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Reviewed by Julia Bock, Long Island University, Brooklyn

In a 2013 interview sociologist and lawyer Tamás Csapody of the Semmelweis Medical School's Institute of Behavioral Sciences in Budapest stated that his interest in studying the World War II period derives in part from his personal meetings with survivors (https://www.vasarnapihitek.hu/fokusz/csapody_tamas_mindig_gyilkolnak_valahol). Published in 2011, Csapody's first monograph on the war, titled *Bori Munkaszolgálatosok: Fejezetek a Bori Munkaszolgálat Történetéből* ['The Forced Laborers of Bor: Chapters from the History of the Forced Laborers of Bor'] (Budapest, Vince Kiadó, 2011), dealt with the brutal work and living conditions of mostly Jewish and some Nazaren and Jehovah's-Witness forced laborers at the copper mines in Bor, Serbia (see my 2012 review of this work at:

<http://ahea.net/sitefiles/file/journals/201210/Bock2012.10.1.pdf>). In 2014 and 2015 Csapody followed up on the history of the slave laborers at Bor by publishing two books that considerably enlarge the existing documentation of these forced laborers. The recent volumes center on the evacuation of the camp as well as on the later fate of the evacuees, many of whom were mass-murdered and some of whom were exhumed and re-buried only two decades after their murder.

The first of the two new books, *Bortól Szombathelyig - Tanulmányok a bori munkaszolgálatról és a bori munkaszolgálatosok részleges névlistája* ['From Bor to Szombathely- Studies on the Forced Labor Service at Bor Camp and the Partial List of the Forced Laborers in Bor'] investigates in excruciating detail the route of the evacuees. This volume provides a thorough list of primary and secondary sources as well as presents numerous photos, maps and — most important — a CD containing the names of more than three thousand forced laborers at the Bor camp. This volume also deals with the massacre in Jabuka carried out on October 1 and 2, 1944. On September 17, 1944 when the Germans decided to evacuate the Bor camps, some six thousand Hungarian-Jewish slave laborers were divided into two groups,



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and about half of them were marched by a hundred Hungarian guards toward Hungary. About a hundred and forty of these men escaped the convoy, were caught and murdered in cold blood near the village of Jabuka. Csapody goes on to describe the fate of the remaining forced laborers in this group of three thousand men, who were marched to Szentkirályszabadja (in Hungary) and Szombathely (on the Hungarian-Austrian border). Of the other group of three thousand, about two thousand and four hundred left Bor in late September, 1944 and were liberated two days later by a unit of Marshal Josip Broz Tito's partisans.

In addition to historical documents and published reports, this volume also presents the accounts of locals as well as portions from personal interviews with Bor survivors. A whole chapter is devoted to the hospitalization of the sick and injured and to the burial of deceased/murdered forced laborers. Another chapter addresses the fate of laborers belonging to other religious groups, such as Nazarenes and Jehovah's Witnesses, who were interned because of their refusal to military service, yet were treated better than the Jewish interns. Many of the Nazarenes took with them pieces of stone from the copper mine, on which they would write details such as where the stone was taken from and when. The story of one such small piece of rock from the camp that was kept by Lajos Papp, a Nazarene Bor survivor, until his death is also included in Csapody's study, which attests to the author's devotion to capture every possible angle of the Bor history, including the later personal life-stories of survivors. Finally, Csapody's English and German summaries enable access to his findings to non-readers of Hungarian.

Csapody's second book, *A cservenkai tömeggyilkosság* ['The Mass Murders at Cservenka'], further explores the fate of those in the first group of evacuees from Bor, of whom a hundred and forty men were mass-murdered at Jabuka. Following the Jabuka massacre, local militia forces shot two hundred and fifty other prisoners in this group. A few days later, the survivors of the two murderous assaults reached Crvenka (in Serbian) or Cservenka (in Hungarian) or Tschervenka/Rotweil (in German). These survivors were now divided into three groups: two groups of five hundred each were forced to march toward Sombor (in Serbian) or Zombor (in Hungarian), and the remaining one thousand and two hundred laborers were forced into the brick factory of Cservenka, where Hungarian guards confiscated their valuable assets and then passed the men unto the hands of SS guards. About seven hundred of these laborers were killed in the factory area.

This book, like Csapody's earlier book of 2014, is based in part on memoirs and personal accounts for tracing the fate of the forced laborers who were marched to the Western border of Hungary. About one third of those who were still alive after the earlier massacres were killed between Cservenka and Mohács (in Hungary), and another third of them were killed between Cservenka and Baja (in Hungary). Thirteen years later, in 1957, the bodies of a few hundred of these Bor forced laborers were exhumed in Cservenka. Four hundred and sixty five skulls were found on site, but no trained archeologists or doctors ever made any examinations of them. Only twenty years after the massacre, in 1964, were these skulls finally and officially consecrated.

This volume by Csapody also consists of a collection of photos from the period before the war, through the Holocaust, including photos of the exhumations in 1957 (found at: <http://zsido.com/fejzetek/foto-dokumentacio-a-cservenkai-exhumalas/>), as well as of everyday objects left behind by the victims (found at: <http://zsido.com/fejzetek/foto-dokumentacio-az->

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[exhumalas-soran-elokerult-targyak/](#)). In both volumes in addition to studying the fate of the Bor camp forced laborers, Csapody also researched the recruitment of local citizens by the German and Hungarian armies and by their adjunct organizations, wherein close to sixty thousand Hungarian-Germans became part of the Waffen SS.

With his three detailed and thorough volumes published in the last few years, Tamás Csapody presents us readers with a picture that is as full as can be of the saga and torture that befell many a thousands of mostly Jewish forced laborers at the Serbian Bor forced labor camp during World War II and the Holocaust.