

Klarsfeld

Mémorial
de la
Déportation
des
Juifs
de
France

FFDJF

Fils et Filles des Déportés Juifs de France
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Serge Klarsfeld

Memorial
of the
Deportation
of the
Jews
of
France

The Jews of France will always keep in mind that, if the Vichy regime has led to moral bankruptcy and disgraced itself by effectively contributing to the loss of a quarter of the Jewish population of that country, the remaining three-quarters must essentially their survival to the sincere sympathy of the French as a whole, as well as their active solidarity from the moment they understood that the Jewish families fallen into the hands of the Germans were doomed to death.

Serge Klarsfeld, *Vichy-Auschwitz*, 1983 (Editions Fayard)

FFDJF The Sons and Daughters of the Jewish Deportees of France
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PREFACE

Genesis of a Memorial

This memorial is the culmination of a very long process dating back to 1975. Almost alone with Beate for the judgment in Germany of the leading unpunished German criminals who, on a national scale, organized the deportation of Jews from France: Kurt Lischka, Herbert Hagen and Ernst Heinrichsohn, I could not envisage obtaining their trial and their conviction without three pieces of documentation whose preparation propelled me of an exceptional effort of justice having led me to take all the risks for our family, to an exceptional work of history and memory which since then, links me to an office, whenever I have a time of freedom.

These three centerpieces were:

- On the one hand, a historic and judicial indictment against the three criminals. My deep knowledge of the documents held at the Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center (CDJC), which holds the archives of the Jewish Affairs Section of the Gestapo, had already inspired me to publish in photocopies a documentary chronology (German essentially) of 12 volumes of 500 pages to follow, step by step, the march of the Final Solution of the Jewish Question in France. For each document, I had indexed who was the signatory, who was the editor, who signed his initials on it, who annotated it, who was the recipient and who was quoted. The alphabetical index of this considerable chronology of 6,000 pages contained all this information.

I had asked my master and friend, Dr. Joseph Billig, to write this indictment. He had already helped us in 1968 when Beate slapped Chancellor Kurt Kiesinger. He then drew up the indictment of the former deputy director of Hitler's radio propaganda abroad, thanks in particular to his competence over what had happened in France, also thanks to the documents collected by Beate en République. German Democratic Republic (GDR) and in the United States and thanks to my knowledge of the structures and workings of the radio since a few years ago, I had been attached to the Directorate of Broadcasting at the ORTF.

- In 1975, Joseph Billig, Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Berlin, the great historian of the CDJC, author of the masterpiece *l'Hitlérisme et le système concentrationnaire* (*Hitlerism and the concentration camp system*) began to write his essay in relying on the detailed files that I put at his disposal, on the men involved in the deportation of the Jews of France: the man of the SD, Herbert Hagen, who had trained Eichmann and the team in charge of the Final Solution; the Gestapo man, Kurt Lischka, who had led the Gestapo Jewish Affairs Service in the Reich in 1938 and who oversaw the Final Solution in France, while being the deputy to Knochen, head of SIPO-SD in Paris; the man of the anti-Jewish service of the Gestapo, Ernst Heinrichsohn, deputy of the SS Dannecker and Röthke in 1942, the terrible year; finally, the diplomat, Ernst Achenbach, whose role had been to facilitate the criminal mission of the German political police in France.

This essay by Dr. Billig, we had it translated into English and German. We sent it to all parliamentarians of the Bundestag of the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), but it was not the only item. Another book accompanied it: a collection of the 131 main documents, which I had selected, indicating the role of each of these four men, three of whom were charged and the fourth of whom Achenbach, who became an influential Liberal Party MP, was instructed by the Legal Affairs Committee of the German Parliament to propose or reject

to the Bundestag the ratification of a French-German judicial agreement (dated February 2, 1971) allowing the FRG to try criminals, such as the three above, to which, until then, it did not have competence or wished to have competence.

By our illegal and repeated demonstrations in Germany, by our lawsuits, by our confrontation with the German political society, we finally won in 1975 this fight and obtained ratification. It was now necessary to convince parliamentarians, judges and the public opinion of the guilt of the three accused so that the trial was decided and that it ended with a necessary conviction. The impact of these two works was decisive; we could read in open book any the involvement of these three SS in the fate of 75,000 Jews deported from France. Achenbach, who had them protected, was forced to move aside, so much did his role as an accomplice become obvious.

- The third work I particularly wanted was *The Memorial of the Deportation of the Jews of France*. It seemed inconceivable to me to face the SS leaders, accused in Cologne of having been leaders of the Final Solution in France, without affirming the presence of the victims, of all the victims. Not only civil parties; we had more than 300; but if it was possible to present them all, the 75,000, at the bar of the accusation, it was necessary to try to do it. Lists existed at the Contemporary Jewish Documentation Center, at the Archives of the Ministry of Veterans Affairs, at the Ministry of Health and Family Affairs in Brussels, at the International Research Center of the International Red Cross in Arolsen, at the State Museum for Auschwitz, at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem, at YIVO Institute in New York.

Who else but me in 1975, driven by the passion to obtain justice and a demanding reason to always prove what I said, could undertake to visit each of these archive centers in turn while the study of the genocide suffered by the Jews was not a buoyant subject, nor an academic subject and where the orphans of the Shoah, isolated, did not represent a force and would not know how to go about it to identify and bring to justice the executioners of their families. Thanks to Beate, thanks to our experience in our campaigns in Germany and in the EEC against the German political staff involved in Nazism, we knew that we could be competent and efficient.

This Memorial was indispensable. In the defendants' stall, we needed the executioners unpunished; on the tables of judges, advocates, prosecutors and civil parties. We needed all the victims, the Memorial of the Deportation of the Jews of France. This was the case at the Cologne trial; the trial which took place from October 1979 to February 1980 under our control, with the presence of thousands of French Jews as the "Sons and Daughters of the Jewish deportees of France", hardened and honed by many demonstrations by our side and became an association alive, brought to court for the thirty-five hearings of this trial which was exemplary.

Whenever it proved necessary, I submitted to the court the authentic documents signed or initialed by the accused or the defence witnesses. The court often referred to the *Memorial*. In its preface, I wrote:

"This book contains the names of almost all the victims and the vital registration information that makes it possible to identify and report on this tragedy. It also contains the detailed history of each convoy of deportation: our book starting from France, the constitution of the convoy, and stopping on arrival at the extermination camp ... This book also contains most of

names of Jews who died of ill-treatment in internment camps in France. This assessment could be established by contacting all the departmental, prefectural or municipal archives competent for the localities where such camps were installed. It contains, in addition, the list of many Jews, shot or executed summarily. We have been able to establish this list by consulting all the archives drawn up in 1944-1945 by the communes and prefectures of persons executed or slaughtered in the corresponding territory and by listing the undeniably Jewish names, while examining the circumstances of each of these tragedies.

This voluminous document fills an immense and painful gap. Before it was published, it was impossible to put forward exact figures, even to announce the simplest and most necessary figures: the total number of deportees, their distribution by sex and age. In Auschwitz, January 18, 1975, the President of the Republic did not make a complete miscalculation: "110,000 French including 48,000 Jews were deported to Auschwitz" ...

I will add that the writing of this work has been the most painful of the tests for my wife and me since the beginning of our action. Filled with family happiness, how many times have we cried, faced with the unsustainable distress that emerges from these lists full of children's names, where we see so many little beings go away without parents, without the slightest comfort, towards the most atrocious destiny, where one sees leaving for the gas chamber of mothers with up to twelve children at their side. Can so much suffering be spent on so many innocent people without asserting the demand for justice that is ours? "

These 80,000 names and their marital status, we entered them in 1981 on the Roglit Stone Memorial in Israel, "the Memorial of Sons and Daughters".

The next step was the drafting of *Vichy-Auschwitz (The role of Vichy in the Final Solution of the Jewish question in France)* and its publication in two volumes in 1983 and 1985. This book contained on the one hand, all the documents, most of them unpublished, providing the governmental, police and administrative cooperation provided by Vichy in the hunt for Jews. So, for the first time in the history of our country, has it brought in a considerable mass of capital documents, enabling the reader to form his own opinion on one of the most tragic episodes in the history of our country.

On the other hand, I was able to reconstruct methodically the sequence of events that led to the implementation of the Final Solution in France itself, making understandable what was still largely obscure or poorly understood. Finally, I highlighted the decisive importance of the interventions of the high clergy and the reactions of the French population which forced the Vichy Government, as of September 1942, to stop the mass arrests of Jews, as they had been operated. during the summer of 1942. This reference book greatly contributed to changing the image of the role of the French state of Vichy in the fate of the Jews of France and the image of the role of the French in the survival of three quarters of Jews of France.

The publication of the *Calendar of the Persecution of Jews in France* followed in 1993. The new documentation available to me gave me the opportunity to conceive a work which, in this field, would control both time and space, an atlas and simultaneously a calendar. I asked the investigating judges in charge of Brunner and Bousquet cases many documents that the public archives were not

entitled to communicate to me and I could thus benefit from previously unreachable documentation. I was aware of the impact of the book and I was writing in his preface: "All historians and researchers interested in the subject will recognize the usefulness and value of the work that will immediately take place in the reading room of the CDJC alongside the *Memorial* and *Vichy-Auschwitz* as a classic among the classic references. "

In October 1994, I published the first edition of the *Memorial of the Jewish children deported from France*. Many had asked me to republish my 1978 *Memorial*; but, I preferred to go forward in research, as I announced in my preface: "In my view, in the view of many, the crime against humanity is above all the one committed against the innocents, those who do not harm anyone and primarily children. Despite the solicitations of the publishers, I never wrote anything about the executioners, Barbie, Lischka, or Bousquet. On the other hand, I wrote about the victims and especially about the children: those of the round-up of Vel' d'Hiv, those of Izieu, those of UGIF, and my hand has traced over the last twenty years the name of every child deported from France. "

In the civil status of each of the 11,400 children under the age of 18, I wanted to add, if possible, a photograph and the address of his arrest. The photography to personalize the child, to restore to him his face, the address to restore his itinerary, to write his history until the last stage and to make it possible to pay homage to him where he had been arrested, whether in a street of the capital or of a large city or of a small town or of a village. I sensed that it was the best way to prevent these children from falling into oblivion, from being thrown into the trash of the history; it was necessary to bring them back to the light of day, to give them a posthumous life, to make them subjects of history, to help them to play a civic role by giving the possibility to teachers recall the crimes of anti-Semitism and racism.

Our association, the "Sons and Daughters of the Jewish Deportees of France" had already laid many memorial plates for these children and we knew that, everywhere, more plates would be laid by others, on the basis of the lists of this *Children's Memorial*. In this first edition of *the Children's Memorial*, we published 1,533 pictures of children faces. It's a continuous work that, with nine addendums, allowed to publish 2,428 more pictures with these children faces. In 2012, we will publish a tenth addendum that will probably add more than 150 faces. The tireless research conducted by the FFDJF has resulted in finding photographs of more than 4,000 children out of 11,400. This is the only initiative in this field that has been taken in the countries where the Jews suffered the Holocaust. These photos can be found at the Jewish Heritage Museum in New York, at the French Pavilion at the State Museum in Auschwitz, at the Shoah Memorial in Paris, at the Children's Memorial of the Vel' d'Hiv in Orléans.

Our large exhibition on "Jewish children deported from France" was presented at the Gare de l'Est train station in Paris, at the Montpellier town hall, at the CHRD in Lyon and at the Gare Saint-Lazare train station in Paris, at the Part-Dieu train station in Lyons, at the train stations in Limoges, Clermont-Ferrand, Marseille Saint-Charles, Rennes, Lille, Strasbourg, Nice, Toulouse, Nancy, Perpignan, Bordeaux, Grenoble, Metz, Paris-Nord as well as at the headquarters of the SNCF in Paris, at the National Assembly and finally at the Paris City Hall in 2007. In 2012, our exhibition will be presented permanently at the Camp des Milles Memorial.

We opened a file for each of the 11,400 children; we have recovered thousands of their birth certificates; we divided these children by department, by commune, by street. What we have done

for the children, I decided to do for everyone and that's how I designed this new edition of the 1978 *Memorial*. The 1978 *Memorial* was designed alphabetically convoy by convoy in 'chronological order. It was impossible with this basic data (surname, first name, date and place of birth) to reunite the families, because of the multiple homonyms and the fact that the father could have been deported by a convoy, the mother by another convoy, children by one or more convoys. Thanks to the address, we were able to reunite the families, despite the different convoys, despite the homonyms, despite the variety of spellings of surnames of members of the same family. This *Memorial* is also an atlas of classifiable arrests by department, by commune and for large cities and especially Paris by district, by street and by number in the street. Having established a column per camp or assembly center, the fact that it is also known where each convoy went from allows you to follow the course of almost all the victims from their arrest.

As a member of the Matteoli Commission from 1997, I had the opportunity to consult the departmental archives and to photocopy any document concerning the arrests and the fate of the Jews. It is from the permanent compilation of this immense documentary mass that the identifications result, the filling of the gaps of civil status or address. This is a gigantic work of nearly 15 years, a barrel of Danaids almost completely filled. I spent an infinite time, I sacrificed other books and many hobbies; but I am sure I have done one of those good deeds that justify a life. My individual fate as a child escaped the Holocaust thus joined a collective destiny where my personal life should have merged in 1943.

Twenty-two years later, in Birkenau, in 1965, where I had gone to reinforce the bond I had kept with my father who had sacrificed himself for me to live, I felt the sensation of arriving, me too, to this terminus station of the Jewish people. I did not accept that what had happened just consumed; the crime of this murdered people did not seem to me interrupted by time; it demanded from me a deep commitment to justice, memory and history.

This book, this Memorial, this monument, I owe it to all those around us, Beate and I, who support us. Arno first, our son, our first activist from an early age; valiant activist in action, lawyer activist in the courtroom and having dominated the situation in the lawsuit Touvier and Papon, lawyer in Paris and the bars of the States of New York and California; today, State Councilor. We owe it also to the nucleus of the Sons and Daughters, our family, to all those members of our association who support our action. We cannot quote them; many of them are dead. Without their friendship, their affection, their solidarity, we would not have had the strength to assume our responsibilities.

Having no provisions for computers, I continued to work on paper and I entrusted the data entry to close activists: my daughter, Lida, who easily decrypts my often illegible writing for others, Roxane Crevon; my friend, Maurice Lippe who had the courage to immerse himself in computer science and do a huge job to integrate the lists and bring them my innumerable corrections and often his. I owe him the computer part of this *Memorial* as well as Sabine Zeitoun, historian who, thanks to the Foundation for the memory of the Holocaust, was able to support me in this ambitious enterprise.

Thank you to my friends Jean Lévy, Pierre Saragoussi, Trudy and Claude Baer. Thank you to Régine Lippe and Gabrielle Balseiro who have never stopped their research on children and who have found thousands of birth certificates in Paris and in the provinces. Thanks to Valérie Kleinklecht, who, at the Hall of the Names of the Mémorial de la Shoah, collects, records

and classifies clarifications and rectifications. Thanks to Fanny Morgenstern who corrected so many of our many mistakes. Thanks to Patricia Ramet and Laurence Schram from the Jewish Museum of Deportation and Resistance in Malines - Mechelen (Belgium). Thanks to Annette Zajdman, General Secretary of the FFDJF.

Thank you to the General Manager of the Caisse des Dépôts, Augustin de Romanet, who has decided to take charge of the printing of this *Memorial*, to his predecessors and the services of the Caisse des Dépôts with whom I have always found listening and support and who, through their parallel historical works, have largely contributed to the memory of the victims of the Shoah, to the internal printing teams who edited five of the stage volumes and managed the editing of the final volume.

Thanks to the Fondation pour la mémoire de la Shoah (Foundation for the Memory of the Holocaust, Paris) who decided to make available Sabine Zeitoun for her precious help.

History of the Memorial

The 1978 Memorial played its pioneering role in informing families of the fate of their loved ones to enable them to perform their grieving work and also to give them the opportunity to gather around us and become ardent activists of the community. memory and justice. No book on the Shoah in France will ever reach the impact of the 1978 *Memorial*. On the other hand, the 1978 *Memorial* contained many errors and gaps. This is understandable since it was a matter of publishing, convoy by convoy, the alphabetical lists of a total of 80,000 people; 80,000 names, 80,000 first names and 80,000 places and dates of birth for the most part foreign and very difficult with regard to their exact spelling, if there is one. The original lists were unreadable and full of inaccuracies and shortcomings. Often too, birth dates were missing.

Since we had access to different files: those of the camp of Drancy, the Prefecture of Police, the camps of Pithiviers and Beaune-la-Rolande as well as the files of the departmental archives concerning the fate of the Jews and finally, to thousands of birth certificates of deported children. This increase in our documentation allowed us to publish *The Memorial of the Jewish children deported from France* and to publish between 1994 and 2009 five successive lists of the 11,400 younger victims. The information provided by us is: name, first name, date and place of birth, arrest address and assembly camp. These listings have allowed research in schools that resulted in the laying of hundreds of plaques in memory of schoolchildren and high school students. At the same time, we planned to proceed for the 80,000 victims of the Holocaust in France (the 76,000 deportees, the 3,000 dead in the camps in France and the thousand Jews executed) as we had already done for the less 18 years providing for each of the 80,000 the same information and including the maiden names of married women.

The Wall of Names that our association raised in Israel in Rogelit in 1981 bears the reproduction on laminated panels of the lists of our 1978 Memorial. The Wall of Names of the Shoah Memorial in Paris, brought up in 2005, alphabetically lists the deportees from 1942, 1943 and 1944, indicating only their names, first names and years of birth; it has no historical character. In order to draw up as precisely as possible the assessment of this immense human tragedy, it was necessary to go further than the 1978 *Memorial*, taking as an example our *Children's Memorial* : it was necessary to correct the spellings and the errors, to fill the gaps and thanks to the addresses to reunite the families whose members had been deported by different convoys.

Given the wealth of information that this represents, it was necessary to divide the publication of the book into eight volumes, published successively.

The first volume was devoted to the core of Vel' d'Hiv' families. Many fathers of families and young men had been interned in the Loiret camps from where they were deported by the convoys 4, 5 and 6. In Vel' d'Hiv', were interned 8,160 Jews (1,129 men, 2,916 women and 4,115 children). At least 7,618 of them were transferred between 19 and 22 July in the Loiret camps (4,244 in Pithiviers, 3,374 in Beaune-la-Rolande). Most of the parents and many adolescents (about 800), born abroad, will be deported between July 31 and August 7 by convoys 13, 14, 15 and 16.

As for the vast majority of young children (about 3,000), they will be transferred to Drancy and deported between 17 and 28 August by convoys 20, 21, 22, 23, 24 and 25. This first volume therefore contains 13 convoys and its alphabetical index allows for the first time to gather families, the father is usually left by a convoy, the mother by another convoy and the children by one or more convoys.

Note that other children of Vel' d'Hiv' were deported by former convoys (250 adolescents in convoys 7,9, 10, 11 and 12) and later convoys (in particular the 26 of August 31, the 34 and 35 of the 18 and 21 of September); other fathers were deported by various convoys, especially the 1, 2 and 3.

The second volume was devoted to convoys 1, 2, 3 and 7 whose vast majority was composed of Jews arrested in August 1941 in Paris and interned in Drancy; to convoy 8, the only one that left directly from the province, from the occupied zone, from Angers to Auschwitz, which brought together the Jews of western France; to convoys 9 to 12 that took to Auschwitz couples without children and singles of the Vel' d'Hiv' round-up as well as Jews considered stateless and rounded up in the occupied zone. This volume was accompanied by an alphabetical index of the first two volumes.

The third volume was devoted to free-zone round-ups during the summer of 1942. It brought together convoys 17, 18 and 19, which gave the names of the Jews already interned in the large free-zone camps, as well as the eight convoys from number 26 to 33 left between August 31 and September 16 which listed especially the Jews rounded up in the free zone and delivered like their predecessors to the Gestapo in the occupied zone. This volume was accompanied by an alphabetical index of the names contained in the first three volumes.

The fourth volume was devoted to the round-ups in the occupied zone during the autumn of 1942. It brought together ten convoys going from number 34 to 45 that left France between September 18 and November 11. This volume was accompanied by an alphabetical index giving the 42,000 names of the deportees of the year 1942.

The fifth volume was devoted to the 17 convoys of the year 1943, ranging from number 46 to 63 and stretched between February 9 and December 17. It was accompanied by an alphabetical index of this year 1943 giving the names of 17,000 deportees.

The sixth volume is devoted to 15 convoys from Drancy between January 20, 1944 and August 18, 1944 and to convoys headed from Drancy towards the Bergen-Belsen camp, to the convoy from Toulouse, left on July 30, to the convoy from Lyon, left on August 11, to the convoy from Clermont-Ferrand, left on August 17.

The seventh volume is devoted to the deportees who left between 1942 and 1944: the Jews of the North and Pas-de-Calais French departments deported via Malines (Mechelen) camp in Belgium during this period; to the Jews deported in convoys of repression of the resistance and which we were able to spot; as well as to the Jews who died in the internment camps in France; finally, to the Jews executed or summarily slaughtered.

Altogether, including the present general alphabetical index, the two separate alphabetical indexes for the year 1942 and the alphabetical index of the year 1943, it means the successive publication of eleven volumes.

SURNAMES

Many families have homonymous surnames, but some of these surnames can be written under 156 different spellings. Our goal was certainly not to publish a memorial in phonetic form which would have simplified the task but would not correspond to its nature. In addition, most of these surnames are difficult to spell and it happens that in each birth certificate of children born in France in the same family, the surname knows a different spelling. On the basis of the official documents (birth certificate, cards, lists), we adopted the same spelling for all the members of a family unit.

When we became aware of cases of single mothers whose fathers had recognized the child, some religiously and non-civilly married, others living common-law or separated from their child's father, we indicated the father's surname next to the mother's so that she would not be separated from her children. In order to assess the difficulty of bringing together members of the same family unit, it is necessary to take into account the multiplicity of homonyms. There are more than 1,200 Lévy in this Memorial, more than 400 Cohen, nearly 400 Bloch.

GIVEN NAMES

There was not enough space to publish two given names. Often when the child was born in France, the first name chosen by the parents was a Jewish name, usually given in Eastern Europe and the second, a given name usually given in France. Often adults and children born in Poland carried names that were not their own, but names adopted after their entry in France. When we could give them back their original name, the one that was marked on their identity papers, we did so. All these persons were deportees because they were considered Jews and we are committed to make sure their Jewish identity is not changed.

It is obvious that for his comrades, Charles Goldstein was and would have remained Charles; but he was murdered as Szyja Goldsztajn. This Memorial is the human record of the Holocaust in France and the information it contains must be the most authentic possible. The names engraved on the Wall of Names in Paris are often the names for Memory. In our work, they are already the names for of History.

LOST NAMES

In the convoy 20 of August 17, 1942, two pages are irretrievably missing: this is the wagon 11 which contains children numbered from 380 and up to 415 and wagon 14 where they are numbered from 566 to 589. In total, 60 children. The loss is irremediable because the direction of the camp of Drancy (Prefecture of Police) categorically refused to the Jewish secretariat of the camp (Georges Kohn) the possibility of establishing an entry card to the camp for the children of the Loiret camps, likewise for the Jews transferred to Drancy free zone late August and early September 1942. The

Jewish office in Drancy did its best to ensure that the deportee's footsteps did not disappear and - on the basis of the deportation list they kept - they drew up a card for each deportee while only being able to write in what was inscribed on the deportation list and that was very often lacunar; this was the case for more than 3,000 children and more than 5,000 Jews in the free zone.

The number of indications varied on each sub-list coming from one camp or another; sometimes the indications were precise as to marital status and address; most often, they were vague and incomplete and included at least one name or one name without date and place of birth. We then had to reconstruct the basic data. For their children and their parents, thanks to the Beaune-la-Rolande and Pithiviers registers and file and to the acts of birth, we have been able to significantly improve the lists 13 to 16 and 20 to 25. But on the registers as well as on the cards, are indicated for the transferred children only the dates of the transfers of the camps of Loiret to Drancy. However, not all the children transferred were deported from Drancy and it is likely, according to the testimonies of the time, that the deportation of the children had to take place in conditions such that children could be deported to the place of other children who were deported in a next convoy and that all the names of the deported children were not noted.

It should also be noted that in convoy 34, which should have 1,000 starters, only 860 are indicated. 160 names would be missing, part of which could be recovered and another will be in the long run.

BIRTHPLACE

Also very varied. We could choose to leave even to large cities the variety of their spellings. Warsaw is also written Warschau or Warsaw ; Krakow, Krakau or Krakow. We have tried to unify to simplify and make it easier to compile statistics.

Those who noted the civil status were not embarrassed by precision: it is obvious that the small German, Austrian, Polish, Czech, Hungarian or Russian cities were noted irregularly. On the other hand, many cities have changed state and name several times, especially between Germany and Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, Hungary and Romania, Ukraine, Russia or Byelorussia... While it is relatively easy to establish equivalence for large cities, it is virtually impossible to do so for towns and villages.

DATES OF BIRTH

Often only the year is available, which is indicated by 01/01 and the year in question. Recall that many were born on a territory under Russian rule before 1917 and under a different schedule than the rest of Europe. Sometimes depending on what they saw as their interest, Jewish immigrants grew older or younger.

ADDRESSES OF ARREST

Recovering the arrest addresses of the deportees has been unprecedented work. We have done our best to indicate them so that siblings of the same family are brought together. Many victims were arrested at the demarcation line; we have indicated it by following the mention of "line dema.". The address that was theirs in Paris before their departure to the south. It is often necessary to interpret the address: for example, in the case of the foreign Jews expelled from the Gironde on December 2, 1940 and interned in the camp of La Lande (Indre-et - Loire) the address of arrest indicated is that of Bordeaux at the date of their expulsion which was the one where they fell into the hands of the French police; but the mention of the camp of La Lande indicates that it was from this camp that they were transferred to Drancy after spending often 18 months in La Lande.

With regard to foreign Jews coming from the free zone, it started first with all the internees vegetating for nearly two years and sometimes more in the camps of Gurs (Pyrénées - Atlantiques), Noé and Récébédou (Haute-Garonne). Rivesaltes (Pyrenees-Orientales), Milles (Bouches-du-Rhône), Vernet (Ariège). 3,429 of them, whose camps were their addresses for a long time on the day they were transferred to Drancy, arrived at Drancy in the first half of August 1942.

Members of the Foreign Workers' Groups (GTE) were scattered throughout the forty departments of the Free Zone; more than a thousand of them were transferred to Drancy August 25, 1942 by a train that zigzagged in the free zone and picked up the workers in a dozen stations (Oloron, Penne-d'Agenais, Caussade, Portet-Saint-Simon, Agde, Avignon, The Brotteaux train station in Lyon, Egletons, Brioude, Aurillac, Clermont, Culoz).

For the Jews arrested in the round-ups on August 26 and the days that followed, the task was even more difficult. Very often, there was no indication of address and it is only by compiling the thousands of documents collected in the archives of the departments that were part of the free zone that I was able to reconstitute this address to the deportees. However, it must be taken into account that when the deportee does not have a specific address and that it is indicated that he comes from a particular camp, this may mean that he was interned in the camp for a long time but also that he could have been arrested 24 hours earlier, for example in the large round-up of free-zone foreign Jews on August 26, 1942, it may mean that the person went through this camp but that his stay there was very brief.

The reading of the address must be historical and geographical: for example, at the beginning of September 1942, the internment camp in Rivesaltes becomes the Drancy of the free zone, i.e. Vichy dispatched in this camp the foreign Jews arrested in the forty or so departments of this zone. From Rivesaltes, they will be sent to the occupied zone at Drancy. The Jews arrested on August 26 in the Lot will be transferred immediately to the camp of Septfonds (Tarn-et-Garonne) where they will leave for Drancy; those of the Gers will go to Drancy from the camp of Vernet (Ariège). The Jews arrested on August 26 in the prefectural region of Montpellier (Hérault, Aude, Aveyron, Lozère, Pyrénées-Orientales) will be sent directly to Rivesaltes. Many specific arrest addresses will be completed by local researchers who will invest the departmental archives so precious, so welcoming and so effective.

"Towards the Swiss border" means that the person, often Belgian or Dutch, was arrested before the Swiss border by German or French police forces. In the *Camp / Place of Assembly* column is recorded a place name close to the place of the arrest. Convoys 50 and 51 on March 4 and 6, 1943 are composed almost exclusively of men capable of working; they were arrested throughout thirty departments of the former free zone. Instead of indicating in the *Camp* columns the camps Drancy or Gurs which was their transit camp before being sent to Drancy, I systematically put the name of the department from which they left.

345 Jews among the hundreds who fled their forced residence in Saint-Martin Vésubie, at the beginning of September 1943, were arrested by the Germans, interned in Borgo San Dalmazzo in Italy and transferred to Nice on September 21, from where they left for Drancy. We indicated in the *Camp* column : Borgo. For others, arrested in Saint-Martin-Vésubie, we have indicated Nice in the *Camp* column .

It has so far been impossible to find the addresses of many Jews arrested in the Alpes - Maritimes on August 26, 1942. We have indicated for them "Arrest-Caserne Auvare" (i.e. arrested at the Casern d'Auvare police station in Nice), a place of internment before their transfer a few days later in

Drancy . At the end of July 1943, the Drancy register does not record arrivals and there is still no arrest address for some internees.

At Aunay-en-Bazois (Nièvre), dozens of Jewish forced laborers were employed as loggers. They were domiciled in Paris: in the *Address* column, we entered their addresses in Paris and in the *Camp* column, we entered Aunay-en-Bazois. Similarly, for forced laborers at Clefs near Angers (Maine-et-Loire).

Many Jewish refugees from Lorraine were arrested in the towns of Dordogne (occupied zone) in July and October 1942: Saint-Michel-de-Rivière, Saint-Privat-de-Près, Saint-Antoine-Cumond, Saint-Paul-de-Lizonne , Saint-Michel-Léparon and Auriac-de-Bourzac .

It took me years of research to complete thousands of gaps in the dates and places of birth of the deportees as well as their arrest addresses. This gigantic work is not visible when we read our lists, but those who can confront them with the original deportation lists will realize the immensity of the mission that we have undertaken and that we have carried out for the most part. This work ensures on the spot, where they were stopped, the permanence of the memory of the deportees of the free zone. In 1983, during the drafting of *Vichy - Auschwitz*, we first explained how exactly had occurred arrests and transfers and secured the collective destiny of c 10,000 victims of cooperation between Vichy and the Gestapo. In this new edition of the *Memorial*, it is the individual destiny of each of these 10,000 people that is fixed.

CAMP OR PLACE OF RALLY

To know where a person was arrested, one should take into account that she/he was transferred to the transit camp for Auschwitz (Drancy, Pithiviers for example) already from an internment camp which we have indicated the name under the heading camp or assembly center (La Lande, Lamotte Beuvron for example). In these cases, the address indicated must be the address where the person resided permanently before being a refugee or the last address before being sent to the camp in question.

Knowing by chronological table of deportation convoys whence this particular convoy is sent implies that the camp or assembly center indicated is often not the one from which the convoy left. When Drancy is indicated, it is almost always when the deported person has been arrested in Paris or in the Paris region. Otherwise, we tried to trace as best as possible the course of the victim. The *Address* column and the *Commune* column complement each other with the *Camp* column. For example, for many children arrested in the UGIF centers of the Paris region in July 1944, we indicated the first arrest in 1942 with their parents in order to be able, thanks to this address, to reunite them in Paris. their parents and at the location of the assembly camp, we have indicated UGIF-Louveciennes for example to make known where they left in July 1944 for Drancy and Auschwitz.

To trace the course of tens of thousands of deportees, it would have taken several columns for the different stages of this journey. It was impossible for a paper edition where we decided one line per victim. If the book has this considerable format, it is first because in a single volume, it needed pages wide and tall to contain a hundred lines and also to mark the importance of the human toll of this immense tragedy. When I say "Drancy - Compiègne ", these are internees Drancy transferred from Drancy-Compiègne (300 December 12, 1941 and 784 April 29, 1942) and deported Compiègne. When I say "Compiègne-Drancy", it is about 800 "Marseillais" rounded up in January 1943, directed on Compiègne and which, on March 9, are transferred to Drancy where they are deported on March 23rd.

NORTHERN JEWS AND PAST DE CALAIS DEPORTED THROUGH THE CAMP OF MALINES (BELGIUM) FROM 1942 TO 1944 (CONVOIS 84).

To the research I had done in Belgium for the 1978 Memorial, I added other investigations in the archives of the departments of Nord and Pas-de-Calais. The list covers the period 1942-1944, while the vast majority of the victims was deported on 15 September 42 by the convoy 10. In 1981, I had drawn up the lists of *the Deportation Memorial* of 25 124 Jews of Belgium and 312 Gypsies.

JEWISH DEATH IN FRENCH OR GERMAN INTERNMENT CAMPS IN THE FRENCH TERRITORY BETWEEN JULY 1940 AND SEPTEMBER 1944 (LIST 90).

The 1978 *Memorial* had identified them by camp thanks to the documents that I had obtained from the communes where these camps were located. It is certainly not an exhaustive list: there were camps where Jews and non-Jews were interned and I could only rely on the surname, first name and place of birth to assess whether the person incarcerated and deceased was Jewish or not. The list has more than 2,500 names.

JEWISH EXECUTED AS RESISTANTS OR HOSTAGES; JEWISH SLAUGHTERS FROM JULY 1940 TO SEPTEMBER 1944 (LIST 91).

I had great difficulty in compiling this list in 1978. This was the case for the 2012 *Memorial*. The list can not be exhaustive. Many bodies were found at the Liberation and could not be identified, which had to involve a number of foreign Jews slaughtered summarily. It is the same for the Jews who tried to pass in Spain and who were abandoned by their smugglers in the mountains. There are still gaps in the civil status of the victims on the list, which contains more than 1,200 names.

INDEX OF THE NAMES OF YOUNG GIRL AND THEIR CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE NAMES OF MARRIED WOMEN.

Whenever we could, we noted the maiden names of married women despite the fact that these names were often incorrectly recorded and that we were not able to rectify the first re sisters. The fact remains that we have more than 19,200 girl names and we can link each of them to her married name with the first name. This index is valuable because people sometimes only know the maiden name of a victim; from now on, they will know the name that was his after his marriage and what his fate was.

The transfer dates from Drancy to Bergen-Belsen are as follows: 80A: 2 May 1944; 80B: May 3, 1944; 80C : July 21, 1944; 80D : July 23, 1944.

THE SURVIVORS

In 1978 in the *Memorial* and in 1980, in the addendum to the *Memorial*, I tried to indicate very discreetly the names of the survivors by a point that followed their surnames. I was afraid to deceive and upset families who still doubted. I said that the number of survivors should be between 2,500 and 3,000. Today, almost all the survivors are dead. A very accurate report would require very long research in the archived files of those who asked and who did (or did not) obtain pensions of "political" deportees whereas they were considered after the Liberation as deported " racial ". Some survivors did not return to France; some, knowing that they could not be pensioned being foreign nationals of countries not having concluded an agreement with France or being stateless, were able to turn to Germany or to their country of origin without reporting to France; some may have died before reporting. It is a subject of research and even of thesis.

A titre informatif, les chiffres indiqués ci-dessous sont ceux dont je disposais en 2001

CV	H	F	CV	H	F	CV	H	F	CV	H	F
1	23		22	7		46	15	7	66	42	30
2	41		23	3		47	13	1	67	20	23
3	29	5	24	24		48	16	1	68	27	32
4	59		25	8		49	4	2	69	20	14
5	55		26	16	1	50	3		70	79	73
6	92		27	30		51	5		71	39	91
7	17		28	25	2	52	0		72	12	38
8	19	1	29	34	1	53	5		73	17	
9	7	1	30	43		55	42	44	74	49	117
10	5		31	13		57	30	22	75	35	64
11	12	1	32	45		58	16	28	76	67	115
12	5		33	37	1	59	17	4	77	68	146
13	15	4	34	22		60	35	4	78	17	19
14	3	3	35	29		61	39	3	79	31	4
15	5	4	36	22	4	62	27	2			
16	5		37	15		64	48	2			
17	1		38	20		63	25	6			
18	11		39	0							
19	1		40	4							
20	3		42	4							
21	5		44	16							
			45	2							

Each person mentioned in this *Memorial* is given eight information: the number of the deportation convoy, the surname, first name, date and place of birth, the address of arrest or residence which occupies one or two columns, the camp or assembly center in which she was interned prior to her transfer to Drancy or her departure from Drancy. In total, more than 600,000 pieces of information and each of them may contain one or more errors since they are often very complicated names, with numbers or dates subject to variations. To name one example, the street numbers could be badly written or misreported by the internee to avoid endangering his family.

As much to underline that this work is not exempt from errors, it approaches the truth and it will never reach it since this truth does not exist: three brothers arrived in France from Russia or Poland in the 1920s or 1930s will have been assigned on their identity papers three surnames slightly different from each other. The birth certificates of three brothers, though born in France, may also carry variations of one or two letter surnames. The original name has been established often in Cyrillic characters and pronounced phonetically on arrival in France, these variations are explicable.

As for the first names, to give just one example, Abraham can be declined in 988 different versions. With regard to the place of birth, which criteria should be used, write Lvov or Lemberg, Bratislava or Presburg, etc.: according to the date of birth and the name then borne by the city, according to the unknown choice of the person in question or the gestapist, the police officer or the Jew of the "Chancellerie" of Drancy, in charge of writing the files of the internees?

What we do know is that behind each line, there was a human being for which we are desperate to find the basic vital characteristics that will allow him to escape a total disappearance at the end of the existence of those who have known him.

As we have already done for thousands of children by finding pictures of their faces, their birth certificates and testimonials concerning them, future researches, the digitization of documents, the crossing of information will allow the establishment of tens thousands of files on the Jewish victims of the Shoah in France, a better knowledge of their tragic journeys and their personalities. Behind every line of this Memorial there is a mystery that I would like to elucidate; I know that I could take a name at random and that it would be possible after research to devote to this person a page or a book.

Many rectifications will be made by family members affected by the Holocaust and by local researchers. Thank you to report them to the association:

"The Sons and Daughters of the Jewish Deportees of France", 32 rue La Boétie 75008 Paris - France
Telephone : 01 45 62 41 71 - Fax. : 01 45 63 95 58 - E-mail : klarsfeld.ffdjf@wanadoo.fr .
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