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TsDAHOU, f 166, op. 3, spr. 246, ark. 78-89: Pylyp Lazarovych Fridman, "Stenohrama zapysu spohadiv," 22 January 1946

The Holocaust in Ukraine – The Pogroms of 1941

Translation: *A10 In 1946 Philip Friedman Recalls the Pogrom in Lviv*

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TRANSCRIPT

of the record of the recollections of Pylyp Lazarovych Fridman, Doctor of Philosophy

The conversation was conducted by D.K. Gak, a researcher with [illegible] commission

Typist G.V. Shestopalova

I was born in 1901 in Lviv. I graduated from school in 1919 and from the Viden [Vienna] University in 1925. At the time of the Polish rule I worked in Lodz as a history teacher at a gymnasium (upper secondary school – *trans.*) and also in Warsaw. From 1939 I worked at a secondary school in Lviv and from 1940 at the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in Lviv. During the German occupation, I worked in a bread shop selling bread until August 1942. In 1942 I was taken to a concentration camp but I escaped and I had been hiding in various villages and in Lviv until the Soviet Army came.

My recollections will be mainly in relation to addressing the fate of the Jewish population of the city of Lviv at the time of the German rule in the Ukrainian lands.

According to the inexact calculation that has remained at the Jewish Association, at the time of the German army entering Lviv on 30 June 1941 there were approximately 135,000 Jews in Lviv. The official German sources cite the number of Jews at the time as 114,500. The former number is more likely to be closer to the truth because the Germans were trying to show that there were less Jews. I think that the former number is more accurate because it corresponds to the numbers from the later period. [*the word in purple ink – before*]

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To illustrate the speed with which the Jewish population was being eliminated in Lviv, it would be best to cite the population numbers according to the calculations of the food cards office.

The Jewish population had been receiving food cards from the Narodna Torgivlya [People's Trade – *trans*] organisation until October 1941 and after that from the food card department that had been established and attached to the Jewish association [Judenrat]. But even these numbers are not fully accurate. These numbers were exaggerated from the beginning and until August 1942 because people were receiving cards for those who had already perished but about which there had not been any information yet.

There have been abuses by *the food cards office* as well. In this way the food cards office could use *additional cards* for itself and also to assist people who needed higher rations due to being unable to buy in the black market. The rations were very small. I will provide more information about this later.

Therefore, it can be stated that among all these numbers from the food cards office there had always been several *thousand* “fake souls”. This must be taken into consideration.

As at October 1941, Narodna Torgivlya issued 119,000 cards to the Jewish population.

From 1 November cards began to be issued by the food cards department of the Jewish association [Judenrat].

<i>Month</i>	<i>November</i>	<i>1941</i>	<i>109,000</i>
	<i>December</i>	<i>1941</i>	<i>106,000</i>
	<i>January</i>	<i>1942</i>	<i>103,000</i>
	<i>February</i>	<i>as above</i>	<i>97,000</i>
	<i>March</i>	<i>as above</i>	<i>96,000</i>
	<i>April</i>	<i>as above</i>	<i>86,000</i>
	<i>May</i>	<i>as above</i>	<i>84,000</i>
	<i>June</i>	<i>as above</i>	<i>82,000</i>
	<i>July</i>	<i>as above</i>	<i>82,000</i>
	<i>August</i>	<i>as above</i>	<i>76,000</i>
	<i>September</i>	<i>as above</i>	<i>36,000</i>
	<i>October</i>	<i>as above</i>	<i>33,000</i>
	<i>November</i>	<i>as above</i>	<i>29,000</i>

December *as above* *24,000*

The numbers from August 1942 onwards are not exaggerated any more because it is thought that from that time onwards there were to some extent even more people than the cards office numbers show. The situation was the following: it had become clear by then that the Germans intended to eliminate the Jews and therefore the *food cards office*

was not showing the exact number of Jews.

The Jewish Association [Judenrat] insisted that the food office not exaggerate the number of Jews. Many people wanted to hide so that the Germans could know nothing about them. They stopped registering because they were hiding. *So for instance*, when the food office shows 36,000 people for the month of September, it is thought that the real number was 40,000. The last figures relate to November 1942. From then on there are no more figures from the food cards office because the Jewish Association [Judenrat] was liquidated and Jews were receiving food at their place of work.

Now I will turn to a chronological review of the events. Immediately after the arrival of the Germans to Lviv on 30 June 1941, an anti-Jewish raid began; however, the Germans arranged it so quickly that the Jews were unable to organise themselves. The Germans were talking about dead bodies they found in Brydidky [*a prison* on Kazymyryvska Street], *in prisons* near Lontskogo Street, Zamarstynivska Street and Yakhovycha Street.

Elimination of Jews in the city of Lviv started from the first day of the German arrival, i.e. from 30 June 1941. However, at first the Germans conducted this elimination in a provoking way. Taking advantage of the Soviet Army's retreat, the Germans took a part of the Jewish population to prisons and shot them there; the shootings were accompanied by torture so that *the victims* could not be identified. At the same time, they pursued another purpose: to present this as an example of the '*atrocities*' committed by the NKVD who allegedly shot political prisoners before leaving Lviv. *So to clear the bodies (which in fact were the bodies of the Jews killed by Germans)* Germans immediately on arrival started seizing Jews at their homes and in the street to clear the bodies; but the ones who survived later said that they had not cleared any bodies but that they had recognised many local Jews who had just been murdered. Doctor Eliyash Izydor Lyau, a lawyer of 1, Berenshtain street in Lviv, who was later shot to death, confirmed this. He said, "at various parts

of a huge yard there were standing small groups of Jews; Germans were attending to them. They committed various kinds of torture. One group was only beaten up but the other was shot." In his group, the following happened: he was standing there for a long time but he was not beaten. Finally, he found himself in some sort of a queue in front of a door. People went through it one by one. Once a person went in, [the one behind him– crossed out] *the rest of them in the queue* could hear shots being fired. In the queue *a German sergeant guarding it* kept saying, "*Die Rache ist süß*" ["Revenge is sweet"], [the Germans were saying – crossed out]. He stood there for a long time. "In front of me stood a pharmacist who I knew and [my –crossed out] his son who had a head injury. They argued with me that I wanted to go in later but it was all the same to me and so I went ahead. I saw a lot of bodies there but they were still moving and moaning. A German officer with a gun in his hand ordered me to go up. I did. I did not have a single thought in my mind. At that minute I thought neither of my child nor of my wife; I closed my eyes but he told me to open them. The officer was pointing the gun at me but I heard the gun misfire and then he told me to go away and shouted to *the soldier by the doors*, "*Für heute genug*" ["Enough for today"]. After that no one else was killed that day. "We were all let go" after a couple of hours. Quite a large number of people were able to leave the yard and to tell how the Germans brutalised them: they had been beaten, they had been told to stand to the wall as if they were going to be shot but no shots came. Overall, some people were able to leave and some were killed. This happened on 3 July 1941. Among the murdered were Dr Levin, a rabbi, and Heshelus, a former editor of the Jewish daily *Khvila* [*Chwila*]. I cannot say how many people were killed, various estimations exist and none of them can be credible. The German tactic was to carry on without giving you a rest, one raid followed another.

On 4 July they started grabbing people supposedly for work. One of the places they were taken to was the Gestapo quarters in Pelchynskogo Street; around 2,600 people were seized.

I know about this from what two people told me: one of them is no longer living (comrade Reder), the other, Mikhal Gofman [Michał Hoffman] (who is now in Lviv working at the railway). These Jews were treated in the following manner: they were ordered to sit still on the ground, they were not allowed to move; then they were put in groups and into cars and taken away, allegedly to work; they were taken to the Bilogorsk forest and shot. Out of two thousand, only 600 people remained. 1,400 people were murdered.

In July Germans set about organising a Jewish association [Judenrat] designed to serve as an instrument of the German policy aimed against the Jewish population. The Jewish association was created to squeeze all their possessions, money, and workforce out of the Jews. The people who were enrolled into the Jewish association can be put into two categories: the naïve ones and the scoundrels. An example of a naïve person can be said to be Dr Parnas, a Jew, who was the head of the Jewish association. He was an old lawyer, a person of limited understanding, a person who was still thinking in terms of the Austro-Hungarian period. He saw Germans as enlightened people, he believed in law and order and that is how his naivety manifested itself. People like him thought that Germans would give them an opportunity to set up Jewish associations; they believed in the Jewish economy, they thought there would be Jewish business life and Jewish cultural life. And they thought that by belonging to the Jewish association they were fulfilling their duty before their people. As for the scoundrels, they had understood the Germans' objective from the very beginning but they wanted to save themselves and to profit somehow: for instance, such Jews as *Goshovskiy*, *Liebes* and others but they were not the worst scoundrels.

The Jewish association [Judenrat] started its work by extracting huge contributions from the Jewish population. The whole of the Jewish population was convinced that these contributions would be some sort of a bailout from other persecutions. Some Jews made contributions voluntarily; they stood in a queue to buy themselves out faster, to shield themselves

from death. The poor people sold their belongings to pay the contribution and gave up various valuables as a contribution. I do not recall the amounts of the required contribution but they were very high.

At the time when the contribution was being collected Germans conducted another raid. They started taking people from their homes, they were taking those who represented Jewish intelligentsia of Lviv. *They would ask them to accompany them to a militia station just for a minute.* It would be urgent; they were very polite as if a small misunderstanding needed clearing up. They would tell the Jews not to bother changing their clothes because “you will return home in half an hour”. This happened to Dr Gelman, a lawyer, who was also one of the naïve people. When it became known in Lviv that Germans were taking a lot of people, they announced that they would hold the hostages until the whole amount of the contribution was paid by the Jews; however, none of those people returned even though the contribution had been fully paid and although there was no need to take hostages since the Jews brought their money and possessions voluntarily.

On threat of execution all the Jews were wearing arm bands with a star. This was the first attempt at isolating them. [sentence crossed out - In the matter of arm bands Germans displayed certain inventiveness. The arm bands] *They were set in a certain manner in order to establish a certain hierarchy within the Jewish association [Judenrat] depending on where a person worked and on what kind of job they did, on their position in the association and on their suitability to serve the Germans. Those who worked at military businesses received a green bordering for their *arm band*. Those who worked at the *German* “labour exchange” wore a purple bordering. The deaf mute had their special yellow arm bands. [two words typed over]*

At the same time in July, Germans started throwing Jews out of their homes. This raid had an organised character. They selected several streets *for the Germans*: for instance: Sophiyi Street, Dvernytskogo Street, Zhyzhynska Street, Snopkivska Street. In addition, individual cases took place, too when a German took a liking to a certain dwelling. That month up to 200 people were murdered just by being thrown out of the houses.

At the same time, in the city people were being snatched in the streets and sent away to work. Some people returned and some did not. This was an ongoing operation. Every day there were victims and no one knows their numbers. Some naïve people were thinking of creating a Jewish work legion and by doing so to save the others from the daily abductions. They wanted strong, healthy people to join the legion and in that way to settle the matter with the Germans in a systematic and legal way. The legion existed just a few days. It was a private initiative. My own brother Samuil Friedman and Dr Natan Goliger became the victims of its work. They went to work against my advice and never returned.

On 25, 26 and 27 July a new raid was conducted against the Jews. It was conducted by the Ukrainian police. These were the days of mourning for someone, either Petlura or Konovaltsev, I do not know for sure for whom in particular.

The Germans allowed the Ukrainian police to select a certain number of Jews and to do whatever they wanted with them as a way to get their revenge. 1,500 people died then. The Jews started calling these days "Petlura's days". I found out *the details and the numbers* about these perished Jews from Dr Yurym, a surgeon, who perished later. [a word is typed over]

Around this time the burning of the prayer houses (synagogues) by the German forces also happened.

It is telling that the civilian population of Lviv took no part in this brutalisation of the Jews and that the Germans' attempts to set the Ukrainians and the Polish upon the Jews failed.

In August 1941 signs of famine started appearing amongst the Jewish population. Food rations were negligible. During this time food rations were set as follows: Germans received a generous amount of food; Ukrainian and Polish population received 1,400 gram of bread per week and Jewish population 700 gram per week and 200 grams of sugar per month. In general, Jews received half of

the amounts Ukrainians and Polish got. Later the bread norms *for Jews* were lowered to 500 grams per week and to 100 grams of sugar. A dreadful famine began, with a part of the Jewish population having nothing. Children were swollen with hunger. The antagonism amongst the Jewish population [started – crossed out] *got worse*. The Jewish professionals were all at work and so they had something to live on somehow, whereas a large part of the Jewish population who were unable to work, women and children were left with nothing. They suffered terribly. There was no help available to them.

In the month of August, the Jews began being taken to concentration camps. *The first* of such camps was set up in Lyashky Murovani. Later, concentration camps were set up in *Kurovychy*, Germanove, Vynnyky and Kozaky. In autumn a camp was set up in Lviv, too. It was located at 134, Yanivska Street. *Besides*, Jews were sent [crossed out - from the camps] to the streets with private dwellings of the SS (Pototskogo Street and Lystopada Street) for serving the SS personnel *and where a small camp was set up for them, the so-called "Chvartany"*

In November 1941, the creation of a Jewish "ghetto" was announced for the first time. It was ordered that Jews must move to this "ghetto" in Zamarstynove, across the railway lines. There were [crossed out – three] *four* passages for getting there, but Jews had to use just one of them to get there, under the bridge on Peltevena Street. The Jews called the bridge "the bridge of death" because every time they approached it with their possessions German guards would select people at random, mainly women *and paupers*. *They* were then taken to Lontskogo Street where they were partially undressed, [crossed out – and] thrown into cars and taken outside the city to be killed. Around 3,000 people perished in the month of November and no ghetto was created. After all these raids some Jews started leaving the city for the country. Between 4,000 and 5,000 people left for smaller towns but this option was only available to well off people.

Around the same time an operation was conducted within the Jewish association [Judenrat] itself. A group of young people was taken for the concentration camps in Kurovychy

and Dr Parnas, the head of the association was murdered.

At the same time the Germans organised a “supplies government” *attached to the Jewish association* [Judenrat]; it was an organ that took orders from Germans for various things and groceries that were often unavailable in Lviv. This organ had to collect these things from the Jews and to pass them on to Germans; this was the general manner of robbing the Jewish population in a lawful way.

A Jewish militia was set up then which at first was answerable to the [crossed out – German] *Jewish* association board but which kept struggling to become fully independent. The personnel of the Jewish police was selected in such a manner that as [crossed out – every] time went by the Jewish police progressively treated the Jews worse than Gestapo.

Between November 1941 and March 1942 there were no large raids. There was some kind of a break. People thought that life was getting back to normal. There were only several minor operations that took very few lives.

The robbing of Jews in a lawful manner continued. For instance, in the month of January a forced collection of warm clothes and furs was conducted under the threat of death. After Dr Parnas’s death, the Jewish association [Judenrat] board was headed by Dr Rotfeld who died a natural death and then by Dr Langesberg.

During March and April of 1942 the first large scale operation against the Jewish population took place. The Germans organised it in a very cunning manner, under the guise of “displacement”. They agreed the order of the displacement with the Jewish association [Judenrat] first, including the fate of the association itself and the assistance to be provided to the Jewish police. After that they issued a decree that *each displaced person* was allowed to take with them 25 kg of various things, [crossed out - 200 gold, etc.] The “displaced” category according to Germans included the poor and those unable to work. They were all taken to Belzets supposedly for work and 15,000 people were destroyed there. This operation was conducted over 2 weeks.

At the end of this first large scale operation, Germans also took a few scores of Jewish militia men and sent them to concentration camps.

This was supposed to be punishment for the fact that during the operation the militia men abused their powers and freed a lot of prisoners. This was true but it must be noted that the militia men mostly freed their relatives or took money for freeing people. After these operations it became clear that Germans had *an intention* to eliminate the Jewish population but people still thought that it only concerned the unemployed. So they were frantically trying to find work and to create new kinds of employment. And so in April and May for instance “the city [unclear word] of work” which *supposedly* provided protection to Jews was created.

Still, a new operation began despite that. On 23 or 24 June 1942 a one-day raid took place. A special team arrived to Lviv. They went to people’s homes and picked up women, children, old people - those that did not have certificates of work. They were all destroyed in concentration camps. This was a trial run before a large scale *raid* that happened later. The news about operations in other cities nearby had been reaching Lviv already. *In* Halichina and *in* the Krakow *district* raids followed the direction from west to east in the following order: Krakow, Milets, Zheshiv, Peremyshl, Horodok. In addition, from north to south: Kolomya, Stanyslav.

In the month of July, Germans announced a new amount of contribution and they created an impression *amongst* the Jewish population that this contribution would save them; however, this contribution was not paid in full. At the same time, the Jewish department within the labour government was dismissed and all Jewish matters were handed over from the German civil administration to the SS. The head of the labour government called Veber, a German, told the head of the Jewish association [Judenrat] that the German policy regarding the Jews in Lviv from then on would be different: before, the economic matters were the decisive factor but now it would be settled not from the economy

point of view but from the political one.

The SS started its managing of the Jewish question by checking and stamping the work certificates. This was being done at place of work. Those who had not been given a stamp were immediately taken to a concentration camp. The Jews thought that that would be the end of it and that those who had a stamp would stay alive. Suddenly, on 10 August 1942, a large scale operation began, the largest so far in Lviv. It was organised in the following manner: large number of the SS, Gestapo, *shutzpolizei* and Ukrainian police took part in it. This operation lasted [crossed out - over] around two weeks. They went to people's homes, took people from work and transferred them immediately to the concentration camp in Yanivske and later sent them to Belzets where they were destroyed by burning in gas chambers. 55,000 people perished in this operation. It ended on 21 or 22 August.

Germans took the destroyed Jews' possessions. At the same time, general of the brigade Katzman, the head of the SS issued an instruction on setting up a ghetto. All the Jews were to leave their dwellings in the city and to move to the ghetto by 7 October. A rather small part of the Zamarstynovo suburb was allocated for the ghetto. Its south border was the railway line, the west - Zamarstynivska Street, the east - Varshavska Street. The area was too small for the 40,000 Jews who still remained in Lviv at the time. Between 10 and 15 people had to share a room. Officially, there should have been 3 cubic metres per person but even that did not exist. That is why a lot of people died from various diseases in the ghetto.

Around 18 November, Germans conducted a new operation: everyone working at military enterprises received a card with a number and the letter *W* on it. Others, who worked at enterprises of importance to the defence industry, received cards

with the letter *R*. There were 12,000 in total and only they [crossed out - remained] had the right to live in the ghetto. From that time on, the Germans organised raids in ghetto again and again catching and killing anyone they found at home. Those who did not have the letters were killed on site. In that way, they were mostly killing children and old people. These small daily raids ended on 5 or 6 January 1943 with a large raid where almost 15,000 Jews were killed and the Jewish association [Judenrat] liquidated. From 6 January and until 9 February the Germans conducted a systematic “combing out” of the ghetto and ended the operation by arresting 130 of Jewish militia men. After all these raids, very few Jews were left in the ghetto. Only those who *did* have the letters *W* and *R* remained. The borders of the ghetto were shrinking more and more. A high fence ran around the ghetto. Between 1 and 4 June 1943 the Germans effected a complete liquidation of the ghetto. The Jews put up resistance in some places, some of them tried to run away – and got shot on the way. The resistance was very weak and unorganised, mostly individual and was put up by individual people or groups. From then on only one camp existed in Lviv [a typed over word]. Around 15,000 Jews, men and women were there. They all worked there.

On 19 November 1943 this last camp was also liquidated.

In the city of Lviv several thousand Jews were hiding amongst the local population throughout the time of the German occupation but they were being slowly eliminated by Germans on various occasions.

Before the Red Army entered Lviv, around 2,000 Jews remained in Lviv.

22 January 1946

Fridman Pylyp Lazarovych

12 sheets numbered

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30 January 1946

translated by Lydia Dhoul