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Ghettos in the Baltic States under German Occupation, 1941-1944

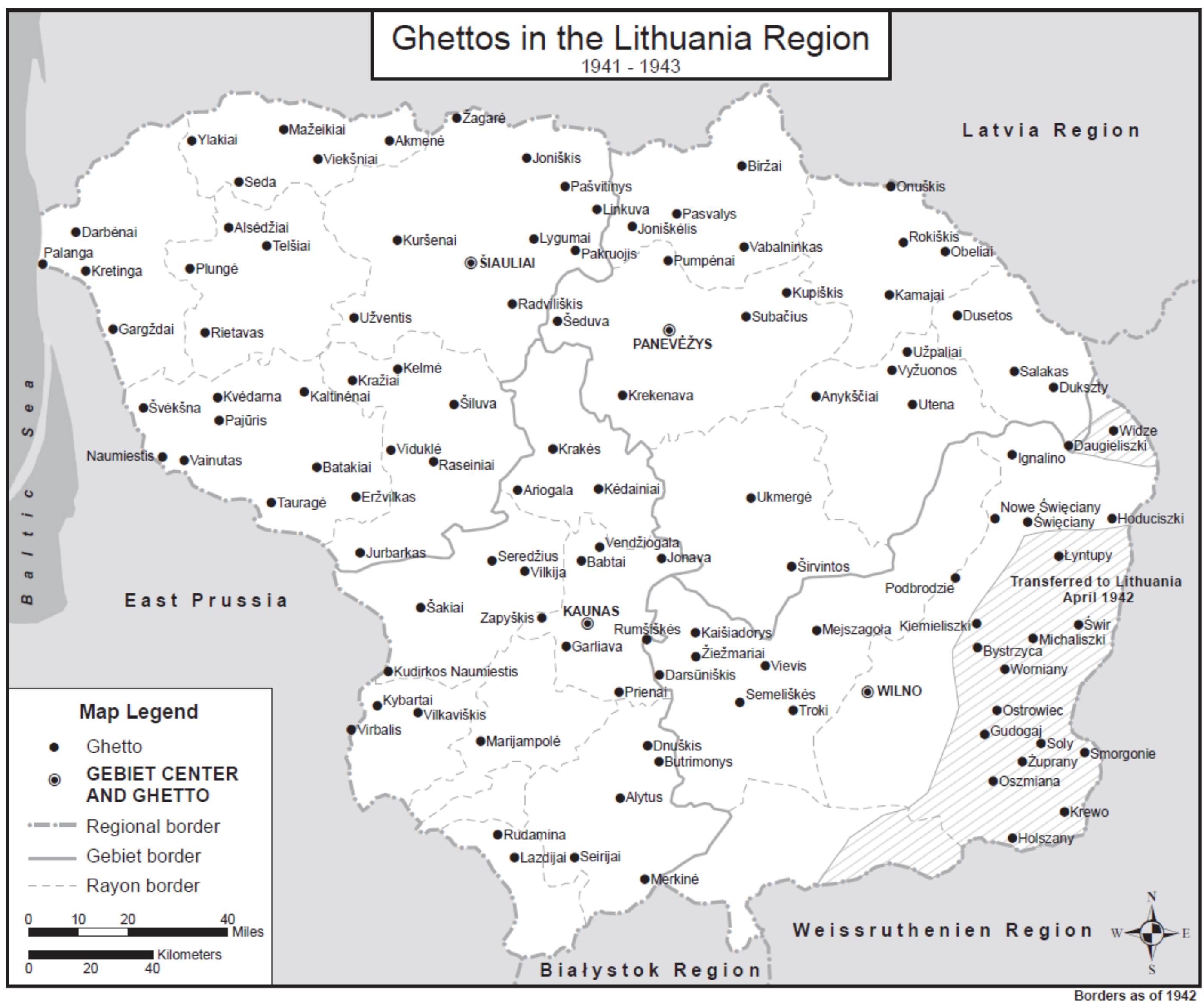
For many years the historiography of the Holocaust in the Baltic States focused on the six main ghettos in Lithuania and Latvia. However, it neglected the role played by ghettoization in the countryside prior to the mass shootings in 1941. More recent studies, by Christoph Dieckmann and Menakhem Barkagan, among others, have now shown that more than 100 improvised ghettos were established in Lithuania and around 29 in Latvia.[1] These numbers contrast sharply with a figure of only about 20 for each region given in a study by Ilya Altmann published just a short time before.[2] Many ghettos were short-lived and served to concentrate the Jews for just a few weeks before the killings. Nonetheless, the Jews were housed separately from the non-Jewish population, and they were subjected to forced labor and other systematic forms of discrimination.

This essay will analyze the patterns of ghettoization in the Baltic States and demonstrate how the many smaller and short-lived ghettos were used to concentrate the Jewish population and facilitate the process of destruction. The role of local collaborators will also be examined and their cooperation with the German killing squads. Finally, the history of the larger ghettos, forced labor camps for Jews (*Zwangsarbeitslager für Juden* or ZALfJ), and concentration camps in this region will be reviewed, as a policy of "destruction through work" was applied in the Baltic States through the end of the occupation.

How many ghettos did the authorities establish in German-occupied Lithuania? Even today some secondary sources focus only on the three main ghettos in Lithuania. These were the ghettos in Kaunas, Vilnius, and Siauliai, which (together with that in Svencionys) were the only ones that remained after the massacre of the Jews in the smaller towns and villages in the period from July through December 1941, when some 100,000 Jews were killed in the Lithuanian provinces. Yet the careful research of Christoph Dieckmann demonstrates that comprehensive orders were issued by the German and Lithuanian regional authorities in summer 1941 to establish ghettos throughout the country.[3]

For example, in the Siauliai region, at that time under the German military administration, an order was issued for ghettos to be established at the end of July. However, this was not implemented in all towns immediately. So once the German civil administration took over in August, the District Commissar (*Gebietskommissar*), Hans Gewecke issued another order on August 13, 1941, for the Jews in the region to be ghettoized. These orders were then implemented largely by the local Lithuanian authorities, as the Germans had very few personnel on the ground.[4]

1 Dieckmann 2011; Barkagan 2008.
2 Al'tmann 118–119.
3 Dieckmann 2011, II, 803–809.
4 Dieckmann 2011, II, 803–809.



Map of Ghettos in German-Occupied Lithuania[5]

The broad scope of ghettoization across all of occupied Lithuania can be seen from this map. The map shows the location of 115 ghettos and holding camps that were identified and described in the *USHMM Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*. Many of these ghettos held not only the Jews of the town concerned but also Jews brought in from neighboring villages and other small towns. The pattern of ghettoization was influenced also by the orders issued at the level of the region (*Gebiet*) and even the county (*Kreis*) below this, which influenced the precise chronology of ghetto establishment and their liquidation. The operations of the German killing squads (*Einsatzgruppen*) and Lithuanian auxiliary units (such as the *Ypatynga Buras* squad) had to be coordinated closely with the local Lithuanian authorities.

Similar ghettoization orders were issued by the District Commissar for Wilna-Land, Horst Wulff, in August 1941. This led to the establishment of more than 10 short-lived ghettos in his region in late August 1941. On September 19, a further order was issued to place all Jews there behind barbed wire. However, these orders served only as a cover for the murder of the remaining Jews by the end of September 1941. For several locations, such as Velucionys, where Jews were briefly concentrated for 2-3 days and then shot, the existence of the site was too short for it to match the criteria used to define a "ghetto" – so these sites have not been included on the map.[6]

5 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1037.
6 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1034–1035.

Such decisions, of course, raise the question of how to define a ghetto. While I appreciate the linguistic analysis of the emergence of the term "ghetto," carefully described by Dan Michman,[7] which stresses that it meant different things to different people at different times, for the purposes of compiling an encyclopedia it was necessary to develop a workable definition, in order to decide what to include and what to exclude. As the German authorities never strictly defined what a ghetto was, the definition was honed over time by analyzing individual cases and all the evidence that we encountered. Here are the four main principles used in deciding this question case by case:

1. Resettlement into an area only for Jews.
2. Restrictions on entering and leaving the area.
3. In existence for at least two weeks.
4. Defined as a "Jewish residential area" or "ghetto" in sources.

The requirement for a ghetto to have existed for two weeks is of course arbitrary and may exclude some short-lived ghettos, but there is clearly a difference between a place where Jews were held for just a few days, as in Velucionys, away from any town, and the situation, for example, in nearby Mejszagala, where Jews were contained in two separate places for more than a month, being escorted out for work each day for much of that period.[8]

There was also considerable overlap between the concept of a ghetto and that of a labor camp. Indeed, many Russian-language sources apply the term ghetto indiscriminately to sites that were clearly forced labor camps for Jews. Listed here are some of the most important differences between the two types of facility:

1. Ghettos included entire family units
2. Labor camps held mostly Jews of working age, selected for work, and often segregated by sex
3. Ghettos were located usually in or near existing places of Jewish residence
4. Labor camps were usually at or close to the place of work – in factories, quarries, peat-digging sites, forests, or other work locations

In the Baltic States, there were also dozens of forced labor camps for Jews and concentration camp subcamps, in which Jews were confined, so it is important to distinguish clearly between these different types of sites. An additional hybrid site is the so-called Remnant or "Rest-Ghetto." These were camps for a few remaining Jews confined in a section of a former ghetto, once most of the ghetto inmates had been killed. These Jews were usually retained as labor for sorting out the property from the ghetto or conducting other work. These remnant ghettos resembled labor camps more than ghettos, but as they were housed on ghetto sites, their history is usually dealt with as an extension of the history of the ghetto. In some places remnant ghettos were also used to lure Jews out of hiding. For example, the barracks in Jonava in fall 1941, which held mainly Jews selected for labor after the other Jews had been shot, served also to entice Jews out of hiding by providing food and shelter in return for work.[9]

Another remnant ghetto that closely resembled a labor camp was that in Ostrowiec, in the region transferred in April 1942 to *Generalkommissariat Litauen* (German-occupied Lithuania) from *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien* (German-occupied western Belarus). Since all the ghettos in this region were subordinated to the labor department for Jews in Vilnius, they increasingly took on the function of forced labor camps as 1942 progressed. From the summer of 1942, groups of Jews from these ghettos were sent to ZALfJs in the countryside such as that in Kena, where they worked cutting peat and constructing a railroad.[10]

7 See Michman 2011.
8 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1034–1035.
9 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1060 (Jonava).
10 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1097–1098 (Ostrowiec); on the Kena forced labor camp, see, for example, Kruk 2002.

The Jews of the small towns and villages in the Lithuanian provinces were not always killed close to their homes. Some were transferred to regional killing sites more than ten kilometers away and the residents of some smaller ghettos were transferred first to larger ghettos nearby. For example, Jews from the nearby villages of Stakliskes and Birstonas were brought into the temporary ghetto in Butrimonys, before being shot close to that ghetto together with the local Jews.[11]After being held in the synagogue for a few weeks, the male Jews from Kamajai were sent to Rokiskes and the women and children were sent to Obeliai, where they shared the grim fate of the respective ghetto inmates in August 1941. In some districts Jews were brought from several different places to one killing site for reasons of convenience. For example, hundreds of Jews from the ghettos in Kursenai and Joniskis were sent to the ghetto in Zagare, which more than doubled in size. Others were subsequently transferred between various ghettos and camps in the period 1942-1943, mainly for labor purposes.[12]

In the makeshift ghettos established in the small towns of Lithuania, living conditions were appalling. As they were viewed as "useless mouths" by the Germans, the access of Jews to food supplies was restricted.[13] In some towns Jews were forbidden to visit the marketplace even before ghettos were established. Other restrictions included seizure for forced labor and the wearing of distinctive markings. In some towns Jews could be rented out by local farmers. The ghettos were overcrowded and suffered from poor sanitation. Some were buildings such as synagogues or barns that were not intended for residential use.

Testimony from a postwar Soviet trial indicates that in Jurbarkus:

"...the Jews with their children and the elderly were placed in the 'ghetto,' which was a building surrounded by barbed wire.... There the Jews lived under prison conditions. Nutrition was bad, consisting of cabbage soup and a little bread. They were driven to work under guard and had to clean rubbish from the houses and the streets and do other most disgusting and difficult work, with little food."[14]

By the end of September 1941, only about 6 weeks after the ghetto was set up, all the Jews of Jurbarkus had been killed by a murder squad from Kaunas assisted by the local police. The owners and residents of 208 houses were shot.[15]

In Lithuania, local collaborators, initially as "partisans" and later as auxiliary police, played a major role in establishing and guarding the ghettos. In some places they also participated directly in the murder of the ghetto inhabitants. For example, in Lazdijai, a ghetto was established on September 15, 1941, in a former Red Army barracks. It was surrounded by barbed wire and strictly guarded by armed Lithuanians. The Lithuanian police chief, Karalius, issued regulations for the ghetto that resembled those of a concentration camp. Jews were not permitted to approach the barbed wire or contact persons outside. The penalty for leaving the ghetto without permission was death. Some Jews managed to escape when they learned that pits were being dug nearby. The remainder were shot in early November by members of the German mobile squad (*Rollkommando*) Hamann assisted by local Lithuanian activists.[16] In Kedainiai, a public meeting was organized on the eve of the ghetto's destruction, at which local participants, including students at the local Technology College, were recruited for the roundup of the Jews and volunteers came forward to participate directly as shooters. As in the larger ghettos, Jewish women from smaller ghettos were sometimes raped by members of the local Lithuanian police prior to being murdered.[17]

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11 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1046 (Butrimonys).

12 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1065 (Kamajai) and 1154 (Zagare).

13 Dieckmann 2011, II, 807.

14 Protocol of the confrontation of P. Kairaitis with the witness J. Keturauskas, June 21, 1948, Lietuvos Ypatingasis Archyvas (LYA), B.16816, 69–70.

15 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1062–1064 (Jurbarkus).

16 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1084–1086 (Lazdijai).

17 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1070–1071 (Kedainiai), and 1083, 1091, 1114 (that document instances of rape).

Closely linked to the process of ghettoization was the confiscation and plunder of Jewish property. As soon as the Soviet forces retreated, some local inhabitants exploited the temporary power vacuum to loot Jewish property. Then on the establishment of ghettos, frequently the Jews were permitted to take with them into the ghetto only what they could carry in their arms, such that their remaining property was stolen. Inside the ghetto some communities were subjected to onerous demands for contributions or government regulations declared their property to be confiscated. Many Jews entrusted valuable items to non-Jewish acquaintances for safekeeping, but the chances of retrieving such things after the war remained slim. After the ghetto liquidations, locals looted the empty houses in the ghetto in many locations. More valuable items were generally secured by the German police. Furniture and other household goods were collected by the authorities and sold to the local population at fixed prices. Scenes, such as those in Utena, where local policemen sold looted items to their Lithuanian neighbors were common in the weeks following the massacres.[18]

One important ghetto category that needs to be mentioned with respect to Lithuania is that of "Destruction Ghettos." It should be stressed that this is an ahistorical term that was developed after the war to distinguish between ghettos that functioned for a longer period of time and those that were used primarily to concentrate Jews for a few weeks prior to their murder. For example, Roman Mogilansky uses the term "Nazi Death-Traps for Jews" with regard to ghettos on the occupied territory of the Soviet Union.[19] In some Destruction Ghettos, the murderous intent was thinly veiled, as Jews were given very little food or water.

Due to the division of labor between the military, civilian authorities, and the German Security Police, it remains unclear how many of the short-lived ghettos were intentionally established solely for the purpose of destruction. However, in those created in September 1941, around Vilnius for example, after the mass shootings had been extended to include women and children, ghetto inmates soon heard rumors of the complete elimination of other Jewish communities that warned them of their impending fate. Some of these ghettos were used to consolidate Jews from neighboring communities. By the end of November 1941, almost all of the small ghettos had been cleared and their inhabitants shot, with the exception of only a few Jews selected for work.

Should we use the term "ghetto" for all of these short-lived sites? In my view this is the most appropriate term. Firstly, there were explicit orders issued by the German and Lithuanian authorities in each of the respective regions for the establishment of ghettos between July and September 1941. In addition, in the documents and testimonies from both Jews and local Lithuanians, we frequently find the term ghetto used to describe these concentration points. Admittedly some were in synagogues, barracks, or barns, that perhaps more resembled a camp, but others were located on a few streets within the town, and Jews from the surrounding area were brought there and forced to live in overcrowded conditions. In Birziai, for example, some Jews had to exchange houses with non-Jews to create an exclusively Jewish district and barbed wire was placed around the area.[20] However, a number of sites were not determined to be "ghettos," because the facilities lasted for less than 14 days, because they consisted rather of a labor camp or some other type of camp, or because there was insufficient information to make a clear determination.[21]

A wide variety of sources was used to determine where ghettos existed and where they did not. Among the most important were personal testimonies of survivors. For Mejszagola, for example, the survivor David Rudnik explicitly uses the term "ghetto" to describe the concentration of the Jews. In the case of Ylakiai, it is the Soviet Extraordinary Commission report that uses

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18 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1043 (Batakiai), 1045 (Birzai), 1127 (Swieciany), and 1135 (Utena).
19 Mogilansky 1985, 345.
20 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1045 (Birzai).
21 Dean (ed.) 2012, XLII–XLIII (Editor's Introduction).

this term.[22] The recollections of Lithuanian policemen in Soviet trials also use the term "ghetto" on occasion. Other references to ghettos can be found in German trials or contemporary documentation.

Nonetheless, in a number of cases the word ghetto is not explicitly used in the available sources. However, the concentration and isolation of the Jews in a few buildings, together with other restrictions, created what appears to have been *de facto* ghettos. Although forced labor was imposed at this time almost everywhere for Jews, the arrest of entire families, makes these improvised holding places much more like ghettos than the labor camps that became more numerous later in the occupation, after most of the elderly Jews and children had been murdered.

A similar process of ghettoization unfolded in Latvia. As in Lithuania, the German and local authorities established many small ghettos and holding camps there in July and August of 1941. The variety of "ghetto" sites included synagogues, schools, fire stations, and the poorest parts of town. In Jaunjelgava, the ghetto comprised one or two synagogue buildings, in which the Jewish men were held separately from the women. The ghetto in Daugavpils was established in an old military fortress, where the living conditions were abysmal. In some cases, prisons were used to confine the male Jews before shooting, while the women and children were held in a designated part of town. The ghetto in Varakļāni was unfenced, but Jews were prohibited from leaving the area. The ghettos were often guarded by Latvian Self-Defense units.[23]

Ghettoization in Latvia is well illustrated by the detailed example of Ludza, where in mid-July 1941, the German authorities established a ghetto in connection with the registration of Jews for work. Latvian Police Chief Riekstins instructed the Jews to move into a designated area of town on several streets. The Jews were permitted to take with them clothing, bedding, crockery, and cutlery. Jewish apartments outside the ghetto were then confiscated by the German authorities. The Ludza ghetto was unfenced, but it was marked by signs bearing a six-pointed star and the inscription: "Jews, [entrance] forbidden!" Around 1,000 Jews resided in the ghetto and had to perform physical forced labor such as cleaning streets or washing cars. About 40 Jewish women worked as cleaners in a local hospital. Latvian police terrorized the ghetto residents and sometimes abducted young girls, who were never seen again. On August 17, about one month after the ghetto's establishment, German and Latvian police shot some 830 ghetto residents near Lake Cirma, six kilometers outside the town. After this around 300 Jews remained in the ghetto. Further mass shootings in late August 1941, November 1941, and April 1942 killed most of these people, although some Jews were transferred to Daugavpils and Rezekne.[24]

In German-occupied Estonia, only one site has been found that resembled the above-outlined definition of a ghetto. This was in Tartu, where two houses were used to hold the Jews, including women and children, under guard for several weeks before their transfer to the Tartu concentration camp, where they were all shot. Otherwise in Estonia, the small Jewish population was arrested and held mainly in prisons and improvised concentration camps before the Estonian Security Police together with Einsatzgruppe A carried out their murder. Uniquely for Estonia, individual arrest warrants exist for many of the Jews murdered in this manner. In total 963 Jews were killed in Estonia.[25]

The histories and respective fates of the six main ghettos in Lithuania and Latvia: in Kaunas, Vilnius, Siauliai, Riga, Daugavpils, and Liepaja, differed in many respects from those of the other ghettos. These sites were distinguished from most other ghettos by their large size and longer duration, all existing in some form into 1943. In this short essay there is insufficient space to

22 Yad Vashem Archives (YVA), M-1/E/1689, testimony of David Rudnik; Gosudarstvennyi arkhiv rossiiskoi federatsii (GARF), 7021-94-423, 28–35.

23 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1005 (Jaunjelgava), 1001 (Daugavpils), and 1025 (Varaklani).

24 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1014–1016 (Ludza).

25 On the murder of the Jews of Estonia, see for example, Weiss-Wendt 2009.

examine in detail the complex stories of these ghettos. They were each surrounded by a fence and had a Jewish administration (*Judenrat*) and a Jewish police force. Mass shootings at Paneriai (Ponary), Bikernieki Forest, Fort IX, and other infamous sites, severely reduced the Jewish populations of these ghettos in 1941, which in part was replaced by an influx of Jews deported from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia, as well as a few Jews from other smaller ghettos.

As Peter Klein and Andrej Angrick have argued, the acute shortage of labor in the Baltic States by spring of 1942 then caused the situation to stabilize in these large ghettos as most inmates were exploited for work.[26] Some Jews were then sent out from these ghettos to forced labor camps for Jews in occupied Latvia and Lithuania in 1942 and 1943. From the Vilnius ghetto more than 7,000 Jews were sent to concentration camps in Estonia in August and September 1943.[27] For security reasons, Himmler decided all remaining ghettos were to be converted into concentration camps from the summer of 1943; in Riga all Jews were gradually transferred to the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp, which consisted of numerous subcamps, some of which had previously been external worksites of the Riga ghetto.[28]

The increasing emphasis on ghetto labor by 1942 is demonstrated also by the 15 ghettos transferred to *Generalkommissariat Litauen* from *Generalkommissariat Weissruthenien* (western Belarus) in April 1942. These ghettos had been established in the fall of 1941 and were soon informed about the murders in occupied Lithuania from the few survivors who managed to flee. On being incorporated into *Generalkommissariat Litauen*, some Jews now fled southeast, as they expected to suffer the same fate. For example, about 150 Jews from Holszany fled to Wolozyn near Nowogrodek in spring 1942.[29]

In August 1942, a census of the ghetto inmates in the region east of Vilnius was conducted by the Germans for labor purposes. The inmates of these ghettos were also placed under the authority of the Vilnius labor administration and were then systematically transferred to other ghettos and camps for work purposes.[30] As a result, the ghettos east of Vilna were consolidated in fall 1942 and the few remaining ghettos then dissolved in March and early April 1943. Those Jews incapable of work were murdered by the SS at Paneriai after being deported there by train. The others were sent either to the Vilnius ghetto or into the growing network of labor camps.[31] This network included camps in Russia, such as that at Mokrovo, where in 1943 Jews from the Ziezmariai camp were sent to cut down trees in preparation for railroad construction.[32]

Such inter-regional transfers of Jewish slave laborers for construction projects were not so uncommon in the areas of Eastern Europe under German occupation. In 1941 and 1942 hundreds of Polish Jews were sent to Lithuania from road construction camps in West Prussia. Initially they were held in a camp at Palemonas, then later in 1942 they were sent on to a network of more than ten small forced labor camps for Jews in Latvia, where they were mainly employed cutting down trees for use in railroad construction. Information about these relatively unknown labor camps in Latvia comes from a handful of Jewish survivors.[33]

One camp for Polish Jews run by the *Organisation Todt* (a state-run construction company) was located at Roja in Latvia. David Grabin explained that in Roja the Jews were used by the Germans to make wooden railroad ties from trees. The work was supervised by Germans and

26 Angrick – Klein 2006, 289–290.

27 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1151 (Wilno).

28 Megargee (ed.) 2009, 1231 (Riga-Kaiserwald).

29 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1056–1057 (Holszany).

30 Bubnys 2009, 83–118. See also Tauber 2015, 142–144.

31 Arad 1982, 359–362.

32 International Tracing Service (ITS), Bad Arolsen, 1.1.0.7, fol. 76, 284, “Ermmittlungsblatt” completed by Sara Benusiglio (née Riebstein); USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive (VHA), # 10678, testimony of Rachel Lendzin; ITS, 6.3.3.2, TD 495273, Rachel Lendzin.

33 On these camps in Latvia, see Jews Sent 2018.

the Jews were guarded by Lithuanians. The food rations were never sufficient, but overall, the treatment was fair. From Roja, Grabin was sent on to another camp in "Plensums" (Plienciems) in late 1942. These lumber camps in Latvia were not large, holding maybe 50 to 100 Jewish men. Men left the camps at times to beg for food from the local farmers. These camps in remote forests can be clearly distinguished from the ghettos established in places of historic Jewish presence. Jews from the Warthegau region passed through the following camps in Latvia: Engure, Eleja-Meitane, Gawesen, Kaltene, Mazirbe, Mersrags, Plienciems, Roja, Saunags, and Upesgriva. All of the Polish Jews that survived these camps were evacuated to Germany in 1944, via the Riga-Kaiserwald concentration camp.[34]

Very few Jews managed to survive from the ghettos and camps in the Baltic States. Some ghettos and camps for Jews were closed with many of the inmates being killed and death rates were high in the main ghettos and their related worksites. However, ultimately the conversion of the Riga and Kaunas ghettos into concentration camps may have facilitated the survival of a number of Jews. For example, around 175 Jews are known to have survived the Liepaja ghetto that held 832 people on its establishment in July 1942. Most of these people were transferred from the Riga-Kaiserwald camp to Stutthof in August and September 1944.[35] Others survived from the Siauliai, Kaunas, Vilnius, and Riga ghettos mainly after being converted into concentration camp prisoners and deported to Stutthof in Germany in the second half of 1944.[36]

A comparison of the ghettos in Nazi-occupied Poland with those under Nazi occupation in the Baltic States is difficult to make as the chronology and development of the Holocaust varied quite distinctly in the two regions. The evolution of ghettoization in occupied Poland was more drawn-out and multi-purposed. Ghettoization itself was extended in time from late 1939 through to the spring and summer of 1942, when the last ghettos were created to concentrate remaining parts of the rural Jewish population before their deportation.[37] The Jews of the *Generalgouvernement* were then mostly sent to the extermination centers of Sobibor, Belzec, and Treblinka by rail from spring 1942 through to the end of that year in a series of coordinated deportations from the ghettos, mostly focused on specific regions for a few months at a time. Finally, in the *Generalgouvernement* remnant ghettos were retained in a few towns to lure Jews out of hiding and deal with remaining property into the summer 1943, when most ghettos and forced labor camps for Jews were eliminated, with the exception of a few camps that supported the German war effort, some of which were also converted into concentration camps (e.g. Krakau-Plaszow).

The most striking aspect of the pattern in the Baltic States is the rapid establishment of more than 100 short-lived destruction ghettos by the German and collaborationist authorities to facilitate the mass murder of the Jews outside the major cities. This speedy campaign of concentration and destruction, actively assisted by local Lithuanian collaborators, was more or less completed by December 1941. After this, six larger ghettos remained in existence into 1943 (as well as some of those taken over from *Weissruthenien*), largely for the purpose of exploiting the forced labor of the Jews, including that of Jews deported from Germany in 1941 and 1942. From the summer of 1943, the remaining ghettos and forced labor camps for Jews in the Baltic States were then converted into concentration camps, from which part of the Jewish labor force was evacuated into concentration camps in Germany via Stutthof.

Whereas in much of occupied Poland ghettoization was initially deferred and implemented only more comprehensively from the fall of 1941, serving to concentrate Jews further for deportation to the extermination centers, in the Baltic States the Nazi focus on killing by mass shooting led also to a speedier and more comprehensive ghettoization process.

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34 USC Shoah Foundation Visual History Archive (VHA), # 30601, testimony of David Grabin (aka Grabinski).

35 Dean (ed.) 2012, 1013 (Liepaja).

36 Megargee (ed.) 2009, 373–374.

37 See, for example, the late ghettoization of many places in Distrikt Radom between December 1941 and June 1942. Dean (ed.) 2012, 190–191 (Distrikt Radom).

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