

**ЄВРЕЇ БУКОВИНИ У ПЕРІОД ДРУГОЇ СВІТОВОЇ ВІЙНИ
ЧЕРЕЗ ПРИЗМУ ДРУКОВАНИХ МАТЕРІАЛІВ ГАЗЕТИ
«БУКОВИНА»**

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**JEWS IN BUKOVYNA DURING WORLD WAR II THROUGH
THE PRISM OF PRINTED MATERIALS OF
“BUCOVINA” NEWSPAPER**

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Суровцев Олег. Евреи Буковины в период Второй мировой войны через призму печатных материалов газеты «Буковина». Опираясь на различные исторические источники, в первую очередь на архивные документы, материалы газеты «Буковина» 1941-1944 гг., воспоминания очевидцев, автор статьи реконструирует события Холокоста на территории Буковины, показывает трагическую судьбу многих буковинских евреев в годы Второй мировой войны.

Ключевые слова: *Холокост, антисемитская пропаганда, «очистка земли», гетто, Транснистрия, коллаборация, «авторизация».*

Introduction. Bukovyna is a historical region on the northern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains and the adjoining plains. It is currently split between Romania and Ukraine.

Jews settled in this region in 15th century. Throughout the centuries generations of Bukovynian Jews played most important role in economic, political and cultural development of this region being integral part of one the most economically successful and ethnically diverse, but yet tolerant areas of the Central Europe before WWI.

The history of the region took tragic turn with terrible consequences for the Jewish community during the interwar period during the time when Bukovyna became the part of the Greater Romania. The gradual decline of the economy combined with Romanian government's sponsored Anti-Semitism were two most decisive factors that shaped the life and destiny of the Jewish community of the Bukovyna in the upcoming years. The Soviet invasion and annexation of the Northern Bukovyna in the summer of 1940 followed by confiscation of the private enterprises, ban on the activities of the Jewish organizations and deportations to Siberia only worsened socio-political situation of the Jewish community. At the time of the Nazi invasion in June of 1941 the network and leadership of the Jewish community had been completely destroyed.

Background. Following the Nazi invasion into the Soviet Union in summer 1941, Bukovyna region was promptly re-occupied by the Romanian troops. During July-August 1941 the German and Romanian authorities carried out wide scale campaign of terror, killings and humiliation of the Jewish population of the region followed by the wave of arrests and incarceration in the prisons and transit camps. The establishment of the Czernowitz (Cernauti) ghetto with ca. 50,000 Jews became another milestone in the repressive policy directed against Jewish population by the military and civil authorities of Romania. The Fascist leadership of Romania, using context of war with the help of the local

authorities, police and collaborators was conducting a policy of “ethnic purification” by killing and deporting thousands of Jews from the Northern Bukovyna and Khotin district to Romanian controlled territory in the South Western Ukraine between rivers Dniestr and Bug which became known under the name Transnistria. In 1941-1942 during the three waves of deportations no less than 75,000 Bukovynian Jews were deported to Transnistria via several transit camps and ghettos. Most of them never came back to Bukovyna. However, the history of the Bukovynian Jews also had its own unique story. As a result of personal intervention of the mayor of Czernowitz Trojan Popovich more than 14,000 Jews, mostly craftsmen and skillful workers as well as the members of their families managed to stay in town throughout the war. Unfortunately, many thousands Bukovynian Jews did not return to their homes and were among 270,000 Romanian and Ukrainian Jews who perished in Transnistria. Those who managed to survive mass executions, famine and epidemic of typhus came back to Bukovyna only for a brief period, after police of sovietization in region, immediately followed by the mass immigration to the East Europe, Northern America and Israel.

Main part. Basing on the archive sources and testimonies I incline to examine the history of Bukovynian Jews and Jewish community leaders during 1941-1944 in two ways.

Firstly, I examine the fate of Bukovynian Jews, who lived in townships (shtetles) and villages of the country, which experienced total pogroms in summer 1941, total deportation to Transnistria in autumn 1941. They experienced serious losses as a result. In particular it is necessary to examine in details the chronology of persecution and deportations of the Bukovynian Jews to Transnistria, social and psychological adaptation of the Bukovynian Jews in Transnistria, their unique experience and methods of survival in the ghettos, relationship between Romanian Jews and local Ukrainian Jews in the ghettos of Transnistria.

Secondly, I'd like to focus your attention on the situation around Chernivtsi Jews, who experienced the pursuit, the ghettoisation (the biggest ghetto in Bukovyna existed from the 11-th of October till the 15-th of November 1941), two waves of deportation to Transnistriya in 1941-1942. However, due to the efforts of the mayor (the prymar) of Chernivtsi T. Popovich, the financial power of Jewish establishment in Chernivtsi, the bribery among the Romanian militaries and civil officials, and for the support of economic stability in Bukovyna the Romanian occupation power left over 16 thousands of Jews in Chernivtsi. Mainly the important specialists were left with a purpose of using them in forced works on a benefit of Romanian State and Army. I want to concentrate my attention at the employment of Jewish Labor and system of Forced Labor of Jews which exist in Bukovyna in 1941-1944, and I think we can say, which save the life to over 14 thousand Jews in Chernivtsi region.

From July 2d up to July 7th of the 1941 Northern Bucovina was conquered by Romanian army. And on July 10th the first issue of "Bucovina" newspaper was published and since that time it became the official periodical of the new government. The newspaper's articles were written in Romanian and its circulation was the biggest in the country. As Romania became the Hitler Germany's ally the Romanian periodicals were soon transformed into the Governmental instrument for the realization of the anti-Semitic policy and formation of the anti-Semitic ideology. The "Bucovina" newspaper became such an instrument in the Northern Bukovyna.

The materials, which were published in the "Bucovina" newspaper, were considered as scientific historical documents even during the Soviet period. For example, in the documental collection "Soviet Bucovina 1940-1945: Papers and documents", which was published in 1967 are present some decrees from the "Bucovina" newspaper. But those decrees were chosen to present according the general trend of the soviet historiography and elucidated the process of "Romanization", exploitative economical policy and crimes against communists and "peaceful soviet citizens"¹, and not to elucidated the essentials of the anti-Semitic policy and anti-Semitic propaganda made by Romanian government. That is why today, when the thorough studies of the Holocaust problem have become possible in Ukraine, purposing the objective elucidation of the peculiarities of the Bukovynian Jews community genocide made by Romanian government in 1941-1944 we need a new analysis of the "Bucovina" newspaper materials to be done from the point of view of the modern approaches to study the Ukrainian history during the World War II.

According to our calculations there were 177 articles concerning the Jewish community published during the period of July 10th 1941 up to March 25th 1944 in the "Bucovina" newspaper. Among them there were 67 articles, 110 decrees of the Romanian government, namely the decrees of the Bukovynian governors: general C. Calotescu, C. Dragalina; directions and announcements of Recruit center, Department of Labor and social insurance, governor's Military office, Chernivtsi Mayor's Office and other official bodies. 42 anti-Semitic articles were published during the

first 6 months of 1941, and 82 articles of the same content in the 1942. The considerable diminution of the anti-Semitic articles was observed in the 1943, only 43 of them were published. We consider that the mere fact of such a diminution can be explained by the following arguments: in 1941 – 1942 the majority of the Jewish community were deported from the Northern Bukovyna to Transnistria region, and only 16 thousand were left in Chernivtsi; as a result of the changes on the German-Soviet front to the benefit of the USSR in 1943 the Romanian government postponed "the final decision of the Jewish problem". From January till March 1944 12 articles were published in the newspaper, 10 of them were the announcements for the Chernivtsi Jews, who escaped the deportation to Transnistria in 1941-1942, which obliged Jews to forced work for the benefit of the Romanian army and state.

According to the content considering the "Jewish problem" on the "Bucovina" newspaper's pages all the articles can be divided into two groups. We made the first group of the bigger part of the whole number of the articles which dealt with economics. There are the decrees of the Bukovynian governors: general C. Calotescu, C. Dragalina; directions of Recruit center, Department of Labor and social insurance, governor's Military office, Chernivtsi Mayor's Office on the order of labor exploitation of the Jewish community, announcements made by this official bodies considering the expropriation the property of the Bukovynian Jews (realty, cars, things of everyday use, clothes, etc)², gathering of the Jews having some professions, for example, doctors to be used on the forced work³, census of the left Jews⁴ or the "authorization" checking, which were held in 1942-1943 almost every month⁵.

The second group consists of the propagandizing articles, which were often anonymous or reprinted from the German periodicals. Their titles can answer from the content: "activity of the Jews in Europe during the last 25 years", "Soviet face: Jews from all over the world", "The Jews are the reason of this war", "American intrusion won't stop the default and fast disappearance of the Judaism", "Jews and communism", "Jews and the economical sabotage", "Strict anti-Semitic measures in Turkey", "Jewish bolshevism as a threat for Europe", "Jews have no rights for Palestine"⁶ and others. The threat to Romanian nation and state from the so-called "jewish bolshevism" was stressed in those articles. Jews were blamed in waging war, economic crisis, etc. The ways to "solve" the so called "Jew problem" held by other countries were compared and analyzed also. The anti-Semitic arrangements in Turkey, Bulgaria and France were exalted. The Hitler Germany was a model for the solution of the "Jewish question" for Romania, and that is why the big quantity of the propagandizing articles were devoted to the announcements of the anti-Semitic policy of the Reich government. In 1943-1944 some articles condemned the formation of the Jewish state in Palestine and criticized the support of the USA in this case.

In 1942-1944 Chernivtsi cinemas used to show the propagandizing anti-Semitic films. And the clerks and staff of the state enterprises, students and pupils were obliged to review them. The pages of the "Bucovina" newspaper show

¹ The Soviet Bukovina 1940-1945: Documents and materials, Kiev, Scientific thought, 1967, P.196-197, 218-219.

² Dershavnyj Archiv Chernivetskoyi oblasti (DACHO) [State archive of the Chernivtsi region], Bucovina (newspaper), 1941, 14 July, p. 2.

³ DACHO, Bucovina (newspaper), 1942, 25 March, P. 6.

⁴ DACHO, Bucovina (newspaper), 1942, 15 April, P. 9.

⁵ DACHO, Bucovina (newspaper), 1941, 3 December, P. 5.

⁶ DACHO, Bucovina (newspaper), 1941, 24 July, P. 4; 26 October, P. 4; 1 November, P. 7; 2 December, P. 2; 1942, January, P. 3; 18 June, P. 1; 25 November, P. 6; 1943, 8 March, P. 1; 18 June, P. 1.

us the advertisement of two such films (“The Hostile Jew”, “Those who were led astray by Jews”) and the announcement about their compulsory review. We have to note the regularity of the demonstration of the anti-Semitic films that took place in exactly the same time with the deportation of Bukovynian Jews community to the concentration camps of Transnistria (October - November 1941, June 1942). It gives us the basis to state, that those films were used as an additional argument in the explanation to non-Jewish population, why were “Jews – our foes”⁷.

Let us view the anti-Semitic articles of the first group more thoroughly. As early as the 30th of July 1941 the general-governor of Bukovyna Cornelij Calotescu issued the order № 1307, with the list of planned actions for the organization and reglementation of the forced labor of Jewish population⁸. On August the 3^d 1941 this order was published in the “Bucovina” newspaper – the official paper of the occupational government, - and was repeatedly published on October the 4th, October the 9th and November the 1th 1941⁹.

The order stated that all the owners and persons in charge of the enterprises and workshops which need the Jewish workers were to get the license in the Department of Labor and social insurance, which was a kind of Labor exchange. We are to remind that in 1941-1944 all the Jewish community of the Northern Bucovina was under control and jurisdiction of the Romanian army, and under custody of the governor's Military Office and gendarmerie¹⁰. The mentioned above licenses were given for a limited term. Those terms were as follows: 30 days from the date of issue for the non-qualified workers; 60 days for the qualified workers; 90 days for the Jews in charge of the workshops, enterprises, manufactories and trade professionals. In the same time the process of “Romanization”, so that each Jewish worker had a back-up man (Romanian) whom he was obliged in short terms to train in his profession and skills, so training a worker instead of himself, sometimes Jewish worker could have had pair of such back-uppers. Bukovynian governor C. Calotescu often promised as soon as possible to put Romanian workers instead of Jews, mentioned his personal interest in the fast success of the operation in his reports to I. Antonescu¹¹.

The Department of Labor and social insurance had also to inspect and control the effectiveness of the installation of the Romanization process. According to order № 1307/10 Jewish workers, who were used in forced labor were to be pay only 70% of their salary, because 30 % were the receipt of the Financial Department, and were planned to be used for the Romanization of the enterprises¹². But having analyzed the archive material we can state that even hose 70% were not payed at all or the sum was much less than it ought to be¹³. The work of Jewish workers was registered on the

daily basis directly in the governor's office¹⁴. It was prohibited to use the Jews in “public works”. No other official body, except the Department of Labor and social insurance was allowed to give out the licenses for the Jewish workers in “public works”. The exception was made only for the Military offices¹⁵.

The failure to execute the points of the order № 1307 was punished by fining the owners and persons in charge of the enterprises, workshops, shops from 2000-2500 lei and in case of the repeated failures up to 5-10 thousand lei according to the decision of the Department of Labor. The first fine sum for the big enterprises was 4000-10000 lei, and in case it was repeated – 50 000 lei and the state lease of the enterprise. In 1941 these money, even without taking into consideration the progressing inflation in Romania, where not impossible to pay. We can compare it with the annual subscription of the “Bucovina” newspaper was 500 lei. The fines, under the threat of the enterprise closing, were to be payed during 3 days. Jews, who were taken to work without licenses, had to be taken to concentration camps. All the punishments were done by governor's decision after the application made by Department of Labor and social insurance¹⁶.

The next step of the occupational government was the sitting of the police and military authorities of the Chernivtsi City and Chernivtsi District on August 19th 1941 with following 4 persons presiding: the commander of the Chernivtsi Recruiting Office, colonel Chesar Cocorescu, prefect of the Chernivtsi district, doctor Niku Lupu, police inspector Mykhajlo Peun, Chernivtsi police chief Paul Avramovych. The present on the sitting decided to made up the same order in Chernivtsi City and Chernivtsi District as the one published in the Governmental Herald № 164/1941 which explained and regulated the process of the usage of Jews in forced works in Romania, according to the decree № 2041¹⁷.

If one should ask why the order considered only Chernivtsi city and Chernivtsi district? The reason is that almost all the Jewish population of the Northern Bukovynian towns and villages at first were subjected to ethnical purge made by Zondercommand 10b, Romanian army, gendarmerie with the partial help of the population, so that by the NDC data 7758 persons died¹⁸. And by September the 1th 1941 in the three Bessarabia camps, which were as follows: Sokyryjany – 10201 persons (including 1698 jews from Lipcan'), in Jedintsy – 12248 persons, in Vertyuzhany – more than 2 thousand persons were gathered for the following deportation to Transnistria¹⁹. In the same time 49497 Jews were living in Chernivtsi City and Chernivtsi District, major part of who were highly qualified workers in different branches of manufactory, doctors, teachers, etc²⁰.

⁷ DACHO, Bucovina (newspaper), 1941, 23 November, P. 4; 1942, 8 June, P. 2.

⁸ DACHO, Fund 778, Inventory 1, Case 3, P. 1.

⁹ DACHO, Bucovina (newspaper), 1941, 3 August, P. 3; 4 October, P. 6; 9 October, P. 7; 1 November, P.3.

¹⁰ DACHO, Fund(r) 307, Inv. 3, Case 17, P. 293.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² DACHO, Fund(r) 307, Inv. 2, Case 35, P. 4.

¹³ Sometimes Chernivtsi were the Hebrew city... Evidence of the eyewitnesses, Translation made by Petro Ryhlo, Chernivtsi, “Molodyj bucovynets”, 1998, 232 p.

¹⁴ DACHO, Fund(r) 307, Inv.2, Case 126-130, 140-141

¹⁵ DACHO, Bucovina, 1941, 3 August, P. 3.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ DACHO, Fund (r) 307, Inv.1, Case 2426, P. 2.

¹⁸ DACHO, Fund (r) 653, Inv. 1, Case 68, P. 5.

¹⁹ Cruglov A. Encyclopedia of the Holocaust: The Hebrew encyclopedia of Ukraine under the guidance of I. Levitas, K., 2000, P. 197.

²⁰ Carp M. Carte neagra. Suferintele evreilor din Romania [Black book. Suffering of Romanian Jews], 1940-1944, Bucuresti, 1946-1948, VOL. III (Transnistria), P. 42.

The next day August 21, 1941 the decree № 2459 considering the usage of the Bukovynian (meaning Chernivtsi) Jews in forced works for the profit of the Romanian state, was published in the "Bukovina" newspaper and posters, stuck all over the city²¹. According to that order, all the Jews community of Chernivtsi and Chernivtsi District from 18 up to 50 years old were obliged to appear with all available identification papers at the Chernivtsi Recruit Office. The "Commission of accounting and control of the Jews" was made up on its basis, which had aimed at making a census of all Jews, residing in Chernivtsi for the following usage them at forced works. There were three people in the commission: the mentioned above Chezar Cocorescu, commissary Antony Dyng, a delegate of police "questura", the third member of the commission was Aurel Popescu, a doctor.

Beginning from August 25 to September 5, 1941 Jewish population of Chernivtsi and Chernivtsi district had to come to the commission in alphabetical order on corresponding days. For example, Jews, whose last names began with letters "A" and "B" had to come on August 25, those, whose names began with "C" and "D" had to be there on August 26 and so on. The "Commission of accounting and control of the Jewish workers every day from 8.00 a.m. till 1 p.m. and from 4 p.m. till 7 p.m. Jews, residing in Chernivtsi district had to come with their identification cards and other documents to local police stations or gendarmerie from August 25 till August 27, 1941. Point 2 of order №2459 warned that the Jews, who wouldn't follow the demands of the new authorities and wouldn't come to the commission, would be arrested and deported to the camps in Transnistria. The order came to force since the day of its publication and copies were sent to civil and military authorities in Bukovyna.

For Chernivtsi Jewish workers there was a special working schedule: from 8.00 a.m. till 12 p.m. and from 3 p.m. till 7 p.m. Every morning and afternoon there was checking whether the workers were at their working places. Besides, the recruiting office obliged the owners of enterprises, workshops and shops to take measures and inform the corresponding organs in case of Jews' absence or being not active enough at work as well as their propaganda of "destructive ideas". Such things meant immediate deportation for those people²².

Jews, who came to the commission, were registered according to their jobs and professions in special tables, and then they were summoned by the police for forced work with special orders of recruiting offices²³.

On September 1, 1941 the territory between the Dniester and the Southern Bug (Transnistria) came to Romania (it was a kind of payment for Romania's participation in the war on the side of Germany). It enabled Romanian occupa-

tional authorities to realize the plan that failed in summer, namely, to deport all the Jews of Bukovyna across the Dniester.

On October 4, 1941 the headquarter of the commander-in-chief of Romanian army sent order of I. Antonescu to the commandant's office in Chernivtsi about deportation of all Jews of Bucovina to the region "eastwards from the Dniester" in term of 10 days²⁴. The concise term of deportation can be explained with the fact, that it was planned to send from Chernivtsi to Transnistria two trains with 50 goods wagons each (such a wagon could carry 50 – 70 people)²⁵. On October 9 the governor of Bukovyna general C. Calotescu received an order from Bucharest and that very day he informed the primary (meaning mayor office) of Chernivtsi, and on October 10 – military authorities of Bukovyna that on October 11, 1941 all Jewish population of Chernivtsi municipality will be replaced to a special sector of the town, turned into ghetto during 11 hours²⁶.

The operation of making a ghetto and the further deportation of Jewish population from Chernivtsi was headed by general I. Topor. He also headed a special Commission of evacuation of Jews²⁷.

At the same time when a ghetto was being made, the first transports left Chernivtsi on October 11 – 13, 1941. 7.053 Jews were deported in three trains, each containing 50 goods wagons²⁸.

In the evening of October 15, 1941, after the deportation of Chernivtsi Jews began, the mayor of Chernivtsi T. Popovych arrived to the building of Jewish committee and announced that they received a permission on the telephone from Bucharest to allow 15 – 20 thousand of Jews to stay in Chernivtsi²⁹. This decision was stipulated by the necessity to restore and support the economical stability of the town.

In 48 hours the Committee of Jewish problems, headed by doctor Neiburg presented 174 tables of Jewish workers arranged according to specialities and categories (specialist in physical or mental work), where a considerable part of Jews were enlisted several times to be saved. The process of giving "authorizations" (a document, that gave the right to work and reside in Chernivtsi) went quickly out of control of authorities and the competent bodies /organs/. There appeared a lot of forgeries, that's why for the next 18 days the Commission of evacuation of Jews had to work, revising the given authorizations and annulled more than 4 thousand documents.

As a result, 16569 Jews received authorizations, 395 people were deported as "communists", 5619 were presented for another authorization and later most of them got authorizations with the signature of T. Popovych³². Deportation of Jews lasted till November 15, 1941. 28 391 Jews were taken to Transnistria on 14 trains, gendarme battalion №1, namely 13 troops, were responsible for

²¹ DACHO, Bucovina (newspaper), 1941, 20 September, P. 3.

²² DACHO, Fund (r) 307, Inv. 1, Case 3096, P. 6.

²³ DACHO, Fund (r)307, Inv. 1, Case 2426, P. 2.

²⁴ The collection of the documents and materials on the genocide of the Ukrainian Jews by Nazi in 1941-1944 (collector A. Kruglov), K: Institute of Jewish Studies, 2002, P. 451.

²⁵ Carp M. Carte neagra. Suferinta evreilor din Romania [Black book. Suffering of Romanian Jews], 1940-1944, Bucuresti, 1946-1948, VOL. III (Transnistria), P.190.

²⁶ DACHO, Fund(r) 307, Inv. 3, Case 10, P. 224.

²⁷ DACHO, Fund(r) 307, Inv. 3, Case 10, P. 225.

²⁸ Ibid, P. 226.

²⁹ The Chernivtsi center for the Jewish culture named after E. Steinberg. Herald. Humans remain humans. Evidence of the nazi camps-ghetto prisoners under the supervision of E.M. Finkel', P.V. Ryhlo, Chernivtsi, 1996, Issue. 5, P. 46.

³⁰ DACHO, Bucovina, 1941, 2 November, P. 5.

³¹ DACHO, Fund (r)307, Inv. 3, Case 10, P. 229.

³² Ibid, P. 220

³³ Ibid, P. 230.

In June 1942 as a result of a long-lasting argument between the deputy general-governor of Bukovyna, major Marinescu and Chernivtsi mayor T. Popovych, the former was fired with the help of the state secretary of the Ministry of internal affairs Zhak Popescu. Immediately Corneli Calotesku issued an order to deport to Transnistria everyone who had "authorization" (permissions) signed by T. Popovych.

During June 1942, from Chernivtsi to the camps of Transnistria 4094 Jews were deported. 500 people were added on September 10. So, by the end of the year of 1942, about 16 thousand Jews were left in Chernivtsi³⁴.

In 1942-1944 the working schedule for Chernivtsi Jews was made a bit softer: the hours of compulsory presence at working places were changed from 7.30 till 1 p.m. and from 3.30 till 7 p.m. There was a permission not to be present at one's working place for a certain period of time if a person had a special permission; the punishments were made less strict³⁵.

By the order of the chief-in-charge of the economical department of the governor's office K. Kobyljans'kyj, all the Jews left in Chernivtsi and used as forced workers were obliged to buy at the military office yellow with six radiating points, which costed 80 lei and to have it pinned on the front of the clothes always. Later it was confirmed by the C. Calotescu decree №43 08/24/1943. Each failure to fulfill this decree had the only punishment – deportation to the Transnistria camps³⁶.

The order of the Chernivtsi mayor Troyan Popovych № 8 03/09/1942 allowed the Jews to do their shopping on the city markets from 10 AM till 12 PM and in shops from 10 AM till 1 PM. But on August the 5th 1942 Bucovina's general-governor C. Calotescu by the order № 30/42 prohibited Jews to stay or move around the streets and squares of the city having no meaningful reasons and the orderly documents³⁷.

Jewish workers, who were used at forced works in workshops and enterprises were to stay indoor only and not to walk around the city without peculiar reasons. If the Romanian owner needed his Jew worker to move around the city to fulfill some task or service, they had to get a special license in which the working place of the Jew and the needed time for the task fulfillment were stated³⁸.

Conclusions. Thus we can state that the materials which were published in "Bucovina" newspaper in 1941-1944 are the important source in studying the Holocaust events in Northern Bukovyna. They enable us to study the regional peculiarities of the Romanian anti-Semitic policy and propaganda. During the period of July 10th 1941 up to March 25th 1944 the "Bucovina" newspaper published 177 articles, which considered the Jewish community. The articles were published in Romanian and the number of issues soon became one of the biggest in the region. According to the content considering the "Jewish problem" on the "Bucovina" newspaper's pages all the articles can be divided into two groups: the first and the bigger one dealt with economics. And the second group consists of the propagandizing articles, which were often anonymous or reprinted from the German periodicals. The decrees of the Bucovinian governors general C. Calotescu, C. Dragaliny; the orders and announcements of Recruit center, Department of Labor and social insurance, governor's Military office, Chernivtsi

Mayor's Office and other official bodies were the most interesting for our research.

Суровцев Олег. Євреї Буковини у період Другої світової війни через призму друкованих матеріалів газети «Буковина». Опираючись на різні історичні джерела, в першу чергу на архівні документи, матеріали газети «Буковина» 1941-1944 рр., спогади очевидців, автор статті реконструює події Голокосту на території Буковини, показує трагічну долю багатьох буковинських євреїв у роки Другої світової війни. Голокост на теренах Буковини (автор досліджує події, зокрема, на території Північної Буковини та Хотинщини), який здійснювався румунською окупаційною владою у 1941 - 1944 роках мав ряд особливостей та відмінних рис від геноциду євреїв на інших українських територіях в роки Другої світової війни. З-поміж них залишається недостатньо дослідженим в українській історіографії питання щодо становища чернівецького єврейства в період румунської окупації міста, зокрема той факт, що в Чернівцях вижили понад 14 тисяч євреїв; те, що переважна більшість буковинського єврейства (понад 75 тисяч) була ліквідована не на території його проживання, а в ході депортацій у транзитних таборах та безпосередньо у таборах і гетто Транснїстрії.

Єврейська громада Буковини, з давніх-давен співіснуючи в мирі і злагоді, ввібрала в себе частину української, польської, румунської та особливо німецької культури і навпаки. Завдяки діловим якостям єврейських представників буковинської промислово-фінансової еліти економіка краю розвивалася досить швидкими темпами. Саме зусиллями єврейства Чернівці до 1940 року зберегли дух і вигляд австрійського міста, залишилися одним із визначних культурних, промислових, торговельних і особливо фінансових центрів Європи. Проте перебування Північної Буковини 1918 - 1940 років в складі королівської Румунії, яка з середини 30-х років зблизилася з нацистською Німеччиною, негативно позначилося на становищі єврейської громади. З кожним роком посилювались антисемітські тенденції, і це було лише початком жахливих випробувань та страждань євреїв.

Злочини проти буковинського єврейства здійснювались військовою та цивільною владою Румунії на чолі з І. Антонеску. В жодній країні, окрім гітлерівської Німеччини, знищення євреїв не сягнуло таких масштабів, як в Румунії. Керівництво Румунії в липні-вересні 1941 року руками солдатів, жандармів та частини місцевого населення намагалося швидко розправитись з буковинськими євреями, вважаючи їх носіями комуністичних ідей, прихильниками Радянського Союзу, ворогами румунської нації, причому вирішальним у цих подіях став географічний або територіальний принцип. Аналогічну політику у вирішенні „єврейського питання” у 1941 році здійснювала Угорщина в Югославії (Банат), Німеччина в Україні (Кам'янець-Подільський), в 1943 році Болгарія в Тракії та Македонії.

Ключові слова: Голокост, антисемітська пропаганда, «очищення землі», гетто, Транснїстрія, колаборація, «авторизація».

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Received: 15. 02. 2017

Advance Acces Publischer: April, 2017

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³⁴ DACHO, Fund (r)307, Inv. 1, Case 244, P. 1-4.

³⁵ DACHO, Bucovina (newspaper), 1942, 16 January, p. 3; 1943, 8 February, p. 3; 1944, 2 February, p. 7.

³⁶ DACHO, Bucovina (newspaper), 1942, 29 August, P. 5.

³⁷ DACHO, Bucovina (newspaper), 1942, 5 August, P. 2.