

The Voice of Your Brother's Blood

Reconstructing Genocide on the Local Level

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And God said to Cain: Where is Abel your brother? And he said: I don't know; am I my brother's keeper?

And He said: What have you done? The voice of your brother's blood is crying to me from the ground.

—Genesis, 4:9–10

Most people think of the Holocaust as an event of industrial killing, symbolized by Auschwitz: a vast undertaking of streamlined, anonymous mass murder. In fact, half of the total victims of what the Nazis called the “Final Solution of the Jewish question” did not die in extermination camps; they were killed in their own homes and streets, cemeteries and synagogues, in nearby hills, forests, and ravines. The killing was neither anonymous nor streamlined: the murderers often knew their victims by name and saw them face to face just before they shot them; their deaths were bloody, gruesome, and accompanied by many instances of gratuitous cruelty. The killers were not only German police and SS, or only Germans of any description, but also members of other ethnic groups from the victims’ own regions and towns, often people they had known for years as classmates and colleagues and neighbors. There was nothing secret about these events: they were public, routine spectacles in which everyone played one role or another.¹

Perpetrator behavior is often explained as the consequence of dehumanization: the obstacle to the killing of innocents is removed by perceiving them as nonhuman.² This view of mass murder allows us to avoid any discussion of

the ghastly encounter between the killers and the killed, clearing the way for detached analyses of decision making and the logistics of genocide. I have never bought into this argument. But in order to examine its veracity, I decided to investigate the Holocaust in an entirely different way—not from the prism of Berlin, and not strictly through the eyes of either one side or another. Instead, I chose to reconstruct the event in its entirety as it occurred in a single site.

Selecting the site had to do with its representative value and the availability of sources. Eventually I picked a town whose name was familiar to me but about which I knew very little. Buczacz, located in interwar eastern Poland and now in western Ukraine, was the birthplace of Nobel Prize Laureate Shmuel Yosef Agnon, whose stories I had studied in school in Israel.³ It was also, as it happens, my mother's hometown, although I had no intention of writing a family history. I was intrigued, however, by the notion of writing a biography of a town, a history through the eyes of the protagonists; in this sense my personal link to Buczacz clearly motivated me. The tension between analytical detachment and empathetic understanding was therefore built into my research project from its very origins.

No fewer than sixty thousand Jews were murdered in the area of Buczacz and Czortków, a nearby town in which the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei* or *Sipo*) outpost charged with this task was based. Accompanied by mistresses and wives, children, and parents who came to enjoy the rural surroundings,



Figure 6.1. Members of the *Sipo* outpost in Czortków, taken in 1942–43. General-landesarchiv (GLA) Karlsruhe, 309 Zugang 2001, 42–871, photograph no. 26.

these twenty to thirty policemen led a comfortable existence, captured in hundreds of photographs kept in West German court archives.

They were ably assisted by up to 350 Ukrainian auxiliary policemen (organized in *Schutzmannschaft* or *Schuma* units), along with local German and Ukrainian gendarmes, as well as Jewish policemen recruited into the so-called *Ordnungsdienst* and paid by the Jewish Council (*Judenrat*).

From the local perspective, the Holocaust in Buczacz was a series of extremely violent roundups—referred to as *Aktionen* or *akcje*—assuming at times the character of communal massacres. About half of the approximately ten thousand victims were transported by train to the Belzec extermination camp, where they were gassed; the other half were killed in situ. This reflected the fate of the five hundred thousand Jews who were living in the entire region, known as Eastern Galicia before World War I and designated as *Distrikt Galizien* by the occupying Germans in 1941: about two hundred fifty thousand Jews were gassed in Belzec, while the rest were shot next to where they lived. Most of this massive bloodletting was accomplished within eighteen months in an area measuring less than half the size of the state of New York.⁴

For the Jews, Buczacz was a *shtetl*, as were many other similar towns in Eastern Europe. But the notion of a *shtetl* as a purely Jewish town was in truth a figment of Jewish lore rather than a reflection of historical reality. The quaint *shtetl* featured in Marc Chagall's paintings and the stories of Sholem Aleichem never actually existed.⁵ The highest ratio of Jewish inhabitants in Buczacz during the modern era was reached in the second part of the nineteenth century, when Jews constituted over two-thirds of the town's population, the rest being Poles and Ukrainians. By the eve of World War I, massive emigration caused by growing poverty, as well as increasing numbers of Christian town dwellers, had diminished the ratio of Jewish inhabitants to somewhat over half of the total.⁶ This was a characteristic pattern throughout Eastern Galicia, where rural Ukrainians constituted the majority of the population, while Poles and—especially in the smaller and mid-sized urban settlements—Jews dominated the towns and cities.⁷

This mix of populations meant that the German genocide of the Jews took place within a complex and increasingly volatile web of ethnic, religious, political, and national affiliations. In implementing the "Final Solution" throughout Europe, the Germans adapted with terrifying agility to vastly different local circumstances. Yet these circumstances largely determined the manner, speed, and scope of the killing, as well as its effects on the rest of the population.⁸ In studying the Holocaust on the local level, we discover that the category of bystanders becomes meaningless. When an invading power joins forces with local elements to murder a segment of the population, there are only degrees of engagement, ranging from full cooperation to utter rejection. Within that context we can identify a prevalent gray zone: some who hide the persecuted

also denounce them; some of the killers also shelter potential victims; some of the collaborators turn to resistance. Claims of indifference or passivity appear absurd, unless they encompass watching one's neighbors being shot, and then taking over their property.

The Germans marched into lands with a long history of both coexistence and conflict. That history had little to do with the occupiers, yet by necessity it played a part in the implementation of genocide. Even before World War I, Galicia had been a site of contestation between Poles and Ukrainians, whose origins can be traced back to the 1600s. Four centuries of Jewish settlement in the area also left a legacy of often uneasy relations and occasional outbursts of violence. The conduct of all local protagonists during World War II was therefore in some measure governed by collective memories and acquired perceptions and norms of behavior.

Buczacz allows exploration into the deep roots of local genocide. We can reconstruct mass murder in a single site and examine competing postwar narratives in judicial discourse, memory, and commemoration. Such a study is a collective "biography," in that it allows generations of Buczacz residents to speak out. To be sure, this is a schizophrenic "biography," since these voices from the past often speak in very different registers about themselves and their neighbors. But it is also a representative "biography," because it stands for an entire universe of similar towns and regions in Europe's eastern borderlands, a world that was wiped out and forgotten.⁹ The interest in that world cannot reside only in the manner and causes of its destruction. It was rich and varied by its own right. We know so little of it because the voices of its inhabitants have been silenced. By letting them speak again, a careful, in-depth local study can exemplify the richness of what had been lost even as it investigates the reasons for the disaster. To the extent that we can conjure Buczacz back to life, the tragedy of its assassination is better comprehended. It is difficult to mourn a life one never knew; it is harder to accept the loss of a life intimately shared.

The final eruption of external and fraternal violence in World War II seemed to many both shocking and inevitable. But that is reading history backward. To be sure, there had been much prior talk in nationalist as well as technocratic circles about the need for the "unmixing" of incompatible peoples, creeds, or races.¹⁰ But no one in 1941 could have anticipated the scale and horror of what came to pass. Still, the question must be asked: why did such unprecedented and gruesome violence seem at the same time to be a natural outcome of past events? Was this "a problem from hell," as was said about the genocide in 1990s Yugoslavia, an expression of endemic, unstoppable violence?¹¹ Were the various ethnic groups just waiting for the right moment to leap at each other's throats? This view is as inaccurate of Slobodan Milošević's Yugoslavia as it is of towns such as Buczacz in the 1940s. It implies that some societies are just prone to violence and there is little that more civilized nations can do about it. The fact

is that while there was indeed an internal potential for violence, it was triggered by outside invaders, often representatives of those very same self-proclaimed higher civilizations, whose goals, determined independently from the peoples they occupied, could only be achieved by sword and blood.

The province that came to be called Galicia following the Austrian annexation of southeast Poland in 1772 had not experienced major outbreaks of violence since the early eighteenth century and remained relatively calm until World War I.¹² And yet, when the Germans arrived on the scene in July 1941, they needed to do very little, at times nothing at all, to incite violence.¹³ This shift from coexistence to conflict can be understood in part through a detailed local history that traces the roots of this precarious interethnic balance from the very foundations of a town such as Buczacz in the late Middle Ages to its final destruction as a multiethnic community in World War II. In doing so, this local history re-creates the widely diverging narratives of the past told by Poles, Ukrainians, and Jews throughout the intervening centuries. These starkly different stories about the town they shared were not necessarily antagonistic; often each group simply ignored the others as it wove its own tales of history and myth, memory and legend. Yet the ever present and powerful underlying assertion of cultural, spiritual, and material difference did end up creating a sense of an essential and unbridgeable divide between the groups.

Concentrating on a single town makes it possible to use a wide variety of sources in order to re-create its evolving social and cultural fabric over time and then to zoom further in and meticulously reconstruct the violent events of its final destruction in all their complexity. One might have expected only a thin documentary record and even fewer individual accounts for this remote Galician town. In fact, official documentation by the Austrian, Polish, and Nazi regimes is plentiful, albeit riddled with prejudice and political bias. Early "voices" of the town's residents come from local histories and tourist accounts, collections of tales and legends, several diaries and memoirs, works of fiction and journalism—all reflecting their writers' individual and collective religious, social, ethnic and ideological perspectives. As we enter the town's final agony, official documentation thins out and the voices of its people multiply a hundredfold, becoming ever more desperate, shrill, and tortured. Polish residents deported by the Soviets in 1939–41 deposited valuable testimonies now stored at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. A few diaries by Jews and Christians have been retrieved from archives or private hands. Hundreds of testimonies given by Jewish survivors from as early as 1944 to as late as the 1990s were found at the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, the Fortunoff Archive at Yale University, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, and the Shoah Foundation at the University of Southern California. The records of West German trials of former Nazis, as well as judicial documentation from East Germany, Poland,

and the Soviet Union, contain vast amounts of information on individuals' involvement. Interviews with current and former residents of Buczacz; published accounts and memoirs, and not least, the remarkable memorial book of Buczacz—all of these provide us with a cacophony of voices that must now be finally orchestrated into a single narrative, filled with contradictions, holes, and unanswered questions, to be sure, and yet richer than anything we have had until now.¹⁴

Some voices reach us with force and clarity from the even more distant, opaque past. Natan Hanover's *The Abyss of Despair*, a vivid eyewitness account of the devastation wrought by Bohdan Khmelnytsky and his Cossacks in the 1648 uprising against Polish rule, tells of the Polish and Jewish citizens of Buczacz fighting side-by-side on the city's walls.¹⁵ The German tourist Ulrich von Wer-dum, who visited Buczacz in 1672, wrote that despite the town's destruction by Ottoman troops, Buczacz had "been largely rebuilt, especially by the Jews, who are very numerous in this town."¹⁶ That year the Peace of Buczacz was signed under the giant linden tree on a hill overlooking the town—where it still stands—between the Turkish Sultan and the Polish King. But only four years later the French traveler François-Paulin Dalairac reported that following more fighting, "the Turks [had] accomplished a lasting destruction" of Buczacz.¹⁷

Yet the town was rebuilt once again. When Dalairac returned in 1684, he observed that the Ruthenian peasants had put up their shacks "next to the gate of the city and under the guns of the castle," while within the walls "live only Jews and some Poles."¹⁸ This was to remain the demographic and occupational pattern for the next two hundred years. The eighteenth century witnessed a period of peace and prosperity. Ruled by the immensely rich and notoriously eccentric Mikolaj Potocki—a patron of religion and the arts, a womanizer, a drinker, and a brawler—Buczacz gained its impressive town hall and monastery. It also experienced the arbitrary power of a grand Polish magnate: as the poet Zygmunt Krasiński wrote, Potocki "shot women on trees and baked Jews alive."¹⁹

Much of what we know about the early history of Buczacz comes from an account published in 1882 by the priest and historian Sadok Barącz, a fanatical Roman Catholic and devoted chronicler of Armenian origin.²⁰ Many of the documents he cites were subsequently destroyed. Another ardent collector was the writer Agnon, whose sprawling posthumous account of Buczacz overflows with tales of Hasidic rabbis and traitorous followers of the "false Messiah" Sabbetai Zvi. Agnon's eighteenth-century Buczacz seems to have nothing in common with that of Barącz save for their identical location.²¹

The Jewish Enlightenment, or Haskalah, which promoted modern education and social integration, promised to facilitate greater Jewish-Christian interaction.²² And, indeed, some *maskilim* from Buczacz ended up as university-trained scholars, assimilationists, or Zionists.²³ But in the course of the nine-

teenth century, as nationalism began to infiltrate people's lives, it also introduced new criteria for distinguishing between one group and another. By the late 1800s the central question was: to whom does the town, the region, the state, naturally and by right belong? As Poles and Ukrainians grappled with each other over ownership of Galicia, the Jews, who could only shift alliances from one group to another, found themselves in an increasingly precarious no-man's-land.

Until World War I, the Habsburg Empire managed relations between ethnic-national groups in Galicia relatively effectively; heated rhetoric rarely transformed into physical violence. Instead, nationalism pushed for greater literacy and stimulated cultural activities, political engagement, and economic progress. All this changed dramatically in the Great War and the national-ideological struggles that followed it. Little has been written on the effect of the fighting in the East on such ethnically mixed communities as Buczacz. The devastation was on a scale not seen since the seventeenth century. Tens of thousands of soldiers were killed in close proximity to Buczacz, which was occupied twice by the Russians and remained close to the front for much of the war.

The Russian occupation also brought with it murderous pogroms. The unpublished diary of Antoni Siewinski, headmaster of the boys' school in Buczacz and an antisemitic Polish nationalist, provides an unparalleled, albeit deeply



Figure 6.2. A position of the Russian Army near Buczacz, 1916. Central State Cine-PhotoPhono Archives of Ukraine (TsDKFFA): 0-184874.

biased, view of his town under the first Russian occupation.²⁴ Just as Siewinski fled in the face of the second Russian offensive of summer 1916, the Russian Jewish soldier Aba Lev arrived in Buczacz on the heels of a victorious Cossack unit. The town, he wrote, presented a “terrifying picture of destruction, vandalism, and cruelty.” He went on to describe the gruesome consequences of the pogrom that had just occurred there.²⁵ The author, playwright, and ethnographer, S. Ansky (Shloyme Zanvl Rappoport), remembered today mostly for his play *The Dybbuk*, visited Buczacz in early 1917. As he wrote in his extensive account of the Russian occupation, passing through “scores of large avenues” in Buczacz that had been “destroyed and burned down,” he was stuck by the “tragic scene of the dead city.”²⁶ Rare surviving Austrian and Russian documents and photographs of wartime Buczacz confirm these impressions.²⁷

The end of World War I did not bring peace to Galicia. As the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed, Ukrainians and Poles began fighting over the province.²⁸ In the course of the conflict, which the Poles quickly won, numerous Ukrainian atrocities against Polish civilians were widely reported.²⁹ Meanwhile a series of Polish pogroms against Jewish communities prompted the establishment of two international commissions of inquiry. Much of the anti-Jewish violence was linked to allegations that the Jews were taking the wrong side in the conflict, not taking any side at all, or professing Zionism. Whichever it was, the Jews clearly did not fit into the Polish or Ukrainian visions of a new nation-state.³⁰



Figure 6.3. Bridge over the Strypa River in wartime Buczacz. Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖSA) / Kriegsarchiv (KA): 6500AT-OeStA/KA BS Portraits L I, “Bildersammlung.”



Figure 6.4. Infectious Diseases Hospital, Buczacz, 1917. Dr. Etel Zeigermacher, private collection, with permission. I would like to thank Dr. Etel Zeigermacher's son, of Melbourne, Australia, for providing me with the photos of the hospital where his mother served as a medical doctor in Russian-occupied Buczacz during World War I.

Following yet another war, this one between Poland and Soviet Russia over the postwar boundaries of the two states, these national, ideological, and interethnic conflicts left a bitter legacy of resentment, suspicion, and rage.³¹ Ukrainian hopes to set up an independent state had been dashed as they found themselves under Polish rule; Polish attempts to colonize the region were met with violent Ukrainian resistance, which led to even more oppressive policies; and Jewish aspirations to integrate into Poland encountered popular and official opposition. By the 1930s, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), established in 1929, was becoming increasingly radicalized, not least under the influence of Nazi Germany;³² the Polish authorities were instituting antisemitic measures;³³ and growing numbers of young Jews drifted toward socialism and Zionism.³⁴

A mass of police reports, political pamphlets, personal letters and diaries, and postwar memoirs reflects some of these trends in Buczacz.³⁵ The town remained politically and culturally vibrant throughout the interwar period. It had far more restaurants and hotels, cafés, and bars than one can find there today.³⁶ Such figures as the historian of the Warsaw Ghetto, Emanuel Ringelblum, and the "Nazi hunter" Simon Wiesenthal began their lives there.³⁷ Yet the mood

was growing darker. Agnon, who visited Buczacz in 1930, saw a Jewish community in decline.³⁸ Many were leaving. Communist party cells were the only spaces where all three ethnic groups interacted without hindrance, but they had their own violent potential.³⁹ Many younger Ukrainians were joining the OUN; some of them would later show up on lists of the Schuma auxiliary police units recruited by the Germans. Postwar investigations and trials show them as participating in the murder of their Jewish and Polish neighbors.⁴⁰

When the Soviets took over Galicia in 1939, a brief moment of exhilaration and hope was followed by two years of political terror and economic collapse. Driven by suspicion of enemy nationalities, social classes, and integral nationalists, the Soviets deported tens of thousands of Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians. This was oppression on an entirely new scale, followed by the mass execution of mostly Ukrainian political prisoners, just as the Germans attacked in late June 1941.⁴¹ These state-ordered murders greatly exacerbated interethnic animosity and played into the hands of the invading Nazis, who were quick to blame them on the Jews while posing as liberators from so-called Judeo-Bolshevism. The ensuing massacres of Jewish populations can be traced back directly to Soviet policies and Nazi propaganda, though their deeper origins stretch back at least to World War I.⁴²

As anti-Jewish violence became a daily routine in German-occupied Buczacz, this community of increasingly fragile coexistence was transformed into a community of genocide. Not all protagonists conformed to the roles assigned to them in conventional accounts: if many younger members of prewar Ukrainian nationalist organizations became direct participants in Nazi extermination policies, some older conservative Ukrainian political and religious leaders tried to prevent the violence.⁴³ While prewar Polish elites had supported the exclusion of Jews, they appear to have been more likely to shelter Jews or at least to sympathize with them than either their Ukrainian neighbors or Poles in the Polish heartland, not least because they also became targets of violence and ethnic cleansing. Conversely, Ukrainians sheltering Jews could also be seen by patriotic neighbors, local priests, and OUN sympathizers or members as betraying the national cause of creating a Pole- and Jew-free Ukraine.⁴⁴ If many peasants clearly took part in the killing, some poor peasants living on isolated farms hid Jews for little or no compensation.⁴⁵ Finally, while the Germans targeted Jews as a group, the Buczacz Jewish Council and police were notorious for their corruption and despised as tools of the Gestapo.⁴⁶ Yet several Jewish police officers eventually joined the resistance.⁴⁷

Between fall 1942 and summer 1943 the vast majority of the Jews of Buczacz and the surrounding towns and villages were murdered. Most of the killing occurred during four roundups organized by Sipo personnel from Czortków and accomplished with ample local assistance. Mass shootings occurred primarily in two sites on either side of the town—the Fedor Hill, behind the

magnificent Greek Catholic Basilian Monastery, and the Baszty Hill, where the ancient Jewish cemetery was located. The last *Aktion* in June 1943 targeted the town's Jewish police, some of whose members fought back and escaped to the forest.⁴⁸ Survivors of these massacres were mostly either hidden by local villagers or employed in the few remaining labor camps and farms scattered around this region.

Then, in spring 1944, the territories surrounding Buczacz erupted into a wave of horrific and increasingly chaotic violence. The German Wehrmacht, forced to retreat from parts of Eastern Galicia in March, counterattacked the following month and drove back the Red Army. Buczacz was again under German rule. Of the approximately eight hundred Jewish survivors who had come out of hiding after the first liberation, only a hundred were still alive when the Red Army returned in July 1944. In the intervening months, this remote region of Eastern Europe became the scene of mayhem and devastation, cruelty and suffering, a last frenzied upheaval after three years of total war and genocide. The Czortków Sipo outpost and its Ukrainian auxiliaries continued to hunt down and murder Jews until it was finally dismantled in early 1944.⁴⁹ As the Gestapo vacated the scene, some local German officials, along with commanders of retreating combat units, actually protected the remnants of the Jewish population from local militias and roaming bandits, disbanded Ukrainian auxiliary police, and murderous villagers.

Throughout this period, even as the Red Army and Wehrmacht were slaughtering each other, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)—the military arm of the more radical faction of OUN led by Stepan Bandera—which had already carried out a vast ethnic-cleansing operation against the Poles in the neighboring province of Volhynia, engaged in similarly bloody actions in Galicia; any surviving Jews the UPA encountered were also murdered.⁵⁰ Here, too, the retreating Germans helped save the Poles of the eastern territories, loading them into trains heading toward the relative safety of Poland's heartland. When the Soviets finally broke through the German lines in July, they launched a massive liquidation operation geared to uproot military and political Ukrainian nationalist organizations seen as collaborators with the "German fascists" and opponents of Soviet power.⁵¹ What the Jews perceived as liberation many Ukrainians saw as reoccupation. The soil of Eastern Galicia was soaked in blood. But who spilled the blood and for what reason has remained for many decades open to interpretation, obfuscation, and distortion.

Very little has been written on the fate of Eastern Galicia's few remaining Jews during these last months of German occupation and early period of Soviet rule in Poland's former eastern territories. While historians have begun to examine the ethnic cleansing of the Poles and the repression of the OUN-UPA by the Red Army and NKVD (Soviet secret police), histories of the Holocaust, including works focused on this region, have not devoted much attention to

these crucial months.⁵² The main reason for this seems to be that lack of official documentation and a reluctance to rely on personal testimonies have combined to deter historians from this task: most German documents were destroyed; Soviet records were inaccessible for many decades, are not always easy to come by even today, and are not particularly reliable; and documents and pamphlets by Polish and Ukrainian underground organizations, scattered in numerous archival holdings, provide only fragmented and highly partisan information.

And yet, for the few survivors of the mass murder of the Jews in this region, it was precisely these last months of the occupation that remained seared most deeply in their minds. It determined to a large extent the manner in which they remembered, and the perspective from which they told their Holocaust experience as a whole. These Jewish narratives of murder and survival are not only missing from mainstream Holocaust historiography, but also differ profoundly from those related by Ukrainians and Poles. From this perspective we can say that quite apart from the different manner in which the events were actually experienced by these different protagonists, the divergence in their subsequent telling and historical reconstruction has contributed to the ongoing memory wars, ranging from political rhetoric to scholarly disputes.⁵³

The fact of the matter is that we actually possess numerous eyewitness reports, in diaries, letters, postwar testimonies and written accounts, as well as in judicial records and memoirs. These personal perspectives offer an extraordinarily rich source of information on the entire war, complementing official records and enabling us to sketch a detailed picture of genocide on the local level. Historians have underused these accounts, viewing them as both too subjective and too painful. This has greatly impoverished our understanding of crucial aspects of World War II and the Holocaust. These are reports from hell on earth, where there was little room for pity and forgiveness. Yet they also contain moments of sacrifice, compassion, and humanness by members of the local population as well as, remarkably, some German military and administrative personnel.

In June 1943 the Germans declared Buczacz and the surrounding towns and villages *Judenrein*, or clean of Jews. All Jews not employed on the few remaining agricultural farms and labor camps could be shot on sight. Many hid in peasants' homes, barns, and sheds. "They had to pay a lot of money to the peasants who were hiding them," wrote Eliaz Chalfen, aged seventeen, in a testimony he deposited in the Displaced Persons camp of Leipheim, Germany in November 1947: "Those peasants went to town and shopped as they had never done before ... This made things easy for the Ukrainian bandits, who went ... straight to the houses that had been pointed out to them as hiding Jews, and easily found their hiding places ... [and] would immediately execute them in the yard of the house. Denouncing Jews at that time reached unprecedented levels; the peasants themselves began murdering and chasing them out ..."⁵⁴

Ester Grintal, aged eighteen at the time, recalled in 1997 that when “the Ukrainian militia passed through” the forced-labor farm where she worked, she would “hide in the toilet and count the shots knowing by that how many people were killed.” Later, “Cossacks and others who had collaborated with the Germans” appeared in the area and “began murdering” the Jews: “They did not have enough guns so they hanged people, or killed them with axes, etc. They came to our camp with some collaborators from the village. They locked [us up] in an empty barn ... They began beating us ... They shot a line of people with one bullet ... but the bullet didn’t reach me. Again I was put in a line, and again the bullet didn’t kill me. So they began killing people with knives. I was stabbed three times.”⁵⁵

The German army doctor who treated Grintal a few days later reportedly said: “What did the Ukrainian swine do to you?”⁵⁶ We cannot say precisely who those Ukrainians were. From Grintal’s description it appears that in her specific case they belonged to units that had fought alongside the Germans. Many testimonies refer to the *Banderowcy* or *Banderivtsy*, the common Polish and Ukrainian designation for the men of OUN-UPA derived from the name of their leader, Bandera. At times this term was confused with the common German description of partisans and resistance fighters as bandits. But in 1943, the OUN, which had previously collaborated with the Germans, was turning against them, even as it saw the approaching Soviets as its real enemy. The ranks of the UPA were filled with men who had previously served as policemen or in *Schuma* units in German uniforms and had participated in the mass murder of the Jews. Subsequently Ukrainians who had served in the *Waffen-SS* Division “Galicia,” crushed by the Red Army in summer 1944, also joined the UPA. And then there were also real bandits and brutalized peasants who exploited the chaos in the region to loot, rape, extort money, and murder, for whom the Jews were simply the easiest targets.⁵⁷

Pity and empathy were rare, though not entirely extinct, sentiments during those dark times; they stood out precisely because they were no longer expected. More often, cruelty and betrayal dominated the experience of the hunted. Arie Klonicki wrote in his diary in 1943: “The hatred of the immediate surroundings ... knows no boundaries. Millions of Jews have been slaughtered and it is not yet satiated!”⁵⁸ He and his wife, who were hiding in the fields not far from Buczacz, were denounced and murdered shortly thereafter. Joachim Mincer recorded in his diary that in nearby *Źłumacz*, a series of “executions took place in the prison yard. The perpetrators,” he stressed, “were mainly Ukrainian policemen as well as members of the [German] criminal police,” and “the main perpetrator was an individual by the name of *Bandrowski*,” who “liked to shoot Jews on the street.” *Bandrowski* “shot the sister of [Judenrat member] Dr. *Szpitzer* in her yard.” She, in turn, “had been denounced by young *Kolewicz*, a worker of the electric factory.” This same “*Kolewicz* also shot *Friedl Haber*,

while his friend Sytnik shot the young fourteen-year-old daughter of the Weischler family.”⁵⁹ Mincer himself was killed in 1943. Yoel Katz, seventeen at the end of the war, vividly recalled many years later how the peasants surrounded his camp, shouting: “All the children out, we are going to kill you!” Some were killed with axes; others put in a row and shot with a single bullet. He stresses: “The Germans who came from the front protected us from the Ukrainians until the Russians arrived.”⁶⁰

Conflicting memories of rescue and betrayal reflect the chaos and vagaries of fortune at the time. Edzia Spielberg-Flitman, liberated at the age of fourteen, recalled that in early July 1941 her aunt and cousins were axed to death by a group of Ukrainian villagers, including the children’s female teacher, just after the Red Army pulled out and before the Germans arrived. But toward the end of the occupation she was hidden with her mother and brother by a “poor farmer with a wife and four children.” The peasant woman said to them, “It doesn’t matter how long it takes, we will share our bread and potatoes with you.” Yet the peasant who hid Edzia’s relatives nearby betrayed them, and they were murdered by Ukrainian policemen. Later Edzia worked as a washerwoman for a German army unit, but was denounced as a Jew by a Ukrainian workmate. Instead of killing them, the German commander escorted Edzia and her family to the Soviet lines, saying: “I hope you all live well.” She recalled that “the Ukrainians ... were worse than the Germans,” not least because in her estimation, “80 percent” of her family “were killed by the Ukrainians who were our friends.”⁶¹

By that time, spring–summer 1944, most of the Jews of Galicia had already been murdered. But without these personal perspectives, we would have known close to nothing about this period. In 1948 Mojżesz Szpigiel, aged forty-nine, testified that in January 1944 Ukrainian militiamen had murdered most of the surviving 120 Jews on the farm where he worked, including his 14-year-old son: “It is important to state,” he emphasized, “that this killing was not a German action, that it was performed by Ukrainian policemen and bandits.” Most survivors of that massacre were butchered in yet another bandit attack. “The child orphans,” reported Szpigiel, were “stacked up in a pile,” while other victims were “lying with open guts.” The local German administrator, a certain Vathie, had tried to protect his workers. When he left, “the Jews earnestly cried.” But his replacement, a young German army officer, is said by Szpigiel to have promised them: “As long as I am here, nothing will happen to you.”⁶² We do not know the name of this particular officer; our only source of information about him comes from the Jews he saved. A few hundred survivors converged on the town of Tłusty, near Buczac, where the officer was stationed, until the Red Army arrived.

Personal testimonies and interviews, many given only recently, and some by surviving elderly Christian eyewitnesses, further add to this picture. In 2003 the ethnic Polish resident of Buczac, Juliya Mykhailivna Trembach, recalled the

German “crimes against the Jews ... how they buried them alive ... and how those people dug their own graves.” She had a front-row view: “From the street where I lived ... I could see how the ground was moving over the people who were still not dead.”⁶³ The ethnic Ukrainian Maria Mykhailivna Khvostenko remembered looking out of her classroom window in Buczacz and seeing “a crowd going around the municipal hall toward the bridge,” surrounded by “gendarmes with dogs, Gestapo and police with six-pointed stars [i.e., members of the Jewish Ordnungsdienst],” who were “hurrying it toward the” killing site: “There were women, men, old people and young—our schoolmates and friends.” From “the fall of 1942 to the end of 1943,” Khvostenko reports, the Germans “conducted roundups” with terrifying regularity. “They would arrive on Thursday evening” and “‘work’ all night, and the next morning as we hurried to school we could see ... corpses of women, men and children lying on the road.” The Germans “would throw [infants] from balconies onto the paved road ... they were lying in the mud with smashed heads and spattered brains ... We could hear machine-gun fire” from the killing site.⁶⁴

For some of those not targeted, genocide proved profitable. The Ukrainian gymnasium teacher Viktor Petrykevych wrote in his unpublished diary in January 1944 that, while most people in Buczacz were experiencing “unprecedented destitution ... some people ... who before the war were earning very little, make fortunes, gaining more money than they would have ever dreamed of in the past.” The source of this new wealth soon became clear: as the Red Army came closer, many “merchants, craftsmen, and so forth, who were living in houses that had formerly belonged to the Jews ... began moving out ... They anticipate Jewish revenge.”⁶⁵

To be sure, there was no Jewish revenge. The few Jews who returned to Buczacz following its recapture by the Soviets left soon thereafter. According to some accounts, they were all living in one building for fear of attacks by their neighbors. This was a violent time: reports of killings of Jews either by OUN-UPA fighters or local bandits continued for months after the liberation. No one cared much about the survivors, let alone the dead.⁶⁶ In the area of Buczacz, as in vast tracts of Eastern Europe more generally, much of the population did not perceive the Red Army’s return as liberation, and quite often considered the Soviet repression of local nationalists—who had previously collaborated with the German authorities in the hopes of furthering their own particular agendas—as precisely that much-feared Jewish revenge, which Jews may well have hoped for but were in fact in no position to exact. The association between Jews and Communists, labeled in Poland as *żydokomuna*, combined with the much more material worry that returning Jews might claim back their property from the locals who had moved in, both explains the continued anti-Jewish violence and the divergent memory and historiography of the postwar era in Eastern Europe.⁶⁷

And thus, the final phase in the transformation of Buczacz into a homogeneous community came with the return of the Soviets. Thanks to a wealth of hitherto inaccessible documents, it is now possible to reconstruct the liquidation and deportation policies by the Soviet authorities in 1944–49.⁶⁸ While large numbers of Ukrainian fighters, along with their families, were sent to Gulags or exiled to Kazakhstan, most of the surviving Poles were sent to Poland in a vast Polish-Ukrainian population exchange. The brutalization of the war years also left its marks. Investigations of the genocide of the Jews often culminated in summary justice. As Jewish survivor Rene Zuroff recalled in 1995 about events in Buczacz:

There were also hangings of collaborators in the municipality. People, both Jews and Christians, would tell who the collaborators were and these collaborators would be rounded up and hanged in the town square. I was a little girl and we would go for our entertainment to the hangings and we were totally happy to go to our daily hangings of the horrible collaborators—who mutilated their victims. We saw them strung up and urinating and I'd be in heaven. My mother would come and drag me away and I begged to have my daily entertainment. There was none of all these trials with witnesses, one would say, "He did it, string him up!"⁶⁹

The inhabitants of contemporary Buczacz are former Ukrainian residents and their descendants, villagers who moved into town after the war, and ethnic Ukrainians deported from Poland. Most know very little about their town's past. The Communists had subsumed the genocide of the Jews under a general narrative of Soviet martyrdom and heroism.⁷⁰ The new Western Ukrainian authorities have resurrected the nationalists of World War II as heroic figures, neglecting to mention their role in the destruction of their Polish and Jewish neighbors. Thus the fate of the Jews has remained outside the official historical narrative.

The survivors and exiles, however, never forgot their hometown: communities of memory around the world preserved their separate narratives and passed them on to their children. A memorial association in Wrocław has published a stream of personal accounts by Polish survivors.⁷¹ Ivan Bobyk, who was the Ukrainian mayor of Buczacz during the German occupation and, for obvious reasons, left the town before the Soviets arrived, put together a memorial book narrating the history of the town and the region from the Ukrainian perspective.⁷² Conversely, the Jewish memorial book edited by Yisrael Cohen contains much valuable historical scholarship and personal testimonies but has almost nothing to say about the Christian inhabitants of the town.⁷³

Material remains and sites of commemoration similarly reflect these split and often-conflicting memories. On the Fedor Hill in Buczacz, where thousands of Jews were murdered, a large memorial to Ukrainian freedom fighters has been erected.



Figure 6.5. UPA memorial on Fedor Hill, taken in 2006 by Sofia Grachova.

On another hill, next to the famous linden tree, a new statue of Ukrainian nationalist leader Stepan Bandera overlooks the town.



Figure 6.6. Bandera monument in Buczacz, taken in 2008 by Omer Bartov.

There are no memorials to the Polish population, although Buczacz is filled with edifices constructed under Polish (and Habsburg) rule. But the Roman Catholic church was renovated by Father Ludwik Rutyna, who returned from decades of exile in Poland. Before his death in 2010 he had succeeded in making it into a modest new center of Roman Catholicism in a predominantly Greek Catholic region.

Jewish life has not revived in Buczacz, and attempts to commemorate the victims have been largely unsuccessful. A memorial put up by survivors in the Jewish cemetery immediately after the liberation was removed by the Soviet authorities.



Figure 6.7. Jewish cemetery monument, 1944. Yad Vashem Archives, item 10247954, photo 10002/1

A small memorial stone to the victims on the Fedor Hill, which lay broken on the forest floor for decades, was put up again some years ago but remains unmarked and difficult to find, as are the mass graves for some five thousand Jews surrounding it.

A new and unassuming memorial in the Jewish cemetery is hidden from view and already crumbling. No information about the Jews of Buczacz is available in the town, save for a few photos of Agnon in the local museum. A plaque put up next to the author's former house does not mention his Jewish identity.

Thus the history of Buczacz and its demise must be sought elsewhere. Dozens of archives in Russia, Ukraine, Austria, Germany, France, Britain, the United States, and Israel contain vast amounts of information written in nine



Figure 6.8. Fedor Hill 1944 memorial, taken in 2003 by Omer Bartov.



Figure 6.9. New Jewish cemetery memorial, taken in 2007 by Omer Bartov.

languages on this little borderland town. As noted above, German court records provide especially rich materials on the period of the Holocaust, as do the hundreds of written, audiotaped, and videotaped testimonies by survivors, stored in Poland, the United States, and Israel. Finally, interviews with scores of local Ukrainians, exiled Poles, and surviving Jews constitute an especially valuable source for reconstructing the fraught interethnic relations and the daily life of genocide in Buczacz.

In 1995 I interviewed my mother about her hometown. For the first time she spoke about her childhood, and that conversation set me off on this long journey. We had planned to visit Buczacz together; she had not been there since leaving it at the age of eleven in 1935. But not long after the interview she fell ill and passed away in 1998. When I finally reached Buczacz, I was glad that my mother had not seen the erasure of memory so blatantly displayed there. But I am sorry that she, and so many other people with whom I spoke over the years about the town they loved, and who recalled cherished memories of childhood in a prewar world that seemed, from a distance, to have been an era of innocence on the eve of destruction, will no longer be able to read the much-delayed book I am finally completing. I dedicate it to their memory.

Notes

1. This is a central theme of Jewish diaries, testimonies, and memoirs, as well the innumerable *yizkor bicher* (memorial books) produced by survivors of Jewish communities especially in Eastern Europe. The New York Public Library possesses 700 such volumes, of which 650 are accessible online: <http://legacy.www.nypl.org/research/chss/jws/yizkorbookonline.cfm> (accessed 20 January 2013). Jan T. Gross, *Neighbors: The Destruction of the Jewish Community in Jedwabne, Poland* (Princeton, NJ, 2001) presented for the first time to the wider public a reconstruction of a communal massacre as an inherent component of the Holocaust. See also Joanna B. Michlic and Antony Polonsky, eds., *The Neighbors Respond: The Controversy Over the Jedwabne Massacre in Poland* (Princeton, NJ, 2004) and Andrzej Żbikowski, "Pogroms in Northeastern Poland—Spontaneous Reactions and German Instigations," in *Shared History—Divided Memory: Jews and Others in Soviet-Occupied Poland, 1939–1941*, ed. Elazar Barkan, Elizabeth A. Cole, and Kai Struve (Göttingen, 2007), 315–54. A longer-term and more personal view of interethnic relations is Shimon Redlich, *Together and Apart in Brzeżany: Poles, Jews, and Ukrainians, 1919–1945* (Bloomington, IN, 2002). Recent studies include Barbara Engelking, *Jest taki piękny słoneczny dzień... Losy Żydów szukających ratunku na wsi polskiej 1942–1945* (Warsaw, 2011); Jan Grabowski, *Hunt for the Jews: Betrayal and Murder in German-Occupied Poland* (Bloomington, IN, 2013); and Barbara Engelking, "Murdering and Denouncing Jews in the Polish Countryside, 1942–1945"; Omer Bartov, "Wartime Lies and Other Testimonies: Jewish-Christian Relations in Buczacz, 1939–1944," and Andrzej Żbikowski, "'Night Guard': Holocaust Mechanisms in the Polish Rural Areas, 1942–1945: Preliminary Introduction into Research," all in *East European Politics and Societies* 25, no. 3 (2011): 433–56, 486–511, 512–29.

2. Early German scholarship on Nazism repeatedly referred to this "mechanism." Academic and popular media discussions of the "*Judenvernichtung*" often presented it as a bureaucratic, faceless process: few of the perpetrators had contact with the victims, and the victims had no independent

existence outside of administrative abstractions. Influential works in this genre include Martin Broszat, "Hitler and the Genesis of the 'Final Solution': An Assessment of David Irving's Theses," in *Aspects of the Third Reich*, ed. H.W. Koch (London, 1985), 390–429, and Hans Mommsen, "The Realization of the Unthinkable: The 'Final Solution of the Jewish Question' in the Third Reich," in Mommsen, *From Weimar to Auschwitz* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), 224–53. Such distancing can also be attributed to ideology, as in Daniel Jonah Goldhagen, *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust* (New York, 1997); to peer pressure and obedience to authority, as argued in Christopher R. Browning, *Ordinary Men: Reserve Police Battalion 101 and the Final Solution in Poland* (New York, 1992), employing the theories of Philip Zimbardo and Stanley Milgram; or to psychological "doubling," as argued in Robert Jay Lifton, *The Nazi Doctors: Medical Killing and the Psychology of Genocide* (New York, 1986). Franz Stangl, commandant of Sobibór and Treblinka, offers an example of extreme distancing when he speaks of his victims as Lemmings in Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness: From Mercy Killing to Mass Murder* (New York, 1974). The notions of "social death," introduced in Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA, 1982), and of demonization, suggested in Leo Kuper, *Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century* (New Haven, CT, 1981), assume a lack of intimacy between killer and killed. For an excellent analysis, see James Waller, *Becoming Evil: How Ordinary People Commit Genocide and Mass Killing* (New York, 2002).

3. Dan Laor, *S.Y. Agnon: A Biography* (Tel Aviv, 1998) [Hebrew], 13–48.

4. Overviews in Dieter Pohl, *Nationalsozialistische Judenverfolgung in Ostgalizien 1941–1944: Organisation und Durchführung eines staatlichen Massenverbrechens* (Munich, 1996); Thomas Sandkühler, "Endlösung" in Galizien: Der Judenmord in Ostpolen und die Rettungsinitiativen von Berthold Beitz, 1941–1944 (Bonn, 1996). Buczac's Ukrainian mayor during the German occupation writes: "In 1941, before retreating, the Bolsheviks destroyed and burnt all the city archives, leaving literally not a shred of paper. The census, taken in a hurry, showed over 8,000 Jews, over 3,600 Ukrainians, and 3,500 Poles." Ivan Bobyk in *The City of Butchach and Its Region: A Historical and Memoiristical Collection*, ed. Mykhailo Ostroverkha et al. (Ukrainian) (London, 1972), 475. Bobyk cites a letter sent by Jewish survivor Isidor Gelbart in 1969 stating that, "in 1939 there were in Buczac about 8,000 Jews." Under Soviet rule this number fluctuated because of Soviet deportations, Red Army conscription, and masses of refugees from German-occupied Poland. In the early period of Nazi rule, as Gelbart's letter notes, the Jewish population of Buczac "grew considerably, because at that time Buczac was called 'Eldorado,' that is 'paradise' for the Jews from all around the region, including L'viv." This was because mass killings began in Buczac only in fall 1942, months later than in many other communities. But Gelbart ascribes this also to "the City Council of Buczac," and especially to Mayor Bobyk's "humane attitude and sacrifice," whereby "he helped each and every Jew as much as he could" and "managed to delay for some time efforts by the Gestapo to set up a 'ghetto.'" See Ostroverkha, et al., eds., *The City of Butchach and Its Region*, 475–79. German documentation does not support this last assertion. Gelbart's 1948 testimony in Yad Vashem Archives [hereafter YVA], 033/640, tells a more complex story: "The first Germans arrived around 8 am on July 7, 1941. [Wehrmacht records indicate 5 July; see note 43, below.] On the same day a Ukrainian police force was established and thus right away Jewish women were dragged out of Jewish homes to serve as cleaning women and were mishandled. Whoever had protection from the Ukrainians could still seek help; the Ukrainian Iwan Bobyk was appointed mayor, and fortunately this man was a good and decent human being, unprejudiced, and he tried as much as possible to stand by Jewish people." (For more on early Ukrainian violence, see note 42, below.) Gelbart notes that after the first mass shooting of the "intelligentsia" in August 1941, "the Gestapo did not operate in Buczac; instead there was a German gendarmerie under the command of a police sergeant ... a man with humane principles who kept good contacts with the Judenrat, so that until November 1941 there was relative calm in the city.... At the end of October 1941 we heard for the first time about an *Aktion*; while in all other cities Jewish *Aktionen* were common, Buczac was considered to be a paradise, as many Jews who fled to Buczac from other

cities said." Still, probably because of a personal relationship, in May 1943 Bobyk helped Gelbart and his family find a hiding place where they remained until the liberation.

5. For a definition of a *shtetl* based on percentage of Jews in a town's population, see Yehuda Bauer, *The Death of the Shtetl* (New Haven, CT, 2009), 3–4.

6. In 1870 the 6,077 Jews of Buczacz constituted 67.9 percent of the total population of 8,959. Majer Balaban, "Buchach (Buczacz)," in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, ed. L. Katznelson and Baron D. G. Ginzburg (St. Petersburg, 1906–13) [Russian], vol. 5, 135. By 1886 the percentage dropped to 62.9 percent, with 6,281 Jews, 1,920 Poles, and 1,761 Ukrainians. *Special Orts-Repertorien der im oesterreichischen Reichsrathe vertretenen Königreiche und Länder*, ed. k.k. statistischen Central-Commission, vol. 12: *Galizien* (Vienna, 1886), 66. In 1914 Buczacz's population was 13,000 inhabitants: 3,500 Poles, 2,000 Ukrainians, and 7,500 (57.7 percent) Jews. Mieczysław Orłowicz and Karol Kwieciński, eds., *Ilustrowany Przewodnik po Galicyi* (Lviv, 1914), 141.

7. In 1890 Eastern Galicia had a population of 3.1 million, 19 percent Roman Catholic, 66 percent Greek Catholic, and almost 14 percent Jewish. Jews comprised 47 percent of the town and city population, but 7.26 percent of the village population. The district of Buczacz had a total population of 113,170—27 percent Roman Catholic, 58 percent Greek Catholic, and 15 percent Jewish. While the urban population of the district, totaling 33,857 people, was made up of 27 percent Roman Catholics, 32 percent Greek Catholics, and 40 percent Jews, the rural population, 79,313, comprised 26 percent Roman Catholics, 55 percent Greek Catholics, and only 4 percent Jews. Galicia as a whole (West and East) in 1910 numbered 3.6 million Poles (45 percent), 3.4 million Ukrainians (43 percent), 872,000 Jews (11 percent), and 65,000 Germans (0.8 percent). The total population had risen by 3 million to nearly 8 million since 1849. But in Eastern Galicia the percentage of Ukrainians had declined from 71 percent to 62 percent because of Ukrainian emigration and Polish colonization. See Paul Robert Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine* (Seattle, 1996), 424; Jit, *Stosunki narodowościowe w Galicyi wschodniej* (Kraków, 1894), 15–16, 38–39, 75–77.

8. Seen clearly in Peter Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews* (New York, 2010).

9. See Omer Bartov, *Erased: Vanishing Traces of Jewish Galicia in Present-Day Ukraine* (Princeton, NJ, 2007); Daniel Mendelsohn, *The Lost: A Search for Six of Six Million* (New York, 2006); Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory* (Berkeley, CA, 2010).

10. Rogers Brubaker, "Aftermaths of Empire and the Unmixing of Peoples," in Brubaker, *Nationalism Reframed: Nationhood and the National Question in the New Europe* (New York, 1996), 148–78; Marco Carynnyk, "Foes of our Rebirth: Ukrainian Nationalist Discussions about Jews, 1929–1947," *Nationalities Papers* 39, no. 3 (2011): 315–52; Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, *Architects of Annihilation: Auschwitz and the Logic of Destruction*, trans. A.G. Blunden (Princeton, NJ, 2002).

11. Samantha Power, *"A Problem from Hell": America and the Age of Genocide* (New York, 2002).

12. See, e.g., Larry Wolff, *The Idea of Galicia: History and Fantasy in Habsburg Political Culture* (Stanford, CA, 2010). The exception was the violent peasant response to the Polish uprising of 1846, primarily in Western Galicia where the peasantry was mostly Polish (Roman Catholic). But this had little impact on such Eastern Galician towns as Buczacz where the peasants were mostly Ukrainian and the social conflict with the Polish landlords acquired a national aspect. Piotr S. Wandycz, "The Poles in the Habsburg Monarchy," in *Nationbuilding and the Politics of Nationalism: Essays on Austrian Galicia*, ed. Andrei S. Markovits and Frank E. Sysyn (Cambridge, MA, 1982), 75–81; John-Paul Himka, *Galician Villagers and the Ukrainian National Movement in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1988); Keely Stauter-Halsted, *The Nation in the Village: The Genesis of Peasant National Identity in Austrian Poland, 1848–1914* (Ithaca, NY, 2001); Kai Struve, *Bauern und Nation in Galizien: Über Zugehörigkeit und soziale Emanzipation im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2005). On fabricating a cult of the Polish nation see Patrice M. Dabrowski, *Commemorations and the Shaping of Modern Poland* (Bloomington, IN, 2004). On Polish nationalism's dark side, see Brian Porter, *When Nationalism Began to Hate: Imagining Modern Politics in Nineteenth Century Poland* (New York, 2000);

Joanna Beata Michlic, *Poland's Threatening Other: The Image of the Jew from 1880 to the Present* (Lincoln, 2006). The eighteenth-century Cossack and Ukrainian serf rebels against Polish rule, known as the *haidamaks*, were active mostly east of what became Austrian Galicia in 1772. But Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko's 1841 poem "Haidamaki," which celebrated Cossack leader Ivan Gonta's slaughter in 1768 of two thousand Poles and Jews (as well as his own "Polish" children) in Uman, became the rallying cry of Ukrainian nationalism later in the century. Also idealized were the allegedly Robin Hood-like *opryshky*, rebel-bandits of southern Galicia's Carpathian foothills. Magocsi, *A History of Ukraine*, 294–300; *Taras Shevchenko: Selected Works, Poetry and Prose*, trans. J. Weir (Moscow, 1979), 72–117; Krzysztof Lada, "The Ukrainian Topos of Oppression and the Volhynian Slaughter of Poles, 1841–1943/44" (Ph.D. diss., Flinders University, 2012).

13. John-Paul Himka, "The Lviv Pogrom of 1941: The Germans, Ukrainian Nationalists, and the Carnival Crowd," *Canadian Slavonic Papers* 53, no. 2–4 (2011): 209–43; Kai Struve, "Tremors in the Shatterzone of Empires: Eastern Galicia in Summer 1941," in *Shatterzone of Empires: Coexistence and Violence in the German, Habsburg, Russian, and Ottoman Borderlands*, ed. Omer Bartov and Eric D. Weitz (Bloomington, IN, 2013), 463–84.

14. For the final outcome of this undertaking, see Omer Bartov, *The Voice of Your Brother's Blood: Buczacz, Biography of a Town* (New York, forthcoming). Many of the sources mentioned here will be cited below. The town's memorial book is Yisrael Cohen, ed., *The Book of Buczacz* (Tel Aviv, 1956) [Hebrew and Yiddish].

15. Nathan Neta Hanover, *The Book of the Deep Mire* (Tel Aviv, 1944–45) [Hebrew]; published in English as *Abyss of Despair (Yeven Metzulah)*, reprint ed., trans. Abraham J. Mesch (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983). See also Joel Raba, *Between Remembrance and Denial: The Fate of the Jews in the Wars of the Polish Commonwealth during the Mid-Seventeenth Century as Shown in Contemporary Writings and Historical Research* (New York, 1995).

16. Silke Kramer, ed., *Das Reisejournal des Ulrich von Werdum (1670–1677)* (Frankfurt, 1990), 210–11.

17. François-Paulin Dalairac, *Les anecdotes de Pologne, ou, Mémoires secrets du règne de Jean Sobieski III. du nom* (Paris, 1699), 230, cited in Sadok Barącz, *Pamiętki Buczackie* (Lviv, 1882), 12.

18. Dalairac, *Les anecdotes*, 228, cited in Barącz, *Pamiętki Buczackie*, 12.

19. "Ów, starosta, baby strzelał po drzewach i Żydów piekły żywcem," *Słownik Biograficzny* 28 (Kraków, 1984–85): 113–14; Czesław Miłosz, *The History of Polish Literature*, 2nd ed. (Berkeley, CA, 1983), 143–47; Stanisław Grodziski, *Wzdłuż Wisły, Dniestru i Zbrucza* (Kraków, 1998), 136–37; Adam Żarnowski, *Kresy Wschodnie II Rzeczypospolitej: Buczacz* (Kraków, 1992), 8. Wolff, *Galicia*, 145, cites Leopold von Sacher-Masoch, *Graf Donski*, 2nd ed. (Schaffhausen, 1864), 343, whose fictional giant Ruthenian peasant Onufry recalls: "My father told me how the former master, the father of our count, made the peasants climb up into trees and cry 'cuckoo' and then shot them down like forest birds." This story, notes Wolff, derives from Galician accounts of the 1780s about a Polish nobleman who sent a peasant or a Jew up a tree and then shot him down.

20. Barącz, *Pamiętki Buczackie*.

21. Shmuel Yosef Agnon, *The City Whole [Ir U'meloah]* (Tel Aviv, 1973) [Hebrew].

22. See, e.g., Nancy Sinkoff, *Out of the Shtetl: Making Jews Modern in the Polish Borderlands* (Providence, RI, 2004); Marcin Wodziński, *Haskalah and Hasidism in the Kingdom of Poland: A History of Conflict* (Portland, OR, 2005).

23. For some examples see Cohen, *The Book of Buczacz*, 212–24.

24. Antoni Siewinski, "Diaries from the Buczacz-Jazłowiec region, from the Great War of 1914 to 1920—a family account," Jagiellonian Library (Kraków, Poland), manuscript division: BJ 7367. Siewinski was born on 2 January 1858, in Lviv, and was employed as the principal of the boys' school in Buczacz. The last entry in his diary is dated 14 March 1939.

25. Aba Lev, "The Devastation of Galician Jewry in the Bloody World War," in *Jewish Chronicle*, vol. 3, ed. L. M. Klyachko et al. (Leningrad-Moscow, 1924) [Russian, trans. from Yiddish], 174.

26. S. An-sky, *The Destruction of the Jews in Poland, Galicia, and Bukovina*, trans. Shmuel Leib Zitron, 4 vols. (Berlin-Charlottenburg, 1929; reissued by Stybel in Tel Aviv in the 1930s) [He-

brew], v. 4, 406. Originally written in Yiddish on the basis of Ansky's Russian-language wartime diary: S. An-Ski, *Gezamelte Shriften*, 15 vols. (Warsaw: An-Sky, 1923) [Yiddish], vols. 4–5. On 28 January 1915, Ansky wrote in his diary that reportedly “forty girls were raped in the shtetl of Buczacz.” My thanks to Polly Zavadvikver for sharing this as yet unpublished translation with me. See also abridged English translation, S. Ansky, *The Enemy at His Pleasure*, trans. and ed. Joachim Neugroschel (New York, 2002), and Gabriella Safran, *Wandering Soul: The Dybbuk's Creator, S. An-Sky* (Cambridge, MA, 2010), 225–57. Note inconsistencies in spelling of the author's penname.

27. See, e.g., situation reports, Austrian-Hungarian (KuK) 36th Infantry Division, on fighting in and around Buczacz: Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖSA) / Kriegsarchiv (KA) / Neue Feldakte (NFA), 36.I.D., op. Nr. 431–460, 1.–30.9.1915, K. 2123; ÖSA/KA/NFA, 36.I.D., op. Nr. 461–491, 1.–31.10.1915, K. 2124. Austrian recruitment of local population in Buczacz and elsewhere to repair war damages: Central Archives of Historical Records, Warsaw (AGAD), zesp. 311 C. K. Ministerstwo dla robot publicznych, jedn. 250: “Heranziehung der Zivilbevölkerung in den wiedereroberten Gebieten Ostgaliziens zum Straßenbau,” 16.11.1917, 5.12.1917, 10.11.1917, 12.1.1918; lists of destroyed city buildings in Buczacz, KuK Construction Ministry, June and July 1918, Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Lviv [hereafter TsDIAL], fond 146, op. 48, spr. 31–32, totaling 569 houses. For Russian occupation, see, e.g., note by Lieutenant-General Miezentssev, Assistant Head of the Gendarmerie Department of the Provisional Military General Government of Galicia to the head of the Department, 3 January 1915: “According to available information, some positions in town councils and courts in the Ternopil District are still held by Jews ... for instance ... Mayor Stern of Buczacz. Considering that after the occupation of the country by Russian forces all Jews retain an unfriendly disposition [toward the Russians] and do not cease to hope for a return of Austrian forces, as well their greed and exploitation of the population, I would suggest the necessity of replacing Jews still holding administrative offices by persons of Ruthenian or Polish origin” [in Russian]. Central State Historical Archives of Ukraine in Kiev [hereafter TsDIAK], fond 365, op. 1, spr. 30, 29. See also note by the Governor of Ternopil Czartoryjskii about suspicion of espionage by the Buczacz citizen Munish Hershkov Bauer, 12 March 1917: TsDIAK, fond 361, op. 1, spr. 2110. Russian operational orders and administrative memoranda concerning Buczacz: TsDIAK, fond 363, op. 1, spr. 2, ark. 51; fond 365, op. 1, spr. 254, ark. 6; fond 361, op. 1, t. 3, spr. 2672, ark. 3.

28. For a Ukrainian account about the area of Buczacz, see, e.g., Ivan Krypiakievych and Bohdan Hnatevych, *History of the Ukrainian Army* (Lviv, 1936) [Ukrainian], 502–12. For Polish accounts, see, e.g., Central Military Archives [hereafter CAW] in Warsaw: 334.183.1, 332.46.1, 331.7.1; I.400.2213. See also Witold Hupert, *Zajęcie Małopolski Wschodniej i Wołyń w roku 1919* (Lviv–Warsaw, 1928), 42–43, 96–105; Stefan Wierzyński, *Zarys historii wojennej 14-go Pułku Piechoty* (Warsaw, 1929), 3–13; Władysław Laudyn, *Bój pod Jazłowcem, 11.13. VII 1919* (Warsaw, 1932), 4–8; Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej / Wojskowy Instytut Historyczny, ed., *Wojskowy Przegląd Historyczny* 39/1–2 (Warsaw, 1994), 160–63, 176–77.

29. See, e.g., testimonies on Ukrainian violence against Polish civilians in Buczacz County, 1918–19: CAW I.400.1554; Parliamentary Commission for the Investigation of Ukrainian Raids against Polish Civilians, testimonies from Buczacz: Central Archive of Modern Records (AAN) in Warsaw—Ministry of the Interior, Eastern Section (MSZ), 5341a, 227, 233–34.

30. See, e.g., reports on the political situation in Eastern Galicia in 1920 by the British embassy in Warsaw: The National Archives (Kew) (TNA), Foreign Office (FO), London, 688/2/3, 229–30; report by Vice-Consul in Lemberg on his journey in Eastern Galicia in March 1920: FO 688/2/3, 295–303; report by British Military Mission to Poland on a trip east of Tarnopol, 5 January 1921: FO 688/9/2/, 553–56; report by British Consul Leeper on his visit to Eastern Galicia in spring 1924: FO 688/15/12, 679–88. See also “L’Ukraine Occidentale,” by Ievhen Petrushevych, President of the Supreme Council of the Western Ukrainian Republic, 1921, with references to Buczacz, in German Political Archive of the Foreign Office (PAAA), Collection: Pol. 1, Foreign Policy regarding Galicia, 1921–1939, R 81428; Polish response: “Galicie Orientale en chiffres et en graphiques,” Comité de Défense Nationale à Lviv (Warsaw: State publication, 1921), R 81429;

and reports by the German embassy in Warsaw on the situation in Galicia, PAAA, files 42 and 52. See also Stanisław Skrzypek, *The Problem of Eastern Galicia* (London, 1948). On anti-Jewish violence, see William W. Hagen, "The Moral Economy of Popular Violence: The Pogrom in Lviv, November 1918," in *Antisemitism and Its Opponents in Modern Poland*, ed. Robert Blobaum (Ithaca, NY, 2005), 124–47; and a recent Polish perspective, Leszek Kania, *W cieniu Orłąt Lwowskich: Polskie sądy wojskowe, kontrwywiad i służby policyjne w bitwie o Lwów 1918-1919* (Zielona Góra, 2008). An overview in Carole Fink, *Defending the Rights of Others: The Great Powers, the Jews, and International Minority Protection, 1978-1938* (New York, 2004).

31. For a Ukrainian perspective, see *Publications of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute*, v. 15, Pavlo Shandruk, ed., *The Ukrainian-Russian War of 1920 in Documents* (Warsaw, 1933) [Ukrainian], 114–17, 120–51, 216–37. On Polish-Ukrainian collaboration against the Red Army with Buczacz as the temporary headquarters of the Ukrainian Army, see Marek Tarczyński, ed., *Bitwa Lwowska 25 VII-18 X 1920: Dokumenty operacyjne*, Part I (Warszawa, 2002), 146–47, 211–13, 314–15, 339–40, 378–79, 412–13, 444–47, 468–70, 514–16, 528–29, 660–63, 747–60, 818–21, 871–73, 896–99, 912–15, 976–79. For the Bolshevik view, see S.M. Koroliskii, N.K. Kolesnik, and I.K. Rybalka, eds., *The Civil War in Ukraine, 1918-1920: A Collection of Documents and Materials* (Kiev, 1967) [Russian], 336–39.

32. For a general history of the OUN, see Franziska Bruder, "Den ukrainischen Staat erkämpfen oder sterben!" *Die Organisation ukrainischer Nationalisten (OUN) 1929-1948* (Berlin, 2007). For historiographical controversies over this organization, see note 50, below.

33. William W. Hagen, "Before the 'Final Solution': Toward a Comparative Analysis of Political Anti-Semitism in Interwar Germany and Poland," *Journal of Modern History* 68, no. 2 (1996): 351–81; Szymon Rudnicki, "Anti-Jewish Legislation in Interwar Poland," in Blobaum, *Antisemitism and Its Opponents*, 148–70; Holger Michael, *Zwischen Davidstern und Roter Fahne: Juden in Polen im XX. Jahrhundert* (Berlin-Brandenburg, 2007), 85–122.

34. Ezra Mendelsohn, *The Jews of East Central Europe between the World Wars* (Bloomington, IN, 1983), 68–83; Moshe Mishkinsky, "The Communist Party of Poland and the Jews," and Abraham Brumberg, "The Bund and the Polish Socialist Party in the late 1930s," both in *The Jews of Poland between the Two World Wars*, ed. Yisrael Gutman et al. (Hanover, NH, 1989), 56–74 and 75–94; Celia S. Heller, *On the Edge of Destruction: Jews of Poland between the Two World Wars* (Detroit, 1994), 249–93. On Polish Marxist intellectuals, many of them Jewish, see Marci Shore, *Caviar and Ashes: A Warsaw Generation's Life and Death in Marxism, 1918-1968* (New Haven, CT, 2006). For pre-1914 Jewish politics, see Joshua Shanes, *Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish Identity in Habsburg Galicia* (New York, 2012).

35. See, e.g., Starosta Buczacki, Nr. B 19: "Ekscesy ukraińskie w Trościańcu," Buczacz, 12 June 1934: State Archives of Lviv Oblast [hereafter DATO], fond 231, op. 1, spr. 2264, 14–16; Starosta Buczacki, Nr. 9/33/Taj. "Żydowskie życie polityczne," Buczacz, 29 January 1933; Posterunek Policji Państwowej w Buczaczu, Nr 304/Taj./35, "K.P.Z.U. w Buczaczu—informacje," Buczacz, 24 June 1935: DATO, fond 231, op. 1, spr. 2325. See also minutes of the local branch of the Ukrainian "Prosvita" (Enlightenment) organization from 1930–39, e.g., TsDIAL, fond 348, op. 1, spr. 1379, and spr. 1385, with references to Polish repression.

36. See, e.g., *Księga Adresowa Małopolski, Rocznik 1935/1936*, 12–13.

37. Tom Segev, *Simon Wiesenthal: The Life and Legends* (New York, 2010), 29–43; Samuel D. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History? Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto, and the Oyneg Shabes Archive* (Bloomington, IN, 2007), 17–26; Cohen, *The Book of Buczacz*, 225–28.

38. S.Y. Agnon, *A Guest for the Night: A Novel*, trans. Misha Louvish (Madison, WI, 1968).

39. See report on activities, acts of terror and sabotage by the OUN in Buczacz area in 1931–32: AAN, Ministry of the Interior (MSW), Nationalities Unit, 1251, 77–78; Ukrainian raids, anti-Jewish and anti-Polish activities in the Buczacz area in 1937, CAW VIII.800.72.1, 24, 95.

40. See, e.g., reports of Polish State Police on OUN activities in villages around Buczacz: State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (HDA SBU), Ternopil, spr. 3787-II. See record of Soviet trial (1956–57) of Volodymyr Antonovych Kaznov'sky (Volodymyr Kaznov's'kyi, Ka-

znowski), commander of the Ukrainian police in Buczacz and former public prosecutor, with list of names and records of other police officers, and their prewar political engagement, police interrogations, and court testimonies: HAD SBU, Ternopil, spr. 30466, vols. 1–2; 26874; 14050–P; 736; 3713; 14340; 9859–P; 8540–P; 8973–P; 14320–P. See also Soviet investigation of the murder of Jews and Poles in the area of nearby Potok Złoty by Ukrainian militiamen and German police officers mentioned also in connection to killings in Buczacz: State Archives of the Russian Federation (GARF), fond 7021 (Soviet “Extraordinary State Commission”), op. 75, delo 371, 6–11 / United States Holocaust Memorial Museum Archives [hereafter USHMM], RG 22-002M, Reel # 17 (Ternopil region). For context, see Gabriel N. Finder and Alexander V. Prusin, “Collaboration in Eastern Galicia: The Ukrainian Police and the Holocaust,” *East European Jewish Affairs* 34, n. 2 (2004): 95–118; Marina Sorokina, “People and Procedures: Toward a History of the Investigation of Nazi Crimes in the USSR,” *Kritika* 6, n. 4 (Fall 2005): 797–831; Joshua Rubenstein and Ilya Altman, eds., *The Unknown Black Book: The Holocaust in the German-Occupied Soviet Territories*, trans. Christopher Morris and Joshua Rubenstein (Bloomington, IN, 2008).

41. Jan T. Gross, *Revolution from Abroad: The Soviet Conquest of Poland's Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia*, expanded ed. (Princeton, NJ, 2002); Bogdan Musiał, “Konterrevolutionäre Elemente sind zu erschossen”: *Die Brutalisierung des deutsch-sowjetischen Krieges im Sommer 1941* (Berlin, 2000). Karel C. Berkhoff, *Harvest of Despair: Life and Death in Ukraine under Nazi Rule* (Cambridge, MA, 2004), 14, cites Soviet documents indicating a total of 8,789 Ukrainian, Polish, and Jewish prisoners killed by the NKVD in Ukraine.

42. Rossoliński-Liebe, “Debating, Obfuscating and Disciplining the Holocaust,” 203, estimates over thirteen thousand Jewish victims; Dieter Pohl, “Anti-Jewish Pogroms in Western Ukraine,” in Barkan, *Shared History*, 306, estimates up to thirty-five thousand killed. See also K. Struve, “The Explosion of Violence: The Pogrom of Summer 1941,” in Bartov and Weitz, *Shatterzone of Empires*, 463–84; Frank Golczewski, “Shades of Grey: Reflections on Jewish-Ukrainian and German-Ukrainian Relations in Galicia,” in *The Shoah in Ukraine: History, Testimony, Memorialization*, ed. Ray Brandon and Wendy Lower (Bloomington, IN, 2008), 114–55; John-Paul Himka, *Ukrainians, Jews and the Holocaust: Divergent Memories* (Saskatoon, 2009). Timothy Snyder, *Bloodlands: Europe between Hitler and Stalin* (New York, 2010), makes a larger argument about the link between Stalinist and Nazi mass murder. For a critique of this thesis, see Omer Bartov, “Featured Review,” *Slavic Review* 70, no. 2 (2011): 424–28.

43. Moshe Wizinger (1947), Yad Vashem Archives (YVA), 03/3799, writes:

The well known Ukrainian eye doctor Hamerski told the Jewish delegation headed by Dr. Blutreich and Eldenberg that the Ukrainian intelligentsia does not support the murder of the Jews, but they themselves are helpless, because those who are ruling now are the leaders of the hitherto secret Ukrainian bands.... In the meantime, the robbing, rape and murder increased. One night, the Great Synagogue was gutted.... The scrolls of the Torah were taken all the way to the bridge.... unbound ... [with] one end ... attached ... [to] the bridge while the other nearly reached the water. This brought upon a harsh protest from the Ukrainian priests, who turned to the leader of the Ukrainian bands, Dankowicz, with a categorical demand to stop profaning the Holy Places ... The ihumen [abbot] of the Basilian Ukrainian Monastery ... proposed to the Jews to carry the scrolls to the monastery where they would be safe.

George (Gershon) Gross, videotaped testimony, USC Shoah Foundation for Visual History and Education [hereafter USCSF], Deerfield Beach, Florida, 17 June 1996, relates the same story. And see note 4, above, for Isidor Gelbart's testimony on anti-Jewish Ukrainian violence on the first day of the German occupation. The first German army unit entered Buczacz on 5 July 1941. The next day it reported: “A Ukrainian militia took over local police duties until the arrival of German troops.” For this and other German army reports see Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv (Freiburg i.B.) (BA-MA) RH20-17/32, 5.7.41, 6.7.41; RH26-101/8, 5.7.41; RH24-52/3, Kriegstagebuch

(KTB), Heft 2, 40–42, 55; RH20–17/38, 6.7.41, 12.7.41; RH20–17/277, 7.7.41; RH26 257/8, KTB Nr. 5, 20.5.41–12.12.41; RH26–257/10, Anlagen z. KTB Nr. 5, Bd.2, 12.7.41, 13.7.41; RH20–17/33, 11.7.41, 12.7.41. The self-proclaimed Buczac “sich” (militia) soon expanded to over a hundred men initially commanded by Tadei Kramarchuk and Andrii Dan’kovich, and assisted by the local OUN representative Myron Hanushevs’kyi; it was taken over in late July by the 37-year-old Kaznovs’kyi. The “sich” abused, looted, exploited, and murdered Jewish inhabitants of Buczac; in mid July it participated in the execution of forty politically suspect Jews, Poles, and Ukrainians. On 25 August the militia assisted a German police unit in a mass shooting of 400 to 650 members of the Jewish intelligentsia in Buczac. See note 40, above, for Kaznovs’kyi’s trial records, also containing a 1951 letter by survivor Markus Kleiner detailing crimes committed by the Ukrainian police chief. In fall 1941 the militia came under direct German control as an indigenous local police, or *Hilfspolizei*, and provided men for such Schuma units as that stationed in Czortków.

44. See, e.g., Alicia Appleman-Jurman, *Alicia: My Story* (New York, 1988), and Mina Rosner, *I am a Witness* (Winnipeg, 1990), both of whom were protected at some point by Poles. Yitzhak Bauer, interviewed by me in 2003, recalled: “We had a teacher in elementary school, a neighbor, an ‘endek’ [member of the Polish nationalist and antisemitic National Democracy Party]... Whenever he met Grandmother or Mother, he would remove his hat and greet them politely. His son and daughter were often in our home. But when I stood by the blackboard trying to solve some problem ... he said to me ... ‘Żydku ci nie ma pożytku,’ meaning, ‘Jew-boy, you are of no use to me.’ And to this day this phrase haunts me. But during the German occupation he behaved very well. He even greeted me when we met, always with his hat.” See also Bruder, “*Den ukrainischen Staat erkämpfen oder sterben!*”, 168, citing an OUN-UPA (on UPA see below, and note 51) report on Western Ukraine from March 1943: “The Poles very eagerly help the Jews and hide them, in order to save them from extermination by the Germans, because they view the Jews as their natural allies in the struggle against the Ukrainians.” On the changing Jewish perceptions of Poles, see Havi Ben-Sasson, *Are We Jewish Poles? Relations between Jews and Poles during the Holocaust from the Jewish Perspective* (Jerusalem, 2009) [Hebrew].

45. See, e.g., testimony by Zofia Pollak of Buczac, then sixteen, who survived the last weeks of the German occupation hidden with her father and brother in the barn of a poor peasant who had once been helped by her father. “He said: ‘Whatever I have I will share with you ...’ He covered us with hay... We were there in one position, we couldn’t move and this is how we were liberated on February 23, 1944 ...” See also testimony of Edzia Spielberg-Flitman, below, and note 62.

46. George Gross (note 43, above) says about the *Ordnungsdienst* (OD): “The Germans would say they need five hundred people. The [Jewish] police went” to seize them. Of a Judenrat member who had survived, he says that he “had to hide, like Eichmann. If they found him they would kill him.” Wizinger (note 43, above) writes: “The countless demands by the Germans or Ukrainians were fulfilled immediately” by the Judenrat, whose officials “were able to lead a very good life and to amass large sums of money,” while the OD were “robbing, killing, worse than the Germans.” There are many more such accounts.

47. Yitzhak Bauer, in the aforementioned 2003 interview (note 44, above), recalled joining a small Jewish resistance group in the forest. But in 1968 he testified to a West German court that he had joined the OD in November 1941. Numbering some thirty men, the OD “carried out the orders of the *Judenrat*, but during *Aktionen* ... we were put at the disposition of ... the Gestapo or the local gendarmerie.” On 27 November 1942, Bauer “was assigned to participate in the cleanup of the Jewish hospital.” Those of the approximately one hundred patients “who could not move were shot right there and then in their beds. The others were taken out to the railroad station ... and transported to extermination in Belzec.” Bundesarchiv Berlin (BAB) 162/5182: “Aufklärung von NS-Verbrechen im Kreis Czortków / Distrikt Galizien, 1941–1944, Sammelverfahren gg. Brettschneider u.a.,” deposition, 10 January 1968, 6212–14. In an interview I conducted with Buczac survivor Zeev Anderman in 2002, he related that in April 1943 his brother Janek had shot

a Ukrainian policeman with a pistol during a mass execution, and was then beaten and burned alive in the town square. Yitzhak Shikhor (Szwarc) provides a similar description of the incident in Cohen, *The Book of Buczacz*, 246. But Szwarc's original Polish-language testimony notes that after someone from a group of Jews that was about to be executed "shot a Ukrainian policeman and injured a German," the Germans "found a weapon that probably belonged to the Jewish policeman Janek Anderman," who was then killed. Izaak Szwarc, *Żydowski Instytut Historyczny* (ZIH) 301/327 and USHMM, RG-15.084 Acc.1997 A.0125 1945, Reel 5.

48. For Jewish testimonies see, e.g., Cohen, *The Book of Buczacz*, 233–302. For a West German court's summary of the events, see the 1962 trial of Heinrich Peckmann, commander of the Czortków Sipo outpost in April to October 1943, and Kurt Köllner, *Judensachbearbeiter* (official in charge of Jewish affairs) in Czortków from July 1942 to early 1944: "Urteil Landgericht (LG) Saarbrücken 6 Ks 2/62 gegen Kurt O. Köllner und P;" *Justiz und NS-Verbrechen. Sammlung deutscher Strafurteile wegen nationalsozialistischer Tötungsverbrechen 1945-1966* [hereafter J.u.NS-V], v. XVIII: 658–83.

49. J.u.NS-V, LG Saarbrücken 6 Ks 2/62, 657; Bundesarchiv Zwischenarchiv Dahlewitz-Hoppengarten (MfS) ZB 827, Akte 2, and GLA Karlsruhe 309 Zug, 2001_42/881: Eisel Werner (last commander of the Czortków Sipo outpost), R.u.S. (Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt) Fragebogen, 1 September 1944.

50. See note 32 and John-Paul Himka, "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Holocaust," paper presented at the convention of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies (AAASS), November 2009, http://www.academia.edu/1071581/The_Ukrainian_Insurgent_Army_UPA_and_the_Holocaust (accessed 16 January 2013); Timothy Snyder, "The Causes of Ukrainian-Polish Ethnic Cleansing 1943," *Past & Present* 179, no. 1 (2003): 198–234; Lucina Kulińska and Adam Roliński, ed., *Kwestia ukraińska i eksterminacja ludności polskiej w Małopolsce Wschodniej w świetle dokumentów Polskiego Państwa Podziemnego 1942-1944* (Krakow, 2004); Lucina Kulińska and Adam Roliński, ed., *Antypolska akcja nacjonalistów ukraińskich w Małopolsce Wschodniej w świetle dokumentów Rady Głównej Opiekuńczej 1943-1944* (Krakow, 2003); Grzegorz Motyka and Dariusz Libionka, *Antypolska akcja OUN-UPA 1943-1944: Fakty i interpretacje—redakcja naukowa* (Warsaw, 2002). For historical controversies over the OUN-UPA, see Per Anders Rudling, "The OUN, the UPA and the Holocaust: A Study in the Manufacturing of Historical Myths," *Cark Beck Papers in Russian and East European Studies*, No. 2107 (Pittsburgh, 2011); Grzegorz Rossoliński-Liebe, "Debating, Obfuscating and Disciplining the Holocaust: Post-Soviet Historical Discourses on the OUN-UPA and Other Nationalist Movements," *East European Jewish Affairs* 42, no. 3 (2012): 199–241; John-Paul Himka, "Debates in Ukraine over Nationalist Involvement in the Holocaust, 2004-2008," *Nationalities Papers* 39, no. 3 (2011): 353–70.

51. Grzegorz Motyka, *Ukraińska partyzantka 1942-1960: Działalność Organizacji Ukraińskich Nacjonalistów i Ukraińskiej Powstańczej Armii* (Warsaw, 2006); Jeffrey Burds, *The Early Cold War in Soviet West Ukraine, 1944-1948* (Pittsburgh, 2001).

52. See notes 4, 32, 50, and 51, above. Such major monographs on the Holocaust as Longrich, *Holocaust*, and Saul Friedländer, *Nazi Germany and the Jews, 1939-1945: The Years of Extermination* (New York, 2007), have little to say on this region.

53. See notes 9, 32, and 52, above. See also Johan Dietsch, *Making Sense of Suffering: Holocaust and Holodomor in Ukrainian Historical Culture* (Lund, 2006); Wilfried Jilge, "The Competition of Victims," *Krytyka* 10, no. 5 (2006): 14–17 [Ukrainian]; Jilge, "The Politics of History and the Second World War in Post-Communist Ukraine (1986/1991-2004/2005)," in *Divided Historical Cultures? World War II and Historical Memory in Soviet and Post-Soviet Ukraine*, ed. Wilfried Jilge and Stefan Troebst, topical issue of *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas* 54, no. 1 (2006): 51–82.

54. Eliaz Chalfen, YVA M1/E 1559 (1947).

55. Ester Grintal (Nachtigal), videotaped testimony, USCSF; Netanyahu, Israel, 21 September 1997 [Hebrew].

56. Ibid.

57. See notes 32, 50, and 51. See also Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999* (New Haven, CT, 2003), 165–78. On the Waffen-SS “Galicia” Division, see Michael James Melnyk, *To Battle: The Formation and History of the 14th Galician Waffen-SS Division* (Solihull, 2002). The book contains no mention of anti-Jewish violence; see, e.g., *ibid.*, 5–6 for the march into Galicia in June–July 1941.

58. Arie Klonicki-Klonymus, *The Diary of Adam's Father* (Jerusalem, 1969) [Hebrew], 47.

59. *Przeżycia i rozporządzenie Joachima Mincere*, probably written in 1943, YVA.

60. Yoel Katz, videotaped testimony, USCSF; Netanyahu, Israel, 11 December 1995 [Hebrew].

61. Edzia Spielberg-Flitman, videotaped testimony, USCSF; Skokie, Illinois, 14 March 1995.

62. Mojżesz Szpigiel, USHMMA, reel 37, 301/3492, Łódź, 10 March 1948.

63. Julija Mykhailivna Trembach, written by her daughter, Roma Nestorivna Kryvenchuk, in 2003, collected by Mykola Kozak. Trembach stresses that “our people, Ukrainians and Poles, tried to help” the Jews “however they could. They made dugouts in the ground, and Jews hid there. Secretly people would bring food to those dugouts. And God knows how much food I brought by myself.” Married to a Ukrainian man, Trembach refrains from mentioning local complicity in the murder of the Jews. Buczac, she says, was “populated mostly by Jewish people. They were cultured, wealthy, enterprising and intelligent people. All the so-called ‘stone houses’ in the center of the town belonged to them. Jewish people constituted the local intelligentsia.” References to Jewish wealth in Galician towns were the staple of antisemitic rhetoric in nineteenth-century nationalist literature. See, e.g., polar descriptions of a Galician marketplace in Ivan Franko, *Fateful Crossroads* (1900), trans. Roma Franko, ed. Sonia Morris (Winnipeg, 2006), 178–79, and Agnon, *The City Whole*, 269.

64. Maria Mykhailivna Khvostenko (née Dovhanchuk), interview with Mykola Kozak, 2003. Khvostenko does not mention the Ukrainian auxiliaries and police who were invariably present at such roundups. Her reluctance to mention local complicity does not prevent her from criticizing present attitudes: “On the western slope of Fedir [Fedor] Hill there is a small forest where the Jewish community that was murdered in 1942–1943 by the German fascists is buried. It’s time for our city—and not only the city, but also the region and the country—to pay attention to the place where the fascists murdered many Jews and to honor their memory, to put a decent monument or a sculpture. For they were honest citizens of the city and the country, who loved our land and our city, worked for it and suffered guiltlessly... We should honor and remember them so that it will never happen again.” A decade later this has still not been done in Buczac.

65. Viktor Petrykevych diary, private (courtesy of Bohdan Petrykevych). My thanks to Sofia Grachova for acquiring, transcribing, and translating this diary.

66. Spielberg-Flitman, USCSF/1995, recalled that “the Ukrainians ... had pogroms after the war ... they were still killing us. They were so brutal.” Aliza Rosenwasser (Gripel), liberated at age nine, related that upon returning to Buczac she found that “they dismantled the floor between the two stories” in her family house: “Perhaps they thought there was money inside the floor.” When the few returning Jews searched for the mass grave on the Fedor Hill, “we didn’t know how to find it, because there was no trace. Then we came to a clearing in the forest ... all around things were growing, but this section of the mass grave was entirely bare ... Later they explained” that “the soil was too rich” with corpses to allow any vegetation. YVA 03/10402, VT-1612, 17 July 1997, transcript, 55. Bronia Kahane, fourteen at the time, recalled that when she returned to Buczac four months after its second liberation she was told: “There are not too many Jews here. There’s one building; knock and they’ll let you in. We have to be under the key [i.e., locked in] because we’re afraid during the night they shouldn’t kill us.” She adds: “I never went back to my house ... because they said don’t you dare go back because they’re going to kill you.” Videotaped testimony, USCSF; South Fallsburg, NY, 8 August 1995.

67. Jan T. Gross, *Fear: Anti-Semitism in Poland after Auschwitz: An Essay in Historical Interpretation* (New York, 2006); Jan Tomasz Gross with Irena Grudzińska Gross, *Golden Harvest: Events at the Periphery of the Holocaust* (New York, 2012); John-Paul Himka and Joanna Beata Michlic,

ed., *Bringing the Dark Past to Light: The Reception of the Holocaust in Postcommunist Europe* (Lincoln, NE, 2013).

68. See, e.g., TsDIAL, fond R-1, op. 1, spr. 101, situation reports of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party in Ternopol (Ternopil), 3 September—3 November 1944, including: report to Nikita Khrushchev on the liberation of Buczacz, 1 August 1944, 103–06; report on Soviet fighting against the OUN-UPA in the region, 130–42. Spr. 284: reports on resettlement of populations in the Ternopol, 23 March—4 November 1945: “evacuation operation,” 19 April 1945, 2–3; “settlement” of Ukrainians from Buczacz district, 13–14, 28. Spr. 561: annual report for 1946 on fighting against the OUN-UPA, 150–74. Spr. 871: Communist Party inquiry about the “struggle against the Ukrainian-German Nationalist in 1946,” 83–103.

69. Rene Zuroff (Tabak), videotaped testimony, USCSF, Bellmore, NY, 31 August 1995.

70. See, e.g., Igor Duda, *Buczacz: The Guide* (Lviv, 1985) [Ukrainian]: “The treacherous aggression of Fascist Germany interrupted socialist construction. On July 7, 1941 the Hitlerites occupied Buczacz. During the time of the occupation they exterminated about 7,500 civilians from the city and the villages of the district; 1,839 young men and women were seized for forced labor into Germany. 137 buildings were destroyed, as well as a number of industrial enterprises and schools. Nevertheless the population did not submit to the Fascists.” No mention of Jewish victims or local collaborators.

71. See “Głos Buczaczan,” ed. Władysław Sklarz, (Wrocław: Towarzystwo Miłośników Lwowa i Kresów Południowo-Wschodnich / Klub Buczaczan, 1992–).

72. Ivan Bobyk, *The City of Butchach*, a massive volume, dedicates only a few pages to the Jews, 475–79. See also Dział Rękopisów Biblioteki Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich (Boss), sygn. 16621/1 Dokumentacja Dotycząca zatrudnienie polskich in ukraińskich pracowników w instytucjach działających w Czortkowie i okolicy w latach 1942–1944, v. 1, 24: “Stadtverwaltung Buczacz, Stand 16. Juni 1942,” where Bobyk appears under number 1 in city administration. Bobyk’s Polish police file describes him as a “presumed member of U.W.O., an unreliable organization hostile to the Polish State.” DATO, fond 274, op. 4, spr. 78, p. 13. UWO was the Ukrainian Military Organization, founded in 1920 and headed by Yevhen Konovalets, who then became the first leader of OUN until his assassination by an NKVD agent in 1938.

73. Cohen, *The Book of Buczacz*.