

10 The Hersh Segal Collection

Children's Testimonies From 1946 to 1947

Paula-Greta Barak

Introduction

Several initiatives to document the experiences of child Holocaust survivors emerged in the aftermath of WWII. Early collections of children's testimonies from various parts of Europe have already become the focus of research; notable examples include Dr. Helena Wrobel-Kagan's initiative in the Bergen-Belsen DP camp,¹ the Jewish Historical Commission in Poland,² the Benjamin Tenenbaum (Tene) Collection in Poland and Germany,³ and Eli Getreu's Collection in Sweden.⁴ Significant parts of two of these collections – children's testimonies from Dr. Helena Wrobel-Kagan Collection and Benjamin Tene Collection – are held in the GFH Archives.

Within the Romanian Holocaust historiographical context, testimonies given by orphaned child survivors from the Bukovina and Bessarabia regions, which were collected by Youth Aliyah in 1944 in Mandatory Palestine, were analyzed by Mihăilescu.⁵ Early postwar accounts on Jewish orphans from Transnistria, published in booklets authored by Jewish survivors and journalists as well as in the Jewish and non-Jewish Romanian press, were also the focus of research.⁶ Furthermore, studies concerning the lives of Jewish children deported to Transnistria and the orphans' repatriation in 1944,⁷ as well as research on the postwar struggles of the surviving Jewish population in Romania and their rehabilitation,⁸ provide essential context for understanding both the status of child survivors in Romania and the general circumstances of early documentation initiatives.

While these research attempts are notable, it appears that a set of early testimonies of child survivors has escaped the focus of scholarship. This is the Hersh Segal Collection, which includes 85 handwritten children's accounts documenting their experiences in the ghettos and camps of Transnistria between 1941 and 1944. Mostly in Yiddish, these testimonies were collected in 1946 at the Jewish orphanage in Bacău and in 1947 at the Jewish School in Gura Humorului at the initiative of Hersh Segal. Twenty-five of the accounts were privately published in Yiddish between 1982 and 1984 in Israel in two booklets.⁹

After years of being in private hands, the collection was donated in 1983 to the GFH Archives. It was digitized several years ago and is now available

online. Copies of the booklets are held in several archives, such as Moreshet, Yad Vashem, the National Library of Israel, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum. The two booklets were included by Ozacky-Stern in a study of archival documentation concerning survival and commemoration at the Moreshet Archive in Israel.¹⁰ Additionally, an introductory talk on the Hersch Segal Collection was given in 2024 during the “Talking Memory” Series organized by the GFH on the Romanian Jewry during the Holocaust.

This chapter will discuss the circumstances surrounding the donation of the materials to the GFH Archives, the background and the motivation of the people who collected the testimonies, and the structure of the testimonies themselves. By clarifying the provenance of the collection¹¹, it aims to enrich its accessibility and contribute to the history of child rehabilitation in post-war Romania.

The Ghetto Fighters’ House: A Documentary Debt

On May 25, 1983, the Organization of Survivors of Transnistria Camps in Israel, in cooperation with the GFH, held a conference on child survivors.¹² Moshe Tau, the conference chairman, opened the event by reflecting on the experiences of children during the deportations and emphasized the survivors’ responsibility to commemorate those who did not survive the deportations and the Transnistria ghettos and camps. Addressing the attendees – mostly Holocaust survivors from Romania – Tau stated:

Within a short period, our beloved dear ones perished and we were orphaned. In a time fraught with disasters and hardships, we grew up overnight. The years of childhood – defined by innocent laughter and a lack of worry – vanished as if they had never existed [. . .]. With courage of spirit, we left the ghettos for hard and dangerous labor. We did this for a small crust of bread that allowed us to stay alive. [. . .] We shall not forget the Holocaust, with days and nights of cruel, terrible traumas and anxieties [. . .]. We will remember our loved ones [. . .] every day, every hour, for they were our most precious treasure.¹³

Tau’s words reflected the commemorative mandate of the GFH, which hosted the conference and has upheld this mission since its founding. Established in April 1949 alongside Kibbutz Lohamei Haghetatot by Holocaust survivors from Poland and Lithuania,¹⁴ the institution has functioned as an active site of memory “that sought, intermittently, to shape not only the past but also the present and the future”.¹⁵

Zvi Shner, one of the founders and the director of the GFH at the time, reinforced Moshe Tau’s speech, interpreting his words as a call to all survivors in attendance to assist in documenting the Holocaust of Romanian Jewry. Shner advocated concrete action, urging survivors to provide written testimonies and to deposit “every photograph, every document, every artifact,

every letter, and every printed item from this period”¹⁶ found in their possession to a public archive¹⁷ for preservation and research.

In fact, Shner’s appeal represented a renewal of the first general call to donate materials published by the GFH Archives in 1951.¹⁸ It also echoed the broader mandate of the Archives: to document the Jewish world destroyed during the Holocaust by collecting documentation concerning the Jews’ life and struggles¹⁹ before, during, and in the aftermath of WWII. The founders viewed this archival work both as fulfilling the Last Will and Testament of those who perished during the Holocaust and as a direct continuation of the documentation work begun in the ghettos.²⁰ By focusing on the Romanian Jewry communities, Shner addressed what he perceived as “a documentary debt” to the victims of the Holocaust in Romania:

The people of this place, those who established this “House”, those who managed it for years, we all came from Poland. The things that happened in Poland are close to our hearts; we know them, we understand them. Only a small amount of attention – that is to say, not enough – did we devote to other Jewish communities in Europe that were also victims of the Nazi extermination plan. Among these communities are both Hungary and Romania, and we have been trying in recent years to fill the void, to pay the debt that we remained owing.²¹

The administrative records of the GFH Archives reveal sporadic efforts to document the Holocaust of Romanian Jewry prior to 1983. For example, the correspondence from 1950 to 1951 between the GFH and the Israeli Legation in Bucharest reveals an early attempt to clandestinely bring books and archival documentation from Romania.²² Another attempt was made in the early 1970s through a cooperation between the GFH and the survivors’ association of the Vapniarka camp (the Organization of Former Political Deportees and Internees – Jewish Anti-fascist Fighters in the Vapniarka Camp). The aim was to obtain documentary materials from Romania for a stand about the Vapniarka camp at the GFH. While only a small amount of material was successfully copied and deposited in the Archives, a model of the Vapniarka camp – created by the camp survivor Avraham Solomovici (Avi Sela) – was exhibited next to the Treblinka model in the “Concentration and Extermination Camps” exhibition at the GFH in 1971.²³

The GFH attempts to document the Holocaust of Romanian Jewry in the early 1950s were part of the institution’s wider mission to document the Holocaust. Additionally, over the years, other institutions and scholars in Israel – including Yad Vashem, Bela Vago, and Theodor Lavie – made considerable efforts to obtain documentation on the Holocaust of Romanian Jewry, despite the limitations imposed by the archives in Communist Romania, which remained closed until the late 1980s. Efforts for documentation were also made by different survivors’ associations, including HOR and the Association of Bessarabian Jews.²⁴

Shner thought that the solution to the GFH Archives' "documentary debt" could be found in private and family collections. Tracing and collecting materials from private hands could, on the one hand, fill part of the void left by the scarcity of official documentation from Romania, while, on the other hand, it might give survivors a voice and a space to bring their narratives to the attention of Israeli society. This corresponded to the received narrative of the GFH depicting "the role of the archive as a public asset: one that is based on contributions, but at the same time makes a contribution, one that constructs a basis of knowledge for education and research".²⁵

Furthermore, materials documenting children during the Holocaust have been traced and collected since the early years of the GFH; among these is one of the central collections of the Archives: the Koordynacja Collection. The Koordynacja Organization (The Zionist Coordination for the Redemption of Jewish Children) operated in postwar Poland with the aim of locating Jewish children hidden in convents and with Christian families and returning them to surviving Jewish communities. The organization's activists maintained a card index of children under their care, on which they recorded information concerning each child's identity and fate during the war, including information provided by the child.²⁶ This collection contains hundreds of index cards and several albums with children's information and photographs. Its acquisition precedes the 1951 GFH public call to donate materials. It was brought to Mandatory Palestine by Sara-Neshamit Shner, a former partisan in Lithuania, a leading figure of the Koordynacja Organization and one of the founders of kibbutz Lochamei Haghetaot, and by Leibl-Arieh Kuriski, the former secretary of Koordynacja Organization.²⁷

While the Koordynacja cards were written by the organization's adult activists, a different collection deposited in the early days of the GFH Archives captures the perspective of the child survivors in their own writing. Benjamin Tenenbaum (Tene), a Polish-born Jewish writer and translator, immigrated to Mandatory Palestine in 1937. Returning to Poland in 1946 as an emissary for Hashomer Hatzair, he visited several children's homes and Hashomer Hatzair training camps, where he taught Hebrew and lectured about the Land of Israel to young survivors. During his year-long stay in Poland, Tenenbaum, together with two associates, collected around 1,000 testimonies, handwritten by child survivors (aged 9 to 19 years old) in Polish, Yiddish, and Russian, both in Poland and in 17 DP camps in Germany. He translated some of these testimonies into Hebrew and published them in Mandatory Palestine in 1947 in a collection entitled "One of a City and Two of a Family".²⁸ Of the 1,000 testimonies, over 650 were donated to the GFH Archives by Tenenbaum in 1951.²⁹

These early acquisitions set a precedent, demonstrating that the efforts to document child survivors' accounts were an integral part of the Archives' acquisition strategy, even before the formal public call for materials in 1951.

It was within this institutional context of the "documentary debt" that the Hersch Segal Collection was deposited at the GFH Archives. Approximately

one month after the conference, Gershon Segal submitted a folder containing 85 accounts, handwritten by children between 1946 and 1947, which recounted their experiences during the deportations to Transnistria. Gershon attributed the project's initiative to his brother, Hersh Segal, who had passed away the previous year³⁰. In addition to the handwritten manuscripts, the collection included a letter written by Rachel Hasenfratz, one of the teachers who helped Segal with his project. Two booklets, including 25 of the children's accounts, were also added later to the collection: the first, edited by Hersh Segal and published in 1982 shortly after his death; the second, published by Gershon Segal in 1984.

While the 1983 conference's attendance list was not preserved, making it impossible to confirm Gershon Segal's presence, the timing of the acquisition serves as a poignant example of the conference's immediate impact. It also shows the proactive documentation practices of the GFH in collecting new testimonies and materials created by private initiative. The cooperation between the GFH and the Organization of Survivors of Transnistria Camps in Israel continued in two subsequent conferences in 1984³¹ and 1985,³² as well as with the publication of Hanna Meller-Faust's memoir about her experiences as a teenager deported to Transnistria.³³

The Hersh Segal Collection

Hersh Segal was born in 1905 in Novi Strilyshcha, Galicia. At a young age, his family relocated to Putila, Bukovina. Following the outbreak of WWI, the family fled to Prague, eventually settling in Czernowitz, Bukovina, in 1917. Segal studied mathematics and physics at Czernowitz University, graduating in the beginning of the 1930s. After his military service in the Romanian army in Botoșani, he returned to Czernowitz, where he worked as a mathematics teacher, including for ORT (Association for the Promotion of Skilled Trades). During the Soviet rule of northern Bukovina (1940–1941), he was a teacher at a secondary Yiddish school in Czernowitz.³⁴ While there is limited information concerning his fate between 1941 and 1944, it is known that he managed to remain in Czernowitz, together with his mother, Malka Segal, and brother, Gershon-Moses Segal. Hersh Segal was conscripted for forced labor and appears on a list of Jewish skilled workers used by the Romanian Orthodox Religious Fund of Bukovina in October 1942.³⁵ After the Soviets liberated Czernowitz (spring 1944), Segal returned to work at the secondary Yiddish school. In 1946, he moved to Bacău, Romania, where he was a mathematics teacher until his immigration to Israel in 1962.³⁶

Alongside his career as a mathematics teacher, Segal took an active role in the Jewish intellectual milieu of Czernowitz before WWII. He delivered lectures on Jewish literature, history, and philosophy and contributed to the field of Yiddish literature by editing and publishing works of contemporary Yiddish poets. For example, he co-edited the anthology *Naye yidishe dikhtung* (New Yiddish Poetry), published in Czernowitz in 1934, and edited the

Zeks Shloflider (Six lullabies) in 1939. The latter was a collection of poems written by various Yiddish writers (including Itzik Manger) with melodies by Leib Leibson and drawings by the Jewish artist Isiu Schärf.³⁷

In the 1970s, while a retired mathematics teacher in Israel, Hersh Segal delivered lectures in Yiddish about the linguistic influence of the Yiddish language on the poetry of Paul Celan, an acquaintance of his from Czernowitz.³⁸ He also continued his publicist work. His most well-known achievement was the first-time publication, in 1976, of the poems of Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger – his former pupil at the Czernowitz Yiddish school and a cousin of Paul Celan – who had been killed in Transnistria in 1942.³⁹ This was followed by Segal's attempt to research, edit, and publish some of the children's accounts about the Transnistria deportation that he collected in the aftermath of the war.

Background and Motivation

Hersh Segal was among the 40,000–50,000 Bukovina Jews who survived the Holocaust. Following liberation, most of the survivors from the Czernowitz area returned from Transnistria to the city in the hope of finding relatives or friends. Upon their return, they faced a renewed division of Bukovina: the northern part, including Czernowitz, became part of the Soviet Union, while the southern part remained under Romanian administration. The hardships of postwar life in Czernowitz, combined with the grim memory of Soviet rule between 1940 and 1941, led many Bukovina Jews, including Segal, to seek a life outside Soviet rule. Some survivors crossed the border illegally into Romania. Others, Bukovina survivors who were Romanian citizens before the war, crossed the border legally during the brief repatriation authorized by the Soviets in 1945 and 1946.⁴⁰ In many cases, northern Bukovina survivors became refugees in their own country, seeking shelter in parts of Romania where they had no previous homes to return to.

Influenced by postwar realities, including the displacement of the Bukovina Jewish survivors and his own status as a repatriate in Bacău, Segal began a Holocaust documentation project of his own. Consistent with his pre-war cultural activities and as part of the group of Yiddish supporters who repatriated to Bacău and sought to promote literature in this language,⁴¹ Segal encouraged children of Holocaust survivors from the Jewish orphanage in Bacău in 1946 to write down accounts of their wartime experiences alongside songs they remembered singing or hearing in Transnistria. He later recalled that, although the children sang these songs for him, he lacked the means at the time to document the melodies.⁴²

To expand his project, he contacted the Jewish School in Gura Humorului, southern Bukovina. With the assistance of local educators, among them Rachel Hasenfratz, he collected testimonies from Jewish children who had returned from Transnistria and were enrolled at the school in 1947.⁴³

While Hasenfratz was not the initiator of the project, her role as a teacher and a caregiver at the Gura Humorului school – shaped by her education and

wartime experiences in Transnistria – significantly influenced the documentation methods in which the testimonies were collected.⁴⁴ Born in 1901 in Gura Humorului to a traditional Jewish family, Rachel Hasenfratz was permitted to pursue higher education due to a physical disability.⁴⁵ Fluent in several languages, she earned a living by providing private lessons and was active in the Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO).⁴⁶ In October 1941, she was deported to the Moghilev-Podolski ghetto in Transnistria. There she worked for a time as a teacher in one of the Jewish orphanages. Years later, while recalling the harsh conditions of the Moghilev ghetto orphanages, Hasenfratz stated:

Due to the harsh conditions, studies were not serious. The children told me in German about their lives in their parents' homes. Their parents died not long ago from diseases and hunger. [. . .] I would tell them about the history of the Jews and the history of Romania, I taught them a little arithmetic and Hebrew. Books and notebooks were non-existent. I remember that one day they washed the children's clothes, and thus the children lay naked in their beds, and I sat by them and taught them.⁴⁷

Hasenfratz returned to Gura Humorului in 1945, where she remained until her immigration to Mandatory Palestine in 1947.⁴⁸ Like other survivors of Transnistria, she had to cope with the loss of family members and friends, the physical and psychological toll of the years of deportation, and the destruction brought by the war and the Holocaust to her community.⁴⁹ She resumed her pedagogical activities in Gura Humorului, where several Zionist movements were advancing the rehabilitation of the children toward emigration:

In 1945, we returned to our town. The local population was not particularly pleased to see us. Gradually, Jewish and Zionist life began to resurface. [. . .] In Poland and other countries, Zionist movements began to organize, drove by the realization that there was no future for us in the Diaspora and that we must immigrate to the Land of Israel as soon as possible. Everyone sought to learn Hebrew, and my hands were full of work. Zionist lectures and public events, youth movement activity in every single branch and in every single youth movement.⁵⁰

Among surviving families and communities, many youths sought to resume studies interrupted by the war, ghettoization, and deportation by seeking re-admission into public schools and universities.⁵¹ This process is illustrated in the single letter sent by Hasenfratz to Segal, which is held in the Hersh Segal Collection. In May 1947, Hasenfratz wrote that the director of the school in Gura Humorului assigned the teachers, in Segal's name, to give the children a task: to write down their experiences in Transnistria. Despite it being a busy time of the school year – the children being busy with writing final

papers – Hasenfratz mentioned that almost all pupils fulfilled their “duty” and had written their accounts. She sent the manuscripts to Segal without corrections to preserve their “authenticity”, adding: “Of course there are many errors in them, but we see it as an achievement that they could even sit down and write. Most of them didn’t even know the alphabet a few months ago”.⁵²

Hasenfratz’s approach to “authenticity” aligns with Müller’s view on Holocaust survivors’ life stories, namely that there is a tendency “to privilege the word that promises to convey historical truth” as “any survivor, in telling his or her story, effectively also becomes a representative of those who did not come back”.⁵³

While Segal’s primary motivation was to gather research materials on the Holocaust in Romania from first-hand witnesses and to document the remnants of Bukovina’s rich Jewish heritage, his and Hasenfratz’s efforts may also be interpreted as a contribution to the education and rehabilitation of child survivors in the postwar period. This approach aligns with other documented cases of survivor-caregivers in postwar Europe, such as the Benjamin Tene Collection⁵⁴ and the Dr. Helena Wrobel-Kagan’s initiative⁵⁵ in Bergen-Belsen DP camp, where, as Cohen stated, “working with the children entailed listening to them describe what they had gone through”.⁵⁶

The Questionnaire

The Hersh Segal Collection includes 85 children’s accounts ranging from one to four pages. Forty of the interviewed children were girls. Some accounts consist of testimonies, some contain songs, and others include both. Most of the children wrote in Yiddish, though a few chose Yiddish in Latin script or Romanian.

It is difficult to provide an exact quantitative picture of the entire collection since not all the children mentioned the place and date of birth, nor included the names of the camps and ghettos in Transnistria to which they were deported. Nevertheless, a general overview can be offered. Most of the children were born between 1930 and 1937 (i.e. 10 to 17 years old at the time of writing the testimony). Sixty-one of them were originally from southern Bukovina (thirty-five from Gura Humorului), and just ten explicitly wrote they were from northern Bukovina (nine from Czernowitz). There were also three children from Dorohoi. In their accounts the children mention different ghettos and camps in Transnistria to which they were deported (the most mentioned places are Moghilev-Podolski, Shargorod, Bershad, Djurin, Murafa, Kopayhgorod, Pecioara, Skazenetz). Segal regarded these testimonies as primary materials for creating a map and a chronicle of the ghettos and camps in Transnistria.⁵⁷

The Hersh Segal Collection does not refer to any guidance for gathering children’s testimonies; nevertheless, the format of the task can be reconstructed since some of the children had written down parts of the instructions they had received. The children were asked first to write down their name,

place, and date of birth. Afterward, they were urged to write a composition titled “The most important experience in recent years. The most terrible and the most beautiful one”.⁵⁸ The accounts had to refer to five different aspects: memories from Transnistria; experience of the occupation (occupation of northern Bukovina and Bessarabia in 1941; the deportation experience); orphans: how their parents were killed or died; memories of the evacuation; and songs that they heard during their time in Transnistria.⁵⁹ Most of the children referred to only two or three topics. It seems that while understanding the importance of the documentary mission, both Segal and Hasenfratz acknowledged the challenges the children faced in the aftermath of the war, prioritizing their rehabilitation. The children were not forced to revisit every painful memory simply to satisfy documentary goals. In this respect, one can see similarities to the initiative of Helena Wrobel-Kagan in Bergen-Belsen; like her, Segal and Hasenfratz were teachers interested in providing their pupils with a sense of normalcy.⁶⁰

Furthermore, the reconstructed format of the testimonies is reminiscent of the YIVO autobiographical essay competitions in the 1930s, in which Jewish youth were invited to submit autobiographies describing their lives and communities. While the YIVO contestants were free to choose their own subject, they were specifically encouraged to address, among others, the question: “What events in your life made the greatest impression on you?”⁶¹ Moreover, many participants included examples of their youthful literary efforts in their accounts. These materials, according to the YIVO staff, were not intended “to provide ethnographic descriptions of daily life per se; they were to reveal the inner life of Jewish youth at a pivotal historical moment and place”.⁶² Given Segal’s interests in Yiddish literature and scholarship, the YIVO model must have been familiar to him and suited the documentary project he undertook. It appears that Segal was not alone in this approach; the YIVO contests may have also influenced Benjamin Tenenbaum’s initiative to collect “autobiographies” from child Holocaust survivors in Poland in the immediate aftermath of the war.⁶³

Conclusion

The Hersh Segal Collection is an example of an early private effort, led by educators from the Jewish survivor community in Romania, to document the experiences children went through in Transnistria’s camps and ghettos.

Both Hersh Segal and Rachel Hasenfratz were coping with their own post-war uncertainties and dislocations. Both were influenced by their cultural and educational backgrounds. Both shared a desire to gather first-hand historical accounts on the Holocaust in Romania, a wish to document the remnants of Bukovina’s rich Jewish heritage, and a fervent commitment to the rehabilitation of child survivors between 1946 and 1947. Their efforts aligned with other documentation projects taking place in Europe at the time, such as the Benjamin Tene Project and Helena Wrobel-Kagan’s initiative.

The decision to deposit the Hersh Segal Collection in a public archive in 1983, following the conference on Transnistria child survivors hosted by the GFH, shows how both the Transnistria survivors and the GFH archivists perceived the Collection as filling some of the “documentary debt” regarding the Holocaust of Romanian Jewry. The GFH commemorative mandate and the role of its Archives as a public asset established by Holocaust survivors were central to the decision to deposit the Hersh Segal Collection at the GFH Archives.

Acknowledgments

Many thanks are due to Moshe Kravetz z”l, David Shirman z”l, Esti Keidar, and other GFH Archives volunteers whose translations of the Hersh Segal testimonies from Yiddish to Hebrew have proved invaluable. Their work was essential for the archival description of this collection.

Notes

- 1 Boaz Cohen, “‘And I Was Only a Child’: Children’s Testimonies, Bergen-Belsen 1945”, *Holocaust Studies* 12, no. 1–2 (2006): 153–169.
- 2 Beate Müller, “Trauma, Historiography and Polyphony: Adult Voices in the CJHC’s Early Postwar Child Holocaust Testimonies”, *History Memory* 24, no. 2 (Fall/Winter 2012): 157–195; Sharon Kangisser Cohen, *Testimony & Time: Holocaust Survivors Remember*, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2014.
- 3 Boaz Cohen and Gabriel N. Finder, “‘I Will Not Be Believed’: Benjamin Tenenbaum and the Representation of the Child Survivor”, in: Joanna Beata Michlic, ed., *Jewish Families in Europe, 1939 – Present History, Representation, and Memory*, Waltham, MA: Brandeis University Press, 2017: 196–208.
- 4 Malin Thor Tureby, “Beyond Testimony: Early Recounting and Active Listening at a Boarding School for Young Holocaust Survivors in Sweden 1946–1948”, *Holocaust Studies* 30, no. 4 (2024): 620–636.
- 5 Dana Mihăilescu, “Networks of Sutured Consciousness in Early Holocaust Testimonies of Orphaned Jewish Child Survivors from Romania”, in: Sharon Kangisser Cohen and Dalia Ofer, eds., *Starting Anew: The Rehabilitation of Child Survivors of the Holocaust in the Early Postwar Years*, Jerusalem: Yad Vashem, 2019: 145–169.
- 6 Dana Mihăilescu, “Early Postwar Accounts on Jewish Orphans from Transnistria”, *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 36, no. 3 (2022): 353–371.
- 7 Ionela Ana Dăscuțu, “The Forgotten Child Survivors of the Romanian Holocaust: Jewish Orphans and Jewish Orphanages in Transnistria (1941–1944)”, PhD diss., University of Haifa, 2021; Shmuel Ben-Zion, *Jewish Children in Transnistria during the Holocaust* (Hebrew), Haifa: University of Haifa Institute for Holocaust Research and Yad Vashem, 1989.
- 8 Stefan Cristian Ionescu, *Justice and Restitution in Post-Nazi Romania: Rebuilding Jewish Lives and Communities, 1944–1950*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024; Gaëlle Fisher, “Between Liberation and Emigration: Jews from Bukovina in Romania after the Second World War”, *Year Book – Leo Baeck Institute* 62 (2017): 115–132.
- 9 First booklet: Hersh Segal, ed., *Research materials of the Holocaust in Romania: Children Testify about Transnistria. Answers to a Survey Conducted in Romania*

- in 1946 and 1947* (Yiddish), First Collection, Rehovot, 1982, Ghetto Fighters' House Archives (hereinafter GFH Archives), Holdings Registry, 35903. Second booklet: *Research Materials of the Holocaust in Romania. Children Testify about Transnistria. Answers to a Survey Conducted in Romania in 1946 and 1947* (Yiddish), Second Collection, Rehovot, 1984, GFH Archives, Holdings Registry, 35903.
- 10 Daniela Ozacky-Stern, "Surviving and Commemorating: Original Jewish Documents Preserved in the Moreshet Archive", in: Adina Babeş-Fruchter and Ana Bărbulescu, eds., *The Holocaust in South-Eastern Europe: Historiography, Archives Resources and Remembrance*, Vernon Press, 2021: 100–101.
- 11 Terry Cook, "What Is Past Is Prologue: A History of Archival Ideas since 1898, and the Future Paradigm Shift", *Archivaria* 43 (Spring 1997): 17–63.
- 12 Invitation to the Conference of Child Survivors of the Transnistria Camps, May 25, 1983, GFH Archives, Holdings Registry, 49130 (Hebrew).
- 13 Moshe Tau at the Conference of Child Survivors of the Transnistria Camps, May 25, 1983, GFH Archives, CD & DVD Audio Section, 18, translation from Hebrew by the author.
- 14 Dror Burstein, *Without a Single Case of Death: Stories from Kibbutz Lohamei Haghetat, Ghetto Fighters' House*, 2007.
- 15 Lior Inbar, "Kibbutz Lohamei Hagetaot: A Site of Memory in a Challenging Reality, 1949–1959", *Moreshet* 16 (2019): 93. See also: Sharon Geva, "Shifting Landscapes, Changing Perspectives: The Founding of Kibbutz Lochamei HaGeta'ot", *Israel Studies* 30 (Spring 2025): 151–173.
- 16 Zvi Shner at the Conference of Child Survivors of the Transnistria Camps, May 25, 1983, GFH Archives, CD & DVD Audio Section, 18, translation from Hebrew by the author.
- 17 Established as a private initiative by the Holocaust survivors who founded the kibbutz in 1949, the GFH Archives was granted the legal status of a "Public Archive" in 1958, recognized under the Israeli Archives Law of 1955. Shner's allusion to this status addresses the Archives' regulatory responsibility to preserve and provide access to its collections, while simultaneously conferring an official status upon the documentation itself.
- 18 "Support the mission of the Itzhak Katzenelson Ghetto Fighters' House", *Yedioth, the Journal of the Itzhak Katzenelson Ghetto Fighters' House for the Heritage of the Holocaust and the Uprising* 1 (November 1951) (Hebrew), GFH Archives, Holdings Registry, 33242.
- 19 Sara Neshamit-Shner, GFH Archives' Presentation Movie. <https://youtu.be/PfNzeODybGo?si=drpccrqZklxZmzJi>, Retrieved September 14, 2024.
- 20 Zvika Dror, *Miriam's Burden: The Life Story of Miriam Novitch* (Hebrew), Tel Aviv: Ghetto Fighters' House, 2008.
- 21 Zvi Shner, GFH Archives, CD & DVD Audio Section, 18, translation from Hebrew by the author.
- 22 Correspondence between the Ghetto Fighters' House and Ehud Avriel, and between the Ghetto Fighters' House and Eliezer Halevy, GFH Archives, Holdings Registry, 14831 (Hebrew). Also: Hailey Dilman-Sharon and Paula-Greta Barak, "Fragmented Collections: Connecting the Dots Between the Filderman-Carp Archives", EHRI Document Blog. <https://blog.ehri-project.eu/2025/07/31/fragmented-collections-connecting-the-dots/>, Retrieved January 4, 2025.
- 23 "Vapniarka Camp", *Yedioth Journal of the Ghetto Fighters' House* 24 (September 1971) (Hebrew), GFH Archives, Holdings Registry, 33243.
- 24 Eugenia Adriana Mihalcea, "(Re)constructing the History and Memory of the Holocaust in Transnistria, in Romania and Israel between 1945 and 1989", PhD diss., University of Haifa, 2024.

- 25 Introductory panel, *Past Continuous: The Ghetto Fighters' House Marks 75 Years* [Temporary Exhibition], Kibbutz Lohamei HaGetaot: Ghetto Fighters' House, 2025.
- 26 Anat Bratman-Elhalel, the "Koordynacja Collection" panel, *Past Continuous: The Ghetto Fighters' House Marks 75 Years*.
- 27 Lior Inbar, "In the Beginning Was the Archive: The Founding of the Ghetto Fighters' House", (Hebrew), *Dapim* (2026), 152–160.
- 28 Boaz Cohen, "The Children's Voice: Postwar Collection of Testimonies from Child Survivors of the Holocaust", *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 21 (Spring 2007): 73–95. Also: Cohen and Finder, "I Will Not Be Believed", 196–208.
- 29 *Yedioth Journal of the Ghetto Fighters' House* 1 (November 1951) (Hebrew), GFH Archives, Holdings Registry, 33242.
- 30 Letter by Zvi Shner to Gershon Segal 5 (July 1983) (Hebrew), GFH Archives, Holdings Registry, 49129.
- 31 GFH Archives, CD & DVD Audio Section, 89 (Hebrew).
- 32 GFH Archives, CD & DVD Audio Section, 114 (Hebrew).
- 33 Hanna Meller-Faust, *Across the River*, Ghetto Fighters' House, 1986.
- 34 Abraham Rauchberger, "In Memory of Hersh Segal z"l. Eulogy delivered at the first yearzeit of Hersh Segal" (Yiddish), in: *Research materials of the Holocaust in Romania*, Second Collection, 67–69. Also: "Segal, Hersh", *Congress for Jewish Culture Project*. <https://congressforjewishculture.org/people/2417/Segal-Hersh>, Retrieved January 4, 2025.
- 35 Yad Vashem Archives: M.52.DAChrvO – State Archives of Chernivtsi Region, JM/11344, JM/11312, JM/11315 (Romanian).
- 36 See the testimony given by Hersh Segal's nephew: Meinhard Mayer interview with Ilene Spear, Corona Del Mar, California, Aug. 6, 1996, USC Shoah Foundation Archive. Also: Abraham Rauchberger, "In Memory of Hersh Segal z"l", 67–69.
- 37 "Segal, Hersh", *Congress for Jewish Culture Project*; Rauchberger, "In Memory of Hersh Segal z"l".
- 38 Ohad Kohn, "A German-Yiddish Mayse: The Influence of Yiddish on the Poetic Language of Paul Celan", Master Thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2016: 4–5 and 44–45.
- 39 Amy Blau, review of *Harvest of Blossoms: Poems from a Life Cut Short*, by Selma Meerbaum-Eisinger, ed. Irene Silverblatt and Helene Silverblatt, trans. Jerry Glenn et al., *Bridges* 14, no. 2 (2019): 145–146.
- 40 Fisher, "Between Liberation and Emigration": 118–120.
- 41 Letter by Rachel Hasenfratz to Hersh Segal, May 9, 1947, GFH Archives, Holdings Registry, 9044 (Yiddish). See also: I. Kara, *Obstea Evreiasca Din . . . Bacau* (Romanian), Hasefer: Bucuresti, 1995, made available in English by JewishGen, Inc. and the Yizkor Book Project. <https://jewishgen.org/yizkor/Bacau/Bacau.html#TOC94>, Retrieved January 8, 2026.
- 42 Hersh Segal, ed., *Research Materials of the Holocaust in Romania* (Yiddish), First Collection, 1.
- 43 Letter sent by Rachel Hasenfratz, Gura Humorului, to Hersh Segal, Bacău, on May 9, 1947.
- 44 While the Hersh Segal Collection contains no biographical information regarding Rachel Hasenfratz besides her role as a teacher in Gura Humorului after the war, research conducted for this chapter indicates she is the Rachel Hasenfratz who contributed to the Gura Humorului Memorial Book. This identification was made by cross-referencing Hasenfratz's accounts from the memorial book with testimonies given years later to Yad Vashem and the Shoah Foundation by children included in the Segal Collection. Furthermore, some of these children were contributors to the same memorial book. See: Shraga Yeshurun (Jurgrau), ed., *Gura Humora: A Small Town in Southern Bukovina: The History of Its Jewish*

- Community (Hebrew), Israel: The Association for the Commemoration of the Gura Humora Community and Surroundings, 1992.
- 45 See the testimony given by Rachel Hasenfratz's niece: Rozah Davidovich interview with Zila Dobrish, Jerusalem, Dec. 5, 1995, USC Shoah Foundation Archive.
- 46 Rachel Hasenfratz, "WIZO" (Hebrew), in: Shraga Yeshurun (Jurgrau), ed., *Gura Humora*, 273.
- 47 Rachel Hasenfratz, "In the Transnistria Camps" (Hebrew), in: Shraga Yeshurun (Jurgrau), ed., *Gura Humora*, 233, translation from Hebrew by the author.
- 48 Rachel Hasenfratz in: Shraga Yeshurun (Jurgrau), ed., *Gura Humora*, 302.
- 49 Ionescu, *Justice and Restitution*, 60–61.
- 50 Hasenfratz, "WIZO" (Hebrew), 273, translation from Hebrew by the author.
- 51 Ionescu, *Justice and Restitution*, 72.
- 52 Letter by Rachel Hasenfratz to Hersh Segal, May 9, 1947, translation from Yiddish by Noam Rachmilevitch.
- 53 Müller, "Trauma, Historiography and Polyphony": 179–180. Hasenfratz's approach is illustrated in Hersh and Gershon Segal's decision to include facsimiles of the children's original handwriting alongside the transcription of the testimonies in the two booklets published in 1982 and 1984.
- 54 Cohen, "The Children's Voice: Postwar Collection of Testimonies": 85.
- 55 Cohen, "'And I Was Only a Child'": 166.
- 56 Boaz Cohen, "Survivor Caregivers and Child Survivors: Rebuilding Lives and the Home in the Postwar Period", *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 32, no. 1 (Spring 2018): 55.
- 57 Segal, *Research Materials of the Holocaust in Romania*, First Collection, 1.
- 58 The translation of the title from Yiddish was done by Noam Rachmilevitch.
- 59 See for example: GFH Archives, Holdings Registry, 9026, 8984, 9032, 9043, 9047, 8976.
- 60 Cohen, "'And I Was Only a Child'": 166.
- 61 Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Marcus Moseley and Michael Stanislawski, "Introduction", in: Jeffrey Shandler, ed., *Awakening Lives: Autobiographies of Jewish Youth in Poland Before the Holocaust*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002, XIII.
- 62 Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Moseley and Stanislawski, "Introduction", XIV.
- 63 Cohen, "The Children's Voice: Postwar Collection of Testimonies": 89.