

Dear Dr. Rosen:

I think you might be interested to know that the letter which Mr. Schweitzer addressed to the Agro-Joint in Moscow under date of October 11th (acknowledging receipt of certain documents) was returned by the Post Office marked "Agro-Joint liquidated". I am sending the envelope to you, as you may wish to keep it as a souvenir of the last chapter of Agro-Joint.

[...]

Sincerely yours,

M. C. Troper

(From a letter by M. Troper,
Chairman of the JDC Executive Council,
sent from JDC-Paris on December 9, 1938,
to J. Rosen, ex-Agro-Joint Director,
JDC-NY HQ; Russian State Military Archive.
RG 722, Subdivision 1, File 37, P. 107)



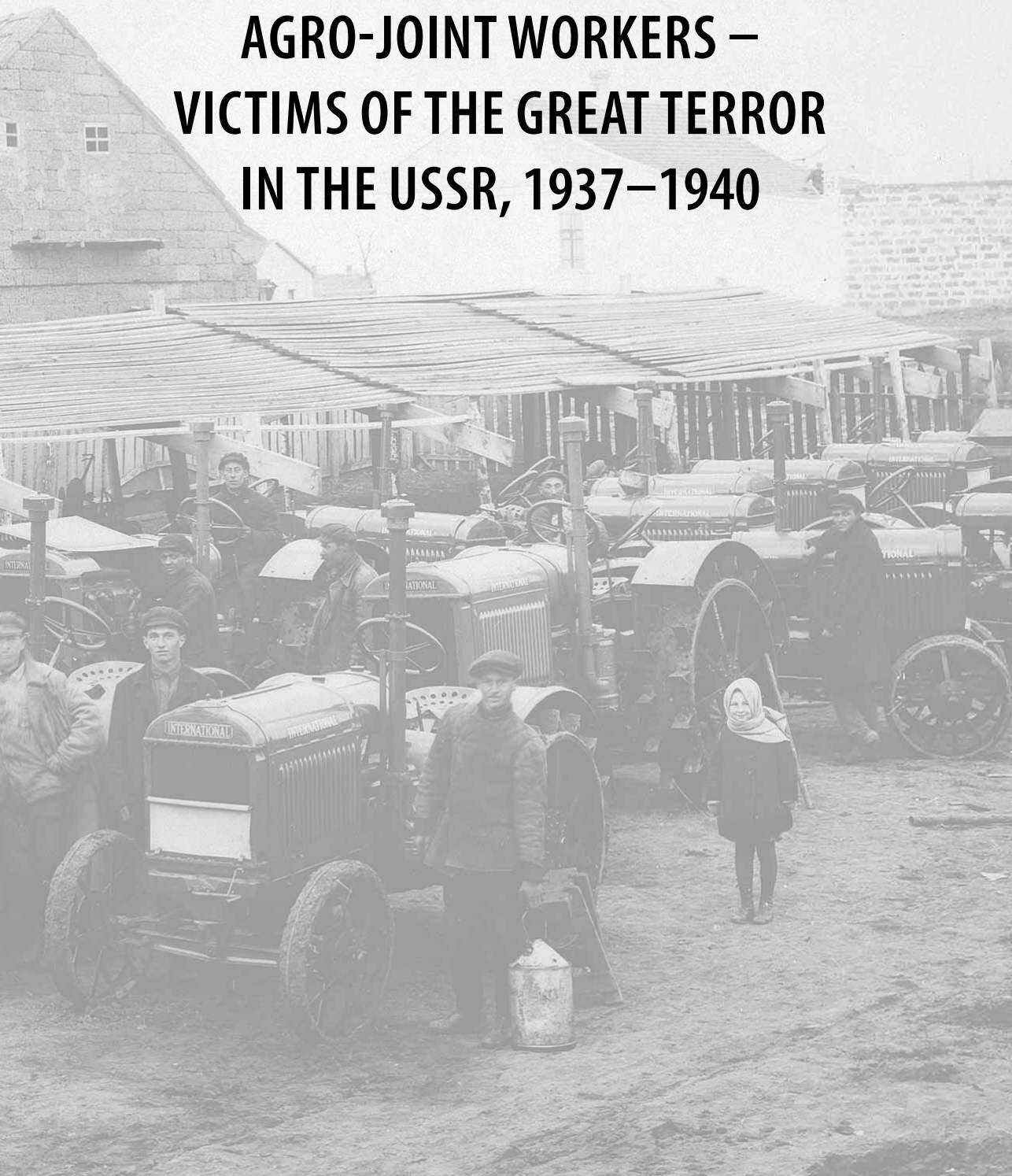
Машино-тракторная база Агро-Джойнта в Джанкое.

Фотограф: Б. Бюлер. 1929. Архив ИВО

Agro-Joint tractor and farm equipment base in Dzhankoy. Crimea, 1929.

Photographer: B. Buler. YIVO Archives

**“THE FINAL CHAPTER”:
AGRO-JOINT WORKERS –
VICTIMS OF THE GREAT TERROR
IN THE USSR, 1937–1940**



Publication of this book became possible through the joint work of the author with his closest colleagues in Ukraine – Natalya Vysotskaya and Volodymyr Lyubchenko. The author expresses his appreciation to the directors and staff of the State Archive of the Security Service of Ukraine (Kiev, director Sergey Kokin), the Central Archive of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation (Moscow, director Vasily Khristoforov), International Society *Memorial* (Moscow, director Arseny Roginsky) for their assistance and understanding of the special circumstances of our project. Special thanks to the archivists, historians, and researchers: Vadim Altskan (Washington), Michael Beizer (Jerusalem), Lev Chaban (Harvard), Kateřina Čapková (Prague), Götz Hillig (Marburg), Yefim Melamed (Kiev), Diamara Nodia (Moscow), Dmitry Omelchuk (Simferopol), Yakov Pasik (Haifa), Tatyana and Sergey Semyonov (Orenburg); immediate family members of the victims of the Great Terror: Mirjam Wolff (Stockholm), Irena Grower and Mikhail Deborin (Moscow); Judith Poltinnikova (Los Angeles), a victim of the Great Terror; and former employee of the Agro-Joint, Nahum Bogatin (New York).

I address words of appreciation to my colleagues, JDC staffers: Ralph Goldman, Sherry Hyman and Linda Levi.

Translation into English is made together with Rita Mitsel. Sherry Hyman edited the English text. This book was published with generous aid of the Maurice Feinberg Fund. Mr. Robert Belenky and Ms. Abbey Cook also supported this publication.

Among a large number of “counterrevolutionary groups” – the term used by the NKVD¹ during the time of the Great Purge of 1937–1938 – one of the lesser known consisted of repressed workers of the American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation (Agro-Joint).

Agro-Joint, an organization created by the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (JDC), operated in the USSR from July 1924 to November 1938, as a long-term resettlement program that moved jobless Jews from traditional *shtetls* to new agricultural colonies in the Southern Ukraine and Crimea. In June 1934, when Joseph Rosen,² an Agro-Joint founder and leader, summarized the first ten years of Agro-Joint activity and highlighted its main achievements, he took into consideration the difficulties that had plagued the USSR during the period of forcible collectivization, industrialization, and the Great Famine, and stated: “What a tremendous change for the better has taken place in the USSR and what a potent part in the improvement of the Jewish situation the work of our organization has played.”³ The miserable state of the Jewish populations in the countries of Eastern Europe, where right-wing groups ideologically close to the Nazi party were formed and remained active, led Rosen to reflect positively on Soviet experiments with its national minorities: “The Soviet Government has not merely actively cooperated in the work, but has actually taken the lead officially, recognizing the solution of the Jewish question as a state problem.”⁴

As head of Agro-Joint, Joseph Rosen was responsible for the realization of the program. He knew the problems and tragedies of the Soviet Union in the past decades in detail, and was well-informed of the confrontations with local authorities, anti-Semitic incidents, and the incompetence of the State and regional apparatuses, including KOMZET⁵ and OZET.⁶ He was also aware of the hunger in the colonies

¹ Narodnyi Komissariat Vnutrennikh Del – People’s Commissariat of Internal Affairs, from July 1934.

² Rosen, Joseph (1877–1949). Born in Moscow, studied agronomic sciences in Russia and Germany, exiled to Siberia for his political involvement with the Russian Social-Democratic Party (Mensheviks). In 1903 emigrated to the USA and completed his agronomic training. Developed a new variety of winter rye (“Rosen Rye”). Joined AJJDC Russian Unit in 1921, and became the director of Agro-Joint in 1924.

³ DC-NY Archives, Collection 1921–1932, File 536.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ KOMZET (Komitet po zemel’nomu ustroistvu trudiashchikhsia evreev pri Prezidiume Soveta Natsional’nostei Tsentral’nogo Ispolnitel’nogo Komiteta SSSR) – Committee for the Settlement of Toiling Jews on the Land under the Presidium of the Council of Nationalities of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR. Established in April 1924, liquidated in April 1938.

⁶ OZET (Obshchestvo po zemel’nomu ustroistvu trudiashchikhsia evreev) – The Society for the Settlement of Jewish Toilers on the Land, a non-government organization. Established in January 1925, liquidated in May 1938.

and arrests of Agro-Joint workers accused of “economic crimes.” At the same time, he saw the results of longstanding efforts directed at the transformation of the former “*lishentsy*” (*declassée*). The new social status as *kolkhozniks* and proletarians that these former “people of air” achieved in Agro-Joint *kolkhozes* and colonies was conferred on their children, and enabled the new generation to enroll in universities and benefit from other social rights.

Rosen, a perceptive observer, realized that these new opportunities appeared after the removal of the term “*lishenets*” from the Soviet Constitution of 1936,⁷ and would diminish the flow of new settlers to the region – especially the youth who preferred to study and work in the industrial centers.

Agro-Joint’s long-term development program anticipated the transfer of various aspects of its activities to local authorities. In July 1936, Rosen wrote to Agro-Joint officers in New York:

It is true that, as the work has developed, we have been gradually turning over one after another of our activities to the local government agencies of cooperative organizations.

We never considered the Agro-Joint as a permanent organization and our aim has always been to organize the work so that it could sooner or later be taken over and continued without us. From the very beginning we insisted that the settlements are not Agro-Joint colonies, i.e., not our dependents, but Jewish farm settlements made possible by the Soviet government. But the actual technical job of settling tens of thousands of our people on the land was carried out by the Agro-Joint, not by anybody else.⁸

As of January 1, 1937, Agro-Joint served 133 Jewish *kolkhozes* in the Ukrainian SSR (92 in Dnepropetrovsk *oblast* and 41 in Odessa *oblast*), and 85 farming units in Crimea – a total of 218 collective farms, in which 13,250 families lived.⁹ Rosen intended to drastically change the quality of life in these colonies and make them more comfortable. As a result of Rosen’s vision, 150 colonies were provided with electricity.

On January 27, 1937, James Rosenberg,¹⁰ Chairman of the Agro-Joint Trustees, organized an informal meeting with Joseph Rosen. After a detailed explanation of the financial aspects of the corporation, which during the past four years had functioned only with small bank revenue and without JDC subventions, Dr. Rosen noted: “All of the settlements are practically free of their debts and every one of them is now on a self-sustaining basis; none of the colonies require any subventions from outside sources.”¹¹ At that meeting Rosen articulated an important opinion about the Agro-

⁷ The Constitution of the Russian Federation, effective July 1918, stated that “representing the interests of the working classes, the Russian Federation deprives individuals and groups of certain rights that are contrary to the principles of the socialist revolution.”

⁸ JDC-NY Archives, Collection 1921–1932, File 510. The two sentences are underlined in the text.

⁹ YIVO Archives, RG 358, File 82.

¹⁰ Rosenberg, James N. (1874–1970). Lawyer and Painter; Chairman, Agro-Joint, 1924–1942; AJJDC Vice Chairman, 1923–1939.

¹¹ JDC-NY Archives, Collection 1921–1932, File 516.

Joint program – a position reached after personal deliberation: “So as far as the situation of Russian Jews at present is concerned, we can really wind up our work and get out.”¹² He stated that in the USSR, since the majority of the Jewish population of small towns who had previously belonged to the category of “*lishentsy*” now received equal rights guaranteed by the Constitution of 1936, the specific Jewish problem no longer existed.

Soviet ethnic politics, however, would soon undergo a drastic change, of which Dr. Rosen could have had no foreknowledge.

* * *

Only the sketchiest indications of a rise in repression in the USSR were available to Soviet citizens. After an open trial of the “Trotskyite-Zinovievite Terrorist Center” during a session of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court on August 19–24, 1936, it became obvious to the population that the country was entering a new period of distress. However, the details of the blueprint of the Great Terror were known only to Stalin and his close circle of hangmen. At this time, the majority of the Soviet public and Agro-Joint employees could not have known that the transformation of the State Security¹³ offices had begun, and that an order to “clean” the party, military, and administrative elite from potential opposition had been issued. In mid-summer 1937 Stalin formulated a broad plan for further cleansing. According to the directives of Stalin and NKVD People’s Commissar Nikolai Yezhov, the road map included not only general purges of party and state elite, but also two mass operations necessary for the liquidation of a “fifth column”.

The goal of the first of these operations was a general cleansing of the country from “the former people”: *i.e.*, all traditional categories of enemies of the Soviet system – which included, among others, rich farmers, former landlords, clerks of the Tsarist administration, and members of former socialist parties. By their arrests and executions, the NKVD was supposed to eliminate an “uprising base” in the USSR in case of war. This operation was initiated by NKVD Order No. 000447, “About Repression of Former Kulaks, Criminals, and Other Anti-Soviet Elements”, dated July 30, 1937.

The task of the second operation was the liquidation of the “spy-diversionary base of surrounding capitalist countries.” The objects of this operation were foreign colonies, national diasporas and other communities in the USSR directly or indirectly connected with foreign entities. This sizable part of the population was already listed in the files of the local branches of the NKVD under various headings, such as SI – [*svyz’ s inostrantsami* – “connection with foreigners”] – *i.e.*, anyone with contacts abroad¹⁴. The operation would apprehend the separate national “sectors” in sequence. Despite the fact that Agro-Joint employees were not part of any ethnic group that was directly targeted during the Great Terror – Germans and Poles were predominant – it was obvious that they were among categories that not only could, but must, belong among the purge victims.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ In 1937–1938, the height of the Great Purge occurred under the NKVD People’s Commissar Nikolai Yezhov.

¹⁴ Conquest R. *The Great Terror. A Reassessment*, New York, 1990, p. 257.

* * *

With the advent of the Nazis' rise to power in January 1933, there had been constant anti-Semitic tension in the countries of Eastern Europe. JDC had considered all possible alternatives for Jewish emigration. Resettlement of the Jews from Poland, Romania, Lithuania, and Germany to the USSR, which presented itself as the "motherland of the workers of all countries," was considered one of the available options. Certain groups of Jews from the USA, Argentina, Germany, and Poland who came to work in Birobidzhan only confirmed such notions. The experience that Agro-Joint gained in 1934–1936, when had JDC initiated the arrival of about 70 Jewish doctors from Germany to the USSR under the auspices of the People's Commissariat of Public Health (Moscow) and international Jewish health organization OSE (Paris), demonstrated the possibility of such cooperation with Soviet authorities. Ezekiel Grower and Samuel Lubarsky, directors of Agro-Joint in Moscow, had put forth the idea of inviting refugee doctors from Germany to the USSR. In January 1934, soon after the establishment of the Nazi regime, the directors had written a letter to Dr. Rosen in which they proposed to accommodate a certain number of German Jews in the settlements in Crimea.¹⁵ Rosen had expected that JDC would be able to invite and resettle a few hundred people.

Thus, in planning the orderly termination of its programs in the USSR, and unaware of the operations soon to be unleashed by the regime, JDC had two main aims on its agenda: improving the quality of life in the existing colonies; and creating a foundation for possible Jewish emigrants from Germany. Rosen informed JDC executives that there even existed a preliminary agreement with the Soviet government about the possibility of relocating 500 Jewish families from Poland. Rosen hoped that younger people would move from Poland and Germany to study at vocational schools founded by Agro-Joint. In order to implement such a project, JDC planned to retain a minimal staff. Rosen admitted, however, that the government was more interested in populating Birobidzhan than in any of JDC's goals.

On March 2, 1937, Dr. Rosen reported to the Executive Committee of the JDC Trustees for Agro-Joint on Agro-Joint's work in 1936 and its plans for 1937. At the meeting, the following positions were reached concerning the programs in the USSR in the near term:

In general, Dr. Rosen stated that, so far as the Russian Jews are concerned, the work in Russia is practically complete, that it could be fully completed this year or in 1938. He pointed out that the government is prepared to take over the entire Agro-Joint organization including its assets and staff and to carry on its work. This possibility was discussed and the conclusion was reached that because of the present international situation, it would not be wise to terminate the work at the present time, that the Agro-Joint should be kept alive as an independent operating unit, pending the clarification of the international situation. Arrangements, therefore, have been made for the continuation of operations by the substantial unit of the organization, at least during the year 1937.¹⁶

¹⁵ YIVO Archives, RG 358, File 94.

¹⁶ JDC-NY Archives, Collection 1921–1932, File 516.

The final plan for the transfer of the entire infrastructure of Agro-Joint to OZET was formulated by Rosen in the fall of 1937. At a meeting of the JDC Trustees for Agro-Joint on September 16, Rosen – still unaware of the purge that was to follow – cited numerous problems developing in procuring entry visas for people invited to work in the Soviet Union. James Rosenberg, Chairman of the Agro-Joint Trustees, projected probable developments and outlined plans for the next few years:

The OZET is a social organization controlled entirely by the government. The personnel are composed of people who are friendly to this work and will take over the entire Agro-Joint personnel. The few Agro-Joint people or head people will remain. Lubarsky and Grower will remain as Agro-Joint employees and directors. The bookkeeping department and a few others, and the staff (if this goes through) of the Agro-Joint will be reduced to less than 20 people. We keep our office in Moscow but only close the others.¹⁷

It was assumed that the remaining JDC staff would work in the following directions: a) the organization would not be operating in the field; instead, it would supervise and consult colonies that would be under the auspices of OZET; b) The offices in Dnepropetrovsk, Simferopol, and Dzhankoy would be closed; and c) An important place would be given to the Accounting Department in Moscow, which would continue preparation of financial reports.

AGRO-JOINT STAFF

At this point in our research we do not know the exact time when Dr. Rosen, who held a position in the European office of JDC in Paris, received information about the arrests of Agro-Joint employees. He probably became aware of such facts by November 1937: an implicit confirmation of his knowledge is depicted by the telegram that he sent to Lubarsky and Grower on November 16, 1937. The telegram stated that every current employee of Agro-Joint whose position was terminated should receive compensation based on the length of his employment (his average monthly salary for every working year within the organization).¹⁸

Dr. Rosen clearly understood the danger to his colleagues throughout the USSR when he was informed about the first arrests in Moscow and Dnepropetrovsk. In a letter dated December 11, 1937, addressed to Paul Baerwald¹⁹ and James Rosenberg, Rosen stated:

This is going to be a rather sad letter but it has to be written. I do not want to have it typed as I do not yet want the office personnel to know about it. I have only told Dr. Kahn²⁰ and Mr. Schweitzer²¹ about it.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Baerwald, Paul (1871–1961). AJJDC Chairman, 1932–1941 and 1943–1945, Honorary Chairman, 1941–1943 and 1946–1961.

²⁰ Kahn, Bernard (1876–1955). Chairman, 1924–1939, European Executive Council, AJDC. Vice Chairman, AJJDC, 1950–1955.

²¹ Schweitzer, David (1886–1964). Vice-Chairman, European Executive Council, AJDC, 1926–1939.

We are having great trouble in Russia mainly on account of the German Jewish doctors whom we settled there and also on account of some relief which I have personally given to the families of some of the former friends of our work in Russia who have afterwards been declared by Stalin and his clique "enemies of the people."

As you probably remember, in settling the German doctors in Russia, we were helped by the Commissariat of Public Health at the head of which was one of my brothers-in-law, Kaminsky²². Now, Kaminsky, as so many of the Old Guard, has been demoted and imprisoned by Stalin. While he has not been executed nor exiled, yet he is still kept in prison and, from what I can make out from the incomplete information I have so far, somebody is trying to "drown" him. The easiest way to drown a person in Russia now is to connect him in some way or another with a foreign organization's activities and insinuate "espionage." I have good reason to suspect (but have no definite information yet) that a plot is being developed to accuse Kaminsky that he, in cooperation with Agrojoint or perhaps with myself personally, as his foreign relative, have been bringing into Russia German spies under the cover of helping the doctors.²³

In addition to the shock resulting from the arrest of Gregory Kaminsky, who had supported and resettled the doctors from Germany, Rosen communicated a problem that the organization was facing: "a number (to date 14) of the German doctors have been arrested under various pretexts or either sent out of Russia, or their families were sent out and they themselves are still under arrest." Rosen found the main reason for this turn of events in the fact that "Stalin is evidently suffering from 'spiono mania' and under the pretext that Russia must be prepared for an imminent war has decided to get out of the country all foreigners and foreign organizations."²⁴

Rosen also informed his colleagues that some members of the Agro-Joint staff had already been arrested: Dr. Boris Chanis from Dnepropetrovsk, who was busy accommodating German doctors in his region and was acquainted with the arrested local authorities; and the accountant of the Moscow office, Abram Berlinsky, who kept track of the so-called "illegal" activities of Rosen: *i.e.*, his financial support of Jewish religious life. By the end of November the NKVD had arrested Agro-Joint director Ezekiel Grower, who was responsible for resettling the German doctors.

Rosen added that he had written a letter to the NKVD requesting a visa. Rosen thought that he alone would be able to take responsibility for Agro-Joint's actions, and he was ready to terminate his immunity as a foreigner:

²² Kaminsky, Gregory (1895–1938). From 1930 – Secretary of Moscow City Party Committee, in 1936–1937 – People's Commissar (Minister) of Public Health of the USSR. Arrested in June 1937, sentenced and executed in February 1938, rehabilitated in 1955. Kaminsky was doomed after a clash with Stalin, which began with Kaminsky's remark: "If you go like this we'll shoot the whole party!" to which Stalin retorted, "You wouldn't by chance be friends of these enemies? Well, then, you're birds of feather." (Rayfield D. Stalin and His Hangmen. New York: 2004. P. 485.)

²³ JDC-NY Archives, Collection 1921–1932, File 52-a.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

This I consider my duty to do in relation with my friends and colleagues with whom we have been working together for years. I would feel like a dog should I let them go down under Stalin's tyranny and myself escape because I happen to be an American citizen.²⁵

Rosen's letter to JDC also contained a reference to his use of a special code in communicating with Agro-Joint staff. Since the beginning of Agro-Joint's program, Rosen had crossed the bounds in relating information previously unheard of even in confidential correspondence with JDC leaders. Thus, his sense of events during the Great Terror was clearer than what could generally have been construed in the West:

Things that are happening now in Russia are beyond any comprehension. Stalin is ruining the country and unless he comes to his senses soon the situation will become hopeless. For some reason or another, there is a feeling among the people who know Russia that after the farce with the so-called elections in Russia is over, the terror will subside. Let us hope so!²⁶

Similar to millions of Soviet people, Rosen's hope was betrayed: after the staged elections of December 12, 1937, to the Supreme Soviet, arrests resumed in January 1938. Then the main body of the Agro-Joint staff was detained.

NKVD interrogation files housed in the ex-KGB archival collections in Moscow, Dnepropetrovsk, and Crimea have preserved a wealth of information previously undisclosed. Current research in these files enables us finally to reconstruct the plight of these workers, and the circumstances that sealed their fate.

The arrests of Agro-Joint workers were determined by their associations with the groups at risk: they worked in an organization that preserved its original name – the American Jewish Agricultural Corporation (Agro-Joint) – with everyday working contacts with foreigners. Many of them were professionals who had been abroad, received their education in Europe, or were born in parts of the former Russian Empire that later became independent countries. Many of them had relatives abroad: in the USA, Palestine, Poland and Lithuania. Due to their frequent contacts with foreigners (workers and donors of JDC – mainly citizens of the USA), the employees of Agro-Joint became a vulnerable group: in many interrogation files the connection with foreigners is presented as the major crime. On December 17, 1937, Ilya Mogarychev, manager of the Agro-Joint office in Simferopol, made the following statement during his interrogation session:

The group of foreigners that visited (Agro-Joint worker) Zaitchik traveled through Crimea and Crimea's bordering regions where, under a false pretext of familiarization with Jewish *kolkhozes*, they collected spy information and slanderous materials about economic conditions, population structure, and other information²⁷.

Research reveals that in 1937, in addition to B. Chanis (Dnepropetrovsk), A. Berlinsky, and E. Grower (Moscow), the following employees of the Crimean office of Agro-Joint were arrested: Y. Ashkenazi, Z. Bizer, D. Dashkovsky, I. Mogarychev,

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ State Archives of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Interrogation Files Record Group, File # 06846, Page 17.

V. Redkin, and A. Zaitchik. Crimean agronomists L. Frucht, L. Godlevsky, M. Godlevsky, and S. Raskin were arrested in 1938.

Files also record the sentences. B. Chanis, A. Berlinsky, and E. Grower were executed. In September 1937 in Dnepropetrovsk the “family members of a traitor to the motherland” were also arrested: Chanis’ wife Sima received eight years in corrective labor camps; Alexander, the older son, received capital punishment; and the younger son Yury was sent to an orphanage. Y. Ashkenazi, D. Dashkovsky, L. Godlevsky, and I. Magarychev were also executed. Z. Bizer, M. Godlevsky, A. Zaitchik, and V. Redkin were sentenced to five years in corrective labor camps – and only Redkin survived the sentence. In a rare example of the return to the “norms of socialist justice” initiated during the period of “cleaning” of the NKVD apparatus from November 1938, S. Raskin and L. Frucht were released in May 1939 and April 1940, respectively. In February–March 1938, the entire personnel of Agro-Joint’s Ukrainian office were arrested – in response to a quota of 30,000 “anti-Soviet elements” set by the Politburo in mid-February for the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR to fulfill. The Troika of the Department of the NKVD of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast* sentenced agronomists S. Chanukov, A. Feigin, A. Fridberg, M. Itkin, S. Mazo, and Ch. Poltinnikov to death.

Also in February–March 1938, members of Agro-Joint’s Moscow office – A. Frishberg, I. Ioelson, Z. Serebryany, Y. Tsyulinikov, and A. Tchaykin – were arrested. Three of them – A. Frishberg, Z. Serebryany and Y. Tsyulinikov – were sentenced to death; I. Ioelson and A. Tchaykin were sentenced to ten years of camps and soon died in the camps. Director S. Lubarsky²⁸ was arrested on March 27, 1938, and was executed.

B. Chanis, E. Grower, and S. Lubarsky – three directors of Agro-Joint – belong to the category of “Stalin’s lists”: *i.e.*, their sentences were rendered by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR after confirmation by Stalin and other members of the Politburo. According to existing law, prisoners in this category were executed immediately after trial. Other arrestees were tried mainly by NKVD Troikas, Military Tribunals, or the Special Council of the NKVD.²⁹

The data cited concerning the destruction of the Agro-Joint staff should be viewed in the general context of the Great Terror, in which “operational orders” emanating from the Politburo and the highest level of the NKVD drove local arrests and sentences. In spontaneous reaction to orders from on high, officers of local NKVD departments compiled accusations based on false scenarios consisting of grotesque combinations of fabrications, as reflected in the documents presented below. For example, in the protocol of the Troika session of the Crimean NKVD of October 29, 1938, the indictment of the accountant of the Agro-Joint Crimean office, Yefim Ashkenazi, stated: “He was a

²⁸ Detailed biography of S. Lubarsky presented in article of Michael Beizer, *Samuil Lubarsky: Portrait of an Outstanding Agronomist* // East European Jewish Affairs. Vol. 34, # 1, Summer 2000, pp. 91–103.

²⁹ This information about repressed Agro-Joint workers was collected from interrogative files, which were retrieved from the State Archives of the Russian Federation, the Archives of the Federal Security Services of the Russian Federation, the Archives of the Security Services of Ukraine, and State Archives in Dnepropetrovsk and Simferopol.

member of the counterrevolutionary Jewish bourgeois-nationalistic spy organization created by German intelligence.”³⁰ Confessions were elicited by “methods of physical persuasion”.

In the beginning of 1938, Rosen knew nothing of the actual fate of his disappeared colleagues. However, he realized the hopelessness of the climate for Agro-Joint and its aims, and in his February 22 letter addressed to KOMZET he listed the reasons for terminating Agro-Joint’s programs in the USSR:

At the present time, the activities of Agro-Joint in the USSR are not necessary for Soviet Jewry;

Unfortunately, the real possibility for Jewish emigration to the USSR from limitrophic states, where the state of the Jewish masses became more and more catastrophic, in the near future cannot be counted on;

The working environment for Agro-Joint in the USSR became extremely dissatisfactory.³¹

Rosen considered it necessary to relieve the hardships of the families without breadwinners. Thus, in 1937–1938, on Rosen’s directions, 104 Agro-Joint employees and the wives of the arrested would receive compensation based on length of employment. Several Hasidic families and former workers received money discreetly using old connections in Moscow.

Beginning in December 1937, Rosen repeatedly contacted KOMZET requesting “an entry permit from appropriate authorities.” Apparently, his telegram to KOMZET of April 9, 1938, in which he wrote, “Please telegraph to the JDC office in Paris if you could receive a visa for our representative for the closure of our operations, or you may prefer that we contact American Embassy,” had an effect on the NKVD. In an atmosphere of total fear, such a statement could be treated in any possible way, including as an attempt to discredit Soviet government offices that were not able to make decisions without NKVD supervision.

Joseph Rosen spent May–October 1938 in Moscow, where he resolved problems dealing with the termination of Agro-Joint’s activities. Aside from the formal part of that process, he was in touch with families of his repressed colleagues to assist them. Grower’s daughter Irena, interviewed in Moscow in 2007–2008, revealed that Rosen had demanded a meeting with the Soviet Prime Minister, V. Molotov. In that meeting, Molotov had personally confirmed all three “lists of persons under the Jurisdiction of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR” in which the Agro-Joint directors were named, and had told Rosen: “Nothing can be done, since all of them confessed to their crimes.”³²

The process of liquidation was accompanied by bureaucratic obstacles from the Soviet apparatus. Rosen was compelled to write a letter to Molotov asking him to calm over-enthusiastic clerks who aimed to reconsider and alter the agreements between

³⁰ State Archives of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Interrogation Files Record Group, File # 06846, Page 178.

³¹ YIVO Archives, RG 358, File 97.

³² Author’s interview of November 4, 2007.

the USSR and Agro-Joint signed in the 1920s. In many interrogation files of 1938, both before Rosen's arrival and during his stay in Moscow, NKVD officers characterized him as a "well-known spy", "agent of German intelligence", "leader of a counterrevolutionary spy organization", and "donor to counterrevolutionary, clerical-Hasidic, and fascist organizations". The accusations did not interfere with Rosen's "activities"; the security officers of the NKVD of the Frunzensk district who arrested and interrogated the majority of workers of the Agro-Joint office in Moscow did not dare approach him. The security officers of the NKVD were aware of the boundaries of their competence: the arrest of a US citizen who had come to the USSR with a government permit to sign an agreement on the liquidation of Agro-Joint would lead to unwanted results.

Archival documents do not reflect Rosen's emotional state in Moscow. Undoubtedly, the bitter experience of the forceful liquidation of the program, accompanied by the disappearance of his closest colleagues into the NKVD's prisons, made his feelings towards the Soviet regime even more extreme.

On the other hand, comprehension of the USSR and Stalin's regime by JDC officials at Headquarters, especially by Rosenberg³³, Chairman of the Agro-Joint Trustees, was to remain naïve and idealistic. The JDC administration would not fully understand the scale of the terror, the Soviet realities, and the restrictions involved in the administration of non-sectarian aid that JDC would provide during World War II.³⁴ Dr. Rosen was well aware of the nature of Stalinism, and in his letter to James Rosenberg dated November 13, 1943, he gave a clear projection of the future of JDC's initiatives:

I'm inclined to think that under present conditions in the USSR under the Stalin regime there will be no opportunity for any foreign organization, Jewish or non-Jewish, to carry on any work in the Soviet Union through its own staff. All you could possibly do would be to send goods and commodities to be distributed by the Russian government agencies. While this is the best possible way under present conditions, it is not quite satisfactory, as there is no assurance that the local officials, who are always of a caliber inferior to that of the authorities in Moscow but who are really the people on whom the actual execution of any program depends, will live up to your expectations and to their obligations unless at least nominally controlled by a representative of the foreign organization or government supplying the funds and commodities. I doubt whether under the Stalin regime that will be possible.

[...] One cannot and should not forget that his hands are steeped in the blood of his best friends and comrades, who were intellectually and morally far superior to him and who were innocent victims of his lust for power and greatness.³⁵

³³ The reason for Rosenberg's interest in the programs for the USSR and the background for his idealistic outlook are explained in detail in: Kagedan A. L. *Soviet Zion. The Quest for a Russian Jewish Homeland*, New York, 1994, PP. 49–62.

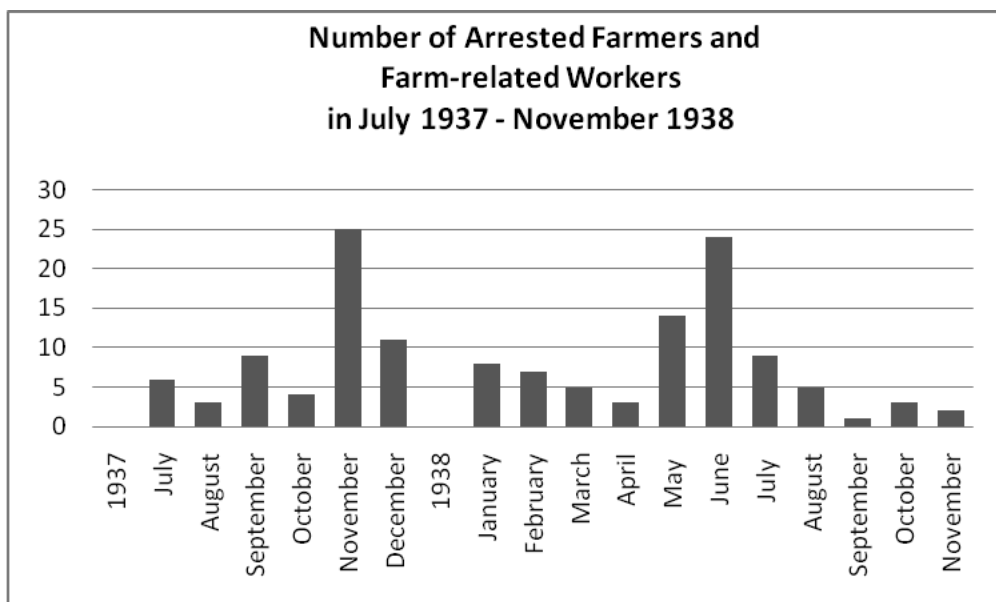
³⁴ For details about JDC relief programs in the USSR during World War II see: M. Mitsel, *Programmy amerikanskogo evreyskogo ob'edinennogo raspredelitel'nogo komiteta v SSSR. 1943–1947gg. // Vestnik yevreyskogo universiteta*. 2003, № 8 (23), PP. 95–122.

³⁵ JDC-NY Archives, Collection 1933–1944, File 1056.

KOLKHOZNIKS – MEMBERS OF AGRO-JOINT-SUPPORTED COLLECTIVE FARMS

The most heavily represented among the victims of the Great Terror who were implicated in connection with Agro-Joint were members of Jewish collective farms, specialists in agriculture, and residents of the Jewish national districts in Ukraine and Crimea. The main source for the list of victims presented in this section is a series of books called *Rehabilitated by History*, published in the last fifteen years in the Autonomous Republic of Crimea and *oblasts* of Southern Ukraine, where 218 Agro-Joint-supported farms operated in the years 1924–1938. Interrogation files of dozens of *kolkhozniks* were found in the State Archives of Crimea. In total, according to existing data, from January 1937 to December 1938 about 150 Jewish farmers and workers in farm-related categories were arrested in *kolkhozes* and territories served by Agro-Joint.

The following chart, showing the number of arrests of Jewish farmers and their chronology, reflects certain trends that coincide with the basic framework of the Great Terror.



A sharp increase in the number of arrests can be seen for November and December 1937. This can be explained in part by the fact that the Directorate of the NKVD of Nikolayev *oblast* was organized in early October 1937 (before it became a part of Odessa *oblast*), and launched its operations in mid-October. According to a report of the NKVD of Nikolayev *oblast* of January 1938, “in most districts an operational blow against counterrevolutionary nationalists and spy formations was carried out, but it was not enough.”

Almost half of all death sentences against residents of Jewish national districts were passed by the Troika of the NKVD of Nikolayev *oblast* in April 1938, which sent 15 Jewish farmers to be shot. This was not a spontaneous regional initiative: the level of terror in Ukraine was initiated by the People's Commissar of the NKVD, N. Yezhov, who had visited Kiev in mid-February 1938. On February 1, 1938, the Politburo had decided to increase the arrest limit for the NKVD of Ukraine to 30,000 people. It was the highest limit ever [assigned] to any republic or *oblast*. The new quota for the Nikolayev *oblast* amounted to 1,800 arrests for the first category (death sentence) and 260 for the second (10 years in camps). Already on April 19, 1938, the Troika of the NKVD of Nikolayev *oblast* sentenced 1,148 "enemies of the people" to death³⁶.

April 1938 was the month in which the greatest number of death sentences was pronounced – and the month in which the majority of Jewish farmers convicted in November 1937 had mock trials and were sentenced to death. Thus, farmers H. Perlov, B. Seltser, M. Yevelev, S. Zinchin and Y. Zinchin from village Molotovo of Kalinindorf district, arrested on November 29–30, 1937, were sentenced to capital punishment on April 26, 1938. Another example of the conveyance of Stalin's justice was toward a group of villagers of Kalinindorf – Sh. Kavnamsky, Ch. Kamraz, G. Zadov and Ch. Zubkov – who were arrested on December 17–18, 1937, on charges of anti-Soviet activities and propaganda, and on April 7, 1938, were sentenced to death by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast*.

In May 1938 the NKVD of Crimea completed its own quota of arrests, and queried Moscow whether additional numbers should be pursued. On May 17, 1938, the Simferopol apparatus received the following clarification from the NKVD of the USSR: "The operation to eliminate the counterrevolutionary spy underground of the Diaspora colony cannot be restricted to terms or numbers." In reaction, in May-June 1938 the NKVD of Crimea arrested 17 members of the collective farm "Voyo Nova" ["New Way"]. In total, through the actions of a combination of quasi-courts: 36 workers from Ukraine and Crimea were sentenced to death; 72 received various terms in corrective labor camps (from 3 to 15 years) – of whom eight died in custody; and 40 were released.

Another wave of executions followed in October 1938. During this period, the Military Collegium and the Troikas of the NKVD of Dnepropetrovsk and Nikolayev *oblasts* sentenced six Jewish workers to death.

The unpredictability of the fate of an arrested person was one of the characteristics of the Great Terror, where the punishment was determined not by actual fault but by operational orders – including those that ended the Great Terror campaign itself. As a case in point, the 40 farmers from Crimea mentioned above, who were arrested mostly after June 23, 1938, were released from custody mostly in spring 1939 because of "lack of evidence".

The numbers of arrested and convicted were recorded according to terminology fitting NKVD specifications – under categories called "nature of the crimes" and "political coloring".

The category "nature of the crimes" included the following designations: terror,

³⁶ Velykyy teror v Urkaïni. Kurkuls'ka operatsya 1937–1938 rr. Part 2. Kyiv, 2010. P. 108.

sabotage, wrecking, counterrevolutionary insurgency, counterrevolutionary agitation and propaganda, etc.

The term “political coloring” when applied to this group of farmers referred only to such characteristics as: membership in anti-Soviet political parties, participation in counter-revolutionary bourgeois nationalist organizations, clergy, former *kulaks*, criminals, and the other counterrevolutionary elements.

In the category of “political coloring”, the most massive group consisted of “members of nationalist (read “Zionist”) counterrevolutionary organizations” – first and foremost, farmers and former farmers of the *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” from the Saki district of Crimea, arrested in May-June 1938, who had originally come from Palestine in 1926–27. Together with other Crimean Jewish farmers, they were under investigation for two years, and only on July 2, 1940, by verdict of the Special Council of the NKVD, 25 *kolkhozniks* received verdicts ranging from 3 to 8 years in camps. Among other counter-revolutionary parties and organizations, *Bund* and *Hechalutz* were named; however, all “members of the Zionist organization *Hechalutz*” were released from custody for “lack of evidence”. Although the ethnic compositions of those arrested is obvious, it is necessary to note that the large industrial enterprise of Agro-Joint – a Repair Factory in Dzhankoy – was operated by people of various backgrounds in the multi-national Crimea, and among the arrested workers were two Greeks, two Germans, and a Russian.

The majority of all arrested in *kolkhozes* and settlements supported by Agro-Joint were regular farmers (58 in Ukraine and 63 in Crimea) – in total, 121 members of collective farms. All repressed were directly or indirectly related to agricultural production; in the reports of local branches of the NKVD they were described as “counter-revolutionary elements”. The blows of “the punishing sword of the proletariat” struck ordinary farmers, agronomists, machine operators, drivers, and teachers with the same intensity as they struck Agro-Joint officials.

JEWISH REFUGEE DOCTORS

Jewish doctors in Germany were among the first to experience the gravity of the new reality ushered in by the Nazis’ rise to power in January 1933. In the early months of the Nazi regime, anti-Jewish laws were enacted on an almost daily basis. Additional laws implemented in April 1933 barred Jewish physicians from clinics and hospitals that were funded under the national health insurance.

The majority lost their jobs and turned to seeking new positions abroad, mostly in Holland and France. Their situation became a source of concern for several Jewish international organizations – mainly JDC and OSE, the Jewish international health organization headquartered in Paris.

In 1933 JDC, based on its ten-year experience in the USSR with its Agro-Joint program, began to consider the possibility of resettling German Jewish doctors in the Soviet Union. The idea was enthusiastically supported by the Moscow administration of Agro-Joint – specifically, its resident directors I. Grower and S. Lubarsky. To set the idea in motion, JDC drew on Rosen’s long-term personal contacts with Gregory Kaminsky, the People’s Commissar of Public Health.

The first group of refugee doctors arrived in the USSR in May 1934. In September 1934, Rosen wrote to JDC-NY that in response to requests from the People's Commissar of Public Health, jobs had been found and guaranteed by local health administrations in the USSR, though the specifics of the positions to be offered would have to await the doctors' arrival in Moscow:

With reference to the German doctors. Looking over the situation here I am quite sure that a good many doctors and technicians could be placed here, but the way to go about it is not through correspondence.³⁷

JDC leadership viewed the future of the doctors' resettlement program and job placement with optimism. On January 9, 1935, Rosen presented following to the Meeting of JDC's Committee on Budget and Scope:

We have trained several thousand young people in Russia. In addition, we are planning to bring into Russia about 200 German doctors, chemists and engineers, for whom we made connections outside of Russia, and for whom we have equipped a new house in Moscow. We take these refugees in groups of ten.³⁸

In May 1936, the OSE Office in Paris prepared a "List of Doctors Who Have Found Positions in Russia", according to which there were 66 doctors and 4 non-doctors comprising, with family members, 110 persons. At that time, JDC was expecting visas for 77 persons, and was studying the possibility of 100 doctors.³⁹

How JDC's actions and responsibilities in implementing the resettlement program dovetailed with those of OSE and the People's Commissariat of Public Health was summarized 1 ½ years later as follows:

- The JDC work was conducted in cooperation with OSE in Paris. As a medical organization, OSE was in a position to provide information on the qualifications of the applicants from the point of view of their professional training and adjustability to Russia. JDC also kept in touch with the Doctors' Committee in Berlin.
- The expenses involved in bringing the doctors to the Russian border were covered in some instances by the doctors themselves, and in other cases by various organizations, including the Hilfsverein,⁴⁰ HICEM⁴¹ and JDC. When the doctors reached the border, Agro-Joint assumed care for them. JDC generally sent them (Russian) money – through the Russian bank at the border – to pay for their tickets to Moscow. In Moscow, they were met by Agro-Joint workers who brought them to the Agro-Joint house in the suburb of Malakhovka, which had been made available

³⁷ Russian State Military Archive. RG 722, Subdivision 1, File 37, P. 275.

³⁸ Russian State Military Archive. RG 722, Subdivision 1, File 270a, P. 90.

³⁹ *Ibid*, P. 213.

⁴⁰ The Hilfsverein der Juden in Deutschland (Jewish Aid in Germany) was an organization established by German Jews in 1901 to engage in social welfare and educational activities among needy Jews. It remained in operation until 1941, and during the Nazi period it assisted German Jews trying to emigrate.

⁴¹ HICEM. Organization founded in 1927 to coordinate efforts of three major Jewish migration agencies: The New York based "Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society" (HIAS); the Paris based "Jewish Colonization Association" (ICA), and the Berlin based "Emigdirect".

to Agro-Joint by the Commissariat of Public Health at a nominal rental fee. The refugees stayed there for a period of from one to three weeks until they received their assignments from the Commissariat of Public Health. Agro-Joint furnished their board and lodging free of charge.

- The Commissariat of Public Health offered special courses intended for undergraduate medical students who had not received their final diplomas and had had no practical experience. The Commissariat of Public Health supplied, free of charge, lectures in special subjects and also trained them in the Russian language, while Agro-Joint fed and lodged the doctors during the period of their training. These courses lasted from four to six months.
- Doctors were not required by the Russian Government to become Russian citizens. However, when their German passports expired, the German Consulate refused to renew them. As an alternative, the doctors applied for Russian citizenship.⁴²

This last formality would ultimately determine the fate of these doctors.

The majority of the arriving doctors relatively quickly found positions matching the level of their qualifications, and settled rather comfortably into their new surroundings. On July 29, 1936, Doctor Alfred Stern, who at that time worked at the hospital in Krivoy Rog, sent the following letter to Agro-Joint co-director Grower [originally in German, translated in 1936 by the Moscow Agro-Joint office]. There is no doubt about the sincerity of this and similar letters sent to Agro-Joint:

I can sum up everything in one sentence or in two words – “Many Thanks.”

Dear Director Grower, – or better still, – dear Agro-Joint. When I begin to think that I might still have been in the fascist prison today, or no longer alive, and compare that with my present position, I can find no other words but those two that I have written you.

How are you all at the Agro-Joint in Moscow? Do you expect any more German physicians? The local Zdravotdel [Department of Health] asked me to inform you that they urgently require one X-ray specialist and one orthopedist.⁴³

The first alarming news came to the West soon after the arrest of Dr. Ernst Ascher in 1936 in Saratov. As was the case with all of their contemporaries, JDC staff in Moscow and Paris had no way of predicting the development of events and all of the coming threats, and had no idea that the news concerning Dr. Ascher reflected on the fate of all the doctors during the Great Terror.

Thus, on August 7, 1936, JDC executive Bernard Kahn wrote to Dr. Fritz Demuth, head of the Mutual Assistance Organization of German Scientists Abroad, located in London, about the arrest of Dr. Ascher:

There is no truth in the tales that are being told about the German doctors in Russia. In one case, unfortunately a German doctor made himself suspicious, especially by traveling back to Germany and again coming to Russia. These are the facts: We hope that he will soon be able to explain his behavior and that he will be released, if he is innocent. All the other doctors are very happy in Russia.

⁴² YIVO Archives, RG 358, File 35.

⁴³ Ibid.

With great confidence and irony Kahn added:

I'm sorry that I cannot comply with your request and furnish you with a list of the names of the German doctors who have been shot: but in its stead I am glad to be able to send you the very gratifying letters enclosed.⁴⁴

Unfortunately, after one and a half years of the program, such a list of doctors executed by the NKVD could have already appeared. Kahn was sincere in writing about the positive attitude of the Commissariat of Public Health and local organizations to the displaced specialists. He did not know that some Soviet doctors – from ordinary physicians to the Commissar of Public Health himself – were already being repressed along with their German refugee colleagues.

The Great Terror, which formally began in July 1937, comprised a combination of secret orders unseen and unknown to the general population, and an open propaganda campaign pursued through the press. As mentioned, the Great Terror was driven by various operational orders emanating from the Politburo and the Main Directorate of State Security of the NKVD, targeting specific social and ethnic groups to be repressed according to a master plan. The future of the refugee doctors was determined by two directives of the NKVD of July 1937.

The first directive, of July 24, 1937, entitled “About the Means of Preventing Bacteriological Diversions”, stated that:

Along with preparation of bacteriological warfare by means of throwing bacteriological bombs from airplanes, air-spraying of bacteria from airplanes, diffusion of epidemics through the use of special aircraft, etc., the intelligence services of the general military headquarters pay main attention to the organization of acts of bacteriological diversions and mass terror, partly through specially sent agents and particularly through agents recruited locally in the USSR.

Orders were given to begin arrests of persons “from foreign nations, former foreigners who assumed Soviet citizenship, persons connected with foreign countries, and active anti-Soviet elements who worked on water supply and bacteriological stations, in the institutions and laboratories that conducted microbiological research.”⁴⁵

The second Operational Order of the NKVD, No. 00439, “About the Arrest of German Subjects Suspected of Espionage against the USSR”, of July 25, 1937, dictated the arrest of citizens of Germany, as well as former German citizens who assumed Soviet citizenship, who worked mainly in the military industry and transportation⁴⁶. The arrests began on July 29, 1937. In the fall, the operation was expanded to include several categories of ethnic Germans living in the Soviet Union and other citizens who were accused of collaborating and spying for Germany. The invited doctors, and any Agro-Joint employees connected to them, became ideal targets. The refugee doctors were accused of “collaboration with a counterrevolutionary organization” founded by Dr. Rosen, head of Agro-Joint. All arrested doctors, and Agro-Joint employees con-

⁴⁴Russian State Military Archive. RG 722, Subdivision 1, File 270a, PP. 34–35.

⁴⁵Okhotin N., Roginsky A. Great Terror: 1937–1938. Brief Chronology. Memorial Society web-site: http://www.memo.ru/history/y1937/hronika1936_1939/xronika.html#y1

⁴⁶Lubyanka. Stalin i glavnoe upravlenie gosbezopasnosti NKVD. Arkhiv Stalina. 1937–1938. Moscow, 2004. P. 272.

nected to them, allegedly received “a special assignment to organize acts of bacteriological diversion on a territory of the USSR,” and were charged with participation in a “counterrevolutionary terrorist organization consisting of Agro-Joint workers and doctors-microbiologists” directed to assassinate members of the Soviet government.

According to our incomplete data, during the summer and the fall of 1937, 15 refugee doctors were arrested – mainly in Crimea and in Chelyabinsk. The doctors Julius Kan (therapist in the sanatorium), Vladislav Gruenberg (doctor at the medical center of the Tractor Factory), Hans Lewenstaedt (bacteriologist of the sanitary health station), and Fredrick Finckel (doctor at the medical center of Factory No. 78) had been invited by the local Department of Public Health to the city of Chelyabinsk, a remotely located “new flagship of industrial acceleration.” Some of the doctors had arrived in the USSR with the support of Agro-Joint, and some had come by other routes.

After the arrest of the local doctors in August 1937, the NKVD of Chelyabinsk *oblast* requested that the doctors’ colleagues from Crimea and Moscow also be transferred to Chelyabinsk. Thus, four refugee physicians – Erich Ber, Arnold Wilmer, Paul Heymann, and James Levin – were moved from Crimea and Moscow to Chelyabinsk and were sentenced to execution by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. Parallel to that process in Crimea, in Ukraine and in Moscow the doctors Leo Friedlaender, Epstein Herman, and Ernst Sussmanowitz were arrested.

The local organs of State Security fabricated specifics to attach to the interrogation cases according to orders from the Kremlin. Up to the end of 1937, the main emphasis was placed on “sabotage” and “counterrevolutionary propaganda”.

In November 1937, word of the repressions of the doctors reached the West. On December 10, 1937, the Jewish Telegraphic Agency carried disturbing stories about the difficulties that German Jewish doctors were experiencing in the Soviet Union:

Paris, Dec. 9 (JTA) – A number of Jewish refugee physicians from Germany who found employment in Soviet hospitals have been ordered to leave the Soviet Union as part of a general drive against foreigners, it was learned here today. About 80 German-Jewish doctors live in Russia and it is feared that all will be affected if the anti-alien measures are carried out. Virtually all citizens of foreign nations are being notified that their residential permits may not be renewed.

Several doctors who had not assumed Soviet citizenship were sent out of the USSR as “unwanted foreigners suspected of espionage”. On January 31, 1938, JDC’s Warsaw office informed JDC’s European headquarters in Paris about the arrival of refugee doctors deported from the USSR. At that time, the German Refugee Committee functioning in Warsaw became the address where the deported doctors sought aid:

Of late we are witnessing a new phenomenon in our activity about which we feel you must be informed in order to refer it to the particular Joint authorities.

Recently there are coming to our Committee people deported from Soviet Russia belonging to liberal professions. These are German citizens, doctors or engineers, who had left Germany, mostly to France, and who went from there to Soviet Russia as specialists on grounds of a contract. According to their relatives foreign specialists are now being arrested in Soviet Russia. After being confined a certain time, they are being brought to the frontier. There they receive a passport with a Polish transit visa

authorizing them to remain 2 or 3 days in Poland, and with a visa to Germany. In these circumstances they are left nothing else but to return to Germany.

These are mostly people who were engaged once in the social or political life of pre-Hitler Germany. Their forced return to this country will thus expose them to all kinds of persecutions or confinement in a concentration camp.⁴⁷

On March 4, 1938, Rosen communicated with a Jewish welfare organization in Prague: [...] You state that among the German refugees there are 13 persons expelled from Russia. We shall be very much obliged if you will kindly give us the names and addresses of these 13 persons, together with full particulars of their cases – whence they came, etc. etc., also their occupation.⁴⁸

Another attack on the refugee doctors occurred after the open political trial in Moscow concerning “The Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites” held on March 2–13, 1938, during which a group of politicians and physicians was accused of poisoning Kuibyshev and Gorky, plotting against Lenin and Stalin, organizing industrial sabotage, diversions, conspiracy in order to disintegrate the USSR, and other charges. The stenographic record of the process, indictment, and verdict of the Military Collegium was published in the major newspapers, which popularized the idea of a doctor-poisoner and implanted the concept in the mass consciousness. The phantom of the doctor-killer emerged from the closed protocols of investigations into the pages of the press. According to the published materials:

On the instruction of enemy of the people L. Trotsky, the leaders of the “Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites” in 1934 adopted a decision to assassinate the great proletarian writer, Maxim Gorky. The organization of this monstrous terrorist act was entrusted to Yagoda, who initiated Dr. Levin, M. Gorky’s family doctor, and the physician Pletnev into the purposes of the conspiracy and instructed them to bring about the death of M. Gorky by wrecking [sic!] methods of treatment; which was carried out with Dr. Levin having played the leading part in this criminal act.⁴⁹

Among the other targets of attempted assassinations by the doctors-poisoners were listed Gorky’s son Peshkov, and the head of the NKVD, N. Yezhov. Propaganda concerning the uncovering of plots and the liquidation of spy networks allowed the country’s leadership to conceal accusations against its wrongdoings and faults on the way to building a bright future. Being careful examiners of the court proceedings published in the central newspapers, the NKVD officers brought to life the logic and style of Stalin’s justice. Publication in the press of the complete texts of the staged trial supplied convenient formulas to the interrogators.

During the peak of the repressions in March 1938 initiated by the trial of the “Anti-Soviet Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites”, the following German refugee doctors were arrested in Moscow: Alfred Boss, Ernst Weissenberg, Lothar Wolff, Walter Domke, Kurt Silberman, Herbert Pelz, and Erich Sternberg. Arrests of refugee doctors also continued in Crimea, Kharkov, and Saratov.

⁴⁷ Russian State Military Archive. RG 722, Subdivision 1, File 270a, PP. 12–13.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, P. 9.

⁴⁹ Report of the Court Proceedings in the Case of the Anti-Soviet “Bloc of Rights and Trotskyites”. Moscow, 1938. P. 797.

On March 15, 1938, Agro-Joint co-director Ezekiel Grower – cited by the NKVD as the coordinator of the plot of Agro-Joint workers and refugee doctors – was sentenced to death by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. His indictment epitomized all the cases of the arrested Agro-Joint employees and doctors, and included the following paragraphs:

1. Was an initiator and the head spy-terrorist of the diversionist organization that prepared acts of large bacteriological diversion in the centers of the USSR for the benefit of Germany.

2. From 1926 to 1933 provided German intelligence with spy materials about the economic state of the USSR, presenting the economy of the country in an anti-Soviet light.

3. According to the orders of German intelligence, during 1935–1937, in collaboration with an agent of German intelligence, Professor Bronner, invited over twenty diversionist agents, and placed them in industrial regions in order to prepare bacteriological diversion in time of war between Germany and USSR.

4. In collaboration with Prof. Bronner and Dr. Nosov, ran a laboratory for the cultivation of bacteria with the goal of bacteriological diversion.⁵⁰

Formally, the Great Terror ended in November 1938, just after the JDC ultimately terminated the Agro-Joint venture. However, in reality, several of the arrested doctors were sentenced in 1939–1941, at the time of the supposed “restoration of the norms of socialist justice” initiated during the “cleansing” of the NKVD apparatus. Most of these doctors were executed, and those few who were sentenced to corrective labor camps (GULAG) and survived were re-arrested and re-sentenced in the late 1940s.

In 1941 the notorious Security apparatus of the Third Reich – the RSHA⁵¹ – tried to reach many of the German-Jewish doctors whose movements had been tracked to the USSR. During the *blitzkrieg* (German military invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941), the *Einsatzgruppen*⁵² carried a “List of Wanted Individuals in the USSR” (Sonderfahndungsliste UdSSR)⁵³. The following 28 doctors were mentioned as “dangerous” in this Nazi “Most Wanted List”: Elsa Ascher, Ernst Ascher, Edith Auerbach, Theodor Auerbach, Margot Benjamin, Jenny Cohen-Phillips, Betti Elberfeld, Walter Elberfeld, Hermann Epstein, Leo Friedlaender, Walter Friedlaender, Ilse Günther, Max Günther, Max Häutemann, Max Herrmann, Paul Heymann, Heinrich Lichtigfeld,

⁵⁰ Central Archives of the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation, File R–9362, P. 43.

⁵¹ Reichssicherheitshauptamt – Reich Main Security Office.

⁵² Einsatzgruppen – German paramilitary death squads that were responsible for mass killings, typically by shooting, of Jews in particular, but also significant numbers of other population groups and political categories.

⁵³ Sonderfahndungsliste UdSSR. Faksimile der ‚Sonderfahndungsliste UdSSR‘ des Chefs der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD, das Fahndungsbuch der deutschen Einsatzgruppen im Russlandfeldzug, 1941 (Erlangen: Verlag D+C, 1977). This source had been mentioned in article by Carola Tischler *Crossing over: The Emigration of German-Jewish Physician to the Soviet Union after 1933 // Doing medicine together: Germany and Russia between the wars*. Toronto, 2006.

James Levin, Wilhelm Mainzer, Hugo Natanssen, John Katzenstein, Herbert Pelz, Siegbert Proskauer, Ernst Rosenfeld, Erich Sternberg, Arnold Wilmer, Lothar Wolff and Reinhardt Wolff.

However, the majority of those on the “Wanted” list had already been executed or were serving terms in camps.

CONCLUSION

The generational shift among JDC leaders, combined with the tragic events of World War II and the impenetrability of the Iron Curtain, prevented the JDC administration from fully comprehending the experience of its sad exodus from the USSR. Agro-Joint’s activities were based solely on the loyalty of their devoted resident specialists, who were directors, agronomists, and managers in Soviet society. Rosen maintained the only link between Agro-Joint and the world of American philanthropy; his departure from the Soviet Union in 1938 created a gap in future generations’ understanding of the role of that important era in the history of JDC and Soviet Jewry. Documents reveal that at least ten years after he left, Rosen himself was still unaware of the gravity and breadth of the repression against Agro-Joint. In an April 1948 letter he notified JDC executive Evelyn Morrissey⁵⁴ what he had apparently just learned from survivors: “Both Lubarsky and Grower are dead. Lubarsky died in exile, he was accused of belonging to an anti-collectivist organization of agronomists. Grower died while in prison.”⁵⁵ (Sadly, even when word finally reached these families on the death of their loved ones a full ten years before, the information was inaccurate.)

A year before – in September 1947 – when JDC held a memorial ceremony for staff who had fallen in the line of duty since the agency’s inception in 1914, no names of any fallen Agro-Joint employees were mentioned and none appeared on a bronze memorial plaque unveiled on the occasion. Ten years after the tragic deaths of its Agro-Joint employees, JDC’s leaders were still not aware of their fates. At the memorial ceremony Edward Warburg⁵⁶, JDC’s Chairman, made the following imprecise statement: “At this moment, we cannot give you the total number of the persons whose memories to honor. We know, however, that the number includes several hundreds. Among them are the staffs of our pre-war offices in Poland, Germany, France and other countries.”⁵⁷

The new generation of JDC leaders apparently did not consider USSR a country where the organization could have once functioned. This state of mind was compounded at the end of the 1940s, when JDC’s work throughout Eastern Europe was terminated by regimes falling under the shadow of the Iron Curtain. A factor that further contributed to the distancing of JDC from the USSR was the traumatic expe-

⁵⁴ Morrissey, Evelyn M. (1915–1966). Morrissey was a member of JDC Executive staff and Assistant Treasurer from 1939 to 1951.

⁵⁵ JDC NY Archives, Collection 1945–1964, File 3187.

⁵⁶ Warburg, Edward M. (1908–1992). AJJDC Chairman, 1941–1943, 1946–1965.

⁵⁷ JDC NY Archives, Collection 1945–1964, File 3278.

rience of Stalin's final campaign of 1953 – the “Doctors’ Plot” – when Soviet newspapers characterized JDC as “a dirty spy Zionist organization, hiding behind the mask of philanthropy.”

The keeper of the historical memory of Agro-Joint became James Rosenberg, who in his later years manifested a disconnected outlook on the final chapter of the organization. In a letter of September 23, 1960, to painter Rockwell Kent (a great friend of the Soviet Union), Rosenberg corrected a mistake he had made in a previous letter regarding the termination of JDC's activities in the USSR, and presented a new wishful version of the program's conclusion:

My long letter to you of September 21st states, at the bottom of page 3, that “Throughout the years from 1921 to 1928”, etc. 1928 was a misprint. The date should have been 1938, the year when the Soviet Union terminated our work, and sent Dr. Rosen and his assistants back to the United States.⁵⁸

More than thirty years ago, the renowned scholar Yehuda Bauer pointed out that “the full story will have to wait until the Agro-Joint files in Russia are opened to scholarly inspection at some future date.”⁵⁹ Indeed, systematic research on Agro-Joint's history became possible only when archival holdings in the countries of the former Soviet Union were made accessible.⁶⁰

In the meantime, a large amount of material on the tragic times of the Great Terror and the fate of Agro-Joint workers and their colleagues still requires additional analysis.

In the material assembled in this documented study, the Russian-language reader can examine the tragic story of Agro-Joint's final years in the USSR. The material has been arranged to move from the general to the particular. The first two chapters are devoted to the history of Agro-Joint from 1924 to 1936, and the Agro-Joint experience during the time of the Great Terror (1937–1938). The next chapters move from historical narrative to harsh individual and group realities: three chapters present an analysis of the interrogation files of all Agro-Joint employees arrested in Moscow, Dnepropetrovsk and Crimea. The account of each geographical group is accompanied by a review of the NKVD apparatus' activities in each region and their application to Agro-Joint. The next two chapters deal with larger groups of repressed workers connected with Agro-Joint: members of Jewish collective farms from Ukraine and Crimea; and German-Jewish refugee doctors invited by Agro-Joint to the USSR.

This work provides the reader with original documentary material necessary to understand the regional and institutional dimensions of the Great Terror. Included in this work are: lists of individuals in the various categories of the repressed (Agro-Joint employees, members of the Jewish collective farms, and German-Jewish doctors);

⁵⁸ JDC-NY Archives, Collection 1921–1932, File 512A.

⁵⁹ Bauer Y. *My Brother's Keeper: A History of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee 1929–1939*. Philadelphia, 1974, P. 124.

⁶⁰ Jonathan L. Dekel-Chen accumulated a large number of sources in his book, *Farming the Red Land* (Yale, 2005), one of the most important publications on the subject in the last two decades.

geographical and name indices; short bios on Party and NKVD functionaries and JDC-related victims of the Great Terror mentioned in the texts; and a list of major sources. The chapter in English is more than a traditional summary: it presents an historical overview of events, as well as translations of all lists and four samples of original documents appearing in the Russian text.

This publication, based on the interrogation files of repressed Agro-Joint employees, *kolkhozniks*, and German-Jewish doctors, allows us to recreate events and commemorate this group of victims of the Great Purge.

APPENDICES

Four Translated Documents

Document 1¹

Verdict on the case of Boris Chanis, Director of Agro-Joint for Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*. October 29, 1937

THE VERDICT

In the name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
the Itinerant Session of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR,
consisting of:

President:

Divisional Military Jurist A. M. Orlov

Members:

Brigade Military Jurist S. I. Zhdan

Military Jurist First Rank F. A. Klimin

Secretary:

Military Jurist First Rank A. A. Batner

in a closed Court session, in the City of Kiev, on October 29, 1937, heard the case
against:

Chanis Boris Moiseevich, born 1886, former Head Doctor of the Hospital of the
Oblast Industrial Insurance Fund and Director of Agro-Joint for Dnepropetrovsk
oblast – being charged with having committed crimes covered by Articles 54–1a, 54–8
and 54–11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

The preliminary and court investigations have established that:

The accused Chanis Boris was an active participant of a counterrevolutionary ter-
rorist Trotskyite organization that functioned in Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*.

The accused Chanis was recruited in 1936 by Vagonov – one of the active partici-
pants of the abovementioned organization – and, instructed by the abovementioned,
conducted activities directed to the creation of Trotskyite cadres. Besides, the accused
Chanis carried on active anti-Soviet propaganda, was closely connected with the
GESTAPO, and had a special assignment to organize acts of bacteriological diversions
on a territory of the USSR. Hereby, the accused Chanis has committed crimes covered
by Articles 54–1a, 54–8 and 54–11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

On the basis of the above, and guided by Articles 296 and 297 of the Code of
Criminal Procedure of the Ukrainian SSR,

¹ State Archives of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*, Record Group 6478, subdivision 2, file P–8490,
page 82.

The Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR

SENTENCES

Chanis Boris Moiseevich to the supreme penalty – to be shot, with the confiscation of all his personal property. The verdict is final and, on the basis of the Decree of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR of December 1, 1934, has to be carried out immediately.

President (signature)

Members (two signatures)

Document 2²

Verdict in the case of Zalman Czesky, April 17, 1938

Extract from a Protocol of the Court Troika of the NKVD
of the Crimean ASSR from April 17, 1938

HEARD [THE CASE AGAINST]	DECIDED
<p>Interrogative case # 5610 by the Kolay district of the NKVD of the Crimean ASSR</p> <p>Czesky Zalman Yakovlevich, born in 1874 in Lipovets, Vinnitsa <i>oblast</i>; Jew; citizen of the USSR; merchant; owner of meat store; before arrest worked in settlers' collective farm of section # 106 of the Kolay district.</p> <p>In that:</p> <p>Disseminated among <i>kolkhozniks</i> counterrevolutionary agitation against the collectivization policy of the Party and government.</p> <p>Distributed among <i>kolkhozniks</i> counterrevolutionary slander against the Constitution of the USSR.</p> <p>With a goal of the disruption of the economic and political campaigns, organized and conducted illegal religious gatherings.</p> <p>Sneaked to the <i>kolkhoz</i>, engaged in the speculation and resale of livestock.</p> <p>Did not admit guilt, but was proven guilty by testimonies of witnesses during face-to-face questioning.</p> <p>Arrested on February 8, 1938; is retained in custody in Simferopol prison.</p>	<p>Czesky Zalman Yakovlevich – to be shot.</p> <p>His personal property – to be confiscated.</p> <p>Case – to be transferred to archive.</p>

²State Archives of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Record Group R-4808, subdivision 1, file 015310, page 43.

Document 3³

**Verdict on the case of David Dashkovsky, Ayzik Gamburg and
Yefim Ashkenazi – Agro-Joint workers in Crimea. October 29, 1938**

Extract from a Protocol of the Court Troika of the NKVD
of the Crimean ASSR From October 29, 1938

HEARD [THE CASE AGAINST]	DECIDED
<p>§ 68. Dashkovsky David Kalmanovich, born in 1885 in Zvenigorodka, Kiev oblast; Jew; citizen of the USSR; twice summoned for financial crimes; arrested in the past as a currency profiteer; before current arrest – manager of a farm of the sanatorium of Kharkov Military District.</p> <p>In that: Was a member of the counterrevolutionary Jewish bourgeois-nationalistic espionage organization created by German intelligence.</p> <p>While working at Agro-Joint, collected spy information, which was transferred to Zaitchik, the agent of German intelligence.</p> <p>Was in close connection with Feinkleben, the resident agent of German intelligence, who sent him a large amount of money from abroad.</p> <p>Admitted his guilt.</p> <p>Arrested on July 14, 1937; is retained in custody in Simferopol prison.</p> <p>§ 69. Milostov Yeremey Borokhovich, a.k.a. Gamburg Ayzik Yakovlevich, born in Berezino, BSSR; Jew; citizen of the USSR; former member of the Zionist party; before arrest worked in collective farm.</p> <p>In that: Being an agent of Swiss intelligence, was ordered to collect spy information, which he transferred through spy Polonsky, the head of the Trotskyite group, who resided in Tuapse.</p> <p>For completing espionage orders he received monetary rewards, and also a woolen suit and shoes.</p> <p>While living in Ukraine, was one of the active members of the Zionist organization, and in the year 1934 joined the Trotskyite groups, actively participating in counterrevolutionary work.</p> <p>Admitted his guilt.</p> <p>Arrested on December 9, 1937; is retained in custody in Simferopol prison.</p>	<p>Dashkovsky David Kalmanovich – to be shot.</p> <p>His personal property – to be confiscated.</p> <p>Case – to be transferred to archive.</p> <p>Milostov Yeremey Borochoovich, a.k.a. Gamburg Ayzik Yakovlevich – to be shot.</p> <p>His personal property – to be confiscated.</p> <p>Case – to be transferred to archive.</p>

³ State Archives of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, Record Group R–4808, subdivision 1, file 06846, pages 177–178.

<p>§ 70. Ashkenazi Yefim Savelyevich, born in 1894 in Dzhankoy; former prominent merchant; owned store selling textiles and groceries; Jew; citizen of the USSR; was convicted in 1923 for counterrevolutionary activities; before current arrest – book-keeper of the Agro-Joint office in Simferopol.</p> <p>In that:</p> <p>Was member of the counterrevolutionary Jewish bourgeois-nationalistic spy organization created by German intelligence. Collected spy information for German intelligence. Conducted counterrevolutionary nationalist propaganda among Jewish population.</p> <p>Did not admit guilt, but was proved guilty by testimonies of the accused Mogarychev and Milostov-Gamburg.</p> <p>Arrested on December 9, 1937; is retained in custody in Simferopol prison.</p>	<p>Ashkenazi Yefim Savelyevich – to be shot.</p> <p>His personal property – to be confiscated.</p> <p>Case – to be transferred to archive.</p>
--	--

Document 4⁴

Certificate of the rehabilitation of Ezekiel Grower, November 18, 1957

The Military Collegium
of the Supreme Court of the USSR
November 18, 1957
Moscow, Vorovsky St., 15

CERTIFICATE

The case of the accused Grower Ezekiel Abramovich, before arrest on November 27, 1937, vice-director of Agro-Joint in Moscow, has been reconsidered by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on November 14, 1957.

The sentence of the Military Collegium from March 15, 1938, with regard to Grower I.A., was changed in the light of the new circumstances revealed, and proceedings against him have been discontinued.

Grower I. A. is rehabilitated posthumously.

Signed:

Chairman of the Military Collegium
of the Supreme Court of the USSR

Colonel of Law: Kostromin

(signature)

Seal of the Military Collegium
of the Supreme Court of the USSR

⁴Grower family archives in Moscow.

Ose. Paris May 4 1936.

LIST OF VICTIMS OF THE GREAT TERROR

Dear Sirs:

We are sending you herewith a list of the doctors who have found positions in Russia: 66 doctors and 4 non-doctors; comprising with members of family 110 persons. We are expecting visas for 77 persons (list of Agrojoint dated ^{translated from Russian} 10th April).

We are now studying the case of 100 doctors.
THE ENACTMENT No. 1038
OF THE COUNCIL OF PEOPLE'S COMMISSARS
of the Union of the USSR very truly

October 2, 1938 S. E.
Kremlin, Moscow.

The agreement between the Government of the Union of the USSR as party of the first part and the American Society for Jewish Farm Settlements in the USSR ("Society") and the American Jewish Joint Agricultural Corporation ("Agrojoint"), as party of the second part, concerning the liquidation of the activities of "Society" and "Agrojoint" in the USSR, signed at Moscow on the first day of October, 1938, in the name of the Government of the USSR by Zachar Moiseevitch BELENKY and in the name of "Society" and "Agrojoint" by the representative Joseph A. Rosen - is hereby ratified

President of the Council
of the People's Commissars
of the Union of the USSR - V. Molotov.

Council of
SEAL of the People's
Commissars of the USSR

Chief of the Administrative
Office of the Council of
People's Commissars of the
Union of the USSR - N. Petrunichev.

The above translation from
Russian into English is
correct.

M. Guevara
[Signature]

True copy
assist. to the Chief of
the Secretariat of the
Administrative Office
of the Council of People's
Commissars of the Union of
the USSR
signed M. Artamonova

I. List of Agro-Joint and JDC Workers: Victims of Political Repression in the USSR

Ashkenazi Yefim

Born in 1894 in Taurida *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Incomplete secondary education. Bookkeeper of Agro-Joint office in Simferopol. Arrested on December 9, 1937. Sentenced to death on October 29, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of participation in a counterrevolutionary Jewish bourgeois-nationalistic spy organization created by German intelligence. Shot in October 1938. Rehabilitated on July 3, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District.

Berlinsky Abram

Born in 1905 in Yekaterinoslav *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Secondary education. Chief Accountant of Agro-Joint office in Moscow. Arrested on September 27, 1937. On April 1, 1938, was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of suspicion of espionage. After he served the term, was arrested a second time on November 17, 1948, on the same charge. On October 17, 1949, received indeterminate sentence by the Special Council of MGB⁵. Rehabilitated on April 14, 1956, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Bizer Zeylik

Born in 1901 in Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). University graduate. Agro-Joint agronomist in Crimea. Arrested on August 9, 1938. On April 11, 1940, was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in the corrective labor camps on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet organization. Died in camp in Magadan *oblast* on December 13, 1941. Rehabilitated on November 23, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District.

Bogatin Naum

Born in 1915 in Vitebsk *gubernia* (now Belarus). Incomplete secondary education. Technician of Agro-Joint office in Moscow. Arrested on August 25, 1938. On April 3, 1939, was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in the corrective labor camps on the charge of participation in a counterrevolutionary organization and espionage. Imprisoned until September 2, 1946. Rehabilitated on December 7, 1964, by the Military Tribunal of Moscow Military District. Emigrated to USA in 1973.

Chanis Boris

Born in 1886 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). University graduate. Head doctor of Agro-Joint-supported hospital, and Director of Agro-Joint for Dnepropetrovsk

⁵ Ministerstvo Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti – Ministry of State Security, from March 1946.

oblast. Arrested on June 19, 1937. Sentenced to death on October 29, 1937, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of participation in a counterrevolutionary terrorist organization. Shot on October 30, 1937. Rehabilitated on January 28, 1958, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Chanis Aleksandr, son of Boris Chanis

Born in 1917 in Dnepropetrovsk. Student of the Transport Institute. Arrested on September 8, 1937. Sentenced to death on January 27, 1938, by decision of the NKVD and the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR, on the charge of anti-Soviet manifestations and intention of revenge. Shot on February 8, 1938. Rehabilitated on January 10, 1958, by the Military Tribunal of Kiev Military District.

Chanis-Roginskaya Sima, wife of Boris Chanis

Born in 1894 in Minsk *gubernia* (now Belarus). University graduate. Doctor at the Bacteriology Institute. Arrested on September 8, 1937. As a member of the family of a traitor to the Motherland, she was sentenced on December 16, 1937, to 8 years in the corrective labor camps by the Special Council of the NKVD. Imprisoned until September 17, 1945. Rehabilitated on July 31, 1958, by the Military Tribunal of Kiev Military District. Died in 1979.

Chanis Yuri, son of Boris Chanis

Born in 1924 in Dnepropetrovsk. Student of School # 34. As a member of the family of a traitor to the Motherland, on September 9, 1937, transferred to Children's Home # 4 by the NKVD of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*. Veteran of WW II.

Chanukov Semen

Born in 1899 in Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). University graduate. Regional agronomist. Arrested on March 10, 1938. Sentenced to death on April 11, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast* on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet Zionist espionage organization. Shot on April 29, 1938. Rehabilitated on August 15, 1958, by the Military Tribunal of Kiev Military District.

Dashkovsky David

Born in 1885 in Kiev *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Secondary education. Instructor-agronomist in Crimea. Arrested on July 11, 1937. Sentenced to death on October 29, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of participation in a counterrevolutionary Jewish bourgeois-nationalistic spy organization created by German intelligence. Shot on October 1938. Rehabilitated on July 3, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District.

Fabrikant Aleksandr

Born in 1881 in Mogilev (now Belarus). University graduate. Agro-Joint consultant, professor at the Agricultural Academy in Moscow. Arrested on March 22, 1930.

Sentenced to three years in camps by the OGPU⁶ Collegium Judicial Session on January 26, 1932. Released early. Arrested a second time by the MGB of the USSR on September 18, 1948. Rehabilitated in 1987.

Feigin Aleksandr

Born in 1888 in Bessarabia *gubernia* (now Moldova). University graduate. Agronomist. Director of the Jewish Colonization Society office in Nikopol. Arrested on January 31, 1938. Sentenced to death on April 11, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast* on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet Zionist espionage organization. Shot on April 29, 1938. Rehabilitated on August 15, 1958, by the Military Tribunal of Kiev Military District.

Fridberg Avraam

Born in 1902 in Chernigov *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Secondary education. Regional Agronomist. Arrested on March 23, 1938. Sentenced to death on April 11, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast* on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet Zionist espionage organization. Shot on April 29, 1938. Rehabilitated on August 15, 1958, by the Military Tribunal of Kiev Military District.

Frishberg Arkady

Born in 1887 in Volhynia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). University graduate. Head of Agro-Joint Supply Department in Moscow. Arrested on March 12, 1938. Sentenced to death on June 1, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Moscow *oblast* on the charge of participation in a counterrevolutionary espionage-diversion organization. Shot on June 14, 1938. Rehabilitated on September 9, 1957.

Frucht Lazar

Born in 1897 in Minsk (now Belarus). University graduate. Agro-Joint agronomist in Crimea. Arrested on August 14, 1938 on the charge of espionage for USA. On April 5, 1940, was released by NKVD of Crimea because of lack of evidentiary support.

Godlevsky Lev

Born in 1895 in Vilna (now Lithuania). Secondary education. Agro-Joint agronomist in Crimea. Arrested on February 4, 1938. Sentenced to death on February 11, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of wrecking in agriculture. Shot on March 20, 1938. Rehabilitated on October 19, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District.

Godlevsky Miron

Born in 1874 in Kovno *gubernia* (now Lithuania). University graduate. Agro-Joint agronomist, professor of the Agricultural Institute in Crimea. Arrested on July 14,

⁶Ob'edinennoe gosudarstvennoe politicheskoe upravlenie – Joint State Political Directorate, from November 1923.

1938. On October 23, 1939, was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in exile in Kazakhstan on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet organization. Died in Chkalov *oblast*. Rehabilitated on February 14, 1957, by the Presidium of the *Oblast* Court in Crimea.

Grower Ezekiel

Born in 1886 in Grodno (now Belarus). University graduate. Lawyer. Vice-Director of Agro-Joint, residing in Moscow. Arrested on November 27, 1937. Sentenced to death on March 15, 1938, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of espionage. Shot on March 15, 1938. Rehabilitated on November 14, 1957, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Ioelson Isaac

Born in 1896 in Kurland *gubernia* (now Latvia). Incomplete university education. Vice-Chief Accountant of Agro-Joint office in Moscow. Arrested on March 11, 1938. On June 10, 1938, was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 10 years in camps on the charge of counterrevolutionary activities. Died in camp in Magadan *oblast* on November 28, 1938. Rehabilitated on January 7, 1957, by the Military Tribunal of Moscow Military District.

Itkin Moisei

Born in 1899 in Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). University graduate. Agronomist. Acting Director of the Ukrainian office of Agro-Joint in Dnepropetrovsk. Arrested on January 13, 1938. Sentenced to death on April 11, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast* on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet Zionist espionage organization. Shot on May 9, 1938. Rehabilitated on August 15, 1958, by the Military Tribunal of Kiev Military District.

Lubarsky Samuil

Born in 1878 in Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). University graduate. Agronomist. Vice-Director of Agro-Joint, residing in Moscow. Arrested on March 27, 1938. Sentenced to death on September 1, 1938, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of participation in a counterrevolutionary terrorist organization. Shot on September 1, 1938. Rehabilitated on October 13, 1959, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Mazo Samuil

Born in 1897 in Minsk *gubernia*, (now Belarus). University graduate. Agronomist. Acting Director of the Ukrainian office of Agro-Joint in Dnepropetrovsk. Arrested on March 19, 1938. Sentenced to death on April 11, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast* on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet Zionist espionage organization. Shot on April 29, 1938. Rehabilitated on August 15, 1958, by the Military Tribunal of Kiev Military District.

Milshtein Isaac

Born in 1890 in Bessarabia *gubernia* (now Moldova). Secondary education. JDC representative in the Balkan countries. Arrested in Kishinev on July 9, 1940. On November 2, 1940, was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in corrective labor camps as a socially dangerous element. Died in camp in Sverdlovsk *oblast* on April 13, 1942. Rehabilitated according to a Decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on January 16, 1989.

Mogarychev Ilya

Born in 1889 in Taurida *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Incomplete secondary education. Manager of Agro-Joint office in Simferopol. Arrested on December 8, 1937. Sentenced to death on February 9, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of active participation in anti-Soviet propaganda. Shot on February 10, 1938. Rehabilitated on November 23, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District.

Poltinnikov Chanan

Born in 1896 in Mogilev *gubernia* (now Belarus). Elementary education. Director of chicken farm on the *kolkhoz* named after Lenin. Arrested on March 24, 1938. Sentenced to death on April 11, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast* on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet Zionist espionage organization. Shot on April 29, 1938. Rehabilitated on August 15, 1958, by the Military Tribunal of Kiev Military District.

Raskin Simon

Born in 1894 in Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Secondary education. Agro-Joint agronomist in Crimea. Arrested on September 26, 1938. On May 26, 1939, was released by the decision of the Investigation Department of the NKVD of Crimea.

Redkin Vladimir

Born in 1899 in Taurida *gubernia* (now Ukraine). University education. Director of Agro-Joint in Crimea. Arrested on December 26, 1937. On April 11, 1940, was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in corrective labor camps on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet organization. After completion of the term, worked as an agronomist in Central Asia, decorated with the Order of Lenin. Rehabilitated on November 23, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District.

Serebryany Zinovy

Born in 1891 in Nikolaev (now Ukraine). University graduate. Doctor (radiologist) in Kremlin Hospital. Director of Agro-Joint Medical Department. Arrested on February 25, 1938. Sentenced to death on March 25, 1939, by the Military Tribunal of Moscow Military District on the charge of planning a terrorist diversion. Shot on July

31, 1939. Rehabilitated on February 25, 1998, by the Military Prosecutor's Office of Moscow Military District.

Tchaykin Abram

Born in 1890 in Smolensk *gubernia* (now Russia). Incomplete university education. Manager of Agro-Joint office in Moscow. Arrested on March 10, 1938. On June 10, 1938, was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 10 years in corrective labor camps on the charge of counterrevolutionary activities. Died in camp in Magadan *oblast* on February 27, 1940. Rehabilitated on August 31, 1989, by the Military Prosecutor's Office of Moscow Military District.

Tsyrulnikov Yuri

Born in 1894 in Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Secondary education. Agronomist. Secretary of Planning of Agro-Joint office in Moscow. Arrested on March 12, 1938. Sentenced to death on June 20, 1939, by the Military Tribunal of Moscow Military District on the charge of participation in a counterrevolutionary terrorist organization. Shot on September 25, 1939. Rehabilitated on September 25, 1958, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Zaitchik Aron

Born in 1898 in Yekaterinoslav *gubernia* (now Ukraine). University graduate. Agronomist. Researcher. Director of Agro-Joint for Crimea. Arrested on November 27, 1937. On April 11, 1940, was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in corrective labor camps on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet organization. Died in camp in Magadan *oblast* on March 12, 1943. Rehabilitated on November 23, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District.

II. List of Members of the *Kolkhozes* and Citizens of Districts Served by Agro-Joint: Victims of the Great Terror in the USSR

Abarbanel Morduch

Born in 1903 in Vitebsk. Member of *kolkhoz* named after Molotov in Kolay district of Crimea. Arrested on December 5, 1937. Sentenced to 5 years in camps on May 12, 1938, by the Supreme Court of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of defamation of character of leaders of Party and government. Rehabilitated on June 7, 1993, by the Prosecutor's Office of Crimea.

Altchausen Srul

Born in 1893 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Molotovo of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on February 22, 1938. Sentenced to death on April 16, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on charges of counterrevolutionary activities and anti-Soviet agitation. Shot on June 10, 1938. Rehabilitated on May 29, 1968, by the Presidium of the Kherson *oblast* Court.

Aluker Lev

Born in 1907 in Loev, Minsk *gubernia* (now Belarus). Senior agronomist of Saki Machine and Tractor Station. Arrested on June 24, 1938, as member of a Zionist organization. On December 9, 1938, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Andrusiak Yankel

Born in 1907 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* "Nayleben" [New Life] of Larindorf district, Crimea. Arrested on September 9, 1937. On April 4, 1938, sentenced by the Supreme Court of Crimea to 5 years in camps for counterrevolutionary agitation of a slanderous character. Rehabilitated on June 17, 1993, by the Prosecutor's Office of Crimea.

Arav Israel

Born in 1905 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Deputy representative of KOMZET for Crimea in Simferopol. Arrested on April 9, 1938, as member of a counterrevolutionary Zionist organization and wrecking in finance. On September 15, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Aronov Yefim

Born in 1882 in Chernigov *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Deputy director of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on September 3,

1937. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps as member of a Jewish nationalist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Barabiner Ilya

Born in 1888 in Vilna *gubernia* (now Lithuania). Horseman of *kolkhoz* “Novaya Zhizn” [New Life] of Biuk-Onlar district of Crimea. Arrested on September 3, 1937. Sentenced to death on October 29, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on charges of agitation against collectivization and wrecking in the *kolkhoz*. Rehabilitated on September 21, 1989, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Crimea.

Beckman Peysach

Born in 1905 in Kurland *gubernia* (now Latvia). Driver of *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on June 18, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps as member of a Zionist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Belmes Kelman

Born in 1899 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* “Glachveyg” of Kalinindorf district of Nikolayev *oblast*. Sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 10 years in camps on the charge of counterrevolutionary agitation. Rehabilitated on May 30, 1995, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Berlin Abram

Born in 1896 in Vitebsk *gubernia* (now Belarus). Electrician in Novozlatopol, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*. Arrested on January 14, 1938. Sentenced to death on March 27, 1938, by decision of the NKVD and the Prosecutor’s Office of the USSR, on the charge of espionage. Shot on April 7, 1938. Rehabilitated in 1962.

Berzon Solomon

Born in 1900 in the Kingdom of Poland. Teacher of secondary school in Voykov-Stadt in Lenin district, Crimea. Arrested on February 4, 1938. On February 16, 1938, sentenced by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR to 10 years in camps on charges of agitation against the *kolkhozes* and circulation of rumors of a nationalist character. Rehabilitated on November 4, 1989, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Crimea.

Blum Ilya

Born in 1900 in Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on October 22, 1938. On April 14, 1939, sentenced by the Nikolayev *oblast* Court to 8 years in camps, 3 years of divestiture of rights and confiscation of property on the charge of participation in the anti-Soviet *Bund* organization. On February 14, 1940, case sent for re-examination by decision of the Supreme Court of the USSR. On November 28, 1940, released. Rehabilitated.

Boguslavsky Morduch

Born in 1882 in Kiev *gubernia*. Recorder of state farm named after Sverdlov, Larindorf district of Crimea. Arrested on June 23, 1938, as member of Zionist organization *Hechalutz*. On February 1, 1939, released for lack of evidence.

Borchov Gregory

Born in 1895 in Vilna *gubernia* (now Lithuania). Horseman of *kolkhoz* named after Sverdlov of Thälmann district, Crimea. Arrested on November 23, 1937, on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and wrecking. On February 16, 1940, released for lack of evidence.

Borkovsky Kotel

Born in 1904 in the Kingdom of Poland. Woodman of *kolkhoz* “Socdorf” [Socialistic village], Ak-Sheikh district of Crimea. Arrested on October 2, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of connection with a Polish spy. Rehabilitated on July 30, 1963, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District.

Botchman Iosif

Born in 1901 in Kiev *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Woodman of *kolkhoz* “Nayleben” of Larindorf district, Crimea. Arrested on September 9, 1937, on charges on subversive activities and religious propaganda. On February 1, 1939, released for lack of evidence.

Bril Tsipora

Born in 1907 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on June 7, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of membership in a Zionist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Bunov Boris

Born in 1904 in Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Agronomist of Seed Station in Kerch, Crimea. Arrested on July 29, 1938, as a member of Zionist organization *Hechalutz*. On April 17, 1939, released for lack of evidence.

Cherniachovsky Mikhail

Born in 1908 in Kiev *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Teacher in Agricultural College in Chebotarka, Saki district, Crimea; former livestock specialist of *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” [New Way of Life] of Saki district. Arrested on May 15, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on charges of participation in a counterrevolutionary Zionist espionage organization and counterrevolutionary propaganda. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Czesky (Czeshky) Zelman (Zalman)

Born in 1874 in Kiev *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* named after Sverdlov of Kolyay district, Crimea. Arrested on February 3, 1938. Sentenced to death and confiscation of property on April 17, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on charges of organizing a counterrevolutionary religious group, counterrevolutionary agitation and wrecking intended to collapse the *kolkhoz*. Rehabilitated on July 19, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Crimea *oblast*.

Dashevsky Boris

Born in 1883 in Zvenigorodka, Kiev *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Saddler of *kolkhoz* in Biuk-Onlar district, Crimea. Arrested on September 3, 1937. Sentenced to death on September 29, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. Rehabilitated on September 21, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Crimea *oblast*.

Doktorov Zalman

Born in 1882 in Mogilev *gubernia* (now Belarus). Member of *kolkhoz* "Frayleben" [Free Life] of Thälmann district, Crimea. Arrested on June 29, 1938, on charges of Zionist propaganda and as member of the organization *Hechalutz*. Released on January 13, 1939, for lack of evidence.

Dror-Fridman Iosif

Born in 1897 in the Kingdom of Poland. Manager of dairy of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on May 15, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in camps as member of a Jewish nationalist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Druker Shimon

Born in 1898, in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on May 16, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in camps as member of an anti-Soviet nationalist organization. Died on December 26, 1940, in North-East camp. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Dubinsky Semeon

Born in 1880 in Kiev *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Field manager in Larindorf district of Crimea. Arrested on June 6, 1938, as member of a Zionist organization. Released on January 16, 1939, for lack of evidence.

Duchovny Itzka

Born in 1878 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Watchman of *kolkhoz* in Yevpatoria district, Crimea. Arrested on July 17, 1938, as member of a Zionist organization. On November 21, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Elkind Mendel

Born in 1894 in Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Former chairman of *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Lived in Moscow. Arrested on December 2, 1937. Sentenced to death on February 19, 1938, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of espionage. Shot on February 19, 1938. Rehabilitated on November 4, 1958, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Epelboim Yankel

Born in 1886 in Bessarabia *gubernia* (now Moldova). Lived in village Lvovo of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on November 9, 1937. Sentenced to 10 years in camps on November 19, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on charges of counterrevolutionary agitation, connection with *kulaks* and theft of *kolkhoz* property. Rehabilitated on December 2, 1963, by the Presidium of the Kherson *oblast* Court.

Falkovich Aizik

Born in 1913 in Lublin *gubernia* (now Poland). Member of *kolkhoz* “Socdorf” [Socialistic village], Ak-Sheikh district of Crimea. Arrested on November 22, 1937. On February 22, 1938, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 10 years in camps on the charge of counterrevolutionary activities. On April 27, 1949, sent into exile by the Special Council of the MGB on the charge of espionage. Rehabilitated on May 21, 1955, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Farbysh Shaya

Born in 1913 in the Kingdom of Poland. Horseman of *kolkhoz* “Krasny Kavkaz” [Red Caucasus] of Yevpatoria district, Crimea. Arrested on June 7, 1938. On October 29, 1939, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 3 years in camps as a socially dangerous element. Rehabilitated on August 6, 1996, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Crimea.

Farfel Yakov

Born in 1903 in Poltava *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Electrician in Sevastopol Military Port; former member of *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on November 9, 1937. On February 22, 1938, sentenced by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR to 10 years in camps on the charge of connection with agents of British intelligence. Rehabilitated on February 15, 1958, by the Crimea *oblast* Court.

Friedland Shoel

Born in 1913 in Bialystok, Grodno *gubernia* (now Poland). Lived in village Kalinindorf of Odessa *oblast*; then from September 22, 1937, in Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on August 26, 1937. On February 21, 1938, sentenced by the Special Council

of the NKVD to 10 years in camps on the charge of espionage activities for Polish intelligence. Rehabilitated on October 23, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District.

Friedlander Miron

Born in 1902 in Kurland *gubernia* (now Latvia). Member of *kolkhoz* “Krasny Kavkaz” [Red Caucasus] of Yevpatoria district, Crimea. Arrested on July 7, 1938, on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and as member of a Zionist organization. On June 4, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Friedman Shiva

Born in 1902 in Grodno *gubernia* (now Belarus). Director of library in village Friedorf of Crimea. Arrested on January 26, 1938, on the charge of espionage. On June 4, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Friedrich Israel

Born in 1900 in Warsaw. Instructor of gardening for *kolkhoz* named after Molotov of Saki district, Crimea. Former member of *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” [New Way of Life] of Saki district. Arrested on August 13, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of membership in a Jewish organization in the *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova”. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Frunson Kalmen

Born in 1920 in Vitebsk *gubernia* (now Belarus). Member of *kolkhoz* of Yevpatoria district of Crimea. Arrested on February 3, 1938, on the charge of posting leaflets with appeals to overthrow the Soviet system. On March 5, 1938, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Fudim Semion

Born in 1901 in Kherson. Member of tractor squad of *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on May 17, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in camps on the charge of membership in a Jewish nationalist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Gamburg Aizik

Born in 1889 in Minsk *gubernia* (now Belarus). Member of *kolkhoz* “SocGevet” [“Socialist’s Competition”] in Crimea. Arrested on December 23, 1937. Sentenced to death on October 29, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of counterrevolutionary activities. Shot on October 1938. Rehabilitated on July 3, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District.

Gaus Yakov

Born in 1904 in Skierniewice, the Kingdom of Poland. Student of Agricultural School in Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on June 7, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of membership in an anti-Soviet nationalist organization. Released on April 1, 1946. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Gechtman Isaac

Born in 1889 in Odessa. Lived in agricultural colony near Kherson. Arrested in 1937. Sentenced to 10 years in camps by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of counterrevolutionary agitation. Rehabilitated on February 6, 1990, by the Prosecutor's Office of Odessa Military District.

Geller Veva

Born in 1904 in colony Yefingar of Kherson *gubernia*. Member of *kolkhoz* in village Yefingar, Capitan district of Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on June 4, 1938. By decision of the Prosecutor's Office of Capitan district, case terminated. Rehabilitated in 1997.

Ginsburg Idel'

Born in 1871 in Mogilev *gubernia* (now Belarus). Member of *Poale Zion* party. Watchman of *kolkhoz* in Buik-Onlar district, Crimea. Arrested on June 29, 1938, on the charge of counterrevolutionary agitation. On January 25, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Gladstein Abram

Born in 1902 in Vinnitsa. Tractor operator of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on June 18, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps as member of a Jewish nationalist organization. Died on December 23, 1942, in Pechora camp of NKVD. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Golovey Morduch

Born in 1904 in North-Western region (now Belarus). Driver of *kolkhoz* named after Stalin of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on May 15, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in camps on the charge of membership in a Jewish nationalist organization. Released on May 15, 1946; re-arrested in 1950 on the same charge. Sentenced to exile in Kazakhstan; released in 1954. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Goltsin Shakhne

Born in 1900 in Kurland *gubernia* (now Latvia). Tractor operator of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on June 18, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in camps on the charge

of anti-Soviet agitation. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Gonchar David

Born in 1876 in *Kiev gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* named after Molotov, Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on May 25, 1938 as member of a Zionist organization. On April 28, 1939, died in prison's hospital. On April 29, 1939, case terminated. Rehabilitated on December 20, 1999, by the Prosecutor's Office of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea.

Gorelik Meer

Born in 1895 in *Mogilev gubernia* (now Belarus). Member of *kolkhoz* "Krasnoye Znamia" [Red Flag] of Thälmann district, Crimea. Arrested on November 9, 1937, on the charge of Zionist propaganda. On April 13, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Gorer Naftul

Born in 1888 in colony Lvovo of *Kherson gubernia* (now Ukraine). Arrested on November 9, 1937. Sentenced to 10 years in camps on November 19, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on charges of counterrevolutionary agitation and dissemination of rumors. Rehabilitated on December 2, 1963, by the Presidium of the *Kherson oblast* Court.

Gorinstein Tsai'

Born in 1906 in *Kiev gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* "Nayveg" [New Way] of Kolay district, Crimea. Arrested on August 25, 1938, on the charge of counterrevolutionary propaganda. On May 26, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Goyzman Gersh

Born in 1910 in town of Polonnoye, *Volhynia gubernia*. Member of *kolkhoz* "Novaya Zhizn" [New Life] of Nikopol district, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*. Sentenced to 7 years in camps on January 29, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast* on the charge of counterrevolutionary agitation. Rehabilitated on October 7, 1967.

Gronfain Boris

Born in 1900 in *Podolia gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on May 16, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in camps on the charge of participation in a Jewish nationalist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Gutman Isaac

Born in 1899 in the Kingdom of Poland. Agronomist of Kadysh Machine and

Tractor Station, Friedorf district. Arrested on January 9, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in camps on the charge of membership in a Jewish nationalist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Chaykin Getsel

Born in 1882 in Mogilev *gubernia* (now Belarus). Member of *kolkhoz* “Royter Shtern” [Red Star] of Friedorf district of Crimea. Arrested on May 17, 1938, on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda and as former member of the *Bund*. On June 7, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Kaganov Isaac

Born in 1889 in Kherson. Lived in village Judendorf of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*.

Arrested on March 2, 1938. Sentenced to death on April 26, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet Zionist activities. Shot on July 3, 1938. Rehabilitated on April 24, 1989, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Kalmanovitch Yakov

Born in 1902 in Augustow, Suwalki *gubernia*. Member of *kolkhoz* “Svoya pratsa” [Own Work] of Stalindorf district, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*. Sentenced to death on January 18, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast* on charges of espionage and anti-Soviet agitation. Shot on March 17, 1938. Rehabilitated on June 9, 1989.

Kalmykov Tevye

Born in 1873 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on October 24, 1937. Sentenced to death on October 24, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. Shot on November 17, 1937. Rehabilitated on May 12, 1989, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Kamraz Chaim

Born in 1891 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on December 18, 1937. Sentenced to death on April 7, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. Shot on June 22, 1938. Rehabilitated on June 20, 1989, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Kaplan Lazar

Born in 1898 in the Kingdom of Poland. Secretary of Dnepropetrovsk City branch of OZET. On January 18, 1938, sentenced by the NKVD Troika of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*

to 10 years in camps on the charge of counterrevolutionary activities. Rehabilitated on September 14, 1989.

Kaplan Nechama

Born in 1900 in Grodno *gubernia* (now Belarus), lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on September 7, 1937. On November 5, 1937, sentenced by the NKVD Troika of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast* to 10 years in camps on the charge of participation in Jewish nationalist party *Poale Zion*. Rehabilitated on November 3, 1956, by the Presidium of Kherson *oblast* Court.

Karanovitch Alter

Born in 1907 in Vilkomir, Kovno *gubernia* (now Lithuania). Teacher in driving school in Simferopol; former member of *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on June 1, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 3 years in camps as member of an anti-Soviet Jewish nationalist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Katz Genoch

Born in 1899 in Yekaterinoslav *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* named after Dzerzhinsky, Dzhankoy district, Crimea. Arrested on November 10, 1937. On November 25, 1937, sentenced by the Troika of the NKVD of the Crimean ASSR to 10 years in camps on the charge of agitation against the *kolkhozes*. Rehabilitated on July 16, 1990, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Crimea *oblast*.

Katzovitch Abram

Born in 1906 in Kurland *gubernia* (now Latvia). Editor of local newspaper *Stalinweg* [Way of Stalin] in Larindorf district, Crimea. Arrested on March 13, 1938, on the charge of espionage. On April 24, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Kavnamsky Shmul

Born in 1874 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on December 17, 1937. Sentenced to death on April 7, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet activities. Shot on June 22, 1938. Rehabilitated on May 12, 1989, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Kleiman Mariam

Born in 1903 in Odessa. Member of *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on July 19, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps as member of an anti-Soviet organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Kleiner Mikhail

Born in 1895 in Vladimir-Volynsky, Volhynia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kachkarovka of Berislav district, Odessa *oblast*. Arrested on October 12, 1937. On March 21, 1938, sentenced by Nikolayev *oblast* Court to 7 years in camps and 3 years of divestiture of rights on the charge of counterrevolutionary agitation. Rehabilitated on October 19, 1990, by the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR.

Kletkin Gersh

Born in 1883 in colony Malaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Sterndorf of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on November 20, 1937. On March 7, 1939, released by decision of the NKVD and district Prosecutor's Office of Kalinindorf.

Kletkin Meer

Born in 1909 in colony Malaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Sterndorf of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on November 21, 1937. Sentenced to 10 years in camps on November 26, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. Rehabilitated in 1960 by decision of the Kherson *oblast* Court.

Kletkin Moysha

Born in 1902 in colony Malaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Sterndorf of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on December 4, 1937. Sentenced to 10 years in camps on December 7, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet activities. Rehabilitated on April 29, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Kotsyn Semion

Born in 1901 in Kherson. Lived in Dzhankoy district; supply manager of *kolkhoz*. Arrested on November 11, 1937, on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. On April 22, 1939, released by the NKVD of Sevastopol for lack of evidence.

Krivalev Semion

Born in 1893 in Smolensk *gubernia* (now Russia), stockman of *kolkhoz* "Novaya Zhizn" [New Life] of Biuk-Onlar district of Crimea. Arrested on September 3, 1937. Sentenced to death on October 29, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. Rehabilitated on September 21, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Crimea *oblast*.

Krymker Isaac

Born in 1901 in colony Malaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Sterndorf of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on November 21, 1937. Sentenced to 10 years in camps on November 26, 1937, by the

NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. Rehabilitated on December 29, 1989, by the Kherson *oblast* Court.

Kundysh Leib

Born in 1899 in Chernigov *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Ratndorf of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on June 30, 1938, on the charge of participation in Zionist underground. On July 6, 1938, committed suicide in prison of the NKVD. Case terminated on July 14, 1938, by decision of the NKVD of Kalinindorf district and the Prosecutor's Office of Nikolayev *oblast*. Rehabilitated on May 6, 2000, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Kunitser Mendel

Born in 1899 in Bessarabia *gubernia* (now Moldova). Manager of mill of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on March 9, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in camps as member of a Jewish anti-Soviet organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Kutkov Leib

Born in 1888 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Sterndorf of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested in 1937. Sentenced to 10 years in camps by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet counter-revolutionary agitation. Rehabilitated on March 24, 1995, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Lar'anovky Ruvim

Born in 1898 in Kherson. Lived in village Lenindorf of Skadovsk district, Odessa *oblast*. Arrested in 1936. Sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of counterrevolutionary activities. Rehabilitated on April 28, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Lerner Chaim

Born in 1899 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Tractor operator of *kolkhoz* "October" in village Octoberfield of Gulaypole district, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*. Arrested on December 16, 1937. Sentenced to death on January 28, 1938, by decision of the NKVD and the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR, on the charge of connection with Polish intelligence. Shot on February 8, 1938. Rehabilitated in 1989.

Lichstein Elizaveta

Born in 1909 in Taurida *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* named after Ilyich of Larindorf district, Crimea. Arrested on May 18, 1939, on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. On May 18, 1939, freed from charge by the Supreme Court of the Crimean SSR.

Lifshitz Aron

Born in 1895 in Kovno (now Lithuania). Member of *kolkhoz* “Sotsyalistichesky Put” [Socialistic Way] of Genichesk district, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*. Arrested on June 15, 1938. Sentenced to death on October 3, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast* on the charge of espionage for Lithuanian intelligence. Shot on October 3, 1938. Rehabilitated on September 29, 1993, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Lorer Gustav

Born in 1881 in Taurida *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Worker in Agro-Joint factory in Dzhankoy, Crimea. Arrested on November 14, 1937. Sentenced to 10 years in camps by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on November 26, 1937, on charges of agitation against the *kolkhoz* system and the glorification of Germany. Rehabilitated on June 4, 1992, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Crimea.

Loshak Leib

Born in 1892 in Kiev *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in *kolkhoz* “20 let Oktyabria” [20 years of October] of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on December 3, 1937. Sentenced to 10 years in camps on December 7, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. Rehabilitated on May 11, 1966, by the Presidium of the Kherson *oblast* Court.

Lozovsky Israel

Born in 1905 in Nizhny Novgorod. Teacher in school of advanced training for *kolkhoz* workers in Feodosia, Crimea. Arrested on March 11, 1937. On October 23, 1939, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 3 years in camps on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. Rehabilitated on April 22, 1996, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Crimea.

Lubetsky Iosif

Born in 1907 in Minsk. Senior agronomist of Saki Machine and Tractor Station. Arrested on July 13, 1938, on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. On March 13, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Maizel Lev

Born in 1896 in Chernigov *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Stockman of *kolkhoz* named after Kirov in Ichkinsky district, Crimea. Arrested on June 24, 1938, on the charge of espionage. On June 26, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Marshalkovitch Mikhail

Born in 1905 in the Kingdom of Poland. Director of Machine and Tractor Station in Yelanets district, Nikolayev *oblast*. On June 14, 1938, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps. Rehabilitated.

Medvedev Abram

Born in 1892 in Chernigov *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* “SocGevet” [Socialist’s Competition] in Crimea. Arrested on September 25, 1937. Sentenced to 10 years in camps on October 29, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of wrecking activities. Rehabilitated on July 3, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District. Rehabilitated on May 19, 1989, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Crimea *oblast*.

Meshcheriakov Iosif

Born in 1914 in Saratov *gubernia* (now Russia). Member of *kolkhoz* “Krasny Kavkaz” [Red Caucasus] of Yevpatoria district, Crimea. Arrested on November 6, 1937, on the charge of counterrevolutionary agitation. On November 6, 1938, freed from charge by the Supreme Court of the Crimean SSR. Rehabilitated by the Prosecutor’s Office of Crimea *oblast*.

Milman Motia

Born in 1900 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* in Dzhankoy district of Crimea. Arrested on September 29, 1938, as member of an anti-Soviet organization.

On October 25, 1938, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Milstein Mikhail

Born in 1903 in Proskurov, Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on September 20, 1937. On October 14, 1938, sentenced by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR to 15 years in camps with 5 years of divestiture of rights and confiscation of property, on the charge of participation in a Trotskyite terrorist organization. Died in camp in Magadan *oblast* on October 5, 1940. Rehabilitated on July 16, 1993, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Mukatser Yevsey

Born in 1885 in colony Bolshoy Nagartav of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Cattle-raiser in *kolkhoz* named after Sverdlov, Dzhankoy district, Crimea. Arrested on July 29, 1937. Sentenced to death on August 26, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of wrecking in the *kolkhoz*. Shot on August 27, 1937. Rehabilitated on March 13, 1965, by the Crimea *oblast* Court.

Nazarchenko Pavel

Born in 1886 in Kharkov *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Woodman of Agro-Joint factory in Dzhankoy, Crimea. Arrested on June 12, 1937. On August 26, 1937, sentenced by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR to 10 years in camps on the charge of counter-revolutionary propaganda. Rehabilitated on May 29, 1989, by the Prosecutor’s Office of Crimea *oblast*.

Nodel Solomon

Born in 1888 in Sevastopol. Manager of poultry ranch of *kolkhoz* "Vozrozhdeniye" [Rebirth] in Seitler district of Crimea. Arrested on August 13, 1938, on charges of religious propaganda and as a member of a Zionist organization. On January 4, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Palma Lev

Born in 1907 in colony Novo-Kovno of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on July 31, 1938. Sentenced to death on October 26, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on charges of anti-Soviet activities and wrecking. Shot on October 28, 1938. Rehabilitated on May 31, 1957, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District.

Perlov Edia

Born in 1909 in Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* named after Smidovich of Ak-Sheikh district of Crimea. Arrested on October 1, 1938, on the charge of counterrevolutionary and anti-Soviet agitation. On April 28, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Perlov Hatskel

Born in 1901 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Molotovo of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on November 29, 1937. Sentenced to death on April 26, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation and activities. Shot on April 26, 1938. Rehabilitated on July 8, 1993, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Perlov Lev

Born in 1893 in colony Malaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Sterndorf of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on December 3, 1937. On December 3, 1937, sentenced by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* to 10 years in camps on charges of anti-Soviet activities and wrecking. Rehabilitated on April 29, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Petovradzhy Vasily

Born in 1895 in Taurida *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Worker of Agro-Joint factory in Dzhankoy, Crimea. Arrested on November 19, 1937. On December 1, 1937, sentenced by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR to 10 years in camps on the charge of counterrevolutionary agitation against collectivization and actions of the Party. Rehabilitated on July 11, 1962, by the Crimea *oblast* Court.

Pikovsky Boris

Born in 1901 in Lubar of Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf of Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on July 30, 1938. On April 16, 1939, sen-

tenced by Nikolayev *oblast* Court to 8 years in camps, 2 years of divestiture of rights and confiscation of property, on the charge of participation in nationalist *Bund* organization. On June 23, 1939, case sent for re-examination by decision of the Supreme Court of the USSR. On August 26, 1939, released by decision of the NKVD of Nikolayev *oblast*. Rehabilitated.

Pivovoz Gregory

Born in 1909 in Volhynia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on June 7, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of membership in an anti-Soviet Zionist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Poizner-Weisbrod Gersh

Born in 1899 in the Kingdom of Poland. Manager of coop-store of *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on June 7, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in camps on the charge of membership in a Jewish Zionist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Politov Gregory

Born in 1920 in Taurida *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Student of vocational training school of Agro-Joint factory in Dzhankoy. Arrested on July 23, 1937, on the charge on defeatist agitation. On July 30, 1937, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Popelnick Yakov

Born in 1905 in Warsaw. Veterinarian of *kolkhoz* named after Molotov in Saki district of Crimea; former member of *kolkhoz* “Voyo Nova” of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on June 7, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in camps on the charge of membership in a Jewish Zionist organization. Died in North-East camp of the NKVD on August 23, 1942. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Prasov Aleksandr

Born in 1883 in colony Chernigov *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in *kolkhoz* named after Yakovlev of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on October 13, 1937. Sentenced to death on October 13, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of counterrevolutionary agitation. Shot on November 14, 1937. Rehabilitated on May 13, 1959, by the Presidium of the Kherson *oblast* Court.

Prints Yakov

Born in 1884 in Taurida *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Watchman of Agro-Joint factory in Dzhankoy, Crimea. Arrested on July 30, 1937. On August 26, 1937, sentenced by the

NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR to 10 years in camps on the charge of agitation against the *kolkhoz* system. Rehabilitated on January 14, 1994, by the Crimea *oblast* Court.

Rabinovich Chaim

Born in 1897 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf of Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on March 25, 1938. Sentenced to death on April 24, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of participation in a counter-revolutionary underground organization. Shot on September 12, 1938. Rehabilitated on February 16, 1961, by the Presidium of the Kherson *oblast* Court.

Rabinovich Sema

Born in 1910 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Bookkeeper of *kolkhoz* "Friegait" [Freedom] of Kolay district of Crimea. Arrested on August 25, 1938, on the charge of Zionism. On May 10, 1938, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Rabinovich Veniamin

Born in 1899 in Kiev *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Agronomist of Freidorf Machine and Tractor Station, Crimea. Arrested on November 5, 1938, on the charge of Zionism. On May 11, 1938, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Rabovsky David

Born in 1894 in Minsk *gubernia* (now Belarus). Stockman, lived in Ichki district of Crimea. Arrested on June 23, 1938, on the charge of espionage. On November 26, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Raizman Moisey

Born in 1911 in the Kingdom of Poland. Member of *kolkhoz* named after Molotov of Thälmann district, Crimea. Arrested on July 28, 1937. On February 22, 1938, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 10 years in camps on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. Rehabilitated on October 1, 1962, by the Crimea *oblast* Court.

Roisman Eugenia (Shendel)

Born in 1903 in Bessarabia *gubernia* (now Moldova); manager of warehouse of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on June 20, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of membership in an anti-Soviet nationalist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Rosenstein Abram

Born in 1892 in Volhynia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Lvovo of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on July 30, 1938, on the charge of participation in the Zionist-Bundist underground. On February 27, 1939, freed from charge by the Nikolayev *oblast* court. Rehabilitated.

Segal Israel

Born in Minsk in 1901. Taskmaster of tractor squad of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on June 18, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of membership in a Jewish anti-Soviet and nationalist organization. Died in North-Way camp of the NKVD on March 27, 1942. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Seltser Benjamin

Born in 1896 in Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Molotovo of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on November 30, 1937. Sentenced to death on April 26, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on charges of anti-Soviet activities, agitation and wrecking. Shot on April 26, 1938. Rehabilitated on July 8, 1993, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Shaposhnikov David

Born in 1901 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in Kalinindorf district of Odessa *oblast*; then from September 22, 1937, in Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on September 15, 1937. On October 28, 1937, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 10 years in camps on the charge of counterrevolutionary activities. Rehabilitated on June 29, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Shmulevich Nechama

Born in 1885 in colony Yefingar of Kherson *gubernia*. Lived in village Kalinindorf of Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on November 21, 1937, on the charge of counterrevolutionary agitation. Case terminated on March 20, 1939, by decision of the NKVD of Kalinindorf district and the Prosecutor's Office of Kalinindorf. Rehabilitated.

Shpage Aron

Born in 1903 in Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf of Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on January 8, 1938. Sentenced to death on April 8, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet activities. Shot on June 3, 1938. Rehabilitated on July 7, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Shtchedrovitsky Abram

Born in 1913 in Bialystok, Grodno *gubernia* (now Poland). Student of the first term of the Geographical Department in Simferopol Pedagogical Institute. Former member of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" [New Way of Life] of Saki district. Arrested on June 11, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of participation in a counterrevolutionary, Zionist espionage organization hidden in Crimea and led by agents of British intelligence. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Sigal Yakov

Born in 1894 in Gomel (now Belarus). Lived in village Kalinindorf of Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on August 19, 1937. Sentenced to death and confiscation of property on October 14, 1938, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet Trotskyite terrorist organization. Rehabilitated on December 15, 1956, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Siganevich Lipa

Born in 1893 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on March 19, 1938. Sentenced to death on April 26, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet activities. Shot on June 3, 1938. Rehabilitated on July 7, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Simkin Moisey

Born in 1891 in Minsk *gubernia* (now Belarus). Member of *kolkhoz* named after Girsh Lekkert of Larindorf district of Crimea. Arrested on November 5, 1937. On November 25, 1937, sentenced by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR to 10 years in camps on the charge of slandering against the Soviet system. Rehabilitated on June 5, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Crimea *oblast*.

Skidelsky Lazar

Born in 1890 in Grodno *gubernia* (now Belarus). Member of *kolkhoz* named after Kalinin of Stalindorf district, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*. On January 15, 1937, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 3 years in camps on the charge of Trotskyite activities. Rehabilitated on December 20, 1989.

Smolar Isaac

Born in 1904 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Director of farm of *kolkhoz* "Politotdelets" [Member of Political Division] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on November 20, 1937, on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. On December 2, 1937, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence. Rehabilitated on January 12, 1990, by the Prosecutor's Office of Crimea *oblast*.

Stashkov Gregory

Born in 1896 in Volhynia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on April 15, 1938. Sentenced to death on October 28, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet activities. Shot on October 28, 1938. Rehabilitated on May 31, 1957, by the Military Tribunal of Odessa Military District.

Surpin Michel

Born in 1879 in Minsk *gubernia* (now Belarus). Member of *kolkhoz* named after Smidovich of Thälmann district, Crimea. Arrested on November 27, 1937. On same date, sentenced by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR to 10 years in camps on charges of organizing a synagogue in his own home and agitation. Rehabilitated on December 2, 1997, by the Prosecutor's Office of the Crimea.

Susman Yakov

Born in 1894 in Vitebsk *gubernia* (now Belarus). Manager in *kolkhoz* named after Semenov of Friedorf district of Crimea. Arrested on July 7, 1934. On February 15, 1935, sentenced to 3 years of exile in Kazakhstan. Re-arrested as member of *kolkhoz* "20 let Oktyabria" [20 years of October] on the charge of anti-Soviet activities. On June 13, 1938, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence. Rehabilitated on December 26, 1995, by the Prosecutor's Office of the Crimea.

Tabachnick Sarra

Born in 1904 in Kovno *gubernia* (now Lithuania). Member of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on May 13, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet nationalist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Tager Iosif

Born in 1889 in Austro-Hungary. Worked in Dzhankoy, Crimea. Former member of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on February 4, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in camps on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet nationalist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Toker Moisey

Born in 1889 in Bessarabia *gubernia* (now Moldova). Taskmaster of gardeners in Seitler district, Crimea. Arrested on August 13, 1938, on the charge of religious propaganda. On January 4, 1939, released by the NKVD of Crimea for lack of evidence.

Toporsky Ilya

Born in 1893 in Poltava *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in *kolkhoz* "Sotsyalistichesky Put'" [Socialistic Way] of Genichesk district, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*. Arrested on April 8, 1938. Sentenced to death by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of espionage for German intelligence. Shot on October 11, 1938. Rehabilitated on November 23, 1989, by the Military Prosecutor's Office of Odessa Military District.

Treskunov David

Born in 1881 in colony Malaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Sterndorf of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on

November 20, 1938, on the charge of participation in a Zionist organization. On March 7, 1939, released by decision of the NKVD and the district Prosecutor's Office of Kalinindorf.

Tunin Iosif

Born in 1889 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on January 7, 1938. Sentenced to death on April 26, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet Zionist activities. Shot on July 3, 1938. Rehabilitated on April 24, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Tunkelroit Mikhail

Born in 1903 in Lodz (now Poland). Lived in Kalinindorf district of Odessa *oblast*; then from September 22, 1937, in Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on October 30, 1936. On March 9, 1937, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of counterrevolutionary Trotskyite activities. Rehabilitated on May 13, 1959, by the Presidium of the Kherson *oblast* Court.

Vaksman Israel

Born in 1904 in Luck of Volhynia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Senior livestock expert of the Department of Agriculture in settlement Freidorf, Crimea. Arrested on January 26, 1938, on the charge of espionage. On December 28, 1938, released for lack of evidence.

Vaytman Vol'ko

Born in 1905 in Kiev *gubernia*. Sheepman of *kolkhoz* "Voyo Nova" [New Way of Life] of Saki district, Crimea. Arrested on May 15, 1938. On July 2, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in camps on the charge of membership in a Jewish nationalist organization. Rehabilitated on May 10, 1956, by the Military Tribunal of Taurida Military District.

Veselnitsky Pinchus

Born in 1901 in colony Malaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Sterndorf of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on December 3, 1937. Sentenced to 10 years in camps on December 7, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet activities. Rehabilitated on April 29, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Vilnin Benjamin

Born in 1875 in Gomel of Mogilev *gubernia* (now Belarus). Member of *kolkhoz* "Friling" [Spring], Kolya district, Crimea. Arrested on February 4, 1938, as member of an anti-Soviet Zionist organization. Died in prison on February 5, 1939. Rehabilitated on February 27, 1998, by the Prosecutor's Office of Crimea.

Vorob'ev Yakov

Born in 1888 in North-Western region (now Belarus). Member of *kolkhoz* named after Voroshilov of Thälmann district, Crimea. Arrested on November 28, 1937. Sentenced to 10 years in camps on July 10, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of active appeal to change management of the *kolkhoz*. On June 7, 1939, released for lack of evidence.

Yanishevsky Abram

Born in 1892 in Podolia *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf of Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on August 19, 1937. Sentenced to death and confiscation of property on October 14, 1938, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of participation in a Trotskyite terrorist organization. Rehabilitated on May 1, 1991, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Yaroslavsky Gersh

Born in 1891 in Kiev *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Member of *kolkhoz* named after Sverdlov of Kolay district, Crimea. Arrested on February 8, 1938. Sentenced to death and confiscation of property on April 17, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on charges of agitation against collectivization and slander against the Constitution. Rehabilitated on July 19, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Crimea *oblast*.

Yevelev Moisey

Born in 1893 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Molotovo of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on November 29, 1937. Sentenced to death on April 26, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, and participation in a counterrevolutionary organization. Shot on April 26, 1938. Rehabilitated on July 8, 1993, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Yutkovsky Aron

Born in 1897 in Grodno *gubernia* (now Belarus). Member of *kolkhoz* "Bolshevik" of Larindorf district of Crimea. Arrested on June 22, 1938, as a member of counterrevolutionary Zionist organization *Hechalutz* on charges of counterrevolutionary propaganda and slander against Party leaders. On February 1, 1939, released by decision of the district Prosecutor's Office of Larindorf for lack of evidence.

Yutsis Moisey

Born in 1885 in Irkutsk. Motor mechanic of Agro-Joint factory in Dzhankoy, Crimea. Arrested on November 10, 1937. Sentenced to death on December 15, 1938, by decision of the NKVD and the Prosecutors' Office of the USSR, on charges of espionage for Japanese intelligence and counterrevolutionary agitation. Rehabilitated on June 18, 1990, by the Military Prosecutor's Office of Odessa Military District.

Zadov Gersh

Born in 1890 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on December 18, 1937. Sentenced to death on April 26, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on charges of anti-Soviet activities and agitation. Shot on June 3, 1938. Rehabilitated on May 12, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Zaidman Iosif

Born in 1907 in Chernigov *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Senior livestock expert in state farm of Biuk-Onlar district, Crimea. Arrested on July 24, 1937. On October 29, 1937, sentenced by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR to 10 years in camps on the charge of counterrevolutionary Trotskyite activities. Rehabilitated on June 28, 1956, by Crimean *oblast* Court.

Zilberman Iosif

Born in 1911 in Odessa. Lived in village Fraileben of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on October 14, 1937. Sentenced to death on November 27, 1937, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. Shot on January 17, 1938. Rehabilitated on May 30, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Zintchin Shulim

Born in 1902 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Molotovo of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on November 28, 1937. Sentenced to death on April 26, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on charges of anti-Soviet activities and wrecking. Shot on May 26, 1938. Rehabilitated on July 8, 1993, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Zintchin Yankel

Born in 1898 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Molotovo of Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on November 29, 1937. Sentenced to death on April 26, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on charges of anti-Soviet propaganda and participation in a counter-revolutionary organization. Shot on April 26, 1938. Rehabilitated on July 8, 1993, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Zubkov Chaim

Born in 1891 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on December 17, 1937. Sentenced to death on April 7, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* on charges of anti-Soviet activities and agitation. Shot on June 3, 1938. Rehabilitated on June 20, 1989, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

Zubkov Gersh

Born in 1896 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested on June 30, 1938. On March 1, 1939, sentenced by the Nikolayev oblast Court to 7 years in camps and 3 years of rights divestiture on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet *Bundist* organization. Rehabilitated on March 28, 1958, by the Presidium of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR.

Zubkov Itze

Born in 1888 in colony Bolshaya Seidemenukha of Kherson *gubernia* (now Ukraine). Lived in village Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*. Arrested in 1937. Sentenced by the NKVD Troika of Nikolayev *oblast* to 10 years in camps on the charge of anti-Soviet agitation. Rehabilitated on May 30, 1995, by the Prosecutor's Office of Kherson *oblast*.

III. List of German Refugee Doctors Who Emigrated to the USSR with the Assistance of Agro-Joint and International Red Aid: Victims of Political Repression

Ascher Elza

Born in 1907 in Zurich, Switzerland. Arrived in the USSR in spring 1936. Worked as a kindergarten teacher in Saratov. Arrested on September 4, 1937, on the charge of connection with a terrorist group and suspicion of espionage. Case terminated by the NKVD because of lack of evidentiary support.

Ascher Ernst

Born in 1899 in Berlin, Germany. Internist. Member of the Communist Party of Germany. Arrived in the USSR in June 1935. Worked in Saki, Crimea, and later in Saratov Medical Institute. Arrested on June 26, 1936. Sentenced to death on October 3, 1937, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of participation in an anti-Soviet Trotskyite Fascist-terrorist organization. Shot on October 3, 1937. Rehabilitated on June 28, 1996, by the Military Prosecutor's Office of the Russian Federation.

Auerbach Edith

Born in 1903 in Berlin, Germany. Internist. Arrived in the USSR in May 1935. Assistant in clinic of the Saratov Medical Institute. Arrested on February 18, 1938. On April 4, 1939, released by decision of Saratov *oblast* court. In May 1956 returned to GDR, worked in government clinic.

Auerbach Theodor

Born in 1899 in Berlin, Germany. Gynecologist, internist. Arrived in the USSR in May 1935. Assistant internist in clinic of the Saratov Medical Institute. Arrested on February 18, 1938. On April 4, 1939, released by decision of Saratov *oblast* court. In May 1956 returned to GDR, worked in government clinic.

Baer Erich

Born in 1894 in Germany. Member of the Communist Party of Germany in 1923–1933. Arrived in the USSR in 1934. General therapist in Medical Center #1 in Yevpatoria, Crimea. Arrested in September 1937, conveyed to Chelyabinsk. Sentenced to death in November 1937, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of espionage and diversion activities. Shot in November 1937. Rehabilitated.

Benjamin Margot

Born in 1893 in Berlin, Germany. Arrived in the USSR in December 1934. Pediatrician in the Volga German Autonomous SSR in Balzer, later in Children's

Home in Kharkov. Arrested in March 1938. In February 1940 sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in corrective labor camps. Served term and exile (1946–1954) in Komi ASSR. Returned to GDR in 1956. Rehabilitated.

Blumenthal Adolf

Arrived in the USSR in January 1937. Worked in Dnepropetrovsk, in otorhinolaryngology clinic. Expelled from the USSR in June 1938.

Boss Adolf (Alfred)

Born in 1903 in Offenburg, Germany. Venereal disease specialist. Member of the Communist Party of Germany since 1931. Arrived in the USSR in May 1934. Worked in Institute of Venereologic Disease in Moscow. Arrested in March 15, 1938. On June 8, 1938, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in corrective labor camps on the charge of participation in espionage. Served term in North Railway Camp (Komi ASSR). Arrested second time in December 26, 1941. In March 24, 1942, sentenced to death by the Military Tribunal of NKVD Forces of Directorate of Construction of North Pechora Railway. Rehabilitated on June 1989 by the Military Prosecutor's Office of Moscow Military District.

Domke Walter

Born in 1901 in Berlin, Germany. Microbiologist. Member of the Communist Party of Germany. Arrived in the USSR in May 1934. Worked in Central Research Institute of Epidemiology and Microbiology. Arrested on February 15, 1938. Sentenced to death on October 3, 1938, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of participation in a terrorist organization, espionage and diversion activities. Shot on October 3, 1938. Rehabilitated on October 24, 1957, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Dreyfuss Fritz

Born in 1905 in Germany. Venereal disease specialist, dermatologist. Arrived in the USSR in April 1936. Worked in clinic of Stary Krym, Crimea. Expelled from the USSR in 1938.

Elberfeld Betti

Born in 1907 in Berlin, Germany. Member of the Communist Party of Germany in 1931–1932. Arrived in the USSR in 1935. Pediatrician of hospital in Kuybyshev district of Crimea. Arrested on June 26, 1941. On April 18, 1942, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years of corrective labor camps on the charge of suspicion of espionage. Died on October 18, 1948 in Tartu, Estonia. Rehabilitated.

Elberfeld Walter

Born in 1903 in Karlsruhe, Germany. Member of the Communist Party of Germany since 1929. Nazi regime demanded he divorce his Jewish wife; as a result the couple left Germany. Arrived in the USSR at the end of 1934. Doctor in Zurichtal village,

Staro-Krymski district of Crimea. Arrested on January 13, 1938. Sentenced to death on November 1, 1938, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. Shot on November 1, 1938. Rehabilitated.

Epstein Hermann

Born in 1897, in Lauenburg, Germany. In 1927–1933 member of Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Arrived in the USSR in January 1935. Worked in hospital in Freidorf, Crimea. Arrested on September 29, 1937. On May 6, 1941, was sentenced by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR to 15 years in corrective labor camps as an agent of the German intelligence. Rehabilitated.

Finkel Friedrich

Born in 1908, in Warsaw, Russian Empire. Arrived in the USSR in autumn of 1935. Worked in hospital of factory #78 in Chelyabinsk. Sentenced to death in November 1937 by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. Rehabilitated.

Friedlaender Leo

Born in 1895 in Posen, Germany. Member of the Communist Party of Germany. Arrived in the USSR in 1933. Senior doctor in Moscow Pedagogical Institute of Foreign Languages. Arrested on August 4, 1937. Sentenced to death on October 3, 1937, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of participation in a counterrevolutionary Trotskyite organization. Shot on October 3, 1937. Rehabilitated on May 16, 1989, by the Plenum of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Friedlaender Walter

Born in 1900 in Hamburg, Germany. Internist, pediatrician. Arrived in the USSR in March 1936. Worked in hospital in Magnitogorsk. Arrested, expelled from the USSR in April 1938.

Gilde Siegfried

Born in 1905 in Stettin, Germany. Internist. Arrived in the USSR in January 1936. Worked in Institute of Feeding in Moscow. Arrested on February 19, 1938, on suspicion of espionage. On December 13, 1939, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to deportation from the USSR as undesirable foreigner. Rehabilitated on November 28, 1989, by the Military Tribunal of Moscow Military District.

Gruenberg Vladislav

Born in 1907 in Csepreg, Austria-Hungary. Arrived in the USSR in January 1936. Worked as a doctor in medical centre of tractor factory in Chelyabinsk. Sentenced to death in November 1937 by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. Rehabilitated.

Herrmann Max

Born in 1889 in Germany. General practitioner, internist. Arrived in the USSR

in June 1935. Worked in Kerch, Crimea, doctor of Children's Hospital. Arrested on January 11, 1938. Sentenced to death on August 28, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of active participation in anti-Soviet propaganda. Shot on October 16, 1938. Rehabilitated on May 31, 1990, by Prosecutor's Office of Crimea *oblast*.

Heymann Paul

Born in 1892 in Kamens, Germany. Internist, pulmonologist. Arrived in the USSR in July 1935. Worked in Yalta, radiologist of resort. Arrested on August 20, 1937, conveyed to Chelyabinsk. Shot in Chelyabinsk on December 31, 1937. Rehabilitated on December 16, 1958, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Kan Julius

Born in 1896 in Dortmund, Germany. In 1927–1933 member of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany. Arrived in the USSR in February 1936. Therapist of resort "Sungul" in Chelyabinsk *oblast*.

Sentenced to death in November 1938 by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of counterrevolutionary espionage-diversion and terrorist activities. Rehabilitated.

Katzenstein John

Born in 1890 in Kassel, Germany. Neuropathologist, psychiatrist. Arrived in the USSR in 1935. Psychiatrist, worked in regional hospital, Pavlodar *oblast*, Kazakh SSR. Arrested on November 4, 1942. On November 13, 1943, was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 15 years in corrective camps on the charge of espionage and anti-Soviet propaganda. Served term in Far East camp, released on May 4, 1955. Rehabilitated on July 10, 1958, by the Military Tribunal of Turkestan Military District.

Krombach Julius

Born in 1900 in Berlin, Germany. General practitioner. Arrived in the USSR in January 1936. Worked in Novozlatopol Hospital, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*. Arrested on August 24, 1937. On February 17, 1938, was ordered by the decision of the NKVD and the Prosecutor's Office of the USSR to expulsion from the USSR, on the charge of counterrevolutionary espionage activities on behalf of Germany. Rehabilitated in 1989.

Lanzkron John

Born in 1905 in Germany. General practitioner. Arrived in the USSR in July 1935. Worked in Crimea, then therapist in Central Medical Centre of town of Kirov, Odessa *oblast*. Expelled from the USSR in January 1938.

Levin James

Born in 1887 in Berlin, Germany. Arrived in the USSR in February 1936. Senior re-

searcher in Moscow Institute of Psychiatry and Neuropathology. Arrested in Moscow, escorted to Chelyabinsk. Sentenced to death in November 1937 by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. Rehabilitated.

Lewenstaedt Hans

Born in 1895 in Breslau, Germany. Pathologist. Arrived in the USSR in January 1936. Bacteriologist in Sanitary Department in Chelyabinsk. Arrested on August 9, 1937. Sentenced to death on December 31, 1937, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. Rehabilitated.

Mainzer Wilhelm

Born in 1909 in Heppenheim, Germany. General practitioner. Arrived in the USSR in June 1935. Worked as regional doctor in Novozlatopol, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*. Arrested on September 8, 1937. On November 17, 1937, was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to expulsion from the USSR on the charge of counterrevolutionary activities and as an agent of German intelligence. Rehabilitated in 1989.

Natanssen Hugo

Born in 1897 in Hamburg, Germany. Arrived in the USSR in December 1934. Worked in Odessa, in resort named after Yefimov. Arrested in September 1937. After three months in prison, expelled from the USSR in January 1938. Since February 1938 refugee in Prague, in November 1941 deported to Lodz, died in the ghetto.

Pelz Herbert

Born in 1909 in Berlin, Germany. Member of the Communist Party of Germany. Arrived in the USSR in 1932. Researcher at the Tropical Institute of the People's Commissariat of Public Health. Arrested on March 15, 1938. Sentenced to death on September 27, 1938, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of participation in a counterrevolutionary espionage-diversion organization. Rehabilitated.

Scheuer Paul

Born in 1900 in Trier, Germany. Surgeon. Arrived in the USSR in May 1935. Worked in hospital of village Sem Kolodezey of Crimea. Arrested on December 19, 1937, as an agent of German intelligence. On April 20, 1940, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to expulsion from the USSR as an undesirable foreigner.

Silbermann Kurt

Born in 1911 in Berlin, Germany. Member of the Communist Party of Germany. Arrived in the USSR in 1934. Student of Moscow Medical Institute. Arrested on February 10, 1938. Sentenced to death on March 23, 1938, by the NKVD Board on charges of espionage and counterrevolutionary activities. Shot on April 7, 1938. Rehabilitated on October 1989.

Steinberg Walter

Born in 1899 in Duisburg, Germany. General practitioner. Arrived in the USSR in April 1936. Worked in Hospital #5 of Zaporozhe. Expelled from the USSR in 1937.

Stern Alfred

Born in 1901 in Simmern, Germany. General practitioner. Arrived in the USSR in February 1936. Worked as consultant for Department of Public Health in Krivoy Rog. Arrested in August 1937. Sentenced to 8 years in corrective labor camps on the charge of espionage. Served term in North Railway Camp. Arrested second time on December 23, 1941. In October 6, 1942, sentenced by Military Tribunal of NKVD Forces of Directorate of Construction of North Pechora Railway to 5 years of camps on the charge of anti-Soviet propaganda. Returned to GDR in 1956. Rehabilitated on April 9, 1957.

Sternberg Erich

Born in 1903 in Posen, Germany. Neuropathologist. Arrived in the USSR in March 1935. Psychiatrist of Research Institute in Moscow. Arrested in March 1938. On April 23, 1939, sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 5 years in corrective labor camps on the charge of espionage. After completion of term, worked in 1944–1947 in Vorkuta, and one year in Ulyanovsk as deputy director of the mental health clinic. Arrested a second time on November 11, 1948. On April 6, 1949 sentenced by the Special Council of the MGB to exile in Krasnoyarsk region. Rehabilitated on August 18, 1954, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR. One of the founders of Soviet studies in geronto-psychiatry. Director of clinic in the Institute of Psychiatry of Academy of Science. Died in Moscow in 1980.

Sussmanowitz Ernst

Born in 1908 in Zeiskam, Germany. General practitioner. Arrived in the USSR in December 1934. Worked in hospital of Kurman-Kemeltchi, Crimea. Arrested on September 18, 1937. Sentenced to death on November 1, 1938, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of participation in a counterrevolutionary terrorist espionage organization. Shot on November 1, 1938. Rehabilitated on December 20, 1959, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Szekely Lajos

Born in 1904 in Budapest, Austria-Hungary. Psychologist and psychoanalyst. Arrived in the USSR in February 1936. Psychologist in Institute named after Bechtereve, Leningrad. Expelled from the USSR in October 1938. In 1938–1944 lived in Finland. Arrived in Sweden in 1944, lived in Stockholm. Established a psychoanalytic practice and became a well-known training analyst, seminar leader and supervisor in the Swedish Psychoanalytical Society. Died in June 1995.

Szekely-Sussmanowitz Edith

Born in 1909 in Zeiskam, Germany. Medical school graduate. Arrived in the USSR in February 1936. Worked at a laboratory for blood transfusions in Leningrad. Expelled from the USSR in October 1938. In Leningrad gave birth to daughter Mirjam. In 1938 – 1944 family lived in Finland. Since 1944 lives in Sweden, became a psychiatrist and psychoanalyst.

Weissenbeg Ernst

Born in 1912 in Germany. Member of the Communist Party of Germany. Arrived in the USSR at the end of 1934. Worked in Medical Center of 1st and 2nd Moscow's Medical Institutes. Arrested in February 1938. On July 27, 1938, was sentenced by the Special Council of the NKVD to 8 years in corrective labor camps on the charge of espionage. Rehabilitated on November 3, 1955, by the Military Tribunal of Moscow Military District.

Wilmer Arnold

Born in 1888 in Gildenburg, Germany. In 1908–1914 member of the Social-Democratic Party of Germany; in 1922–1933 member of the Communist Party of Germany. Arrived in the USSR in 1933. Radiologist, worked in resort medical center in Yalta, Crimea. Arrested in September 1937. Sentenced to death on December 31, 1937, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of espionage. Shot on December 31, 1937. Rehabilitated on November 17, 1956, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Wolff Lothar

Born in 1882 in Wiesbaden, Germany. Member of the Communist Party of Germany. Arrived in the USSR in 1933. Researcher in All-Union Institute of Experimental Medicine. Editor of texts in foreign languages in Pedagogical Publishing House. Arrested in January 15, 1938. Sentenced to death on October 4, 1938, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of espionage. Shot on October 4, 1938. Rehabilitated in June 1956 by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

Wolff Reinhardt

Born in 1906 in Berlin, Germany. General practitioner. In the USSR from January 1935. Director of hospital in Larindorf, Crimea. Arrested in June 1938. Sentenced to death in November 2, 1938, by the NKVD Troika of the Crimean ASSR on the charge of espionage; sentence was not implemented. Sentenced to death a second time on July 9, 1941, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR on the charge of participation in a counterrevolutionary terrorist-diversion organization. Shot on June 27, 1941. Rehabilitated on February 12, 1959, by the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court of the USSR.

IV. List of German Refugee Doctors about Whom Information Has Not Been Found

Auerbach Ludwig

Born in 1900. Therapist. Arrived in the USSR in June 1935. Worked in collective farm named after Molotov, Saki district, Crimea.

Ball Sigmund

Born in 1895. Therapist and pediatrician. Arrived in the USSR in July 1935. Worked in Krivoy Rog.

Cohen-Phillips Jenny

Born in Wollbeck, Germany. Dentist. Arrived in the USSR in March 1936. Worked in Moscow, in Dental Clinic of the Red Cross.

Cohn Heinz

Born in 1899. Therapist. Arrived in the USSR in April 1935. Worked in settlement Naiman, Crimea.

Finke Walter

Arrived in the USSR in January 1935. Worked in Novozlatopol, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*.

Gunther Ilse

Born in 1901 in Hannover, Germany. Arrived in the USSR in May 1936. Worked in Kuybyshev in neurological clinic.

Gunther Max

Born in 1901 in Wesel-Rees, Germany. Arrived in the USSR in May 1936. Worked in Kuybyshev in neurological clinic.

Haas Erwin

Born in 1903. Psychiatrist. Arrived in the USSR in June 1935. Worked in Ivanovo in regional mental hospital.

Hautemann Max

Born in 1903 in Nuremberg, Germany. Therapist, radiologist. Arrived in the USSR in December 1935. Worked in Khimki (city in Moscow *oblast*) in local hospital.

Kassel Viktor

Born in 1902. Dentist. Arrived in the USSR in March 1936. Worked in clinic of Dubovaya Balka Mine near Krivoy Rog.

Lichtigfeld Heinrich

Born in 1907 in Dusseldorf, Germany. Arrived in the USSR in July 1935. Worked in Krivoy Rog.

Rosenberg Gerhardt

Arrived in the USSR in November 1935. Worked in village Yaropolets, Moscow *oblast*, in children's resort named after Pavlik Morozov.

Rosenfeld Ernst

Born in 1902 in Schwerin, Germany. Arrived in the USSR in April 1936. Worked in collective farm of Lenindorf village, near Skadovsk, Ukraine.

Sacks Erich

Arrived in the USSR in April 1937. Wasn't able to find a position. In June 1937 lived in Malakhovka, Moscow *oblast*, in Agro-Joint dormitory.

Sendelbeck Lisel

Born in 1895. Gynecologist, surgeon. Arrived in the USSR in July 1936. Worked in Krivoy Rog.

Wolf Eduard

Arrived in the USSR in March 1937. Worked in Moscow in clinic named after Lesgaft.

Zeichner Otto

Born in 1900. Orthopaedist. Worked in Feodosia, Crimea, in children's resort.

V. List of German Refugee Doctors Who Left the USSR in 1935–1937

Davidsohn Lazar

Born in 1905. Radiologist. Arrived in the USSR in March 1936, left in July 1937.

Dienemann, George

Born in 1898. General practitioner. Arrived in the USSR in September 1935, left in December 1935.

Feilchenfeld Hans

Born in 1900. Dentist. Arrived in the USSR in February 1936, left in July 1937.

Friedlich Ernst

Born in 1910. Dentist. Arrived in the USSR in February 1936, left the Soviet Union.

Grunbaum Alexander

Born in 1907. Dentist. Arrived in the USSR in April 1936, left in May 1937.

Hess Gerhard

Born in 1899. Therapist, radiologist. Arrived in the USSR in August 1935, left in February 1937.

Proskauer Siegbert

Born in 1884, in Leipzig, Germany. Pulmonologist. Arrived in the USSR in February 1936. Worked in Stalindorf district of Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*. Left USSR in July 1937.

Rubens Otto

Born in 1900. Therapist. Arrived in the USSR in August 1935. Left in July 1937.

Simons Hellmuth

Arrived in the USSR in March 1937, left in June 1937.

Name Index

Abarbanel, Morduch
Altchausen, Srul
Aluker, Lev
Andrusiak, Yankel
Arav, Israel
Aronov, Yefim
Ascher, Elza
Ascher, Ernst
Ashkenazi, Yefim
Auerbach, Edith
Auerbach, Ludwig
Auerbach, Theodor
Baer, Erich
Baerwald, Paul
Ball, Sigmund
Barabiner, Ilya
Batner A. A.
Bauer, Yehuda
Beckman, Peysach
Beizer, Michael
Belmes, Kelman
Benjamin, Margot
Berlin, Abram
Berlinsky, Abram
Berzon, Solomon
Bizer, Zeylik
Blum, Ilya
Blumenthal, Adolf
Bogatin, Naum
Boguslavsky, Morduch
Borchov, Gregory
Borkovsky, Kotel
Boss, Adolf (Alfred)
Botchman, Iosif
Bril, Tsipora
Bronner
Bunov, Boris
Chanis, Aleksandr
Chanis, Boris
Chanis, Yuri
Chanis-Roginskaya, Sima
Chanukov, Semen
Chaykin, Getsel
Cherniachovsky, Mikhail
Cohen-Phillips, Jenny
Cohn, Heinz
Conquest, Robert
Czesky (Czeshky), Zelman (Zalman)
Dashevsky, Boris
Dashkovsky, David
Davidsohn, Lazar
Dekel-Chen, Jonathan L.
Demuth, Fritz
Dienemann, George
Doktorov, Zalman
Domke, Walter
Dreyfuss, Fritz
Dror-Fridman, Iosif
Druker, Shimon
Dubinsky, Semeon
Duchovny, Itzka
Elberfeld, Betti
Elberfeld, Walter
Elkind, Mendel
Epelboim, Yankel
Epstein, Hermann
Fabrikant, Aleksandr
Falkovich, Aizik
Farbysh, Shaya
Farfel, Yakov

Feigin, Aleksandr
Feilchenfeld, Hans
Feinkleben
Finke, Walter
Finkel, Friedrich
Fridberg, Avraam
Friedlaender, Leo
Friedlaender, Walter
Friedland, Shoel
Friedlander, Miron
Friedlich, Ernst
Friedman, Shiva
Friedrich, Israel
Frishberg, Arkady
Frucht, Lazar
Frumson, Kalmen
Fudim, Semion
Gamburg, Aizik
Gaus, Yakov
Gechtman, Isaac
Geller, Veva
Gilde, Siegfried
Ginsburg, Idel'
Gladstein, Abram
Godlevsky, Lev
Godlevsky, Miron
Golovey, Morduch
Goltsin, Shakhne
Gonchar, David
Gorelik, Meer
Gorer, Naftul
Gorinstein, Tsal'
Gorky, Maxim (Peshkov)
Goyzman, Gersh
Gronfain, Boris
Grower, Ezekiel
Gruenberg, Vladislav
Grunbaum, Alexander

Gunther, Ilse
Gunther, Max
Gutman, Isaac
Haas, Erwin
Hautemann, Max
Herrmann, Max
Hess, Gerhard
Heymann, Paul
Ioelson, Isaac
Itkin, Moisei
Kaganov, Isaac
Kagedan A. L.
Kahn, Bernard
Kalmanovitch, Yakov
Kalmykov, Tevye
Kaminsky, Gregory
Kamraz, Chaim
Kan, Julius
Kaplan, Lazar
Kaplan, Nechama
Karanovitch, Alter
Kassel, Viktor
Katz, Genoch
Katzenstein, John
Katzovitch, Abram
Kavnamsky, Shmul
Kent, Rockwell
Kleiman, Mariam
Kleiner, Mikhail
Kletkin, Gersh
Kletkin, Meer
Kletkin, Moysha
Klimin F. A.
Kostromin
Kotsyn, Semion
Krivalev, Semion
Krombach, Julius
Krymker, Isaac

Kuibyshev
Kundysh, Leib
Kunitser, Mendel
Kutkov, Leib
Lanzkron, John
Lar'anovsky, Ruvim
Lenin
Lerner, Chaim
Levin, James
Lewenstaedt, Hans
Lichstein, Elizaveta
Lichtigfeld, Heinrich
Lifshitz, Aron
Lorer, Gustav
Loshak, Leib
Lozovsky, Israel
Lubarsky, Samuel (Samuil)
Lubetsky, Iosif
Mainzer, Wilhelm
Maizel, Lev
Marshalkovitch, Mikhail
Mazo, Samuil
Medvedev, Abram
Meshcheriakov, Iosif
Milman, Motia
Milshtein, Isaac
Milstein, Mikhail
Mogarychev, Ilya
Molotov V.
Morrisey, Evelyn M.
Mukatser, Yevsey
Natanssen ,Hugo
Nazarchenko, Pavel
Nodel, Solomon
Nosov
Okhotin N.
Orlov,A. M.
Palma, Lev

Pelz, Herbert
Perlov, Edia
Perlov, Hatskel
Perlov, Lev
Petovradzhy, Vasily
Pikovsky, Boris
Pivovoz, Gregory
Poizner-Weisbrod, Gersh
Politov, Gregory
Poltinnikov, Chanan
Popelnick, Yakov
Prasov, Aleksandr
Prints, Yakov
Proskauer, Siegbert
Rabinovich, Chaim
Rabinovich, Sema
Rabinovich, Veniamin
Rabovsky, David
Raizman, Moisey
Raskin, Simon
Rayfield, Donald
Redkin, Vladimir
Roginsky A.
Roisman, Eugenia (Shendel)
Rosen, Joseph
Rosenberg, Gerhardt
Rosenberg, James
Rosenfeld, Ernst
Rosenstein, Abram
Rubens, Otto
Sacks, Erich
Scheier (Scheuer), Paul
Schweitzer, David
Segal, Israel
Seltser, Benjamin
Sendelbeck, Lisel
Serebryany, Zinovy
Shaposhnikov, David

Shmulevich, Nechama
Shpage, Aron
Shtchedrovitsky, Abram
Sigal, Yakov
Siganevich, Lipa
Silbermann, Kurt
Simkin, Moisey
Simons, Hellmuth
Skidelsky, Lazar
Smolar, Isaac
Stalin
Stalin I.
Stashkov, Gregory
Steinberg, Walter
Stern, Alfred
Sternberg, Erich
Surpin, Michel
Susman, Yakov
Sussmanowitz, Ernst
Szekely, Lajos
Szekely-Sussmanowitz, Edith
Tabachnick, Sarra
Tager, Iosif
Tchaykin, Abram
Toker, Moisey
Toporsky, Ilya
Treskunov, David
Troper, Morris
Trotsky L.
Tsyrulnikov, Yuri
Tunin, Iosif
Tunkelroit, Mikhail
Vagonov
Vaksman, Israel
Vaytman, Vol'ko
Veselnitsky, Pinchus
Vilnin, Benjamin
Vorob'ev, Yakov

Warburg, Edward M.
Weissenbeg, Ernst
Wilmer, Arnold
Wolf, Eduard
Wolff, Lotar
Wolff, Reinhardt
Yanishevsky, Abram
Yaroslavsky, Gersh
Yevelev, Moisey
Yezhov, Nikolai
Yutkovsky, Aron
Yutsis, Moisey
Zadov, Gersh
Zaidman, Iosif
Zaitchik, Aron
Zeichner, Otto
Zhdan S. I.
Zilberman, Iosif
Zintchin, Shulim
Zintchin, Yankel
Zubkov, Chaim
Zubkov, Gersh
Zubkov, Itze

Geographical Index

- Ak-Sheikh district, Crimea
Argentina
Augustow, Suwalki *gubernia*
Austro-Hungary
Balzer, Volga German Autonomous SSR
Belarus, BSSR
Berezino
Berislav district, Odessa *oblast*
Berlin, Germany
Bessarabia *gubernia*
Bialystok, Grodno *gubernia*
Birobidzhan
Biuk-Onlar district, Crimea
Bolshaya Seidemenukha, Kherson *gubernia*
Bolshoy Nagartav, Kherson *gubernia*
Breslau, Germany
Central Asia
Chebotarka, Saki district, Crimea
Chelyabinsk
Chelyabinsk *oblast*
Chernigov *gubernia*
Chkalov *oblast*
Crimea, Crimea *oblast*, Crimean ASSR, Autonomous Republic of Crimea
Csepreg, Austria-Hungary
Deutschland
Dnepropetrovsk
Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*
Dortmund, Germany
Duisburg, Germany
Dusseldorf
Dzhankoy district, Crimea
Dzhankoy, Crimea
Eastern Europe
Estonia
Feodosia, Crimea
France
Friedorf district, Crimea
Friedorf, Crimea
Frunzensk district
GDR
Genichesk district, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*
Germany
Gildenburg, Germany
Gomel, Mogilev *gubernia*
Grodno
Grodno *gubernia*
Gulaypole district, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*
Hamburg, Germany
Hannover
Heppenheim, Germany
Ichki district, Crimea
Irkutsk
Ivanovo
Kachkarovka, Berislav district, Odessa *oblast*
Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*
Kalinindorf district, Odessa *oblast*, since September 1937 – of Nikolayev **oblast**
Kalinindorf, Nikolayev *oblast*
Kalinindorf, Odessa *oblast*, since September 1937 – of Nikolayev **oblast**
Kamens, Germany
Karlsruhe, Germany
Kassel, Germany
Kazakhstan
Kerch, Crimea
Kharkov
Kharkov *gubernia*
Kherson *gubernia*
Kherson *oblast*

Khimki
 Kiev
 Kiev *gubernia*
 Kiev *oblast*
 Kingdom of Poland
 Kirov, Odessa *oblast*
 Kolay district, Crimea
 Kolay, Crimea
 Komi ASSR
 Kovno
 Kovno *gubernia*
 Krasnoyarsk region
 Krivoy Rog
 Kurland *gubernia*
 Kuybyshev
 Kuybyshev district, Crimea
 Larindorf district, Crimea
 Larindorf, Crimea
 Latvia
 Lauenburg, Germany
 Leipzig
 Lenin district, Crimea
 Lenindorf, Skadovsk district, Odessa *oblast*
 Lipovets
 Lithuania
 Lodz
 Loev, Minsk *gubernia*
 London
 Lubar, Podolia *gubernia*
 Lublin *gubernia*
 Luck, Volhynia *gubernia*
 Lvovo, Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*
 Magadan *oblast*
 Magnitogorsk
 Malakhovka
 Malaya Seidemenukha, Kherson *gubernia*
 Minsk
 Minsk *gubernia*
 Mogilev
 Mogilev *gubernia*
 Moldova
 Molotovo, Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*
 Moscow
 Moscow *oblast*
 Naiman
 Nikolaev
 Nikolayev *oblast*
 Nikopol
 Nikopol district, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*
 Nizhny Novgorod
 North-Western region
 Novo-Kovno, Kherson *gubernia*
 Novozlatopol, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*
 Nuremberg
 Octoberfield, Gulaypole district, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*
 Odessa
 Odessa *oblast*
 Offenburg, Germany
 Palestine
 Paris
 Philadelphia
 Podolia *gubernia*
 Poland
 Polonnoye, Volhynia *gubernia*
 Poltava *gubernia*
 Posen, Germany
 Proskurov, Podolia *gubernia*
 Ratndorf, Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*
 Romania
 Russia
 Russian Federation
 Saki district, Crimea
 Saki, Crimea
 Saratov

Saratov *gubernia*
 Saratov *oblast*
 Schwerin
 Seitler district, Crimea
 Sem Kolodezey, Crimea
 Sevastopol, Crimea
 Siberia
 Simferopol, Crimea
 Simmern, Germany
 Skadovsk district, Odessa *oblast*
 Skadovsk, Odessa *oblast*
 Skierniewice, Kingdom of Poland
 Smidovich, Ak-Sheikh district, Crimea
 Smolensk *gubernia*
 Stalindorf district, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*
 Stalindorf, Dnepropetrovsk *oblast*
 Stry Krym, Crimea
 Sterndorf, Kalinindorf district, Nikolayev *oblast*
 Stettin, Germany
 Suwalki *gubernia*
 Sweden
 Tartu, Estonia
 Taurida *gubernia*
 Thälmann district, Crimea
 Toronto
 Trier, Germany
 Tuapse
 Turkestan
 Ukraine, Ukrainian SSR
 Ulyanovsk
 USA
 USSR, Soviet Union
 Vilkomir, Kovno *gubernia*
 Vilna
 Vilna *gubernia*
 Vinnitsa
 Vinnitsa *oblast*

Vitebsk
 Vitebsk *gubernia*
 Vladimir-Volynsky, Volhynia *gubernia*
 Volga German Autonomous SSR
 Volhynia *gubernia*
 Vorkuta
 Voykov-Stadt, Lenin district, Crimea
 Warsaw
 Wesel-Rees
 Wiesbaden, Germany
 Wollbeck
 Yalta, Crimea
 Yaropolets
 Yefingar, Kherson *gubernia*
 Yekaterinoslav *gubernia*
 Yelanets district, Nikolayev *oblast*
 Yevpatoria district, Crimea
 Yevpatoria, Crimea
 Zaporozhe
 Zeiskam, Germany
 Zurich, Switzerland
 Zurichtal, Staro-Krymski district, Crimea
 Zvenigorodka, Kiev *gubernia*