his maternal grandparents. He received assistance from Christians in Buczacz, as well as in nearby forests where he was hiding with his uncle Yitshak Pikholts, Dunyah Tovah, and Rubel.
SOURCE: Testimony of Zeev Nerfen, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 32547.

Rublin

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Dzhyvulskyi family (YV – Ukrainians)

➢ **Dzhivulskiy, Vasiliy (husband)**
➢ **Dzhivulskaya, Marina (wife)**
➢ **Pavlishin (Dzhivulskaya), Anastasiya (daughter)**
➢ **Dzhivulskaya, Yekaterina (daughter)**
➢ **Kuzevich (Dzhivulskaya), Pavlina (daughter)**

Rescue story:
Vasiliy and Marina Dzhivulskiy, farmers, lived in the village of Rublino [Rublin] (today Rublyn), near the town of Potok Zloty [Potok Złoty] (Zolotyy Potik) in Tarnopol (Ternopil') District. Their daughters Anastasiya, Yekaterina, and Pavlina lived with them and their married daughter Hanka lived in a neighboring village. A few months after the beginning of the German occupation on July 3, 1941, Ita Kirschenbaum approached Dzhivulskiy, who had earlier worked for her father, and asked him if he would be prepared to hide her and her family in his home in exchange for payment. The Dzhivulskiys, who were Sabbatarians [likely Seventh Day Adventists], willingly agreed to do so. One night, Kirschenbaum, her infant daughter Tsipora, Ita's brother Getzel Strauber, his wife, Malka, their daughter, Genia Tova, Ita's sister, Sosia Petrover, her husband, Shaya, and their two children, Esther and Miriam and Michael Ehrlich, Ita's brother-in-law, arrived at the Dzhivulskiys' home. They were later joined by Avraham Kupferman, his wife, Frima, and their two children. The 14 Jews were hidden in a hiding place in the stable and the members of the Dzhivulskiy family brought them food in a bucket and did everything they could to make their wards comfortable. As the conditions in the hideaway were not good for the baby, 18-month-old Tsipora was taken inside the Dzhivulskiys' home and introduced to people as Hanka's daughter. The Dzhivulskiys used the money paid to them by their charges to buy provisions for them. As purchasing such an increased amount of food would have aroused suspicions in the village, the Dzhivulskiys regularly journeyed to a nearby town to buy food for their hidden wards. Six months before the liberation, the Jews' money ran out and they started to suffer from hunger. The Dzhivulskiys then went out at night into the fields to pick corn and bring it to their wards. In March 1944, when the front approached the village and the Germans were swarming through, the Dzhivulskiys provided the Jews with a supply of bread and dry fruit to keep them from starving, sparing them the need to emerge from their hideaway. After the liberation on April 14, 1944, the survivors left the Soviet Union and the Dzhivulskiys were exiled to Siberia. In the 1960s, Ita Kirschenbaum, who had by then moved to Israel, renewed contact with members of the Dzhivulskiy family.
On December 19, 1974, Yad Vashem recognized Vasiliy and Marina Dzhivulskiy as Righteous Among the Nations. On June 11, 2001, Yad Vashem recognized Anastasiya Pavlishin, Yekaterina Dzhivulskaya, and Pavlina Kuzevich, as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons

Strauber, Ehrlich, Malka
Gefen, Petrower, Strauber, Sosia, Sophie
Kupferschmidt, Avraham
Kirshenbaum, Ehrlich, Strauber, Ita
Strauber, Getzel

Ehrlich, Michael
Sal, Petrower, Esther

Kupferschmidt, Goldie
Kupferschmidt, Frima
Stavi, Ehrlich, Tsipora
Strauber, Genia, Tova
Petrower, Shaya, Sam
Kozin, Petrower, Miriam
Goldberg, Petrower, Rose

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

Rzepińce

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- "Sewczyk"
- Other villagers
- Nuns (Polish)

➢ **Szewczyk**
➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story:

Emanuel Kriegel (b. 1930) returned to Buczacz with his mother after hiding temporarily in a village. After being separated from his mother, he hid in various places during the *Aktions* in Buczacz. Afterwards, before the final deportation of the Jews, he hid at the home of farmers in a nearby village for two weeks. He then joined his mother for 11 months in a hiding place with farmers: a woman named "Sewczyk" (Szewczuk?) in the Siemińcze woods near Rzepińce. They returned to Buczacz when the town was liberated by the Red Army on 22 April 1944. When the Red Army retreated because of another German offensive, his mother was among those Jews who still remained in Buczacz and were murdered by the Germans. Emanuel was reunited with his sister, who survived with Aryan papers elsewhere, and they moved to Łódź.

SOURCE: Testimony of Emanuel Kriegel, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/196. Also: Testimony of Emanuel Kriegel, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.62/50 (Item 3732659).

➢ **Polish nuns**

According to Polish sources, a Jewish child was sheltered in Rzepińce at the convent of the Sisters Servants of the Blessed Virgin Mary Immaculately Conceived (of Stara Wieś).

SOURCE: Ewa Kurek, *Your Life Is Worth Mine: How Polish Nuns Saved Hundreds of Jewish Children in German Occupied Poland, 1939–1945* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1997), 130.

Seńków or Senków

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Płotkowski family (YV – Poles)
- Other villagers (Poles)

➢ **Franciszek Płotkowski (husband)**
➢ **Maria Płotkowska (wife)**
➢ **Jan Płotkowski (son)**

Rescue story:
During the liquidation of the ghettos in Eastern Galicia, the nine-member Laufer family fled from the town of Uscie [Uście] Zielone, in the Buczacz county, to look for a place to hide. After wandering for some time throughout the countryside, the Laufer family arrived in the early autumn of 1943 in the village of Senkow [Seńkow or Senków], the home of Franciszek Płotkowski, a farmer. Known to be a decent Catholic lacking any feelings of antisemitism, Płotkowski had been a client of theirs before the war. Płotkowski was unable to hide all nine Jews in his home for long, and the Laufer family was forced to split up. Frieda and Shimon Laufer and their two small children remained with the Płotkowskis, while the rest of the family searched for somewhere else to hide. In return for hiding the fugitives, the Laufer family gave Franciszek and Maria Płotkowski the few possessions and little money they had. On Christmas 1943, Shimon Laufer left the hiding place to meet up with his brother-in-law but was caught by Ukrainian nationalists who murdered him on the spot. Frieda remained in the hiding place in the yard together with her two small children. Because the environment was hostile, both to Jews as well as to their benefactors, the Płotkowskis kept Frieda and her children from leaving the hiding place, and only Jan, their eldest son, knew about the secret and helped his parents save the fugitives. Frieda Laufer and her two children hid with the Płotkowski family until the liberation of the area by the Red Army in May 1944, and after the war, immigrated to the United States.
The Płotkowski family moved to an area within the new Polish borders and after many years of no contact, Laufer's children renewed their ties with Jan Płotkowski and invited him to come for a reunion of Holocaust survivors held in New York. On January 31, 1993, Yad Vashem recognized Maria Płotkowska, her husband Franciszek Płotkowski and their son Jan Płotkowski as Righteous Among the Nations.
Rescued Persons
Frisch, Israel
Laufer, Daniel
Laufer, Frieda
Laufer, Shimon
Richter, Laufer, Sylvia
SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

Sylwia Richter (born Sylwia Laufer) is the daughter of Shimon and Fridjeh Frisch Laufer. She was born on March 14, 1937 in Halicz, Poland where her father, an upper-middle class businessman, owned a lumberyard and a variety store. Her mother (b. 1912) occasionally assisted him in the business. Sylwia had one younger brother Dawid Daniel born on April 6, 1939. After the Germans entered Halicz in 1941, they robbed the Laufers of many of their possessions, and one SS officer stationed himself in their home and ate meals with the family. After Sylwia's father was beaten for refusing to obey an order, the family left town to seek refuge with Sylwia's grandparents in the small village of Ustye Zelenoye [Uście Zielone], 12 miles away. When they discovered that the situation was not much better there, the family, along with Sylwia's maternal grandparents and two aunts and uncles, went from village to village seeking a safe haven. In 1942 Sylwia's grandmother, Rivka Frisch, became ill and died from a ruptured appendix. In September 1943 her uncle Srulka approached Mr. Plotkowski, a business acquaintance from the remote village of Cenkow [Senków], asking for protection. He told them they could hide in his hayloft above the stable. Mr. Plotkowski prepared a sleeping area for the family with blankets and pillows, and his wife prepared whatever meager food she could which Mr. Plotkowski or his oldest son, Jan, delivered daily. The adults supplemented these small rations by foraging at neighboring farms by

night. Mr. Plotkowski housed nine people in his stable, and built a small partition in case of emergencies. The Plotkowski's two younger children never knew they were there. Soon after their arrival rumors spread that the Germans were intensifying their search for Jews, so the family hid in a dirt ditch until the danger subsided. Both the Laufer and Frisch families stayed on this farm for approximately four months, but then realizing that there were too many people hiding in one place, Sylwia's uncles moved their families to other farms nearby. Initially the Laufer family had offered the Plotkowskis fabrics and jewelry in exchange for refuge. However, in mid-December 25, 1943 the Germans posted signs and warnings announcing that anyone harboring Jews would be killed. Mr. Plotkowski came to the hayloft to return the merchandise fearing his life would be in danger if anyone spotted the goods. He told them that Germans were intensifying their searches of the area, and that one Polish farmer, caught shielding Jews, had already been killed. He told the family that they had to make plans to go elsewhere. Sylwia's father went to his brothers-in-law for help in finding a new hiding place. When after two weeks, Sylwia's father did not return, the family suspected the worse. Mr. Plotkowski soon confirmed their fears and told them that Sylwia's father and uncle had been killed. He also told Mrs. Laufer that she could remain at the farm with her two children. They remained in the hayloft for a total of nine months. After their liberation by the Russians in June 1944, they stayed for an additional two weeks to make sure they were really safe. Fridjeh then returned to Halicz to search for family. She also recovered many of the family's possessions that had been cared for by a former maid. The family was then briefly placed in a Russian camp before being allowed to return to western Poland. After living briefly in Bitom [Bytom] where Sylwia attended a Catholic school, Fridjeh and her children made their way to the Babenhaus DP camp in Germany. After two or three months they moved to Roshel-Eschenstruth near Kassel. Fridjeh married Leib David, a first cousin who had been in the Russian army and who found her after the war, and the family immigrated to the United States. Jan Plotkowski is listed in Yad Vashem as a Righteous Among the Nations.

SOURCE: Sylwia Laufer, Photograph no. 44978 (Biography), United States Holocaust Memorial Museum: Biography based on interview with survivor and Maxine B. Rosenberg's *Hiding to Survive: Stories of Jewish Children Rescued from the Holocaust* (New York: Clarion Books, 1994), 73–83.

See also the Testimony of Sylvia Richter, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 2649; Sylvia (Sarah) Richter, *Silent Childhood: The Odyssey of a Jewish Family during the Holocaust* (Lakewood, New Jersey: Israel Bookshop Publications, 2021).

Sokulec

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Ladanov family (Ukrainians)

➢ **Ivan Ladanov and his family**

Rescue story:
Szajndel Prifer (Sarah Prüfer, b. circa 1933) and her brother stayed with a farmer for a time before returning to their parents in Buczacz. The family survived the *Aktion* in Buczacz and afterwards hid in the forest with some other Jews. They were discovered by Germans and Ukrainian police, who shot everyone except for Szajndel. According to one version, she then wandered alone in the countryside for seven months, unable to find any shelter. Another version has her hiding with a Ukrainian family.
SOURCES: Testimony of Szajndel Prifer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/2864; Testimony of Sarah Prüfer, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), no. 301/4581.

In another publication, Bartov makes the following observation about Szajndel Prifer's fate: "It is inconceivable that such a small girl could have survived the long winter without some help from the locals, however grudging."
SOURCE: Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Emipres: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420, at p. 410.

Testimony of Szajndel Prifer:
Our shtetl [Potok] numbered more than 3000 Jews. After a year of hard and bitter work, Potok's Jews were forced into the ghetto in Buczacz. At that time, our family succeeded in escaping to the forest. My dad worked secretly in the village of Skomorochy. In that forest, we were robbed. We wandered to another forest, where we came across a bunker. There, we made a bunker as well. And in this way, in the ground, the whole summer passed and half the winter. One frosty morning, after tracking us down, Germans and Ukrainians came, shouting, "Out of the bunkers, or we'll throw grenades!" The first family, Schwartz, was killed immediately. After this, before my eyes, my dad, Yeshaya, my mom, Sassia, and my elder brother, Ben-Zion, were shot. When it came to me, the automatic gun jammed, and I began to run away. In the meantime, night fell – a frosty, dark night. As I left the forest, I asked myself, "Where do I go?" With a choked cry, I wandered about in the deep snow until I came across a Ukrainian named Ivan Ladanov, from the village of Sokolets [Sokulec]. I stood there, halfnaked and barefoot, and said to him, "My parents have been shot in the forest. Give me a piece of bread." The members of the household started crying. Ivan stood up and said, "We must s-a-v-e her!" They gave me something to eat and drink, and made me a bed over the stove. In the morning, Ivan dug a hiding place for me under a rubbish heap, and I spent 13 weeks there in darkness, until his sister from the neighboring village told us, "There are already Soviets where we are." After she had left, Ladanov harnessed his horses and smuggled me over [to his sister's village] on a sledge, hidden under some straw.
SOURCE: Boaz Cohen and Beate Müller, "A Teacher and His Students: Child Holocaust Testimonies from Early Postwar Polish Bytom," *East European Jewish Affairs*, vol. 46, no. 1 (2016): 68–115, at p. 77.

Trybuchowce
(near Buczacz)

Mentioned by Bartov (Anatomy, pp. 241–242).

Rescuers:
- Kozak family (Ukrainians)

➢ **Kozak, Ivan (husband)**
➢ **Kozak, Paulina (wife)**

Rescue story:
Hersch and Pnina Griffel lived in the town of Buczacz (in the Tarnopol district, in present-day Ukraine) with their two daughters, Dvora (b. 1930) and Aliza (b. 1936), and Pnina's mother, Hinda Schwarz. The Griffels owned a flour mill and a grocery store in town and were a well-to-do family. In September 1939 Poland was occupied by Germany, and in early July 1941 German troops entered Buczacz. The Griffels stayed in their home, which was located within the boundaries of the ghetto that was established toward the end of 1942. Two deadly Aktions (mass executions) followed, and in the spring of 1943, the Griffels, along with the other few Jewish survivors who were still left in town, decided to move to the nearby town of Czortkow [Czortków], where a larger ghetto existed. Hersch had family there, so the Griffels moved to their relatives' house.
In July 1943 another Aktion took place, which the family survived by hiding in a closet. It was then that the Griffels decided to escape. With the help of a Ukrainian policeman, they secretly left the ghetto, hoping to reach Hersch's native village of Biala Boznica [Białobożnica] to seek help. When they arrived, however, no one would help them, and the family was left stranded, tired, and hungry. For the next few days, they wandered around the area, sleeping in the fields and begging for food.
In their wanderings they came to the outskirts of the village of Tribuchowce [Trybuchowce]. In desperation Pnina went up to knock on the door of a small, isolated house. When asked who was there, she answered: "Unfortunate souls." Paulina Kozak, the woman of the house, opened the door and let them in. She immediately made food for the group, which in addition to the Griffels now included a Jewish woman by the name of Drescher and her daughter.
Paulina and her husband, Ivan, who had three children, decided to shelter the Jews in their home. They were extremely poor people, so the Griffels gave them what little money they had left in order to help them feed seven additional mouths. After a few weeks the Kozaks became anxious, and it was decided that the group should split: Pnina, little Aliza, and Grandma Hinda went to live in the home of one of Ivan's brothers, and Hersch and Dvora were sent to Paulina's brother Michailo. Mrs. Drescher and her daughter also left and hid somewhere in the village, but it was not too long before the mother was caught and killed. Her daughter survived, and after the war she was taken by her uncle to the United States.
The Griffels remained in their respective hiding places until they could no longer stay there, fearing detection. In December 1943 they all returned to Buczacz, where they had nothing left. The women remained in an abandoned house on the outskirts of town while Hersch went out again to look for shelter. He eventually arrived in the village of Wojciechówka and found a woman by the name of Aniela Kaprocka (recognized as Righteous Among the Nations in 1978), who agreed to take them in. The Griffels stayed with her until the area was liberated in March 1944. Over the next few years, the Griffels kept in touch with Ivan and Paulina, and Dvora and Aliza even went back to visit them in the village. But soon the Griffels learned that the Kozaks had been exiled to Siberia, never to be heard from again.
In 1948 the Griffels immigrated to Israel, and in 2012 Dvora and Aliza applied to Yad Vashem to honor the Kozaks. They never forgot the kindness of their rescuers and their willingness to help "unfortunate souls" despite the immense risk. Although they have been lost to the Griffels, Ivan and Paulina's names and their acts live on with Dvora and Aliza's families.
On July 3, 2012, Yad Vashem recognized Ivan and Paulina Kozak as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons
Griffel, Zwi, Hersch
Griffel, Schwarz, Pnina
Schwarz, Hinda
Diamant, Griffel, Donia, Dvora
Rosenwasser, Griffel, Aliza

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

In their testimonies, the Griffel sisters mention other helpers: “escape to the nearby village and in hiding with farmers, 1943; return to Buczacz, December 1943; in hiding with an acquaintance’s family; in hiding in Wojciechowka, January 1944”; “wanderings and hiding with farmers’ families in villages around Buczacz, June-December 1943; return to Buczacz and hidden by former Polish nanny; hidden by a Polish family in village of Wojciechowka, January 1944.”
SOURCES: Testimony of Donia Dvora Diament, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/10269 (Item 3564796); Testimony of Aliza (Grifel) Rozenwasser, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/10402 (Item 3564956).
See → Wojciechówka (Kaprocki)

Uście Zielone

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Woźniak (Pole)
- Unidentified Ukrainan villager

➢ **Woźniak**

Rescue story:
According to Regina Krochmal, a Jewish survivor from Uście Zielone, Woźniak sheltered her and several other Jews.

> At the beginning of 1943, it was in the same town, we asked director Woźniak to take us in, then director Woźniak gave us shelter and built a bunker under the floor. This went on for several weeks until one day he said that we were being followed. One day I went out in the evening to cook something, then I saw that the whole house was surrounded by this gang, led by Humeniuk Józef; then they threw a grenade into the bunker, where some were killed on the spot and the rest were wounded, only two girls remained uninjured. I was in a cubbyhole and saw the director. Humeniuk personally tied Woźniak with barbed wire and hung him on the door, then cut off his fingers, and when the director screamed, he cut off his tongue and left him there. The girls who were left alive, Humeniuk and the entire gang, there were about 20-25 of them, raped them, and then killed them by hitting them in the head with an iron bar until their brains sprayed onto the ceiling.

SOURCE: "Protokół przesłuchania Reginy Krochmal z 3 marca 1949 r.," in *Polska i Ukraina w latach trzydziestych-czterdziestych XX wieku: Nieznane dokumenty z archiwów służb specjalnych, vol. 4: Polacy i Ukraińcy pomiędzy dwoma systemami totalitarnymi. 1942–1945,* edited by Grzegorz Motyka and Iurii Shapoval (Warsaw: Państwowe Archiwum Służby Bezpieczeństwa Ukrainy; Archiwum Ministerstwa Spraw Wewnętrznych i Administracji Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej; Instytut Pamięci Narodowej – Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu; Instytut Badań Politycznych i Narodowościowych Narodowej Akademii Nauk Ukrainy; Kyiv: Державний архів Служби безпеки України, Інститут політичних і етнонаціональних досліджень Національної академії наук України, 2005), 884–889.

➢ **Unidentified villager**

Rescue story:
After escaping from the Buczacz ghetto the day before the third (final) *Aktion,* the Hoffman family – consisting of Morris and Hancha Hoffman and their two children, Julius and Bronia (b. 1931) – found shelter on a nearby farm with an elderly Polish couple to whom they had given some of their belongings. After several weeks, their hosts became afraid to keep them any longer when a man was shot by the Germans for hiding Jews. Hancha took her daughter Bronia to her home village of Uście Zielone to see if they could find another hiding place, while Morris and Julius stayed behind for the time being. They found shelter – with interruptions and tumults – with a Ukrainian man who had once worked for the family. Since it was not possible for her husband and son to join them in Uście Zielone, Hancha wrote letters to their hosts threatening future denunciation to the Soviets should anything happen to them. After the Soviets arrived, the family emerged from hiding and returned to Buczacz. However, the Germans soon returned and the Hoffmans had to leave their residence. Bronia's father hid her in an attic where two Jewish men and a woman were also concealed, while the rest of the family fled to the woods. The Jewish woman ventured out, pretending to be Christian, but was caught by the Germans. She promptly brought the Germans to the hideout where they seized the two men, but did not find Bronia, even though the Jewish woman explicitly mentioned her and even described her attire. The Germans shot the three Jews whom they had apprehended. Bronia was subsequently loaded on a transport train with civilians who were rounded up by the Germans for labour duty in Germany, but she managed to escape when the train stopped in Brzeżany. Passing as a Polish-Ukrainian girl, she found employment with two farmers, one Polish, the other Ukrainian. After the Soviets entered the area, Bronia returned to Buczacz but there was no trace of her family members.
SOURCE: Testimony of Bronia Kahane, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 5296.

Wojciechówka
(Polish village near Buczacz)

The Polish village of Wojciechówka gets scant (negligible) mention by Bartov. Yet there are a number of Jewish accounts – almost all of which are overlooked by Bartov – that mention the widespread helpfulness of the villagers and the fact that Jewish fugitives joined with Polish villagers to fend off attacks by Ukrainian partisans.
Bartov mentions Wojciechówka in relation to a rescue that does not identify the rescuers (Kaprocki) by name (Anatomy, 242–244, 359 n.11, 360 n.12). The village was also the place of rescue of Alicja Jurman, but the village is not identified by Bartov in conjunction with her story (Anatomy, 251). Bartov describes the Zarivny/Zarówny rescue as taking place in Nagórzanka (Anatomy, pp, 242–244, 359–360), yet, according to a reliable source, that rescue occurred in Wojciechówka (Anatomy, p. 360, n.12).
After the war, Wojciechówka was merged with Janówka and Marcinówka; the amalgamated village is now known as Martynivka. The Polish Catholic church was turned into a Ukrainian Catholic church.

Rescuers:
- Kaprocki family (YV) – Poles
- Zarivny/Zarówny family (YV) – Ukrainian husband, Polish wife
- Władysław Czernicki (Pole)
- Lechowski family (Poles)
- Other villagers

➢ **Kaprocki, Wawrzyniec (husband)**
➢ **Kaprocka, Aniela (wife)**
Rescue story:
In May 1943, during the deportation of the last Jews of Buczacz, in the Tarnopol district, the Jews were taken to nearby Czortkow [Czortków], and about a month later, shot in the local cemetery. On the eve of the massacre, the Griffels escaped with their two daughters and their grandmother, and hid in nearby fields. Having nowhere to turn, the father decided to try to find a hiding place for the family on his own. After abortive attempts to enlist the help of the local farmers, including friends of his, the family began contemplating collective suicide, but the father decided to try his luck one more time. With the last of his strength, Griffel dragged himself to the village of Wojciechowka [Wojciechówka], near Buczacz, his native town, where he knocked on the door of Wawrzyniec and Aniela Kaprocki, a poor peasant couple with three children. To his amazement, the Kaprockis invited him into the house to warm himself and eat. When they saw their visitor's plight and heard his story, the Kaprockis themselves went to fetch the exhausted, starving and freezing Griffels in their wagon. After they had eaten and rested, the five refugees hid in a haystack in the cowshed. Despite their poverty, the Kaprockis, guided by humanitarian motives, looked after the Griffels, clothed them, and shared with them their meager fare. During the frequent police raids in the village, the Griffels hid in a field belonging to the Kaprockis, returning to their hiding place in the evening, where a warm meal always awaited them. The five Jewish refugees were liberated in March 1944 and, after the war, immigrated to Israel, while the Kaprockis sold their farm and moved to a region within the new borders of Poland.
On April 16, 1978, Yad Vashem recognized Aniela and Wawrzyniec Kaprocki as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons

Griffel, Zwi, Hersch
Griffel, Schwarz, Pnina
Diamant, Griffel, Donia, Dvora
Rosenwasser, Griffel, Aliza
Schwarz, Hinda

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

Note: Bartov devotes all of one sentence to the above rescue, and does not name the rescuers by name (*Anatomy,* pp. 242, 359 n.10).

The Kaprockis' daughter, Maria Pasierb, mentions the following beneficiaries of the Kaprocki family's help: Hersz, Fridek, Pepka, Donia & Lusia Griffel; Majer Bronsztajn; and others.
SOURCE: Sebastian Piątkowski ed., *Relacje o pomocy udzielanej Żydom przez Polaków w latach 1939–1945,* vol. *5: Dystrykt Galicja Generalnego Gubernatorstwa i Wołyń* (Lublin–Warsaw: Instytut Pamięci Narodowej–Komisja Ścigania Zbrodni przeciwko Narodowi Polskiemu, 2021), document 127.

In their testimonies, the Griffel sisters mention other helpers: "escape to the nearby village and in hiding with farmers, 1943; return to Buczacz, December 1943; in hiding with an acquaintance's family; in hiding in Wojciechowka, January 1944"; "wanderings and hiding with farmers' families in villages around Buczacz, June-December 1943; return to Buczacz and hidden by former Polish nanny; hidden by a Polish family in village of Wojciechowka, January 1944."
SOURCES: Testimony of Donia Dvora Diament, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/10269 (Item 3564796); Testimony of Aliza (Grifel) Rozenwasser, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/10402 (Item 3564956).
See → Trybuchowce (Kozak)

- **Zarivny, Józef [Iosyp] (husband – Ukrainian)**
- **Zarivna [Zarówna], Barbara (wife – Polish)**

Rescue story:
Before the German invasion of the Soviet Union, the Ukrainian family, Józef [iosyp] and Barbara Zarivny from Nagorianka [Nagórzanka], a village near Buczacz (Tarnopol District, today in Ukraine), were acquainted with the Jewish Hecht family: Herman (Samuel Hersch), his wife, Pepa (née Hirschhorn), and their son, Izydor, a boy ten years-old when Buczacz was occupied on July 7, 1941. During the second murder operation (*Aktion*) in Buczacz on November 27, 1942, the Hechts hid at the Zarivnys and then returned to the ghetto. At the time of subsequent murder operations in the ghetto, the family hid in the shelters previously prepared inside the ghetto. But on one occasion, Pepa, Herman's wife, was shot on the street and died. In mid-May 1943, the ghetto was liquidated. Herman Hecht and his son managed to escape and survived for several months by hiding in the forests. Then, in September-October 1943, they came for the second time to the Zarivny house, where Herman's mother-in-law, Reiza (Rosa) Hirschhorn, her daughter, Malya (Mala), and a four-year-old granddaughter had been in hiding from the time of liquidation of the Buczacz ghetto. They spent most of the time in a hideout in the barn, which they would only leave at night. On particularly cold winter nights, they were invited to sleep in the house with the Zarivnys. The Zarivnys also provided them with food. On February 18, 1944, when the Zarivnys were not in the house, policemen arrived. Izydor and his grandmother were inside, while Herman, his sister-in-law and niece were outside and tried to escape to the fields but were shot. The Zarivny buried them there later. A month later, Buczacz was liberated by the Soviets on March 23, unexpectedly reoccupied by the Germans, and liberated for good on July 21, 1944. Between the retreat and the final liberation of Buczacz, Izydor and his grandmother moved to Skałat with the Red Army and therefore survived. In 1950, Izydor, then 19 years old, came back to Buczacz looking for his rescuers but was unable to locate them. He learnt that their house had been burnt down and that the family had moved to Poland. Through Poland and Germany, Reiza Hirschhorn arrived in Mandatory Palestine in 1947 where her daughter, Betty Gibsch, had been living since 1935. After Józef Zarivny fell in battle at the front in 1945, Barbara moved to Poland, following her son, who had married a Polish woman. She passed away in Poland in 1980.
On June 15, 2005 Yad Vashem recognized Józef and Barbara Zarivny as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons
Gecht, Hecht, Izydor, Viktor
Hecht, Samuel, Hersch
Hecht, Hirschhorn, Pepa
Hirschhorn, Rosa
Hirschhorn, Malya

Hirschhorn, First name unknown

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

➢ **Władysław Czernicki**
➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story:
Bartov mentions only briefly Alicia (Alicja) Jurman's rescue in an unnamed village, by an eccentric, elderly Polish nobleman, "who defied all threats from local Ukrainians." (*Anatomy,* p. 251.) This vagueness is troubling given that Jurman published a memoir – Alicia Appleman-Jurman, *Alicia: My Story* (New York: Bantam, 1988), 69-71, 163 – and recorded an interview for the Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California (Interview code 11552), where she clearly identifies the village as Wojciechówka. She hid there with her mother, Frieda Jurman. Her protector, whom she calls "*Wujcio*" (i.e., uncle), is identified in a subsequent publication – *Alicia: My Story Continues: A Journey in Historical Photographs* (San Jose, California: Desaware Publishing, 2013) – as Władysław Czenicki. The proper spelling of his surname is probably Czernicki.
Czernicki also agreed to take in another Jewish woman and her two young daughters who were brought there by Alicia. The villagers became aware of the Jewish fugitives' presence, as Alicia ventured outside the rescuer's home. She also mentions other helpful Poles she encountered, e.g., Mania. After some Ukrainians came around looking for hidden Jews, Alicia and her mother stayed in farmers' barns for a while, before returning to their protector's cottage. Citing Alicia Jurman's testimony, historian Yehuda Bauer notes that "a joint Polish-Jewish armed group was put together to defend the village from the Banderovtsy." See Yehuda Bauer, *The Death of the Shtetl* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2009), 107, 123, 185 n.2.

➢ **Lechowski family**

Rescue story:
Moshe Gutstein, a dentist from Tłumacz, obtained false documents under the name of Józef Chebich from a town official. For a short time, he hid in Tłumacz, in the home of a Polish woman named Szklar. Mrs. Szklar directed him to her sister, Mrs. Lechowska, who owned a farm in Wojciechówka, near Buczacz. The Lechowskis were aware that Gutstein was Jewish. They engaged him as a farmhand and treated him well. He survived the war and settled in Israel.
SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 43–45.

➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story:
Eliyohu Greenberg escaped from Tłumacz to Buczacz. He then took refuge in the village of Wojciechówka. Since he spoke Polish poorly, he pretended to be dumb. He worked for various farmers as a tinsmith in exchange for room and board. Occasionally, he worked in other villages and sometimes stayed in the forest. The attitude of the villagers towards him was favourable. No one informed on him to the Germans. He survived the war and settled in Israel.
SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 55–56.
According to Munio Wurman,

The villagers of Wojczehowka [Wojciechówka], in the Buczacz Province, knew that Eliyahu Greenberg was hiding among them, but no one informed on him. Thanks to the decent farmers, the following escaped with their lives: Sima Herman of Olesha [Olesza], Moshe Gutstein, Yehiel Mintzer, Julek Mandel, Lonek Hertenstein, Shlomo Ritzer, Lonche Lepold, Elsa Fischer, Yidl Feier, Chaim Boltoh, Moshe Inzlicht and his two children.

SOURCE: Munio Wurman, "Local Population," in Shlomo Blond, et al., eds., *Memorial Book of Tlumacz: The Life and Destruction of a Jewish Community* (Tel Aviv: Tlumacz Societies in Israel and the U.S.A., 1976), column clxxiv.

➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story:

On March 8, 1944, just two weeks before the Red Army entered Buczacz, Etunia Bauer Katz's family was discovered hiding in their former manor house in Józefówka. A Ukrainian "Banderowcy" squad broke in and killed her father, her older sister, Bronia, and her two remaining younger brothers, Rumek and Molus. The eldest brother had already been murdered in the first mass shooting in 1941. The family was betrayed by their neighbours, who had known them for many years. Only Etunia escaped. She was saved by two Polish lads who were patrolling the perimeter of Wojciechówka, to protect the village from attacks by Ukrainian bands

SOURCE: Omer Bartov, "Interethnic Relations in the Holocaust as Seen Through Postwar Testimonies: Buczacz, East Galicia, 1941-1944," in Doris L. Bergen, ed., *Lessons and Legacies VIII: From Generation to Generation,* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008), 101–124, based on Etunia Bauer Katz, *Our Tomorrows Never Came* (Fordham University Press: New York, 2000), 96–99.

➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story:

Israel M. (Yisrael Munczer) together with mother took refuge in the Polish village of Wojciechówka, "Good people lived there," he recalled.

SOURCE: David Ravid (Shmukler), ed., *The Cieszanow Memorial Book* (Mahwah, New Jersey: Jacob Solomon Berger, 2006), 190–191 (the village's name is misspelled as Wicikhowka).

Also: Yisrael Munczer, *A Holocaust Survivor from Buczacz* (in Hebrew) (Gefen: Jerusalem, 1990); Testimony of Yisrael Muncher, Yad Vashem Archives, file O.3/5878 (Item 3560673) re hiding with his mother in fields and with farmers in Wojciechówka and Medwedowce.

➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story:

Rescue story:

After escaping from Buczacz together with her mother and brother, Pepa Sternberg (later Gold, born in Buczacz in 1924) was initially sheltered by a Christian family in Jazłowiec. They had to leave their place of refuge because of a German raid. It appears that her mother and brother perished. The family's former Polish maid, who was afraid to keep Pepa in her own home, brought her to Wojciechówka, described as a Polish settlement and a village of weavers. She was sheltered and protected by various Polish families, as were many other Jews. She remained there from November 1943 until the entry of the Soviet army in March 1944. She spent her time knitting in the houses or barns of several Poles. Her presence was widely known in the village. She was almost killed as a Pole when the Polish village was attacked by Ukrainians in February 1944. When a neighbour warned her of the approach of German soldiers, Pepa took shelter in an empty house that had belonged to Jews. Fortunately, she escaped detection. Pepa turned to the family's former family maid for food, wash and rest. After the Soviet army arrived, she returned to Buczacz, where a Ukrainian friend gave her shoes, a coat, and bread.

SOURCES: Testimony of Pepa Gold, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 39449 (the village is misidentified as Wojciechowice in the accompanying notes but not by her in the testimony); Oral history interview with Pepa Gold, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, Accession no. 1993.A.0088.4, RG-50.002-0004 (village not identified); Joseph J. Preil, ed., *Holocaust Testimonies: European Survivors and American Liberators in New Jersey* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 166–167.

Zalesie Koropieckie

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuer:

- Jan Baszczij (Baszczy)

Rescue story – penned by Rev. Kazmierz Słupski (pastor of Puźniki), recognized by Yad Vashem as a Righteous Gentile.

> My parishioner from Zalesie near Monasterzyska, Jan Baszczij [Baszczy], former head of the hamlet, kept Jews from the Buczacz Judenrat at his home. They approached him when the final action was about to begin and they were next on the list for extermination. He prepared a hideout dug under the house for them. His house stood out of the way near a creek. Alas, when the Jews became inured to their situation they started venturing into the yard by daylight. Mr Baszczij also kept buying poultry for them in the village. That reckless behaviour gave rise to suspicion among local Ukrainian nationals who began to watch Baszczij's farmstead. The hiding Jews were spotted and given away by Ukrainians: they called the Ukrainian police who arrested the Jews and extradited them to the Germans in Monasterzyska. Jan Baszczij was also arrested and transported to a jail in Czortków. The Ukrainian police took a rich booty—several sackfuls of gold. Jews from the Judenrat were very rich. A death sentence loomed over Baszczij's head. I succeeded in rescuing him through a person who was very influential with the Germans (in Czortków). Alas, he perished at a later date at the hands of Ukrainian nationalists, all the same.

SOURCE: Władysław Bartoszewski and Zofia Lewin, eds., *Righteous Among Nations: How Poles Helped the Jews, 1939–1945* (London: Earlscourt Publications, 1969), 339.

Żnibrody
(Polish village)

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Unidentified villagers

➢ **Unidentified Polish villagers**

Rescue story:
Józef Kornblüh was sheltered by a number of Poles, sometimes for payment. However, much of the story is missing from Bartov's account. (*Anatomy of a Genocide,* pp. 258–259.) According to Józef Kornblüh's testimony, Archive of the Jewish Historical Institute (Warsaw), nos. 301/3279 & 3283:
- in June 1943, he and a female cousin were hidden by a Pole named B. Pastucha, a municipal employee (with a wife, two children and a sister), on the outskirts of Buczacz, for payment
- Pastucha had earlier sheltered a female neighbour and Henryk Raab for payment
- fearful of ongoing German raids, Pastucha told them to hide in the fields
- they then found shelter with Fijałkowski, Pastucha's neighbour, but Fijałkowski got frightened and would only keep the Jewish woman
- Fijałkowski's son found them a shelter for Kornblüh with his brother-in-law, Ptasznik, for payment, for about a month
- Fijałkowski's son then found another shelter for Kornblüh with Kaczmarska, the widow of a forester, for several months, for payment
- while living in the forest, Kornblüh was given food by an elderly woman
- Kornblüh returned to Fijałkowski's (father) home; he was taken in by Fijałkowski's female neighbour for a few days
- another Polish woman took pity on Kornblüh and took him to Beremiany [see Synenko], but he had to leave because of a Ukrainian neighbour
- Kornblüh then moved to Żnibrody, where he was sheltered by an unidentified Polish family, whom he says were very good people, for 10 weeks until the arrival of the Soviets

Kornblüh's rescue is described elsewhere as follows:

> Józef Kornblüh from Buczacz changed his hiding place over a dozen times. In June 1943, he hid in the house of a sympathetic Pole, Pastucha, an employee of the local magistracy. After a few weeks, Pastucha, terrified that he would be caught, told Kornblüh to leave. Subsequently, Kornblüh used a field, the attic of a logging hut owned by a man named Fijałkowski, the house of a Pole named Ptasznik, the woods (where he met a Polish beggar woman), and numerous peasant homesteads from which he was either thrown out or fled. In the end, he managed to survive thanks to a family of Polish peasants who allowed him to stay for ten weeks.

SOURCE: Anna Wylegała, "Operation Reinhard in District Galicia: Three Levels of Narrative about the Holocaust," *Holocaust and Genocide Studies,* vol. 34, no. 3 (Winter 2020); 478–505, at p. 486.

➢ **Other villagers**

Rescue story:
Hilda Weitz (b. 1927 as Hindzia Miller) was sheltered by a Ukrainian family in Buczacz. Later on, she and her younger brother were hidden in a village, by a blacksmith's family. That man, his wife, and their child eventually fled the village, fearing a search for Jews. Shortly thereafter, the Soviets arrived.
SOURCE: Omer Bartov, "Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944," in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Emipres: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420, at p. 411. This rescue story is not mentioned in Bartov's *Anatomy,* although Hilda Miller (Weitz) is mentioned (see pp. 151, 347).

According to her testimony, Hindzia Miller used a false name, Katherine Milevska (Milewska), and hid in Buczacz, Żnibrody, and Beremiany. Only one aid giver – Rozyanski (Różański?) – is mentioned by name.

SOURCE: Testimony of Hilda Weitz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 47637.

Zubrzec

Not mentioned by Bartov.

Rescuers:
- Zwoliński (Pole)
- Ołena (Olga) Biłyk (Ukrainian)
- Hawryluk (Ukrainian)

In the second half of 1942, Ukrainian police discovered four Jews – two men and two women – hiding on the property of Zwoliński, a Pole. The Jews were shot dead, as was Zwoliński. Another Jew hiding there escaped and may have survived the war.

A Ukrainian policeman discovered a Jewish woman and her young child hiding in the home of Ołena (Olga?) Biłyk. The Jews were shot dead, and the Ukrainian woman was badly beaten.

In March 1944, a few days before the entry of the Soviet army, Ukrainian police shot dead four members of the Chan family: two women and their children. Three of the names are known: Fajga, Liba, and Moszko. These were local Jews who were hiding in the home of Hawryluk, a Ukrainian widow.

SOURCE: Henryk Komański and Szczepan Siekierka, *Ludobójstwo dokonane przez nacjonalistów ukraińskich na Polakach w województwie tarnopolskim 1939-1946* (Wrocław: Nortom, 2006), 179, 659–660.

Żyznomierz
(on the outskirts of Buczacz)

Not mentioned by Bartov (except for the Kazanovich rescue).

Rescuers:
- Lehki (Lechki) family (YV – Poles)
- Furman (Pole)
- Hnat (Pole)
- Maria Bendyna (Ukrainian)
- Anna Skvortsova (Russian)
- Ivanna Sinenko
- Bestilna
- Dudlej family
- Other villagers

➢ **Lehka, Karola (mother)**
➢ **Osipenkova (née Lehka), Helena (daughter)**
➢ **Semenyuk / Semeniuk (née Lehka), Kazimiera (daughter)**
➢ **Krutnik (née Lehka), Józefa (daughter)**
➢ **Srebro, Katarzyna (grandmother)**

Rescue story:
Karola Lehka and her teenaged daughters, Helena, Kazimiera, and Jozefa [Józefa] owned a small farm on the outskirts of the town of Buczacz in the district of Tarnopol (today Buchach, Ternopil' District). One night in mid June 1943, after the local ghetto was liquidated and the town proclaimed "Judenrein," 22-year-old Bernard Kramer, a Buczacz resident, knocked on the door of their home. Following his escape from a Gestapo prison, he spent the previous two days hiding in the forest. Kramer was hungry, thirsty, and shivering from cold. The Lehkis welcomed him inside, fed him, and let him sleep in the attic of the house. For reasons of security Kramer did not stay long in the Lehkis' home, but he returned there from time to time, hiding permanently in the forest with a group of Jewish survivors. The other group members also came to the Lehkis occasionally and were always provided with food and drink. Eventually, the neighbors noticed suspicious people entering the Lehkis' home at night and reported this to the authorities. The Germans set up an ambush and one night a group of Jews heading to the Lehkis was caught. Kramer managed to flee and the following day he decided to return to their home, where he found just burned pieces of wood. Karola and her daughters, who managed to escape the previous night, were near the place that was once their house. Karola was overjoyed to see Kramer alive. She supplied him with a gun and explained how to find another group of Jews that had organized in the forest, and in so doing again saved his life. After the war, the surviving Jews of Buczacz left Ukraine and dispersed around the world. Kramer immigrated to Israel, and his contact with the Lehkis was severed. In 1990, he went back to visit his birthplace and while there he located the family that had saved his life.
On March 16, 1992, Yad Vashem recognized Karola Lehka and her daughters, Helena (Yelena) Osipenkova, Kazimiera Semenyuk, and Jozefa Krutnik, as Righteous Among the Nations.

Rescued Persons

Kramer, Bernard

SOURCE: YAD VASHEM RIGHTEOUS AMONG THE NATIONS DATABASE

Rescue story:
Katarzyna Srebro, the mother of Karolina Lechka (Lehka), was one of several Poles in Żyznomierz who helped a group of Jews hiding in nearby forests, by providing them with food and occasional shelter. Caught in a German raid, in which several Jews were killed and a Polish farmstead was burned to the ground, Katarzyna was taken to the jail in Buczacz.
When Karolina Lechka learned that her mother was about to be hanged for helping Jews, she turned to Rev. Ludwik Staufer, the administrator of the Catholic parish in Buczacz. Rev. Staufer,

who was aware and supportive of the rescue effort, appealed to the German authorities for clemency for the elderly widow. Remarkably, Katarzyna Srebro was released a few weeks later. Józefa Lechka Krutnik states that her grandmother, Katarzyna Srebro, was hiding two Jews from Buczacz, one of whom was a tailor.
Józefa Lechka Krutnik identifies two other Jews who were helped by her family: Herszko and Natan. They too would come to the house with Bernard Kramer, as did some other Jewish fugitives from the forest. The three Lechka sisters would bring them food when they lived in a shelter in the forest. Herszko and Bernard were killed during a raid.
The Lechkis' tenant Hnat, a Pole of German background, sheltered Roma Kazanovich, who survived. (See Kazanovich's testimony below, which differs.) Józefa Lechka Krutnik also mentions a local Pole, by the name of Furman, who was sheltering Jews. The Anderman family – Anchik and Klara, and their two children, Ignaś and Ruta – was hidden by Dorosz (?). Other helpers included Bendyn (Bendyna), who was Ukrainian, Pająk, and Grycan from Buczacz.
According to Józefa Lechka Krutnik, her family was Polish ("*my sami poliaki po natsionalnosti*"). Her mother, Karolina Lechka (née Srebro, b. 1908), moved to the area from Nowy Sącz, with her parents. Her father, Jan Lechki, a native of Buczacz, was taken away by the Soviets in September 1939 and disappeared (he was probably executed). The Soviets were led to the Lechkis' home by Ukrainians; their home was robbed. Several Polish families from the village were deported to the Soviet interior. Since the nearest Latin-rite Catholic church was in Buczacz, they would attend mass on Sundays at the local Greek Catholic church.
SOURCE: Testimony of Iuzefa Krutnik, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 37920
See also: Testimony of Elena Osipenkova, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code, Interview code 46952.

- **Maria Bendyna**
- **Anna Skvortsova**
- **Ivanna Sinen'ka**

Rescue story:
Romaniia Kazanovich (Roma Kazanowicz, later Paziuk) was born in 1937 to Henryk Kazanowicz and his wife, Judyta (née Heller). She escaped from the Buczacz ghetto and survived with the help of several villagers: Maria Bendyna, Anna Skvortsova (Skworcowa), and Ivanna Sinen'ka (Sineńko). Romaniia's grandparents survived as well, and after the war her grandfather became a school director in Buczacz. Testimony of Romaniia Kazanovich, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 30282.
According to Bartov (*Anatomy of a Genocide,* p. 359 n.8), Romaniia Kazanovich survived in Buczacz with her grandparents, Hersh and Cyla Heller. In spring and summer 1944, she was cared for by Anna Skvartsova (sic), a Russian woman whose Jewish husband was denounced by a Ukrainian acquaintance and killed.

- **Unidentified cobbler**
- **Bestilna**
- **Dudlej family**

Rescue story:
Fanke Kader (later Steinmetz), from Tyśmienica, arrived in Buczacz. She decided to leave the ghetto and found shelter in the home of a cobbler who lived on the outskirts of the town, near a forest. Other young Jewish fugitives from the ghetto also came by the shoemaker's house, where they were provided with food. One day, finding herself in Żyżnomierz, Franke turned to a woman named Bestilna, who took her in for a few days and fed her. While staying with cobbler, she met Abraham Steinmetz, from Stanisławów, who used to visit there. Fanke decided to join Abraham's group who were hiding in the forest. The Dudlej family – a widow with two sons – who lived near the forest provided the Jewish fugitives with temporary shelter and food. Both of them survived.
SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 75–77.
Also: Testimony of Fania Steinmetz, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive, University of Southern California, Interview code 16780.

Locality Not Specified

- **Franka (Franciszka) Wąsik (wife)**
- **Stanisław Wąsik (husband)**

Rescue story:
See Bartov, *Anatomy,* pp. 234–236
Aryeh Klonicki (previously Leon Klonymus) and his wife, Malwina, gave their son, Adam (born in 1942), over to Malwina's former Polish maid Franka Wąsik and her husband, Stanisław, who agreed to care for the child, while his parents hid in their field. A Ukrainian dogcatcher by the name of Nahajowski, turned Jew-hunter, denounced several Jews hiding in the same village. (Nahajowski collaborated with the Ukrainian police. He was later shot by a Jew.) The Klonickis were murdered, most likely by Ukrainians, on January 18, 1944. Before leaving for Poland, the Wąsiks handed the child over to Ukrainian nuns, who baptized him Taras. Taras was raised in an orphanage and later blended into the Ukrainian community.
See also Omer Bartov, "Interethnic Relations in the Holocaust as Seen Through Postwar Testimonies: Buczacz, East Galicia, 1941-1944," in *Lessons and Legacies VIII: From Generation to Generation,* ed. by Doris L. Bergen (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 2008), 101–1.

- **Jan Rudnicki (husband)**
- **Katarzyna Rudnicka (wife)**

Rescue story:
Not mentioned by Bartov.
Maxwell Smart was born in 1930 as Oziac (Oziak) Fromm. Before the war, he lived in Buczacz with his parents and younger sister. His father was killed within three months of the German entry and the rest of the family was confined in the ghetto. In 1943, he, along with his mother and sister, were being loaded onto trucks during the clearing of their ghetto. He fled on his mother's urging and never saw them again. He survived the war in an unidentified village near Potok Złoty, with the help of Polish farmers Jan (Jasko) and Katarzyna (Kasia) Rudnicki.
Towards the end of the occupation Smart met up with a group of Jews hiding in a nearby village. Smart recalled:

> They [i.e., the Jews] also informed me that in the woods, around this particular village, there were approximately fifty to sixty Jews in different bunkers. The Jews who were hiding near the village were working with Polish farmers to protect the area from *Banderowcy*, whose goal was to burn down all the Polish villages. The Poles and the Jews would be on guard throughout the night. It was very interesting to listen to their conversations. Jews were helping the Polish Christian farmers, and in return, the farmers would help the Jews. I decided that it would be a good idea for Janek [Arenberg] and me to stay with them because both of us needed the support of adults.

SOURCE: Maxwell Smart, *Chaos to Canvas* (Azrieli Foundation, 2018), 79; Maxwell Smart, *The Boy in the Woods: A True Story of Survival During the Second World War* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2022), 69.
Maxwell Smart tried to get his rescuers recognized by Yad Vashem in 2008, but was told he needed two witnesses. He had no documents and no contact with his rescuers since leaving them.
Maxwell Smart and his friend Janek found a two-year-old girl in the forest near his hiding place lying beside the body of her dead mother. The child was taken to a forest bunker where she was cared for by a Jewish woman. This woman, whose identity is not disclosed, and the child, Tova Barkai, both survived. This woman told Tova about her rescue while hiding in the woods near a riverbank outside Buczacz. (*The Boy in the Woods,* 163–165.) Perhaps there is more information about this woman that could identify more precisely where Smart was hiding.

- **Józefa Jaworska and her parents**

Rescue story:
Her former employer Meir Shtiglitz, his unidentified son, Munio Schwartz, and Yetka Krum, all four of whom hailed from Koropiec, were sheltered by Józefa Jaworska and her parents in a village near Buczacz. After the war, the survivors were repatriated to Poland together with Józefa. They settled in Canada and eventually sponsored Józefa.
SOURCE: Shlomo Blond, *The Righteous Gentiles: Survivors of the Holocaust Tell about Christians – "the Righteous Gentiles", Who Risked Their Own Lives to Shelter Jews from Annihilation by the Nazis* (Tel Aviv: Or Printers, 1983), 158–159.

See also:
Manny Schwarz; the "t" in the family name got misplaced somehow when he arrived here by boat in 1950. He is small, unshaven, nearly 80, and he doesn't want to talk about it, but he will.
He was born in Poland, in a small town called Koropiec that is now part of Ukraine. His father, Elie, died in a Nazi work camp. His mother, Golda, died in what he calls "one of the actions." Their son was lucky, if you can call it that. He escaped from a work camp and cowered for more than two years in a shallow, hay-covered cellar that a friendly farmer built in his stable.
SOURCE: Dan Barry, “Rents Soar. Stores Close. Life Goes on, a Little Poorer,” *The New York Times,* April 2, 2005.

➢ **Unidentified Polish villager**
Rescue story:
When one of George (Gershon) Gross’s brothers (Bernard?) was wounded in a partisan action, a poor Polish peasant sheltered and nursed him back to health.
SOURCE: Omer Bartov, “Communal Genocide: Personal Accounts of the Destruction of Buczacz, Eastern Galicia, 1941–1944,” in Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz, eds., *Shatterzone of Emipres: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian and Ottoman Borderlands* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2013), 399–420, at p. 413.
Also: George Gross, Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive University of Southern California, Interview code 16309.