Introduction

The labor service system that operated in Hungary during the Second World War, one of the most neglected chapters in the history of the Holocaust, was unique in structure, organization, and administration. In contrast to the other countries in German-dominated Europe in which the various forms of forced and slave labor were usually organized under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior or (at the local level) by the municipal authorities, the Hungarian labor service system was exclusively related to the military. While the Council of Ministers issued the laws governing the scope and character of the system, the decrees and administrative measures on their implementation emanated from the Ministry of Defense, which had exclusive jurisdiction over the system from its establishment on July 1, 1939, through the surrender of Hungary—Nazi Germany’s last satellite—on May 7, 1945.

The introduction of the labor service system for Jewish males of military age was but one of the many anti-Jewish measures adopted by successive Hungarian governments beginning in early 1938 and reflected Hungary’s increased alignment with the domestic and foreign policies of the Third Reich. On the losing side during World War I, both Germany and Hungary had pursued an aggressive foreign policy aimed at undoing the consequences of Versailles and Trianon, respectively. Following the first successes of this policy in 1938–39, Hungary felt compelled to emulate the Third Reich by adopting a series of anti-Jewish laws calculated to bring about the “solution” to the Jewish question. The high price paid by Hungary for the partial attainment of its revisionist ambitions ultimately proved disastrous for the country and especially devastating for Hungarian Jewry.¹

Beginning in 1938 Hungary adopted a series of ever harsher anti-Jewish measures. The First Anti-Jewish Law (Law No. XV of May 1938), enacted with the enthusiastic support of Christian church leaders, initiated an avalanche of anti-Jewish legislation that prepared the ground for the “Final Solution” in 1944. This law was followed less than a year later by a general law on national defense, some of the provisions of which subsequently were used to justify the draconian measures that were taken against the Jews—including their expropriation, ghettoization, and deportation. It
was also under this innocuously general military defense law that Hungary established a unique labor service system. In doing so the Hungarian government aimed not only to appease domestic antisemitic forces, but also to respond to the increasingly discernible ideological and political pressures exerted by Nazi Germany.

The Forced Labor Service System: The First Phase (1939–1941)
The forced labor service system was established under the provisions of Law No. II of 1939 regulating Hungary’s national defense system. The anti-Jewish measures of the wartime era were justified under the provisions of Article 141, which gave the government extraordinary emergency powers in time of war or threat of war; Article 230 provided the legal basis for the forced labor service system. According to its first paragraph, all Hungarian men of military age who were classified as permanently unsuitable for military service could be compelled to engage in public labor service (közérdekű munkaszolgálat) in special labor camps for a period not exceeding three months at a time. The original intent and scope of the labor service system were left unspecified. The details for the implementation of Article 230 were to be worked out by the Ministry of Defense, which was staffed by a large number of Germanophile officers. In pursuing this task, the ministry was guided by the provisions of the Second Anti-Jewish Law (Law No. IV of 1939) that provided, among other things, a detailed and complicated definition of who was Jewish on explicitly racial grounds. In this context Jews were by definition identified as “unsuitable.”

Based on various memoranda from the Ministry of Defense, the Council of Ministers incorporated into Decree No. 5070/1939.M.E. (May 12, 1939) the general principles underlying the objectives of the labor service system as well as the provisions relating to its organization, structure, and administration. Under the decree the minister of defense was given not only the power—which he exercised through the army corps commanders—to determine the number, character, and internal organization of the labor camps, but also jurisdiction over matters of command, discipline, and training. The minister exercised supreme command over the labor camps through the national superintendent of the Public Labor Service System (A Közérdekű Munkaszolgálat Országos Felügyelője [KMOF]), a general appointed on his recommendation by the head of state.

The labor service system went into effect on July 1, 1939. Its administrative and organizational structure was similar to that in effect in the armed forces. Labor
servicemen (*munkaszolgálatosok*) had to report to local recruitment centers when they were called up. Following the usual physical examination and classification, they were ordered to report to specific labor service battalions (*közérdekű munkaszolgálatos zászlóaljak*) that operated under the jurisdiction of the various army corps commands (*hadtest parancsnokságok*) into which the country was divided. At their battalion headquarters, labor servicemen were grouped into companies (*századok*) that usually consisted of 200–250 men.

Although during its first phase the labor service system was relatively benign, it was clearly discriminatory. Jews of military age, already deprived of many of their civil and economic rights under the several major anti-Jewish laws, were now stigmatized as unreliable. Instead of rifles, Jews were given shovels and pickaxes as their standard weapons. Before Hungary’s entry into the Second World War on June 27, 1941, Jewish recruits were usually deployed as forced laborers on projects designed by—and of special interest to—the military. Many labor service companies were assigned to clear woods, especially along the Romanian frontier; others were engaged in constructing roads, dredging and clearing rivers, loading and unloading freight at trainyards, and building and maintaining roads and airfields. By November 1940, approximately 52,000 Jews were serving in 260 labor service companies.


In 1941 the labor service system underwent a major change spearheaded by the officers in the Ministry of Defense, especially the General Staff. In an atmosphere of euphoria—Hungary had just acquired the “Délvidék” area from Yugoslavia and Nazi Germany was triumphant in Europe—the Council of Ministers adopted Decree No. 2870/1941.M.E. on April 16, 1941. As implemented by the Ministry of Defense (Order No. 27 300.eln.8.–1941 of August 19, 1941), the decree radically revamped the labor service system. It stipulated the establishment of a new auxiliary service system (*kisegítő szolgálat*) in which Jewish males were required, among other things, to serve for at least two years. Shortly thereafter the relatively few Jewish officers still on active duty were deprived of their rank, and their discharge certificates (*emléklapok*) were replaced by new ones that not only omitted their rank but were also stamped—clearly emulating Nazi practice—with the letters “Zs” (*Zsidó; Jew*). The same discriminatory practice was used in marking the identification documents issued to all Jewish labor servicemen.
The condition of Jewish labor servicemen changed from bad to worse during the course of the war. This was evident not only in the more aggressively antisemitic attitude of many of the officers and guards who commanded them, but also in the increasingly blatant discriminatory treatment that they received. Beginning in March 1942, Jewish labor servicemen were gradually deprived of uniforms and compelled to wear discriminatory armbands (yellow by Jews, white by converts) that identified them as open targets for abuse by both Hungarian and German antisemites. By early 1942 practically all labor servicemen performed their forced labor in civilian clothes and footwear and an insignia-free military cap. In many companies labor servicemen soon found themselves with inadequate clothing, not only because of the wear and tear associated with their heavy work, but also because after the workday they were often made to crawl and somersault by sadistic, amusement-seeking officers and guards. Frequently these same people deprived labor servicemen of their officially allotted food rations, which were already low considering the hard labor exacted from them—especially along the frontlines in the Ukraine and in and around the copper mines of Bor, Serbia.

**Jewish Forced Labor Servicemen in the Ukraine**

The number of labor servicemen assigned to frontline duty in the Ukraine increased dramatically following the deployment of the Second Hungarian Army on April 11, 1942. The army, consisting of around 250,000 men, was accompanied by approximately 50,000 Jewish labor servicemen grouped in various field companies. Most of these servicemen were issued emergency summonses and were called to report for service on an individual basis rather than by age. By this practice the Hungarian authorities aimed not only to satisfy the forced labor requirements of the military, but also to contribute to the “solution” to the Jewish question.

Acting in accord with a secret decree of the Ministry of Defense (April 22, 1942), the recruitment centers saw to it that 10–15 percent of the field labor service companies were composed of Jews “well known for their wealth and reputation” even if they were over 42 years of age—the limit specified by law for frontline service. The recruitment centers called up Jews following lists received from the Ministry of Defense, which in turn often prepared them based on “complaints” (i.e., denunciations) received from various “patriotic” individuals and groups. Among the Jews called up were those who had played a prominent role in their communities: the rich, well-known
professionals, leading industrialists and businessmen, and recognized local leaders. Many of these Jews had been denounced by individuals eager to appropriate their businesses or professional practices. Guided by the criteria established by the secret decree, the recruitment centers accepted for labor service a considerable number of Jews who were totally unfit for physical work or any other service. A number of the recruited Jews were, in fact, quite old or suffered from a variety of illnesses; some were visibly crippled or insane. Clearly a main objective of the antisemites involved in this mobilization was to advance their political-ideological goal relating to the “solution” to the Jewish question.

In the Ukraine Jewish forced labor servicemen were used as slave laborers—usually under the most horrible conditions—on a variety of projects specified by the Hungarian and German military authorities. Among their tasks were constructing, clearing, and maintaining roads and railroads; loading and unloading munitions, provisions, and other materials; building bunkers and gun emplacements; and digging trenches and tank traps. These activities were especially demanding in winter, when the soil was frozen and the shovels and pickaxes wielded by the emaciated and inadequately dressed forced laborers could hardly penetrate it. Particularly tragic was the fate of those who were assigned to clear minefields for which they had neither the technical training nor the necessary equipment. The unfortunate labor servicemen were occasionally compelled to march over them.

While deployed in battlefield areas, Jewish labor servicemen were constantly subjected to the most humiliating treatment. Among other things, they were prohibited from using any type of vehicle for any reason whatsoever; had to walk on the roads (sidewalks were restricted to the guards); and were forbidden to shop in stores or receive packages from home. Some labor servicemen with well-to-do parents or relatives occasionally “bought” food from their guards. The food was almost always stolen from the rations allotted for feeding the Jewish servicemen; the payment consisted of signed promissory notes, which the guards would cash in during their furlough.

The conditions under which Jewish forced laborers lived and worked in the Ukraine were especially bad because of the viciously antisemitic attitude of most of the company commanders (usually reserve officers) and guards—not to mention the SS and military police units that were rampaging in the area. The behavior of these commanders and guards reflected not only their own antisemitic attitude, but also the
instructions of their immediate superiors. Some battalion commanders reportedly instructed the officers in charge of labor service companies assigned to frontline duty not to bring Jews back home alive since they were enemies of the state. Many of these commanders, in fact, murdered Jews on the assumption that the sooner the labor service company was depleted, the sooner they would return home. This was especially true in the Ukraine, which was far removed from the scrutiny of the central authorities. Officers and guards acting in this spirit often gave vent to sadistic inclinations by abusing labor servicemen entrusted to them. They viciously maltreated them, subjected them to unspeakably cruel tortures, withheld or stole their already low rations, and often (and for long periods of time) made them quarter under the open skies. The emaciated and disease-ridden Jews were often also subjected to corporal abuse by members of the German and Hungarian units for or under which they worked.

The lot of Jewish forced laborers worsened during the retreat that followed the crushing defeat of the Hungarian and German armies at Voronezh and Stalingrad in January and February 1943, respectively, during which elements of the withdrawing armies of both countries plundered and killed helpless Jewish labor servicemen while feuding among themselves. The Germans often vented their anger and frustration over their defeat by harassing the demoralized Hungarians. The Security Police (Sicherheitspolizei) and the Security Service (Sicherheitsdienst [SD]) units, and occasionally even some Wehrmacht elements, were particularly vicious in their attacks on Jewish labor servicemen. The murder of Hungarian Jews was acknowledged by SS-Sturmbannführer Christensen in his March 19, 1943, memorandum addressed to all SD commando leaders. The barbarity of the Germans even shocked some of the Hungarian officers, so much so that General Gusztáv Jány, commander of the Second Hungarian Army, felt compelled to file a protest with the commander of the Second German Army. “The Jews are organized within the Hungarian Army into labor companies within whose framework they perform important operations (for example, maintenance of roads, construction of fortifications, etc.). We cannot permit that these operations be made impossible by units not associated with the Hungarian Army.”

According to a June 9, 1943, note by the Wehrmacht High Command addressed to the German Foreign Office, an official of the Hungarian Ministry of Defense reportedly instructed the officers in field hospitals to report on the treatment of Jewish labor service companies attached to the Wehrmacht. They were particularly urged to report possible killings and other details about the treatment of Jewish forced laborers.
Jewish labor servicemen were also subjected to barbaric treatment by the retreating Hungarians. The commanders of many labor service companies deserted their posts in panic, leaving the Jews either under the control of a handful of subordinates or to their own fate. The straggling labor servicemen, bundled in their lice-infested rags and blankets, were subjected to unbelievable humiliation and torture during the long and agonizing retreat. Many were shot at random by the withdrawing German and Hungarian soldiers. Emaciated by hunger—with logistics in disarray, they were deprived of their meager food rations—and numbed by the bitter cold, many of the ill-dressed and lice-infected forced laborers lost their resistance and succumbed to typhus and other debilitating diseases. In the absence of any medical care, many died by the wayside.

Particularly cruel was the fate that befell thousands of typhus-infected labor servicemen who were concentrated in a makeshift quarantine hospital at Doroshich, a kolkhoz village located between Zhitomir and Korosten. A large number succumbed to the disease shortly after their admission. On April 30, 1943, a barn housing approximately eight hundred Jews was set afire. The living torches who jumped out of the flaming barn were machine gunned by waiting guards. The perpetrators of this crime were absolved of any responsibility. According to a report of the military commission entrusted with investigating the incident, “The fire had been set inadvertently by Jews who had been smoking.” Commenting years later about the horrors committed against Jewish labor servicemen, Hungarian president Árpád Göncz said, “This was the first Hungarian Army in our history that called up men and took them to the front in order to be able to annihilate them itself.”

The losses of Jewish labor servicemen were staggering. Of the approximately 50,000 deployed in the Ukraine, only 6-7,000 returned to Hungary. Thousands were killed by the Hungarians and the Germans; many other thousands succumbed to famine, disease, and exhaustion; and thousands ended up in Soviet prisoner-of-war camps, where their treatment was not very different from that endured by the German and Hungarian POWs. The fate of many of the survivors who were returned to Hungary was even more cruel. Shortly after their arrival home in spring 1944, Hungary was occupied by the Germans and within a few weeks the surviving labor servicemen were rounded up—this time together with their families—and deported to Auschwitz.
Jewish Labor Servicemen in Bor, Serbia
Approximately 6,200 Jewish labor servicemen were deployed in and around the copper mines of Bor during the 1943–44 period. The mines, situated roughly 120 miles southeast of Belgrade, supplied approximately 50 percent of the copper requirements of the German war industry and were operated jointly by Siemens and the Organisation Todt (OT), Albert Speer’s construction agency. The idea of deploying Hungarian Jewish labor servicemen in the copper mines originated with OT vice president Gerhard Fränk; his February 20, 1943, memorandum and other German documentary sources reveal that the negotiations and final agreement involved the cooperation of high-ranking German officials including Speer, Heinrich Himmler, and Joachim von Ribbentrop. The details of the agreement were worked out by Wilhelm Neyer, OT-Hauptfrontführer and representative in Budapest with close ties to the Hungarian Ministry of Industry. Neyer originally requested the allocation of 14,000 Jewish labor servicemen: 4,000 for work at the German shipyard in Reval, Estonia, and 10,000 for work in the copper mines at Bor. The Hungarians rejected the deployment of labor servicemen at Reval but made a firm commitment to assign 6,000 labor servicemen to the copper mines. The final agreement, signed on July 2, 1943, by Neyer and Hungarian deputy minister of defense General Imre Ruszkiczay-Rüdiger, stipulated the immediate deployment of 3,000 men.

Jewish labor servicemen and a special company of Jehovah’s Witnesses were deployed under the command of Hungarian officers and guards. The first contingent of approximately 3,000 labor servicemen grouped in fifteen companies arrived in Bor in early August and were assigned to various camps in and around the mining area. Some were employed in building the Bor-Zagubica railway line; others were utilized in road repair work. The majority, however, were used as forced laborers in the mines. Especially hard and exhausting was the lot of those building the access (Durchlass) tunnel, which was five kilometers long and several hundred meters deep. Labor servicemen usually had to work long hours every day in knee-deep water, breathing air filled with suffocating dust and explosive gas. Their food rations were totally inadequate for the hard labor that they had to perform.

In the barracks labor servicemen were under Hungarian military control and discipline; in the workplace they were under the immediate supervision of German foremen. They were often abused during and after work by the many antisemites who had authority over them.
The tragedy of labor servicemen assigned to Bor reached its climax during their evacuation in early fall 1944. In the wake of the Soviet advance, the Germans decided to abandon the projects and salvage as much of their heavy machinery as possible. The 6,200 Jewish forced laborers were first concentrated in one of the main camps and then force-marched toward Hungary in two large groups. The first contingent, consisting of an estimated 3,200–3,600 Jews, left Bor on September 17 escorted by approximately 100 Hungarian officers and guards. During the long and arduous retreat, they were mistreated not only by their Hungarian escorts but also by German military personnel, Swabian SS men, and Bosnian Ustashi who served as guards on several stretches of the road. Hundreds of Jews were killed along the route on various pretenses. Particularly tragic was the fate of a group of labor servicemen who were quartered in the brickyards of Cservenka (Crvenka). On the night of October 7–8, 1944, the SS massacred between 700-1,000 Jews after depriving them of their last possessions. Lined up in small groups, they were shot into a mass grave. The survivors of this group were driven on toward Hungary, as were the approximately 3,000 labor servicemen in the second contingent, who were much luckier thanks partially to the support of Serbian partisans.13

The ordeal of the surviving labor servicemen did not end with their arrival in Hungary. A few days following their regrouping, the men who had failed to escape were deported to various German concentration camps.

The German Occupation and the Arrow Cross Era
The German occupation of Hungary on March 19, 1944, sealed the fate of Hungarian Jewry. Having survived the first four and one-half years of the war, the Jews of Hungary—the last generally intact community in Nazi-dominated Europe—were subjected to its most brutal and concentrated liquidation program. In fewer than four months, all of Hungary except Budapest was made judenrein. Ironically the labor service system, which remained under Hungarian jurisdiction, emerged as a refuge—albeit only temporarily. Motivated primarily by reasons of national interest, the Hungarian Ministry of Defense retained control over Jews inducted into labor service. Although labor servicemen (especially those deployed in the Ukraine and Serbia) continued to be mistreated by their superiors, they were saved from the threat of ghettoization and deportation. A number of decent Hungarian officers rescued several thousand Jewish men from certain death by recruiting them into the service. Other officers who were committed to the general application of the “Final Solution”
program, however, went out of their way to deport as many labor servicemen as they could.\textsuperscript{14} After Regent Miklós Horthy halted the deportations in early July, the situation of the Jews of Budapest—like that of labor servicemen stationed within the country—improved considerably.

The respite enjoyed by labor servicemen stationed within the country and the surviving Jews of Budapest was all too brief. On October 15, when Horthy finally decided to extricate Hungary from the losing war, the followers of the Arrow Cross Party (\textit{Nyilaskeresztes Párt})—the ultra-rightist and viciously antisemitic political group headed by Ferenc Szálasi—staged a coup with the aid of the Germans. The shortlived euphoria of the surviving Jews was replaced by a new nightmare as the anti-Jewish drive was resumed with great vehemence and speed. Less than a week after seizing power, Lieutenant General Károly Beregfy (the new minister of defense) ordered all Jewish men between the ages of 16 and 60 and Jewish women between the ages of 16 and 40 called up for “national defense service.” On October 26 he authorized the transfer of a large number of labor service companies to the Germans, ostensibly to construct fortifications along the borders of the Third Reich and Hungary.\textsuperscript{15} The transfer began on November 2. The number of Jewish labor servicemen handed over to the Germans is estimated at 50,000.

Thousands of labor servicemen and servicewomen were force marched along what came to be called a “highway of death” leading to the borders of the Reich. With the advance of the Soviet forces toward Budapest, the \textit{Nyilas} (the popular name for the Arrow Cross members) decided to transfer most remaining labor service companies to western Hungary. The lot of these servicemen was not very different from that of the Jews in the most notorious concentration camps. Poorly housed and more poorly fed, they were required to work for long hours during the winter months of 1944–45. Those who became exhausted and could no longer work were simply shot and buried in mass graves. The \textit{Nyilas} and SS went on a rampage as the Soviet forces approached; thousands of labor servicemen were killed in cold blood. Exhumations conducted after the liberation, for example, found the bodies of 790 labor servicemen in a mass grave at Hidegség, 400 bodies were found at Ilkamajor, 814 at Nagycenk, 350 at Sopron-Bánfalva, 300 at Mosonszentmiklós, and 220 at Hagyeshalom. At Köszeg labor servicemen were even subjected to gassing during the evacuation of the city on March 22–23, 1945, when ninety-five ill and emaciated labor servicemen were locked in a
sealed barracks and gassed by three German commandos especially equipped for this purpose.

Large-scale atrocities occurred at Kiskunhalas, Pusztavám, and several other places in western Hungary. Most labor servicemen who survived these atrocities were herded toward the Third Reich where they ended up in various concentration camps, including Mauthausen and Günskirchen.

Summary and Conclusion

Beginning in the mid-1930s, the Hungarian labor service system was conceived as part of the antisemitic policies pursued by Hungarian governments in tandem with the Third Reich. The system was established in 1939 when Hungary’s political, diplomatic, and economic relations with the Germany bore the first fruits of its revisionist ambitions. By that time the Jews of Hungary were defined along racial lines and deprived of many of their basic civil, economic, and human rights. Even during the first phase of its operation (July 1939–April 1941), the labor service system was discriminatory. Although labor servicemen were allowed to wear army uniforms at work, they were identified as unreliable and forbidden to bear arms. The uniforms worn by labor servicemen during this phase were mostly those discarded by the Hungarian armed forces or captured from the Czechoslovak Army. The labor servicemen’s status as second-class citizens within the armed forces was clearly identified by the armband that they had to wear.

The status of labor servicemen worsened in April 1941, shortly after Hungary—by then a full-fledged member of the Axis—joined in dismembering Yugoslavia. The Hungarian government, acting on the recommendations of Germanophile officers in the Ministry of Defense, adopted increasingly severe legislative measures relating to the labor service system. By early 1942 Jewish officers were deprived of their rank and labor servicemen were not only compelled to wear their own clothes and footwear, but also a yellow or white armband that identified them as easy targets for abuse. The treatment of labor servicemen varied from company to company depending on the attitude of the commanding officers. In general, however, Jewish labor servicemen were treated as pariahs and abused by the Christian officers and guards—especially along the frontlines in the Ukraine and Bor and on the Hungarian-German border, where they were abused not only by their Hungarian superiors but often by elements of the German military and security forces as well. Their daily life was not fundamentally
different from that of the Jews who lingered in German concentration camps. Like the victims in those camps, labor servicemen were often subjected to punitive treatment by officers and guards, deprived of their possessions and basic needs (including adequate shelter, nutrition, and sanitary care), and subjected to unimaginable tortures. Countless thousands were executed on order or on the whim of sadistic German and Hungarian soldiers. Moreover, many labor servicemen ended up in German concentration camps after being discharged from the service or as a consequence of their withdrawal from the frontlines.

At its peak in 1944, the labor service system comprised 570 companies. Since the archives of the Ministry of Defense have reportedly been destroyed, it is all but impossible to determine exactly how many of the companies were composed exclusively of Jews, formerly Jewish converts, or non-Jews of other nationalities (mainly Romanian and Slovak). The number of casualties suffered by Jews in the various labor service companies cannot be established with any degree of certainty. Most experts in the field of Hungarian Holocaust studies estimate the total number of Jewish labor servicemen who were killed or who disappeared during the Second World War to be 50,000-60,000.

The survivors of the system, now living in many parts of the world, are in their seventies and eighties. In the absence of records, it is impossible to determine their company or battalion affiliation—although it is safe to assume that many are still in possession of at least some documents attesting to their labor service. It is a regrettable compounding of the labor servicemen’s wartime ordeal that they received little or no compensation from the Hungarian and German governments, and that the Hungarian labor service system has remained one of the most under-studied elements of the destruction of European Jewry during the Nazi era.
Notes

1. In November 1938 Hungary acquired the Upper Province (Felvidék) from Czechoslovakia. Following the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia in March 1939, Hungary also acquired Carpatho-Ruthenia (Kárpátalja); in August 1940 it acquired northern Transylvania from Romania; and in April 1941 it obtained the “Délvidék” (the Bácska and adjacent areas) from Yugoslavia. For details consult Randolph L. Braham, *The Politics of Genocide: The Holocaust in Hungary*, 2nd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994).


3. Also relevant were Articles 87–94, which stipulated that all persons between the ages of 14 and 70 were liable to work to the limit of their physical and mental capacities for the defense of the nation.


6. Ibid., p. cxxiii.


10. Ibid., doc. nos. 54, 56.

11. Ibid., doc. no. 62. The instructions implementing the agreement were spelled out in decree no. 111 470 eln. KMOF.1943, signed by Ruszkiczay-Rüdiger on July 6, 1943. See Karsai, pp. 370–78.

13. For details see ibid., pp. 350–52.

14. This was the case, for example, in Hatvan in June 1944, when a train carrying approximately six hundred labor servicemen was attached to a deportation train going to Auschwitz. A similar fate befell about thirty labor servicemen who were rounded up in Kecskemét on June 20.

15. For a list of these companies, see Braham, Politics, pp. 368–70.

16. For additional details see ibid., pp. 357–60.