

"JEWISH" FILES

TALLINN

**An excerpt from the „Murder without hatred“
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The Estonian State Archives in Tallinn has a large collection of police investigation records. Among about four thousand case files slightly more than four hundred belong to Jews. Taking into account that the number of Jews who stayed in Estonia did not exceed one thousand, the available four hundred files comprise a fairly good sample. The investigation files contain attributes of a legitimate legal inquiry and include the following: warrants for arrest, protocols of interrogation, witness testimonies, decisions, and at times interoffice correspondence. Occasionally one finds warrants for search and search records, correspondence from relatives and rare intercessors, and in a few cases execution orders and death certificates. The case files vary in length between one and forty pages, with an average length of six pages. Usually, the only document in German in the case file is a summary Harju police prefecture, in whose jurisdiction the majority of the Estonian Jews found themselves in August and September 1941.

The significance of the police investigation files is difficult to overestimate. The story of the Holocaust in Eastern Europe is usually told from the perspective of perpetrators or survivors. The very word *survivor* implies that the majority of those who were targeted perished. What is left of the millions of dead is often statistics - dates, figures, names - and sometimes not even that. There are few eyewitnesses apart from the perpetrators themselves who could tell how entire Jewish communities were turned into nameless victims. The Estonian Security Police investigation files may help us to convert abstract knowledge into a matter-of-fact narrative, to give mass death a human face. Some of the Jews who provided details about their arrest were executed the very next day. It is almost if dead men, women, and even children wanted us to know.

The arrests

It appears that in the beginning there was no uniform policy with regard to the Jews of Estonia. Sofia Isatchik, by way of example, was arrested on August 29 but released the same day. Local policemen made up their minds by 7:30 P.M., when Isatchik was brought back to the precinct.¹ The arrests were customarily carried out either by the Omakaitse (OK) or by the Estonian Security Police. The captors often

had some sort of list of addresses. That was obviously the case with Jacob Epstein, a native of Tallinn, who on August 30 went to visit his siblings. Several members of the OK arrived and arrested Jacob and his brother David. Ephraim Olei was arrested on the same day under similar circumstances.² In Narva, the OK men went from house to house with a list of names - 179 in total - prepared beforehand. On the margin, in handwriting, is indicated what happened to this or that particular Jew. While reading these notes, one can see that the majority of Narva Jews had fled from the city: "Has gone to the Soviet Union"; "not found in the house"; "tenants knew nothing"; "escaped with the whole family"; "empty room." Some of the older Jews, however, stayed: Olga Gorfinkel - "found"; Moses Hatzkelevich - "got him"; Fanny Usharov - "stayed here"; the Tsymbalov family - "janitor informed."³ In Tallinn, the OK was looking for Rafael Goldmann. On October 15, an OK man made a sudden appearance at Goldmann's workplace. In a pocket of Goldmann's overalls he found a note indicating that its owner had evacuated to Russia proper.⁴

The names of the most noted Jewish Communists in Estonia were marked on a list that the RSHA (*Reich Security Main Office – Reichssicherheitshauptamt*) had prepared before the invasion of the Soviet Union. More than a month before the decisive battle for Tallinn, the Gestapo compiled a list of individuals to be apprehended in the city. Seven people on the list were Jewish, including Leonid Aisenstadt and Victor Feigin, who were described as a "leading Estonian Jew" and a "Chief of NKVD in Tallinn" respectively.⁵ All these individuals fled before the advancing German troops. Even later during the war, the Nazis and their Estonian collaborators did not give up hope of locating those individuals. Thus, in September 1942, the Estonian Security Police instructed its branch offices to start questioning ethnic Estonians arriving from Russia proper as to whether the latter had any information on certain Communists, former members of shock battalions, and Estonian Jews.⁶

Sometimes Jews were discovered accidentally, for example during routine police beats. At 2:00 p.m. on September 16, a constable of the 6th police precinct in Tallinn was checking on the tenants of a house at 5 Karja Street. In one of the apartments the police officer discovered Jossel Abramson, whom he brought to the precinct as "a Jew who was hostile to the present regime." Four days later, the same constable discovered yet another Jew, Gershon Herzenberg, who lived in a house on 12 Viru Street. While on duty, a constable of the 3rd police precinct spotted a passerby on Lembitu Street who looked Jewish to him. The constable asked the stranger, who went by the name of Meier Pevsner, to follow him.⁷ Some people claimed to have seen posters calling on the population to report the location of Jews' apartments. One such flyer, for example, was seen in early September in downtown Tallinn, on the corner of Vabaduse Square and Harju Street. It remains unclear, though, which particular agency had distributed the posters.⁸

One of the most dramatic stories of arrest was that of Basse Majofis. One afternoon in mid-September, a woman in her fifties walked into the dining hall of a workshop in Tallinn. She inquired of a German SS officer about George Tsitovich,

who was employed there as a locksmith and interpreter. When asked what she wanted and if she was Jewish, the woman attempted to leave. The officer ran after the woman and started interrogating her. First she denied her Jewish origin but then confessed: yes indeed, she was Jewish. Basse Majofis explained the nature of her request. Her younger son had been arrested by the Soviets in May; her older son and her husband were under arrest as well. She had learned that George Tsitovich and his father were released from jail and now wanted to ask him about the fate of her son. "Your son was executed," snubbed the officer and ordered the grief-stricken woman out. Basse Majofis was arrested in her home the next day. Remarkably, a few days before the arrest Basse Majofis sent a complaint to both local headquarters and the German Security Police about her confiscated property. She knew it was they—the officer that she encountered in the workshop and George Tsitovich—who had loaded her clothing and linens on a truck and drove away on September 4.⁹ The Estonian Security Police knew well what happened to Basse Majofis's relatives. The arrest of Mordhe, her son, took place under most unusual circumstances. At 2:30 p.m. on August 31, a young man entered the 3rd police precinct in Tallinn and announced to the astounded constable that he was Jewish and therefore should be taken into police custody. The husband of Basse Majofis, Leib, apparently fell victim of a denunciation. Somebody told the police that Leib Majofis had been hiding in an apartment on 29 Lembitu Street. Next, constable Alexander Puppert decided to arrest Leib Majofis and dispatch him to Tallinn Central prison, where Mordhe Majofis had been incarcerated since September 1.¹⁰

Fifteen or so Jewish men fell into the hands of the Security Police because of particular circumstances. In a desperate attempt to get out, on August 21 and 22 the Soviets forced a large group of mobilized men onto a ship bound for Leningrad. However, a direct hit from a German bomber forced the ship, ironically called *Eestirand* (Estonian Coast), ashore. Upon disembarkation on Prangli Island, the recruits aboard the vessel were apprehended by the OK and taken back to Tallinn. Some of them, however, made it to Tallinn on their own. There they found themselves in an unfamiliar environment in a German-occupied city. Shapshe Permand, for example, could not think of anything better than rejoining a fire brigade. On September 9 Permand was arrested.¹¹ Among some 3,200 men on board *Eestirand* was Oskar Parvei; as an ethnic Estonian, Parvei was let go. To play down the fact of his mobilization into the Red Army, Parvei joined the Estonian Security Police in Nõmme, a wealthy suburb of Tallinn. In September and October 1941 Parvei personally arrested fifteen people, including a fifty-year-old Jewish woman - all of them on charges of Communism. The total number of Jews arrested in Nõmme during those two months was close to thirty.¹² Josef Izerovich was one of those arrested in that period. Izerovich was a pickpocket who was caught red-handed. Although the word *Jewish* was mentioned in his file, the investigation portrayed Izerovich first and foremost as a "habitual criminal." The execution order for Izerovich was carried out on October 5.¹³

As indicated, Estonian Jews had settled predominantly in the cities. Leo Klaus, however, had established his residence in a village near Paide. Klaus was serving

as noncommissioned officer (NCO) at the commandants office in Tallinn when the Communist uprising broke out in December 1924. The then twenty-one-year-old man was part of an execution squad that carried out death sentences. Three years later Klaus married a peasant woman and moved with her to Lehtse in central Estonia. There, Klaus earned a living as a butcher. In early October 1941 the Klaus family received an unexpected visitor, a local constable, who carefully catalogued all their belongings without specifying the purpose of that exercise. Approximately three weeks later the constable returned. Without a word, he counted the Klaus'es belongings again, placed those belongings in a cupboard, and then sealed it. Only then did the constable announce that Klaus and his daughter were under arrest on the order of the Järvamaa District commandant. From Lehtse, the Klaus'es were sent first to Paide and then to Tallinn.¹⁴

Some Jews deliberately sought refuge in the countryside. Often it was a last-minute decision, as it was in the case of Koppel Koslovsky. He was able to flee thanks to the help of Estonians who had relatives and friends in the countryside. Before his appointment as the head of a department in the Ministry of State Control, Koslovsky used to work as a locksmith. During the last days of August he joined the workers' militia, which engaged the superior German forces on the outskirts of Tallinn. In the morning of August 31 Koslovsky came to the apartment of his girlfriend, Hilja Anderson, in Tallinn. He proposed leaving the city. The couple decided to bicycle south in the direction of Tori, where the woman's relatives lived. By the evening of September 1, Anderson and Koslovsky had reached Järvakandi County, just ten miles from their destination, only to be arrested as suspicious individuals by a vigilant OK patrol. The young man denied any affiliation with Communist organizations, but his girlfriend succumbed to the pressure, informing the interrogators that Koslovsky belonged to the Metal Workers trade union and held membership in the Komsomol.¹⁵

Two young Jewish women were saved by the action of their Gentile husbands. As soon as the German army entered Estonia, the Russian husband of Elena Lemelianova took her to the countryside. Lemelianova spent the next three years on an Estonian-owned farm near Keila-Joa. This refuge would have been impossible, however, unless her husband's friend at the Registry's Office had erased all references regarding her ethnicity from the relevant documents. Individual assistance and a bit of luck enabled Broche Rolaan to survive the war too. In the spring of 1941 Rolaan went on vacation to Lügänu County, where her Estonian in-laws had a farm. The fact that only three elderly people lived in the village increased Rolaan's chances of survival. For the duration of the war she never left the house during the daytime. Even then, the story could have ended tragically. In August 1944, Bertram Neitsoff, a distant relative of the Rolaans who worked in the Kiviõli prefecture of the Estonian Security Police, notified Broche that somebody had betrayed her Jewish origin, but that he had destroyed the denunciation.¹⁶ This is one of the few known cases of Estonians engaged in rescue efforts. The case of Uku Masing, professor of linguistics at Tartu University, and his wife, Eha, received greater publicity. The couple saved the life of Isidor Levin, who was one of

Masing's students. Not only did they hide the young man, but also provided him with fake documents, thus preventing him from committing suicide.¹⁷

In the first three to five days following the seizure of Tallinn, the police force repeatedly referred to a Wehrmacht order that limited freedom of movement for male Jews. While processing the files of such individuals as Benjamin Patov, policemen sometimes added that, as a Jew, he constituted a threat to society and should therefore be isolated.¹⁸ On September 14, military authorities reissued the Wehrmacht order, but now specified that all Jews must leave the coastal area within the next twenty-four hours. When it first came out, David Ginsburg and other affected Jews claimed that they were unaware of that regulation. This time, however, policemen went around telling the Jews to move beyond the ten-kilometer zone around Tallinn. Despite this order, Deborah Alperovich and Peter Abraham explained that they did not leave in time because they had heard that the deadline was extended. Other Jews, however, followed the order and left the city immediately.

Unfortunately, very few Jews knew people with whom they could stay in the countryside. The Aronovich-Jankel family - father, mother, and their two children - made their way to a farmstead in Tõdva County, where they stayed for a few weeks. Then the family moved to another farmstead, in Kiisalu, that belonged to Johannes Lepp. There the Aronovich-Jankels spent another two months, until they were finally arrested on December 8, 1941.¹⁹ Altogether, some twenty people were arrested on the basis of the Wehrmacht order.

The charges

Warrants for arrest almost always contained the word Jewish. When it came to Jews, their ethnicity alone sufficed as a basis for arrest. However, only half of all judicial decisions bore reference to the ethnicity of the defendants. Jews were dispatched to jail as Communist sympathizers or, at the very least, as individuals subversive to the new regime. This incongruity between objectives and means is crucial to explaining the mindset of those who condemned the Jews to death. For such an explanation one need look no further than the protocols of interrogation and witness testimonies. What is striking about these criminal proceedings is that Germans were hardly mentioned. Upon reading the minutes of an interrogation, one gets the impression that Estonians and Jews were settling a dispute regarding Jews' allegiance to the Estonian State. Although all those later charged were indeed arrested as Jews, they had to prove they did not have malicious intent toward Estonians. Being part of the Soviet System was equivalent to pleading guilty. Therefore the investigators went to great lengths to establish the connection between Jews and the Soviet regime. The tragedy was that Jews did not know that they were doomed regardless, and therefore they made strenuous efforts to dissociate themselves from all things Communist, and sometimes even from those sharing their ethnoreligious affiliation.

Judging from the Jewish responses, investigators had devised a standard set of questions regarding alleged participation in Soviet organizations. By way of example, sixty-seven-year-old Jossel Abramson's response in September 1941 was nearly identical to thirty-two-year-old Bella Kletzkys response in April 1942:

I did not participate in Communist Propaganda, nor did I belong to any Bolshevik organizations. I did not denounce anybody; I did not participate in the deportation of Estonians to Russia. I was not a member of a shock battalion or workers' militia, nor was I an NKVD agent. Following the capture of Tallinn by German troops, I have not hidden any Communists; nor do I know anybody who did. I did not plan any acts of terror and/or Sabotage. By the same token, Communists did not instruct me to carry out anti-German activities. I was not issued weapons, nor have I ever had one. I have nothing else to add.²⁰

One other Communist suspect, Simon Rubinstein, was asked no questions at all. The eighty-four-year-old man was incapable of writing; indeed, he required medical assistance to be able to walk. That is what the police constable discovered when he came to arrest Rubinstein on September 19.²¹ Even among the Jews under arrest, there were those who yielded to the Judeo-Bolshevik stereotype. Hannah Brin, a sixty-eight-year-old woman who earned her living by giving piano lessons, told the investigation that she did not approve of Communism, despite being Jewish herself. Esther Jakobson said exactly the same thing to her interrogator. Miron Brodsky stated that he had committed no wrong. Brodsky asserted pro-Estonian sentiments, despite being Jewish. Another arrestee, Isaac Freidin went so far as to confirm the belief in Russo-Jewish conspiracy that many Estonians held. Although he did not himself participate in deportations or arsons, Freidin said, he had heard that Russians and Jews were the ones to blame. Freidin was sentenced as a Communist anyway.²²

Some Jews were rather naive in their attempts to talk themselves out of the Soviet connection. Hain Herzfeldt, for instance, claimed that after the Soviet authorities had nationalized his business he deliberately refused to accept jobs, as a means of sabotage. Eli Haitin explained that his relatives had voluntarily left for Russia because they were afraid of small-arms fire. Jacob Bam argued, on the contrary, that he forbade his family to evacuate to Russia proper because he wanted to stay in Estonia. Bam failed to refute the original charge leveled against him: betrayal of the Estonian people. The only way for him to stay in Estonia, Rubin Rachelchik said, was to volunteer for the Red Army.²³

There were many more cases in which alleged Jewish hostility toward the Estonians served as a basis for arrest. Against the name of Hirsh Ballak, for example, was written the following passage: "H. B. is Jewish, and because the people of Jewish origin are hostile to the Estonian people, he should be arrested too." Abram Abe Bass had allegedly committed a "crime of subversion" for he was engaged in "hostile activities with regard to the Estonian people." Markus Dubrovkin used to work as a musician in various places of dubious reputation. That was enough for the Security Police to accuse Dubrovkin of "betrayal of the Estonian people."²⁴ Jews contested their culpability by emphasizing the services

they had rendered to the independent Estonian State. The fact that David Ginsburg was Jewish placed him automatically into the category of socially dangerous people. Ginsburg defended himself by saying that he did not deal with politics. Instead, he always had great esteem for the Estonian government and state laws. According to the protocol of interrogation, Moses Blechman did not and could not fight against the Germans as a member of the shock battalion - his old age saved Blechman from Soviet mobilization. The investigation established that he took part in the war of national liberation, had always respected the Estonian State, and back in 1918 had joined the Kaitseleit. Although Gershon Herzenberg was not a member of KL, he had regularly supported it financially. That fact alone, Herzenberg maintained, demonstrated his anti-Communist predisposition. Unable to comprehend what was going on, Elias Hoff suggested that the investigation team bring in witnesses, who would prove that he, Hoff, did voluntarily participate in the war of national liberation. Joseph Girskovits was arrested as Jew who during the year of Soviet rule had displayed hostility toward the Estonian people, Girskovits contended that nobody had ever tried to enlist his support for the Communist cause. As further proof Girskovits mentioned a medal that he received as a Freedom War fighter. Gottfried Firk's case was even more eloquent as to his pro-Estonian stance. Not only did he fight on the Estonian side during the war of national liberation, but he also became a member of the radical right organization (the Vabs). In fact Firk was one of the first war veterans to do so, holding membership card no. 6. Schenny Katsev, a sixty-eight-year-old woman, had not been on the front, but she had carefully hidden the Estonian flag, which she then proudly put up as soon as the Soviet troops retreated.²⁵ Among the executed were at least fourteen Jews who had participated in the Estonian war of national liberation, 1918-20.

In several cases, the arrestees attempted to talk themselves out of suspicion by incriminating other Jews involved in Communist activities. Lazar Gershanovich mentioned the names of policeman Samuel Koslovsky, director of Estonian Silk Leo Epstein, and Epstein's brother, head of the NKVD maintenance department. Both parents of Harry Itskovich had been deported by the Soviets. Itskovich argued, as did several other Jews, that he was thrown out of the community because he wanted to marry an Estonian woman. He also claimed to have been anti-Communist. To give more weight to his words, Itskovich provided the police with the names of Jews who had served in shock battalions and the NKVD. During his interrogation, Moses Goldstein also revealed the names of two Jewish members of the Communist Party.²⁶ Gershanovich and Goldstein were both older men, whereas Valentine Klompus was only twenty-three when she got arrested. When Klompus told the Estonian Security Police that she knew only two Jewish Communists - Leonid Aisenstadt and the very same Epstein - she expected no rewards for herself. The next thing the courageous young woman told her examiner was, "as a Jew, I oppose Nazism and fascism for fascism promotes hatred against Jews."²⁷ This is the only known case of a Jewish prisoner, who was moreover a woman, daring to express her convictions directly to her captors.

It need not be qualified as betrayal when people placed in life-threatening situations chose to implicate other individuals as being involved in Communist activities. In the end, the names of Aisenstadt and Epstein, as well as their Communist affiliation, were widely known. Both individuals, along with other high ranking Soviet officials, escaped to Russia and thus were out of reach of the Nazis and their Estonian collaborators. The Estonian Security Police failed to incriminate Jews not because it lacked evidence against them but simply because it had the wrong people in the dock. The search of the apartments of a soap factory owner, Bendet Glückmann, and a scholar, Julius Grünberg, revealed no political material.²⁸ In many cases the police were forced to modify the initial charges against the Jews for lack of incriminating evidence. For example, Salomon Epstein was arrested as a Jew who could be a potential threat to society if left at liberty. The investigation failed to establish Epsteins role in the Communist movement. Despite this, Epstein was imprisoned as a socially dangerous individual.²⁹ The efforts at forging the Judeo-Bolshevik connection could scarcely be more explicit than in the case of Anna Markushevich. Among the patients of a hospital in Narva was this twenty-year-old student from Leningrad. The woman had no documents and - in spite of what the Estonian police noted as her Jewish features - was listed as a Russian. The police officials insisted that Markushevich, a Jew, had allegedly encouraged other patients to celebrate the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. No one else in the hospital was aware of this claim. Markushevich spent most of the day in bed sleeping, and had not had much interaction with the other patients. The hospital staff denied that any political manifestations had ever taken place in that particular ward, or in the hospital in general. Following her discharge from the hospital, Markushevich was thrown in jail, charged with subversive activities against the new regime.³⁰

Among the hundreds of proceedings that the Estonian Security Police initiated against Jews, there were no more than four or five instances in which the "defendants" accepted, if not the charges themselves, then at least the fact of membership in any given Soviet organization. Even then, it was guilt by association. The atrocities, which popular opinion ascribed to Jews, were never mentioned in the investigation files. Hessel Aronovich, for example, was accused of serving in one of the notorious shock battalions. One of the witnesses, Juhan Elmet, testified that he saw Aronovich wearing a Soviet uniform and carrying a gun. Regardless of the precise outfit that Aronovich joined, whether a shock battalion or a workers' militia, the witness argued that Aronovich could not have gotten the uniform otherwise. At the same time, Elmet acknowledged that he did not know whether the defendant had participated in atrocities or not. Although Aronovich did confess to belonging to the 1st Tallinn workers' regiment, he argued that this affiliation was simply a means of evading general mobilization. The investigation protocol summarized the case as follows: "Aronovich voluntarily joined the workers' regiment, and he is an ethnic Jew." The twenty-two-year-old Hessel Aronovich was then charged with subversive activities and sent to Tallinn Central prison. Isaac Lopavok had also served in the workers' regiment. Unlike Aronovich, however, Lopavok had been forced to join the unit. Jacob Kolektor was

another such individual whose arrest was based, at least in part, in reality. Since September 1940 Kolektor had been working as a policeman. Following the capture of Tallinn by German troops in August 1941, Kolektor hid for six days, until he was identified and arrested by the Nõmme OK on September 9. As in many other similar cases, the police had no evidence that the accused had ever abused his power. Engagement in armed struggle against the German army was the only official charge laid against Kolektor. Even if he did not mention his membership in a shock battalion, David Levin provided the investigation with enough information to condemn him as an inveterate Communist. Along with his direct responsibilities in the Kommunaar spinning factory in Tallinn, Levin had also performed guard duties (since mid-July). One of his assignments was to confiscate radios and weapons from the population. Levin and several of his colleagues ended up fighting regular German troops at Pärnu-Jaagupi in southern Estonia. As if that were not grave enough an offense, Levin was a member of Komsomol. Remarkably, Levin argued that he joined the ranks of the organization in order to get a better position at work. Rubin Rachelchik confessed that he was indeed an NKVD agent. According to Rachelchik, he had agreed to work for the NKVD under duress, and if he had ever denounced anybody, then only political commissars and Soviet military commanders. When unable to substantiate any political charges, the police attempted to pin criminal acts on Jews. Physician Aron Krenchinsky and his wife, Rosa, were accused of having broken into a drug store in Aegviidu. To recover the stolen goods, the Nõmme police conducted a search of the couples apartment. Unsurprisingly, the search yielded no results.³¹

Among the people who had promoted the Soviet cause in Estonia there were only a handful of Jews. As follows from the previous paragraph, only small fry remained in Estonia. Most Jews, including those few who had reasons to fear for their life, had left for Russia in good time. Arkadii Lury put it plainly during his interrogation: "If I had anything against the current regime, I would have left."³² In spite of the common knowledge about the low numbers of Jewish collaborators with the Soviet regime, the Estonian Security Police claimed the opposite. For example, the Security Police Office in Narva provided the following statistics regarding Communist activists in that city: Out of 3,424 people suspected of Communist activities, 55 were Jews (38 men and 17 women), that is, 1.6 percent of the total. It is a huge figure, considering that the entire Jewish population of Narva on the eve of World War II was only 173. At the same time, the Security Police reported thirty-two executions of Jews in Narva between August 1941 and July 1942.³³ One could thus surmise that *all* of the executed Jews were Communists.

At the bottom of all accusations was the belief that the Jews had placed themselves in opposition to the Estonian State and the Estonian people. In short, Jews had betrayed Estonia! If that was impossible to prove, Jews were branded subversive to the new regime. If that charge could not be substantiated either, Jewish origin automatically became a criminal offense. Otherwise, the Estonian Security Police had to eventually release people like Elias Elian. Following the Promulgation of the order prescribing the arrest of all male Jews, Elian surrendered himself on September 15 to the police in Tallinn. Elian tried to convince the

constable of the 4th police precinct that, owing to his old age he would not have been able to join any of the Communist organizations even if he had wanted to. And yet the decision read: Elian admitted he was Jewish, which made him a threat to the new regime.³⁴ Remarkably, the police investigation files bare no traces of racial ideology. Ephraim Olei was the only individual who was dispatched to prison as "non-Aryan, Jewish."³⁵

Notes:

1. Sofia Isatchik (name denotes respective case file of the Est. Sipo), ERA, R-64/4/230.
2. Jacob Epstein, ERA, R-64/4/204; Ephraim Olei, ERA, R-64/4/550.
3. "Juden in Narwa," no date [Aug. 1941], ERA, R-59/1/23a. The list was compiled in Estonian and subsequently forwarded to the Ger. Sipo.
4. Rafael Goldmann, ERA, R-64/1/338.
5. Ger. Sipo, "Individuais, subject to arrest in Tallinn: The Search List Ost," Tartu, July 23, 1941, ERA, R-60/1/11.
6. Est. Sipo, BIV, memo, Sept. 21, 1942, ERA, R-59/1/3.
7. Jossel Abramson, ERA, R-64/4/36; Gershon Herzenberg, ERA, R-64/4/902; Meier Pevsner ERA, R-64/4/580.
8. Gurin-Loov, *Eesti juutide katastroof*, 224.
9. Basse Majofis, ERA, R-64/4/489.
10. Mordhe Majofis, ERA, R-64/4/528; Leib Majofis, ERA, R-64/4/529.
11. Shapshe Permand, ERA, R-64/4/1120; Samuel Permand, ERA, R-64/4/1119; Josef Permand ERA, R-64/4/1118; Simon Rudnik, ERA, R-64/4/1129; Haim Rattud, ERA, R-64/4/1134; Jury Pliner, ERA, R-64/4/610; Jonas Bobkovich, ERA, R-64/4/1053; Meyer Bam, ERA, R-64/4/1044; Samuel Levin, ERA, R-64/4/465; Abram Matskin, ERA, R-64/4/483; Abram Hecht, ERA, R-64/4/1172; Selik Haitin, ERA, R-64/4/1175; Joshua Haifon, ERA, R-64/4/1176; Ely Hoff, ERA, R-64/4/1178; David Noachas, ERA, R-64/4/533; Isaiah Dubrovkin, ERA, R-64/4/164.
12. Interrogation of Oskar Parvei, Tallinn, Dec. 1, 1944, USHMM, RG-06.026.09.
13. Paavle, *Eesti rahvastikukaotused*, 102.
14. Leo Klaus, ERA, R-64/4/374.
15. Koppel Koslovsky, ERA, R-64/4/322.
16. Gurin-Loov, *Eesti juutide katastroof*, 233-34.
17. Martin Gilbert, *The Righteous: The Unsung Heroes of the Holocaust* (New York: Henry Holt, 2003), 31-32; Gurin-Loov, *Eesti juutide katastroof*, 233; Stephane Bruchfeld and Paul Levine, *Jutustage sellest oma lastele: Raamat holokaustist Euroopas aastatel 1933-1945 (Tell Your Children about It: A Book about the Holocaust in Europe, 1933-1945)* (Tartu: Israeli Sõbrad, 2003), 93.
18. Benjamin Patov, ERA, R-64/4/578.
19. David Ginsburg, ERA, R-64/4/161; Deborah Alperovich, ERA, R-64/4/39; Peter Abraham, ERA, R-64/4/35; Zilla Arnovich-Jankel, ERA, R-64/4/33; Sarah Arnovich-Jankel, ERA, R-64/4/34; Lazar Arnovich-Jankel, ERA, R-64/4/37.

20. Jossel Abramson, ERA, R-64/4/36; Bella and Leo Kletzky, ERA, R-64/4/373.
21. Documents from the case file of Simon Rubinstein in Gurin-Loov, Eesti juutide katastroof, 129-31.
22. Hannah Brin, ERA, R-64/4/51; Esther Jakobson, ERA, R-64/4/929; Miron Brodsky, ERA, R-64/4/63; Isaac Freidin, ERA, R-64/4/1170.
23. Hain Herzfeldt, ERA, R-64/4/901; Eli Haitin, ERA, R-64/4/906; Jacob Bam, ERA, R-64/4/137; Rubin Rachelchik, ERA, R-64/4/1136.
24. Hirsh Ballak, ERA, R-64/4/136; Abram Abe Bass, ERA, R-64/4/1045; Markus Dubrovkin, MA, R-64/4/179.
25. David Ginsburg, ERA, R-64/4/161; Moses Blechman, ERA, R-64/4/61; Gershon Herzenberg, ERA, R-64/4/902; Elias Hoff, ERA, R-64/4/1178; Joseph Girskovits, ERA, R-64/4/162, Gottfried Firk, ERA, R-64/4/868; Schenny Katsev, ERA, R-64/4/326.
26. Lazar Gershanovich, ERA, R-64/4/1055; Harry Itskovich, ERA, R-64/4/248; Moses Goldstein, ERA, R-64/4/1056.
27. Valentine Klompus, ERA, R-64/4/1069.
28. Salomon Lury, ERA, R-64/4/432.
29. Salomon Epstein, ERA, R-64/4/185.
30. Est. Sipo in Narva, Nov. 10-25 1941, ERA, R-59/1/40.
31. Hessel Aronovich, ERA, R-64/4/23; Jacob Kolektor, ERA, R-64/4/1075; Isaac Lopavok, ERA, R-64/4/1093; David Levin, ERA, R-64/4/1089; Aron Krenshinsky, ERA, R-64/4/1084; Rubin Racheltschik. ERA, R-64/4/1136.
32. 12 Salomon Lury, ERA, R-64/4/432.
33. Est. Sipo in Narva, annual report through July I, 1942. ERA, R-59/1/17.
34. Elias Elian ERA, R-64/4/212.
35. Ephraim Olei ERA, R-64/4/550. Birn came to the same conclusion in her article on the Estonian Security Police (Birn, „Collaboration,“ 189-90).