Volume Three

The Ringelblum Archive

Underground Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto

JEWISH HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

JEWISH HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

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יִידישער היסטאָרישער אינסטיטוט JEWISH HISTORICAL INSTITUTE

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ASSOCIATION OF THE JEWISH HISTORICAL INSTITUTE OF POLAND

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Oyneg Shabes. People and Works

Edited by

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Abbreviations

AAN	Archiwum Akt Nowych w Warszawie [Central Archives of Modern Records in Warsaw]
AJDC, JDC	Joint American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee
ARG	Archiwum Getta [Ghetto archive = Underground Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto, Ringelblum Archive]
AUW	Archiwum Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego [Warsaw University Archive]
CENTOS	Centrala Związku Towarzystw Opieki nad Sierotami i dziećmi opuszczonymi [Headquarters of the Union of Associations for the Care of Orphans and Abandoned Children]
HIAS	Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society
HWC	Hersh Wasser Collection, YIVO
ID	Identity card
JDC	see: AJDC
JHK	Judische Hilfskomitee [Jewish Help Committee]
Joint	see: AJDC
K.K.L.	Keren Kayemet Leisrael [Jewish National Fund]
LOPP	Liga Obrony Powietrznej i Przeciwgazowej [Airborne and Antigas Defence League]
NSDAP	Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeitspartei [National Socialist German Workers' Party]
OPL	Obrona Przeciwlotnicza Miasta Stołecznego Warszawy [Anti-Aircraft Defence of the City of Warsaw]

p.	page
s.	sheet
S.P.S.	Sekcja Pracy Społecznej [Voluntary Work Section]
SA	Sturmabteilung der NSDAP [Attacking units of NSDAP]
Schupo	Schutzpolizei [Protection Police]
SD	Sicherhaitsdienst [Security Service]
Sipo	Sicherheitspolizei [Security Police]
SS	Schutzstaffel der NSDAP [NSDAP Protection Unit]
TOPOROL	Towarzystwo Popierania Rolnictwa [Society For The Support of Agriculture]
TOZ	Towarzystwo Ochrony Zdrowia Ludności Żydowskiej w Polsce [Society for Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population of Poland]
TSYSHO	Tsentrale yidishe shul organizatzye [Central Jewish School Organisation]
YIKOR	Yidishe Kultur Organizatsye [Jewish Cultural Organisation]
YIVO	Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut [Yiddish Scientific Institute, Institute for Jewish Research]
ŻIH	Żydowski Instytut Historyczny [Jewish Historical Institute]
ŻKN	Żydowski Komitet Narodowy [Jewish National Committee]
ŻOB	Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa [Jewish Fighting Organisation]
ŻOS	Żydowska Opieka Społeczna [Jewish Social Welfare]
ŻSS	Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna [Jewish Self Help]
ŻSS-KK	Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna-Komisja Koordynacyjna [Jewish Self Help-Coordinating Commission]
ŻTOS	Żydowskie Towarzystwo Opieki Społecznej [Jewish Social Welfare Association]

Abreviations used for authors of handwritten material

AA*	N.N.	**BW***	Bluma Wasser
AP*	Abram Prowalski	**CA***	N.N.
BB*	N.N.	**CC***	N.N.
BG*	Bronka Górna	**ChW***	Khaskl Wilczynski
BTT*	N.N.	**CK***	Cwi Klejnman

D*	Stefa Szereszewska [?]
DD*	Lebensold [?]
E*	Natan Koniński [?]
ER*	Emanuel Ringelblum
F*	N.N. [Jerzy Winkler?]
FLIG*	Daniel Fligelman
GG*	N.N.
H*	Eliyahu Gutkowski
HL*	Hanna Lewkowicz
Hub.*	Shimon Huberband
H.W.*	Hersh Wasser
I*	Józef Honig [?]
IK*	Yitzkhak Katzenelson
IL*	Israel Lichtenstein
IM*	Icyk Manger
JG*	Yekhiel Gorny (see U*)
JP*	Jehoszua Perle
JW*	N.N.
KK*	Salomea Ostrowska
LEG*	Eliyahu Gutkowski (see H*)
LP*	N.N.
Ł*	Nehemia Tytelman
MA*	N.N.
MK*	Menakhem Mendel Kon
MM*	Marian Małowist
MS*	Mordecai Schwartzbard
NG*	N.N. from Gąbin (author of letters to Tauba Różana (Warszawa, Dzielna Street [. . .?])
Np.*	Mordecai Schwartzbard
NN*	N.N.
OO*	Stanisław Różycki [?] (see SR*)
OP*	Peretz Opoczynski
POM*	N.N. (author, who aided Hersh Wasser in writing down testimonies of former prisoners from Pomiechówek forced labour camp)
RA*	Rachel Auerbach
RR*	N.N.
SB*	Shmuel Breslav
SJ*	K.M.[?] Band
SR*	Stanisław Różycki (see OO*)
Sz.*	Shmuel Shainkinder
Szaj.*	Simcha Bunin Szajewicz
Ś*	Abraham Lewin
TA*	N.N.
Tr*	N.N.
TT*	N.N.
TW*	N.N.
U*	Yekhiel Gorny
WINK.*	Jerzy Winkler
Z*	N.N.
Ż*	Dawid Berliner

Introduction

The documents collected in this volume constitute a record of various issues connected with the activity of the Oyneg Shabes group – an underground organisation of the Warsaw ghetto, which served as a research institute and was the only institution of this type on the Polish territory under the German occupation.[1] One might say that almost every manuscript from Ringelblum's Archive records something about Oyneg Shabes, but the materials collected here are particularly important for they show the group from various angles, familiarising one with its co-workers, its aims, the results of its activity, and its significance for Holocaust history. Many questions about Ringelblum's team have already been answered due to the information provided here. It is hoped that further research shall lead to new discoveries.

The collected documentation has been divided into several groups. The first contains surviving documents pertaining to the organisation's personnel, including the address list of Oyneg Shabes's co-workers and the cash-book, with the latter serving not only as a valuable document regarding the

1 Outside Warsaw a similar activity was taken up in the Białystok ghetto, but on an incomparably smaller scale. See Aleksandra Bańkowska, and Weronika Romanik, "Archiwum Mersika-Tenenbauma (Podziemne Archiwum Getta Białostockiego)", *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 9 (2013), pp. 257–273. Attempts to save documents of the Holocaust were also made in the Vilna ghetto. Despite its completely different character, the archive set up by the Rumkowski administration in the Łódź ghetto also contributed to the collection and survival of priceless sources about the fate of Jews in the Łódź ghetto.

financial management of the Ghetto Archive (ARG), but also as an extremely important source of information about Oyneg Shabes's collaborators and their pursuits. The second group contains lists of documents deposited in the ARG collection. These reveal the methods and results of the team's activities, simultaneously providing information about the individuals who participated in Oyneg Shabes. Documents concerning the team's scholarly agenda constitute the third group. These consist of outlines and questionnaires prepared by Ringelblum's co-workers for the purpose of collecting historical documentation for a scientific monograph on the fate of the Jewish population during the war. The last two groups contain files connected to Oyneg Shabes's informational activity. The fourth group consists of Oyneg Shabes bulletins and *Wiadomości ARG*, that is, news bulletins issued between April and July 1942 and at the turn of 1942/1943 respectively, which provide data on the fate of various Jewish centres on Polish territory. The fifth and last group includes Oyneg Shabes materials that document the course of the Holocaust on Polish lands: reports on the death camp in Chełmno nad Nerem, the reports "Drugi Etap" [The Second Stage] and "Gehenna Żydów polskich" [The Gehenna of the Polish Jews], and finally a report on the 1942 liquidation campaign in the Warsaw ghetto.

Emanuel Ringelblum

The genesis and development of Oyneg Shabes cannot be fully understood without knowing the most important facts of the biography of the historian, high-school teacher, and social activist Emanuel Ringelblum (1900–1944).[2]

2 The life of Emanuel Ringelblum has already been the subject of many a treatise. The most comprehensive biography of the Ghetto Archive's creator is Samuel D. Kassow's *Who Will Write Our History? Emanuel Ringelblum, the Warsaw Ghetto and the Oyneg Shabes Archive* (Bloomington, Ind. 2007). Other biographies include: Michał Szulkin, "Dr Emanuel Ringelblum – historyk i organizator podziemnego archiwum getta warszawskiego", *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 2–3 (1973): 119–125 (including E.R.'s bibliography); Artur Eisenbach, "Emanuel Ringelblum (1900–1944)", *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. 31, pp. 298–300; Ruta Sakowska, "Emanuel Ringelblum (1900–1944) und das Untergrundarchiv des Warschauer Ghettos", in *Oneg Schabbat. Das Untergrundarchiv des Warschauer Ghettos-Ringelblum-Archiv, 28 September 2000–21 January 2001, Börnegalerie*

The creator of the Ghetto Archive was born in Buczacz in the Galicia region of Poland, into a traditional lower-middle-class Jewish family. His father was a grain trader.[3] In 1912 Emanuel became a student at a public secondary school in Buczacz, where Polish was the language of instruction (grades 1 and 2). Following the outbreak of World War I and the 1914 evacuations, he studied at a secondary school in Kołomyja (grades 3 and 4). In 1916 the Russian offensive forced the Ringelblums to flee to Nowy Sącz, where Emanuel continued his education in the local eight-grade philological secondary school (grades 5–8) until 10 June 1920, when he passed his final examinations with distinction there.[4] Having applied for admission to the Philosophy Faculty of Warsaw University the following April, he was accepted on 1 June 1921 and matriculated on 28 November 1921. A year later, on 20 September 1922, young Ringelblum applied to the vice-chancellor for admission as a student in the Medical Faculty but was soon rejected "due to *numerus clausus*".[5] Consequently, Emanuel decided to study medicine abroad. He submitted the relevant application to the Warsaw University vice-chancellor and on 25 October 1922 was granted consent for his departure. In the end, however, Emanuel remained in Poland and in autumn 1922 became a student of history at the Faculty of Philosophy. Five years later on 20 May 1927, Ringelblum received his Ph.D. on the basis of

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im Museum Judengasse (Warsaw, 2000), pp. 9–14; English version of this author's slightly supplemented text: "Emanuel Ringelblum and the Underground Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto", in *Scream the Truth at the World. Emanuel Ringelblum and the Hidden Archive of the Warsaw Ghetto, Museum of Jewish Heritage – A Living Memorial to the Holocaust, 7 November 2001–18 February 2002* (Warsaw, 2001).

3 Emanuel Ringelblum was born on 21 November 1900 in Buczacz in house no. 180/81 as a son of a merchant Feibisch (Fajwisz) and Ruchel Neche, who was a daughter of Mendel and Gitla Heller from Buczacz. See Archiwum Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego [Warsaw University Archive] (later: AUW), Emanuel Ringelblum – akta studenckie [student file], RP-UW 9070, Odpis metryki urodzenia [birth certificate copy], p. 5.

4 Ibid. p. 7.

5 At that time there was no official *numerus clausus* for Jews, which is why the refusal to matriculate Ringelblum might have stemmed from the general limitation of the number of vacancies at the Medical Faculty of the Warsaw University. However, one cannot exclude that it was only a pretext for turning down Ringelblum's candidacy on ethnic grounds. See ibid. pp. 8, 10, 13–14; Szymon Rudnicki, *Równi, ale niezupełnie* (Warsaw, 2008), pp. 135–156. This issue is discussed in more detail by Monika Natkowska in *Numerus clausus, getto ławkowe, numerus nullus, "paragraf aryjski": Antysemityzm na Uniwersytecie Warszawskim 1931–1939* (Warsaw, 1999).

his doctoral thesis titled *Żydzi w Warszawie od czasów najdawniejszych do 1527 r.* [Jews in Warsaw from Earliest Times to 1527], written under the supervision of Marceli Handelsman.[6] As a student, Ringelblum lived on and off in Warsaw, earning his living mostly taking odd jobs, tutoring, and teaching courses in schools. Having passed the state teacher certification exam in 1928, he began teaching in the Yehudiyah secondary school for girls on Długa Street 55 (established in 1893), at the same time doing research, writing, and publishing.[7] Ringelblum was the author of several books and many scientific articles found in various periodicals and collective studies. Even as a student, in 1923 he co-founded the History of Polish Jews Research Institute (*Seminarium Historii Żydów w Polsce*) at the Jewish Student Centre (*Żydowski Dom Akademicki*) in Warsaw. After the establishment of the Jewish Scientific Institute (YIVO) in Vilna in 1925 he soon became an active collabortator, particularly in its History Section and at the Polish Jews' History Commission (the YIVO branch in Warsaw). Ringelblum was also a member of the Warsaw History Enthusiasts Association (*Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii*), an organiser of the Jewish Historians' Circle (*Koło Historyków Żydowskich, Junger Historiker Kraiz*) in Warsaw (1924–1939), and co-editor of its Yiddish-language scholarly publications, *Junger historiker* (1926 and 1929) and *Bleter far geshikhte* (1934 and 1938). Moreover, Ringelblum participated in the Seventh International Congress of

6 Ringelblum's student file includes proofs of his participation in lectures and seminars at the University of Warsaw in 1922–1926. The title of his dissertation is mentioned on his Ph.D. diploma. See ibid. p. 21 (printed in *Żydzi w Warszawie*, vol. 1: *Od czasów najdawniejszych do ostatniego wygnania w r. 1527* [Warsaw, 1932]). Ringelblum's dissertation received a mixed welcome in scholarly circles. Aside from positive reviews it had several negative ones, which pointed out the historian's various mistakes and technical shortcomings. Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History*, pp. 66-67.

7 See ARG II 522 (Ring. II/388); *Spis nauczycieli szkół wyższych, średnich, zawodowych, seminariów nauczycielskich oraz wykaz zakładów naukowych i władz szkolnych*, ed. Zygmunt Zagórowski (Warsaw–Lwów, 1926), p. 267. After graduation Ringelblum must have been in a difficult financial situation judging from the fact that as late as in 1935 he still applied to pay his due student fees to the sum of 50 zlotys by installments (AUW, Emanuel Ringelblum's – akta studenckie [student file], RP-UW 9070, p. 46). As a student Ringelblum lived at Nowolipki Street 33, flat 5 (1921–1922), Dzielna Street 65, flat 21 (1922), Miła Street 42, flat 7 (1923), Nowolipie 40, flat 50 (1923–1924), Pańska Street 78, flat 25 (1924), and Nowolipki Street 31, flat 6 (from 1925). During the occupation (1940–1942) he lived in the Warsaw ghetto at Leszno Street 18, flat 31.

Historians held in 1933 in Warsaw as a section secretary and author of a paper. The future creator of the Ghetto Archive also did community work in the Interest-free Provident Societies Centre (*Centrala Kas Bezprocentowych*), edited its periodical *Folkshilf,* and was active in the Trade Union of Teachers in Jewish Schools in Poland (*Związek Zawodowy Nauczycieli Szkół Żydowskich w Polsce*), the Union of Jewish Writers and Journalists (*Związek Literatów i Dziennikarzy Żydowskich*), and the Jewish Sightseeing Association (*Żydowskie Towarzystwo Krajoznawcze*). In autumn 1938 he became engaged in the campaign to aid about twelve thousand Jews who had been deported from Germany to Poland.

Ideologically and politically, Ringelblum was connected with the Jewish leftist movement since his teenage years. It seems that as early as in secondary school Emanuel was a member or at least a supporter of the Poalei Tsiyon party established by Ber Borochov, while in 1920 he became a Left Poalei Tsiyon activist. Ringelblum combined his leftist views on social issues with a struggle to maintain the cultural and linguistic distinctness of Polish Jews. Spoken by an overwhelming majority of Jews in Poland, Yiddish played an important role in maintaining their ethnic identity. Still, the language was not used by all Jewish intellectuals, many of whom spoke Polish, even among themselves. Ringelblum's views on the desirable future direction of Jewish life affected his attitude during the occupation and the ideological course of the entire Oyneg Shabes group. It is not difficult to find references to YIVO's activity, its scientific and cultural agenda in the group's programme. The language remained one of the vital distinguishing features of the team, as Yiddish was Oyneg Shabes's "official" language. Efforts were made to write as many texts in Yiddish as possible, while some documents originally written in Polish were subsequently translated. Furthermore, if one analyses the biographies of the closest co-workers of the Ghetto Archive, one sees those of Ringelblum's fellow party members from Left Poalei Tsiyon (e.g. Hersh Wasser, Mordecai Schwartzbard, Israel Lichtenstein, Nehemia Tytelman, Yekhiel Gorny, Natan Smolar) or individuals connected to YIVO (e.g. Menakhem Linder, Jerzy Winkler, Shie Rabinowitz, Shimon Huberband, Shmuel Winter). Last but not least, Abraham Lewin was Emanuel's colleague from the Yehudiyah secondary school and at the same time a co-worker of the Warsaw YIVO branch.

At the moment of the outbreak of World War II in 1939, Ringelblum was attending a Zionist congress in Geneva. It might seem absurd now, but back then he was perfectly confident that he needed to return. "[O]ur decision to

return to Poland is motivated by our civic duty",[8] Emanuel wrote in his diary. Perhaps not only public matters called him to Warsaw, as he had also left his wife and son there.[9] The moment he returned to Warsaw he became engaged in the relief activity coordinated by the Joint.[10] He also cooperated with the Coordinating Commission from the very beginning [of the occupation]. In 1940 the organisation transformed into Jewish Social Self-help (*Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna*, ŻSS), and he was among the top leadership until the end. After the Germans closed the "Jewish residential district" in Warsaw in November 1940, Emanuel lived in the ghetto, continuing his community work in the ŻSS and particularly by leading the Oyneg Shabes underground research group. Furthermore, Ringelblum was active in other underground structures in the ghetto, such as the Anti-fascist Bloc (*Blok Antyfaszystowski*) and the Jewish Fighting Organisation (*Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa*, ŻOB). In February 1943 Emanuel and his family left the ghetto and hid on the "Aryan" side of Warsaw, but as soon as on the eve of the outbreak of the uprising he returned to the ghetto with Hersh Wasser. Captured by the Germans, he was deported to the camp in Trawniki, from where he was extricated with the cooperation of the Polish underground. After his return to Warsaw in August 1943 he was hiding with his wife, son, and other people in a shelter at Mieczysław Wolski's property under a greenhouse at Grójecka Street 81.[11] Unfortunately, on 7 March 1943 the "Krysia" shelter was discovered by the Germans after a denunciation and all its residents plus the farm owner and his nephew were executed several days later near the Pawiak prison on the ruins of the ghetto.

Oyneg Shabes

As early as the first months of the war Emanuel Ringelblum began to collect testimonies regarding the events taking place before his eyes. The first

8 ARG I 449/1 (Ring. I/507/1), p. 2.

9 Emanuel Ringelblum met his future wife Yehudit Herman (1904–1944) in Left Poalei Tsiyon. They had a son Uriel (Uri, Jurek) (1930–1944).

10 Ringelblum's cooperation with the Joint began in 1938 during the organisation of aid for Jews expelled from Germany.

11 Now Grójecka Street 77.

step towards the future Ghetto Archive included his personal chronicle notes, which he began to record in September 1939 in a diary-like form. He put on paper not only descriptions of his own experiences, but also information heard from refugees arriving in Warsaw or people resettled from various parts of Poland. In May 1940 Ringelblum decided to organise his documentation work and engaged his friends and acquaintances, most of whom were connected with ŻSS structures. He finally achieved his objective after several months, in autumn 1940, when the Germans were about to lock the Jews of Warsaw in the isolated district of the city.[12]

Even though Oyneg Shabes's history has been told in many publications, with Samuel D. Kassow's book being undoubtedly the most important, many questions remain unanswered. The personnel lists that survived in the ARG published in this volume do not include all the members of the group. Neither is it known according to what rules the lists were made. The Oyneg Shabes's address list (document 1) made by Hersh Wasser certainly enumerates not only the team's closest co-workers, but also members of their families as well as people about whom nothing is known. One needs to bear in mind that these surnames might have been aliases of unidentified Oyneg Shabes authors and copyists. On the one hand this extremely valuable manuscript does order what is known, while on the other hand it leaves countless questions and doubts unresolved. For instance, it is unknown when and why Wasser decided to break the binding rules and expose some members of the organisation. By revealing their real names, surnames, and addresses he put those individuals in grave danger. Nonetheless, Wasser did take certain precautions, as the manuscript lacks the name of its author, while his wife Bluma figures under her maiden name. Moreover, the list does not contain many of the important figures including Ringelblum himself. Considering the

12 The exact date of the establishment of Oyneg Shabes remains unknown. Ringelblum himself suggests in ARG II 263/1 (Ring. II/233), p. 2, that the group assumed organised form as early as in May 1940. According to Oyneg Shabes's cashbook (document 6), the foundation meeting was held on 5 October 1940, while Hersh Wasser moves that date to 22 November 1940, when the following people purportedly met at Ringelblum's (Leszno Street 18, flat 31): Menakhem Mendel Kon, Shmuel Lehman, Shie Rabinowitz, Leyzer Lipe Bloch, B. Sukiennik, and Hersh Wasser. See Hersh Wasser, "The Ghetto Archives – The Enterprise of Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum", in *A Commemorative Symposium in Honour of Dr. Emanuel Ringelblum and his "Oneg Shabbat" Underground Archives* (Jerusalem, 1983), p. 35.

peculiarity of the address list, it might be that the document was not directly connected with Oyneg Shabes's activity. Could it be that it was a list of beneficiaries of a ŻSS relief campaign? Similar problems arise with an analysis of the next documents (documents 2–5), which contain lists of names as well as various notes, some of which remain unclear today (particularly fragments of documents 4 and 5).

Other lists of names that have survived among the ARG documents do not enable one to answer questions about the character of the group, the interrelations, its hierarchy, and the participation of individual people in the organisation's activity. Only an attempt to divide and isolate individual groups within Oyneg Shabes and an analysis of other documents could shed more light on the structure of Ringelblum's group and the manner in which it functioned. Who led Oyneg Shabes and how was the team managed? Some testimonies mention members of the ARG senior management. That organ is referred to in several different ways – the board, the executive, and so on – but most of the time it had a similar composition. Aside from Ringelblum, those mentioned most frequently are Hersh Wasser, Eliyahu Gutkowski, Menakhem Mendel Kon, Shimon Huberband, Yitzhak Giterman, Alexander Landau, Daniel Guzik, and Shmuel Winter.[13] How were decisions made and who was formally responsible for the team's work as a whole? There are no clear answers to this question. According to Ringelblum's or Lewin's recollections, the most important decisions were made by a group of the closest colleagues during an open discussion. It is difficult to say anything more about the decisive influence of certain people on the direction of the organisation's activity. But it is certain that Wasser and Kon held important administrative positions as the former was Oyneg Shabes's secretary and the latter its bookkeeper.

Much more is known about the participation of certain people in specific activities of the team. Some of the co-workers were in charge of documentation

13 Hersh Wasser, "Archiwum Dra Emanuela Ringelbluma", *Przełom* 3 (1946): 7; idem, AŻIH, manuscript "Getto warszawskie", 303/XX/583, p. 6. Meetings of Oyneg Shabes were organised even during the *Aktion* in July and August 1942, for instance, on 24 August 1942, when the following were present: Emanuel Ringelblum, Yitzhak Giterman, Leyzer Lipe Bloch, Abraham Lewin, Eliyahu Gutkowski, Yehuda Feld, Shmuel Winter, Joseph Kaplan, and Alexander Landau. See Abraham *A Cup of Tears: A Diary of the Warsaw Ghetto*, ed. Antony Polonsky, transl. Ch. Hutton (Oxford, 1989), p. 164.

and cataloguing: for instance, Hersh Wasser, Eliyahu Gutkowski, Bluma Wasser, and Yekhiel Gorny. Others, for instance Daniel Fligelman and Shmuel Shainkinder, concentrated on collecting and editing testimonies, while Emanuel Ringelblum prepared, among others, outlines of future studies. Furthermore, Nehemia Tytelman collected documentation regarding the ghetto's street folklore, while Stanisław Różycki observed the everyday life of inhabitants of the "closed district". The most conscientious copyists were Mordecai Schwartzbard, Abraham Lewin, and Natan Koninski, along with a group of anonymous copyists whose surnames remain unknown. Other authors' participation in the team's work consisted of submission of their own scientific texts, testimonies, or literary works (for instance, Bernard Kampelmacher and Peretz Opoczynski). Hersh Wasser is also to be found among those who conducted interviews and edited the texts, while Bluma Wasser and Yekhiel Gorny dealt with cataloguing and copying the documents. Gustawa Jarecka was both a copyist and the author of the testimony "Ostatnim etapem przesiedlenia jest śmierć" [The Last Stage of the Resettlement Is Death].[14] Rabbi Shimon Huberband edited his own texts and wrote down other people's testimonies, while Menakhem Mendel Kon was the bookkeeper and author of texts for the ARG.

Even though among the closest collaborators of the Archive there were people ideologically and socially close to Ringelblum, they did not make up the entire personnel, as team members were selected using much wider and diverse criteria. Political and social differences diminished as a result of the dangers and tasks that Oyneg Shabes faced. Activists of radically leftist parties were joined by representatives of totally different political and social trends. "For many months the pious rabbi Huberband sat at a table next to the Left Poalei Tsiyon member Hersh Wasser and the General Zionist Abraham Lewin."[15] That one group included Yiddish enthusiasts, fierce promoters of Hebrew, and individuals who used Polish, exclusively or usually (for instance, Daniel Fligelman, Gustawa Jarecka, Bernard Kampelmacher, Natan Koninski, Salomea Ostrowska, Stanisław Różycki). Even though Ringelblum was not fond of assimilators, not all his texts for the ARG are in Yiddish, as he sometimes chose Polish writings. Even though his closest helper, Hersh Wasser,

14 ARG II 272 (Ring. II/197).

15 ARG II 263/1 (Ring. II/ 233), p. 27.

prepared documents for the Archive in Yiddish, he did his private bookkeeping in Polish.[16] Eliyahu Gutkowski used both languages in Oyneg Shabes, but when he had to write down a testimony of an escapee from Treblinka quickly he without issue switched from Yiddish to Polish.[17] Finally, Yekhiel Gorny prepared materials both in Yiddish and Polish.

Nothing is known about a number of the authors of testimonies. Nor have all the copyists been identified. Ringelblum described only selected individuals and not always on account of their actual engagement in the work of the Ghetto Archive. Perhaps while writing his diary he did not wish to put his friends in danger of exposure. He needed to consider the possibility of his notes falling into the Germans' hands. That was why he devoted more space to the deceased and wrote about Oyneg Shabes work in a very general way, without including too many surnames and other details. On the contrary, he focused more on the research agenda and the subject matter of the collected works. In Ringelblum's notes two of the closest colleagues of Ringelblum, sometimes called the group's secretaries (Wasser and Gutkowski), appear sporadically and are not always mentioned by surname.[18] The Oyneg Shabes leader mentions other, better-known members of the team equally rarely: for example, Bernard Kampelmacher, Peretz Opoczynski, Nehemia Tytelman, and others. One will not find any mention of, for instance, Yekhiel Gorny, Natan Koninski, Stanisław Różycki, Mordecai Schwartzbard, Bluma Wasser, or Shmuel Shainkinder, whereas Ringelblum devoted more space to Shimon Huberband or Daniel Fligelman. Actually, information about the ARG appears in Emanuel's notes only as late as at the turn of 1942 and 1943. A closer analysis reveals that Ringelblum did not remember all facts clearly and that perhaps some of the documents did not pass through his hands at all. When he writes that "the contents of Oyneg Shabes materials were not catalogued"[19] he is mistaken, as such catalogues were created by his colleagues, including lists of described cities and towns, which shall be discussed in more detail later in the Introduction.

16 ARG I 1474 (Ring. I/529), [Hersh Wasser], financial records ledger.

17 See ARG II 379 (Ring. II/296).

18 Hersh Wasser is the only one whom Ringelblum refers to as the Oyneg Shabes secretary (ARG II 263/1 (Ring. II/233), p. 2). It seems that Eliyahu Gutkowski was deemed the team's "secretary" in post-war historiography.

19 ARG II 263/1, p. 13.

Cashbook

The cashbook (document 6) kept by Menakhem Mendel Kon from autumn 1940 to August 1942 tells us a lot about the functioning of Ringelblum's group. It is practically the only document of an organisational character relating to such a long period of Oyneg Shabes's operation and combines two parts of the Archive, the first and the second. It provides much valuable information, beginning with the list of the group's workers. The cashbook also contains surnames of many Oyneg Shabes activists. The benefactors, whose number was much smaller, constitute a separate category in the cashbook, comprising mainly entrepreneurs as well as representatives of AJDC and JSS – organisations which also aided Oyneg Shabes's activity. It is extremely important that in the case of this document as well as the personal lists a certain exception was made with regard to disclosure of real personal data. It seems the cashbook contains real surnames of a significant number of the listed individuals. It is not known why the principle of full secrecy was broken in those two instances. But the personal data is not the only reason why the cashbook is so valuable, for it also contains, for instance, remuneration payment dates, on the basis of which one can date some documents, detailed lists, and descriptions of works performed, as well as other expenses.

TABLE 1. *The overall sums paid out from Oyneg Shabes's purse to selected co-workers.*

Nr	Name and surname	The total sum of	Period
1	Baum & Forbert	900	15 August 1941– 21 May 1942
2	David Berliner	100	5 July 1942
3	Lipe Leyzer Bloch	720.75	2 November 1941–22 January 1942
4	Borensztejn[20]	206	26 June 1941– 29 October 1941
5	Braude	100	6 February 1941– 25 November 1941

20 Perhaps a reference to Yitzhak Borensztejn.

Nr	Name and surname	The total sum of	Period
6	Chitowski	865	26 June 1941– 29 July 1942
7	Melech Fajnkind	265	7 January 1941– 25 November 1941
8	Miss Fiszman[21]	314.5	19 November 1941– 22 January 1942
9	Daniel Fligelman	1,550	2 November 1941– 29 July 1942
10	Lejb Goldin	208	1 April–9 June 1942
11	Goldsztajn[22]	385	14 September 1941– 16 July 1942
12	Yekhiel (Khil) Gorny	1,080	27 November 1941– 29 July 1942
13	Eliyahu Gutkowski	2,592	27 December 1940– 29 July 1942
14	Shimon Huberband	3,787	9 November 1940– 29 July
15	Bernard Kampelmacher	125	5–28 September 1941
16	Cwi Klejnman	400	12 April 1941– 29 July 1942
17	Menakhem Mendel Kon	311.5	10 July 1941– 19 July 1942
18	Natan Koninski	585	22 January– 9 June 1942
19	Krauze[23]	370	31 March– 2 May 1942
20	Abraham Lewin	2,080.75	16 January– 29 July 1942

21 Perhaps a reference to Guta Fiszman. See doc. 2.

22 Goldsztajn was a fairly popular surname. It appears in about a dozen documents, for instance, ARG I 86 (Ring. I/599/66), I 435 (Ring. I/100), I 456 (Ring. I/429), I 590 (Ring. I/220), I 635 (Ring. I/51), I 761 (Ring. I/1054), I 932 (Ring. I/868), I 1349 (Ring. I/35), II 45 (Ring. II/138), II 346 (Ring. II/275/2), and II 369 (Ring. II/275/1).

23 It could be a reference to Rita Krauze (Krause). See ARG I 349 (Ring. I/170).

Nr	Name and surname	The total sum of	Period
21	Rabbi Lewin	150	2 March–21 June 1942
22	Lewinow	150	17–24 February 1942
23	Israel Lichtenstein	540	24 May–29 July 1942
24	Menakhem Linder	200	26 September–30 November 1941
25	Łazarow	95	2 January–2 April 1941
26	Peretz Opoczynski	1,135	12 December 1941–29 July 1942
27	Salomea Ostrowska	845	9 September 1941–12 July 1942
28	Leyb Pluskałowski	140	25 September–28 November 1941
29	Emanuel Ringelblum	6,400	21 July 1941–29 July 1942
30	Rubinsztajn	100	16–19 July 1942
31	Mordecai [Schwartzbard]	750	9 November 1940–30 November 1941
32	Sh. Shainkinder	500	13 January–29 July 1942
33	Starobroda	130	15 February–6 March 1942
34	Szereszewska Stefa	60	4 March 1942
35	Nehemia Tytelman	750	9 January–29 July 1942
36	Wajsberg	183	27 November 1941–31 March
37	Hersh Wasser	10,634.15	9 November 1940–29 July 1942
38	Shloyme Winer (Jakub Grojnowski)	1,696.5[24]	27 February–12 April 1942

24 From this sum Winer and Pomeranc received 495 zlotys. Nothing is known about the latter, but it seems unlikely that he was the young poet Anatol Pomeranc. See ARG I 1232 (Ring. I/162).

Nr	Name and surname	The total sum of	Period
39	Jerzy (Yitzhak) Winkler	165	10 February 1941– 6 January 1942
40	Israel Winnik	1 255	26 October 1941– 19 July 1942
41	Zylberberg[25]	563	28 August 1941– 29 July 1942
	Total	43 387,15	

Source: ARG II 1 (Ring. I/212).

Table 1, which shows payments to the team's co-workers, should be approached with considerable caution. Most of the workers (for instance, Bernard Kampelmacher, Natan Koninski, and Mordecai Schwartzbard) received nominal sums of money which did not reflect the amount of work they carried out. At the same time many active members of the team (for example, Rachel Auerbach and Blume Wasser) cannot be found among the recipients of remuneration from Oyneg Shabes. The relatively substantial remuneration paid out to Wasser or Ringelblum surely resulted from the additional duties they performed as Oyneg Shabes administrators. It is particularly clear in the case of Wasser, who was not only in charge of cataloguing, but also carried out other duties such as obtaining stationery products for the team: writing paper, copying paper, carbon, and so on. He also distributed small sums of money, perhaps to people who gave interviews or whose testimony was recorded.

Even less is known about the money paid into Oyneg Shabes's purse (table 2) than about the team's expenses. Some sources of the financing of Ringelblum's workers remain unknown. The secrecy principle had to be particularly adhered to in that sphere, so it might be surprising to find that the cashbook reveals any surnames at all. The number of more substantial donations for the team's activity is relatively small. The two most generous donors were Shmuel Winter and a mysterious institution –

25 On the list of Oyneg Shabes co-workers are Ruchla and Calel Zylberberg (Nowolipki Street 66) and Jakub Zylberberg (Nowolipie Street 21). See document 1; ARG I 473 (Ring. I/466).

the ZIS company.[26] In the Warsaw ghetto Winter, pre-war entrepreneur and at the same time enthusiast of Jewish folklore and the Yiddish language, became a member of the board of the Supply Section of the Jewish Council. Due to his pre-war acquaintance with Ringelblum he also became an important patron of the clandestine scientific team of the ghetto. It seems probable that he drew the resources for Oyneg Shabes from the purse of the Supply Section. More than 56 per cent of the financial resources of Ringelblum's group passed through Winter's hands.

TABLE 2. *Oyneg Shabes benefactors.*

Nr	Full name or institution	Total sum	Period
1.	Braun & Rowiński[27]	1,150	11 May 1941–23 January 1942
2.	Gelbfish	25	12 December 1940
3.	Gewirc	100	6 January 1942
4.	Yitzhak Giterman	1,000	19 January 1942
5.	Jat[28]	200	13 June 1942
6.	Kalksztajn	850	12 December 1940–14 June 1942
7.	Alexander Landau	925	30 March–11 December 1941
8.	Mędrzycki[29]	500	12 June 1941–18 January 1942
9.	Leyb (Leon) Neustadt	200	12 September 1941
10.	Jehoszua (Shie) Rabinowitz	3,000	21 December 1940–29 July 1942
11.	Ratner	100	3 July 1942
12.	Emanuel Ringelblum	920	20 November 1940–20 April 1942
13.	Samet[30]	510	30 June 1941–28 February 1942

26 It is impossible to determine what this acronym stands for. It could be the Supply Section (*Zakład Zaopatrywania*) – an agency of the Jewish Council in the Warsaw ghetto.

27 The Brown (Braun) & Rowiński Company operated several factories in the Warsaw ghetto: the knitwear factory at Leszno Street 78, the underwear factory at Nowolipie Street 80, and the shirt factory at Ogrodowa Street 51. Those factories were later taken over by Karl Georg Schultz's workshop. See also document 6.

28 This entry is unclear.

29 At Leszno Street 3 stood the "Mewa, Mędrzycki & Erlich" food factory.

30 Perhaps a reference to Rudolf Samet.

Nr	Full name or institution	Total sum	Period
14.	Sukiennik	100	12 December 1940
15.	Stein[31]	500	17 January 1942
16.	Hersh Wasser	875	25 January–14 June 1942
17.	Michał Weichert	2,000	25 January–6 March 1942
18.	Shmuel Winter	30,283.5	28 August 1941–29 July 1942
19.	Zylbersztajn	400	10 October 1941–17 March 1942
20.	AJDC	6,750	27 June 1941–23 February 1942
21.	S.P.S.[32]	3,845	16 June 1941–23 June 1942
22.	"Radom"	500	18 November 1941
	Total	54,733	

Source: ARG II 1 (Ring. I/212).

The American Joint Distribution Committee was another known major donor, with several senior clerks of its Polish headquarters in Ringelblum's milieu in the Warsaw ghetto (for instance, Yitzhak Giterman, Daniel Guzik, and Leyb Neustadt). The aid from workers of the Jewish Social Self-help, to be more precise, from the purse of the organisation's Voluntary Work Section (*Sekcja Pracy Społecznej,* S.P.S.), with which Emanuel Ringelblum himself was associated, was provided on a smaller scale. It should be mentioned that the ŻSS chairman Michał Weichert also aided Oyneg Shabes, but it seems probable that as was true of other donors he was partially unaware of the organisation's objectives. Smaller sums were paid by Shie Rabinowitz, who was a pre-war Bund activist, an entrepreneur, and a ŻSS co-worker in the Warsaw ghetto. Ringelblum's activity was also supported by Alexander Landau, whose company became one of the ghetto workshops during the occupation. Furthermore, group members, for instance, Ringelblum and Wasser, who usually drew on the organisation's purse, sometimes also made contributions. Perhaps such financial resources were obtained from individuals or institutions whose identity could not be revealed. It remains unknown whether the

31 Menakhem Stein (?).

32 S.P.S. – probably the Voluntary Work Section (*Sekcja Pracy Społecznej*) of the ŻSS, which was directed by Emanuel Ringelblum.

cashbook reflects Oyneg Shabes's finances faithfully and fully, but it seems unlikely. Surely some contributions for the team were not registered, but it is unknown what percentage of the total resources obtained during 1940–1942 they constituted.[33]

Cataloguing the Ghetto Archive

Lists of documents collected by Emanuel Ringelblum's colleagues are crucial material for an analysis of the operation of Oyneg Shabes. They reveal the methods implemented during the cataloguing of the collection. This subject matter was discussed in detail in the introduction to *Inwentarz Archiwum Ringelbluma*, so only selected issues will engage our concentration. The documentation presented here suggests that Oyneg Shabes began to catalogue its collection of files as early as in autumn 1941. It was undoubtedly a consequence of the Archive's growth, particularly since mid-1941. During that time the group's members had not only collected many original documents, but had also written down testimonies and made many duplicates. Did that intensification of the team's activity result from the invasion by Germany of the Soviet Union? It is difficult to answer this question. Nonetheless, information about the annihilation of communities in the eastern territories gradually seized by the Germans quickly reached Warsaw.

The first lists of archival documents were most probably made at the end of that year, with Hersh Wasser personally responsible for the cataloguing until July 1942, when he began to employ other people's help. Handwritten by Wasser, the first catalogue of files includes a short description of each manuscript's contents, its author's or copyist's codename, and the number of pages (see document 8a). Wasser also marked the documents in a special way, using their authors' or copyists' codenames. The same codenames also figured on the lists, which facilitated finding a given manuscript in the register. That surviving list included documents of various types, mostly testimonies and studies written down or copied by Oyneg Shabes's co-workers, while clearly

33 Oyneg Shabes bookkeeper, Menakhem Mendel Kon, was supposedly one of the donors, but there is no trace of him in this part of the cashbook. Kassow, *Who will Write our History*, pp. 220–221.

lacking prints and official documents. The list does not introduce any further classification of the materials.

It should be noted that the first catalogues listed only one copy of a given testimony, proving that the cataloguing had been selective from the beginning. The aim was not to list all files in the Archive, but to collect information about the titles and types of the materials. Why was the cataloguing conducted in such a way? It seems that there might have been several reasons, but most probably Oyneg Shabes wanted to divide the collection by means of extracting one copy of each document. The method of marking the documents seems to confirm this suspicion. If material existed in several copies, only one of them was marked and very often it was the duplicate. Wasser simply did not mark the remaining copies. After all, the Archive was not divided but it remains unknown why. The plan to extract a part of the collection and hide it in a separate place in the ghetto or to smuggle it to the "Aryan" side certainly changed in the following months. Perhaps the situation in the ghetto after 22 July 1942 made it impossible to execute the original plan to divide the collection.

At the turn of 1941 and 1942 the team still intended to divide the collection, which may be inferred, for instance, from the cataloguing conducted by Wasser from the second half of 1941. Then he marked groups of files, from about a dozen to twenty odd, with a combination of successive numbers and dates, for instance, "107/1 January 1942", "108/1 January 1942", "109/1 January 1942". The materials catalogued in the individual groups were usually marked analogously with the addition of the number under which a given manuscript figured in the catalogue. During that cataloguing Wasser also marked the duplicate if a given document had several copies. The only lists made during that cataloguing that survived are those with the numbers 107, 108, and 109 (early 1942) (see document 8b), but the marks on the documents show that there were also lists numbered 104 and 105 (1941).[34] There is no information about any other lists made during that cataloguing time. It seems that after the January 1942 cataloguing endeavour the team took a few months'

34 See list No. 104: ARG I 241 (Ring. I/28), I 458 (Ring. I/1220/88), I 1134 (Ring. I/6), I 1154 (Ring. I/663); list No. 105: ARG I 668 (Ring. I/71), I 758 (Ring. I/10), and I 1162 (Ring. I/658) – on those documents Wasser wrote not only their file number, but also the codename of their author ("Kampel").

break in the ordering of the Archive and that it resumed its efforts as late as in May and June.

The spring and early summer of 1942 is the period of marked intensification of Oyneg Shabes's activity. The information about the annihilation of a growing number of Jewish communities coming in from the provinces mobilised the team members to prepare news bulletins regularly and to commence work on a comprehensive report about the German persecutions thus far. It seems that initially the resumption of the ordering of the growing collection resulted more from a necessity to facilitate the team's access to materials than from further efforts to secure the Archive. The lists made by Wasser at the turn of June and July differed slightly from those made six months earlier. The two main differences were the introduction of a new way of marking the documents and the change in the manner of calculating the length of texts. List 8c is a good example. It was a fragment of a longer list, which originally might have had nine or more pages. Only two of its sheets have survived, though: pages 2–3 and 8–9. The list enumerates various documents: testimonies, official documents, and periodicals. Next to the testimonies Wasser included surnames or codenames of authors or copyists, but he did not mark the documents in the same way. All handwritten and typewritten documents were also marked with information about their volume, calculated using a rather mysterious conversion rate. Considering that a significant percentage of the documents from the said list have survived in the Archive, it was possible to determine their volume after typing them up into a computer. Even though the outcome was ambiguous, it suggests that Wasser converted the catalogued texts into typical (standard) typescript pages, each approximately 30 lines long. The information about the number of typical (standard) pages was written not only in the catalogue, but also on the catalogued documents, in a visible place, usually on the top of the first page in a uniform manner in Yiddish: for instance, "5 s. pages", that is, five standard pages. Moreover, Wasser sometimes added the date of the cataloguing, for instance, "June 1942", also in Yiddish. Neither of these markings was applied during the cataloguing of periodicals and other typed documents. One sheet of another list (8d), the layout of which is very similar to that of list 8c, comes from the same period. It could be that the two lists originally constituted one whole. The two next lists (8e and 8f), which come from the same period and might have originally been one list, differ little from the previous ones.

During cataloguing, Wasser also converted the volume of the documents using the conversion rate of standard pages and wrote the names of the authors and copyists, but only on the lists themselves and not on the documents. The only difference between these lists and the previous ones is that they contain additional information about the listed text's volume. Next to the title of each document Wasser wrote the number of standard pages and another number, which constituted approximately 6.2 per cent of the former. While one may suspect why the standard pages were calculated, the purpose of that mysterious rate remains unknown. Could it be that it was used to calculate the authors' remuneration?

Document 8 contains other catalogues created by Hersh Wasser (8g). These are additional catalogues of various documents, general lists regarding the number of collected pages of various studies, lists of small towns and periodicals, and similar items. All these lists lack information about the volume of individual documents and usually also information about their authors. The last in the collection is a separate sheet (8h), which could be part of one of the said lists or a separate one. It is difficult to say anything more about this catalogue due to its substantial damages.

Among other surviving materials from June and July 1942 are different lists of archival materials made by various Oyneg Shabes collaborators (document 9), including two documents written by Eliyahu Gutkowski (document 9a) and one most probably handwritten by Bluma Wasser (document 9b). The latter list enumerates materials which had not been copied by Ringelblum's colleagues. This information appears twice in this document, but it remains unclear why that fact was so strongly stressed, as other lists also enumerated manuscripts that had not been copied.

The last item is a list of printed items handwritten by Yekhiel Gorny (document 10), who catalogued the archival materials with the Wassers and Gutkowski. He was the author of at least one more list, the "Kalisz letters". The list of printed items is a much lengthier manuscript, though, as it lists 707 items, mostly documents produced in departments, organisations, firms, and private individuals. The descriptions that make up this register are so brief that it is at times impossible to identify and date the individual items correctly. Most of the documents were produced during the occupation, though some might have been written before the war. Most concern Warsaw and the Jewish population, with a significant percentage devoted to

the Warsaw ghetto. This collection includes printed announcements from public institutions, organisations and firms, blanks, forms, leaflets, prescriptions, stationery, bills, tickets, packaging, labels, and so on. Unlike the other catalogues of archival materials, which contain information about materials, most of which have survived in the ARG, the fate of documents from this list remains unknown. It should be assumed that this portion of the Archive's materials was not buried in either 1942 or 1943. Consequently, it seems even less probable that it was included in the third part of the ARG. It is also difficult to ascertain the date of the list itself, which must have been formulated no earlier than at the beginning of January 1942.

The purpose of the individual lists is not entirely clear. It seems that they were produced with different needs in mind, depending on the time of a given list's creation. Planning to divide the collection, the team tried to facilitate identification of individual texts and authors (copyists) by making appropriate annotations on the documents and assigning codenames to the authors. Before summer 1942 such methods were gradually abandoned, as the team concentrated on collecting information about the character, contents, and volume of the documents. Even though it might seem otherwise, the attempt to introduce a universal conversion rate to estimate the volume of the texts was not made exclusively for the purpose of paying remuneration. For using such a conversion rate, Wasser could estimate the scale of the future study prepared by the Oyneg Shabes team. It might seem surprising that all efforts connected with converting the pages of the manuscripts to standard pages, determining the number of described towns and ghettoes, estimating the total volume of the collected documents, and other items, were made on the eve of the liquidation campaign, that is, at the beginning of the summer of 1942.

An analysis of the surviving lists suggests that the cataloguing of the ARG encompassed only the materials selected for burial in late July 1942. Yet even in that part of the ARG not all documents had been catalogued, as the team had listed only a selected portion of the collection. Of course, the actual number of the catalogued documents was much larger than the currently known one, as a substantial number of the lists deteriorated in the ground. For instance, there are no surviving lists of private collections submitted to the Archive (deposits). Perhaps those collections were added to the other documents at the last moment and there was no time to catalogue them.

Is it possible to determine the actual volume of the ARG in July 1942 on the basis of the surviving registers? Were all assembled materials buried at the turn of July and August, or was it only a portion? It is not known how large Oyneg Shabes's collection was at that time, as the documentation at our disposal contains little such information. The testimonies that could help solve these mysteries completely are unavailable. Undoubtedly some of the materials that survived in the second part of the ARG were produced or collected by Oyneg Shabes prior to the summer of 1942. It is not known, however, why they were not catalogued and hidden during the July deportation; perhaps the team had no access to those documents at that time. Generally speaking though, the second part of the ARG has an entirely different character from the first one and it was collected or produced after July 1942. The conditions and methods of Oyneg Shabes's operation changed completely after the beginning of the liquidation campaign as it became impossible to catalogue materials, maintain bookkeeping and copy files on such a scale as previously, as well as to mark the documents. Moreover, a substantial percentage of the team's collaborators were murdered during the July campaign.

The Authors and Copyists

In order to maintain secrecy, most of the documents submitted to Oyneg Shabes's collection were not signed. Similarly, one will not find surnames or signatures of the copyists on the duplicates made by Ringelblum's colleagues. This general rule was not always obeyed, though, as some authors did sign (autograph) their works with their full names, pseudonyms, or codenames. It seems that the following authors did reveal their actual, full personal data: Abram Błaszka, Izrael Bursztyn, Maria Edelman, Miriam Fasa, Jankiel Henig, Mosze Herdyk, Jakub Hoffnung, Cwi Klejnman, Nusn (Natan) Koninski, Genia Landau, Hanna Lewkowicz, Dawid Mandelbaum, Józef Piotrkowski, Sara and Simon Powsinoga, Berek Proza, Manes Puterman, Fela Wiernik, and Samuel Zeldman. Emanuel Ringelblum signed his notes as Fayvel or Fayvish, while Nehemia Tytelman signed his manuscripts with the initials N. R. or his codename N. Rokheles, which consisted of the first letter of his name and the first letter of or the entire word *Rokheles* (Yiddish for "Rachel's son"). Eliyahu

Gutkowski once used the pseudonym A. Ben-Jakub, while Kalman Huberband signed as K. H. Band.

Occasionally those who recorded testimonies (copyists) included on the documents a few or more items of personal data about the author of the testimony. The need to order the growing collection of archival materials and to identify the authors and copyists forced the Oyneg Shabes team to introduce a suitable system of identification to facilitate recognition of individual documents. It seems that the work connected with the design and granting of personal markings and codenames was mostly undertaken by Wasser during the cataloguing of the Archive. It should be stressed that while making the first lists in late 1941, Wasser added personal markings not only on the lists, but also on the documents. But as soon as at the end of 1941 he gave up that practice and began to reveal the personal data of the authors or copyists only on the lists of archival materials instead of on both lists and files. A similar rule was adhered to during the cataloguing in mid-1942. The fact that the team was afraid to mark the documents with the mysterious codenames of its co-workers suggests that the fear of exposure was great.[35]

The personal identification on documents introduced by Oyneg Shabes may be divided into several groups. Some documents were signed with full surnames: Berliner, Błaszka, Frydrych, Goldfarb, Iliard, Lebensold, Lew, Ostrowska, Pomeranc, Samson, Tykociński, Wajsberg, Wiernik, Wilner, or Zimler. At times Wasser even added the first letter of the name of selected people, for instance, M. Frenkiel (Frenkel), H. Lewkowicz, or M. Wasser.[36] More often the codenames contained only a fragment of the surname (Band = Kalman Huberband, Ber = Borensztejn, Flig = Fligelman, Kampel = Kampelmacher, Kon = Koninski, Shain = Shainkinder, etc.), words derived from surnames (Fligar = Fligelman, Guter = Gutkowski, Kler = Winkler [?], Opoczner = Opoczynski, Shainen [Shainer] = Shainkinder, Wilk = Wilczynski, etc.), names (Cwi = Cwi Klejnman, Yitzhak = [?], Yekhiel = Gorny, Menakhem = Kon, Mordecai = Schwartzbard, etc.), initials (An. = [?], Ch. = Chilinowicz, W. = Hersh Wasser, etc.), nicknames (Doktor [Doctor], Kwiatek [Flower] = Ringelblum,

35 In ARG II 263/1 (Ring. II/233) Ringelblum often mentions the fear of exposure, which Oyneg Shabes colleagues constantly felt during their work in the ghetto.

36 One should bear in mind that it remains unclear whether the surnames provided here were real, as it is possible that some were only pseudonyms.

Kulawy [Lame] = [Schwartzbard?], Ogolony [Shaved] = Schwartzbard),[37] or other designations. Several close colleagues of Oyneg Shabes received codenames in the form of the street names on which they lived in the ghetto (Nowolipie Street = Lewin, Nowolipki Street = Gutkowski, Orla Street = Shainkinder, Wołyńska Street = Opoczynski, Zamenhofa Street = Shimon Huberband, etc.). For himself Wasser invented a designation in the form of a combination of numbers, which denoted the number of the building and flat the Wassers lived in on Muranowska Street – 6/15. The most difficult to identify are the codenames made up of full first names and surnames which have nothing to do with the actual personal data of an author or copyist. It seems that the name Stanisław Różycki served in precisely that way. It could very well be a pseudonym, but one that was given by the team members or at least was known to them. It was consistently used in the texts and descriptions by that author.[38]

One also needs to consider the fact that some pseudonyms and codenames were not invented by Ringelblum's colleagues. It seems that the pseudonym of Szlamek Winer, an escapee from the Chełmno death camp who figures as Jakub Grojnowski in the ARG documentation, is a good example. For many years the scholars of Ringelblum's Archive were unable to determine the real name of the author of the most important testimony regarding Chełmno. It may be that even the Oyneg Shabes team did not know his true surname.[39]

It needs to be stressed that an overview of Ringelblum's closest colleagues revealed that they were the ones for whom the codenames which were the most difficult to decipher were reserved. None of them was referred to by a full surname, as those were used mostly with regard to more distant co-workers of Oyneg Shabes. Moreover, many people who worked for the team did not have pseudonyms or codenames. One does not know the codename(s) of, for instance, Rachel Auerbach, Shmuel Breslav, Stefa Szereszewska, Israel Lichtenstein, or Bluma Wasser.

37 The last three nicknames appear only in Yiddish; see Table No. 3.

38 ARG I 455 (Ring. I/428) and I 869 (Ring. I/427). One's suspicions are based, for instance, on the fact that Stanisław Różycki is not named in the Oyneg Shabes cashbook despite the fact that he was an author of many texts for the ARG.

39 Hersh Wasser did not know Szlamek's real surname. The matter was finally settled in the following article: Przemysław Nowicki, "Zanim 'przybył z zaświatów', nazywał się Winer. Krąg rodzinny i konspiracyjny Szlamka, uciekiniera z ośrodka zagłady w Chełmnie nad Nerem", *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 5 (2009): 163–192.

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TABLE 3. *Codenames of the Oyneg Shabes authors and copyists*

Author's or copyist's codename	Surname and name of the author or copyist	The author of the text in case of duplicates	File number	Handwritten or typewritten; Language	Original or duplicate	Other copies of the document
א			ARG I 670b	typewritten, Polish	Duplicate	
א			ARG I 1068	NN*, Polish	Duplicate	typewritten (original)
An.		Cukierman Stefan	ARG I 1126	JG*, Polish	Duplicate	handwritten
K.H. Band	Huberband Kalman	Huberband Kalman	ARG I 417	typewritten, Yiddish	Duplicate	typewritten
I. Ber		Borensztejn Yitzhak	ARG I 211	typewritten, Yiddish	Duplicate	
Berliner	Berliner David	Berliner David	ARG I 619; I 636	typewritten, Yiddish	Duplicate	Ż*
Betarowiec		Betarowiec	ARG I 1037	E*, Polish	Duplicate	typewritten
Bliml[40]	Ringelblum Emanuel	Ringelblum Emanuel	ARG I 447; I 449; I 578	typewritten, Yiddish	Duplicate	
Błaszka (Blaszka)	Błaszka Abram	Błaszka Abram	ARG I 1168	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	handwritten
Brawer	U.B.I.	U.B.I.	ARG I 984	handwritten, Yiddish	original	
Ch.	Chilinowicz Bencjon		ARG I 292a	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	
Ch.	Chilinowicz Bencjon		ARG I 292b	JG*, Polish	duplicate	handwritten
Cwi	Klejnman Cwi	Klejnman Cwi	ARG I 691; I 997	CK*, Yiddish	original	
Czuczel			ARG I 890	CC*, Polish	?	
Czuczel			ARG I 894	CC*, Polish	?	

40 Little flower (Yiddish).

Author's or copyist's codename	Surname and name of the author or copyist	The author of the text in case of duplicates	File number	Handwritten or type-written; Language	Original or duplicate	Other copies of the document
Doba?			ARG I 2			
Doktor (D-R)	Ringelblum Emanuel	Ringelblum Emanuel	ARG I 445-454	ER*	original	
Fligar (Flig)	Fligelman Daniel	Fligelman Daniel	ARG I 411	FLIG*, Polish	original	
Fligar	Fligelman Daniel	Fligelman Daniel (?)	ARG I 684	typwritten, Polish	duplicate	FLIG*
Fligar	Fligelman Daniel	G.S.	ARG I 799	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	
Fligar	Fligelman Daniel	Ka.I.	ARG I 837 or HWC 27/1	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	
Fligar	Fligelman Daniel		ARG I 1103	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	
Fligar	Fligelman Daniel		ARG I 801	MA*, Polish	duplicate	FLIG*
Fligar	Fligelman Daniel		ARG I 846	MA*, Polish	duplicate	
Fligar	Fligelman Daniel		ARG I 999	MA*, Polish	duplicate	
Fligar	Fligelman Daniel		ARG I 1049	JG*, Polish	duplicate	FLIG*
Frenkel	Frenkiel (Frenkel) Mosze	Frenkiel (Frenkel) Mosze	ARG I 47	handwritten, Yiddish	original	
Frenkiel M.	Frenkiel (Frenkel) Mosze	Frenkiel (Frenkel) Mosze	ARG I 983	U*, Yiddish	duplicate	
Frydrych	Frydrych Załman (Zygmunt)	Frydrych Załman (Zygmunt)	ARG I 412	U*, Yiddish	duplicate	handwritten
Glat			ARG I 3			
Glater	Nehemia Tytelman	Nehemia Tytelman	ARG I 1218	MA*, Yiddish	duplicate	

Author's or copyist's codename	Surname and name of the author or copyist	The author of the text in case of duplicates	File number	Handwritten or type-written; Language	Original or duplicate	Other copies of the document
Goldfarb			ARG I 708	typewritten, Yiddish	duplicate	
Grojł[41] (H. Grojł)	Pluskałowski Leyb (Skałow Zalman)	Pluskałowski Leyb (Skałow Zalman)	ARG I 1011b	handwritten, Yiddish	original?	
Grojnowski Jakub	Winer Shloyme (Szlamek)	Winer Shloyme (Szlamek)	ARG I 1115	typewritten, Yiddish	duplicate	
Guter	Gutkowski Eliyahu	Kaufman Fayvel	ARG I 1158	TT*, Yiddish	duplicate	LEG*
Hist	Małowist Marian	Małowist Marian	ARG I 672a	JG*, Polish	duplicate	
Hober			ARG I 1257b	Z*, Yiddish	?	
Iliard	Iliard Hersh (?)		ARG I 2			
Kac	Kac (Edelist)	Kac (Edelist)	ARG I 844	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	
Kampel	Kampelmacher Bernard	Kampelmacher Bernard	ARG I 757b,c,d,e	typewritten, Polish	original	
Kampel	Kampelmacher Bernard	Kampelmacher Bernard	ARG I 757f	BB*, Polish	duplicate	typewritten (original)
Kampel	Kampelmacher Bernard		ARG I 969	BB*, Polish	duplicate	
Kampel	Kampelmacher Bernard	Kampelmacher Bernard	ARG I 1014	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	typewritten (original)
Kampel	Kampelmacher Bernard	Kampelmacher Bernard	ARG I 1047	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	typewritten (original)
Kler	Winkler Jerzy (?)		ARG I 626	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	
Kohn (Kon)	Koninski Natan (Nusn)	Koninski Natan (Nusn)	ARG I 783c	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	

41 Terror, threat (Yiddish).

Author's or copyist's codename	Surname and name of the author or copyist	The author of the text in case of duplicates	File number	Handwritten or type-written; Language	Original or duplicate	Other copies of the document
Kohn (Kon)	Koninski Natan (Nusn)	Suryc Michał	ARG I 458	BTT*, Polish	duplicate	FLIG*
Kohn (Kon)	Koninski Natan (Nusn)		ARG I 504	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	
Kohn (Kon)	Koninski Natan (Nusn)		ARG I 749	JG*, Polish	duplicate	
Kohn (Kon)	Koninski Natan (Nusn)		ARG I 1094	JG*, Polish	duplicate	
Kohn (Kon)	Koninski Natan (Nusn)		ARG I 67 I 1130	JG*, Polish	duplicate	E* (ARG I 67), handwritten (ARG I 1130)
Kohn (Kon)	Koninski Natan (Nusn)	Perkal Tobiasz Józef	ARG I 783e	BTT*, Polish	duplicate	E*
Kr. (Krajndler)	Krajn (Krajndler)	Krajn (Krajndler)	ARG I 859	E*, Polish	duplicate	
Lebensold			ARG I 805	JG*, Polish	duplicate	
Lew	Lew M.	Lew M. (?)	ARG I 628	typewritten, Yiddish	duplicate	Z*
Lewkowicz H.	Lewkowicz Hanna	Lewkowicz Hanna	ARG I 808 I 1063	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	HL*
Lomur[42]	Schwartzbard Mordecai (?)		ARG I 910	MS*, Yiddish	duplicate	
Menakhem	Kon Menakhem Mendl	Kon Menakhem Mendl	ARG I 427	MK*, Yiddish	original	
Miw. (?)			ARG I 687	typewritten, Polish	?	
Mordecai	Schwartzbard Mordecai	Schwartzbard Mordecai	ARG I 462; I 519; I 1256b	MS*, Yiddish	original	

42 Lame (Yiddish).

Author's or copyist's codename	Surname and name of the author or copyist	The author of the text in case of duplicates	File number	Handwritten or type-written; Language	Original or duplicate	Other copies of the document
Nowolipie	Lewin Abraham	Lewin Abraham	HWC 32/2, 32/4, 32/6; ARG I 431	Ś*, Yiddish	original	
Nowolipki	Gutkowski Eliyahu		ARG I 663; I 718; I 769; I 809	LEG*, Yiddish	duplicate	typewritten
Nowolipki	Gutkowski Eliyahu		ARG I 698; I 827	LEG*, Yiddish	duplicate	
Nowolipki	Gutkowski Eliyahu		ARG I 773	LEG*, Hebrew	duplicate	
Nowolipki	Gutkowski Eliyahu		ARG I 1040	typewritten, Yiddish	duplicate	
Opoczner	Opoczynski Peretz	Opoczynski Peretz	ARG I 439	original missing		
Orla	Shainkinder Shmuel	Shainkinder Shmuel	ARG I 461; I 1089; I 1237	typewritten, Yiddish	original	
Orla	Shainkinder Shmuel	Shainkinder Shmuel	ARG I 630	typewritten, Yiddish	duplicate	
Ostrowska	Ostrowska Salomea		ARG I 2			
Peretz I. L.	Opoczynski Peretz	Opoczynski Peretz	ARG I 440	original missing		
Pomeranc			ARG I 2			
Razirn[43]	Schwartzbard Mordecai	Ringelblum Emanuel	ARG I 454	MS*, Yiddish	duplicate	
Razirn	Schwartzbard Mordecai	Schwartzbard Mordecai (?)	ARG I 462/2	MS*, Yiddish	original	
Różycki St.	Różycki Stanisław	Różycki Stanisław	ARG I 456	SR*, Polish	original	

43 Clean shaven (Yiddish).

Author's or copyist's codename	Surname and name of the author or copyist	The author of the text in case of duplicates	File number	Handwritten or type-written; Language	Original or duplicate	Other copies of the document
Samson	Samson Jakub	Samson Jakub	ARG I 917	TT*, BTT*, Yiddish	duplicate	
Szajnen (Szajn, Szajner)	Shainkinder Shmuel	Shainkinder Shmuel	ARG I 461; I 1088	Sz*, Yiddish	original	
Szajnen (Szajn, Szajner)	Shainkinder Shmuel	Shainkinder Shmuel	ARG I 1089; I 1237	typewritten, Yiddish	original	
Szajnen (Szajn, Szajner)	Shainkinder Shmuel	Shainkinder Shmuel	ARG I	typewritten, Yiddish	duplicate	
Szajnen (Szajn, Szajner)	Shainkinder Shmuel	Mandelbaum Dawid	ARG I 768	Sz*, Yiddish	duplicate	
Telem	Millet Zygmunt (?)	Millet Zygmunt (?)	ARG I 435	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	
Tykociński	Tykociński T.	Tykociński T.	ARG I 632	NN*, Yiddish	?	typewritten
W.	Wasser Hersh	Wasser Hersh	ARG I 467	H.W.*, Yiddish	duplicate	
W.	Wasser Hersh		ARG I 1164	H.W.*, Polish	duplicate	
W.	Wasser Hersh		ARG I 875; I 963; I 966; I 1052	H.W.*, Yiddish	duplicate	
Wajsberg	Wajsberg M.	Wajsberg M.	ARG I 500	TT*, Yiddish	duplicate	
Waser M.	Wasser Mordecai	Wasser Mordecai	ARG I 469	JG*, Polish	duplicates	1. handwritten 2. CA*
Wiernik	Wiernik Fela	Wiernik Fela	ARG I 913	handwritten, Polish	original	
Wilk	Wilczynski Khaskl (Yehezkiel)		ARG I 529; I 871	ChW*, Yiddish	duplicate	
Wilner	Wilner Israel Khaim (Aryeh, Jurek)	Wilner Israel Khaim (Aryeh, Jurek)	ARG I 845	BTT*, Polish	duplicate	FLIG*

Author's or copyist's codename	Surname and name of the author or copyist	The author of the text in case of duplicates	File number	Handwritten or type-written; Language	Original or duplicate	Other copies of the document
Wink	Winnik Israel (?)		ARG I 638	U*, Yiddish	duplicate	
Wink	Winnik Israel (?)		ARG I 716	Z*, Yiddish	duplicate	RR*
Wink	Winnik Israel (?)		ARG I 1006	RR*, Yiddish	duplicate (?)	
Wink	Winnik Israel (?)		ARG I 1035	TT*, Yiddish	?	
Wołyńska	Opoczynski Peretz	Opoczynski Peretz	?			
Vel	H.S.L.	H.S.L.	ARG I 459	BTT*, Polish	duplicate	typewritten (original)
Vel	H.S.L.	H.S.L.	ARG I 460	BTT*, Polish	duplicate	handwritten
Yekhiel	Gorny Yekhiel	Gorny Yekhiel	ARG I 414	U*, Yiddish	original	
Yekhiel	Gorny Yekhiel	Rotring (?)	ARG I 1031	U*, Yiddish	duplicate	
Yitzhak			ARG I 3			
Zamenhof	Huberband Shimon	Huberband Shimon	ARG I 56; I 57; I 62; I 419; I 420; I 421	HUB*, Yiddish	original	
Zimler	Zimler	Zimler	ARG I 1046	JG*, Polish	duplicate	
Zylber			ARG I 841	CC*, Polish	?	Handwritten
6/15	Wasser Hersh	Wasser Hersh	ARG I 467	H.W.*, Yiddish	original	
6/15	Wasser Hersh	Dychterman	ARG I 770	typewritten, Polish	duplicate	

Just as it is difficult to see any system in the selection of documents for cataloguing, certain testimonies and studies were also marked without apparent logical patterns. Moreover, it is not entirely clear what part in the production of a given text was played by the individuals whose codenames are written on the individual testimonies. Practically each instance requires

an individual approach. The lack of full documentation often makes it difficult to determine the final version of events. The least problematic task is to identify the signatures of the authors on their own texts. This group of documents is dominated by diaries, a significant number of which were written in the spring and early summer of 1942. It seems no coincidence that several of the closest co-workers of Oyneg Shabes began to keep diaries at a similar time (see table 4).

Nr	Name	Dates	Archival number
1.	Rachel Auerbach	4 August 1941– 26 July 1942	ARG I 405–406
2.	Daniel Fligelman	28 May–22 June 1942	ARG I 411
3.	Yekhiel Gorny	12 April–22 July 1942	ARG I 414
4.	Shimon Huberband	9–19 May 1942 21–29 May 1942 21–27 June 1942	ARG I 420 HWC, 32/3 ARG I 421
5.	Abraham Lewin	26 May 1942–16 January 1943	ARG I 431 ARG II 251–252 HWC, 31/11; 32/6; 32/7
6.	Unknown	7 June–1 July	ARG I 520
7.	Unknown	9–17 June 1942	ARG I 521
8.	Peretz Opoczynski	10–25 May 1942 1–30 June 1942	ARG I 440, no original
9.	Emanuel Ringelblum	1939–1943	ARG I 445–454 ARG II 257–265
11.	Mordecai [Schwartzbard]	1939–June 1942	ARG I 462
10.	Sh. Shainkinder	April–July 1942	ARG I 461
12.	Nehemia Tytelman	14–16 May 1941	ARG I 463
13.	Hersh Wasser	1 December 1940–10 June 1942	ARG I 467–468

Perhaps the idea of keeping diaries was born during Oyneg Shabes's meetings and that the easiest way to carry out the process was to commission the team's closest workers to perform that work.

Research Programme – Surveys and Outlines

A careful reader of Oyneg Shabes's cashbook will notice several entries regarding amounts due and payments for "2½ years". The codename "Dwa i pół roku" [Two and a half years] was given to the Ghetto Archive's research project to undertake an extensive study on the fate of the Jewish population during the occupation (1939–1942). The idea was conceived in early 1942 and a decision was made to prepare for printing a work, which would consist of more than one hundred sheets and four parts: the first general, the second pertaining to economic issues, the third on culture, art and science, and the fourth regarding social welfare. The works were directed by a three-person board consisting of Ringelblum, Linder, and Bloch. Ringelblum was supposed to prepare the first and the third parts, Linder the second, and Bloch the fourth. Members of the editorial board were to collect materials and be responsible for the final shape of the work, while various authors were commissioned to write the individual parts. A series of outlines (theses) were prepared for the individual parts of the work, to ensure a uniform character of the study. It seems that a substantial percentage of the outlines have fortuitously survived. The work on them went on for a few months, uninterrupted by the deportations in the summer of 1942.

The levels of completion and details of individual theses vary, but on the whole they concern a very wide range of issues within the framework of the individual research topics. They also maintain a proper distance towards their subject matter. The outlines were prepared for the purpose of writing fully objective studies, sometimes presenting entirely contradictory phenomena and ideas. It should be stressed that even in such extreme working conditions the team still endeavoured to maintain professionalism. The creators of the programme wanted the future monograph to reflect reality, including all elements that the co-workers managed to describe. The authors were required to present various attitudes, even in the case of issues as difficult as the relations with Germans or Poles. If one analyses the documents produced on the basis of the outlines prepared by Oyneg Shabes writers, one sees that those theoretical principles were adhered to in practice, for the authors of the testimonies and studies were required to provide a broad background of the described events, present the varied behaviour of the occupier, and paint a full picture of the Polish and Jewish populations. To a modern-day reader the objectivity of many testimonies can sometimes be surprising as they contain

descriptions of atrocious crimes as well as descriptions of behaviour diverging from the norm, inconsistent with the stereotypes of ever "bad" Germans or "indifferent" Poles. Some Jews are presented as not being only victims. The texts condemn collaboration and do not fail to mention the surnames of those who in various ways shared responsibility for the Holocaust with the occupier. In his personal texts Ringelblum himself also tried to maintain a certain distance towards the described events and people. He saw an even greater need to maintain such an approach in scientific research, striving to achieve faithful depiction of events.

The outlines were not the only research aid prepared for compiling the future monograph of the Warsaw ghetto. The team also prepared surveys designed to collect documentation (testimonies) for that study (documents 23, 24, 29, and 30). Intended as yet another form of performing the project, the competitions were to be a means to obtain various studies, documents, and photographs. The competition announced by Oyneg Shabes on 22 January 1942 called on participants to prepare works devoted to the situation of the Jewish population, while the best texts were to be rewarded with large cash prizes (document 11). Ringelblum and his colleagues copied the idea to organise the research from the methods which YIVO had already implemented before the war. Both organisations laid great stress on assembling induced sources collected by means of penetrating various social milieux, and were based on a uniform set of questions.

In his *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto* Ringleblum claims that the "Dwa i pół roku" study was to focus exclusively on the Warsaw ghetto, but this is not entirely true.[44] Even though most of the themes addressed the subject matter of the Warsaw ghetto, at the same time the team prepared several research aids for collecting materials about the fate of the populations of various Jewish communities (for instance, documents 16–18). The authors of the survey designed to collect material about the young (document 25)[45] also had broader objectives.

Ringelblum regretted that the work could not be completed before the *Aktion* and that it had to be resumed in the autumn of 1942. Oyneg Shabes

44 ARG II 263/1 (Ring. II/233).

45 It might be that this questionnaire was intended for inhabitants of various towns, including Łódź (see document 21, p. 12).

collected some of the component studies written on the basis of the previously prepared outlines, but it is difficult to call them fully finished, as they were more like drafts of the planned texts. In this volume are presented a group of surviving outlines and surveys, which enable one to understand the concept of the entire study "Dwa i pół roku" (documents 11–46).[46] The documents were divided into four thematic groups, regarding general issues (documents 11–15), history of the Jewish centres (documents 16–19), research on the situation of women and young people (documents 20–25), and research on the Warsaw ghetto (documents 26–46). Outlines devoted to women and young people have been intentionally separated, as they did not refer exclusively to the situation in Warsaw. It is probable that they were to be used not only for the preparation of texts about women and young people in the Warsaw ghetto, but also for other centres.

Today there is no doubt that the surveys prepared by Oyneg Shabes were indeed used by Ringelblum's colleagues, as some of the surviving memoirs closely follow the points suggested by the authors of the theses. Perhaps the best example here is the testimony "Końskowola k. Puław" (Końskowola near Puławy), whose author (or the person who wrote down the memoir) adhered quite closely to Oyneg Shabes's outline (document 18), writing the poll conductor's question first and then the answer. The testimony regarding Żyrardów (ARG I 1075 [Ring. I/947]) contains a long passage which answers only some of the questions from one of the surveys published in this volume (document 16). It should also be mentioned that the outline Stosunki polsko-żydowskie (Polish–Jewish relations) (document 15) was used by Ringelblum to write his book *Stosunki polsko-żydowskie w czasie drugiej wojny światowej* (Warsaw, 1988).

Bulletins

From the beginning of its activity the Oyneg Shabes group regarded collection of information about the fate of Jews on Polish lands as one

46 The ARG has one additional surviving questionnaire that was prepared to collect materials about the situation of the Jewish population in Polish territories, which were incorporated into the USSR in 1939. See *The Ringelblum Archive. Borderlands*, ed. Andrzej Żbikowski (Warsaw, 2018).

of its most important tasks. Consequently, at the turn of 1940 and 1941 the team began to interview refugees and displaced persons as well as collect existing written diaries and memoirs plus other testimonies. In the autumn and winter of 1941 the Warsaw ghetto received refugees from the eastern territories, who brought news about mass executions of Jews after the German invasion of the Soviet Union. Oyneg Shabes had already begun to notice the change in the German policy towards Jews and the news about the exterminations conducted in *Wartheland* and then in the General Government motivated Ringelblum's co-workers to intensify their information policy.

After the Warsaw ghetto learned about the deportation campaign in Lublin, which was the beginning of Operation Reinhardt, that is, the final physical liquidation of the Jewish community in the General Government, Oyneg Shabes members began to work on publishing a bulletin, which would systematically provide information about the Holocaust to the underground press. The original plan was to print (copy) the bulletin, and that was the form of its first issue (document 47).[47] It seems that technical difficulties hindered the copying of subsequent issues, as these were prepared by Oyneg Shabes in the form of manuscripts or typescripts. The handwritten bulletins are mostly the work of Eliyahu Gutkowski. After the war Hersh Wasser referred to them as "bulletins of Oyneg Shabes's press service" and called himself and Gutkowski their editors.[48] The periodicals are compilations of usually short notes about German acts of terror against the Jewish population in various localities in Polish territory: individual acts of murder, mass executions, resettlements, and deportations to death camps. Some also contained fragments of letters and testimonies collected in the ARG.

The bulletins were edited from the turn of March and April 1942 until the great deportation campaign in the Warsaw ghetto in July of that year. Fifteen precisely dated issues[49] have survived. These dates are doubtful though, as it remains unknown whether they are the dates of a given bulletin's edition or

47 The first issue of the Oyneg Shabes's bulletin has survived in only one copy in HWC, 60/7. The handwritten version of this document is in ARG I 23 (Ring. I/259); see document 47.

48 See Wasser's post-war note attached to ARG I 35 (Ring. I/472) (see document 63).

49 The word *issue* is used for clarity. Only the bulletin of 3 April is titled *Wiadomości* and is marked as the first issue. The remaining bulletins are marked only with a date.

of the copying. In two instances, there exist two identical copies of a bulletin with different dates (20 and 22 May, and 25 and 30 June). The later two dates surely refer to the day on which the copy was made. The bulletin dated 3 July is actually a rough draft, as some of its information is written in a brief form, with as many as four people listed as its authors. The information was also repeated in the issue of 8 July.

The first two issues (3 and 12 April 1942) were in both Yiddish and Polish, with the two versions differing slightly. The next six bulletins issued in May and June 1942 were in Yiddish, while the following seven (from 18 June to 18 July 1942) were only in Polish. It is possible that each bulletin came out in two language versions, some of which perished. It is also likely that when the situation became tenser the group stopped preparing the bulletins in Yiddish due to its members' better command of the Polish language. It should be noted that the bulletins issued after 18 July began to contain more and more news from the Warsaw ghetto, which was a novelty, with information about the persecution of Poles. The bulletins also repeated some information from the earlier Yiddish issues. This suggests that the earlier bulletins were intended for the editors of the underground press in the Warsaw ghetto, while the later ones were also prepared for unspecified readers outside the ghetto.

What sources of information did the bulletins' editors rely upon? Most notes in the bulletins are very brief and contain only data about the approximate date of a given event with the number of victims. It seems that the editors wrote down information obtained via telephone from, for instance, employees of the ŻSS branches. It seems that several pieces of news included in the bulletin of 29 May 1942 (document 53) came from such a source.

> Dęblin (Irena) – At the beginning of the second ten-day period of the month, the Germans expelled the whole Jewish population from the shtetl; on their way, 42 Jews were shot by the Polish police.
> Ryki (near Dęblin) – On the same day, the whole Jewish population of Ryki was also expelled in an "unknown direction". The whole Jewish community has disappeared without a trace. Before the expulsion, many local Jews were shot. [. . .]

> Chodel – During the first ten days of May, there was a massacre of the Jewish population in the shtetl. Many were killed. A large part of the Jewish population was taken away "in an unknown direction".

In about a dozen instances there can be no doubt that the information derived from testimonies of refugees or letters from the locality of the described events, as those texts survived in the ARG independent of the bulletins. The source of the information is particularly easy to trace if the description in the bulletin is extensive. The testimony about the deportation campaign from the Lublin ghetto is a good example. After 31 March 1942 a certain Kronenberg escaped from Lublin, where a deportation was in progress. He reached the Warsaw ghetto quite quickly and on 5 or 6 April reported on the course of the campaign to Hersh Wasser, who took extensive notes during the interview. They consisted of sentences without verbs, individual words, figures, surnames, and dates, written in no chronological order. Based on that interview, Wasser prepared a testimony, which he included in the bulletin dated 12 April 1942. It is interesting to compare a fragment of Wasser's notes with that of the final text of the bulletin. The former described the beginning of the deportation campaign as follows:

> Monday – at night on 16 March (3 weeks). – 12 o'clock at night – along entire Lubartowska Street – from 59–15 – all gates guarded. – Ruska Street, Czwartek Street, night – roundups – hideouts – watches, vantage points – all the time. [. . .] Guarded by Ukrainians – either Majdanek or deportation – poisoned – Grodzka and Kowalska streets – alleys [. . .] The first night approximately 5,000 people. 200 killed on the square on Targowa Street [. . .] Germans from the SD were shooting – holders of IDs were released with family members if [their names were] entered in the IDs, otherwise – major conflicts [. . .] many tried to leave their hideouts, some of them emaciated – others were dying of starvation. Those for deportation in the synagogue (Maharszal's synagogue – Jateczna Street). No contact with the synagogue. It has been rumoured that [the people] are taken from there to the slaughterhouse in Wola and from there [deported] using a siding. [. . .].[50]

50 Forthcoming in *The Ringelblum Archive, Generalgouvernement*, ed. Aleksandra Bańkowska,

In the bulletin the description is as follows:

> At midnight on Monday, 16 March 1942, the tenements on Lubartowska Street – No. 15–59 – and on the transverse streets – Ruska and Czwartek – were surrounded by posts of Ukrainian auxiliary forces. 2 Ukrainians stood by each tenement, their duty to ensure that none of the Jews living there escaped. Policemen from the SD (*Sonderdienst*) then came and removed all the residents of the blockaded buildings throughout the night. Some Jews managed to hide in nooks or hideouts but then they could not escape due to the absence of their household members. They died there of starvation, thirst and lack of fresh air. That night approximately 5,000 Jews were arrested and the SD used that occasion to execute 200 Jews, mostly children or bedridden, old or crippled people. The Jewish deportees were escorted by the Ukrainians to the empty square on Targowa Street, where the Jews were segregated by the SD police. Those Jews who had an SD stamp dated 8 March 1942[51] in their work records were released and immediately transported to [Ma-Ha] R-Sza-L's[52] synagogue (16th century), and from there to the slaughterhouse, where the railway side track is. There they were loaded into boxcars, which were then sealed and sent off "in an unknown direction".

The text of the bulletin is clearly based on the notes from the interview. Nonetheless, Wasser supplemented and ordered the data, based on the details of the conversation he remembered.

There is an interesting relationship between fragments of the bulletins that referred to the same events but were based on different sources. It seems that the editors rarely compared and compiled the information. They wrote about the deportations from Lublin as early as on 3 April (document 48), providing an extremely important piece of information about the destination of the transports:

> According to corroborated information, the Jews of Lublin – along with those from other small towns in the Lublin district – are being sent to

51 The Yiddish version provides a different date: 8 April 1942.

52 See Doc. 49.

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> Bełżec, to the camp there. [. . .] The rumour is spreading among the Jewish population of the Lublin district that the Jews in the Bełżec camp are being murdered in the same manner as in Chełmno, that is to say they are being poisoned with gas.

When they published Kronenberg's testimony, which does not mention Bełżec, in the bulletin of 12 April, they did not supplement that information either. As may be seen, the information from the two sources was not compiled. It seems that Oyneg Shabes included accounts of events in the form in which they reached Oyneg Shabes at a given moment, even if the information did not tally with earlier sources. Nonetheless, some bulletins contain evidence that the editors did compare various testimonies. For instance, the first issue of Oyneg Shabes's bulletin (before 3 April) (document 47) reported that the Germans had been executing dozens of Jews in Wąwolnica since mid-March 1942 and that on 22 March they had conducted a mass execution, as a result of which the Jewish population of the town ceased to exist. The information about that execution came from a 20-year-old refugee girl, whose story Abraham Lewin wrote down in his diary under the date of 26 March 1942.

> Last Sunday three lorries with Germans arrived. The Germans escorted all the captured Jews, including members of the *Judenrat*, to the market square, where the latter were executed. Many Jews hid in Christian homes. Consequently, the Germans searched all Polish homes, escorted the encountered Jews out and executed them immediately the moment they crossed the threshold. The number of the Jews executed in Wąwolnica is approximately 90. I did not receive a clear answer to my question: how many Jewish inhabitants does this small town have? The girl said only that "all, [literally] all Jews from Wąwolnica have been killed."[53]

On 5 April a letter from Pesach Goldbaum, who had been resettled from Kazimierz to Opole Lubelskie, reached Warsaw and Oyneg Shabes. The man reported that all the Jews from Puławy, Kazimierz, and Wąwolnica were in

53 Lewin, *A Cup of Tears. . .*

Opole.[54] That contradicted the information about the total annihilation of the Jews in Wąwolnica. Consequently, while extensively quoting Goldbaum's letter, the editors of the next bulletin, dated 12 April, added in a bracket that the Jews resettled from Wąwolnica were "those who survived there after the massacre of 22 March".

Written in code for security considerations, some letters were a source which the editors had trouble interpreting. An example is the correspondence of Luba Rozenberg from Dubienka with Franciszka Zalcman from Warsaw, used in the bulletin of 8 June 1942 (document 54). On 23 May Luba Rozenberg described the events which took place in the town:

> Mr Kiszyniewski visited us yesterday and many people again departed to that town where Mr Tenenbaum and Josef, Wolf's brother, [are]. So far we are in good health. The number of those sent [there] is ten times larger than the number of those who had been sent away when those mentioned above had been sent away. I would have a lot to write to you about, but, unfortunately, this is beyond description.[55]

In the bulletin that passage was interpreted as follows:

> The situation of Jews in Dubienka is catastrophic. In late May the Germans massacred the Jewish population. There were over a hundred casualties.

The codename "Mr Kiszyniewski" denotes a pogrom (from the pogrom in Kishinev in 1903), which was obvious to the addressees of the letter, while the part of the sentence about people departing to that town where "Mr Tenenbaum and Josef, Wolf's brother, are" was interpreted by Oyneg Shabes as a description of a massacre conducted on the spot. Nonetheless, that cannot be unambiguously inferred from the letter, which seems rather to discuss a deportation from Dubienka. Luba Rozenberg's letter of 4 June quoted in the same bulletin contains another mention of the said Józef:

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54 ARG I 943 (Ring. I/587).

55 ARG I 710 (Ring I/568).

> Everybody was deported. I do not know where to. There where Józef [was deported] or somewhere else. Nobody knows, as they have disappeared without a trace.[56]

The author of the letter knew that Jews from Dubienka were deported, yet their later fate remained unknown. It is difficult not to notice that the first sentences from the note on Dubienka are very similar to the testimony included in the bulletin of 5 May 1942 (document 51), which reads:

> On Monday 13 April the shtetl was surrounded by SS men, and a mass slaughter of the Jewish population ensued. [. . .] Over 100 Jews, mostly men, died at the hands of the murderers.

Sometimes the first mention in the bulletin about deportations from a given locality is very brief, while the next one is more detailed. For instance, the bulletin of 8 June includes the following news from Kraków:

> On Friday 5 June an official pogrom took place in Kraków; shots were fired in the streets of the ghetto; there are more than 100 Jewish martyrs. Apart from that, the Hitlerite murderers massacred Jewish babies. Eyewitnesses recount that the murderers smashed the children's heads on the cobblestones. Several thousand Jews were deported.

By contrast, the bulletin of 18 June featured a detailed description of the deportation campaign based on a testimony obtained in the meantime.[57]

Some underground periodicals published in the ghetto were reprinted, at times word for word, such as the Oyneg Shabes bulletins. Those were mostly periodicals of the Dror He-Halutz and Hashomer Hatzair, such as *Jedies*, *Nowe Tory*, *Jutrznia*, *Yugnt-ruf*, *Der Oyfbroyz*, or *Przedwiośnie*.[58]

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56 ARG I 710 (Ring I/568). The Jews of Dubienka were killed in Sobibór.

57 See documents 54 and 57. The testimony on which the note in the bulletin of 18 June is based is dated 14 June. See ARG I 827 (Ring. I/833) to be published in *The Ringelblum Archive. Generalgouvernement.*

58 See ARG I 1308 (Ring. I/690, I/975), *Yedies* [Yiddish issue of *Wiadomości*], issues of 26 March, 26 May, 2, 9, 13, 20, 27 June, 17 July 1942; ARG I 1322 (Ring. I/704), *Nowe Tory* [Polish for "new path"], issue of April 1942; ARG I 1312 (Ring. I/731), *Jutrznia* [Polish for

The bulletins of 3 and 12 April 1942 are in the files of the Office of the Delegate of the Government in Exile.[59] The latter bulletin (in two language versions: Yiddish and Polish) is a carbon copy of the edition in the ARG, while the former (in the Polish-language version) has survived in two copies, which also differ from each other. One of the two copies is an almost faithful duplicate of the document from the ARG, while the latter contains significant stylistic differences and an additional piece of information about the estimated number of Jews deported from Lublin – 26,000. The figure certainly does not come from Oyneg Shabes as that milieu estimated the number at 23,000 in April and at 32,000 in June 1942.[60] The two April bulletins in the files of the Office of the Delegate confirm Oyneg Shabes's contacts with the Polish underground, but it is strange that there were no subsequent issues of the bulletins, particularly because, as has been said, those issued in June and July were probably intended for the Polish reader.

Edited by Ringelblum's colleagues at the turn of 1942 and 1943, the *Wiadomości* periodical was in a way a continuation of the Oyneg Shabes bulletins, whose publication ceased in July 1942. Six typewritten Polish issues of this periodical were published in the ghetto between 14 November 1942 and 15 January 1943. Each issue was marked with the acronym ARG – Ghetto Archive. Based on the report titled *Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa (Jewish Fighting Organisation) sent on 24 May 1944 to the Polish Government in London,* Ruta Sakowska claims that Ringelblum, Wasser, and Gutkowski formed an archive commission of the Jewish National Committee (*Żydowski Komitet Narodowy*, ŻKN). That commission closely cooperated with the propaganda commission of the ŻKN,[61] whose members, interestingly enough, included

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"matins"], issues of 4 and 11 April 1942; ARG I 1309 (Ring. I/684), *Yugnt-Ruf* Yiddish for "call of the young"), issue No. 6 of April 1942; ARG I 1323 (Ring. I/689), *Der Oyfbroyz* (Yiddish for "boiling"), issues of 7, 14, 29 June 1942; ARG I 1330 (Ring. I/703), *Przedwiośnie* [Polish for "early spring"], issues of 17, 24, 31 May, 7 June 1942.

59 Archiwum Akt Nowych [Central Archive of Modern Records] (later: AAN), 202/II/29, pp. 13–19, 26–32.

60 See the report "Drugi etap" [The Second Stage] (document 66); Adam Puławski, *W obliczu Zagłady. Rząd RP na Uchodźstwie, Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj, ZWZ-AK wobec deportacji Żydów do obozów zagłady (1941–1942)* (Lublin, 2009), pp. 282–285.

61 Ruta Sakowska, "Wiadomości" ARG i raporty o Zagładzie. Status Archiwum Ringelbluma w getcie szczątkowym Warszawy, *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* 1 (213) (2005): 32–33.

Cywia Lubetkin, Melech Fajnkind, and Abrasza Blum. Moreover, it is known from the cashbook that Fajnkind cooperated with Oyneg Shabes as early as 1940.[62] It is possible that *Wiadomości* was one example of the commission's activities.

Unlike the bulletins, *Wiadomości* included long editorials, whole testimonies (for instance, the one given by Finkelsztajn from Łuków)[63] and letters (for example, the letters of Jews deported from Płońsk, which they threw out of the wagons' windows),[64] detailed statistical studies regarding the deportation campaign in Warsaw, and descriptions of the atmosphere in the ghetto. Nonetheless, a large portion of the contents continued to consist of information about exterminations in a growing number of towns in the Radom District of the General Government, *Regierungsbezirk Zichenau*, and the *Bezirk Bialystok*, supplemented with detailed descriptions of the functioning of the death camp in Treblinka based on witness testimonies collected by Oyneg Shabes.

Issues 3 and 4 of *Wiadomości* are in the files of the Office of the Delegate of the Government in Exile stored in the Central Archives of Modern Records (*Archiwum Akt Nowych*, AAN).[65] The fact that *Wiadomości* reached the Bureau of Information and Propaganda (*Biuro Informacji i Propagandy*, BIP) of the Home Army (*Armia Krajowa*, AK) finds confirmation in the comparison made by Ruta Sakowska between the contents of the first issue of *Wiadomości* (14–21 November 1942) and the 47th (71st) issue of *Informacja Bieżąca* (17 December 1942). It occurred that four paragraphs from *Wiadomości* had been included after minor editorial changes in the BIP periodical.[66] Moreover, Sakowska claims that the flow of information was a reverse one, that is, that the passages from *Informacja Bieżąca* were reprinted in *Wiadomości*.[67]

Oyneg Shabes ceased to issue *Wiadomości* after the second deportation campaign in the Warsaw ghetto during 18–21 January 1943. It is known that Ringelblum's teams were already slowly ceasing activity at that time and that the second part of the ARG was buried in early February.

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62 See document 6.

63 *Wiadomości* 5; see document 64; cf. ARG II 352 (Ring. II/306), pp. 160–164 (Finkelsztajn's testimony). To be published in *The Ringelblum Archive. Generalgouvernemnet.*

64 *Wiadomości* 4; see document 64; cf. ARG II 357 (Ring. II/238); ARG II 358-364 (Ring. II/274).

65 AAN, 202/II/29, pp. 78–84.

66 R. Sakowska, ""Wiadomości" ARG", pp. 36–38.

67 R. Sakowska, ""Wiadomości" ARG", p. 38.

Oyneg Shabes Reports

Reports are those studies prepared by Oyneg Shabes which included more extensive information about the extermination of Jews. They were also to be transferred to the outside, mostly to inform the Polish authorities, both in Poland and in exile, and the other Allied governments. Written in March 1942, the first such report concerned the functioning of the Chełmno death camp (document 65). In his post-war notes Hersh Wasser called himself the author of that report.[68]

Contained in letters sent by relatives and friends, the news about the Jews deported from small towns in *Wartheland* reached the Warsaw ghetto in January 1942. Using the false name of Jakub Grojnowski, Szlamek Winer, an escapee from the Chełmno death camp, arrived in Warsaw in February of that year. In the ghetto he received help from people connected with Oyneg Shabes, particularly Hersh and Bluma Wasser. The organisation also aided Winer financially. According to entries in the cashbook, he regularly received certain sums of money: on 27 February and on 7, 15, and 17 March. Moreover, next to one of the entries is found the following annotation: "for food for Grojnowski". A certain Pomeranc[69] appears twice (on 7 and 15 March) next to Grojnowski's surname. It seems that that person helped Winer write down his testimony, but it is usually assumed that Wasser was the one who interviewed Szlamek and that the text was written down by Bluma Wasser. Szlamek Winer's shocking testimony about his compulsory labour as a gravedigger in the Chełmno death camp became the basis for an Oyneg Shabes report.[70] On 21 March Winer was staying in Zamość at his sister-in-law Fela Bajler's home. He found himself in a difficult financial situation there and his letters contained many requests for support. The 12 April entry in the ARG cashbook reports that a sum of money was wired to Grojnowski. In one of his letters from Zamość, Winer warned about the beginning of deportations of Jews from small towns in the Lublin region and provided information about the operation of the new death camp in Bełżec.[71] Winer himself soon

68 See Wasser's notes in ARG I 25 (Ring. I/437) and ARG I 26 (Ring. I/665) (document 65).

69 See document 6.

70 Winer's testimony was published by Ruta Sakowska in *Dwa etapy*, pp. 112–133.

71 ARG I 1481 (Ring. I/596).

became a victim of that camp, as he was deported from Zamość and died on 11 or 12 April 1942.

Szlamek Winer's testimony was not Wasser's only source for the report on Chełmno. He probably took some information from a testimony whose authorship he ascribed to Uszer Taube after the war.[72] Originally from Kłodawa, Taube fled in January 1942 with his wife Balcia and daughter Edwarda to Krośniewice, to his relative Róża Kapłan. In mid-February he managed to sneak into the Warsaw ghetto.[73] It seems that the family was closely acquainted with some of the Oyneg Shabes activists, as Róża Kapłan's letter to her husband Szmuel, who was staying in Warsaw, was included in the ARG along with letters of Uszer Taube's brothers written in later months.[74] Taube's testimony, presumably given shortly after his arrival in Warsaw, included detailed information about the imposition of capitation on Jews in small towns in *Wartheland* before deportation, the ordinance regarding physical examination, the execution of Jews from Zagórów in December 1941, and deportations from Koło and Dąbie. The author then provided information about the Chełmno camp taken from testimonies of witnesses: Mechel Podchlebnik, Abram Roj, and Szlamek Winer, whose surnames he enumerates.[75]

The report "Wypadki chełmińskie" (Events in Chełmno) should be dated to mid-March 1942, as it was certainly written after Szlamek's testimony. The text of that report has survived in the ARG in five copies, which differ slightly because Wasser improved the style of the text and gradually added numerical data as he obtained new pieces of information. One copy opens with a letter addressed to a person connected with the Polish underground, containing a request to spread the news about Chełmno. According to Ruta Sakowska, the addressee was Aleksander Kamiński, the chief of the Bureau of Information and Propaganda of the Warsaw District of the Union of Armed Combat-Home Army (*Związek Walki Zbrojnej-Armia Krajowa*, ZWZ-AK) and

72 For more on this topic see Przemysław Nowicki, Tomasz Kuberczyk, "Z Archiwum Ringelbluma: Relacje Uszera Taube i Wołkowicza jako źródła do badań nad zagładą Żydów z powiatów koninskiego i kolskiego", in *Mniejszości narodowe w Wielkopolsce i ich dziedzictwo*, vol. 1, *Żydzi*, ed. Piotr Kwiatkiewicz (Poznań, 2012), pp. 37–56.

73 Ibid. pp. 32, 47–48.

74 Ibid. pp. 32–53, 232–257.

75 ARG I 1057 (Ring. I/394).

editor of *Biuletyn Informacyjny*.[76] It is possible that Kamiński acted as an agent in the transfer of the report, while it is certain that it reached other AK representatives: Henryk Woliński "Wacław" (the chief of the subsection for Jewish affairs in the ethnic section of the Information Department of the High Command of the AK) and Antoni Szymanowski "Brzeski" (employee of the Information Department responsible for writing reports on the situation in Poland for internal use of the AK command and the Office of the Delegate of the Government-in-Exile).[77]

A fragment of Woliński's "Meldunek nr 4" (Report No. 4) sent on 23 March 1942 says the following:

> Jews from Koło and Dąbie and some of those sentenced to deportation by the Jewish Council in Łódź – a total of ten thousand people – were deported to Chełmno, according to the testimony of a participant who arrived in Warsaw. The deportation was generally conducted peacefully. The strongest men were selected in Chełmno, with the reporter among them in a group of ten men. The director of the group, a German, whipped the men at first. Every day those men would be taken out of town by lorry to dig pits. When the pits were ready, locked lorries pulled up and the Jews squeezed inside were then poisoned with gas. After a quarter of an hour the gassed people's screams ceased and the corpses were thrown out and searched. Rectums were searched and so were women's vaginas, in an attempt to find valuables people sometimes hid there. The victims were then buried. Once when the car escorting the group of Jewish labourers/gravediggers broke down and stopped, the gravediggers escaped, with the reporter among them. Several purportedly reached Warsaw.[78]

The report suggests that Woliński had already known more than was said in Wasser's report. First and foremost, he disclosed information about Szlamek, but without providing his personal data.[79] Adam Puławski suggests

76 *Dwa etapy*, p. 133.

77 A. Puławski, *W obliczu Zagłady*, pp. 25, 27.

78 AAN, 202/II/29, p. 12.

79 As stated above, Oyneg Shabes co-workers supposedly did not know Szlamek's real surname. His testimony was signed only with his pseudonym Jakub Grojnowski.

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that Woliński received not only the report, but also Szlamek's testimony.[80] Both these documents must have been known to the author of the extensive BIP report "Masowe egzekucje Żydów w pow. Kolskim" (Mass Executions of Jews in the Koło District), Antoni Szymanowski,[81] for the report contains elements of both Oyneg Shabes reports not only on the informative level, but also stylistically. However, it is obvious that the author used other Polish sources as well.[82] Szymanowski's report is dated 25 March 1942, which suggests a very fast exchange of materials between Ringelblum's group and the Polish underground. But it is not known why Szymanowski's report was sent to the Polish government in London as late as on 23 June 1942, together with the information about the beginning of the deportation of Jews from the Lublin ghetto.[83]

The ARG also included a report titled "Die Vorfälle in Kulmhof" (Events in Chełmno), written in German. It is based on Winer's testimony and is structurally similar to "Wypadki chełmińskie". The dates included in the report suggest that it was produced more or less at the same time as the report in Polish. It is unknown, however, why it was written and what its future fate was. This text is not published in this volume.[84]

Another report titled "Drugi etap" (The Second Stage) (document 66) was written in Oyneg Shabes in April 1942, while the deportation of Lublin Jews was still in progress. It warned that the Germans had begun total direct extermination of Jews in the occupied territories. The report featured a general description of anti-Jewish legislation at the beginning of the war, the 1941 massacres in the east (Wilno, Słonim, Hancewicze, and Równe), the deportations "in an unknown direction" from the small towns of *Wartheland* and the deportation from Lublin. The earlier report "Wypadki chełmińskie" was also attached to that report. Local news was basically the same as that which appeared in the Oyneg Shabes press bulletin of 12 April 1942. This is also more

80 A. Puławski, *W obliczu Zagłady*, p. 147.

81 Published in Maria Tyszkowa, "Eksterminacja Żydów w latach 1941–1943 (Dokumenty Biura Informacji i Propagandy Komendy Głównej Armii Krajowej ze zbiorów oddziału rękopisów Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego", *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 2–3 (162–163) (1992): 52–54. The same document is in the files of the Office of the Delegate of the Government in Exile, see AAN, 202/II/29, pp. 79–81.

82 Puławski, *W obliczu Zagłady*, pp. 148–150.

83 Ibid., p. 153.

84 ARG I 1117 (Ring. I/413).

or less how that report should be dated, as it contains a sentence about "the events in Lublin, which are still in progress at the time of writing this report",[85] while the deportation campaign in the Lublin ghetto ended on 14 April. The report was probably written by Eliyahu Gutkowski, which may be inferred on the basis of comparison with the bulletin of 12 April, which is Gutkowski's manuscript. Hersh Wasser made handwritten corrections while bringing the data up to date; for example, on one of the copies he crossed out a sentence about the "Lublin events" being still in progress. Certainly compiled outside the framework of Oyneg Shabes, a copy of the "Drugi etap" report, including the attachment "Wypadki chełmińskie", is stored in London in the archive of the Polish Underground Movement Study Trust. Hence, the document must have been transferred to the "Aryan" side and sent to Polish authorities, but it remains unknown when that despatch reached London.[86]

Both "Drugi etap" and "Wypadki chełmińskie" are components of another Oyneg Shabes report titled "Gehenna Żydów polskich pod okupacją niemiecką" (The Gehenna of Polish Jews during the German Occupation) (document 67). It is a long description of German anti-Jewish policy at the beginning of the war, illustrated with many examples taken from the material collected by Oyneg Shabes, that is, with facts gathered from testimonies of refugees and displaced persons, with statistics of, for instance, the mortality rate in the Warsaw ghetto and with German ordinances. The section on the period of direct extermination features tables showing the numbers of victims of executions and deportations in individual towns until June 1942. The report contains information about the death camp in Bełżec but does not mention the one in Sobibór. The author then quotes verbatim the descriptions of the events in Wilno, Słonim, Krośniewice, Żychlin, Hancewicze, Równe, and Lublin after "Drugi etap", incorporates the full report "Wypadki chełmińskie" into the text, and adds information about the extermination of the Jewish population of Kutno, Rohatyn, and Lviv. The number of Jews who died in the death camp in Chełmno and the total number of its victims were estimated at 48,800 and nearly a million respectively.

"Gehenna Żydów polskich" was typewritten in several carbon copies, four of which have survived. Three were buried with the first part of Ringelblum's

85 See document 66.

86 We wish to thank Dr. Adam Puławski for this information.

archive; of those, two are stored in the ARG, while the third finally reached YIVO in New York after the war.[87] Oyneg Shabes handed the fourth copy to the Polish underground authorities in the summer (early July?) of 1942 and it is stored in the files of the Office of the Delegate of the Government in Exile.[88] It differs from the other three as it contains handwritten annotations and amendments made by Hersh Wasser at the last moment before the document was sent. He corrected minor grammatical and stylistic mistakes and supplemented certain information and numerical data, for instance, those regarding Łęczyca, Zamość, Uchanie, Bełz, Hrubieszów, Tarnów, and Ozorków. The fact that detailed information about the deportation campaigns from Uchanie and Bełz appeared in Oyneg Shabes as late as 2 and 3 July suggests that the report might have been sent to the "Aryan" side in July 1942. Ruta Sakowska agreed with Hersh Wasser that it was also when "Gehenna Żydów polskich" was sent to London, but no confirmation of this information in the local archives exists.[89]

The last Oyneg Shabes report that survived in the ARG collection is titled "Likwidacja żydowskiej Warszawy" (Liquidation of Jewish Warsaw). It discusses the course of the great deportation campaign from the Warsaw ghetto during 22 July–21 September 1942 and the functioning of the death camp in Treblinka (document 68). Dated 15 November 1942, aside from extensive narration, the document contains many transcripts of official documents and tables presenting numerical data regarding the numbers of the deported and deceased during that campaign. An outline of this study has survived in the ARG along with many notes.[90]

The report concludes with an appeal made by "the surviving Polish Jews" to the Polish and Allied governments to send an international commission to Treblinka and undertake retaliatory steps against the perpetrators of the tragedy of Polish Jews and German citizens living in the Allied countries' territory. This suggests that the authors of the report were representatives of the-then uniting political forces of the ghetto, although the aforementioned

87 HWC, 2/1.

88 AAN, 202/II/30, pp. 1–38.

89 Puławski, *W obliczu Zagłady*, p. 451; *Dwa etapy*, p. 159.

90 For instance, the notes on writers and musicians murdered during the campaign (see ARG II 306 [Ring. II/ 211]), statistics of the ghetto population after 22 July (see ARG II 307 [Ring. II/195]) and announcements about the deportation (see II 52 [Ring. II/186]).

ŻKN archival commission had not yet been established. The November report reached London in January 1943, that is, with a considerable delay, when the Polish government was already well-informed about the course of the liquidation campaign in the Warsaw ghetto, for instance, through materials brought by Jan Karski.[91]

Two complete copies of the report have survived in the ARG, along with two additional sheets in several copies. The latter contains pages 13 and 20, which were rewritten by Oyneg Shabes. They both report the operation of the Jewish Order Service during the campaign, but one of them seems to mollify the evaluation of that activity. For example, a passage from page 20 of version (b), that is, the original one, reads:

> Unrestrained by anybody or anything, the most basic instincts have exploded with spontaneous force. The Jewish Order Service and the Emergency Service are cruel, they treat the captured victims brutally regardless of sex or age, they discover hideouts and extort high ransoms and overtly loot the abandoned Jewish property. Rare exceptions, such as constable Kapłański who rescued 70 people from the *Umschlagplatz* and was shot by an SS-man, only confirm the above description. The sight of constables holding hatchets and rushing to loot post-Jewish flats was nothing unusual.

The fragment in version (a) is entirely different:

> The constant machinations with the German and blue police plus the joint robbing of the Jewish masses gave rise to such a situation that the masses separated themselves completely from the ghetto police, as if from total strangers. Only the functionaries of the Order Service who came to their senses during the *Aktion* and refused further participation in the dirty dog-catching work often acted heroically, disinterestedly and sacrificially while saving dozens of women and men from the *Umschlagplatz*. Their sacrifice was all the greater as it often ended in death from a German

91 Dariusz Libionka, "ZWZ-AK i Delegatura Rządu RP wobec eksterminacji Żydów polskich", in *Polacy i Żydzi pod okupacją niemiecką 1939-1945. Studia i materiały*, ed. Andrzej Żbikowski (Warsaw, 2006), p. 49.

bullet (e.g. Constable Kapłański and others). The rest continued to do their "duties" but in the auxiliary capacity.

It seems that version (a), which was chosen as the basis for publication, was the final version intended for the Polish underground government and the government in exile; this would explain the change of the tone of the passage on Jewish collaborators.

Finally, it is necessary to discuss the earlier editions of the Oyneg Shabes reports. "Wypadki chełmińskie" and "Gehenna Żydów polskich pod okupacją niemiecką" were both published with Ruta Sakowska's editing in *Dwa etapy*.[92]

The main problem connected with the publication of "Wypadki chełmińskie" is to understand the appropriate basis for it. Five different versions of the document survived in the ARG, not to mention the text incorporated into "Gehenna Żydów polskich". Each version was produced at a different time, as is seen on page 4 of the original, where the author presents an estimated chronology of the extermination and estimates the number of victims of the death camp in Chełmno. In the earlier versions, including the one sent to the BIP, the aforementioned passage ended on 16 January 1942, indicating all that Hersh Wasser knew in March 1942, when he sent the report. Ruta Sakowska selected the version that was included in "Gehenna Żydów polskich" in June 1942 as the basis for her publication. The information in that version was updated by Hersh Wasser to as late as April 1942, thus explaining why Sakowska mistakenly dated the "Wypadki chełmińskie" report as April.[93] It is certain, however, that Henryk Woliński had that report in his hands as early as on 23 March. Consequently, it must have been written before that date. Nonetheless, in her later publications Sakowska gave the correct date.[94] In the edited document's footer the author of *Dwa Etapy* provided the catalogue number Ring. I/473 (now ARG I 25). Unfortunately, neither the introduction, which contains a letter to a person of Polish origin with a request to spread the news, nor the text of the document itself can be found under that catalogue number: the introduction's

92 *Dwa etapy*, pp. 133–136, 140–160.

93 *Dwa etapy*, p. 133.

94 Ruta Sakowska, "Jak to było w rzeczywistości (na podstawie Archiwum Ringelbluma)", *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 2 (194) (2000): 249.

correct file number is ARG I 26 (Ring. I/665), while the text comes from "Gehenna Żydów polskich" – ARG I 45 (Ring. I/144). Finally, Sakowska also failed to mark the differences between the various versions of the report.

The issue of selection of the basis for editing also arises with regard to the "Gehenna Żydów polskich" report. Ruta Sakowska was unfamiliar with the copy stored in the AAN, which contains many amendments and supplements the data regarding the Holocaust in several localities and which should undoubtedly be treated as the final version of the report intended for the Polish underground authorities.[95] In Sakowska's edition, both documents contain alterations to the original text (most likely due to censorship) as well stylistic changes.

In 2000 Sakowska also published the "Drugi etap" report as an appendix to her article about the Oyneg Shabes reports.[96] The author once again faced the problem of having to choose a copy to be the basis for her publication. As stated, the ARG holds three copies of that report, which was produced in April 1942, including a copy updated by Hersh Wasser in June of that year. In the passages about the events in Vilna, *Wartheland,* and Lublin, Sakowska provided the numerical data from the copy amended by Wasser, while retaining the sentences which he had crossed out.

The report "Likwidacja żydowskiej Warszawy" [*Liquidation of Jewish Warsaw] was published for the first time in Biuletyn ŻIH* in 1951, *almost immediately after the discovery of the second part of the ARG.* It was prepared for printing by Tatiana Brustin-Berenstein, who failed to equip it with appropriate support material.[97] Full editing of the report was carried out by Ruta Sakowska in 1980.[98] The poor legibility of the typescript posed a major problem during the editing process, particularly when it came to deciphering figures in statistical tables or identifying proper names.

Furthermore, neither Tatiana Berenstein nor Ruta Sakowska took into account the fact that pages 13 and 20 have two different versions. In this volume both are published.

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95 AAN, 202/II/30, pp. 1–38.

96 Sakowska, "Jak to było w rzeczywistości", pp. 253–256.

97 *Likwidacja żydowskiej Warszawy*, ed. Tatiana Brustin-Berenstein, *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego* 1 (1951): 59–126.

98 Ruta Sakowska, *Archiwum Rigelbluma.Getto Warszawskie, lipiec 1942-styczeń 1943* (Warsaw, 1980), pp. 275–320.

A weakness of past publications is that their editors failed to compare all the available copies, including those stored outside the ARG, that is, in the HWC and in the Office of the Delegate of the Government in Exile archival fund in the AAN. Such an analysis facilitates understanding of the course of the works on the Oyneg Shabes reports. The fact that most letters and testimonies, which served as sources to the authors of the reports, are available in an edited version and in a Polish translation also allows for many more opportunities to investigate the informational activity of Oyneg Shabes.

Editorial note

The present publication is based on the Polish edition of selected documents from the Oyneg Shabes Archive, included in Archiwum Ringelbluma. Konspiracyjne Archiwum Getta Warszawy. Ludzie i Prace „Oneg Szabat," published in 2013.

The volume begins with short biographical information on people appearing in the volume. Documents contained in this volume are presented in their entirety. Each document is preceded by a headline containing basic information about the given text: the date and place of its production, the name and surname of its author, its title, a description of its character and a brief summary of its contents.

All originally underlined, spaced or otherwise highlighted fragments of documents have been retained. Because of the character of the materials published here it was decided to introduce certain modifications, such as tabular structure, in those places where the specificity of description permitted that; for instance, in the case of the cashbook or the lists of the ARG archival materials (documents 6 and 8).

Missing fragments of texts, due to physical or biological destruction, are marked [. . .]. Passages crossed out from documents are marked with [x]. For orientation, the original pagination is provided in square brackets. Documents are concluded with technical descriptions.

Transcriptions and translations are based on the original ARG files stored in the AŻIH, with the exception of the Oyneg Shabes bulletins of 12 April 1942. During the editing, copies stored in the AAN were used, because they were in very good condition as opposed to the severely damaged documents that

survived in the ARG. An AAN copy was used as the basis for publication also in the case of the "*Gehenna of Polish Jews under the German Occupation*" report (document 67). Many documents from this volume have survived in more than one copy, for instance, the outlines and Oyneg Shabes reports. The least damaged copy was selected to serve as the basis for editing but often other versions of the document were used to provide the correct original text. Any differences between the versions, annotations, authors' notes, and so on, are to be found in the footnotes.

Whenever possible the abbreviations of proper names (first names, surnames, geographical names, titles of documents, etc.) appearing in the manuscripts were expanded as this seemed necessary in order to improve the legibility of the edited materials. Any annotations and comments from the publisher were incorporated into the texts in square brackets, as was the original pagination. As for the lists of names, due to the ambiguity of certain deletions the crossed-out ones were retained in the main text instead of being moved to the footnotes, thus making it easier for the reader to know the full contents of a given document.

If an edited ARG document lacked pagination or contained invalid pagination, the page numbers of the scan of the published text were provided, signalling all such instances in the footnotes. Any additional information, comments, references to the sources, or reference books were also included in the footnotes. The footnotes at the beginning of a chapter or a given document give information about any unusual solutions adopted.

Editors of the English edition have updated footnotes and references, introduced a unified system of spelling, and extended the bibliography. The material is now presented according to standards established in recent years during progressing work on the Polish edition. Therefore, this volume is not only a translation, but it also provides the English-language reader with an extended editorial apparatus, taking into consideration current research in the field.

Spelling of geographical names reflect the situation of September 1939. Exception is made for localities that have accepted English names, such as Warsaw and Kaunas. Spelling of individual names is provided in the way most widely used in English-language literature. Whenever it was possible, we followed the English spelling of names used by Samuel Kassow in his book on Oyneg Shabes, *Who Will Write Our History. The administrative* location of

localities is provided according to the occupation-period administrative division, based on the following lists: *Amtliches Gemeinde- und Dorfverzeichnis für das Generalgouvernement*[99] and *Ortsverzeichnis des Reichsgaues Wartheland*.[100]

The specific terminology used in the text, names of institutions, political parties, social organisations, military formations, and terms pertaining to Jewish religion have been included in several glossaries. The bibliography is at the end of the volume. It is accompanied by two indices.

99 *Amtliches Gemeinde und Dorfverzeichnis für das Generalgouvernement auf Grund der Summarischen Bevölkerungsbestandsaufnahme am 1. März 1943* (Kraków, 1943).

100 *Ortsverzeichnis des Reichsgaues Wartheland. Stand vom 1. Oktober 1941* (Poznań, 1941).

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Biographical notes

AJZENSZTAT (Ajzensztadt) Dawid (1890–1942) – composer, conductor, pedagogue, co-author of a Jewish musical encyclopedia (Warsaw, 1936), founder of the choir of the Great Synagogue in Tłomackie Street, performed at the Warsaw Philharmonic and Polish Radio; artistically active in the Warsaw ghetto, killed at the *Umschlagplatz* during the summer 1942 *Aktion*.

AJZENSZTAT (Ajzensztadt) Marysia (Maria, Miriam) (1922–1942) – pianist, singer, known as the "nightingale of the ghetto", often performed at social and charity events in the ghetto; daughter of Dawid Ajzensztat; killed at the *Umschlagplatz* during the summer 1942 *Aktion*.

AUERBACH Rachel (1899–1976) – writer, journalist associated with the *Chwila* periodical, translator from Yiddish into Polish. In the ghetto she ran the soup kitchen at Leszno Street 40, in the Ringelblum Archive she deposited her diary along with many studies; she recorded the testimony of Abram Krzepicki who escaped from Treblinka. Auerbach left the ghetto in March 1943 and survived in hiding in the Warsaw Zoological Garden. After the war she worked in the Central Jewish Historical Commission (*Centralna Żydowska Komisja Historyczna*, CŻKH). In 1950 she emigrated to Israel, where she worked at Yad Vashem in Jerusalem.

AUERSWALD, Heinz (1908–1970) – Lawyer, German commissioner of the Jewish district in Warsaw.

BEKKER, Henryk (1886–1942) – civil engineer, before the war he was active in ORT and TOZ, leader of the Jewish People's Party (*Folkspartay*), Lublin councillor 1927–1934, chairman of the Jewish Community 1936–1939; during the war, chairman of the Judenrat, murdered in Bełżec death camp.

BERENSON, Leon (1882–1941) – lawyer, diplomat, famous defence counsel in political trials, member of the pre-war Warsaw City Council, counsellor of a Polish embassy in the USA, in the Warsaw ghetto collaborated with the Judenrat and the ŻSS, maintained contact with Emanuel Ringelblum, author of a diary which partly survived.

BERLINER, David – pre-war member of the Warsaw board of the Small Merchants Association (*Stowarzyszenie Drobnych Kupców*), author of a study on economic life and entrepreneurship in the Warsaw ghetto.

BORENSZTEJN (Bernsztein, Bornsztajn, Borensztajn), Yitzhak (1900–1942) – pre-war journalist, literary critic, author of essays and poems.

BLOCH. Lipe Leyzer (Eliezer) (1889–1944) – Zionist activist, director of the Jewish National Fund (Keren Kayemeth Leisrael, KKL), Tarbut and Tkuma collaborator. In the Warsaw ghetto he worked for ŻSS. Member of Oyneg Shabes, designated co-editor of the "Two and a half years of war" in its part regarding welfare; he was associated with the Dror movement, collected funds for the ŻOB; deported to Budzyń labour camp during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, died in Mauthausen concentration camp.

BŁASZKA (Blaszka), Abram (1918–1943?) – teacher of Judaism in the Tarbut school in Nowy Dwór (north of Warsaw); author of a testimony about the concentration camp in Pomiechówek.

BORNSTEIN, Izaak (1884 or 1899–1943) – statistician and economist, a secretary of the AJDC branch in Poland from 1921, one of the directors of JDC in Warsaw and Krakow during the war, perished in Będzin ghetto.

BRAUDE, Shie (Yehoshua) (1897?–1942) – native of Łódź, teacher of classical languages in Vilna, committed Yiddishist, translator of Plato into Yiddish. He

organised soup kitchens in the Warsaw ghetto and worked for ŻSS. He suffered from tuberculosis and committed suicide during the summer 1942 *Aktion*.

BRANDT, Karl – a Gestapo functionary in Warsaw, one of the key men leading the summer 1942 *Aktion* in the Warsaw ghetto.

BRAUN, Mieczysław (1902–1942) – lawyer and poet, Esperantist, published in *Nasz Przegląd* and *Nasza Opinia*, published a few volumes of poems in Polish during the interwar period, in the ghetto he was a post office employee, died of typhus.

BRAZ, Chana (1895–1942) – actress, before WWII performed in Vilna. In the Warsaw ghetto she worked in the ŻSS and performed at events organised by the ŻSS, Jewish Cultural Organisation (YIKOR) and CENTOS.

BRESLAV, Samuel (Shmuel) (1920–1942) – pre-war member of Hashomer Hatzair. In the Warsaw ghetto he cooperated with Oyneg Shabes, recorded the news broadcasted by the clandestine press; member of the ŻOB, shot on a street in the ghetto in September 1942.

BRYN (Brian, Brin), Maks (?–1942) – pre-war film and theatre actor, he also performed in the Warsaw ghetto.

BUNIN, Icchak Chaim (1875–1942) – writer and pedagogue, travelling teacher, *Chabad* Chasidic movement scholar, between 1916-1939 school teacher in Łódź, publicist of Hebrew and Yiddish press. In the beginning of the war, he fled to Warsaw. He was murdered at Treblinka death camp.

CHILINOWICZ, Bentsyon (1889–1942) – before WWII journalist at the Warsaw periodical *Moment* (1918–1939); during the war he worked in the JDC office and ran a soup kitchen for journalists.

CHITOWSKI – rabbi, he gave testimony to Oyneg Shabes about his stay in a labour camp in the Kampinos Forest.

CHOLEWA – activist and worker of ŻSS, organizer of soup kitchen at Leszno Street 22, chairman of the care section at the refugee centre on Pawia Street 43.

CHOLODENKO, David (1885-1943) – Bund activist; in the Warsaw ghetto he belonged to the Commission for the Resettled; he cooperated with Oyneg Shabes. After the summer 1942 *Aktion* he worked in the brushmakers' shop. Killed during the January 1943 *Aktion*.

CRAMER, Hans (1904-1945)– Member of the SA, pre-war mayor of Dachau, during the war Commissioner of Włocławek and later Kaunas, where he organized deportations of Jews.

CYNA, Hersh (1911–1942) – painter, studied at the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw, his paintings were exhibited in Warsaw and Kazimierz Dolny. In the Warsaw ghetto he worked at Władysław Weintraub's workshop.

CZERNIAKOW, Adam (1880–1942) – pre-war social and political activist, member of the Warsaw City Council, co-founder of the Central Union of Jewish Craftsmen, senator in the Polish parliament, board member of the Warsaw Jewish Community. During WWII he was chairman of the Warsaw Judenrat; he committed suicide on the second day of the summer 1942 *Aktion*.

CZUDNER, Majer (1885–1942) – poet, pedagogue, teacher, Hebrew press editor, associated with the Dror youth organisation, murdered at Treblinka death camp.

DANIELEWICZ, Hershele (1882–1941) – poet, textile worker by profession, Jewish folklore enthusiast, member of the Union of Jewish Writers and Journalists. He published in *Lodzer Togblat*, *Der Moment*, *Haynt*, *Literarishe bleter*, published a collection of folkloristic materials *U nas, Żydów* [Among us, Jews]. In the Warsaw ghetto he collaborated with the underground press of Dror, died of hunger.

DEGENHARDT, Paul – *Schutzpolizei* commander in Częstochowa.

DIETZ, Hugo (?-1943) – director of the *Arbeitsamt* in Otwock, infamous for his cruelty towards Jews. Executed by soldiers of the Home Army (AK).

DOBRYN (Dobrin), Berthold (1889-1943?) – lawyer, pre-war member of the Jewish community in Bydgoszcz. In Warsaw from November 1939, chairman of the Central Commission for Refugees. He perished in Poniatowa camp.

DOLP, Hermann (1889-?) – member of NSDAP and SS. Responsible for organisation of the system of forced labour camps around Bełżec; commander of the forced labour camp for Jews in Lublin at Lipowa Street. Known for extreme cruelty.

ECK Natan (1886-1981) – studied law in Vienna. Until 1939 he lived in Łódź, then he escaped to Warsaw. He was a headmaster of a clandestine lower secondary school of the *Tarbut* at Nowolipki 68 and a Bible teacher; *Tkuma* organisation activist and ŻSS employee. He collaborated with Gordonia and published in the movement's underground press. In 1943 he reported to Hotel Polski, was deported to Vittel camp and then to Auschwitz, but he managed to escape from the transport and reach Paris, where he hid until liberation. He lived in Israel from 1948.

EHRLICH Józef (Yossele Kapote) – Jewish Order Service member and Gestapo collaborator in the Warsaw Ghetto.

EINHORN, Aaron (1884–1942) – pre-war journalist, worked on the *Haynt* daily. During the German occupation he collaborated with the ŻSS; probably died in the Otwock ghetto.

EKERMAN, Ajzyk Ber (1891–1943) – one of the pre-war leaders of Agudat Israel, collaborator of its periodical *Dos Yudishe Togblat*. During the war he was a member of the Judenrat in Warsaw, employee of the Department of Cemeteries *(Wydział Cmentarny)* of the Judenrat from 1939. He was murdered during the *Aktion* in January 1943.

FAJNKIND, Melech (1898–1943) – pre-war member of the Supreme Council of Left Poalei Tsiyon; in the ghetto he was a ŻSS activist and Oyneg Shabes

contributor, member of the ŻKN and ŻOB, in 1943 leader of the combat organisation in the camp in Poniatowa.

FELD (Feldwurm), Yehuda (1906–1943) – writer, journalist, communist, editor of the underground press, administrative manager of TOZ and Oyneg Shabes contributor. Member of ŻOB, took part in the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, perished in the bunker at Miła 18.

FIRST, Israel – director of the Judenrat's Economic Affairs Department, intermediary between the Judenrat and the Gestapo, assassinated by ŻOB.

FLIGELMAN, Daniel (1920–1942) – student from Aleksandrów Kujawski; a leading Oyneg Shabes contributor. He wrote, recorded, and probably also copied testimonies. His works are recognisable for their exquisite style, use of foreign languages and references to *belles-lettres*; they are not only valuable historical sources, but also have literary value.

FORBERT, Leon (1880–1938) – photographer and film producer, before and during WWI he ran a popular photography studio at Nowy Świat Street 39 (1909–1920); the Foto-Forbert studio continued to operate in the Warsaw ghetto and some photographs developed by Oyneg Shabes members survived in the Archive.

FRYDMAN (Friedman), Feliks (1897–1942) – painter, graphic artist, art critic, member of the Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts (*Towarzystwo Zachęty Sztuk Pięknych*) in Warsaw, chairman of the Association of Jewish Artists in Poland (*Zrzeszenie Żydowskich Artystów Plastyków w Polsce*). In the Warsaw ghetto, he worked in the Culture Council of the Judenrat.

FRYDMAN, Zisha Aleksander (1899-1943) – religious activist, secretary of Agudat Israel, journalist and educator. In the ghetto he worked on the board of the Judenrat, member of the representation of political parties at the ŻSS. After the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising he was sent to one of the camps in the Lublin area where he perished.

FRYDRYCH, Zalman (Zygmunt) (1911–1943) – Bund member; participant of the September 1939 campaign. He submitted a testimony to the Ghetto Archive about the Supply Section. A member of ŻOB, he helped the first group of fighters to escape from the ghetto through the sewers on 29 April 1943; he was murdered a few days later by the German military police in the vicinity of Warsaw.

FÜRSTENBERG (Firstenberg), Jerzy – Jewish Order Service functionary, infamous for his cruelty during the summer 1942 *Aktion*, executed by order of ŻOB.

GAWZE, Aron (?–1942) – journalist, co-founder of the *Haynt* daily; he did community work in the ghetto, set up a soup kitchen for journalists and writers together with Bentsyon Chilinowicz; committed suicide at the *Umschlagplatz*.

GEPNER, Abraham (1872–1943) – merchant and metal factory owner, social and economic activist, chairman of the Centre of the Union of Merchants in Poland, member of the Warsaw City Council. In the Warsaw ghetto, he was head of the Supply Section of the Judenrat, he collaborated with Jewish self-help organizations. He perished during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

GILBERT Shloyme (1885–1942) – poet, short-story writer, playwright, murdered at Treblinka death camp in August 1942.

GITERMAN Yitzhak (1889–1943) – social activist already during WWI, he co-organised the Jewish Committee to Aid War Victims (EKO-PO) in Russia; in 1926 he became the director of the Polish section of the AJDC, cooperated with YIVO. During WWII he used the Joint's funds to organise aid for the Jewish population until the end of 1941; he also financially aided Oyneg Shabes, and later ŻOB. He was killed on 18 January 1943.

GOLDFARB Mordka (1895–1942) – pre-war inspector of the Association of Jewish Cooperatives in Poland. In 1940 he was AJDC's inspector for Lublin District. In the Warsaw ghetto he was the inspector of the Control Section of the ŻSS.

GOLDIN Leyb (1906–1942) – pre-war journalist, translator of European literature into Yiddish; in his youth a communist, from 1936 member of the Bund; in the Warsaw ghetto he wrote for the Bundist underground press; he submitted to the Archive his autobiographical story on the effects of hunger over the course of a single day. Murdered at Treblinka death camp.

GORNY Yekhiel (Khil) (1908–1943) – pre-war member of the Left Poalei Tsiyon. As a member of Oyneg Shabes he copied documents and transcribed the reports of Polish Jewish soldiers, people who had been "resettled", and inmates of labour camps for Jews. He left his diary in the Archive; he perished during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

GRAJER Shmaye (Shama) (dates unknown) – Gestapo informer in the Lublin ghetto, took part in selections during the summer 1942 *Aktion*.

GROJNOWSKI Jakub – see **Winer** Shloyme Ber (Szlamek).

GUTKOWSKI Eliyahu (1900–1943) – born in the Suwałki region, moved to Łódź in 1914, worked as a teacher, graduated in 1938 from the Polish Free University (*Wolna Wszechnica Polska*) in Warsaw; politically associated with Right Poalei Tsiyon. In autumn 1939 he fled with his wife Luba and son Gabriel to Warsaw. He became one of the key members of Oyneg Shabes, did cataloging work, edited bulletins, prepared outlines of documentation works, recorded testimonies, and copied documents. He also wrote his own texts on the economic life of the ghetto.

GUZIK Daniel (Dawid) (1890–1946) – before and during WWII financial director of the AJDC branch in Warsaw; during the occupation he cooperated with Yitzkhak Giterman in provision of aid to the Jewish population; using funds from the Joint, he also helped Ringelblum's group in the ghetto, and then escapees from the ghetto. He perished in an aviation accident in Prague.

HALBERSZTAT Shloyme (1893–1942) – member of the board of the Lublin Jewish Community and its chairman from 1934; chairman of the Lublin branch of Poale *Agudat Israel*, secretary of the Lublin yeshiva; during the war secretary of the Judenrat.

HIRSZHORN Samuel (Shmuel) (1876–1942) – writer, translator, essayist, historian writing in Yiddish and Polish; politically associated with Folkists; member of the Polish Parliament in 1919, co-editor of *Nasz Przegląd* in 1923–1939; he wrote a diary in the ghetto, which was lost.

HIRSZFELD Ludwik (1884–1954) – bacteriologist, serologist, immunologist, co-founder of the theory of blood types, lecturer at Warsaw University. In the Warsaw ghetto he was the chairman of the Health Council (*Rada Zdrowia*) of the Judenrat, director of the anti-typhus campaign, and lecturer on clandestine courses for medical students; from July 1942 in hiding outside the ghetto; after the war co-founder of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Wrocław, a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

HÖFLE Hermann (1911–1962) – one of the leading figures of *Operation Reinhard* staff in Lublin, commander-in-chief of the 1942 *Aktion* in the Warsaw ghetto.

HORONCZYK Szymon (1899–1939) – poet, short-story writer, novelist, committed suicide while fleeing from besieged Warsaw.

HUBERBAND Shimon (1909–1942) – Hasidic rabbi from Piotrków Trybunalski and self-taught historian; researcher of Hebrew sources; pre-war associate of YIVO. He lost his family in September 1939, moved to Warsaw in 1940 and began to work in the ŻSS; one of the first and most important members of Oyneg Shabes from mid-1940; he submitted many of his own studies, his diary, and other texts to the Archive. During the summer 1942 *Aktion* he was employed at the brushmakers' shop. He was taken to Umschlagplatz on 18 August 1942, and murdered at Treblinka death camp.

JARECKA Gustawa (1908–1943) – novelist and short-story writer; she came from Kalisz, graduated in Polish studies at Warsaw University; in the ghetto she worked in the Judenrat's office, supplied typewritten copies of documents for the Archive. Her account of the summer 1942 *Aktion* is one of the most important documents in the Archive.

JASZUŃSKI Józef (1881–1943) – social activist, Warsaw ORT chairman, YIVO board member, publicist and editor of many periodicals, in the Warsaw ghetto a member of the Judenrat and deputy chairman of the ŻSS presidium, supported the activity of Oyneg Shabes, murdered at Treblinka death camp.

KAC (Edelist) (dates unknown) – medical student from Łódź.

KAHAN Eliahu (1886?–1942) – merchant, co-founder and chairman of the House Committee at Nalewki 23, activist in the field of founding and leading house committees and care committees in the ghetto; murdered in the ghetto on 17 April 1942.

KACYZNE Alter (1885–1941) – writer, publicist, translator, photographer, screenwriter, *Mój Film Mówiony* periodical editor, ran a photo shop. Left for Lvov in 1939, director of a Jewish theatre, murdered during forced labour.

KALKSZTAJN (dates unknown) – businessman, activist of House Committee at Sienna 20, member of the Department of Soup Kitchens (*Wydział Kuchen Ludowych*) of the ŻSS.

KAMPELMACHER Bernard (Berish) (1889–1941) – born in Galicia, an officer of the Austrian Army in WWI, then moved with his family to Sochaczew; he worked as a teacher in a state elementary school, in 1928 he became the headmaster of a school in Grodzisk Mazowiecki. In the Warsaw ghetto he became a chronicler of this town and compiled a collection of texts devoted to the history of its Jewish community during the interwar period and during WWII; he died of typhus in the ghetto.

KAPLAN Chaim Aron (1880–1942 or 1943) – teacher, publicist, founder of a Hebrew elementary school in Warsaw, author of Hebrew school textbooks and works on pedagogy, murdered at Treblinka death camp. Kapłan's diary survived outside the ghetto.

KAPLAN Joseph (Józef) (1913–1942) – one of the leading members of Hashomer Hatzair, editor of the underground press in the Warsaw ghetto, member of the

Anti-fascist Block; he worked for ŻSS and was one of the founders of ŻOB. He was captured on 3 September 1942 and murdered in Pawiak prison.

KAPŁAN Shmuel (1907–1942) – Hehalutz activist.

KAPŁAŃSKI (dates unknown) – Member of the Jewish Order Service who cooperated with the underground, saved people from the Umschlagplatz during 1942 summer *Aktion*.

KATZENELSON Yitzkhak (1886–1944) – poet, playwright writing in Yiddish and Hebrew, founder of the Hebrew middle school in Łódź; in the Warsaw ghetto worked as a teacher and lecturer on Dror clandestine courses; murdered at Auschwitz-Birkenau. Many of his works have survived in the Oyneg Shabes Archive; author of the "Song of the Murdered Jewish People," written in Vittel camp.

KIPNIS Menakhem (1878–1942) – singer, writer, Jewish folklore and photography enthusiast, member of the choir of the Great Theatre in Warsaw, published collections of Jewish folk songs, columnist of the *Haynt* daily; in the ghetto a member of the "Shir" [song] choir care section; died in May 1942.

KIRMAN Joseph (1896–1943) – Yiddish poet, labourer; in the ghetto collaborated with the underground press, YIKOR activist; died in the forced labour camp in Poniatowa.

KIRSHENBAUM Menakhem (? – 1943) – Zionist activist, member of the representation of political parties at the ŻSS, AJDC employee, also active in the *Tkuma* organisation, representative of General Zionists at the ŻKN, victim of the Hotel Polski affair; he perished in Pawiak prison.

KIRSZENFELD Bluma – see **Wasser** Bluma

KLEJNMAN Cwi (dates unknown) – native of Serock (northern Masovia), a member of Oyneg Shabes, author of testimonies on the expulsion of the Jews of several Masovian towns; active in organising help, including a soup kitchen for those who were expelled.

KON Menakhem Mendel (1881–1943) – wealthy merchant from Ostrołęka; Zionist; in the ghetto he served as a social worker and was in charge of finances for Oyneg Shabes. He cared for many of the members of Oyneg Shabes and their families when they became ill. After the *Action* of 1942 he was an activist of ŻKN and supporter of ŻOB. He died during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

KONINSKI Aron (?–1942) – pedagogue, member of Right Poalei Tsiyon, prewar director of the Emigrants' Home in Warsaw on behalf of HIAS (Mylna Street 18). In the Warsaw ghetto he organised a boarding house for children in the same building. He was murdered at Treblinka death camp with his co-workers and charges.

KONINSKI Natan (Nusn) (dates unknown) – Oyneg Shabes copyist, author of the study "Face of a Jewish Child" and a long testimony on the expulsion of the Jews from his native Kalisz.

KORCZAK Janusz (pen name of Henryk Goldszmit) (1878 or 1879–1942) – pedagogue and writer, founder and director of the Orhpanage (*Dom Sierot*) at Krochmalna Street 92, author of many books for children and pedagogical works; murdered at Treblinka death camp.

KOTT Kazimierz Andrzej (?–1940) – head of the Fighting Department of an underground sabotage organisation, active from October 1939. In January 1940 the organisation was destroyed, Kott succeeded in escaping, and the Gestapo arrested 225 people, including many Jews.

KOZIEBRODZKA Lea (Lonka) (1917–1943) – before WWII she studied Roman languages and literature at Warsaw University; she was a member of Dror. She acted as a courier for Oyneg Shabes, was arrested in April 1942 as Krystyna Kosowska, and died of typhus in Auschwitz.

KUPCZYKIER Leopold (1891–1943) – activist of the Union of Jewish Craftsmen (*Związek Rzemieślników Żydów*), member of the Judenrat from October 1939; in October 1940 he became the head of the Screening Board (*Komisja Weryfikacyjna*), which supervised the organisation of the Jewish Order Service and the recruitment of its members.

LANDAU Alexander (Leyb) (?–1944) – engineer, owner of a large carpentry workshop in Warsaw. During the war the establishment was confiscated by Germans but he retained the position of director. Consequently, for considerable time a large group of people, including social activists associated with Oyneg Shabes and the ŻSS, found protection there from deportation to Treblinka. Landau provided financial and organisational help to the Archive. He escaped from the ghetto before its destruction, but was eventually arrested, sent to Auschwitz and murdered there.

LAUFER Shmay (1915–1942) – Warsaw University graduate, Right Poalei Tsiyon activist, co-editor of the *Nowe Tory* underground periodical of that party.

ŁAZOWERT (Łazowertówna) Henryka (1910–1942) – poet; in the Warsaw ghetto she worked for the ŻSS and recorded testimonies for Oyneg Shabes, e.g. "Ten Months in Pawiak Prison".

LEHMAN Shmuel (1886–1941) – ethnographer, YIVO collaborator, in the ghetto continued his work on Jewish folklore; his works were lost, died in the ghetto before the *Aktion*.

LEJKIN Jakub (1906–1942) – lawyer; Jewish Order Service functionary, served as its acting commander between May and July 1942, executed on ŻOB's order on 29 October 1942.

LEJPUNER Izaak (1874–1942?) – physician, publicist; in the Warsaw ghetto lecturer on TOZ courses, he also worked in the ambulance of 'The Thirteen'.

LEJZEROWICZ MOJŻESZ (1888-1943?) – Revisionist (New Zionist Organisation), *Der Moment* journalist, contributed to revisionist brochures "Ha-Medina" and "Magen David" published in the ghetto, collaborated with the 'Thirteen'.

LERER Jechiel (1910–1942) – poet, author of *Mój dom* [My Home], a poem which received the Pen Club Award; in the ghetto a clerk in the Judenrat and YIKOR; perished during the summer 1942 *Aktion*.

LEWARTOWSKI-FINKIELSZTAJN Józef (Aron) (1895–1942) – communist politician and social activist; co-founder and leader of the Anti-fascist Bloc in the ghetto; one of the initiators of the Jewish resistance movement. Murdered by the Gestapo.

LEWIN Abraham (1893–1943) – pre-war teacher of Hebrew in the Yehudiyah Girls' Secondary School in Warsaw, author of a book titled *Kantonistn* (Warsaw, 1934); close collaborator of Oyneg Shabes, author of a diary kept between March 1942 and January 1943, one of the most active copyists of the Archive. He was murdered in January 1943.

LEWIN Gershon (1868–1939) – physician, publicist writing in Yiddish, Hebrew, and Polish, ward head in the hospital on Czyste Street, TOZ chairman, cofounder of the *Briyus* anti-tuberculosis association, author of several memoirs.

LICHTENBAUM Marek (1876–1943) – engineer, pre-war member of Jewish Community Board; from 1939 vice-president and leader of the Department of Economy in the Warsaw Judenrat; chairman of the Judenrat from 23 July 1942. Shot on the Umschlagplatz during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

LICHTENSTEIN Israel (1904–1943) – teacher, Left Poalei Tsiyon activist, pre-war editor of *Literarishe Bleter*, married to the painter Gele Sekstein. He was responsible for concealing the Oyneg Shabes materials, which he did together with his students Nahum Grzywacz and David Graber in early August 1942 under the basement of the Borokhov School at Nowolipki Street 68 where he taught.

LINDER Menakhem (1911–1942) – lawyer, Jan Kazimierz University (now Lviv University) graduate, YIVO researcher in Vilna and Warsaw. Activist for Yiddish language and literature. During the German occupation active in the ŻSS and Oyneg Shabes, founder of YIKOR, author of statistical studies prepared for the ŻSS; he kept a diary, which was destroyed by his wife after he was murdered on 17 April 1942.

ŁABĘDZKI (dates unknown) – probably a worker in the Többens's shop.

MAJERAN Lili (dates unknown) – native of Lipno; together with her husband Edward they applied for help from their friends in New York. In Warsaw she (they) lived at Nowolipki Street 19 flat 7.

MAŁOWIST Marian (1909–1988) – historian, graduated from Warsaw University, Marceli Handelsman's student; from 1931 until 1939 worked as a secondary-school teacher; in the Warsaw ghetto he cooperated with Oyneg Shabes; he submitted several studies on education. After the war he taught and carried out research in the Institute of History at Warsaw University.

MARKIN (Markinówna) Estera (?–1942) – physician, psychologist, pedagogue, pre-war high school teacher in Warsaw and assistant to Prof. Władysław Witwicki at Warsaw University; in the ghetto she worked for CENTOS and organized day care for children at House Committees.

MARWIL Shmuel (1906-1943) – poet, playwright and journalist, his two poems are preserved in the Oyneg Shabes archive.

MAYZEL Maurycy (1872–1942) – trader, social activist, Warsaw councillor, chairman of the board of the Jewish Community in Warsaw in 1937–1939.

MAZO Mordechaj (1880–1943) – actor and director, director of the Vilna Troupe; in the ghetto worked in the ŻSS, YIKOR activist; perished during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

MENDE Gerhardt (dates unknown) – employee of the Security Police (*Sicherheitspolizei*) Office and the Security Service (*Sicherheitsdienst*); one of the most active SS-men conducting the summer 1942 *Aktion* in the Warsaw ghetto.

MĘDRZYCKI Henryk (?–1941) – industrialist, former co-owner and director of the "Liliput" Food and Chemicals Factory and Sales Facility in Warsaw.

MICHALSEN Georg (1906-1993) – member of the SS, as part of *Operation Reinhard* staff he was responsible for looted property, participated in the deportation of Warsaw Jewry to Treblinka.

MICHELSON Leyb (?–1942) – pre-war worker of AJDC; in the Warsaw ghetto an employee of the Supply Department of the ŻSS (1942). Member of the house committee at Nalewki Street 23; murdered at Treblinka death camp.

MILLET Zygmunt (dates unknown) – just before WWII he began to work as a solicitor in Warsaw; in the ghetto an employee of the Jewish Order Service.

MOSTKOW R. (Regina or Roza) (?–1942) – pedagogue, organiser of clandestine education in the Warsaw ghetto, headmaster of the Hebrew school at Nowolipie Street 22.

NEUSTADT Leyb (Leon) (1883–1943) – director of JDC since 1919 and during the war, member of CENTOS board, the first chairman of ŻSS – Coordinating Commission. He was murdered in Pawiak prison.

NISSENBAUM (Nysenbaum) Yitzak (1866–1943?) – rabbi, member of the Mizrahi Party, co-editor of the daily *Hatzefira*. In the Warsaw ghetto he conceived the idea of *kiddush ha-khaim* (Hebr., sanctification of life), obliging Jews to save life at the expense of strict observation of religious rules.

NOWOGRODZKA Sonia (1893 or 1894-1942) – activist of the Bund and YIKOR, teacher, wife of the Bund activist, Emanuel Nowogródzki. In the Warsaw ghetto she was active in underground Bund and organized clandestine education. Perished during the first *Aktion*.

OPOCZYNSKI Peretz (1892–1943) – poet, writer, born in Lutomiersk near Łódź; in 1935 moved to Warsaw. In the interwar period he published in Yiddish and Hebrew. In the Warsaw ghetto he kept a diary, and wrote reports and stories about ghetto life.

OPOCZYNSKIS Mindla (Miriam) (dates unknown) and Dan (Dantchik) (dates unknown) – wife and son of Peretz (see above).

ORLEAN Mieczysław (dates unknown) – in December 1940 he was a member of the Labour Commission of the Judenrat.

ORZECH Maurycy (1891–1943) – politician, Bund activist, publicist, in the Warsaw ghetto a representative of the Bund in the ŻSS-KK and in the Social Section (*Sekcja Społeczna*) of the ŻSS, member of the Anti-fascist Bloc; died as a result of a failed attempt to flee abroad.

OSTROWSKA Salomea (Shulamit) (dates unknown) – member of Oyneg Shabes. She conducted, recorded, and edited interviews, including former prisoners of the transit camp in Pomiechówek.

OSTRZEGA Abraham (1889–1942) – sculptor, from 1915 a student of the Warsaw Fine Arts School, member of the Association for Promotion of Fine Arts in Warsaw and co-founder of the Association for Promotion of Jewish Fine Arts; he specialised in monumental and tombstone sculptures. In the Warsaw ghetto, together with a group of artists, he made a living by manufacturing whetstones. All of them were murdered at Treblinka death camp.

PALFINGER Alexander – German entrepreneur, one of the organisers of the ghetto in Łódź, the chief of the *Transferstelle* in the Warsaw ghetto between 1 December 1940 and 15 May 1941, responsible for commodity exchange between the ghetto and the outside companies.

PERLE Yehoshua (Yoshua, Shie) (1888–1944) – writer, translator, literary critic; author of several works for Oyneg Shabes.

PLUSKAŁOWSKI Leyb (Zalman Skałow, H. Grojl) (1908–1942) – writer, probably follower of Left Poalei Tsiyon, published several collections of essays before WWII; for Oyneg Shabes he recorded testimonies and wrote reportages; he was also the author of a novel, published in Warsaw in 1954 as *Di hak on krayts* (Yid., Swastika over the Ghetto).

POMERANC Anatol (dates unknown) – 13-year-old poet from the Warsaw ghetto.

RABINOWICZ Henryk (Hersh, Herman) (ca. 1900–1942) – painter, graphic artist, began to exhibit his paintings in 1921, painted mostly landscapes and

still life. In the Warsaw ghetto, he shared the fate of the group of artists of the shop producing whetstones (see: **Ostrzega**)

RABINOWITZ Shie (Yehoshua) (1888–1943) – Bund member, participant in the Revolution of 1905; before WWII he owned a roofing tile factory; provided financial aid to YIVO; in the Warsaw ghetto he was a social worker, co-founder, and financial supporter of Oyneg Shabes. He perished in Auschwitz.

RAJZER (Reizer) Aneta (Anita) (?–1942) – dancer, choreography and eurhythmics teacher; she performed in the Warsaw ghetto.

RODE Józef – WWI veteran; in the Warsaw ghetto he was a functionary of the Jewish Order Service, director of the ghetto jail during the "roundup" in September 1942.

ROGOWY Abraham Mordechaj (?–1942) – Agudat Israel activist and journalist of its organ, *Togblat*; member of the funeral society in the Warsaw ghetto and collaborator of *Gazeta Żydowska*.

ROTKOP Lea (dates unknown) – teacher in the Central Jewish School Organisation (*Tsentrale Yidishe Shul-Organizatsye*, TSYSHO), author of a brochure on Roza Symchowicz, published in the ghetto by YIKOR.

ROZENTAL Roman (1897–1942) – painter, theatre director, musician; he studied in Łódź, Warsaw, and Vienna; he was co-founder of the Start art group and longstanding secretary of the Association for Promotion of Jewish Fine Arts; his last exhibition was organised in the Warsaw ghetto in May 1942.

RÓŻYCKI Stanisław (dates unknown) – any information about him can only be drawn from texts he wrote for Oyneg Shabes. They prove him to be an experienced Polish writer, with knowledge of several foreign languages. He left Warsaw (his native town) on 6 September 1939 and returned in the fall of 1941. He wrote extensively on the life of Polish Jewish refugees under the Soviet occupation and on everyday and cultural life in the Warsaw ghetto.

SAK Józef (1899–1965) – active in the Right Poalei Tsiyon; from January 1940 he was a member of the Group of Representatives of Political Parties of the Social Section of ŻSS; in the Warsaw ghetto he taught Polish literature in the Dror clandestine high school on Dzielna Street 34; he was a member of the Anti-fascist Bloc and from October 1942 (after he left the ghetto) – of the Social Committee of the ŻOB and the Coordination Committee of the ŻKN. After the war he lived in Israel.

SAGAN (Zagan) Shakhne (1892–1942) – leader of the Left Poalei Tsiyon, writer, editor of "Arbeter Tsaytung"; active in TSISHO; during the war founder of the very first soup kitchen at Zamenhofa 9, activist of ŻSS, chairman of ŻTOS, editor of the underground periodicals of his party, a representative of Left Poalei Tsiyon in the Group of Representatives of Political Parties of the Social Section of ŻSS; he was a YIKOR activist and one of the organisers of the Anti-fascist Bloc.

SAMET Rudolf (dates unknown) – Dror activist, deported from Gdańsk to Warsaw, ŻOB collaborator in the Warsaw ghetto.

SCHLICHT Otto (dates unknown) – Otwock Gestapo commander.

SCHWARTZBARD Mordecai (1896–1942) – one of the pre-war leaders of the Left Poalei Tsiyon in Łódź; one of the hardest-working members of Oyneg Shabes, he left the largest number of documents, including his own texts and duplicates of various materials.

SEKSTEIN Gele (1907–1943) – painter and the wife of Israel Lichtenstein. In the ghetto, she taught drawing at the clandestine school at Nowolipki Street 68. She gave her art works, more than three hundred drawings and watercolours, to Oyneg Shabes. She and her 20-month-old daughter Margolit perished probably during the first night of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

SHAINKINDER (Shaynkinder) Shmuel (dates unknown) – pre-war sports activist and journalist in Warsaw; in the ghetto he kept a diary, wrote essays, recorded and edited testimonies, in particular those taken from soldiers who participated in the September 1939 campaign.

SHAPIRO Kalonymus Kalmish (1889–1943) – the Piaseczno *rebbe*, charismatic preacher, author of a collection of sermons from the Warsaw ghetto preserved in the Oyneg Shabes Archive.

SIEGFRIED Józef (dates unknown) – economist and doctor of law, from November 1940 member of the Lublin Judenrat, in charge of human resources and the Health Commission.

SŁAPAKOWA Cecylia (Luba) (?–1942) – native of Vilna, she was a literary critic and translator (together with Sophie Erlich) of Simon Dubnow's *History of the Jews in Poland and Russia* into Polish. For Oyneg Shabes she worked on the topic "The Jewish Woman during the Second World War". She was murdered at Treblinka death camp.

SMOLAR Natan (1901–1943) – born in Zambrów, graduated from a teacher-training college in Vilna, during the interwar period he taught Yiddish in the Borokhov School at Nowolipki 68 where he served as headmaster in the ghetto. Editor of school textbooks, submitted several materials to Oyneg Shabes.

STARZYŃSKI Stefan (1893–1944) – politician, member of Parliament and senator before WWII, mayor of Warsaw 1934–1939, in September 1939 he was made civilian commissioner by the Head of Warsaw Defence. Perished in Dachau.

STAWSKA (?–1942) – sociologist, ŻSS employee in the Warsaw ghetto.

STEIN Józef (1904–1943) – director of the hospital on Czyste Street, member of the Health Council (*Rada Zdrowia*) of the Judenrat, medical courses lecturer in the ghetto, member of the team doing research on hunger disease, murdered at Treblinka death camp.

STEIN Menakhem (Edmund) (1893–1943) – historian of the Hellenistic period, staff member of the Institute of Judaic Studies in Warsaw where he taught Midrashic literature; he worked for Keren Kayemet Leisrael; he was vice-chairman of the Union of Hebrew Writers and Journalists in Poland. In the Warsaw ghetto he worked in the Judenrat, participated in events organised by Zionist

youth movements. Deported to Trawniki forced labour camp, and despite terrible conditions he continued to deliver lectures. He was murdered at Majdanek in the *Aktion Erntefest*.

STUPNICKI Shaul Yitzhak (?–1942) – journalist, *Lubliner Togblat* newspaper editor, Jewish People's Party (*Folkspartei*) activist, during the war in the Warsaw ghetto he wrote for *Gazeta Żydowska*, committed suicide during the summer 1942 *Aktion*.

SUKIENNIK B. (dates unknown) – attended the founding meeting of Oyneg Shabes on 22 November 1940.

SUKIENNIK M. (dates unknown) – a member of the Kitchen Department of the ŻSS.

SZALMAN Józef, Dr (1889–1942) – inspector of JDC in the Warsaw district, then inspector of the Control Section of the ŻSS in the Warsaw ghetto.

SZERYŃSKI (earlier Szenkman or Szynkman) Józef Andrzej (1892 or 1893–1943) – pre-war deputy inspector of the State Police, deputy province commandant in Lublin, chief superintendent of the Jewish Order Service in the Warsaw ghetto from December 1940. In May 1942 he was arrested for an attempt to hide fur from confiscation. He was released and reinstated with the beginning of the *Aktion* on 22 July 1942. ŻOB conducted an unsuccessful assassination attempt on him. He committed suicide in January 1943.

SZMERLING Mieczysław (dates unknown) – Jewish Order Service functionary, an *Umschlagplatz* commandant during the summer 1942 *Aktion*, notorious for his cruelty.

SZRANK Mayer (dates unknown) – a refugee from Łódź in the Warsaw ghetto; he lived on Sienna Street 45/47.

SZTAJN Rachela (Rayza) (approx. 1884–1942) – social activist, founder of the Jewish Women's Organisation, pre-war member of the Warsaw City Council; in the Warsaw ghetto she was employed by the ŻSS and CENTOS.

SZTERNFELD Dawid (?–1943) – owner of one of several companies permitted to trade with companies outside the ghetto, a commandant of the "Thirteen", collaborator with the Gestapo in the ghetto and after its destruction; executed by the Germans.

SZTERN Israel (?–1942?) – poet, essayist, author of the collection *Pieśni szpitalne* [hospital songs], Hasid, YIKOR activist in the ghetto, murdered at Treblinka death camp.

SZTERNBERG Nachum (?–1942) – poet, murdered during the summer 1942 *Aktion* in the Warsaw ghetto.

SZTOLCMAN Abram (Adolf) (1890–1943) – engineer, trader, businessman, member of the Judenrat, member of ŻKOM, after 15 August 1942 the chairman of the Economic Department of the Judenrat, executed by the Germans during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

SZYMEL Maurycy (Moshe) (1903–1942) – poet, prosaist, journalist writing in Yiddish and Polish, associated with *Nasz Przegląd*, *Chwila*, *Opinia*, and *Haynt*, translator from Yiddish into Polish; in 1939 lived in Warsaw, later fled to Lvov, worked in the Judenrat in Lvov, died in the camp on Janowska Street.

TAUBER Mayer (1880–1942) – received a PhD in philosophy in Vienna; before WWII he was a director of the State College for Teachers of Jewish Religion in Warsaw and wrote textbooks in Polish and Hebrew; he also taught at the Institute for Judaic Studies. In the Warsaw ghetto he was active in Hebrew cultural organisations.

TÖBBENS Walther Caspar (1909-1954) – industrialist from Bremen, he established plants (shops) in the Warsaw ghetto to supply the *Wehrmacht*. Before the *Aktion* of summer 1942 several hundred ghetto inmates were employed in these shops. Due to the conviction that they were excluded from deportation, the number of workers increased dramatically during the *Aktion*. However, eventually they were transported to the forced labour camp in Poniatowa and murdered in November 1943 in the *Aktion Erntefest*.

TOEPLITZ Teodor (1875–1937) – descendant of one of the wealthiest Warsaw Jewish families; member of the Polish Socialist Party (PPS), member of the Warsaw City Council, longtime chairman of the Warsaw Housing Co-operative. During WWII his son and grandson lived in the Warsaw district of Żoliborz.

TSEITLIN Elchanan (1900–1942) – Yiddish writer, journalist of Jewish newspapers including *Der Moment* and *Varshever Ekspres*, chairman of the Warsaw branch of TOZ, secretary of the Association of Jewish Writers and Journalists in Warsaw (*Zrzeszenie Pisarzy i Dziennikarzy Żydowskich w Warszawie*), in the ghetto an employee of ŻTOS and ŻKOM; died of natural causes.

TSEITLIN Hillel (1872–1942) – father of Elchanan, Yiddish and Hebrew writer, translator, collaborator of *Der Moment* and *Haynt* newspapers, author of many works on religious topics, Hassidic movement enthusiast, ran a literary salon in Warsaw, had great influence on the Jewish intelligentsia of Warsaw; in the ghetto worked on a Yiddish translation of psalms; died during the summer 1942 *Aktion*.

TYTELMAN Nehemia (Natan) (?–1943) – before WWII he founded the Shtern Sports Club associated with Left Poalei Tsiyon; in the Warsaw ghetto, he documented ghetto folklore and recorded testimonies for Oyneg Shabes.

WAJSBERG Mojżesz (dates unknown) – pre-war teacher of history, staff member of the Institute for Judaic Studies; in the Warsaw ghetto he taught Jewish literature in the Dror clandestine high school. He submitted one testimony to Oyneg Shabes; see ARG I 500 (Ring. I/362).

WAJSBERG M. (dates unknown) – secretary of the Central Commission for Care Sections.

WARMAN Zygmunt (1905–1965) – lawyer, secretary of the Warsaw Judenrat; he fought in the Warsaw uprising of 1944 in the ŻOB unit of the People's Army (AL). From 1956 he was a justice of the Supreme Court.

WARSZAWSKI Jakir (1885–1942) – Yiddish and Hebrew short-story writer and journalist, Zionist activist, *Keren Hayesod* instructor, in the ghetto employee

of the Department of Labour (*Wydział Pracy)* of the Judenrat, murdered at Treblinka death camp.

WASSER Bluma (née Kirszenfeld) (1912–1990) – Hersh Wasser's wife, in the Warsaw ghetto she worked for the Oyneg Shabes, mostly as a copyist.

WASSER Hersh (Hirsh, Herman, Henryk) (1912–1981) – economist, worked as a book-keeper; member of Left Poalei Tsiyon, director of the party's library in Łódź. From December 1939 hw was in Warsaw, activist of ŻSS, secretary of the Central Commission for Refugees. He became one of Emanuel Ringelblum's closest colleagues, a secretary of Oyneg Shabes; he was also author of many documents written for the Archive. One of the only three surviving members of the group, he was the only one who knew where the Archive was buried. He joined the Central Jewish Historical Commission in order to organise the searches. After the first part was retrieved in September 1946 he helped to identify the authorship of documents. In 1950 he left Poland together with his wife Bluma and settled in Israel. He founded the Emanuel Ringelblum Institute in Tel Aviv.

WEICHERT Michał (1890–1967) – lawyer and theatre lover, founder of the Jewish Theatre Studio (1929–1933), in 1932 began to lead his own avant-garde Theatre of the Young; during the German occupation he was a chairman of the ŻSS in the General Government and after its liquidation in July 1942, of the Jewish Self-Help Office; after WWII he was accused of collaboration with Germans and though formally cleared, he was ostracized by the community. He settled in Israel and published several books, including his diary.

WEINTRAUB (Wajntraub) Władysław Zev (1891–1942) – painter, theatre set designer, art critic. In the Warsaw ghetto he ran a whetstone factory.

WIELIKOWSKI Gustaw (Gamzej) (1889–1943) – attorney, ŻSS presidium member, head of the Department of Social Welfare of the Warsaw Judenrat from June 1941, deputy chairman of the Judenrat from the summer of 1942, shot at the *Umschlagplatz* during the ghetto uprising.

WILCZYNSKA Stefania (1886–1942) – pedagogue, Janusz Korczak's co-worker at the Orphanage at Krochmalna Street 92 and in the Warsaw ghetto, on 6 August 1942 went with Korczak and her wards to the *Umschlagplatz*. Murdered at Treblinka death camp.

WILCZYNSKI Chaskiel (Yehezkiel, Haskiel, Henryk) (1893–1943) – engineer, co-owner of the Sz. Zelingier & H. Wilczynski Metal Goods Factory in Częstochowa, secretary of the Society of the Friends of the History of the Jews in Częstochowa, author of publications in Yiddish about sport and literature. In the Warsaw ghetto he was administrator of the house on Ogrodowa Street 43; for Oyneg Shabes he recorded testimonies, and also submitted the results of his pre-war research on the history of Polish Jews in the first half of the nineteenth century.

WILNER Israel Chaim (pseudonyms Aryeh, Jurek) (1917–1943) – member of Hashomer Hatzair, ŻOB soldier, perished during the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto in the bunker at Miła 18.

WINAWER Bruno (1883–1944) – physicist, science populariser, columnist, wrote comedies and novels, English literature translator, during the war fled to Lvov. From late 1941 he was in the Warsaw ghetto, from 1942 in hiding outside the ghetto, he was denounced and sent to Treblinka, but managed to escape. He died of tuberculosis in the hospital in Opole Lubelskie.

WINER Shloyme Ber (Szlamek) (?–1942) – escapee from the death camp in Chełmno nad Nerem (Kulmhof on the Ner), author of the first testimony from there (recorded by Oyneg Shabes) which later served as a source of information in the Oyneg Shabes reports sent to the Polish government-in-exile in London.

WINKLER Jerzy (?–1942) – studied economics at Vienna University, collaborated with YIVO; in the Warsaw ghetto he worked in the department of statistics of the Judenrat, at the same time closely cooperated with Oyneg Shabes, including doing research on the ghetto economy.

WINNIK Izrael (1899–1942) – teacher, journalist of *Folks-Tsaytung*, Bund member and Oyneg Shabes collaborator; among other works, he recorded the testimony of a family of refugees.

WINTER Shmuel (1891–1943) – son of a rabbi from Włocławek, during the interwar period an affluent entrepreneur running a large trading company (seed production), member of the leadership of the Jewish Traders' Union, co-founder of YIVO and researcher of Jewish folklore and Yiddish literature; in the Warsaw ghetto he worked in the Supply Section of the Judenrat, at the same time closely cooperated with Oyneg Shabes and supported its works financially.

ZYLBERBERG Jakub (Jankiel) (1904-?) – teacher with a master's degree in pedagogy, active in Hitachdut. From 10 December 1939 worked as a volunteer in the CENTOS clothing section. He gave Oyneg Shabes a study entitled "Schooling" of an unknown author and works of Marian Małowist. He may also have written a study entitled "Teachers' Community and School Youth". In the ghetto he lived at Nowolipie Street 21 flat 5.

ZYLBERBERG Jakub (dates unknown) – author of a testimony written in mid-January 1942, on collecting delayed taxes in the ghetto by the Jewish Order Service (which he was a member of).

ZYLBERBERG Rachela (dates unknown) – active in Hehalutz movement, author of a testimony recorded by Shimon Huberband, "Destruction of Communities on Newly Occupied Territories, Summer 1941, Vilna and Environs".

ZYSMAN Wolf (dates unknown) – lived in Warsaw on Nowolipie Street 57 flat 26. He probably helped to pass money to Shloyme Winer (see above) to Zamość.

Documents

Chapter 1

Oyneg Shabes: Personal and Organisational Issues

1

No date, Warsaw ghetto, [Hersh Wasser], list including names and addresses of 37 individuals [many of them Oyneg Shabes collaborators]

[1]

Family Name and Given Name	Street Name	Family Name and Given Name	Street Name
Huberband Shimon	Zamenhofa 19	Zylberberg Yankev	Nowolipie 21
Zylbersztajn Rajzla[1]	Zamenhofa 19	Herclich Fela	Leszno 8
Najman Majer	Nowolipie 36	Goldin Leyb	Prosta 17
Majeranc Liba[2]	Nowolipki 19	Landau Maurycy	Nowolipie 49
Zysman Wolf[3]	Nowolipie 57	Wasserman Rebeka[?]	Nowolipie 49

1 The name Zylbersztajn, without the given name, appears many times in the Oyneg Shabes "ledger"; see doc. 6.

2 Lili Majeran (lived on Nowolipki 19 flat 7) was from Lipno. In a letter dated 2 June 1940, she, together with Edward Majeran (probably her husband), asked their friends in New York for help. Most probably Liba Majeranc is the same person. See AŻIH, AJDC, 210/166, p. 51.

3 Most probably he is mentioned by Szlamek Winer in a letter of 21 March 1942. It was through Zysman that Wiener received money in Zamość. See (Ring. I/596). Wolf Zysman's exact address was Nowolipie Street 57 flat 26. See AŻIH, AJDC, 210/84, p. 21.

Family Name and Given Name	Street Name	Family Name and Given Name	Street Name
Zylberberg Ruchla[4]	Nowolipie 57	Breslav Samuel	Dzielna 9
Zylberberg Calel[5]	Nowolipki 66	Adler Chaim[6]	Franciszk[ańska] 25
Koninski Natan	Ogrodowa 5	Gorny Khil	Miła 69
Ostrowska Salomea	Ogrodowa 27	Goldberg Pinkus	Leszno 68
Winnik Israel	Miła 37	Szapiro Icchok	Dzielna 4
Gutkowski Eliyahu	Nowolipki 31	Klajman Hersz[7]	Parys[owski Sq.] 15
Kirszenfeld Bluma	Muranowska 6	Tytelman Salomon	Gęsia 10
Fligelman Daniel	Śliska 24	Uszer Chana	Dzielna 4
Lewin Abram	Nowolipie 1	Heller Rywen	Pawia 31
Gutkowska Luba[8]	Muranowska 7	Hornowicz Małka	Ogrodowa 26
Opoczynski Peretz	Wołyńska 21	Gotlib Rywka	Nowolipie 21
Tytelman Nehemia	Muran[owska] 31	Tytelman Eliyahu	Pawia 5
Węgrowiec Mojżesz	Nowolipie 66	Lichtenstein Israel	Dzielna 93
Pluskałowski Leyb	Leszno 42		

ARG I 1 (Ring. I/ I/1152/2)
Description: original, handwritten (H.W.*), ink, pol., 144×190 mm, 1 sheet, 1 page.

4 A person of the same given and family names was living on Nowolipie Street 21 flat 5, and therefore was together with Jakub Zylberberg, mentioned below. See AŻIH, AJDC, 210/183, p. 58. According to Ruta Sakowska, Rachela Zylberberg, a Heḥalutz activist, was the author of the testimony recorded by Shimon Huberband, "The destruction of the Jewish communities on the territories occupied in summer 1941. Vilna and vicinity." Printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the Borderlands*, ed. A. Żbikowski (Warsaw, 2018), doc. 21.

5 Exact address: Nowolipki Street 66 flat 15. See AŻIH, AJDC, 210/83, p. 39.

6 Franciszkańska Street 25 flat 3 was the address of Amszel Adler, from Skępe. See AŻIH, AJDC, 210/179, s. 78. An anonymous account from Skępe is preserved in ARG I 1004 (Ring. I/906).

7 Tzvi (Hersh) Klejnman.

8 From early December 1940 the official address of Luba Gutkowska, her husband Eliyahu, and son Gabriel was Muranowska Street 7/9 flat 5; see ARG II 480f. (Ring. II/380).

2

No date, Warsaw ghetto, [Hersh Wasser], List No. 2, of names of Oyneg Shabes co-workers[9]

[1]

List 2

Opoczynski Peretz	Wołyńska [Street]
Kirszenfeld Bluma	
Zysman Volf	
Maks Zakrzewski[10] –	Żabia Street 15 – Office: The Mill, first at Szterns' on Karnkowskiego[11] Street, later in Waganiec near Nieszawa,[12] then at his granary in Włocławek until the war.
Goldbas[13] Shloyme	
Rejnhold Moyshe	
Szapiro Icchok	
Zylberberg Yankev	
Klejman Hersh	Now[olipki] 44. Mil. Brajtsztajn and Korn[14]
Gorny Yekhiel	

9 The list is on the reverse of a draft of reorganisation of the *Landsmanshafts* Department.

10 A certain Zakrzewski was punished by public flagellation in September 1939 in Nieszawa. The record was noted by Fligelman.

11 Włocławek Steam Mill, L. Sztern and Sons was located in Włocławek on Kilińskiego Street 4, with offices on F. Karnkowskiego Street 30/32; see *Księga Adresowa Polski 1929*, p. 2057.

12 There was a motor mill in *Kujawskie Zakłady Rolniczo-Przemysłowe S.A.* in Waganiec before the war, ibid., p. 1994.

13 In other documents the name is spelled "Gulbas". Shloyme Gulbas, living on Przebieg Street 1, received free food ration cards from the *Judenrat*. Eta Gulbas, at the same address, was sentenced for not wearing an armband with a star of David; court documents pertaining to the case were obtained by the Archive with Wasser's help.

14 Khaim Korn lived on Nowolipki Street 31, apt. 44. See AŻIH, AJDC 210/159, p. 73.

Iliard Hersh[15]
[x][16]
Fiszman Guta[17]
[x][18]
Rapoport Genia[19] Grzybowska Street 48a

ARG I 650 (Ring. I/1152/1)
Description: (a) original, handwritten (H.W.*), ink, Yiddish, 145×192 mm, 1 sheet, 1 page (verso).
Doc. on sheets torn from the notebook referred to in Doc. 1.

3

After 9 January 1942 [?], Warsaw ghetto, [Hersh Wasser], list of individuals involved in the work of Oyneg Shabes (including their families and addresses).

[1] *Breakfasts*

1) Gutkowski	Eliyahu	Nowolipki St. 31/31
2) ”	Luba	”
3) ”	Gavriel	”
4. Wilczynski	Khaskl	
5. ”	Kalcia	Ogrodowa St.26/31
6. ”	Halina	

15 See doc. 8.
16 [x] Jungwic Peysekh.
17 The name of a Miss Fiszman appears several times in doc. 6. Guta Fiszman lived on Pawia Street 16. See AŻIH, AJDC 210/83, p. 23.
18 [x] Bart, probably abbreviated: Bartman. The name Bartman appears several times in doc. 6.
19 On Grzybowska Street 48a, apt. 7, lived Zofia and Fayga Rapaport. See AŻIH, AJDC 210/162, p. 32; ibid., 210/168, p. 16.

7. Hornowicz	Malka	
[x][20]		
8. Szrank	Mayer	Wałowa St. 2
9. ”	Feyge	”
10. ”	Malke	”
11. ”	Rivke	”
12. ”	Sheyne	”
13. Opoczynski	Peretz	Wołyńska St. 21
14. ”	Mindl	”
15. ”	Efroim-Dan[21]	”
16. Wasser	Hersh	Muran[owska] St. 6
17. ”	Bluma	”
18. Zylberberg	Yankev	Nowolipie St. 21
19. ”	Yokheved	”
20. Gotlib	Rivke	”
21. Tytelman	Nehemia	Muranow[ska] Str. 31
22. ”	Elyahu	Pawia St. 5
23. ”	Shimen	”
24. ”	Avrom	”
25. Fligelman	Daniel	Śliska St. 24
26.		
27.		

[2] 9.1.1942[22]	
Wajsberg[23]	25. –
Expenses	73.25
Tytelman	50. –
Winnik	50. –
Fligelman	50.–
Gutkowski	50.–

20 [x] 8. Tytelman Nosn, Muranow[ska] St. 31.

21 Mindla (Miriam) and Dan (Dantchik, Daniel), wife and son of Peretz Opoczynski. See Kassow, *Who Will Write Our History*, pp. 185–186.

22 Except for “expenses of 73,25”; all the others mentioned above are listed on 8 or 9 January 1942; see doc. 6, p. [17].

23 Probably Mojżesz Wajsberg.

Wasser	75.–
Opoczynski	50.–
	423.25
Huberband	50.–

ARG I 944 (Ring. I/1151)
Description: original, handwritten (H.W.*), notes from notebook, ink, Yiddish, 145×192, 95-135, 2 sheets, 2 pages (on verso).
Document on pages torn from notebook referred to in Doc. 1.
These notes were written in a notebook containing testimonies by N. N. "Orsha" and by Al. Graff "Mariupol".

4

No date, Warsaw ghetto. Hersh Wasser, notes referring to Oyneg Shabes [?].

[1][24]
German publications[25]
Leszno St., 36 – Sak.

K. – Knepl Szlechterman
Nowe Miasto

Horensztajn – Lakh

Nad Klaran

Epelbojm

Khometz – Sukno – Wajsbort

Mędrzycki — Chalk 50 zł
Kezalcer

Lekekh[26]
Sunday: 6 p.m., Nowolipie St., 49, flat 8
Monday 4th

24 This sheet was erroneously included in lists of Oyneg Shabes collections in ARG I 2.
25 We do not know the meaning of most of the phrases in this note.
26 (Yid.) cake, possibly a surname.

Szper Tytelman N.
Bloch – Fajg[e]nbojm
Monday – slip of paper – Milejkowski
Koninsk[i]
Leszno [St.,] 52 – Kirshenbaum – a book
Kitchens

ARG I 2 b (Ring. I/1176)
Description: original, handwritten (H.W.*), pencil, Yiddish, 155×190 mm, 1 sheet, 1 page.

5

No date, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Notes. Names, addresses (including Oyneg Shabes associates)

[1] Ringelbl[um] – Hirszhorn [?], Lazowert, Huberband,
Guzik, Kon, Kaplan – [x],[27]
Łabędzki (Többens), Frank,
Kirshenbaum[28] (Sak, Cholewa),
Lazowert (Centos – J[ewish] A[id] C[ommittee]), Dr [Izaak] Bornstein,
Kon
[a]To Mr. Giterman –Zamenhofa [Street] 19[a][29]
Słapak
Sagan
Cholodenko
Schwartzbard
Wajnblat
Tytelman

27 [x] Nowolipki Street.
28 The names Łabędzki and Kirshenbaum are connected with an arrow. Probably Menakhem Kirshenbaum (?).
29 [a–a] Written in Polish.

[b]Nowolipki [Street] 37[b] (Shmuel) [b]To Dr Dobryn
Instructions: 4 ½ [b][30]
In a den: kitchen
Kon – permission, established, Eng. Grabiński[?]: Gestapo, enter, get out, with Cholod[enko?] (he writes) [they] write:
[1a] Categorically against the orphans' house. Words of the lawyer Warm[an] Zy[g]m[un]t – [. . .] (Dr Ringelblum), [. . .] – Kon – Cukierman. 5 soups. . .
Ringel[blum] – where to get money? Orlean –
To Cukierman –
To work at night

ARG II 2 (Ring. II/236/2)
Description: original, handwritten (LEG* and H*), pencil, Polish, Yiddish., 150×195 mm, 1 sheet, 2 pages.

6

9 November 1940 – 7 August 1942, Warsaw ghetto, [Menakhem Mendel Kon], book of receipts of the Oyneg Shabes team. Income and expenditure table, payments (lists of names of individuals), addresses, notes

[1] The founding meeting of Oyneg Shabes took place at the home of C[omra] de Dr Ringelblum on [?]5 October 1940.[31]

Menakhem Mendel Kon

EXPENDITURES

[s.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
[2]	9 XI [1940]	Rabbi Huberband	50	
	9 XI	Cde Wasser	100	

30 [b–b] Written in Polish.
31 There is an ink blot next to number 5. It is not clear whether there was a first digit of the date.

EXPENDITURES

[s.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	9 XI	Cde Schwartzbard	50	
	20[?] XI	Cde Wasser minor expenses	47,50	247,50
	11 XII	Cde Schwartzbard	50	
	22 XII	Cde Wasser	50	
	22 XII	minor expenses via Wasser	47,50	
	24 XII	small donations for social causes	59	
	27 XII	Cde Gutkowski	50	256,50
	2 I [19]41	Cde Łazarow	50	
	2 I	Cde Wasser	100	
	7 I	Cde Melekh Fajnkind[32]	50	
	15 I	Cde Schwartz[bard]	50	
	15 I	Cde Wasser	150	
	15 I	Temporary [. . .]	65,50	
	29 I	Cde Schwartz[bard]	50	515,50
	[summary from p. 2]			**1019,50**
[3]	Transferred			1019,50
	6 II [1941]	Cde Wasser	200	
	6 II	Cde Braude	50	
	10 II	[small expenses] via CdeWasser	55	
	10 II	Cde Melekh	20	

32 Melekh Fajnkind, later mentioned only as Melekh.

EXPENDITURES

[s.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	10 II	Cde Winkler	50	
	17 II	Cde Wasser	150	
	17 II	Cde Schwartzb[ard]	50	
	20 II	expenses via Cde Wasser	75,80	650,80
	[summary from pp. 2–3]			**1670,30**

	[EXPENDITURES]				**[INCOME]**			
[p.]	**[date]**	**[name]**	**[amount]**	**[sum]**	**[date]**	**[name]**	**[amount]**	**[sum]**
[4]	Transferred			1670,30	20 XI 1940	Balance Dr Ring[elblum]		200
	25 III [1941]	Cde Wasser	100		12 XII	Cde Gelbfisz	25	
	25 III	Cde Schwartzbard	50		12 XII	Cde Kalksz[tajn?]	200	
	25 III	Minor expenses via Wasser	35		12 XII	Cde Sukiennik [?]	100	
	25 III	small donations for social causes via Cde Wasser	60	245	21 XII	Cde Rabinow[itz]	125	
					25 XII	Cde Kalksz[tajn]	100	
					26 XII	via [Cde Kalksztajn]	200	
					26 XII	Dr Ring[elblum]	20	
					15 I [1941]	Cde Rabinow[itz]	125	895
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–4]			**1915,30**	**[income summary from pp. 2–4]**			**1095**
[5]	[Transferred]			1915,30	[Transferred]			1095
	2 IV [1941]	Cde Wasser	100		24 II	Cde Rabinow[itz]	125	

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	2 IV	Cde Łazarow	25		30 I	[Cde Rabinow[itz]	400	525
	15 IV	Cde Wasser	100					
	15 IV	Cde Schwartzb[ard]	50					
	20 IV	Cde Wasser	100					
	20 IV	Cde Schwartzb[ard]	50					
	27 IV	[minor expenses] by CdeWasser	45	470				
	[expense summary from pp. 2–5]			**2385,30**	**[income summary from pp. 2–5]**			**1620**
[6]	[Transferred]			2385,30	[Transferred]			1620
	1 V [1941]	Minor expenses, paper	95,50		1 III	Via Cde Dr Ring[elblum]	100	
	2 V	Small job, photos	80		7 III	Cde Rabinow[itz]	125	
	7 V	Cde Wasser	75		30 III	Cde Landau	50	275
	7 V	Cde Schwartzb[ard]	50					
	20 V	Cde Wasser	100					
	20 V	small expenses	45	445,50				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–6]			**2830,80**	**[income summary from pp. 2–6]**			**1895**
[7]	Transferred			2830,80	Transferred			1895
	16 VI [1941]	Rabbi Huber[band]	100		13 IV	Cde Rabinow[itz]	125	125
	16 VI	Cde Wasser	50					
	16 VI	Cde Schwartzb[ard]	50					
	26 VI	Cde Wasser	200					
	26 VI	for small jobs	125					
	26 VI	Rabbi Chitow[ski] (25 + 50)	75					

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	26 VI	Mr Borensztejn	50					
	29 VI	Minor expenses by Wasser	75					
	29 VI	Cde Gutkowski	50					
	29 VI	Cde Schwartzb[ard]	50	825				
	[expenditure sum from pp. 2–7]			**3655,80**	**[income sum from pp. 2–7]**			**2020**
[8]	**Transferred**			**3655,80**	**Transferred**			**2020**
	3 VII [1941]	Rabbi [Szymon] Huberb[and]	100		11 V	Mr Bran[?][33]	200	
	3 VII	small donations via Cde [Hersh] Wasser	120		14 V	Cde Land[au]	100	300
	3 VII	Cde Wasser	100					
	8 VII	Rabbi Huberband	100					
	10 VII	minor expenses via Cde Wasser	56					
	10 VII	for small jobs	85					
	10 VII	Cde Gutkowski	50					
	10 VII	paper, copies	75,50					
	10 VII	Cde Borensztejn	50					
	10 VII	For small jobs via Cde Kon[34]	85					
	18 VII	For small jobs via Cde Wasser	72					
	20 VII	Cde Wasser	100					
	20 VII	Cde Melech	50					
	20 VII	Rabbi Huberb[and]	100					

33 Perhaps Braun, co-owner of the Braun & Rowiński company.

34 Most probably Menakhem Mendel Kon (Kohn).

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	20 VII	small donations via Cde Wasser, paper	165					
	20 VII	Cde Wasser 50 [+] 25	75					
	21 VII	via Cde Dr Ringelblum	75	1458,50				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–8]			**5114,30**	**[income summary from pp. 2–8]**			**2320**
[9]	Transferred			5114,30	Transferred			2320
	1 VIII [1941]	Cde Gutkowski	50		8 VI	Mr Bran[?]	150	
	10 VIII	Cde Wasser	150		12 VI	Mr Mędrzycki	100	
	10 VIII	small donations and expenses via Cde Wasser	183		16 VI	S.P.S.[35]	300	
	12 VIII	Cde Wasser	150		16 VI	Cde Land[au]	50	
	12 VIII	Cde Gutkowski	50		20 VI	Cde Rabinow[itz]	125	
	15 VIII	Photo Mr Baum[36]	250		27 VI	D.Z.T.[37]	750	
		via Dr Ring[elblum] 20+50	70		30 VI	via Cde Samet	310	1785
		Rabbi Chitowski	50					
		small donations, Photo Borensztejn 93 + 28	121					

35 Most probably the Sekcja Pracy Społecznej [Social Work Section] of the ŻSS (Jewish Social Self-Help).

36 Most probably the atelier Foto Baum & Forbert (Chłodna Street 20). Henryk (Chil) Bojm (Baum) was a photographer and co-owner of the atelier. In spring 1940 he took several hundred pictures of social aid facilities at Joint's request, which were collected in an album and sent to Joint headquaters in New York.

37 Abbreviation of the name Joint (AJDC).

		[EXPENDITURES]			[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
		Rabbi Huberband 50 + 50	100					
	28 VIII	Cde Wasser	100					
	28 VIII	small expenses 15 [+] 20 [+] 30	65					
	28 VIII	Zylberberg office[?] 50 [+] 20	70					
	28 VIII	Blechar[38] Fidler	390					
	28 VIII	paper, expenses Wasser	95,50	1895				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–9]			**7009,30**	**[income summary from pp. 2–9]**			**4105**
[10]	Transferred			7009,30	Transferred		4105	
	3 IX [1941]	small donations	75		15 VII	S.P.S.	300	
	3 IX	Borensztejn 28, Bender[39] 50, rent 60[40]	138		20 VII	Cde Rabinow[itz]	150	
	3 IX	Cde Wasser	200		20 VII	Mr Belfer [?][41]	100	550
	3 IX	Rabbi Huberb[and]	100					
	5 IX	Cde Gutkow[ski]	50					
	5 IX	Kampel[macher] 50, Bartmanwir[?][42] 50, Kl[. . .]iz[43] 40,65	140,65					

38 Blechar can be a name, but is also a tinsmith (in Yiddish). In the second case Fidler could be his name. Perhaps the expense was to cover the cost of metal boxes later used to conceal the Archive.

39 Perhaps Ch. Bender, mentioned in ARG II 162 (Ring. II/45).

40 Numbers written above the names.

41 Reading uncertain.

42 Reading uncertain. See Bartman in ARG II 206c (Ring. II/217).

43 Reading uncertain; can be a name or a noun.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	7 IX	small donations via K.[?] 50, 20, 30, 25	125					
	9 IX	Paper 22, copies 75, Ostrow[ska] 20	117					
	12 IX	Cde Wasser	150					
	12 IX	Cde Wasser, small donations	70					
	12 IX	Blechar	25					
	14 IX	Konic 20, Dik 30, Bartman 35	85					
	14 IX	Paper [. . .] 15,75, Ostrow[ska] 25, Goldsztajn 50	90,75					
	15 IX	Cde Wasser 100						
	16 IX	[Cde Hersh Wasser?] 100	200	1566,40				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–10]			**8575**	**[income summary from pp. 2–10]**			**4655**
[11]	Transferred			8575	Transferred			4655
	17 IX [1941]	Cde Gutkowski	50		1 VIII	Cde Kalksztajn	100	
	17 IX	small donations 55, writing pads 20,50	75,50		1 VIII	Mr Mędrzycki	200	
	19 IX	Cde Gutk[owski] 50, Bl[44] 50	100		1 VIII	Mr [. . .]	100	
	19 IX	Cde Zylbersztajn 50, Kamp[elmacher] 25, Hendik[?] 45, copies 40	160		28 VIII	S.P.S. funds	525	

44 Reading uncertain, perhaps Blechar?

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	25 IX	Cde Wasser 100, 100	200		28 VIII	Cde Rabinow[itz]	150	
	25 IX	Rabbi Huberband	150		28 VIII	Cde Winter, ZZ[45]	300	
	25 IX	Goldsztajn 50, Fuks 25, Landau 40, Skał[ow][46] 25	140		28 VIII	Cde Landau	75	
	26 IX	Cde Wasser	100		28 VIII	D.Z.T.	750	2200
	26 IX	Office 10, paper 22, pads 15, carbon paper 8, Cde Linder 100	155					
	28 IX	Skał[ow] 50, Kamp[elmacher] 50, minor expenses and donations 80	180					
	28 IX	Cde Gutkowski 50, writing pads 35	85	1395,50				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–11]			**9970,20**	**[income summary from pp. 2–11]**			**6855**
[12]	Transferred			9970,20	Transferred			6845[47]
	25 X [1941]	Cde Wasser	100		3 IX	Via Cde Winter	300	
	26 X	Cde Zylberberg 50, Cde Gutkowski 50, Rabbi Huberb[and] 50	150		3 IX	Cde Rabinow[itz]	150	

45 In Latin characters in the original. Possibly abbreviation for (Pol.) Zakład Zaopatrywania (Supplies Department) of the *Judenrat*.

46 Leyb Pluskałowski.

47 Error in the original.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	26 X	Cde Winnik 25, copies 60, Send[48] 25, Kin[49] 40	150		12 IX	via Cde Neustadt[50]	200	
	10 X[51]	Via Dr Ring[elblum] 25, office 10, Skał[ow] 25, Bartman 75	135		13 IX	Mr Rowiń[ski]	100	
	22 X	Rabbi Huberb[and] 100, Winnik 50	150		15 IX	Cde Landau	50	800
	25 X	Cde Wasser	100					
	25 X	Rabbi Huberb[and]	100					
	25 X	Cde Gutk[owski]	50					
	25 X	Minor expenses via Cde Wasser 45,80, via Cde Winnik 10	55,80					
	26 X	2 p[ackets ?] of paper 25, Melekh 25	50	1040,80				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–12]			**11011,00**	**[income summary from pp. 2–12]**			**7645**
[13]	Transferred			11011	Transferred			7645
	27 X [1941]	paper 25, small donations 90, pads 25	140		20 IX	S.P.S. funds	300	
	27 X	Dr Cde Ring[elblum]	300		20 IX	Via Cde Winter	300	

48 Reading uncertain.
49 Reading uncertain.
50 Leyb (Leon) Neustadt.
51 As in the original.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	27 X	Cde Gutkowski 50, copies 75	125		20 IX	D.Z.T.	750	1350
	29 X	Cde Borensztejn	50					
	30 X	Cde Wasser	100					
	30 X	Office 17, Winnik 40	57	772				
	[expenditure sum from pp. 2–13]			**11783**	**[income sum from pp. 2–13]**			**8995**
[14]	Transferred			11783	Transferred			8995
	2 XI [1941]	Rent 60, Fligel[man] 50, via Cde Bloch 100, copies 50	260		5 X	D.Z.T.	750	
	5 XI	Cde Gutkowski 50 + 50	100		10 X	Mr Rowiń[ski]	100	
	7 XI	Goldsztajn	50		10 X	Mr Mędrzycki	50	
	7 XI	Paper 18, carbon paper 5, light 18, pads 15, Cde Skał[ow] 40	106					
	17 XI	Rabbi Huberband 150+100+100	350		10 X	Cde Rabinow[itz]	150	
	18 XI	Dr Ring[elblum]	300		10 X	Via Cde Ring[elblum] [. . .]	300	
	18 XI	Cde Winnik	50		10 X	Via Cde Zylbersztajn	100	
	19 XI	Expenses via Cde Wasser	117		10 X	Cde Landau	100	1550
	19 XI	Fiszmanówna[52] 50, Melech 25	75					

52 Possibly Guta Fiszman, see doc. 2.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	20 XI	Fligel[man] 50, Winnik 25, paper 15,75	90,75					
	23 XI	Cde Gutkowski	50					
	23 XI	Cde Wasser	100					
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–14]			**13431,75**	**[income summary from pp. 2–14]**			**10545**
[15]	Transferred			13431,75	Transferred			10545
	25 XI [1941]	Melekh 52, writing materials for young people 33	85		20 X	Via Cde Winter	300	
	25 XI	office 15, paper 30, Łazarow 20	65					
	25 XI	Cde Wasser	100					
	25 XI	Cde Braude	50					
	27 XI	Fiszmanówna, Zylberberg, Melekh, Wajsberg	175					
	27 XI	Gorny, writing materials, minor expenses	91					
	28 XI	Cde Skał[ow] 25, light 17, Winnik 15	57					
	30 XI	Mordecai[53]	100					
	30 XI	Rabbi Huberband	100					
		Cde Wasser	100					
		Cde Ostrowska 25, paper 25, Cde Linder 100	150					
		Dr Ring[elblum]	300	1373				

53 Possibly Mordecai Schwartzbard.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–15]			**14804,75**	**[income summary from pp. 2–15]**			**10845**
[16]	Transferred			14804,75	Transferred			10845
	5 XII [1941]	10 packets of paper, carbon paper, pads via Cde Wasser	200		4 XI	Mr Rowiński	100	
	6 XII	Cde Goldsztajn 30, Chitow[ski] 30, light10, wood 20	90		4 XI	Via Cde Zylbersztajn	100	
	6 XII	Cde Gutkowski 50 + 50	100		4 XI	Mędrzycki	50	
	7 XII	700 sh[eets] of carbon paper, 300 kg wood, paid	392		11 XI	Cde Rabinowitz	150	
	19 XII	light 15, small donations via Rabbi Huberband 20 + 30 + 10	75		16 XI	S.P.S. funds	525	
	12 XII	Fiszmanówna	50		18 XI	"Radom"	500	1425
	12 XII	Cde Bartman 16,30, Goldsztajn 25, Peretz[54] 25, rickshaw 10,50	76,80					
	15 XII	Cde Gorny 25, Unger 20, Winnik 20, rickshaw 5,50	70,50					
	16 XII	Rabbi Huberband	100					
	16 XII	Cde Wasser	100					

54 Peretz Opoczynski.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	16 XII	Dr Ringel[blum]	300					
	16 XII	Dr Bloch	300					
	19 XII	Rabbi Huberband	100					
	19 XII	Cde Gutkow[ski]	50					
	19 XII	Cde Wasser	100					
	21 XII	Lighting 13, pads 12,50, Unger 30	55,50					
	28 XII	Cde Gutkowski 50, Huberb[and] 50, minor expenses 27	127	2286,80				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–16]			**17091,55**	**[income summary from pp. 2–16]**			**12270**
[17]	Transferred			17091,55	Transferred			12270
	2 I [1942]	Cde Wasser	100		19 XI [1941]	Via Cde Landau	400	
	2 I	Cde Fiszmanówna 60, Ostrow[ska] 20, [small donations] 70	150		19 XI	D.Z.T.	750	
	6 I	Finkel 25, Winkler 100, Tykoci[ński][55] 50	175		19 XI	Via Cde Winter	300	1450
	7 I	Cde Gorny 100, Ostrowska 80	180					
	7 I	Office 20, minor expenses via Cde Wasser 93,25	113,25					

55 Possibly T. Tykociński, author of an essay on trading old garments; see ARG I 632 (Ring. I/57).

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	8 I	Gutkow[ski] 50, Huberb[and] 50, Winnik 50, [minor expenses] 35	185					
	8 I	Opoczyns[ki] 50, Fligel[man] 50, Wajsberg 25	125					
	8 I	Cde Wasser	75					
	9 I	Cde Tytelman 50, notebooks 15,50, lighting 17	82,50					
	9 I	[. . .] 50, lighting 12, pads 10,50	72,50					
	12 I	Cde Selik[?] 50, [small donations] via Huberb[and] 30, flat 25	105					
	13 I	dr Ba[. . .]l[56]	100					
	13 I	Shainkinder 50, expenses 11,50	61,50					
	16 I	Lewin 50, rent 60, Fiszmanówna 50	160					
	17 I	Dr Ring[elblum]	300					
	18 I	Wasser 75, Opoczynski 10, Huberb[and] 50, Winnik 50	225					
	19 I	Photos 80, Dr Ring[elblum] 50, lighting 12, 2 notebooks 5,50	147,50	2357,25				

56 Text unclear.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2– 17]			**19448,80**	**[income summary from pp. 2–17]**			**13720**
[18]	Transferred			19448,80	Transferred			13720
	20 I [1942]	minor expenses 30, lighting 10, wood 10, 50, [. . .] 20, Winnik 20	90,50		9 XII [1941]	Mr Rowiński	100	
	21 I	Fiszmanówna 42, Peretz 25, notebooks 8	75		9 XII	Via Cde Zylbersztajn	100	
	20 I	Goldsztajn 40, Fiszmanówna 11,50, small donations via Huberband 45	96,50		11 XII	Cde Landau	100	
	22 I	Mordecai	100		11 XII	Cde Rabinow[itz]	150	
	22 I	Minor expenses Bloch	190,75		17 XII	S.P.S. funds	525	
	22 I	Tytelman 75 + 25	100		19 XII	D.Z.T.	750	
	22 I	Gutkow[ski] 12,50 + 37,50	50		19 XII	Via Cde Winter	300	
	22 I	Huberband 12,50 + 37,50	50		22 XII	Mędrzycki	50	2075
	22 I	Koninski 75 + 25	100					
	22 I	Lewin 75 + 25	100					
	22 I	Winnik 50 + 25	75					
	22 I	Opoczynski 50 + 50	100					
	22 I	Fligel[man] 100 + 50	150					
	22 I	Ostrow[ska] 75 + 25	100					
	22 I	Gorny 75 + 25	100					

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	22 I	Wasser 112,50 + 37,50	150					
	22 I	Fiszmanówna 37,50 + 12,50	50					
	22 I	Minor expenses via Cde Wasser 60,25, Bloch 130	190,25	1868,30				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–18]			**21316, 80**	**[income summary from pp. 2–18]**			**15795**
[19]	Transferred			21316,80	Transferred			15795
	28 I [1942]	Rabbi Huberband	100		6 I	Cde Rabinow[itz]	150	
	28 I	Via Cde Wasser, paper, pads, carbon paper	270		6 I	Mr Gewirc	100	
	29 I	Lighting 18, Goldsztajn 50, [minor] expenses via Rabbi Huberband	108		8 I	D.Z.T.	750	
	29 I	Minor donations via Cde Wasser 50, Winnik 30, coal, light 20,50	100,50	578,50	17 I	Mr Sztajn	500	
					18 I	Mr Mędrzycki	50	
					19 I	Via Cde Giterman, extra funding	1000	2550
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–19]			**21894,30**	**[income summary from pp. 2–19]**			**18345**
[20]	Transferred			21894,30	Transferred			18345
	6 II [1942]	Fajn 30, Huberb[and] 50, Wantech[?], 50, Grac[?] 50, paper 18,50	198,50		23 I	Mr Rowiński	100	

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	6 II	Winnik 50, Shainkinder 50, Wink[ler] 15	115		25 I	Dr Weichert	1000	
	8 II	Fligel[man] 50, Opoczynski 50, lighting 9, wood 11,50, [minor expenses] 25,50	146		25 I	Via Cde Wasser [?] 58 [. . .]	625	1725
	10 II	Via Cde Wasser, paper, carbon paper, newspapers	183,50					
	12 II	NN[57] 70, rickshaws 10,50, [small donations] 40	120,50					
	12 II	Cde Wasser	100					
	12 II	Rabbi Huberband 50 + 50	100					
	13 II	[Minor] expenses 19, Gorny 50, Flig[elman] 100, Gradz[?][58] 35	204					
	13 II	Cde Lewin 50, Tytel[man] 50, Ostrowska 50, Wajsberg 25	175					
	13 II	For small jobs 65, gas 25	90					

57 In Latin characters, to mark an anonymous co-worker of Oyneg Shabes.

58 Probably the same person whose name appears on 6 II as Grac.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	15 II	Starobroda[?] via Rabbi Huberband 30, [small donations] 40	70					
	17 II	Dr Ring[elblum]	300					
	17 II	Elbojm[?][59]	125					
	17 II	Lewinow	100					
	17 II	Mangel	100					
	23 II	Opoczynski	50					
	23 II	Rabbi Huberband	100	2277,50				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–20]			**24171,80**	**[income summary from pp. 2–20]**			**20070**
[21]	Transferred			24171,80	Transferred			20070
	24 II [1942]	rent 60, lighting 15, rickshaw 12, Rabbi [Shimon] Huberband 100	187		27 I	Via Cde Winter	300	
	24 II	Cde Wasser	100		27 I	Via Cde Kalksztajn	100	400
	24 II	Cde Lewinow	50					
	25 II	Paper 30, Chitowski 25	55					
	27 II	Cde Goldsztajn 40, Cde Grojnowski[60] 380	420					
	27 II	Via Cde Wasser newspapers, notebooks, carbide [for lamps]	115,50					

59 Elbojm, see ARG I 720 (Ring. I/799); ARG I 1425 (Ring. I/156).

60 Codename of Shloyme Winer.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	27 II	Small donations 45, copies 55, lighting 10,50	110,50					
	28 II	Koninski 55 + 30	85					
	28 II	Tytelman 70 + 30	100					
	28 II	Wasser 40 + 60	100					
	28 II	Ostrowska 85 + 15	100					
	28 II	Winnik 70 + 30	100					
	28 II	Zylberberg 35 + 15	50					
	28 II	Fligelman 70 + 30	100					
	28 II	Gorny 70 + 30	100					
	28 II	Lewin[?] 120 + 30	150					
	28 II	Opoczynski 70 + 30	100	2022,50				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–21]			**26194,30**	**[income summary from pp. 2–21]**			**20470**
[22]	Transferred			26194,30	Transferred			20470
	4 III [1942]	Rabbi Huberband ZS[61] 40, Szereszewska ZS 60	100		6 II	Cde Rabinow[itz]	150	
	6 III	Rent 30, Starob[roda?] 100, minor expenses 20,50	150,50		12 II	S.P.S. funds	320	

61 The abbreviation ז ט is in transliteration. We have not succeeded in deciphering its meaning.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	6 III	Dr Ring[elblum] for 2 ½ years[62]	500		19 II	Cde Winter ZS	500	
	6 III	Chitowski 30, small donations via Cde Huberb[and] 30, copies 90	150		23 II	D.Z.T.	750	1720
	7 III	Cde Baum	100					
	7 III	Szlag[. . .] 50, via Asz[63] 50, via Rabbi Huberband 70 Lublin[?][64]	170					
	7 III	Grojnowski – Pomeranc[65]	375					
	7 III	Notebooks 25, small donations 55, rickshaw 5,50	85,50					
	7 III	Rozenfeld[66]	100					
	7 III	Shainkinder 50, [small donations] 35, copies 100	185					
	7 III	Via Cde Wasser, minor expenses	85,80					
	15 III	Dr Ring[elblum] for 2 ½ years	500					

62 A reference to Oyneg Shabes's major scholarly project; see ARG I 5 (Ring. I/105) and the Introduction.

63 Possibly Nathan Asz, social activist, secretary of the General Zionists organisation in Poland; he worked for ŻSS in the Warsaw ghetto. See ARG II 143 (Ring. II/34/1); ARG II 144 (Ring. II/90).

64 Text unclear.

65 ARG I 1232 (Ring. I/162) contains short poems by Anatol Pomeranc; see also Itsik Pomaranc from Hrubieszów in ARG I 772 (Ring. I/552/2).

66 Perhaps author of the drawings; see ARG I 581 (Ring. I/277).

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	15 III	Rabbi Huberband 120 + 30	150					
	15 III	Chitowski, notebooks 10, lighting 12, NN[67] 50	72					
	15 III	Writing materials via Cde Wasser	29,50					
	15 III	Grojnowski, materials	426,50	3179,80				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–22]			**29374,10**	**[income summary from pp. 2–22]**			**22190**
[23]	Transferred			29374,10	Transferred			22190
	15 III [1942]	Grojnowski – Pomeranc	120		28 II	S.P.S.	240	
	16 III	Fligelman 70 + 30	100		28 II	Cde Samet	200	
	16 III	Koninski 45 + 30	75		28 II	Cde Winter ZS	1700	
	16 III	Winnik 20 + 30	50		28 II	Cde Winter ZS	690	2830
	16 III	Wasser 155 + 45	200					
	16 III	Gutkowski 35 + 15	50					
	16 III	Lewin 120 + 30	150					
	16 III	Tytelman 60 + 15	75					
	16 III	Wajsberg	50					
	16 III	Ostrowska	50					
	16 III	Baum	100					
	17 III	[Minor expenses] 32, pad 11, carbon paper 9,50	52,50					

67 Could be the same or might differ from that mentioned on 12 II.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	17 III	Travel expenses Grojnowski	100					
	17 III	Rent, food Grojnowski	130					
	17 III	Copy, Ruta Kranc	50					
	18 III	[Minor expenses] 20,50, Goldsztajn 25 + 20, lighting 12,75	78,25					
	19 III	Sztrasber[g?] 20, copies 50, notebooks 8,50	78,50					
	20 III	Rabbi Lew.[?] 65, copies 30	95	1604,25				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–23]			**30978,35**	**[income summary from pp. 2–23]**			**25020**
[24]	Transferred			30978,35	Transferred			25020
	22 III [1942]	Winnik[?] 20, [minor expenses] 38, Chitow[ski] 50, lighting 6,50	114,50		6 III	Dr Weichert	1000	
	23 III	Rabbi Huberband 100, Lewin 50	150		13 III	D.Z.T.	750	
	24 III	Cde Opoczynski 50, [small donations] via Huber[band] 40, paper 35	125		13 III	Cde Winter ZS	1633,50	
	25 III	Notebooks 25, Zylberberg 50, carbon paper 7,50, rickshaw 5,50	88		15 III	Cde Winter for Grojnowski	500	3883,50

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	30 III	Warszawski 100, Mądry-kamień [?][68] 100, Chit[owski] 50, Fuks[69] 50	300					
	31 III	Rabbi Huberband	100					
	31 III	Cde Gutkowski	50					
	31 III	Cde Fligelman	150					
	31 III	Cde Tytelman	75					
	31 III	Cde Lewin	175					
	31 III	Cde Opoczynski	50					
	31 III	Koninski 75, Winnik 50, Zylberberg 50	175					
	31 III	Cde Gorny 100, Krauze[70] 50	150					
	31 III	Dr Ring[elblum]	500					
	31 III	Cde Wasser	150					
	31 III	For copies 50, Wajsberg 50	100					
	31 III	Photos Baum	150	2602,50				
[25]	**[expenditure summary from pp. 2–24]**			**33580,85**	**[income summary from pp. 2–24]**			**28903,50**
	Transferred			33580,85	Transferred			28903,50
	1 IV [1942]	Feld 50, Grac[?] 50	100		16 III	Cde Wint[er] ZS	920	
	1 IV	Pouches, package despatch	58,70		17 III	Cde Zylbersztajn	100	

68 Possibly M. Mądrykamień, living on Nalewki Street 35; see further on.

69 See also under 25 September 1941.

70 Possibly Rita Krauze; see also further on.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	1 IV	Krauze	100		17 III	Cde Rabinow[itz]	150	
	1 IV	Goldin 30, Gryn[71] 40, newspapers 34, [minor expenses] 22	126		17 III	S.P.S. funds	320	1490
	1 IV	Cde Wasser, Tr[. . .]man 17,40, Gud[?] 34	51,40					
	1 IV	Notebooks 13, Chitow[ski] 50, [minor expenses] 17,50	80,50					
	1 IV	[. . .] 75, [. . .] 25	100					
	12 IV	Dr Ring[elblum]	300					
	12 IV	Cde Wasser	300					
	12 IV	Tytelman 75, Zylberberg 75, Gorny 75, Ostrow[ska] 75	300					
	12 IV	Goldin 78, Krauze 50, Winnik 75, Huberb[and] 120	323					
	12 IV	Via Rabbi Huberband 100, Koninski 100	200					
	12 IV	Opoczynski 50, Fligelman 150, Klejnman 75, Lewin 150	425					

71 Perhaps the spelling reflects an incorrect order of letters; the correct wording might be Gorny.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	12 IV	Via telegraph to Grojnowski[72]	165					
	12 IV	Krauze copies 50, Chit[owski] 30, carbon paper via Cde Wasser 25	105					
	12 IV	Via Cde Wasser newspapers[?], paper, [. . .]	117					
	12 IV	small donations via Wasser 39, via me[73] 95	134					
	12 IV	Baum 150, copies Cde Wasser 150	300	3286,05				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–25]			36866,90	**[income summary from pp. 2–25]**			30393,50
[26]	Transferred			35866,90	Transferred			30393,50
	18 IV [1942]	Blechar[74] 110, [minor expenses], rickshaw 30	140		30 III	Cde Winter ZS 49	980	
	25 IV	Chit[owski] 50, [minor expenses] 17,50, Meisel[?] 35	102,50		30 III	Cde Winter ZS 20	800	1780
	25 IV	Via Cde Wasser for copies	265					
	30 IV	Shainkinder 50, Opoczynski 50	100					
	30 IV	Cde Wasser	100					

72 Between 5 and 11 April, Shloyme Winer sent a letter to Wasser, including a request for money. A note dated 12 April confirms despatch of 165 zlotys. Szlamek perished during the first *Aktion* in Zamość on 12 April 1942. See (Ring. I 596).

73 I.e. Menakhem Mendel Kon (Kohn).

74 Blechar (?); see note of 28 August 1941.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	30 IV	Rabbi Huberband	80	787,50				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–26]			**37654,40**	**[income summary from pp. 2–26]**			**32173,50**
[27]	Transferred			37654,40	Transferred			32173,50
	2 V [1942]	Krauze 170, copies 5[o]	220		1 IV	„ZS" [. . .] 30	600	
	2 V	Cde Lewin	100		5 IV	Cde [Shmuel] Winter	2000	2600
	2 V	Cde Fligelman	100					
	2 V	Cde Tytelman 75, Klejnman 75	150					
	2 V	Cde Górn[y]	100					
	2 V	Cde Winnik 75, Zylberberg 75	150					
	2 V	Rabbi Huberband	200					
	2 V	Ostrowska 75, minor expenses 25	100					
	2 V	Cde Wasser	100					
	2 V	Expenses via M.K.[75] 30,50, Liberman 75, bags 15	120,50					
	7 V	minor expenses 20,50 and donations 30, st[76] 100	150,50					
	11 V	Dr Ring[elblum] 300 + 200 st	500					
	11 V	Cde Wasser, st	200					

75 Possibly Menakhem Mendel Kon (Kohn).

76 The abbreviation *st* (meaning a number of standard pages) is found on many ARG documents. Perhaps it was a basis for calculating payments.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	11 V	Rabbi Huberband, st	150					
	11 V	Cde Gutkowski, st	100					
	11 V	Cde Lewin, st	100					
	11 V	Cde Fligelman, st	100					
	11 V	Cde Opoczynski, st	100	2740				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–27]			40395,40	**[income summary from pp. 2–27]**			34773,50
[28]	Transferred			40395,40	Transferred			34773,50
	11 V [1942]	Shainkinder 50, Gorny 100, Winnik 50	200		20 IV	Via Dr [Emanuel] Ring[elblum]	300	
	11 V	Sztrasb[erg] 50, [. . .] for a comrade 70	120		22 IV	S.P.S. funds	240	540
	11 V	Small donations 35, gas 25, rickshaw 5	65					
	13 V	Rabbi Lew[in] for work	100					
	15 V	Fidler	270					
	15 V	Rabbi Huberb[and] 50, medicine Lewin[?] 50, Chit[owski] 50, rent 100	250					
	21 V	Rabbi Huberb[and] 100, [. . .] 100	200					
	21 V	Baum	150					
	21 V	Koninski	100					

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	21 V	Cde Lewin 50, Chit[owski] 50, [minor donations] via M. K. 35,50	135,50					
	21 V	Cde Gutkowski	200					
	21 V	Cde Wasser	200					
	21 V	Cde Lewin	150					
	21 V	Cde Ostrowska	75					
	21 V	Cde Fligelman	100					
	21 V	Cde Gorny	100					
	21 V	Publications[?] via Cde Wasser	186,50	2602				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–28]			42997,40	**[income summary from pp. 2–28]**			35313,50
[29]	Transferred			42997,40	Transferred			35313,50
	24 V [1942]	Cde Lichtenstein	100		9 V	Cde Winter “ZS” funds 49 k. [. . .]	2249	
		Minor expenses 10,50, notebooks 9,50, Winnik 25, Rabbi Huberb[and] 50	95		10 V	Cde Winter “ZS” funds 50	1320	
	27 V	Cde Gutkowski	100		10 V	Cde Winter “ZS” funds	500	4069
	28 V	Cde Lichtenstein	100					
	31 V	[. . .] paper	80	475				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–29]			43472,40	**[income summary from pp. 2–29]**			39382,50
[30]	Transferred			43472,40	Transferred			39382,50
	5 VI [1942]	Rabbi Huberband 50 + 100	150		15 V	Cde Rabinowitz [. . .]	300	

[EXPENDITURES]					[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	5 VI	Cde Gutkowski	100		21 V	Cde Winter "ZS" [a]yellow fund[a][77] Additions 100 kg at 45 – 4500 50 kg at 20 – 1000 73 kg at 47 – 3431 [summary] 8931 Given to Cde Rabinowitz on account of 2 ½ years[78] 5000	3931	4231
	5 VI	Chitowski 25, [. . .] 15, rickshaw 10,50	50,50					
	5 VI	Cde Lewin 50 + 100	150					
	9 VI	Cde Dr Ringel[blum]	500					
	9 VI	Cde Wasser	300					
	9 VI	Rabbi Huberband	100					
	9 VI	Fligelman 100, Goldin 100, Winnik 50	250					
	9 VI	Ostrowska 50, Gorny 100, Klejnman 100	250					

77 [a–a] Not deciphered.

78 For the project "Two and a half years". See ARG II 263/1 (II/233).

		[EXPENDITURES]			[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	9 VI	Shainkind[er] 50, Koninski 50, Lichtenstein 100	200					
	9 VI	Libig[?]	100					
	9 VI	Cde Wasser for report[79]	250					
	9 VI	Copies via Cde Wasser 115, via K.[80] 28,50	143,50					
	9 VI	Cde Gutkowski 100, Chitow[ski] 50, Cde F. 100	250					
	9 VI	Copies 110, notebooks 21, rickshaw 5,50	136,50					
	11 VI	3/6[81] Tyszowce[82]	100					
	11 VI	Minor expenses 32,10, prescription Lewin[?] 55,75	86,25[83]					
	11 VI	F. Cukier	100	3216,75				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–30]			**46689,15**	**[income summary from pp. 2–30]**			**43613,50**
[31]	Transferred			46689,15	Transferred			43613,50
	14 VI [1942]	Cde Opoczynski	150					
	15 VI	[minor expenses] 13,50, notebooks 7, Berliń[[ki] 100	120,50					

79 Possibly the report "Gehenna Żydów polskich pod okupacją hitlerowską" [Gehenna of Polish Jews under the German occupation]; see doc. 67.

80 Possibly Menakhem Mendel Kon (Kohn).

81 3/6 – perhaps the date when the material was paid for, but was recorded on 11 June.

82 See the testimony given by Rotring, recorded after 25 May 1942 by Yekhiel Gorny, ARG I 1031 (Ring. I/1061).

83 Error in addition in the original.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	17 VI	Chit[owski] 50, [minor expenses] via Cde Wasser 71,75	121,75					
	18 VI	Liber[man?] for copies 75, [small donations] 35	110					
	18 VI	Rent 60, Zylberb[erg] 50, Cde Wasser [. . .] 50	160					
	21 VI	Rabbi Lewin [?] for work 50, [minor expenses] 12,50, notebooks 8,50, Winnik 15	86					
	22 VI	Cde Gutkowski	100					
	22 VI	Notebooks 19, rickshaw 2,50, Winnik 50, Chit[owski] 50, Lewin 50	171,50					
	26 VI	Rabbi Huberband 50, Winnik 30, [minor expenses] 35	105					
	30 VI	Cde Wasser	200					
	30 VI	Lewin 100, Ostrowska 50, Gorny 100	250					
	30 VI	Shainkinder 50, Opoczynski 100, Lichtenstein 40	190					

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	30 VI	Expenses via Cde Wasser, Huberband, Gutkowski	168,85	1933				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–31]			**48622,75**	**[income summary from pp. 2–31]**			**43613,50**
[32]	Transferred			48622,75	Transferred			43613,50
	5 VII [1942]	Rabbi Huberband	100		9 VI	Via Cde Winter 70 "ZS" yellow fund at 41	2870	
	5 VII	Cukier 75, Chitowski 50, Ołow[?] 50	175		9 VI	Via Cde Winter 27 "ZS" yellow fund at 20	540	
	5 VII	Dr Ring[elblum]	150		13 VI	Cde Rabinow[itz]	150	
	5 VII	Small donations M.[84] 15 [+] 20 [+] 15, rickshaws 6,50, Berlin[er][85] 100	156,50		13 VI	Cde Jat[. . .][86]	200	3760
	7 VII	Dr Ring[elblum]	200					
	7 VII	Minor expenses 27,50, Zylberb[erg] 50, Chit[owski] 20	97,50					
	10 VII	Shmuel[87]	100					
	10 VII	Cde Lichtenstein 100, rent 50, [minor expenses] 17,50	167,50					

84 Possibly Menakhem Mendel Kon.
85 Possibly David Berliner.
86 Reading uncertain.
87 Possibly Shmuel Breslav.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	12 VII	Huberband 100, Bojm[88] 40, Pola[89] 100, Gutkow[ski] 100	340					
	12 VII	Lewin 100, Shainkinder 50, Fligelman 100	250					
	12 VII	Ostrowska 50, Winnik 50, Lewin 50, Klejnman 50	200					
	12 VII	Cde Wasser	250					
	12 VII	Adler[90] 50, expenses 30,50, bags 15, Genye[?][91] 15, Gorny 100	210,50					
	12 VII	Cde Genye 100, [small donations] via me 35, [. . .] 50	185					
	16 VII	Cde Winnik 45, notebooks 5,50, expenses 17,50, Chit[owski] 20, Rubinsztajn 50	138					
	16 VII	Cukier [. . .] 100, Goldsz[tajn] 25	125	2845,50				

88 Possibly a phographer Henryk (Chil) Boym (Baum) (see note of 15 August 1941) or Paweł Bohm Fajwel Bohm), social activist from the Poznań region, author of testimonies on the first months of the German occupation, delivered in the Warsaw Ghetto; see ARG I 968 (Ring. I/1050).

89 Pola Elster (?–1944), activist of Hashomer Hatzair and Poalei Tsiyon Left; fell in the Warsaw Uprising of August 1944; see ARG II 31a (Ring. II/253); II 278 (Ring. II/149).

90 Possibly Khayim Adler, 25 Franciszkańska Street; see doc. 1.

91 Possibly Genya Rapaport; see doc. 2.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–32]			**51468,25**	**[income summary from pp. 2–32]**			**47373,50**
[33]	Transferred			51468,25	Transferred			47373,50
	19 VII [1942]	Cde Gutkowski	150		14 VI	Cde Kalksz[tajn]	150	
	19 VII	Cde Wasser	150		14 VI	From Cde Wasser	250	
	19 VII	Cde Opoczynski 150, Cde Tytelman 50, Winnik 50	250		15–23 VI	S.P.S. funds	250	
	19 VII	copies 50, Rubinsztajn 50, Pola 100	200		20 VI	For 23 kg [. . .]	460	
	19 VII	[Minor donations] via Cde Wasser, M. 20, T. [?]	85,50					
	19 VII	Dr Ring[elblum]	300					
	19 VII	Lewin 50, Hercel for copies 100	150					
	19 VII	Craftsman[92]	300					
	29 VII	Cde Wasser	300					
	29 VII	Cde Gutkowski	300					
	29 VII	Cde Lewin	200					
	29 VII	Cde Gorny 100, Tytelman 100, Shainkinder 100	300					
	29 VII	Cde Shmuel 100, Huberb[and] 150, Fligelman 100, Klejnman 100	450					

92 Possibly another payment for tin boxes for packing the ARG materials.

	[EXPENDITURES]				[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
	29 VII	Cde Lichtenstein 100, Pola 100, Herc[el] 100	300					
	29 VII	Cde Opoczynski						
	29 VII	Cde Chitow[ski] 50, Ołow [?] rabbi 100, [small donations] 25	175					
	29 VII	Rickshaw [. . .] Dr 20, Zylber[93] 50	70	3830,50				
	[expenditure summary from pp. 2–33]			**55298,75**	**[income summary from pp. 2–33]**			**48483,50**
[34]	Transferred			55298,75	Transferred			48483,50
	2 VIII [1942]	Cde Prof. [?] 50, bread 84, messenger 35 + 12	181		3 VII	50 kg[?] "ZS" fund at 44,50 – 2225 Cde Rabinow[itz] 2½ – 1200	1025	
	7 VIII	7 loaves of bread at 12	84		3 VII	Cde Ratner	100	
					12 VII	48 [k?] "ZS" – 2605 Cde Rabinow[itz] 2½ – 1000	1605	
					19 VII	45 [k?] "ZS" – 2350 Cde Rabinow[itz] 2½ "ZS" 6 [tk?] 120 Cde Rabino-w[itz] cash "ZS" – 1000	1230	3960

93 Possibly Zylberberg. See note of 28 August 1941.

[EXPENDITURES]					[INCOME]			
[p.]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]	[date]	[name]	[amount]	[sum]
					[income summary from pp. 2–34]			52443,50
[35]					29 VII	Cde Winter "ZS" 24.70	2090	
					29 VII	Cde Winter "ZS" 25 for Rab[inowitz?]	500	
					29 VII	Cde Rabinow[itz]	50	2640
					[income summary from pp. 2–35]			55083,50
[35v]					Transferred			55083,50

[36]
1600
Gmilut Khesed,[94] Cde Rabinowitz 200
Rabbi from Piaseczno for pupils 300
[. . .] *Gmilut Khesed* Dr Guzik 300[95]
[. . .] Cde Giterman loan 100
[. . .] kitchen, 3 months 4500
[. . .] 4 months 3000
Received 21/6 from Dr Guzik 300 zl[otys]
Given back to Rabbi Huberb[and] 29/6 200 zł on account 1000
8/7 *Gmilut Khesed* Dr Guzik 200

[36v]

31/4[?]	M. Mądrykamień[?]	Nalewki Street 35	100
	Z. Węgrowiec	Nowolipie Street 66	100
	Z. Drzewko	Nowolipie Street 66	100
	P. Jungwic	Nalewki Street 27	100
	Henryk Librach	Elektoralna Street 32	100

94 (Hebr.) A charity group.
95 The number is crossed out.

	Halt Moyshe	Przebieg Street 2	100
	F. Liberman	Przebieg Street 2	100
	Rubin[?] David	Orla Street 3	100
	Elenberg Feyga	Nowolipki Street 23	100
	Biezaner[?] Lea	Przebieg Street 2	100
	Fider Moyshe	Nowolipki Street 59	100
	Chitowski	Gęsia Street 17	100
	Sztrasberg	Ogrodowa Street 26	100
	Irena[?] Libermanowa	Przebieg Street 8	300
	[summary]		1600[96]

[37][97]

48622
175
———
48797

48483
1025
———
49508

8
5
———
13

[40][98]

Lewin	60
Fligelman	80

[x][99]

96 This page appears to contain the breakdown of the figure of 1600 shown under Expenditure on the previous page.

97 This page contains calculations scribbled vertically in no apparent order.

98 Pages 38–39 are missing in the page numbering of the original. The text on p. 40 is written in H.W.'s handwriting, except for some calculations.

99 [x] Goldin 5.

Ostrowska		50	
Gorny		80	
Shainkinder		50	
Myself,[100] Wasser, Gutk[owski], Hub[erband]		168,85	
Opoczynski		100	
[summary]		588,85	
[minus]		60	
		528,85	
Commercial expenses		12,50	
		541,35	

Wasser	140		
Kon	4.[101]	80	
Goldin	1.	20	
Krauze	1.	20	
Smolar	1.	20	
Herclich	2.	40	180
Lewin	2.		
Wasser	3.		
Fligelman	1.		
Gorny	1.		
Winnik	1.		
Lichtenstein	2.		
Pola [Elster?]	1.		
Shainkinder	1.		

Wasser	200	80 + 120
Lewin	100	40 + 60
Ostrowska	50	
Gorny	100	20 + 80
Shainkinder	50	

100 Possibly Menakhem Mendel Kon.

101 We do not know the meaning of the figures in this column.

Opoczynski	100		
Winnik	20	20 –	
Lichtenstein	40	40 –	

ARG II 1 (Ring. II/212)
Description: original, handwritten (MK*, H.W.*), notebook, ink, Yiddish, 143×158, 137×202, 167×213 mm, 37 sheets, 71 pages.

7

[06.1942], Warsaw ghetto. [Hersh Wasser], notes. Perhaps the list of payments for Oyneg Shabes associates; calculations[102]

[1] June [1942]

[Name]	[...]	?[103]	?	?	?	?
Dr [Emanuel Ringelblum]	500	ק	–			
Wasser	300	ו	–	200	60	[...]
Gutkowski	200	ק	100			
Huberband	250	ק	150[?]			
Lewin	150	ק		100	40	60
Fligelman	100	[...]	–	100	20	
Goldin	100	ו	+	50		
Winnik	50	[...]		20		
Ostrowska	50	[...]	–	50		50
Gorny						

102 This list is on the reverse of an anonymous testimony entitled "Lublin", also recorded by Hersh Wasser. See doc. 6 p. [30] – the entries of 5 and 9 June 1942 are identical to those on this list, except for the last five.

103 In this column the Hebrew letters ק and ו are used as symbols. Probably they are initials of Kon and Wasser's surnames. Both Kon and Wasser were managing the Oyneg Shabes finances.

[Name]	[. . .]	?[103]	?	?	?	?
Kleiman [Kleinman]	100[?]	וו	+			
Shainkinder	50	וו	+	50		50
Koninski	50	וו	+	50		
Lichten[stein]	100	ק		40	–	
Lewi [. . .]	75	ק				
Special works	50.	וו				
Copying [. . .]	50	וו				
Activities expenses	105.4			16085–110		
Opoczynski	100					

ARG I 852 (Ring. I/1212)
Description: original or copy, handwritten (H.W.*), ink, Yiddish, 145×200 mm, parts missing, 1 sheet, 1 page.

Chapter 2

Cataloguing the Archive

8

June–July 1942, Warsaw ghetto, [Hersh Wasser], lists of materials included in the Oyneg Shabes archives (fragments).[104]

a)

[1]

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Codename[105]]	[pp.]	[File No.]
[P]	. . .refugees		11	
	[. . .]		4	
	[. . .]		5	
	[. . .]		12	

104 This document includes series of lists, varying in structure, types of paper, and dates. We have attempted to put them in chronological order. The subsequent series are marked from a) to g). In order to provide information about the listed items, we added heads to the lists and the following data when these documents have been identified: their original language [L]: [P] – Polish, [Y] – Yiddish, [G] – German, [H] – Hebrew, and catalogue file numbers. We have added a question mark if the identification is but assumed. In the case of periodicals, we have also translated their titles. All this additional information is placed in brackets, so that it is clear to understand which part of a table belongs to the original.

105 List of codenames; see Introduction, table 3. Information on authors (if available) – see Biographical notes.

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Codename[105]]	[pp.]	[File No.]
	[. . .]		17	
[P]	Reduction	Kon	3	[ARG I 504 (Ring. I/212)]
[P] [Y]	What [a certain twenty-year-old Jewish woman newly arrived from Grodno] tells about life [of Jews in Polish territories occupied by the Soviets]	„	8	[ARG I 749 (Ring. I/934)]
[P]	Wło[cławek]	Fligar	33	[ARG I 1049 (Ring. I/940)]
[P]	Las [. . .]	”	9	
[P]	Kon[in]	”	9	[ARG I 801 (Ring. I/841)]
[P]	Grodz[isk] Maz[owiecki] Section	Kampel	8	[ARG I 757 f (Ring. I/15)]
	” ” Returns	”	10	[ARG I 757 g (Ring. I/9)]
[P]	Certain	Kon	3	
[P]	Grodz[isk] Maz[owiecki] Section	Kampel	6	[ARG I 757 f (Ring. I/15)]
[P]	” ” ”	”	4	[ARG I 757 f (Ring. I/15)]
[Y]	Camp in Osowa	Guter	19	[ARG I 1158 (Ring. I/424)]
	[. . .]	Iliard	11	
[P]	Jews in Kali[sz]	Kon	20	[ARG I 783 e (Ring. I/825)]
[P]	Recollections	”	20	[ARG I 458 (Ring. I/668)]
[P]	My second	Cuczel	9	[ARG I 890 (Ring. I/859)]
[P]	[Account about the Jewish community in] Lipno	Zylber	14	[ARG I 841 (Ring. I/854)]
[Y]	[Folklore] Volume 2	Hober	9	[ARG I 1257 b (Ring. I/109) [?]]
[P]	About my forced journey	Cuczel	44	[ARG I 894 (Ring. I/30)]
	[Used goods – the sole business among the Jews in the Warsaw ghetto during 1940 and 1941]	Tykociński	10	[ARG I 632 (Ring. I/57, I/104)]
[P]	Sierpc	Fligar	15	[ARG I 999 (Ring. I/917)]
[P]	Pomiech[ówek][106]	Ostro	20	

106 Interviews with prisoners of the Pomiechówek camp can be found in ARG I 1163 through ARG I 1168.

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Codename[105]]	[pp.]	[File No.]
[Y]	[...] of refugees from Płock[107]		11	
[P]	Pomiech[ówek] conc[entration] camp	Błaszka	12	[ARG I 1168 (Ring. I/417)]
[P]	Jewish school system	[108]א	2	[ARG I 670 b (Ring. I/1220/2)]
[Y]	[Association] of refugees from Płock		8	[ARG I 165 j (Ring. I/536)]

[2]

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Codename]	[pp.]	[File No.]
[P]	How [anti-aircraft] defence was organised [during the siege of Warsaw in September 1939 in the Jewish building at ulica Franciszkańska 30]	Kon	[5]	[ARG I 1094 (Ring. I/188)]
[Y]	[Notes on the history of leaving and entering] the ghetto	Wink	4	[ARG I 638 (Ring. I/187)
[Y]	[Account of the fate of Jews of Sochaczew]	Groyl	[...]	[ARG I 1011 (Ring. I/1146)
[P]	[...]	Section[109]	37	[ARG I 1144a (Ring. I/3) [?]
[Y]	[Radomsko 1.09.1939 – 15.12.1939]	M. Frenkiel	38	[ARG I 983 (Ring. I/901)
[P]	[...]	Section	33	[ARG I 1144a (Ring. I/3) [?]]
[P]	[...]	Fligar	11	[ARG I 837 (Ring. I/839) or HWC 27/1]
[P]	[Account of a] Kalisz [native from 1939, part IV]	Kon	6	[ARG I 783c (Ring. I/830)]

107 Probably part of the so-called Płock letters collection in the Archive.

108 We decided not to replace the Hebrew character by A or [alef].

109 The Polish word *Wydział* (section, as in an office or organisation), which appears as a codename, probably refers to a group of people (the same as *opteyl*, in Yiddish, in the Transport 108/1), so we decided to translate it.

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Codename]	[pp.]	[File No.]
[P]	[Bagatelles pour une massacre] Koło[110]	Fligar	6	[ARG I 799 (Ring. I/844)]
[P]	They were [imprisoned] in G[ermany][111]	”	17	[ARG I 1103 (Ring. I/94)]
[P]	Expulsion of the Jews	Kampel	11	[ARG I 969 (Ring. I/1072)]
[Y]	[Account about Mrs. Bajnsztok of Warsaw] Now[olipki] 76	Wajsberg	2	[ARG I 500 (Ring. I/362)]
[P]	W[arsza]wa 15/9	Vel	11	[ARG I 459 (Ring. I/1071)]
			207 181[112]	
[P]	Children's poetry	Pomeranc	3	[ARG I 1232 (Ring. I/162)]
	[. . .] Vilna	Wink	4	[ARG I 1034 (Ring. I/929) or [ARG I 1035 (Ring. I/930)]
[P]	Children's poetry	Pomeranc	3	[ARG I 1232 (Ring. I/162)]
[G] [G] [G[[G]	Memorandum on the epidemic Memorandum on the prophylactic Memorandum on the causes [. . .] for Mr D. Memorandum on some [. . .] for combatting typhus		[13]	[ARG I 609 (Ring. I/85)]
[Y]	[In Announcement]	Glater	[. . .]	[ARG I 1218 (Ring. I/1166) [?]]
[P]	Statement of M.D.		[5]	[ARG I 1081 (Ring. I/24)]
[P]	[Account of the fate of Jews of Sochaczew, part I], Kalisz	Kon	[. . .]	[ARG I 783 (Ring. I/825, 826, 830, 1218) – fragment]
	[. . .]	Ostro[wska]	[. . .]	
	[. . .]	Cha [. . .]?	[. . .]	
[P]	Końskowola	Lebensold	[6]	[ARG I 805 (Ring. I/835)]
	Scenes [. . .]	Lebensold [?]	[. . .]	

110 The original title is in French.

111 The original title is in German.

112 The figure 181 refers to a total number of pages in this column from the top of p. [6], except for the text by H. Grojł. Perhaps the figure 207 includes his text; however, it is 29 sheets (30 pages) long.

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Codename]	[pp.]	[File No.]
	[. . .]	[. . .]	[. . .]	
[Y]	[. . .] from the camps	Section	[. . .]	
			161	

[3] [. . .]ember[113] 1941

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Codename]	[pp.]	[Catalogue file number]
[P]	Impressions from a camp	An.	3	[ARG I 1126 (Ring. I/397)]
[P]	Nasielsk	Lebensold	4	[ARG I 933 (Ring. I/873)]
[Y]	[The 'March' into the Ritual Bath, Beginning of the Year] 5701	Band	4	[ARG I 417 (Ring. I/218)]
[Y]	[From the series Jewish Livelihoods] in the Ghetto	Berliner	6	[ARG I 636 (Ring. I/226)]
[P]	Wiskitki	Kampel	6	[ARG I 1047 (Ring. I/941)]
[P]	Memorandum [for Mr] Czernia[kow]	via Ch.	2	[ARG I 292a (Ring. I/215) [?]]
[P]	Information [concerning "export" production of the Warsaw ghetto]	Kler	3	[ARG I 626 (Ring. I/371) [?]]
[P]	Jewish religion	א	4	[ARG I 1068 (Ring. I/153) [?]]
[P]	Supplement to the [report on the activity of Toporol]	Kon	3+8 11	[ARG I 67 (Ring. I/148) and [ARG I 1130 (Ring. I/171)]
[P]	Appendix to the memorandum [from workers of the tailors' workshop no. 12 at Prosta Street 14 (2nd floor) to Adam Czerniakow.]	via Ch.	3	[ARG I 292b (Ring. I/322) [?]]
[P]	Aleksandrów – Warsaw	Fligar	19	[ARG I 684 (Ring. I/789)]
[Y]	[. . .] August 1941	Bliml	4	[ARG I 449 (Ring. I/507)]
[Y]	[. . .] October 1941	Bliml	4	[ARG I 449 (Ring. I/507)]

113 It can be **Sept**ember, **Nov**ember or **Dec**ember.

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Codename]	[pp.]	[Catalogue file number]
[Y]	[. . .]	Bliml	3	
[Y]	[. . .]	Bliml	1	
[Y]	[. . .] September 1941	Bliml	1	[ARG I 449 (Ring. I/507)]
[Y]	[. . .]	Bliml	1	
[P]	Warsaw Oct[ober]	Vel	8	[ARG I 460 (Ring. I/176)]
[Y]	[Experiences of a] working-class family. Łódź.	Samson	13	[ARG I 917 (Ring. I/863)]
[P]	Warsaw [Report about the treatment of Jews by the Polish population in Warsaw (September 1939–October 1940).]	Vel	17	[ARG I 460 (Ring. I/176)]
			[11]8	

b)

[4] *Transport 107/1 January 1942*

[L]	[Title of periodical]	[issues]	[co-pies]	[translation of a title and file number]
[Y]	*Morgn-Frayhayt*,	4 to 22 January 1942	18	[Dawn of Freedom], [ARG I 1318 (Ring. I/691)]
[Y]	*Der Veker*,	No. 1/25, 18 January 1942	2	[The Awakener], [ARG I 1338 (Ring. I/681)]
[P]	Wiadomości i Komunikaty,	31 December to 17 January 1942	17	[News and Communiqués], [ARG I 1339 (Ring. I/768)]
[P]	*Barykada Wolności*,	No. 79, 22/12 – No. 79/2, 4 January 1942	2	[Barricade of Freedom], [ARG I 354 (Ring. I/712)]
[P]	*PONS*[114]	No. 30, 23/12/1941	1	[Polish National-Syndicalist Organisation] [ARG I 1371 (Ring. I/718)]
[Y]	*Yugnt-Shtime*,	No. 1/14, January 1942	1	[Voice of Youth], [ARG I 1310 (Ring. I/685)]

114 Polska Organizacja Narodowo-Syndykalistyczna.

[L]	[Title of periodical]	[issues]	[co-pies]	[translation of a title and file number]
[Y]	*Tsayt-Fragn*,	No. 3, December 1941	1	[Current Issues], [ARG I 1301 (Ring. I/680)]
[Y]	*Fraye Prese*, communiqués,	13 January 1942	1	[Free Press], [ARG I 1318 (Ring. I/691, I/933)][115]
[Y]	*Prol[etarisher] Gedank*,	reprint from No. 5	1	[Proletarian Thought], [ARG I 1329a (Ring. I/742) [?]]
[P]	*Rzeczpospolita Polska*,	No. 19/20, 11 December 1941	1	[Polish Commonwealth], [ARG I 1373 (Ring. I/723)]
[Y]	*Yugnt-Ruf*	Borochov issue, No. 3, December 1941	1	[Call to Youth], [ARG I 1309 (Ring. I/1008)]
[P, H]	*El-Al*,	No. 5, January 1942	1	[To the Heights], [ARG I 1305 (Ring. I/701)]

Transport 108/1 January 1942

[L]	[title or subject]	[pages]	[File number]
[G]	Der Hammer		[ARG I 1363 (Ring. I/760)]
[P]	Żabie	1	[ARG I 1018 (Ring. I/117)]
[Y]	Vilna – Unger – [x][116]	40	[ARG I 1041 (Ring. I/935)]
[P, Y]	Rogowy's letter about disorder at the Jewish cemetery	1	[ARG I 579 (Ring. I/335)]
[P, Y]	Rogowy's letter about principles of taxation	1	[ARG I 579 (Ring. I/335)]
[Y]	"A Story of *Paruvka*", Peretz[117]	34	[ARG I 438 (Ring. I/207)][118]
[P]	Invitation to a satirical show organised by the Provisioning Unit	1	[ARG I 278h (Ring. I/776/2)]
[H]	Rabbinical proclamation, Hebrew	1	[ARG I 1352 (Ring. I/1077)]

115 A few issues of *Morgn Frayhayt*, of 5 and 9 December 1941 and three without date are included here by mistake.

116 [x] two notebooks.

117 An essay by Peretz Opoczynski.

118 The duplicate in the ARG collection was lost after 1955; a copy is preserved in HWC 39/7.

[L]	[title or subject]	[pages]	[File number]
[H]	Invitation to a seminar, Hebrew	1	[ARG I 1469 (Ring. I/1122) [?]]
[P]	Bychawa, a pass, Polish	1	[119]
[G, P]	De-registering a worker shot by the SS	1	[ARG I 1120 (Ring. I/1118)]
[P]	Bychawa, a letter to the *Judenrat*, Polish	1	[ARG I 705 (Ring. I/271)]
[P]	Jewish colony Bugitten, a letter to ORT, Polish	2	[ARG I 704a (Ring. I/382)]
[P]	Section's camp materials, Polish	14	[ARG I 1190 (Ring. I/26)]
[P]	Section's camp materials, Łowicz, Polish	8	[ARG I 1149 (Ring. I/372)]

[5] *Transport 109/1 January 1942*

[No]	[Title or subject]	[Codename or name]	[Language]	[Pages]	[File No.]
1.	From a diary	Frydrych	Yiddish	1	[ARG I 412 (Ring. I/464)]
2.	From a diary. Shelter	M. Wasser	Polish	7	[ARG I 469 (Ring. I/116)]
3.	July 1941. New professions in wartime	Berliner	Yiddish	8	[ARG I 619 (Ring. I/216)]
4.	Book trade (diary, notes)	Bliml	Yiddish	3	[ARG I 578 (Ring. I/512)]
5.	22 November 1941 (diary, notes)	Bliml	Yiddish	3	[ARG I 447 (Ring. I/505)]
6.	Sochaczew, the Jewish cemetery	Kampel	Polish	4	[ARG I 1014 (Ring. I/914)]
7.	Vilna. Until [establishment] of the ghetto	[shomer]	Polish	6	[ARG I 1036 (Ring. I/931)]
8.	September 1941	Bliml	Yiddish	4	[ARG I 449a (Ring. I/507/1)]
9.	Journey to Russia	H. Lewkowicz	Polish	7	[ARG I 1063 (Ring. I/478)]
10.	Wiskitki	Zimler	Polish	6	[ARG I 1046 (Ring. I/942)]
11.	"Mon retour de l'URSS"	[120]	Polish	50	[ARG I 845 (Ring. I/487)]

119 In the collection of the Ghetto Fighters' House Archive, Catalogue No. 20440.

120 At the note attached to the file, Wasser wrote in Yiddish: "shomer – vilner" (a scout from Vilna).

[No]	[Title or subject]	[Codename or name]	[Language]	[Pages]	[File No.]
12.	Vilna	Kac	Polish	8	[ARG I 844 (Ring. I/494)]
13.	Police	Telem	Polish	13	[ARG I 435 (Ring. I/100) [?]]
14.	Jewish colony Bugitten, [a letter] to Toporol		Polish	2	[ARG I 704b (Ring. I/382)]
15.	Częstochowa. Dina Szaja	Wink	Yiddish	6	[ARG I 716 (Ring. I/797)]
16.	Kosów Lacki	H. Lewkowicz	Polish	12	[ARG I 808 (Ring. I/479)]
17.	Chełm	Wink Goldfarb	Yiddish	6	[ARG I 708 (Ring. I/818)]
18.	Grodzisk. Cemetery	Kampel	Polish	2	[ARG I 757d (Ring. I/8)]
19.	Grodzisk. Study house	Kampel	Polish	2	[ARG I 757b (Ring. I/8)]
20.	Grodzisk. Beret and stocking industry	Kampel	Polish	2	[ARG I 757e (Ring. I/8)]
21.	Grodzisk. Ritual bath	Kampel	Polish	2	[ARG I 757c (Ring. I/8)]
22.	[a]Profiles of excellent men in the Order Service[a][121]		Polish	[12]	[ARG I 1349 (Ring. I/35)]
23.	Essays about the ghetto	Y. Ber	Yiddish	13	[ARG I 1211 (Ring. I/1138)]
24.	Agriculture among the Jews 1941 – Toporol		Polish	8	[ARG I 66 (Ring. I/147)]
25.	Wołówka	Tykociński competition[122]	Yiddish	10	[ARG I 632 (Ring. I/57)]
26.	Impressions from the Umschlagplatz	Lew	Yiddish	8	[ARG I 628 (Ring. I/256)]

121 [a-a] In Polish, in Hebrew characters.

122 Perhaps submitted for the competition organised by Oyneg Shabes.

c)
[6]

[L]	[Title or remark]	[Author]	[File No.]
[H, Y]	The Crown of David, Habimah[123]		[ARG I 1213 (Ring. I/1164) [?]]
[Y]	Without work[124]	Rapaport	[ARG I 1249d (Ring. I/1165)]
[Y]		Kalmen Lis – Rapaport [?]	[ARG I 1249a (Ring. I/1165)]
[Y]		Kaganowski	[ARG I 1249b (Ring. I/1165)]
		Bursztyn[125]	
[Y]		[Sh.] Berliński	[ARG I 1254 (Ring. I/648)]

[L]	[Title or subject]	[pages]	[File No.]
[Y]	Testimony of Grojnowski[126]	33,7	[ARG I 1115 (Ring. I/412)]
[P]	Duty instruction to the Order Service		[ARG I 251 (Ring. I/227)]
[Y]	A letter from prison as an accusation		[ARG I 550 (Ring. I/586/3) [?]]
[Y]	A letter from the homeland to the front, to a soldier who has already fallen		[ARG I 1501 (Ring. I/590) [?]]
[P]	Speech on the occasion of the birthday of A. Gepner		[ARG I 238 (Ring. I/357)]
[P]	The hell of the Jews under German occupation	16	[ARG I 45 (Ring. I/144) [?]]
[P]	Information gathered from a conversation with an official of the Order Service	11	[ARG I 413 (Ring. I/435)]
[Y]	Communications – 5/5 1942		[ARG I 34 (Ring. I/317)]
[Y]	Communications – 6/6 1942[127]		
[Y]	History of social aid in Warsaw during the war	15	[ARG I 601 (Ring. I/508)]

123 Hebrew-language theatre company founded by Nahum Zemach in Białystok in 1912; since 1958 considered as Israel's national theatre company.
124 Unclear; it could be a title or information indicating that the work was not submitted.
125 There are several authors of this surname; see ARG I 865 (Ring. I/481), ARG I 992 (Ring. I/1056), ARG I 1080 (Ring. I/145), ARG I 154 (Ring. I/648).
126 His real name was Shloyme (Szlamek) Winer.
127 The issue was not preserved.

[L]	[Title or subject]	[pages]	[File No.]
[Y]	A letter to the *Transferstelle* requesting permission to employ a foreign Jew		[ARG I 193 (Ring. I/278/1) [?]]
[P]	Study on the Warsaw ghetto	5	
[P]	Tarnów – note	1	[ARG I 1026 (Ring. I/919)]
[P]	Face of a Jewish child – November 1941	20	[ARG I 593 (Ring. I/47)]
[P]	Neophytes[128]	7	
[P]	Patent Department		[ARG I 715a (Ring. I/183)]
[P]	List of prices for 1941		
[P]	Forced Labour Department.[129] Out-of-town camps	6	[ARG I 715b (Ring. I/183, I/245, I/1220/90)]
[Y]	Daily reports 30/5– 5/6 1942 Nowolipie[130]	22	[ARG I 431 (Ring. I/988)]
[P]	Note of 7/6 1942	1	[ARG I 520 (Ring. I/289)]
[P]	Note of 12/6 1942	1	
[Y]	A poem "The W[arsaw] Ghetto", 1941	1	[ARG I 1266 (Ring. I/646)]
[Y]	Daily reports. May 1941. Mordkhe	8	[ARG I 519 (Ring. I/1001)]

[7]

[L]	[Codename]	[Title or subject]	[pages]	[File No.]
[Y]	6/15	27-30 May 1942	6	[ARG I 467 (Ring. I/490)]
[P]	Flig	Notes of 9/6 1942	1	[ARG I 411 (Ring. I/263)]
[P]	[Flig]	Notes of 28/5 1942	1	[ARG I 411 (Ring. I/263)]
[Y]	Shayn	From my notebook 28/5 1942	3	[ARG I 461 (Ring. I/984)]
[Y]	Shayn	From my notebook 21/5 1942	11	[ARG I 461 (Ring. I/984)]
[Y]	Shayn	In a POW camp	3	[ARG I 1088 (Ring. I/421) [?]]

128 Not preserved; it was probably the first part of the document listed on p. [16]; ARG I 1498 (Ring. I/1220/23).

129 The Polish word *przemysłowych* (industrial) is an error and should be *przymusowych* (forced).

130 Abraham Lewin's codename.

[L]	[Codename]	[Title or subject]	[pages]	[File No.]
[Y]	Zam[enhof]	The seizure of Jews in Warsaw in May 1942	12	[ARG I 419 (Ring. I/996)]
[Y]	Y.L. Peretz	Chronicle of the Warsaw ghetto, May, 1942.	11	[ARG I 440 (Ring. I/981)]
[Y]	Y.L. Peretz	26–30 May, 1942	[. . .]	
[P]	St. Różycki	Street scenes from the ghetto, March 1942	5	[ARG I 456 (Ring. I/429)]
[Y]	Nowolipki	Anton Schmidt	14	[ARG I 1040 (Ring. I/165)]
[Y]	Zamenhof	*Kiddush Hashem*	20	[ARG I 56 (Ring. I/120)]
[Y]	Zamenhof	Pilica – Pabianice – Słomniki – Otwock	23	[ARG I 57 (Ring. I/122)]
[Y]	[Zamenhof]	Polish rabbis and rebbes during the war	4.5	[ARG I 62 (Ring. I/121)]
[Y]	Shayner	War memories	6	[ARG I 1089 (Ring. I/496)]
[Y]	Shayner	Four little girls	6	[ARG I 1237 (Ring. I/530)]
[Y]	Shayner	Junk trade	5.5	[ARG I 630 (Ring. I/55)]
[Y]	Nowolipki	Częstochowa 1942	[8?]	[ARG I 718 (Ring. I/440) [?]]
[Y]	[Nowolipie]	Daily reports 16/5–30/5 1942	27	[ARG I 431 (Ring. I/988)]
[Y]	6/15	Daily reports 10/5	2.5	[ARG I 467 (Ring. I/1090)]
[Y]	6/15	Daily reports 26/5	4	[ARG I 467 (Ring. I/490)]
[Y]	6/15	Daily reports 28/5	[. . .]	[ARG I 467 (Ring. I/490)]
[P]		Łódź, notebook 2	13 [?]	[ARG I 916 (Ring. I/999) [?]]
[P]		Głowno, notebook 5	12	[ARG I 743 (Ring. I/438)]
[P]		2 notebook[s] "Neofites"	7	[ARG I 1498 (Ring. I/1220/23) [?]]
[Y]		Children's colony – from the Borochov School, Kazimierz Dolny 1938 – materials		[ARG I 1425 (Ring. I/156)]
[Y]		*The Sale of Joseph*, play. From YIVO, Vilna.		

[8] *May–June 1942 (terror in Warsaw)*

[L]	[No.]	[Title or subject]	[issues]	[File no. and translation of periodicals' titles]
[Y]	1	21 daily communiqués for May 1942		
[Y]	2	21 daily communiqués for June 1942		[ARG I 1339 (Ring. I/768)]
[Y]	3	47 letters[131]		
[Y]	4	59 photos[132]		
[Y]	5	Roza Symchowicz		[ARG I 1348 (Ring. I/160) [?]]
[Y]	6	Caricatures about the *kehilla* – album		
[Y]	7	Essays – Y. B., *On the Ruins*		[ARG I 1209 (Ring. I/1137)]
[Y]	8	Yiddish textbook for the third grade		[ARG I 682 (Ring. I/603)]
	9	Badge of shame for Polish workers in Germany		
	10	"Jude" badge		
	11	Łódź badge		
[G]	12	Complete set of Łódź ghetto money		[ARG I 886 (Ring. I/1144)]
	13	Soviet military emblems		
	14	Periodicals:		
[H,P]	1	Complete set – *Jutrznia* – bound		[ARG I 1312 (Ring. I/731)] [Dawn],
[H,P]	2	Complete set – *El-Al* – bound		[ARG I 1305 (Ring. I/701)] [To the Heights],
[P]	3	*Biuletyn Radiowy*	No. 17, 19.08.1941	[ARG I 1356 (Ring. I/769/4)] [Radio Bulletin],

131 Not identified; several sets of correspondence are preserved in the Archive.

132 There were at least two sizable sets of photographs. One of them, which now contains only 76 items, is preserved: ARG I 683 (Ring. I/1222). The other, also found in September 1946, was in a very bad shape and perhaps was impossible to preserve.

[L]	[No.]	[Title or subject]	[issues]	[File no. and translation of periodicals' titles]
[P]	4	*Biuletyn Radiowy*	19.02.1941	[ARG I 1357 (Ring. I/769/7)] [Radio Bulletin],
[P]	5	*Gwardzista* 3 reprints	10.06.1942, No. 2	[ARG I 1362 (Ring. I/709)] [The Guard],
[P]	6	Lessons for partisans		[ARG I 1384b (Ring. I/772)]
[P]	7	*Żagiew*	3 May 1942	[ARG I 1342 (Ring. I/730)] [The Torch],
[P]	8	*Agencja Radiowa*	26.03.1942	[ARG I 1353 (Ring. I/769/5)] [Radio Agency],
[P]	9	*Agencja Radiowa*	2.07.1942	[ARG I 1353 (Ring. I/769/5)] Radio Agency],
[P]	10	*Wiadomości Codzienne Miecza i Pługa*	5.06., 28.05., 23.05.1942	[ARG I 1376 (Ring. I/725)] [Daily News of The Sword and Plough],
[P]	11	Miecz i Pług	23.03.1942	[ARG I 1367 (Ring. I/726)] [Sword and Plough],
[P]	12	Miecz i Pług	31.05.1942	[ARG I 1367 (Ring. I/726)] [Sword and Plough],
[P]	13	*Biuletyn Informacyjny*	19.03.1942	[ARG I 1355 (Ring. I/719)] [Information Bulletin],
[P]		” ”	26.03.1942	[ARG I 1355 (Ring. I/719)] [Information Bulletin],
[P]		” ”	[. . .]	[ARG I 1355 (Ring. I/719)] [Information Bulletin],
[P]		” ”	[. . .]	[ARG I 1355 (Ring. I/719)] [Information Bulletin],
[P]		” ”	28.05.1942	[ARG I 1355 (Ring. I/719)] [Information Bulletin],
[P]		” ”	3.06.1942 (2 copies)	[ARG I 1355 (Ring. I/719)] [Information Bulletin],
[P]		” ”	11.06.1942	[ARG I 1355 (Ring. I/719)] [Information Bulletin],
[P]		” ”	18.06.1942	[ARG I 1355 (Ring. I/719)] [Information Bulletin],

[L]	[No.]	[Title or subject]	[issues]	[File no. and translation of periodicals' titles]
[3] [P]		" "	2.07.1942	[ARG I 1355 (Ring. I/719)] [Information Bulletin],
[P]	14	*Wiadomości Polskie*,	[. . .] 1942	[ARG I 1377 (Ring. I/715)] [Polish News],
[P]		" "	10.06.1942	[ARG I 1377 (Ring. I/715)] [Polish News],
[P]	15	*Myśl Państwowa*,	12.05.1942	[ARG I 1368 (Ring. I/721)] [State Thought],
[P]			19.05.194	[ARG I 1368 (Ring. I/721)] [State Thought],
[P]			2.06.1942	[ARG I 1368 (Ring. I/721)] [State Thought],
[P]	16	*Do Zwycięstwa*,	14.07.1941	[ARG I 1359 (Ring. I/717)] [To Victory],
[P]	17	*[Wieści] ze Świata*,	9.08.1941	[ARG I 1378 (Ring. I/732)] [World News],
[P]	18	May Day leaflet – Trotskyists		[ARG I 1388 (Ring. I/774)]
[P]	19	*Rzeczpospolita Polska*	23.05.1942	[ARG I 1373 (Ring. I/723)] [Polish Republic],
[P]	20	*Gwardia Ludowa*	June 1942	[ARG I 1361 (Ring. I/711)] [People's Guard],
[P]	21	*WRN*[133]	11.05.1942	[ARG I 1380 (Ring. I/722)] [Freedom, Equality, Independence
[P]		*WRN*	8.06.1942	[ARG I 1380 (Ring. I/722)] [Freedom, Equality, Independence
[P]	22	*Słowo Młodych*	II–III 1942	[ARG I 1333 (Ring. I/696)] [Word of the Youth],
[P]	23	*Z problematyki ruchu w chwili obecnej*, Gordonia		[ARG I 1350 (Ring. I/739, I/1220/92)] [On the Present Problems of the Movement],
[P,Y]	24	Iton Ha-Tnua,	No. 3	[ARG I 1307 (Ring. I/740)] [Movement's Daily],

133 Wolność, Równość, Niepodległość.

[L]	[No.]	[Title or subject]	[issues]	[File no. and translation of periodicals' titles]
[Y]	25	Complete set of *Proletarisher Gedank* [and] *Yugntruf*	1941	[ARG I 1328 (Ring. I/694)] [Proletarian Thought], [and] [ARG 1309 (Ring. I/684)] [Call to Youth],
[Y]	26	Der Ruf	May 1942	[ARG I 1332 (Ring. I/677)] [The Call],
[P]	27	*Przedwiośnie*	11–15, 1942	[ARG I 1330 (Ring. I/703)] [Early Spring],
[Y]	28	Neged Hazerem	May 1942	[ARG I 1320 (Ring. I/698)] [Against the Flow],
[Y]	29	Der Oyfbroyz	1–4	[ARG I 1323 (Ring. I/689)] [Outburst],
[Y]	30	*Undzer Veg*	1 May [. . .]	[ARG I 1337 (Ring. I/683)] [Our Path],
[Y]	31	Yedies	4–9, 1942	[ARG I 1308 (Ring. I/690, I/975)] [News],
[Y]	32	*Folkstsaytung*	19.09.1939	[ARG I 1272 (Ring. I/679)] [People's Newspaper],

Manuscripts by writers and playwrights

[L]		[File No.]
	Avrom Morewski[134]	
[Y]	An "Ararat"[135] programme	[ARG I 1258 (Ring. I/1163) [?]]
[Y]	A "Balaganeyden"[136] programme	[ARG I 1247 (Ring. I/523)]
[Y]	L. Maloch, "At home – in the club", a play for children	[ARG I 1225 (Ring. I/621)]
[H]	Habimah performance "Your people" [programme]	[ARG I 1397 (Ring. I/777/15)]
	Weichert's [?] adaptation	

134 Not identified; the only Morewski materials preserved in the Archive belong to ARG II.

135 A cabaret theatre company founded by Moyshe Broderson, among others.

136 A cabaret theatre in the Łódź ghetto.

[9]

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Dates]	[Codename]	[Pages]	[File No.]
[Y]	[. . .]wolski	[. . .]		9	
[Y]	[Daily reports]	[Yekhiel Gorny] [19]42	Zamenhof	5	[ARG I 420 (Ring. I/96)]
[Y]	[Daily reports]	[21]–29 [May 19]42	Zamenhof	6	[HWC 32,3]
[Y]	[Daily reports]	14–15 [May] 1942	Nowolipie	6	[HWC 32,2]
[Y]	[Daily reports]	6–12 June 1942	Nowolipie	18	[HWC 32,4]
[Y]	[Daily reports]	27–30 May [1942]	Yekhiel	4	[ARG I 414 (Ring. I/96)]
[Y]	[Daily reports]	3–4 June [1942]	Yekhiel	1	[ARG I 414 (Ring. I/96)]
[Y]	Tyszowce		Yekhiel	2	[ARG I 1031 (Ring. I/1061)]
[Y]	Daily reports	22-25 May [1942]	Yekhiel	2	[ARG I 414 (Ring. I/264, I/1060)]
[Y]	Daily reports		Doctor	60	[ARG I 445-454 (Ring. I/503/1, I/504, I/505, I/506, I/507/1, I/510, I/511/1-3, I/1039)]
[Y]	Daily reports	10 June 1942	6/15	5	[ARG I 467 (Ring. I/853)]
[Y]	Daily reports	12[?] May 1942	Shaynen	5	[ARG I 461 (Ring. I/984)]
[Y]	Daily reports	21 April 1942	Shaynen	4	[ARG I 461 (Ring. I/984)]
[Y]	Łódź materials			[8]	
[P]	Flight to the USSR			[. . .]	
[P]	With refugees from Germany			[. . .]	[ARG I 516 (Ring. I/434)]
[P]	Gravediggers			[. . .]	[ARG I 515 (Ring. I/243)]
[P]	Trawniki			[. . .]5	
[G]	To the Jewess Eta Gulbas				[ARG I 188 (Ring. I/273)]
[P]	From homeland				

d)
[10]

[L]	[Codename]	[Title or subject]	[Pages]	[Σ]	[?]	[File No.]
[Y]	Nowolipki	The fotoplastikon in the ghetto	4			[ARG I 663 (Ring. I/186)]
		2 letters[137]	8			
		Daily reports 10 – 17[138]	16			
		Kowel	6	34	2.1	[ARG I 809 (Ring. I/997)]
[Y]	6/15	Puchaczów[139] – Łęczna	6			
		Tyszowce	9	15	0.9	
[Y]	Nowolipie	Daily reports	27	27	1.6	[ARG I 431 (Ring. I/988)]
[Y]	Mordecai	*Inyanei deyoma*[140] 13/1	2			[ARG I 462 (Ring. I/1040)]
			2			
			2	6	0.4	
[Y]	Miscellaneous [. . .]					
[P]		One hundred and ten	7			[ARG I 687 (Ring. I/436)]
[Y]	Tsvi	2 notebooks [of] memoirs of an exile	20			[ARG I 691 (Ring. I/1000)]
[P]		From the doctor's stories	6			[ARG I 464 (Ring. I/270)]
[Y]		About the mil[itary] camp	5	38	2.4	
			90			

137 There are duplicates of many letters composed by Eliyahu Gutkowski.

138 Perhaps materials for Oyneg Shabes bulletins published in March–July 1942; see ARG I 23 to ARG I 38.

139 This village, in the vicinity of Łęczna, is not mentioned elsewhere in the Archive.

140 (Aram.) "Matters of the day" (rabbinical term used to denote matters relating to the current day of the year or festival); i.e. "matters of current concern" or "current affairs".

[11]	[from the previous page]		90			
[Y]	[Tytelman]	What's the news in Radom?	4			[ARG I 978 (Ring. I/236)]
[Y]		From the series "Courtyard Singers"	2			[ARG I 1241 (Ring. I/111), ARG I 1242a (Ring. I/172) or ARG I 1243 (Ring. I/1053)
[Y]		From the series "Courtyard Singers"	3			as above]
[Y]	Shayn	[Chapter] 26	5			[ARG I 1089 (Ring. I/252)]
[Y]		Hrubieszów	5	10	0.6	[ARG I 768 (Ring. I/810) [?]]
[Y]	Yekhiel	Kalisz – Drohiczyn	10			
[Y]		Daily reports	16	26	1.6	[ARG I 414 (Ring. I/29, I/96, I/264, I/895, I/1060, I/1220/87) [?]]
[Y]		6 letters Press cuttings Photos				
			135		8.6	

e)

[12] *The period from 2 June to 11 July 1942*

[L]	[Codename]	[No.]	[Title or subject]	[Pages]	[Σ]	[?]	[File No.]
[Y]	Zamenhof	1	*Kiddush Hashem*. 2 notebooks. Collection of facts.	20–20			[ARG I 56 (Ring. I/120)]
		2	Monographs. Pilica, Pabianice, Słomniki, Otwock	23			[ARG I 57 (Ring. I/122)]
		3	Polish rabbis and rebbes during the War	4.5			[ARG I 62 (Ring. I/121)]
		4	Daily reports 21/6–27/6 1942	6.5	54	3.4	[ARG I 421 (Ring. I/446)]

[L]	[Codename]	[No.]	[Title or subject]	[Pages]	[Σ]	[?]	[File No.]
[Y]	Nowolipie	1	Daily reports 20/6–27/6 1942[141]	22			
		2	Daily reports 29/6–10/7 1942	51	73	4.5	[HWC 32,6 p. 26]
[Y]	Orla	1	Four little girls	6			[ARG I 1237 (Ring. I/530)]
		2	Daily notes	2.40			[ARG I 461 (Ring. I/984)]
		3	Memoirs of a soldier.	6			[ARG I 1089 (Ring. I/496)]
		4	Images – junk trade on Orla St.	5.5	19.90	1.2	[ARG I 630 (Ring. I/55)]
[Y]	Wołyńska	1	Daily reports. 1–9 June [1942]	15			
		2	Daily reports. 19–30 June [1942][142]	12	27	1.7	
						10.8	

Gęsia 30 – 7.30 – [?] [x][143]
Tyszowce – Now[olip]ki 5
Hrub[ieszów] – Z. Herman

-

[13]

	[from the previous page]						
[Y]	Mordkhe	1	Daily reports. June, 1942	6			[ARG I 462/16–17 (Ring. I/1040) [?]]
[Y]		2	Łódź materials. June 1942[144]	6			
[P]		3	Łódź rhymes. Materials.	(3)	15	0.9	[ARG I 1256b (Ring. I/524)]

141 Not preserved.
142 Not preserved.
143 [x] Łaskarzew.
144 Mordecai Schwartzbard copied a considerable amount of materials from Łodź.

[Y, P]	6/15	1	Hrubieszów	13			[ARG I 770 (Ring. I/814) [?]]
		2	Biała Podlaska	8			
		3	Rzeszów. Notes.	2			
[Y]		4	Daily reports	2			
[Y]	Nowolipki	1	Hrub[ieszów] during the *Aktion* – Rejowiec – Częstochowa	16			[ARG I 769 (Ring. I/811)]
[Y]		2	Daily reports 27/6–9/7 1942	8.6			
[Y]		3	Białystok	7.6			[ARG I 698 (Ring. I/792)]
[Y]		4	Kraków	2			[ARG I 827 (Ring. I/833)]
[H]		5	Hrubieszów	2			[ARG I 773 (Ring. I/812) [?]]
[Y]		6	On the train	8	44.2	2.7	[ARG I 718 (Ring. I/440) [?]]
[Y]	Menakhem		In jail	8	8	0.5	[ARG I 427 (Ring. I/95)]
						16.4	

[14] *Miscellaneous*

[L]	[No.]	[Title or subject]	[Pages]	[?]	[File No.]
[P]	1	Thoughts of a "Column member"[145]	3	16.4	[ARG I 517 (Ring. I/31)]
[Y]	2	The Camp in Ksany. Fragment.	24		[ARG I 1138 (Ring. I/392)]
[Y]	3	Memoirs of an Exile. Biała Podlaska. Fragment.	16		[ARG I 691 (Ring. I/1000)]
[Y]	4	Yekhiel. Daily reports.	14		[ARG I 414 (Ring. I/29, I 96, I/264, I/895, I/1060, I/1220/87)]
	5	House search	5.5		[ARG I 997 (Ring. I/1169) [?]]

145 (Pol.) Columns – groups established by German authorities to combat epidemics in Warsaw.

[L]	[No.]	[Title or subject]	[Pages]	[?]	[File No.]
[Y]		5 letters			
[Y]		Press cuttings			
			62.5	3.9	
				20.3	
			325 pages		

During the *Aktion*, one of the four came up to Bekker – "What will history say about that? Once again, I'm not a politician. You're an idiot."
[Comrade] Ash – Skorupa[146]

f)
[15]
13 camps + 44 camps [=] 57 684 pages [x][147]
2 Drewnica, Sajczyce, Dębica, Żerań, Milejów, 3 Kampinos, 2 Płazów, Frysztak, Łowicz[148]

Miscellaneous 93 miscellanous documents [+] 21 miscellanous documents [=] 114

[L]	[Title or subject]	[File No.]
[Y]	14 days in the Sejm	[ARG I 424 (Ring. I/235)]
[Y]	Quarantine	[ARG I 588 (Ring. I/143) [?]]
[Y]	Building business	[ARG I 618 (Ring. I/65)]
[Y]	Tar paper business	[ARG I 68 (Ring. I/173)]
[P]	Clandestine classes	[ARG I 672b (Ring. I/69) [?]]
[P]	A certain event	
[P]	A corporal's testimony	[ARG I 1081 (Ring. I/24)]
[P]	Jews in the villages	

146 Perhaps it is some joke; *skorupa* in Polish means "shell".
147 [x] 176 pages.
148 Reports from all of the places listed here are preserved in ARG. Labour camps existed in most of them. In Żerań (Łowicz County) a youth camp was organised by Toporol. See ARG I 67 (Ring. I/148).

[L]	[Title or subject]	[File No.]
[P]	Crowning of the young Gancwajch	[ARG I 498 (Ring. I/107)]
[Y]	Experience of a working-class family	[ARG I 917 (Ring. I/863)]
[Y]	Where people eat cats	[ARG I 499 (Ring. I/1005) [?]]
[Y]	1 May 1941	
[Y]	1 August 1939	
[Y]	Warsaw Cemetery	[ARG I 497 (Ring. I/1030) [?]]
[P]	Requisitioning of furniture	[ARG I 840 (Ring. I/254)]
[P]	Processes of wartime adaptation of Jewish craftsmen in Warsaw	[ARG I 621 (Ring. I/59)]
[Y]	Meeting of 8 Judenrat members	[ARG I 425 (Ring. I/189)]
[Y]	A trifle from the Finance Commission	[ARG I 426 (Ring. I/68)]
[P]	A banal adventure	
[Y]	About shops	

Chronicle[149]
Dr Ringelblum – approximately 400 pages
Tytelman – 64 pages
Schwartzbard – 86 pages

[16]

[L]	[Title or subject]	[File No.]
[Y]	Refugees faced with uncooperative wealthy Jews	[ARG I 404 (Ring. I/1009) [?]]
[Y]	Exhumation of the body of a Jewish soldier	[ARG I 1083 (Ring. I/1027)]
[Y]	Children's hospital	[ARG I 470 (Ring. I/1099) [?]]
[Y]	Journey to Międzyrzec	[ARG I 933 (Ring. I/873) [?]]
[Y]	Five letters from Płock[150]	

149 Of the three authors, only Ringelblum took daily notes systematically. Tytelman and Schwartzbard left only pieces of their diaries, their works being rather reports, reportages, and the like. This list seems to summarise the volume of their writings for the Archive (copies not included).

150 There is a collection of correspondence of refugees from Płock; see ARG I 164 through 178.

[L]	[Title or subject]	[File No.]
[Y]	Through the border	[ARG I 693 (Ring. I/1046) [?]]
[Y]	War experiences of a Jewish civilian	[ARG I 960 (Ring. I/451)]
[Y]	The tragedy of several prayer houses	[ARG I 60 (Ring. I/108) [?]]
[Y]	Warsaw reflections	[ARG I 580 (Ring. I/990/1, I/1002)]
[Y]	Borensztejn – 8 essays[151]	
[Y]	Their sense of humour	[ARG I 893 (Ring. I/1013)]
[Y]	The murder of Lipa Kestin	[ARG I 478 (Ring. I/1019)]
[Y]	Polish–Jewish Relations	[ARG I 599a or 599b (Ring. I/91)]
[Y]	A bundle of war memories	[ARG I 477 (Ring. I/993)]

[17]

52 towns 69 essays 492 pages
[+] 64 towns [=] 116 towns [+] 1037 pages [=] 1529 pages
Żyrardów, Góra Kalwaria, Mogielnica, Bydgoszcz, Gdynia, Świecie, Środa, Lidzbark, Brodnica, Leszno, Lubicz, Koło, Grodzisk, Kutno, Sochaczew, Kalisz, Aleksandrów Kujawski, Pabianice, Serock, Wyszków, Rypin, Gostynin, Raciąż, Poznań, Włocławek, Suwałki, Drobin, Warka, Nowe Miasto, Gąbin, Stryków, Nasielsk, Otwock, Piotrków Trybunalski, Sosnowiec, Będzin, Radomsko, Garwolin, Piaseczno, Parysów, Stoki[?], Sulejów, Przedbórz, Brzeziny, Konin, Końskowola, Sochaczew, Kalisz.

121 photographs – 344 pictures in all

54 periodicals [+] 63 periodicals [=] 117 periodicals

[L]	[Title]	[File No. and translation of the title]
[P]	Barykada Wolności	[ARG I 1354 (Ring. I/712)] [Barricade of Freedom]
[P]	Jutro PN[152]	[ARG I 1365 (Ring. I/761)] [Tomorrow IP]
[P]	Sprawa	[ARG I 1374 (Ring. I/762)] [The Cause]

151 Six essays by Boreszntejn are preserved: ARG I 1209 and 1210 (Ring. I/1137 and I/600), as well as six poems: ARG I 1211 (Ring. I/1138).

152 Published by the organisation Polska Niepodległa, translated as Independent Poland, abbr. IP.

[L]	[Title]	[File No. and translation of the title]
[P]	Za Naszą i Waszą Wolność	[ARG I 1340 (Ring. I/700)] [For Our Freedom and Yours]
[P]	Wolność	[ARG I 1379 (Ring. I/708)] [Freedom]
[P]	Biuletyn Informacyjny	[ARG I 135 (Ring. I/719)] [Information Bulletin]
[P]	Awangarda [Młodzieży]	[ARG I 1297 (Ring. I/697)] [Avant-Garde [of the Youth]]
[P]	*Słowo Młodych*	[ARG I 1333 (Ring. I/696)] [Word of the Young]
[P]	*Nasze Hasła*	[ARG I 1319 (Ring. I/699)] [Our Slogans]
[P]	*Wieści ze Świata*	[ARG I 1378 (Ring. I/732)] [World News]
[P]	*Do Zwycięstwa*	[ARG I 1359 (Ring. I/717)] [To Victory]
[P]	*Czerwony sztandar*	[ARG I 1302 (Ring. I/716)] [The Red Banner]
[G]	*Der Hammer*	[ARG I 1363 (Ring. I/760)] [The Hammer].
[Y]	Morgn-Fray	[ARG I 1317 (Ring. I/692)] [Tomorrow Free]
[Y]	Yugnt-Shtime	[ARG I 1310 (Ring. I/685)] [Voice of Youth]
[Y]	Yunge Gvardye	[ARG I 1311 (Ring. I/687)] [Young Guard]
[Y]	Byuletin	[ARG I 1300 (Ring. I/682)] [Bulletin]
[Y]	Shviv	[ARG I 1334 (Ring. I/752)] [A Spark]
[P, H,] Y]	El-Al	[ARG I 1305 (Ring. I/701)] [To the Heights]
[Y]	Neged Hazerem	[ARG I 1320 (Ring. I/698)] [Against the Flow]
[Y]	Oysdoyer	[ARG I 1324 (Ring. I/754)] [Endurance]
[Y]	Proletarisher Gedank	[ARG I 1328 (Ring. I/694)] [Proletarian Thought]

Łódź, 47 essays. 270 pages

g)
[18]

[L]	[No.]	[Title or subject,]	[Codename]	[File No.]
[Y]	1.	Avangard No. 2 – June 1942		[ARG I 1296 (Ring. I/686)]
[Y]	2.	Camp Chrzanów[153] 1941 – June 1942		

153 Most probably: Cieszanów. No labour camp existed in Chrzanów, and accounts concerning the Cieszanów camp are found in numerous documents.

[L]	[No.]	[Title or subject,]	[Codename]	[File No.]
[P]	3.	Hrubiesz[ów] June 1942.	[Shayner]	[ARG I 768 (Ring. I/810) [?]
[Y]	4.	From the series: Courtyard Singers and Their Ditties		[ARG I 1241 (Ring. I/111)]
[Y]	5.	Folklore		
[Y]	6.	Brushmakers	Shayner	[ARG I 622 (Ring. I/101) [?]]
[Y]	7.	House No. 21	Y.L. Peretz	[ARG I 1228 (Ring. I/1140)]
[Y]	8.	Recollections of a Jew[ish] soldier. Chap[ter] 24[154]	[Shayner]	[ARG I 1089 (Ring. I/252, I/496)]
[Y]	9.	To the Jew[ish] public. Appeal by writers [to rescue the elite of the Jewish people from death by starvation]		[ARG I 359 (Ring. I/460)]
[Y]	10.	Copy of a letter from housing office [of the *Judenrat*] of June 15 [1942] to [residents of the appartment house at Muranowska 2].		[ARG I 244 (Ring. I/778/3)]
[P]	11.	Communiqués of July 11 and 12 [19]42		
[P]	12.	Armband of the Civic Committee of Social Self-Help, 1939		
	13.	Sov[iet] military decoration		
[Y]	14.	Two letters		
[Y]	15.	Daily accounts 24–29 May [19]42 [. . .]		
[Y]	16.	Daily accounts 9–17 May [?] [. . .]		
[Y]	17.	Daily accounts 21– [. . .]		
[Y]	18.	Daily accounts [. . .]		

Description:

ARG I 2 (Ring. I/1176, I/675, I/1088)
Ring. I/1176 – original, handwritten (H.W.*), ink, pencil, Polish, Yiddish.,
216×285, 105×174, 160×204, 105×145 mm, minor damage and fragments missing, 13

154 See above on pp. [19] and [15]: chapters 25 and 26, respectively.

sheets, 17 pages; Ring. I/675 – original, handwritten (H.W.*), ink, Polish, Yiddish, 215×285 mm, minor damage and fragments missing, 1 sheet, 2 pages; Ring. I/1088 – original, handwritten (H.W.*), ink, Polish, 190×158 mm, major damage and fragments missing, 1 sheet, 1 page.
Attached is a note by Hersh Wasser, in Yiddish: "On Oyneg Shabes archival materials – reports for Oyneg Shabes meetings."

9 *June–July 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Lists of materials included in the Oyneg Shabes archive (fragments).*[155]

(a)
[1] *Illegal publications:*

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Issues]	[Number of issues or copies]	[File No. and translation of periodicals' titles]
[P]	*Rzeczpospolita Polska*[156]	9/29	1	[ARG I 1373 (Ring. I/723)] [The Polish Commonwealth]
[P]	*Biuletyn Informacyjny*[157]	19, 20,21, 22, 23	5	[ARG I 1355 (Ring. I/719)] [Information Bulletin]
[P]	*Polska Walczy*	10/42	1	[Poland Fights]
[P]	*Wolna Polska*[158]	20/53	1	[Free Poland]

155 This document includes series of lists, varying in structure, types of paper, and dates. We have attempted to put them in chronological order. The subsequent series are marked from a) to g). In order to provide information about the listed items, we added heads to the lists and the following data when these documents have been identified: their original language [L]: [P] – Polish, [Y] – Yiddish, [G] – German, [H] – Hebrew, and catalogue file numbers. We have added a question mark if the identification is but assumed. In the case of periodicals, we have also translated their titles. All this additional information is placed in brackets, so that it is clear to understand which part of a table belongs to the original.
156 Three earlier issues are also preserved in ARG.
157 All issues listed here are preserved in ARG.
158 There are no surviving issues of this publication.

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Issues]	[Number of issues or copies]	[File No. and translation of periodicals' titles]
[P]	*Myśl Państwowa*	17, 18,19	3	[ARG I 1368 (Ring. I/721)] [State Thought]
[P]	*Miecz i Pług*[159]	15	1	[ARG I 1367 (Ring. I/726)] [Sword and Plough]
[P]	*Wiadomości Polskie*	10-11 (67-68)	1	[ARG I 1377 (Ring. I/715)] [Polish News]
[P]	*Wiadomości Codzienne*[160]	116, 119, 125	3	[ARG I 1376 (Ring. I/725)] [Daily News]
[Y]	*Yedies*[161]	5, 6, 7 (double)	4	[ARG I 1308 (Ring I/690, I/975)] [News]
[Y]	*Undzer Veg*[162]	1 May issue, 1942	1	[ARG I 1337 (Ring. I/683)] [Our Path]
[P]	*Przedwiośnie*[163]	15/V	1	[ARG I 1330 (Ring. I/703)] [Early Spring]
[Y]	*Der Oyfbroyz*[164]	1 (16), 2 ([. . .])	2	[ARG I 1323 (Ring. I/689)] [Outburst]
[Y]	Roza Symchowicz – publication		1	[ARG I 1348 (Ring. I/160)]
[P, H]	Children's compositions (Hebrew) about the street[165]		2	[ARG I 677 (Ring. I/1065)]
[Y]	Notes by D-R[166]		1	
[Y]	Note on the economic development of the ghetto.		1	
	Yellow Stars of David from Łódź		2	

159 Issues Nos. 9 and 10 are also preserved in ARG.
160 Only issues 116 and 119 are preserved in ARG.
161 Issues Nos. 1 and 4–10 are preserved in ARG.
162 The issues of December 1941 and 1 May 1942 are preserved in ARG.
163 The issues of 11 and 13–15 May 1942 are preserved in ARG.
164 Issues Nos. 1, 2, and 4 are preserved in ARG.
165 Three children's essays, "What do I see in the streets?"
166 Emanuel Ringelblum's notes.

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Issues]	[Number of issues or copies]	[File No. and translation of periodicals' titles]
[H]	Notebook from 3rd Hechalutz seminar		1	[ARG I 407 (Ring. I/602)]
[Y]	A visiting card of one of Gancwajch's staff		1	
[Y]	[2] Avrom Renen – invitation		[. . .]	
[Y]	An appeal by the Yiddish School Committee		1	[ARG I 354 (Ring. I/217)]
[P]	A protest against Y[onas] Turkow		1	[ARG I 358 (Ring. I/87) [?]]
[Y]	A song: "All my little wives"		1	[ARG I 1262 (Ring. I/617)]
[P]	Receipt for children handed over		1	[ARG I 646c (Ring. I/502)]
[P]	Rhymes of a woman kitchen customer		1	[ARG I 646d ((Ring. I/502)]
[P]	Song: "Is it a fairy tale?"		1	
[P]	Note: "Modesty Violated"		1	[ARG I 518 (Ring. I/461)]
[G]	Copy of Auerswald's [. . .] cultural activity[167]		1	[ARG I 217 (Ring. I/272) [?]]
[G]	Order concerning gypsies [. . .]		1	
[G]	Notes from the German Press		4	[ARG I 50 (Ring. I/318), ARG I 1289a,b (Ring. I/1033) [?]]
[Y]	Letter from Goebbels to comrades at the front (Yiddish translation)		1	[ARG I 1289c (Ring. I/1033)]
[Y]	Mitteylungen	29.V – 8.VI [. . .][168]	3	[ARG I 34 (Ring. I/317) [?] ARG I 29 (Ring. I/1062/1) [?]] [Announcements]

167 Two MS copies of this document in German are preserved, (a) by Jerzy Winkler, (b) by Eliyahu Gutkowski.

168 By Eliyahu Gutkowski.

[L]	[Title or subject]	[Issues]	[Number of issues or copies]	[File No. and translation of periodicals' titles]
[P]	Articles:[169] "On Polish Independence", "Bloody Balance", "Destruction of the Jews"		3	[ARG I 43 (Ring. I/166/2) ARG I 48 (Ring. I/166/1) ARG I 46 (Ring. I/167)]

Deposited in archive 19.VI.1942

[3] *Deposited in archive 26.VI [1942]*

[L]	[Title]	[Issues]	[Number of issues or copies]	[File No. and translation of periodicals' titles]
[P]	*Myśl Państwowa*	No. 20 – 18.VI.42	1	[State thought]]
[P]	*B. I.*[170]	No. 24(18) – 18.VI.42	1	[ARG I 1355 (Ring. I/719)] [Information bulletin]
[P]	At work in the Reich (KOPR)[171]		1	
[P]	*Miecz i Pług*	No. 16 (7.VI.42) No. 17 (14. VI.42)[172]	2	[ARG I 1367 (Ring. I/726)] [Sword and plough]
[P]	[4] Advertisement with ghetto emblems			
[P]	A postage stamp – 24 groszes			
[G]	Prisoner-of-war camp money – 10 pfennig.			

169 Not preserved in ARG.
170 *Biuletyn Informacyjny.*
171 Komisja Propagandy Biura Informacji i Propagandy KG AK (Home Army Information and Propaganda Committee).
172 Not preserved in ARG.

[L]	[Title]	[Issues]	[Number of issues or copies]	[File No. and translation of periodicals' titles]
[G]	Rumkowski's money – 1 mark.			[ARG I 886 (Ring. I/1444)]
[P, Y]	A sweet wrapper ("Wiktoria")			[ARG I 395 (Ring. I/1158/2)]
[P]	An appeal (Polish) by ZZ[173]			
[P]	A registration questionnaire			
[Y]	*Yedies*	No. 8 – 20.VI.42	2	[ARG I 1308 (Ring. I/690)]
[Y]	*Yedies*	No. 5 – 27.VI.42	3	[ARG I 1308 (Ring. I/690)]
[Y]	*Oyfbroyz*	No. 4 (19) – 29.6.42	1	[ARG I 1323 (Ring. I/689)]
[P]	*Gwardzista*[174]	(June 42)	1	[ARG I 1362 (Ring. I/709)] [Guardsman]]
[Y]	Writings by D-R. (about the Joint)			
[P, Y]	(Hashomer Hatzair) *Przegląd Rolniczy*[175] –	number 3 – [. . .]	1	[ARG I 1307 (Ring. I/740)] [Agricultural Review]]
[P, Y]	Information (announcements) from Jewish settlements[176]		3	
	1 – Photograph of Slutsk yeshiva – 5687[177]			
	1 – [. . .]			

173 Zakład Zaopatrywania (Supplies Department of the Warsaw *Judenrat*).

174 Only issue No. 2 of 10 June 1942 is preserved in ARG.

175 Under the cover of *Przegląd Rolniczy* of 1932 are two issues of the Hashomer Hatzair periodical *Iton Hatnua* (Newspaper of the Movement).

176 Probably materials for Oyneg Shabes bulletins.

177 Gregorian calendar year 1927–28. Photograph not preserved in ARG.

(b)
[5] *Not copied*

[Number]	[Title or Subject]	[File No.]
1.	Folklore collections – by "der Glater"	[ARG I 1257 (Ring. I/109) [?]]
2.	Tomaszów Mazowiecki	[ARG I 1028 (Ring. I/925)]
3.	Impressions in the diary of a Jewish defender of Warsaw	[ARG I 476 (Ring. I/467) [?]]
4.	Skryhiczyn – by Wink	[ARG I 1006 (Ring. I/913) [?]]
5.	A batch of ghetto songs	[ARG I 1241-1243 (Ring. I/111, Ring. I/172, Ring. I/1053)]
6.	A batch of notes on ghetto affairs	
7.	A rabbinical notice about not fasting on Tisha B'Av	[ARG I 1500 (Ring. I/362)]
8.	Dynasy 1940	[ARG I 418 (Ring. I/347)]
9.	The heating commission and the *Umschlagplatz*	[ARG I 410 (Ring. I/202)]
10.	A story about a smuggler – by "der Glater"	
11.	About Melekh Oppenheim – by "der Glater"	
12.	The situation among the Radzyń population – by Browar	[ARG I 984 (Ring. I/794)]
13.	An obstacle on the Lvov–Warsaw road – by Wilk	[ARG I 871 (Ring. I/443)]
14.	The collection of rent in ghetto – by Wilk	[ARG I 505 (Ring. I/240)]
15.	A servant-girl spy – by Wilk	[ARG I 529 (Ring. I/442)]
16.	A murder on Wołyńska Street – by Opoczner	[ARG I 439 (Ring. I/242)]
17.	Non-Jews in the ghetto	[ARG I 637 (Ring. I/323)]
18.	Warsaw enjoying itself	[ARG I 662 (Ring. I/90)]
19.	Notes on Lvov – Kreindler[178]	[ARG I 859 (Ring. I/483) [?]]
20.	[6] Radomsko	[ARG I 983 (Ring. I/901)]
21.	Travel notes – by Itsik	
22.	Kutno	[ARG I 834 to 838 (Ring. I/836 to I/840)]
23.	Pomiechówek, materials collected by W.	[ARG I 1163 to 1171 (Ring. I/301, I/374, I/956, I/415. I/418, I/1155, I/1216)]
24.	Pustków	[ARG I 1172 (Ring. I/400) ARG I 1173 (Ring. I/669)]
25.	Wartime scenes	

178 In a post-war note Wasser identifies "Kr." as "Krajn."

[Number]	[Title or Subject]	[File No.]
26.	Counting draught animals – by[179]	[ARG I 615 (Ring. I/53)]
27.	A few notes on the economic character of the Warsaw ghetto[180]	[ARG I 614 (Ring. I/503/2) [?]]
28.	A batch of materials, Włocławek, Płock – by W.[181]	[ARG I 963 (Ring. I/889)] [ARG I 966 (Ring. I/674/8)] [ARG I 1052 (Ring. I/674/12)] [ARG I 962 (Ring. I/884)] [ARG I 964 (Ring. I/883)] [ARG I 1051 (Ring. I/927)]
29.	A diary – by W.[182]	[ARG I 467 (Ring. I/302, I/490, I/853, I/1090)]
30.	The expulsion from Praga	[ARG I 474 (Ring. I/185)]
31.	Modern Tales of Hoffman	[ARG I 648 (Ring. I/181)]
32.	War experiences of a Jewish civilian	[ARG I 960 (Ring. I/451)]
33.	Radomsko, Łowicz, Rawa Mazowiecka, Miechów and Pustków – Frenkel	[ARG I 47 (Ring. I/448)]
34.	Grodzisk, Szumowo and Zaręby Kościelne – Frenkel	[ARG I 47 (Ring. I/448)]
35.	Teaching staff and youth in the public primary schools	[ARG I 670 (Ring. I/43, I/1220/89)]
36.	From the refugee town	[ARG I 533 (Ring. I/426)]
37.	The death of Mrs Kraszewicz	[ARG I 533 (Ring. I/426)]
38.	A few more words about Garbatka	[HWC, file No. 7/1]
39.	Rabbi Yitskhok Katz. What I wanted to say.	[ARG I 423 (Ring. I/251)]
40.	[7] Lvov – the passportisation of the refugees	[ARG I 868a (Ring. I/459) [?]]
41.	Moral tribulations and moral downfall of a Jewish woman during the war	[ARG I 63 (Ring. I/48)]
42.	The Jewish postman	[ARG I 1230 (Ring. I/455)]
43.	Łowicz labour camp	[ARG I 1133 (Ring. I/390) [?]] [ARG I 1149 (Ring. I/372) [?]] [ARG I 1150 (Ring. I/419) [?]]

179 By Jerzy Winkler, concerning the official census of animals in the territory of the Warsaw ghetto.

180 Possibly Emanuel Ringelblum's notes.

181 Probably written by Hersh Wasser (the first two on Płock) and by Mordecai Schwartzbard on both towns.

182 Probably Hersh Wasser's diary.

[Number]	[Title or Subject]	[File No.]
44.	Materials about Łowicz – by W.	[ARG I 875 (Ring. I/1149) [?]] [ARG I 878 (Ring. I/850) [?]] [ARG I 877 (Ring. I/849) [?]]
45.	Minutes concerning the events in Pomiechówek	[ARG I 1164 (Ring. I/301, I/956)]
46.	Various materials collected by W.	
47.	War memoirs – Wiernik	[ARG I 913 (Ring. I/482)]
48.	Słonim – Wilk	[HWC, file No. 20/1]
49.	Impressions of Vilna by a member of Betar	[ARG I 1037 (Ring. I/932)]
50.	The Demolition of the Lipno Temple[183]	[ARG I 843 (Ring. I/495)]

ARG I 3 (Ring. I/1147b and c)
Description: (a) original or duplicate, handwritten (H*, LEG*), Polish and Yiddish, 110×142,160×219 mm, minor damage and fragments missing, 4 sheets, 4 pages; (b) orig., handwritten (BW*?), Yiddish, 146×209, 154×199 mm, 2 sheets, 3 pages.

10 *After December 1941, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. "List of prints". List of archival materials collected by Oyneg Shabes.*[184]

[1] *List of prints*

1. Entrance ticket
2. Orders [of the] (liquid tea factory)[185]
3. Bill [of the] (liquid tea factory)

183 The title is in Polish, transliterated into Hebrew characters.

184 Most of the entries are originally in Polish. Those translated from Yiddish or Hebrew are marked with [Y] and [H], respectively. None of the listed documents has been preserved.

185 The collection includes a wide variety of consumer and advertising prints of companies and products made in Warsaw. Unfortunately, in most cases it was impossible to find additional information.

4. Koy Ton[186] (preservative)
5. Ledger
6. Kazimierz Kaminski (mechanical plant)
7. Confirmation [of] (Brown and Rowiński)
8. House administration's announcement
9. Bill (L. Dobrzyńska factory)
10. Valerian (label of the Jewish Community pharmacy)[187]
11. Hydrogen peroxide (label of the Jewish Community pharmacy)
12. Membership card [of the] (Individual Aid Patronage Section)[188]
13. Advertisements of the fuel yard at Sienna Street 36[189]
14. Record
15. Vulcanisation
16. Announcement regarding a deceased person's estate
17. Bik Bakery
18. Szaniewa[190] original (darning silk)
19. Patronage for the Jewish Orchestra[191]
20. Questionnaire D
21. Doctor of medicine B. Hermelin[192]
22. List of items (House Committee of Sienna Street 47)

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186 See entry 84 in this document.

187 All pharmacies in the ghetto reported to the Department of Pharmacies of the Judenrat. This could be a reference to the pharmacy operating at the Judenrat's out-patients' clinic. It issued prescriptions for medicine at no cost. See Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto. A Guide to the Perished City* (New Haven, 2009), pp. 329–242.

188 One of the agencies of the ŻSS, initiated by Shakhne Sagan, focused on help to Jewish intelligentsia.

189 Many documents listed here refer to the network of shops, yards, bakeries, etc. where ghetto inmates could buy food, manufactured goods, and fuel in exchange for vouchers/ration cards.

190 Before World War II the Szaniewa Mechanical Stocking Factory was located on Bielańska Street 16/18; see WSB 1936/37, p. 196.

191 The Jewish Symphonic Orchestra gave concerts in the ghetto between November 1940 and April 1942; the maximum number of its members was 60. July 1941 saw the establishment of Patronage for the Orchestra, which promoted and supervised its activity as well as raised funds. Its honorary chairman was Adam Czerniakow, while his wife, Felicja, became the chairwoman. See Engelking, Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto. A Guide to the Perished City*, pp. 577–580.

192 Possibly Maurycy Landau; see doc. 1.

23. Jewish Symphonic Orchestra
24. Jewish Social Self-help
25. Patronage for Children's Soup Kitchen No. 143[193]
26. Commissions
27. Riding breeches specialist
28. Nadzieja[194] (silk advertisement)
29. Mucka (coffee advertisement)
30. Oxo (floor mordant [cleaning substance] advertisement)
[2] 31. Receipt (Soup Kitchen Section of the *Judenrat*)[195]
32. Fruit jelly (Asam company advertisement)
33. Instant pudding (Asam company advertisement)
34. [Y] *Yortsayt* Candles (Renoma company advertisement)
35. Gelatine (Asam company advertisement)
36. Notice of receipt (Jewish Emergency Service)
37. Femina Theatre invitation[196]
38. Słońce[197] (shoe polish advertisement)
39. Jewish Emergency Service
40. Miss Polonia (advertisement)
41. Miss Polonia (advertisement)
42. Jewish Emergency Service
43. Z. Erlich, original (advertisement)
44. Labels
45. Specification (Warsaw Bed Factory)[198]

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193 Separate soup kitchens were established for children and adolescents. Feeding the youngest ghetto inhabitants was not their only function. Clandestine education, common rooms, and cultural and religious events were organised by their agency. The patrons of those kitchens tried to obtain funds, food, and supervision (including teachers) to run the soup kitchens. Soup kitchen number 143 was for children, at Krochmalna Street 36, operated by the orphanage located at that address. See ARG II 236 (Ring. II/177).

194 (Pol.) hope, probably the silk brand (translator's note).

195 Soup Kitchen Section of the Judenrat, agency supervising the ghetto network of soup kitchens.

196 The Femina Theatre was established in June 1941. It operated at Leszno Street 35 with Jerzy Jurandot as its art director. Femina staged revues, operettas, and comedies in Polish.

197 (Pol.) sun, probably the shoe polish brand.

198 Before World War II the Warsaw Bed Factory and Iron Foundry was located at Sochaczewska Street 12; see WSB 1936/37, p. 317.

46. Pass (Brown and Rowiński Factory)
47. Paramedic A. Balbus[199] (prescription)[200]
48. Doctor of Medicine S. Halber[201] (prescription)
49. Payment order
50. Jewish Welfare Society[202] (receipt)
51. Confidential (advertisement)
52. Announcement (Secretariat [?] of the Maidens' Circle)[203]
53. Report on *manco*[204] and surplus weight of flour delivery
54. Carmen darning cotton (advertisement) black [?]
55. Carmen darning cotton (advertisement) blue [?]
56. Bill [?]
57. Notification (A. Perechodnik)
58. M. Rubinlicht & Co. (Stalls Construction Company [?])
59. "Gęsiówka" market[205] (contract)
60. Jewish Emergency Service (referral)
[3] 61. Cocoa (Asam company advertisement)
62. Timesheet (machine number)
63. Cocoa with milk (Asam company advertisement)
64. Checklist of the District Delegate Office
65. Checklist of the House Delegate Office
66. Notification
67. Café Restaurant Bar (advertisement)
68. Diana (thumbtack advertisement)
69. Rekord (shaving apparatus advertisement)

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199 Before World War II the paramedic Abram Balbus had his surgery at Smocza Street 1; see WSB 1936/37, p. 165.

200 In the original, Rp. – Polish abbreviation for doctor's prescriptions.

201 No further information could be obtained about this physician.

202 From October 1940 the name of the autonomous agency of the ŻSS in Warsaw was the Jewish Welfare Society; subsequently it was also called Jewish Welfare (Polish abbreviations ŻTOS, ŻOS, respectively).

203 There were usually Ladies' Circles, social care committees supporting various institutions and establishments, such as soup kitchens and orphanages.

204 (Italian) loss, lack in the bookkeeping.

205 "Gęsiówka" – new market square set up in the ghetto in September 1941 on the corner of Gęsia and Lubeckiego Streets. See ARG I 632 (Ring. I/57; I/104).

70. Invitation (Nowy Azazel Theatre)[206]
71. Złota krówka[207] (Ormiański Company, Candy Factory advertisement)[208]
72. S. Pryłucka's Private Girl's Junior High School[209]
73. Mode de Paris
74. Membership card (House Committee's Soup Kitchen)
75. Melody Palace[210] (performance of 12 January 1941)
76. Dental surgeon (armband)[211]
77. Advertisement for home-cooked dinners ([. . .])[212]
78. Garden Café Sielanka[213] (advertisement)
79. Toffee sweets labels (Adria Company)
80. Textiles request form
81. Jewish Emergency Service – discount coupon
82. "Higiena"[214] (dessert bread advertisement)
83. Venus (advertisement for sweet yeast bread)
84. Vanillin sugar (A. Koyton Company advertisement)
85. Advertisement for the bakery at Leszno Street 70
[4] 86. Cow registration card (Department of Trade and Industry of the *Judenrat* in Warsaw)

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206 The Nowy Azazel Theatre, located at Nowolipie 72, opened in May 1941. Its art director was an eminent director and actor, Ajzyk Samberg. Nowy Azazel was known for its staging of dramas in Yiddish. Regina Judt, a German collaborator, held the concession to run the theatre.

207 (Pol.) golden little cow, probably a brand of sweets (translator's note).

208 A wrapper of a toffee sweet produced by the Ormiański Company is preserved in the Ghetto Archive. See ARG I 397 (Ring. I/1158/5).

209 Sara Pryłucka's Girl's Lower Secondary School was founded in Warsaw in 1917. In 1925 it was located at Nowolipki Street 6, with Judyta Pryłucka serving as its headmistress. Some pages of Tsvi Pryłucki's diary, preserved in the Ghetto Archive, are written in notebooks containing the school's name for the school year 1936/37 or 1938/39. See ARG II 510 (Ring. II/175).

210 The Melody Palace café at Rymarska Street 12 organised concerts and other artistic events; Wiera Gran was among the singers in 1940. Before World War II the building housed the Palais de Danse café. See WSB 1936/37, p. 262; ARG I 394 (Ring. I/777/10); II 240 (Ring. II/178).

211 In the Warsaw ghetto physicians wore armbands with a red Star of David.

212 P. ż. in the original could be the abbreviation for "Jewish company".

213 The address of the Sielanka Café remains unknown.

214 (Pol.) hygiene.

87. Application to the Centos soup kitchen centre
88. ID of a Jewish Emergency Service
89. ID of a Jewish Emergency Service guard [?]
90. List of food vouchers issued (form)
91. Invitation (Bagatela Café garden)[215]
92. Notification (Melody Palace)
93. Announcement (sugar distribution)[216]
94. [Y, P] Sz. Starobiński[217] (business card)
95. Advertisement (Negro Company, Leszno Street 35)[218]
96. Invitation (Nowoczesna Café)[219]
97. Certificate (Toporol)[220]
98. Oha (advertisement)
99. Rabbi R. Horowicz, Warsaw, Miła Street 39, flat 33
100. Henryk Fuks & Co.[221] (bill)
101. Motke Ganev[222] (Nowy Azazel Theatre)
102. Grand Attractive Morning Show (Melody Palace)
103. Course (form)
104. Tea party with artistic performances (poster)
105. Collected post list (form)
106. Receipt (Jewish Social Self-Help, Municipal Welfare Committee)

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215 The garden of the Bagatela Café was at Nowolipki Street 31.

216 Surviving in the Ghetto Archive are many announcements from the Supply Section of the Jewish Council regarding food products. See, for instance, ARG I 275 (Ring. I/1080); I 276 (Ring. I/775; I/776/1; I/777/5; I/1220/86).

217 Shlomo Starobiński (dates unknown), member of the ŻSS-KK, leader of fundraising departament of ŻSS; see AŻIH, ŻSS, 211/1068, p. 5.

218 The Femina Theatre was located at Leszno Street 35.

219 The Nowoczesna (Polish, Modern) Café was located at Nowolipki Street 10. Władysław Szpilman and Artur Gold's band played there.

220 Society for the Support of Agriculture and Craft among Jews, "Toporol". See ARG I 348 (Ring. I/32).

221 Henryk Fuks ran a pharmaceutical wholesale store at Orla Street 11. He survived the war and testified at Wiera Gran's trial before the Special Court of the Central Committee of Jews in Poland; see AŻIH, 313/36, pp. 23–24.

222 (Yid.) Motke the thief, musical comedy based on Shalom Asch's play, premiered in the Nowy Azazel Theatre on 6 June 1941, directed by Chaim Sandler.

107. Jurandot's satire on current events[223]
108. Flavour [?]
109. Invitation to the "Madness on the Mezzanine"[224] revue
110. Invitation to concerts (at the Bagatela Café)
111. List of fees received (Supply Section of the *Judenrat*)
112. Announcement concerning toilet soap distribution[225]
[5] 113. Invitation to tea
114. Bill (Edward Bujmowski)
115. Entrance ticket
116. Volterm Precision Electricity Workshop
117. Invitation to the Słoneczna Café at Tłomackie Street 4
118. La Tonicyle Madelys [?]
119. Kommissarische Verwaltung Sichergestellter Grundstücke in Warschau[226]
120. "Excelsior" (Radom factory of polish and boiled oil)
121. List of mail issued, Postal Depository of the *Judenrat*,[227] Ciepła Street 20
122. "Aldoza" chemical and pharmaceutical laboratory
123. Clothes production, W. Leszczyński
124. "Madness on the Mezzanine"
125. *Luftschn bedienst Rote*[228]
126. Check sheet for No. [?] (Eng[eneer] J. Szerman)[229]
127. Torpedo
128. Notification (Z. Tajn[?] Carpenter's Shop)
129. Staff ID (Office to Combat Profiteering)
130. Invitation to a vocal-musical concert

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223 Jerzy Jurandot (Jerzy Glejgewicht) (1911–1979) – Polish poet, playwright, satirist, and author of lyrics.

224 The title referred to the theatre's name, Na pięterku (Polish, on the mezzanine). It opened on 17 June 1941. ARG I 197 (Ring. I/1112/3).

225 See ARG I 275/16, 27 (Ring. I/1080); I 276/7a, 18, 24a, 26a (Ring. I/775; I/776/1).

226 (Ger.) Secured Real Estate Receivership in Warsaw, the departament in the office of Warsaw district, responsible of managing buildings which used to be owned by Jews.

227 Postal Depository of the Judenrat (Postal Depository of the Jewish Quarter), post office in the Warsaw ghetto.

228 (Ger.) Luftschn picks hearts – meaning obscure.

229 Cf. ARG I 328 (Ring. I/182).

131. List of documents submitted to be cashed in (Office of Bank Settlements)[230]
132. Golden Russet (label)
133. Invitation to "Madness on the Mezzanine"
134. Bill (Aldoza Company)
135. Blank form (Aldoza Company)
136. Invitation (Odeon)[231]
137. Advertisement ("What does one think about?")
138. Melody Palace advertisement
139. Liquid disinfectant (label)
140. Card index of the Crafts Commission of the Central Commission for Refugees – CKU
141. Tonicyle Madelys (labels)
142. Authorisation issued by the Toporol Society
[6] 143. Exemption certificate
144. Kazimierz Budzyński (recognition)
145. Meal voucher
146. Information of the WSŻL [?][232] (Postal Depository's letter division)
147. Death certificate form [from the] (Ostatnia Przysługa[233] Funeral Parlour)
148. Cholents (advertisement of the bakery at Twarda Street 10, [courtyard?])
149. Programme (Melody Palace, 3 November [19]40)
150. Advertisement (distribution shop, Orla Street 12)
151. Request (Jewish Community in Warsaw)
152. Jewish Emergency Service ([police] district I)
153. Kowalokina [?] (headache pill)
154. "Prolit" (bed-linen soaking powder)
155. Furrier St. Cichy (business card)
156. Tailor B. Presajzen[234] (business card)

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230 One of the Judenrat's agencies, in January 1942 transformed into the Cooperative Bank of the Jewish Quarter. Engelking, Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto. A Guide to the Perished City*, p. 188.

231 Probably a reference to Odeon Café-Restaurant-Variété at Tłomackie Street 13.

232 Abbreviation not deciphered.

233 Reference to Noech Pinkiert's Last Respects Funeral Parlour in the Warsaw ghetto at Grzybowska Street 21. See also ARG I 258 (Ring. I/338/1).

234 Before World War II Boruch Presajzen (Presseisen) had a tailor's workshop on Jasna Street 18. See *Księga adresowa Polski 1929*, p. 1862; WSB 1936/37, p. 286.

157. I re-set diamonds (business card)
158. Engineer J. Odeski (company envelope)
159. Postal receipt (K. Wasilewski Company)
160. Cash voucher (Toporol Society)
161. Smorgońskie[235] ("W. Kozłowski" Company's original packaging)
162. "Liwar" (company logo)
163. "The Audience Is Right" (Melody Palace's programme, 3 November 1940)
164. Advertisment bag ("Czeska" exquisite silk underwear)
165. Daily report
166. List of products sold for ration cards
167. Aida (practical silk)
168. One zloty received (Incoming Post Bureau)
169. Derby (original packaging)
170. "Transparant" (original packaging)
171. Chairman of the *Judenrat* in Warsaw (envelope)
172. J. Lajtajzen, advertisement
[7] 173. Announcement to the Jewish population regarding collection of a contribution
174. Announcement concerning the price of bread[236]
175. Potatoes and vegetables distribution point
176. Announcement concerning jam distribution
177. Order – P. M. T.[237] Credit Cooperative
178. Bill (P. M. T. Credit Cooperative)
179. Poster – Arizona Café-Bar, Nowolipie Street 18[238]
180. Announcement concerning salt distribution
181. Announcement concerning egg distribution
182. Announcement concerning sugar distribution[239]

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235 Possibly a reference to popular pretzels.

236 Announcements of this type are in ARG I 275 (Ring. I/1080); I 276 (Ring. I/775; I/776/1; I/777/5; I/1220/86).

237 The meaning of this acronym is still unknown.

238 Located at this address was the Hotel Britannia, site of the Casanowa dance club, the Arizona night club, and the Colombina café and bar. They were frequented by members of the "Thirteen".

239 On the Judenrat's circular letters regarding distribution of salt, eggs, and sugar, see ARG I 275 (Ring. I/1080).

183. Poster – concert at Melody Palace
184. Poster – revue at Café Kojszman [?] Pańska Street 35[240]
185. Poster – Variete Café, Tłomackie Street 13[241]
186. Poster – programme of a symphonic concert at Melody Palace[242]
187. Poster – Engineer Cz. Podlaski Engineering and Construction Company
188. Poster – prices of vegetables
189. Poster [concerning] potato distribution[243]
190. Poster – To Mothers
191. Instruction for house administrators, issued by the *Judenrat*'s Department of Health[244]
192. Circular letter No. 5 of the Department of Registration for the Jewish Population[245]
193. Invitation to a ŻTOS event, Central Entertainment Commission[246]
194. Invitation to a ŻTOS event, Central Entertainment Commission
[8] 195. Poster – Odeon Café
196. Poster – Pod Antresolą Café[247]
197. Poster – Julian Tuwim's poetry morning event at the Melody Palace[248]
198. Order form
199. List of fees collected – form
200. Aldoza – company form
201. Transferstelle (label)
202. Copy – Bank Clearing Office
203. Minutes

240 In 1942 Rajeman's Café was located at that address.
241 Full name: Café-Restaurant-Variété Odeon.
242 The Jewish Symphonic Orchestra performed a classical repertoire at the Melody Palace Café between January and August 1941.
243 The Judenrat's circular letter; see ARG I 275 (Ring. I/1080).
244 See ARG II 164 (Ring. II/45).
245 Department of Jewish Population Registration of the Judenrat.
246 An agency of the Jewish Welfare Association in the Warsaw ghetto dealing with organisation of cultural life, in 1940–1942 led by Jonas Turkow. See AŻIH, 211/251–255 (appendix).
247 On the Mezzanine Café was located at Leszno Street 6 or 8.
248 The morning show devoted to Julian Tuwim took place before 17 June 1941 at the Melody Palace, with Edmund Minowicz and Michał Znicz among the performers and with the accompaniment of L. Rubinsztajn's orchestra. Julian Tuwim (1894–1953) – one of the most popular of Polish Jewish poets in the interwar period.

204. J. Odeski Construction Plumbery Company – company stationery
205. Staff ID card [?] – Jewish Community in Warsaw
206. "Eskimo" Furrier Workshop
207. Progres Candle Factory (Polish–Yiddish label)
208. Price list – Perfection Company
209. Regional Health Care Chamber in Warsaw, nationality group [?]
210. The *Judenrat* at the Jewish Community in Warsaw
211. Gepe[249] – label
212. Invitation to a Gambling House
213. Cashier's report – form
214. Letter pad – cover
215. "Cameleon" – label
216. ID – issued by the Blood Donation Centre
217. Announcement of the reading room at Leszno Street 43, flat 19
218. Flour delivery specification
219. Renoma Ceramic Tiles Factory – label
220. Notification
221. Milano – kvas advertisement
222. Sielanka Garden
[9] 223. House Card
224. Braun and Rowiński
225. Bill (J. K. Pyszyński & Co.)
226. Declaration (Bank Clearing Office)
227. Lido Parlour
228. Telegraph money transfer [order]
229. Soda water (label)
230. Daily Register of Dairy Consumption
231. Bill (savings and credit company)
232. Incoming Post Bureau (stationery)
233. Argu Technical Office (stationery)
234. F. Lopatka (stationery)
235. Sidol[250] (stationery)

249 Probably an obscure abbreviation (GP?).

250 Sidol – popular name for several chemical companies and products. Perhaps a reference to the Sidol chemical processing plant located at Owsiana Street 14. See WSB 1936/37, p. 93.

236. Hospital card
237. "Lot" Mechanical Plant (bill)
238. E. & H. Balicki Brothers (bill)
239. W. Kiełbiński (stationery)
240. St. Kondera (stationery)
241. Palma – order
242. Heinrich Rafman (*Rechnung*)[251]
243. Astra (company bag)
244. K. Wasilewski
245. Reinhold Wegner (stationery)
246. Supply Section of the Judenrat (stationery)
247. "J. Sperperling" [sic!][252] Scales Factory (bill)
248. Asphalt Company (bill)
249. F. Gryncajg und S. Majzner (bill)
250. Agril (stationery)
[10] 251. Wisła (dispatch)
252. M. Kohn and Z. Heller[253] (stationery)
253. Jewish Welfare Society (stationery)
254. TOZ (stationery)
255. Maria Babin (stationery)
256. *Der Kommissar für Jüdische Wohnbezirk in Warschau*[254] (stationery)
257. Engineer J. Szerman (stationery)
258. Bank Clearing Office (stationery)
259. Pawelski Brothers (stationery)
260. Metal products factory (stationery)
261. Opotherapia (stationery) [?]
262. Polor – advertisement
263. Sabadol – advertisement
264. Brema 'S – advertisement

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251 (Ger.) bill.

252 The J. Sperling i Ska Scales Factory was located at Młynarska Street 50. See WSB 1936/37, p. 581.

253 Moryc Kohn and Zelik Heller – members of the "Thirteen", ran a trade and transport company in the ghetto, including the Society for Omnibus Transportation. See ARG I 546 (Ring. I/1100).

254 (Ger.) Commissioner for the Jewish Residential Quarter in Warsaw.

265. Hellos – advertisement
266. Strong Glue – advertisement
267. "Beehive" – advertisement
268. Jewish Welfare Society – ID [membership card]
269. Z. Hecht – business card
270. Miss Varsovia – advertisement
271. Welfare card
272. Melody Palace – concert announcement
273. Arizona Café Bar – invitation
274. Power of Money – poster
275. Aptudej – packaging
276. *Zurückstellung*[255]
277. Region VI Distribution List[256]
278. Staszewski, Warsaw, packaging
279. Special Announcement
[11] 280. Provisional Statute
281. Unemployed (poster)
282. SSPRŻ[257] assignment card
283. Central Delivery Office (ID)
284. Notifications about exchange of appartments
285. New Year's greetings. K.D.[258]
286. Minutes
287. Discount coupon
288. Summons
289. M. Pinkiert's Funeral Parlour
290. *Anordnung* (ordinances)
291. House description (OPL)[259]
292. Billet
293. Housing Office
294. Basic checklist

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255 (Ger.) deferment.

256 Of the Order Service in the Warsaw ghetto.

257 Possibly Polish abbreviation for Sanitary Depository of the *Judenrat* in the Warsaw ghetto.

258 Perhaps Polish abbreviation for House Committee.

259 Polish abbreviation for Air Defence. The Order Service in the Warsaw ghetto had an Air Defence Section. See ARG II 69 (Ring. II/293/3).

295. Checkout card for foreigners
296. Checkout card for [individuals] staying temporarily
297. Checkout card for [individuals] staying temporarily
298. [Y] Cholent
299. Entrance card
300. New Year's greetings
301. Certificate, Patronage for Camp prisoners[260]
302. Nike
303. Femina Theatre programme
304. Jewish Emergency Service
305. Sanitary Guidelines of the Department of Health of the *Judenrat*
306. House Committee
307. Entrance card
308. Entrance card
[12] 309. N. Pinkiert, business card
310. [Y] Invitation patronage [?] [. . .]
311. Nożyk Synagogue concert – poster
312. Patronage for Soup Kitchens, Twarda Street 15 – poster
313. District IV of the Order Service – to Mr Janitor
314. Recommendation to the TOZ baths
315. Questionnaire of the Warsaw Employment Office
316. To a House Committee (appeal of the Jewish Emergency Service)
317. To a House Committee, Department of Labour
318. Doctor of Medicine L. Płockier[261] (prescription)
319. Reminder
320. Certificate
321. *Arbeitsamt Warschau*[262]
322. Summons, District IV of the Order Service
323. Death certificate
324. Enrolment in the primary school at Gęsia Street 11/17[263] (Jewish)

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260 It refers to men sent to forced labour camps.

261 Leon Płockier (Plockier) (1888–1965) – internal medicine specialist, until 1939 saw patients in Warsaw at Leszno Street 25. See *Rocznik Lekarski Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na 1938 rok* (Warsaw, 1938), p. 735.

262 (Ger.) Labour Office in Warsaw.

263 There was a centre for the resettled at Gęsia Street 11. See ARG I 1011 (Ring. I/1146).

325. Certificate issued by the Health Centre in Falenica
326. Certificate issued by the Department of Health of the Judenrat in Warsaw
327. Request and register from the Jewish Quarter Supply Section
328. Bill, Fuel Department, Jewish Quarter Supply Section
329. Order (form)
330. Financial balance sheet
331. Syrena – packaging
332. OPL
333. Food ration card issued by the Judenrat in Falenica
334. Work record issued by the Department of Labour[264]
[13] 335. Announcement about food ration cards
336. Announcement concerning the nourishing soup distribution
337. Food ration card for December 1941[265]
338. Announcement concerning egg distribution, December 1941
339. Announcement concerning salt distribution, December 1941
340. Financial balance sheet
341. Society for Omnibus Transportation in the Jewish quarter in Warsaw (full fare ticket)[266]
342. Announcement concerning trade
343. Obituary (B. Gelbfisz)
344. To house residents (appeal)
345. Announcement concerning a [synagogue] service
346. To House Committees (the Judenrat in Warsaw regarding the unemployed)
347. To the attention of the unemployed (poster)
348. Announcement of the *Judenrat* concerning free meals
349. Announcement of the *Judenrat* concerning distribution of matches[267]
350. *Statistik der Arbeitsvermittlung*[268]
351. Declaration of the Food Cooperative of the *Judenrat* in Warsaw
352. Summons

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264 Department of Labour of the Judenrat in Warsaw.

265 Most of the ration cards surviving in the Ghetto Archive were issued in 1942. See ARG I 278 (Ring. I/776/2).

266 See ARG I 398 (Ring. I/1160).

267 See ARG I 275/33 (Ring. I/1080); I 276/10 (Ring. I/775).

268 (Ger.) employment exchange statistics.

353. To the Jewish population – appeal of the Chairman of the *Judenrat* regarding the anti-typhus campaign
354. Announcement concerning leaving the Jewish quarter
355. Announcement concerning registration of companies
356. Announcement concerning the OPL
357. Announcement regarding enrolment of children in schools
[14] 358. Month of a Child[269] (poster)
359. [Y] Patronage, Gęsia Street 7[270] (cholent)
360. Jewish Welfare Society (lunch voucher)
361. Invitation to the opening of children's soup kitchen No. 134[271]
362. "Zdrowie" Bakery
363. Meal card (Department of Labour of the Judenrat in Warsaw)
364. What does the TOZ do?
365. Zenit Toffee (packaging)
366. Society for Omnibus Transportation ID
367. *Judenrat* staff ID
368. Market place at Grzybowska Street 33/35
369. [Y] Entrance ticket
370. Melody Palace (invitation)
371. Monthly ticket of the Society for Omnibus Transportation
372. Invitation to tea
373. *Ausweis für Juden*[272]
374. [H] *Le Shana Tova*[273]
375. New Year's greetings
376. [Y] The Patronage for Jewish [Yiddish?] culture work
377. Programme
378. Invitation
379. Winter Aid[274]
380. Programme
381. Winter Aid (invitation)

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269 Campaign organised by the ŻSS in August 1940. See ARG II 126 (Ring. I/22).
270 Gęsia 7 is an address of a refugee centre.
271 Located at Prosta 8; this kitchen was led by Tarbut school organization.
272 (Ger.) ID for Jews.
273 (Heb.) New Year's greetings.
274 The Winter Aid charity campaign organised by the ŻSS. See ARG II 478d (Ring. II/372).

382. [Y] Winter Aid
383. Jewish Social Self-Help (poster)
[15] 384. Announcement concerning egg distribution, December 1941
385. Announcement concerning washing powder distribution, December 1941
386. Artists on behalf of Winter Aid (poster)
387. Puppet shows
388. Music concert (poster)
389. Melody Palace (Diana Blumenfeld's morning jubilee show – poster)
390. Cardboard boxes manufacture
391. Invitation
392. Ruch [company]
393. [. . .][275]
394. Darning cotton
395. Koy ton brand vanillin sugar (packaging)
396. Dorley laboratory
397. [. . .][276] (laxative chocolate)
398. N. Jaszuński (stationery)
399. "Nuxal" (nut nougat)
400. Food voucher
401. Notification
402. Register (form)
403. Programme (For You, Mother)
404. "J. Urbanek" technical and chemical processing factory
405. Notification
406. Pharmaceuticals and paint wholesale store (stationery)
407. Invitation to Bagatela
408. Nowy Kameralny Theatre (envelope)
409. Ultramarine
410. [Guaranteed [?] Bread (label)
411. [Guaranteed Bread?] S. W. (label)
[16] 412. [Y] Juliusz Szterling (stationery)
413. Cashier's receipt
414. Storehouse receipt

275 Probably an acronym, undecipherable.
276 Undecipherable abbreviation.

415. ŻSS (checklist)
416. [Y] Melody Palace, Shalakhmones[277]
417. "Nowoczesna" Café
418. Incomings and outgoings
419. Clothing list
420. Register
421. Collector's sheet
422. [Y] Your brothers [. . .]
423. Sznycer's concerts (poster)
424. Mortau [?]
425. Admiral
426. [Y] Month of a Child, Centos
427. *Kommisarische Verwaltung*[278]
428. *Überwachungsstelle*[279]
429. Wedding invitation
430. Bill
431. Szaniewa (advertisement)
432. Perła (dry-cleaner's)
433. Distribution shop
434. Daw protective bag
435. Purim plays (programme)
436. Commission for the resettled (stationery)
437. Vegetable distribution shop
438. Vegetable distribution shop
439. Memorandum [. . .]
[17] 440. Declaration of the Jewish Welfare Society
441. Monthly contribution
442. [Y] Potato ration cards
443. Donation of 50 groszes for the soup kitchen at Świętojerska Street 34[280]

277 (Yid.) parcels with titbits traditionally sent to friends at Purim. Here probably a title of a play.

278 (Ger.) receivership.

279 (Ger.) inspection agency, supervisory board.

280 At Świętojerska Street 34 there was also a school; see ARG I 1421 (Ring. I/1189). The third part of the Ghetto Archive was supposedly hidden in the basement of that building in 1943 but it has not been found. See *The Warsaw Ghetto Oyneg Shabes – Ringelblum Archive*.

444. Producers' association
445. Candy factory
446. Electrocardiographic Laboratory
447. [Y or H] Passover [. . .][281]
448. House Committee, Leszno Street 48[282]
449. 50 kg of coal, etc.
450. Wiedeńska Bakery (bag)
451. List of deliveries
452. [Central Office of the] Union of Societies for Care of Orphans and [Abandoned] Children "Centos" – the storehouse will issue [form]
453. Licensed office for application writing services
454. Doctor of Medicine Julian Lewinson [283]
455. Pepita [shepherd's check?]
456. Do not administer [?]
457. Studio
458. Contest
459. Renato Carmina
460. Payment order
461. Neka
462. Knife sharpening shop
463. Account sheet
464. Account
465. St. Skrzywan (envelope)
466. Agril (envelope)
467. G. Glück (envelope)
468. Standard
[18] 469. [Officer on duty's?] report book

Catalog and Guide, Ed. by Robert Moses Shapiro and Tadeusz Epsztein, introduction by Samuel D. Kassow (Bloomington & Indianapolis, 2009), p. 9.

281 Probably greetings for Passover.

282 See ARG I 390 (Ring. I/780/2).

283 Doctor Julian Lewinson (1900–1943) – radiologist, until 1939 practiced in Warsaw at Szczygla Street 7, flat 11; a physician in the Jewish Order Police; deported to Majdanek during the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and killed in the camp. See *Rocznik Lekarski Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na 1938 rok* (Warsaw, 1938), p. 710, Janina Bauman, *Zima o poranku* (Kraków, 1989).

470. [. . .] distribution shop
471. Inventory of a house
472. Guarantee card
473. Patronage, Dzika Street 13/15[284]
474. Armband
475. Armband (dental surgeon)
476. Armband ([Jewish Hospital on] Czyste [Street])[285]
477. Receipt (Patronage for the Jewish Symphonic Orchestra)
478. [Y] Healing for your body
479. Tear
480. ŻSS self-help campaign (receipt)
481. Craft Vocational Training Courses [organised?] by the Jewish Council (files)
482. General daily summary (Department of Pharmacies)
483. "Dom Sierot" Orphanage[286] (envelope)
484. "zw" [?] (advertisement)
485. Personnel Department [of the] Jewish Community
486. Municipal Welfare Committee[287] (envelope)
487. *Warschauer Tricotagen Fabrik*[288]
488. M. Kohn and Z. Heller Department Store
489. [Y] Diploma – ORT and Toporol agricultural courses
490. Labor (advertisement)
491. Milano (advertisement)
492. Neka (advertisement)
493. Milano (advertisement)
494. Urine analysis
495. Hygienic paper
496. Medical certificate (form)

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284 At Dzika Street 13 and 15 there were dormitories for children from families resettled into the Warsaw ghetto. See ARG I 321 (Ring. I/231).

285 Probably an armband for the staff of the Jewish Hospital on Czyste Street.

286 The Orphanage run by Janusz Korczak, initially at Krochmalna Street 92 and then at Śliska Street 9. See ARG I 1459 (Ring. I/657/1).

287 Municipal Welfare Committee (Jewish Municipal Welfare Committee), agency of the ŻSS in the Warsaw ghetto (established on 17 October 1940).

288 (Ger.) Warsaw Trickot Clothing Factory.

497. Bank Clearing Office
498. Invitation to a bar mitzvah (A. Gancwajchs)[289]
499. Price list
[19] 500. Borneo (advertisement)
501. It Is a Disgrace (advertisement)
502. ID (Work Cooperative)
503. Zelig Hecht (business card)
504. [Y] Soup kitchen No. 1, ID[290]
505. OPL service
506. A. Gancwajch (envelope)
507. Entrance card (Ustronie)
508. Money order delivery sheet
509. 4 Aces (advertisement)
510. Bill (Eng[ineer] M. Neufeld)
511. Telegram delivery sheet
512. Cashier's report
513. A note to pick up ordered medicine
514. Food ration card
515. Rekord (advertisement)
516. Jam (packaging)
517. Scales (advertisement)
518. Vitamin (advertisement)
519. Copy (Bank Clearing Office)
520. Invitation from the House Committee, Leszno Street 12
521. Supply Section of the Jewish Quarter in Warsaw
522. *Anforderung vor Ersatzteilen*[291]
523. Femina Theatre (discount coupon)
524. To house residents
525. Femina Theatre (invitation)
526. Announcement concerning salt distribution

289 See ARG I 498 (Ring. I/107) for a description of the bar mitzvah of Samuel Gancwajch, son of Abraham (?–1943), chief of the "Thirteen" in the Warsaw ghetto. The ceremony took place on 2 June 1941.

290 Soup kitchen no 1 was located at Karmelicka 3. See ARG II 144.

291 (Ger.) request for spare parts.

527. Femina Theatre (poster)
528. Luxury notebook (cover)
529. [Y] Consumers
530. [Y] Shelter
531. [Cashier's?] report (Judenrat)
532. Receipt (Judenrat)
533. Files
534. List
[20] 535. Stocktaking report (Al. Majewski)
536. Esla (advertisement)
537. Inventory of materials
538. Payroll (Rudolf Brothers)
539. Collector's sheet (ŻTOS)
540. Report
541. List of names
542. Receipt (American Joint Distribution Committee)
543. [. . .] (American Joint Distribution Committee) Duplicate
544. Original Record (advertisement)
545. Polonia (label)
546. Packaging
547. Synerga
548. Doctor I. Dworecki's analytical laboratory and surgery[292]
549. Jewish Emergency Service (receipt)
550. Unic-Neon[293] (stationery)
551. Payout slip (Department of Payments to Hospitals)
552. J. Rawski, MA
553. Bank Clearing Office (summons)
554. Credit note (H. Fuks)
555. Invitation
556. [H] *Le Shana Tova Tikatevu*[294]

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292 Until 1939 the laboratories of Izaak Dworecki (1894–?) were at Mazowiecka Street 11 and Dzielna Street 18 in Warsaw. See *Rocznik Lekarski Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na 1938 rok* (Warsaw, 1938), p. 663.

293 Before World War II the seat of the Unic-Neon Advertising Company was at Nowy Świat 21. See WSB 1936/37, p. 470.

294 (Hebrew) may your name be in the book of life, Jewish New Year greetings.

557. Price list
558. ORT and "Toporol" ID
559. Notification
560. Erze [?] (advertisement)
561. Department of Labour (receipt)
562. Market Hall advertisement
563. (Advertisement) Gabmara [. . .]
564. (Advertisement) Rising agent [?]
565. (Advertisement) Warschauer Trickotagen Fabrik
566. (Advertisement) Chocolate cocoa
567. (Advertisement) select cocoa
[21] 568. Attention (nut nougat) (advertisement)
569. Office to Combat Profiteering and Speculation (stationery)
570. Administrators and Managers Committee[295]
571. Invitation (Słoneczna Café)
572. A. Frank's Pharmacy[296]
573. Riunione Adriatica di Sicurta[297] (envelope)
574. For your memory
575. Grafart (advertising art studio)
576. Special offer
577. Cheapest source
578. Novelty (*Délicatés*)
579. Fare table (Society for Omnibus Transportation)
580. Entrance ticket
581. Clinic, Twarda Street 4[298]
582. Administrators Committee
583. Invitation to a staging of *Motke Ganev*
584. Confirmation (invitation)
585. Roman Auderski Dental Wholesale Store

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295 Administrators' Committee (Section), agency of the Judenrat supervising the staffing of the real estate administration in the Warsaw ghetto. See ARG I 245 (Ring. I/19).

296 In 1936 Abraham Frank had a pharmacy at Grzybowska Street 1; see WSB 1936/37, p. 61.

297 Italian insurance company established in 1838 in Trieste; before World War II the Warsaw branch of the company was located at Moniuszki Street 10. See WSB 1936/37, p. 576.

298 The out-patient clinic on Twarda Street 4 had operated since before World War II. See WSB 1936/37, p. 311.

586. Office to Combat Profiteering (envelope)
587. Exercise book
588. [. . .] *Leiter der Anklagebehörde*[299]
589. ŻSS Child Care
590. Jurandot's current affairs farce
591. The *Judenrat*, Department of Trade and Industry (summons)
592. Największy Ogród[300] (ticket)
593. Lido Café Bar[301] (invitation)
594. Hetman's Mead (label)
595. Applications' writing office
596. Jelly (advertisement)
597. Oha (advertisement)
598. Pink plaster (advertisement)
599. Invitation
600. Kryma [?] (advertisement)
[22] 601. Postal advice
602. Bird's milk[302] (advertisement)
603. Prescription labels
604. Jewish Emergency Service
605. Receipt
606. Eldorado Theatre programme
607. Certificate issued by the Jewish Emergency Service
608. Confirmation
609. Receipt (Bank Clearing Office)
610. Department of Payments to Hospitals[303] (reminder)
611. [. . .]tabor Rawski [?]
612. Applications' writing office
613. Pass
614. Commodity name
615. Jolly Revue

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299 (Ger.) prosecuting attorney.
300 (Pol.) the largest garden.
301 The Lido Café was located on the corner of Sienna Street 36 and Śliska Street 29.
302 Chocolate-covered marshmallow.
303 Department of Payments to Hospitals of the Judenrat in Warsaw. See ARG II 71 (Ring. II/396).

616. Promień[304] (advertisement)
617. Request (Department of Hospitals)
618. Sielanka Little Garden
619. Monthly contribution
620. To the Council of Elders (Funeral Parlours)
621. Request
622. "Extra" (advertisement)
623. Proof of bread issue
624. Pharmacist's labels
625. Femina Theatre (programme)
626. Gold Cream (advertisement)
627. Bill, S. Diesendorf
628. Return of undelivered money orders
629. [Y] Poster: On Saturday, 20 December 1941 Gerszon Sirota will pray at the Nożyk Synagogue[305]
630. [. . .] Department of Jewish Population Registration
631. Nowy Kameralny Theatre
[23] 632. [Y] [. . .] declaration
633. Sauber (advertisement)
634. Pharmacy of MA M. Komorowski[306]
635. Entrance ticket
636. Motorcycle (advertisement)
637. Do not overpay
638. Notification
639. [. . .] (envelope)
640. Artur Gold's jubilee[307]
641. Distribution Shops' Wholesale Store

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304 (Pol.) ray, probably a brand.

305 Gerszon Sirota (1874–1943) – famous tenor, cantor of the Great Synagogue on Tłomackie Street, died during the uprising in the Warsaw ghetto.

306 Mieczysław Komorowski's pharmacy was in the Praga Quarter, on 11 Listopada Street 54. See *Kalendarz Farmaceutyczny na rok 1939*, p. 243.

307 Artur Gold (1897–1943) – musician, composer, violinist, author of popular songs; before World War II, with Jerzy Petersburski and his brother, Henryk Gold, he led the orchestra at Qui Pro Quo cabaret, and then at Adria, in the Warsaw ghetto, performed with his own orchestra.

642. Hospitals Department
643. Special Symphonic Concert
644. Senior (advertisement)
645. J. Usenko (supreme attorney)
646. Higiena (launderette – inventory)[308]
647. W[. . .]wat (label)
648. Eldorado Theatre (programme)
649. Invitation
650. Invitation
651. Saturn Food Products (advertisement)
652. Va Banque (advertisement)
653. Certificate
654. Daily report
655. Shop No.
656. For registration (advertisement)
657. Price list
658. Donation
659. "Centos" Patronage for Homeless Children (programme)
670.[309] Last Road Funeral Parlour
671. Cashier's report
672. Attention (advertisement)
673. Enrollment in a primary school
[24] 674. Pharmacy of the Infectious Diseases Hospital on Czyste Street[310]
675. Save the Jewish child
676. Olympics (advertisement)
677. Boston (advertisement)
678. Exquisite paper (advertisement)
679. Telegraph money transfer
680. M. Pinkiert's Funeral Parlour
681. Invitation

308 Before World War II, Antoni Okoń's Higiena laundry was located at Nowolipki Street 20. See WSB 1936/37, p. 454.

309 Incorrect number in the original.

310 Until 1939 the pharmacy at the hospital on Czyste Street was located at Dworska Street 17 and was run by Józef Chajet. See *Kalendarz Farmaceutyczny na rok 1939*, p. 248.

682. Receipt issued by the House Committee at Sienna Street 74
683. House Committee at Leszno Street 7
684. Doctor M. Goldman[311] (prescription)
685. Armband (sanitary service)
686. Armband (fire service)
687. Armband (messenger)
688. *Quittung*[312]
689. Concert (invitation)
690. Jewish Symphonic Orchestra (concert)
691. Invitation
692. Death certificate duplicate
693. Doctor A. Festensztat[313] (prescription)
694. Komplet[314]
695. Hepro (advertisement)
696. [Synagogue] service (poster)
697. Gloria (advertisement)
698. ID (of a K.Z.Z.N. employee)[315]
699. Breakfast voucher
700. Gęsiówka Market
701. Bill (L. Czapiński & Co.)
[25] 702. M. Felix (envelope)
703. Summons (Department of Jewish Population Registration)
704. Eldorado Theatre (programme)
705. Ch. Fajnsztajn

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311 In Warsaw several physicians held that surname: Mieczysław Goldman (1892–?) – internal disease specialist, practicing at Leszno Street 24; Mieczysław Goldman (1901–?) – also an internal disease specialist, saw patients at Jaworzyńska Street 5; Maurycy Goldman (1908–?) – urologist, saw patients at Zgoda Street 1; and Maria Goldman (1900–?) – internal disease specialist, saw patients at Leszno Street 52. See *Rocznik Lekarski Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na 1938 rok* (Warsaw, 1938), p. 676.

312 (Ger.) receipt.

313 Abram Festensztadt (Festensztat) (1896–?) – paediatrician, until 1939 had seen patients in Warsaw, at Sienna Street 11. See *Rocznik Lekarski Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na 1938 rok* (Warsaw, 1938), p. 667.

314 Full set?

315 The abbreviation for Komisaryczny Zarząd Zabezpieczonych Nieruchomości (Pol.) – see entry 119 for German and English.

706. Baltic Sea (advertisement)
707. Rado Post (advertisement)

ARG I 3 a (Ring. I/1147/1)
Description: original or duplicate, handwritten (JG*), pencil, Polish, Yiddish, Hebrew, German, 103×295, 109×245 mm, minor damages and missing fragments, 25 sheets, 25 pages.

Chapter 3

Questionnaires and Drafts for the Monograph "Two-and-a-Half Years"

3.1. General Issues

11

After 22 January 1942, Warsaw ghetto, "כּללים פֿון פֿאַקטאָגראַפֿישן קאָנקורס אויף אויסגעווײַלטע טעמעס פֿון יידישן לעבן אין דער מילחמה־צײַט" *[Competition for photographs depicting selected aspects of the life of Jews during the war].*

[1] *Rules for a competition documenting and describing selected topics about Jewish life during the war.*

/Draft/

Following a series of meetings, the competition organising committee, consisting of D. Cholodenko, M. Linder, and Dr E. Ringelblum (executive jury), established the following principles and rules of the competition at its final meeting on 22 January 1942:

1. An open competition shall be held on the following topics:
    1. Monographs on Jewish life in a city
    2. Jewish–Polish relations
    3. Converts in the ghetto

4. The school system
5. The situation of children
6. Corruption in the ghetto
7. Smuggling
8. An economic sector
9. The house committees
10. Recreation and depravity in the ghetto
11. The Isle of Tears (refugee centres)
12. September 1939
13. The police
14. Uplifting moments in the life of [. . .]
15. Social activists in the ghetto

2. New topics announced by [. . .] may be addressed following written [permission of the] executive.
3. Topics shall be treated [as synthesis] [. . .] topics may after communication [. . .]
4. The topic [. . .] only after [. . .]
5. Each ess[ay]? [. . .] must [. . .][316]

[2] 1 – 1st prize – 1000 zlotys
1 – 2nd prize – 750 zlotys
3 – 3rd prizes – 500 zlotys
4 – 4th prizes – 300 zlotys
2 – 5th prizes – 200 zlotys
3 – 6th prizes – 100 zlotys[317]
14 prizes in total.
The jury shall be entitled to divide one prize among several contestants.

9. All works regardless of whether they have received a prize, shall remain the property of the jury which shall have the right to utilise them in any form (publication, etc.).

316 One page is missing.

317 In the third copy there is a handwritten note in this place: "1–1000, 1–750, 2 [4?]–500, 3–300".

10. The jury shall be composed of the following members: D. Guzik, I. Giterman, Sh. Winter, M. Linder, D. Cholodenko, M. Kon and Dr E. Ringelblum.

ARG I 7 (Ring. I/134)
Description: original or duplicate (3 fragmented copies), typewritten (supplemented in handwritten notes, ink), Yiddish, 207×220, 207×130 mm, major damage and fragments missing, 5 sheets, 5 pages.
Printed: *Selected Documents*, pp. 27–28.
Edition of p. 1 based on copy 1, p. 2 based on copy 3.

12 *After March 1940, Warsaw ghetto, Eliyahu Gutkowski, notes regarding the chronology of the German ordinances against Jews in the General Government (November 1939–March 1940) – financial and ownership restrictions.*

[1] 20 November 1939
Regarding overall assets, with the objective being to secure Jewish property:

1) the freezing of bank accounts, deposits and safety deposit boxes of anonymous associations
2) the freezing of bank accounts, deposits and safety deposit boxes associated with Jewish surnames
3) payouts to Jews in the amount of up to 250 zlotys per week to be deposited in their frozen bank accounts
4) all payouts to Jews in the amount of over 500 zlotys to be deposited in their accounts
5) the obligation of Jews in possession of up to 2,000 zlotys to deposit the money in an account of a financial or credit institution.[318]

15 November 1939
The establishment of the General Government Trustee Agency.[319]

318 Sums greater than 2,000 zlotys were blocked, while sums of less than 2,000 zlotys could be deposited only into special accounts for Jews.

319 The agency established by Hans Frank to register and manage Jewish property.

12 December 1939
The second ordinance regarding compulsory labour for the Jewish population.[320]
23 November 1939
Regarding the marking of shops.[321]
1 March 1940
Means to secure Jewish property.
Purchase of noble metals with permission.
14 January 1940
Declaration of Jewish property in the General Government.

ARG I 21 (Ring. I/137/3).
Description: original, handwritten (H*), pencil, Polish, 205x330 mm, 1 sheet, 1 page.

13 *After 03.1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Outline for a study on Jewish–German relations.*

[1] Landau
Wasser
Milejkowski[322]

Tentative issues to be explored:
Relations with municipal authorities
Relations with German authorities

320 In the General Government Hans Frank's ordinance regarding compulsory labour for Jews aged 14–60 was issued as early as 26 October 1939.
321 The author refers to Hans Frank's ordinance of 23 November 1939 introducing the obligation to mark Jewish shops and companies.
322 Added in the same handwriting in the upper left corner. The individuals listed were Oyneg Shabes associates.

The opinion that all Germans are bad – false. Differences among the intermediaries – good, bad. Austrians, *Volksdeutsche*, *Reichsdeutsche*.

German businessmen – administrative authorities – NSDAP.

German radicals – their attitude: open and secret – their reaction to Jewish suffering.

Attitude of Germans on the ghetto issue: radical and non-radical. In relation to the problem of rich and poor in the ghetto. How have German relations with Jews changed? For the better, for the worse. Changes: for what reasons (bribery, recognition for Jewish work, services). What did these Germans know about Jews previously? Prejudices among Germans: buying Jewish ritual objects (mezuzahs, small prayer books, and the like) as amulets. What do Germans say about expulsions, violent attacks, gassing; do they believe all these things occur or regard them as Jewish *Greuelpropaganda*?[323]

Commercial relations between Germans and Jews: business dealings – economic aspects, culture – prejudices.

Attitude of Germans to Jewish charitable aid (their opinion about supporting the poor – in the past and now).

"Righteous among the nations" among them. Facts![324]

Their attitude towards Jewish workers at their workplaces.

Remba?[325]

ARG I 20 (Ring. I/339)
Description: original or duplicate, handwritten (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 220×335 mm, 1 sheet, 1 page.

323 (Ger.) "atrocity propaganda".

324 Added on the side in the same handwriting.

325 Added under the text in the same handwriting. Probably Nakhum Remba, secretary of the Warsaw *Judenrat*.

14 *After June 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. "Stosunki niemiecko-żydowskie (tezy)" ["German–Jewish relations (theses)"].*

[1] *German–Jewish Relations (Theses)*

1. The attitude of Jewish society in Poland towards the extermination of German Jewry by Hitler, particularly after the Zbąszyń period (late 1938).[326]
   a) the intensification of the anti-German boycott[327]
   b) the activities of the anti-Hitlerite committees
   c) the Jewish press
2. The persecution of Jews during the Polish–German war.[328]
3. The *Wehrmacht*'s relatively humane attitude towards Jews in the conquered territories.
4. The attitude of the SS and Gestapo formations.
   a) Jews outside the rule of law
   b) pogroms and the looting of Jewish property in towns and cities
   c) the removal of Jews from appropriated flats
   d) the forcing of Jews to work harder then they were capable of on Jewish holidays (Sabbaths, Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, Sukkot)
   e) the merciless abuse and murders of Jews
   f) the profanation and burning of Jewish temples with Jews inside
   g) the inhumane attitude towards Jewish prisoners of war.
5. Inciting Polish riff-raff to pogroms by means of leaflets, radio programmes, and special publications.

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326 Jews who held Polish citizenship were expelled from Germany in October 1938. The Polish authorities stopped approximately 6,000 people at the border and interned them in the camp at Zbąszyń.

327 A reference to the boycott of German products announced by the American Jewish Congress in 1933 in a response to the wave of persecution of Jews after Hitler's rise to power in Germany. The Central Anti-Hitlerite Committee (*Centralny Komitet Antyhitlerowski*) established in Poland conducted a far-flung propaganda campaign but was dissolved by the state authorities in 1935. The boycott campaign was most successful in the United States.

328 A reference to the 1939 German–Polish war.

6. The German authorities' policy aimed at the deterioration of Polish–Jewish relations.
7. The forms and consequences of German antisemitic propaganda.
8. The German authorities' ordinances regarding lawful expropriation of Jewish property.
   a) the freezing of Jewish accounts and deposits
   b) the limitation of payouts made to Jews
   c) the prevention of Jews from being granted credit
9. The establishment of the receivership office.
10. The ordinance regarding declaration of Jewish property.
11. Outright robbery of Jewish property.
    a) by soldiers
    b) by administrative authorities
    c) [2] by *Volksdeutsche*
12. Removal of Jews from flats, houses, and entire streets.
13. The ban on using and crossing main streets.
14. Removal of Jews from positions in "Aryan" companies.
15. Destruction of the Jewish educational system.
16. Deprivation of real estate.
17. Removal of Jewish owners from enterprises, factories, and shops.
18. The participation of *Volksdeutsche* in the looting of Jewish property.
19. The looting of furniture, clothes, and underwear.
20. The marking of Jews by means of patches, armbands, etc.
21. Extortion.
22. The establishment of *Judenrats*.
23. The period of the establishment of ghettos: differences in the political system and in the functioning of ghettos.
    a) hermetically sealed ghettos (Łódź, Kutno)
    b) semi-closed ghettos
    c) designation of streets for Jews without removal of the Polish population
    d) insufficient food provision to the ghetto
    e) mortality rate in ghettos
    f) the establishment of German commissioners in ghettos
24. Constant deportations of the Jewish population from towns and cities.

25. Mass deportations of the Jewish population from *Warthegau* to the General Government.[329]
26. Mass murders.
27. Removal of Jews from small towns on the left side of the Vistula River in the Warsaw District.[330]
28. Mass massacres of Jews during the German–Soviet war.
    a) the persecution of Jews in line with Hitler's appeal
    b) the cleansing of *Warthegau* of Jews (Chełmno)[331]
    c) the persecution of Jews in the Lublin region[332]
    d) the persecution of Jews in eastern and western Lesser Poland.[333]

ARG I 19 (Ring. I/141).
Description: original or duplicate (2 copies), handwritten, pencil, Polish, 220x350 mm, minor damage and missing fragments, 2 sheets, 4 pages.
Based on the 2nd copy of the duplicate, 1 sheet, 2 pages.

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329 As early as during the first days of the war the German authorities began to expel the Polish and Jewish population from the territories incorporated directly into the Reich (mostly from *Wartheland*) to the General Government. A total of 364,665 people, including 80,000–90,000 Jews, had been resettled by March 1941.

330 Between January and March 1941 approximately 50,000 Jews were resettled to the Warsaw ghetto from the counties: Sochaczew-Błonie, Grójec, Łowicz, and part of Warsaw County. In spring of 1942 Jews were also resettled from Wawer, Okuniew, Miłosna, Pustelnik, Tłuszcz, and Radzymin.

331 The destruction of Jews in *Wartheland* began in October 1941 with mass executions of inhabitants of the ghettos in Zagórów and Grodziec. The death camp in Chełmno on Ner river (Chełmno on the Ner) commenced operation in December 1941. The victims were suffocated with exhaust fumes in special lorries. The Oyneg Shabes people learned about the Chełmno death camp as early as February 1942 thanks to an account of an escapee, Shloyme Winer (Jakub Grojnowski). See Doc. 65.

332 The destruction of the Jews in the General Government under the code name *Operation Reinhardt* began in mid-March 1942 with the deportation of the majority of the Lublin ghetto inmates to the death camp in Bełżec. During the next five months the deportations to Bełżec and Sobibór encompassed the entire Lublin District of the General Government. The news regarding the deportations and destruction of Jews in the Lublin region streamed systematically to Warsaw. See Docs. 47–64.

333 During the *Aktion* in Lvov in mid-March 1942, 15,000 Jews were sent to the death camp in Bełżec. The first deportation from the Kraków ghetto took place in early June. See Docs. 47, 48, 54, and 57.

15 *After March 1942, Warsaw ghetto, [Emanuel Ringelblum, Eliyahu Gutkowski?], guidelines for a study of Polish–Jewish Relations*[334]

[1] *Polish–Jewish Relations*[335]

First period. The Polish–German war

A. The Period Preceding the Siege of Warsaw

- The difference in how the authorities, especially the military authorities, regarded Jews before the war and [after the war began]
- How different political parties regarded and spoke about Jews after the outbreak of the war
- How the "man on the street" related to Jews
- The impact and reaction to Jewish participation in the fighting
- The participation of Jews in organisations of public welfare and civil defence[336]
- Scenes of Polish–Jewish friendship on city streets
- The attitude of the Polish population, especially peasants, to Jewish refugees fleeing from areas threatened by the Germans

B. During the Siege of Warsaw

- Attitudes towards Jews of various classes of the Polish population – workers, the lower middle class, intelligentsia – during the siege
- The portrayal of Jewish participation in the defence of Warsaw by the military, the press, radio, and various social classes

334 Three drafts of these guidelines are preserved in the Archive. Draft (a) consists of Ringelblum's loose handwritten notes; draft (b) is almost identical with (a) but handwritten by Gutkowski, who also put it in order. Draft (c) is typed, with handwritten additions by Ringelblum and Gutkowski, and with an added fifth part: "From the outbreak of the war with Soviets until the present moment". In draft (c) the order is partly changed; some points are skipped. The text here is based on draft (c).

335 See ARG I 599 (Ring. I/91): "Polish–Jewish relations during the siege of Warsaw" and "Polish–Jewish relations in occupied Warsaw".

336 Drafts (a) and (b) contain an additional item: "Polish–Jewish cooperation in SKSP. Please give details". It is a reference to the Warsaw Social Self-Help Committee, appointed on 4 September 1939, which coordinated charitable help for Warsaw residents.

- Organised by Jews – without regard to nationality – to soldiers, the wounded, those whose homes were burned, and refugees (the different forms of aid, with concrete examples)
- Rumours and slander about Jews during the time of the siege – especially accusations of profiteering. Blaming the Jews for the fall of Warsaw, especially by right-wing elements. Antisemitic undertones in Starzyński's speech
- The Polish radio about the Jews
- The looting of Jewish stores in the final stages of the siege
- The marked rise in antisemitic attitudes in the period just after the capitulation and before the Germans entered the city

Second period. German occupation – until the establishment of the ghetto

- German policies aimed at worsening relations between Poles and Jews. Can one say that the Germans attempted to use antisemitic propaganda to build a bridge between themselves and the Polish population? The forms and results of German antisemitic propaganda. Polish–German co-operation in anti-Jewish outbreaks
- Can one speak of a change in attitude towards Jews on the part of Polish reactionary political parties? The reasons for and examples of this change in official statements (for example, in the matter of introducing an "Aryan Paragraph" in the Bar)[337]
- The Warsaw city government and the Jews
- Polish youth and the Jews. Students in the schools, lower-middle-class youth, working-class youth. Polish hooligans
- The January pogrom:[338] its course, evil manifestations, street scenes, and the attitude of the Polish community and particular political parties

337 In February 1940, the German authorities required the Bar Chamber of Warsaw to exclude Jews from the attorneys' list. Polish attorneys, including the Chamber's chairman Leon Nowodworski, an active member of the National Party (*Stronnictwo Narodowe*) known for his antisemitic views, refused to fulfil the requirement as he regarded it as unlawful. See Havi Ben-Sasson, "Chcemy wierzyć w inną Polskę". Stosunki żydowsko-polskie w podziemnej prasie żydowskiej getta warszawskiego", in *Zagłada Żydów. Studia i Materiały* 1 (2005), p. 104.

338 Reference to anti-Jewish riots in Warsaw from 22 to 29 March 1940 during which several Jewish flats and businesses were assaulted and several Jews were beaten by Poles on the streets.

- Polish–Jewish economic co-operation. Polish representatives and partners in Jewish firms. Trade between Poles and Jews
- The distressing story of Polish doctors' and health authorities' attitude to Jews
- The problem of converts as seen by Poles and Jews
- Clerical protection of converts
- What is said about Jews: in school, the Church, satire (cabarets), in illegal organisations, on the radio, in the daily press, in Polish-language publications, in non-published [illegal] Polish literature

Third period. Establishment of the ghetto

- The attitude of Polish official bodies towards the problem of the ghetto. The fight for territory. The exchange of flats and exploitation by Christian tenants
- The role of reactionary Polish economic unions during the creation of the ghetto (the role of the Union of Merchants, the memoranda of Polish artisans)
- Which Polish groups profited from the establishment of the ghetto?
- The safeguarding of Jewish property by Polish friends
- The attitude of Polish lawyers towards their Jewish clients and colleagues
- How did Polish society react to the formation of the ghetto: what was said while waiting in line, the attitude of workers, artisans, merchants, the professional intelligentsia[339]
- [2] The issue of converts. Family tragedies connected with the establishment of the ghetto

Fourth period. After the establishment of the ghetto until the German–Soviet war

- [The attitude of] Polish official circles and political parties towards the situation of Jews in the ghetto

339 In drafts (a) and (b) there is an additional item: "Is the Jewish question discussed in official schools, in unofficial learning groups; labour camps, and Polish *Lagerschütz* (Ger. order service in camps). Kott's affair and the Jews". On Kazimierz Andrzej Kott, see Biographical notes.

- [The attitude] of Polish society towards the situation in the ghetto: workers, artisans, merchants, professional intelligentsia. What kind of gossip is exchanged while people wait in line: stories about the riches of the ghetto, about the power of the *Judenrat*, etc.
- The Polish police in the ghetto. Altered spheres of competence
- The theft of Jewish property, blackmail, corruption, the collaboration of the criminal police with the Gestapo. The Police and the Jewish Order Police. The attitude and behaviour of the Polish police towards Jews caught outside the ghetto
- Polish hooligans around the ghetto walls
- Polish officials (tax officials, municipal workers, etc.) in the ghetto
- Evidence of sympathy and friendship towards Jews outside the ghetto. The attitude towards Jewish beggars outside the ghetto
- Polish–Jewish collaboration in smuggling
- Polish–Jewish economic co-operation. Trade ties, the form, character, extent

Fifth period. From the outbreak of the war until the present moment

- How did the outbreak of the German–Soviet War change Polish–Jewish relations? Heightened antisemitic propaganda on the part of the Germans, its form and character. How beneficial was it to the Germans?
- The reception on the Polish street to news of the physical destruction of the Jews
- How well is Polish society informed about events such as Wilno, Chełmno, Lublin,[340] etc. What is the reaction?
- Polish official circles about the future of Polish–Jewish relations. What do different political parties say about this?
- How does the Polish "man on the street" see the future of Polish–Jewish relations? The attitude of workers, artisans, merchants, smugglers, traders, the professional intelligentsia
- Polish–Jewish relations in the provinces: the rural population employs Jewish workers, youth, even children. Landowners' attitude towards

340 Reference to mass murder of Jews in Ponary near Vilna, operation of the Chełmno death camp, deportation of Lublin Jews to the Bełżec death camp.

halutzim. The attitude of the rural (Aryan) population towards Jewish refugees
- What do Poles think about how Germans treat the Jews? What do they say about the attitude of Jews towards Poles in Białystok during the Soviet occupation?

ARG I 22 (Ring. I/492)
Description: a) original, handwritten (ER*), ink, Polish, 110x256, 110x195 mm, 4 sheets, 8 pages; b) original or duplicate, handwritten (H*), pencil, Polish, 200x297 mm, 2 sheets, 4 pages. c) original or duplicate (2 copies), typewritten (with handwritten notes: ER* on 1st copy, H* [?] on 2nd copy), Polish, 220x350 mm, minor damage and losses of text, 2 sheets, 4 pages.
Edition based on the 1st copy of the version (c), 1 sheet, 1 page.

3.2. Fate of Jewish Communities[341]

16 *No date, Warsaw ghetto. [Emanuel Ringelblum], "אַנקעטע" ["Questionnaire"] for gathering materials on the fate of Jewish settlements (shtetls) in the territory of Poland before the war and during the Hitlerite occupation.*

[1] *Questionnaire*

1. Size of population:
   (a) Number of Jews
   (b) Number of [members of] other peoples
2. Economic condition of Jews:
   (a) In what occupations were Jews represented

341 One more questionnaire "Białystok and other eastern towns in early September 1939", for taking interviews with those who came from the Soviet occupied terrtories, is published in *Accounts from Borderlands,* Doc. 5.

(b) In what occupations were Jews dominant
(c) Occupational prosperity
(d) Capital participation

3. Relations before the war:
(a) Relations with the local population
(b) Relations with the peasant population
(c) Relations with state and communal authorities

4. *Kehilla*, organisations:
(a) The nature of the *kehilla* leadership
(b) What aid work did the *kehilla* conduct
(c) Has constructive aid work been conducted

5. Aid work:
(a) Who conducted the aid work
(b) Interest-free loan institutions
(c) Other forms of aid

6. Outbreak of war:
(a) Effect of the outbreak of war on Jewish livelihoods
(b) Effect of the outbreak of war on aid work

7. [2] The situation after the outbreak of war:
(a) New Jewish livelihood
(b) Economic situation
(c) Which livelihoods came to an end
(d) The housing issue
(e) Judicial proceedings
(f) Economic aid
(g) What became of the financial aid institutions

8. *Judenrats*:
(a) How were they created
(b) Who belonged to them
(c) Were these new people
(d) Budget of the *Judenrats*
(e) Taxes and tax collection procedure
(f) Provision of objects

9. Aid work of the *Judenrats*:
(a) Legal aid
(b) Children, orphans, the sick and invalids

(c) Aid for guests
(d) Aid for retailers and artisans
(e) Youth care
(f) How were refugees received

10. Aid committees:
(a) Did an aid committee exist apart from the *Judenrat*
(b) Relations between the aid committees and the *Judenrat*
(c) [3] Did a refugee committee exist and how were their relations
(d) The activity of the aforementioned committees
(e) How long did they exist and [what were] their achievements
(f) Budget
11. Relations:
(a) Conduct of the municipal councils with regard to aid work
(b) Conduct of other authorities
(c) Conduct of the local population (Jewish and non-Jewish)
12. What became of the financial aid institutions:
(a) Who took over the funds
13. Forms in which resettlement took place
14. Work:
(a) Organisation of new branches of work
(b) Work at *placówki*
(c) Public work
(d) Forced labour and its organisation
(e) Work for state and other institutions
(f) Aid for the labour camps from the *kehilla* or other bodies
15. Situation of the Jews:
(a) Ghettos and their effect on aid work
(b) [4] Resettlement and the aid work
16. Aid from institutions:
(a) The Joint
(b) JSS[342]
(c) Courtyard committees

342 The Yiddish abbreviation in the original is yud, samekh, alef, for "yiddishe sotsiale aleyn-hilf", which is why it is translated into the English JSS, for Jewish Social Self-Help.

17. Situation in the new places of residence
18. Illnesses and mortality

ARG I 6 (Ring. I/117)
Description: original or duplicate, typewritten, Yiddish, 200×295, 4 sheets, 4 pages.
Publ. *Selected Documents*, pp. 24-26.

17 *Early 1942 [?], Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. General topics for monographs on Jewish settlements (shtetls) during the occupation.*[343]

[1] *Tentative topics*

A. Life and appearance of the shtetl immediately before the outbreak of war
1. Polish–Jewish relations
2. Polish–German relations
3. Echoes in the local press

B. The outbreak of war and the situation in the shtetl until they[344] arrived
1. The course of events in the first days after the outbreak of war
2. Particularly interesting events and testimony
3. Bombardments, fires
4. Victims of war operations
5. Public life
6. Attitude of Poles to the Jews
7. "Running away": who gave the signal, who ran away, the attitude of women to "running away"

343 The basis for edition of this document is a copy included in the file No. ARG I 12 (Ring. I/155). File No. ARG I 5 (Ring. I/105) contains seven copies of the same outline, none complete, and the preserved fragments are severely damaged. In this edition we only include handwritten notes, marked ᶜ⁻ᶜ from copy No. 6, p. 2.

344 The author avoids referring to "the Germans" throughout the text and instead refers to the occupants disparagingly as *yene*, literally "them", "those people".

8. How many came back?
9. How many stayed in the shtetl, and for what reasons?
10. From what social strata and age groups were those who ran away (reasons)?
11. List of martyrs during the war events
12. The fighting in and around the shtetl

C. The arrival of them

1. The first days after their arrival
2. Their attitude to Poles and Jews
3. The revocation of Jewish rights
4. Arson attacks, acts of malice against Jews
5. The attitude of the Polish population
6. What happened to: the synagogue, prayer house, associations, cemetery, community registers, ritual objects (Torah scrolls, religious books), rabbi
7. Jewish armbands (patches) – shape, inscription, when introduced
8. Beards, Jewish traditional dress
9. Levies – and how the money was collected
10. Synagogues and prayer houses: burning of synagogues (with or without Jews present)
11. Public burning of religious books
12. Seizure for forced labour
13. Sending to concentration camps: whom, where, why
14. Cases of martyrdom and self-sacrifice
15. List of martyrs killed by them
16. Acts of resistance

D. Jewish public life under them

1. Ghetto: open – closed
2. The *Judenrat* and its composition
3. New power holders, community leaders, and their work
4. The Order Service, composition and rights, manner of performing its duties
5. Rights of the *kehilla*, documents, everyday practise
6. From where did the *kehilla* get its income? Its expenditures?
7. What did the *kehilla* supply to them?
8. What did they take from the Jews?
9. How could they be influenced?

10. Compulsory labour (for the poor and the rich)
11. Labour camps – organisation and manner of obtaining Jewish labourers
12. Jewish labour and how it was seen by them
13. Jews as craftsmen for them
14. Jewish women working for them, how they were they treated (pretty ones – ugly ones)
15. Whorehouses for them
16. Jewish social aid and how it was seen by them:
    a) soup kitchens,
    b) refugees from the surrounding areas,
    c) refugee stations.
17. Forms of aid for the poor:
    a) permanent aid,
    b) Pesach and other religious festivals,
    c) winter aid,
    d) medical aid,
    e) legal aid,
    f) aid from abroad.
18. School system, Talmud Torahs, [c]*tajne komplety*[c][345]
19. Attitude of them to Jews: to workers, the wealthy, artisans, the clergy, and so on
20. Religious life: *minyans,* prayer houses, Hasidic life, the Sabbath, *shalosh seudot, melave malka*, matzo, Sukkot, the *etrog,* religious festivals, [c]mikvahs[c]
21. Special days
22. Informers and wise guys
23. What happened to the Jewish shtetl intelligentsia? [c]Neophytes in Jewish environment[c]
24. Recent converts [to Christianity] and their attitude to Jews
25. The situation of German refugees[346] and their relations with the local Jews

E. The economic situation

1. (a) bourgeoisie, (b) industry, (c) artisans, (d) workers, (e) small traders, (f) businesses, (g) present trade (new forms), (h) new commerce, (i) business

345 Not preserved.

346 I.e. Polish Jews expelled from Germany in 1938.

in partnership with them, (j) smuggling – in what forms? [c]What branches? Agriculture?[c]

2. The *nouveaux riches*: How did they acquire their wealth? By what means? Names of very wealthy *nouveaux riches*
3. What happened to the pre-war rich and their wealth?

F. The expulsion (give date)

1. Rumours about expulsion (planned or sudden?)
2. How many people were expelled?
3. The course of the expulsion and the destination
4. Population: the elderly, young people, children
5. Humaneness and cruelty on the part of them
6. Attitude of the Poles
7. What became of the mentally ill and hospital patients?
8. What is the approximate value of the Jewish property left behind?
9. Arrival and welcome in Warsaw (first aid, life at the refugee station)

G. Party workers, A.Y.,[347] other organisations

1. How many members did the p[arty] organisation have before the war?
2. What happened to members in the first days of the war (mobilised, left the shtetl, etc.)?
3. What happened to the local party archives, flag, library, Jewish primary school, party stamp, etc.?
4. Interesting events in party life during the war and under the rule of them
5. How many party members went off to "the other side"[348] and what happened to them?
6. A list – comprehensive if possible – of martyred party members: under what circumstances did they die; were they given Jewish burial?
7. What happened to the youth organisation and its property? Hehalutz, *hachshara* training settlements, etc.?
8. What happened to other proletarian and bourgeois organisations?
9. Was there a discussion in the local organisation regarding staying put or leaving for the "other side"?

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347 Possibly the initials of Agudat Yisrael.

348 I.e. to Soviet-occupied territory.

10. Were there attempts to make *aliyah*?
11. Contact with other parties: Jewish – Polish
12. Participation of the organisation in Polish defence of the country
13. To what extent and in what form was aid given to party members upon their arrival in Warsaw?
14. Was organisational contact with local members maintained in Warsaw?

ARG I 12 (Ring. I/155)
Description: duplicate (2 copies), typewritten, Yiddish, 216×347 mm, minor damage and fragments missing (in 2nd copy), 4 sheets, 4 pages.
Printed in: Kassow, *Who will write our history?*, pp. 396–399.
Edition based on 1st copy of duplicate, 2 sheets, 2 pages.

18 *Early 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Outline of a study on Jewish life in Polish towns and shtetls before the war and after its outbreak. From the collection of materials* "צוויי און אַ האַלבע יאָר מלחמה" *["Two and a half years of war"].*[349]

[1] *Outline*[350]

Special days.
Religious life (synagogues, prayer houses, religious holidays, *rebbes*, rabbis)[351]
Tales and folklore
Attitude of Poles to Jews (the various strata)

349 The collection "Two and a half years of war" includes several outlines on various subjects, questionnaires, and lists of names. They are published in this volume as Doc. 29. This outline on shtetls is placed within the context of other versions on the same subject.

350 This document is preserved in two almost identical versions, but only version (a) is complete, and it is a basis for this edition.

351 In version (b): "Religious life, minyans, talmud-torahs, shuls, beit ha-midrashes, [. . .], sabbaths, shalosh seudot, melave malke, matzot; life around a shul". Also added: "*School life*".

Attitude of Ukrainians to Jews
Local press treatment of Jews
The journey to Warsaw
Arrival in Warsaw
Humaneness and cruelty on the part of them[352]
In which concentration camps are there Jews from your town?
Recent Jewish converts and their attitude to their Jewish kinsmen
How many Jews were expelled from your town?
The course of the expulsion and the destination
Youth
Children
Whorehouses for them
Jewish labour and how it was seen by them
What is the approximate value of the Jewish property left behind in your town?
What became of hospital patients and the mentally ill?
Particularly interesting facts or events
Bombardments
Fires during the war
Casualties during the war
Public life
Attitude of Poles and the military to Jews during the war
Who fled, how many, and where did they flee to?
How many now remain in the town?
Who fled? – by age, sex, and social stratum?
[. . .] martyrs, ghetto, yellow patch, beards
[. . .] *kehilla*, documents, and [administrative] practice
[. . .] influencing them
Characteristics of the new power holders (before the war and now)
Policy towards the poor
Forced labour
Camps, seizure for work, buying oneself out (the rich, the poor, the sick)
What happened to the synagogue, prayer house, cemetery, ritual bath, community registers, religious books, ritual objects, and ordinary books; what became of the rabbi?

352 Germans are refered to as *yene*, "them", "those people", as in Doc. 17.

The *kehilla's* social work (soup kitchens, special projects, support)
Refugees in town, where from, aid from abroad
Women at work (pretty ones, ugly ones)
Economic situation (industry, trade, crafts)
Smuggling (form of smuggling)
The *nouveaux riches*: How did they acquire their wealth?
Behaviour of them towards Jews, according to social stratum
What is the source of the *kehilla's* income? What are its expenditures?
Jews working for them. Informers
Behaviour of the Jewish police towards the Jewish population
The Jewish population's attitude to and opinion of the Jewish police

ARG I 5d (Ring. I/105)
Description: original or duplicate (2 copies), handwritten, Yiddish, 114×205, 207x292 mm, damage and fragments missing, 2 sheets, 2 pages.
Edition based on 2nd copy, 1 sheet, 1 page.

19 *After October 1941, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Outline of a study* "פֿון רעליגיעזן לעבן" *["On religious life"].*

[1] *On Religious Life*[353]

1. Prayer – synagogues, prayer houses, *shtibls*, individual prayer, seizure of *minyans* for forced labour, *nedarim*
2. Torah scrolls – torn and damaged
3. *Rebbes* – Hasidic practices, *tishn, kvitlekh, shalosh seudot, melave-malka*
4. Rabbis – rabbinical court lawsuits, marriages, divorces, bills of sale (Sabbath), bills of sale (leaven), submitted questions[354]

353 See ARG I 61 (Ring. I/150).
354 Questions submitted to rabbis for a religious ruling (very commonly on whether a given item is kosher).

5. Legal status of rabbis – marriage certificates, birth certificates, registrations
6. Beards – cut off, set alight, punishments for beards
7. Clothing – change of traditional long attire and Jewish headwear for European clothing, silk gabardines, *shtreimels*, and women's wigs[355]
8. Celebrations – how weddings, circumcisions, bar mitzvahs, *pidyon ha-ben* ceremonies were celebrated.
9. Religious study – Talmud study groups, study of Mishnah tractates,[356] [. . .] recitation of psalms.
10. Ritual baths – *taharat-ha-mishpachah*, [. . .], travelling to nearby towns, the Vistula, opening of ritual baths.
11. Ritual slaughter – slaughter of poultry, [. . .] in homes, attics, cellars, outside the ghetto [. . .] sale [. . .]
12. Etrogs[357] – in 5700, in 5701.[358]
13. Matzos – in 5700, in 5701.
14. Cemeteries – ritual cleansing of corpses, funeral shrouds, burials on the Sabbath and on religious festivals, burial of women and men together, leaving bodies unburied.
15. Religious festivals – Rosh Hashana, Yom Kippur, Sukkot, Pesach, Tisha B'Av, Shavuot, in 5700 and 5701.
16. School system – heder, yeshivas, prayer-house students, *esn teg*,[359] [. . .].
17. Sabbath observance – profanation of the Sabbath by religious Jews, reasons, public profanation of the Sabbath, the law and its implementation.
18. Life of provincial rabbis in Warsaw – *ateret harabanim*,[360] events in *va'ad ezrat harabanim*.[361]
19. Kosher soup kitchens

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355 Orthodox Jewish married women shave their heads and wear wigs.

356 Scheduled study of the six Orders of the Mishnah, organised by a mourner for the merit of a deceased relative.

357 One of the four species required to be eaten during Sukkot.

358 Years 1939–1941 in the Gregorian calendar.

359 (Yid.) "eating days" – the practise whereby families voluntarily take in yeshiva students for meals one day a week.

360 (Heb.) "crown of the rabbis" – possibly the name of a charitable organisation. Joseph Kermish (*Selected Documents*, p. 413) translates this fragment as "Rabbis' Honorary Association".

361 (Heb.) "rabbinical aid council".

20. Religious sectors – in ŻTOS,[362] *kehilla*, 13 Leszno St, *CENTOS*. *Kiddush Hashem*

ARG I 15 (Ring. I/126)
Description: duplicate (3 copies), typewritten, Yiddish, 203×287 mm, damage and fragments missing, 3 sheets, 3 pages.
Handwritten addition at foot of 1st copy.

Research on the Situation of Women and Youth

20

After 28 August 1941, Warsaw ghetto. [Emanuel Ringelblum]. Outline of a study of Jewish women (fragment).

[1] Heroism of the Jewish woman. Can one speak of heroism of the Jewish woman? If so, in what is it expressed? – Heroism of the Jewish woman as a replacement for the husband in the early phase of the occupation – heroism of the Jewish woman sending her child out to smuggle because of hunger – the quiet heroism of the woman at home in times of privation and hunger at home.
Changes in women's dress
Changes in the situation of the working female intelligentsia
[2] Family life during the war
Celebrations in Jewish homes – receiving guests – home entertainment.
Young women – What do young women do? Courses for women – general education – what proportion[363] spend time in cafés and bars? – Is there demoralisation among young women; how does it manifest itself and what factors have caused it?
[3] The Jewish woman during the war. The profile of the Jewish woman before the war – working-class women, bourgeois women – what changes has the

362 The Yiddish acronym used here appears to consist of the letters *yud, giml, alef*. Most probably it is Yidishe Gezelshaft far Aleynhilf (Pol. ŻTOS), Jewish Society for Self-Help.

363 There are no surviving issues of this publication.

war brought about in the life of working-class women – changes in economic activities – changes in family life – profound effect of the war on the situation of the housewife – the economic activities of the woman as a replacement for the husband (causative factors).
Role of women in social life – in house committees – women's circles – women's concern for the fate of the children – Can one speak of increased social activeness of the Jewish woman during the war?
Emigration to Russia and the effect on the situation of women
The issue of maids in bourgeois households – troubles with Aryan maids – facts regarding their good conduct – Jewish maids in bourgeois households – households without maids.
[4] Weddings and dowries.
Women and readiness to give aid – How true is the statement that women put pressure on their husbands to reduce alms for fear of having insufficient means to support their families?

ARG I 11 (Ring. I/507/4)
Description: original, handwritten (ER*), ink, Yiddish, 110×148, 95-135, 2 sheets, 4 pages.
Sheet 2 is written on a fragment of a letter from ŻSS KOM dated 28.08.1941.

21

1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. "פּראָספּעקט. די יידישע פֿרוי אין וואַרשע זייט סעפּטעמבער 1939 ביז ענדע 1941" *["Outline. Jewish Woman in Warsaw from September 1939 to the end of 1941"] . Outline and notes for a study.*

[1] *Outline*

Jewish women in Warsaw from September 1939 to the end of 1941.[364]
1. The organisation of the general women's secretariat at the beginning of the war.

364 See *The Ringelblum Archive. Warsaw Ghetto. Everyday Life*, ed. K. Person (Warsaw, 2017). Doc. 25.

2. Women in the flood of refugees from and to Warsaw.
3. Women during the bombing.
Intellectuals, ordinary women, working-class women, middle-class women, and young women.
a) Mental state and endurance.
b) Activity in providing the family with essentials.
c) Social activity:
a) digging trenches; b) extinguishing fires; c) providing help to the wounded, sick, hungry, etc.
How did those who still had their husbands and those who were left alone or with children behave in all these cases?
4. Women after the German occupation and until the ghetto.
a) Behaviour of Germans towards Jewish women.
b) Cases of seizure for work, maltreatment, mockery, *Rassenschande*[365] and rape.
c) How did women provide for the family and society when it was dangerous for men to go outside?
5. Women in smuggling from Warsaw to the Soviet side.
a) Women as smugglers (of foreign currency, watches, goods, letters).
b) Women who smuggled themselves to their husbands or sent letters, money, objects to their husbands through smugglers.
6. Jewish women in the Warsaw ghetto.
a) Women refugees from the provinces.
Ordinary small-town women, working-class women, middle-class women, and young women: how they were socially degraded, how they adjusted, their energy and willingness to work.
[3] The effect of ghetto life on various groups of women:
a) Family life: 1) the accommodation question; 2) high cost of living and privation; 3) bringing up children; 4) domestic peace, self-sacrifice, and aptitude for self-sacrifice.
b) Women's participation in economic life: in workshops, trade, work, smuggling, administration.
c) Women's participation in social life:
Women's department

365 (Ger.) "racial defilement".

Women's circles
Participation in social institutions
Help for refugees, running kitchens for children, etc.
[2][366]
[a]General titles, subtitles[a][367]
Head of a kitchen[368]
Clerk
Students of secondary schools
Students of vocational schools
Students on academic courses
Religious women
Workers
Merchants
Neophytes in the ghetto
Concierges
In a shop
Enthusiasts
Artistic environment
Servants
In a plant
Underground activist
Teacher
Private instructor
Women who escaped death (Vilna, Slonim . . .)[369]

ARG I 11 (Ring. I/128)
Description: original, handwritten (two hands: H* and NN.), ink, pencil (H*), Polish, Yiddish, 205×295 mm, minor damage and fragments missing, 2 sheets, 3 pages.

366 Unclear original pagination; The last page is numbered "1" and is handwritten in Polish by (H*).
367 [a-a] Written on the side of a page.
368 In the original Polish, all the occupations listed below are in the feminine form.
369 I.e. escapees from mass executions in Ponary by Vilna and in Słonim in autumn 1941.

22

No date, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Study entilted "באַדינגונגען און טעזן פֿון יוגנט־קאָנקורס" *["Rules and topics for the 'youth' competition"]. Instructions for the submission of entries recording the experience of young people during the war (September 1939) and the occupation.*

[1]

Rules and Topics for the "Youth" Competition

- Young people aged 15–20 years may take part in the competition.
- Contestants who commit themselves to participating in the competition shall maintain contact with the secretary at all times in order to receive instructions and notifications as to how to execute the competition entry.
- The competition entry shall be submitted to the secretary within 4 weeks from the date on which the young person commits to begin working on the given topic.
- The entry shall be approximately 25 to 30 typewritten pages in length.
- The entry may be written in any language.
- The competition is open to young people from all strata of Jewish society:
  a) working-class youth
  b) petit-bourgeois youth
  c) young intellectuals
  d) school students

  Entries submitted by young people in the above-mentioned categories shall reflect the behaviour of Warsaw residents.

  e) youth from the provinces
- Entries may take the following forms:
  a) autobiography – complete or selected episodes
  b) diary
  c) edited correspondence between young people.

  In certain cases, the entry may take the following form:

  d) fiction written by a young person

  or

  e) a report from a leader of a youth organisation.

– [2] Entries submitted by young contestants shall deal exclusively with factual events, starting from the outbreak of war between Germany and Poland (1.9.39). The material shall be an accurate reflection of events experienced or witnessed by the contestant (the entry may therefore be written in the first person).
– Young people from Warsaw shall deal with events relating to the following: the initial phase of hostilities in the first days and weeks of the war; the outward appearance of Jewish and Christian Warsaw in those days; the influence of the war on the psyche of young people, both Jews and Christians; the reaction of young people to these events; the mass exodus from Warsaw on 7–8 September 1939;[370] the subsequent flight to the other side of the Bug; experiences of young people in border towns and in German concentration camps, etc.; experiences of young people under German rule; the "Jewish badge" edict and its impact; the attitude of the Christian population towards the Jews (as observed by the young contestant); seizure for forced labour on the street and in homes – by whom and how; beating and shaving, etc.
– Entries submitted by young people from the provinces shall depict clearly all aspects of their lives in their home town (shtetl) during the present war years: relations between "them"[371] and the Jews; mutual relations between Jews and Poles; the journey to Warsaw; the welcome received in Warsaw: first impressions, accommodation – at a refugee station or in a private home, food supplies; income of the head of the family; relations between individual family members; attempts at self-employment and independent earning.
– [3] Entries submitted by school students shall give full information regarding the continuation of their education, whether they are studying in a general school complex (i.e. with their teachers from before the war) or in a different one; composition of the students in the school complex; relations among students and between teachers and students; school fees, amount and method of payment; flats in which classes are held. Was there a "blunder" and, if so, how was it "sorted out"?

370 In the night of 6/7 September 1939, Colonel Roman Umiastowski, chief of the propaganda department of the Supreme Command of the Polish Armed Forces, summoned all men fit to fight to leave Warsaw in order to establish a new defence line east of the Vistula River. Those who responded to the appeal were stuck on the roads in crowds of civilian fugitives.

371 I.e. the Germans; see Docs. 17 and 18.

– Entries should be illustrated as far as possible with documents such as newspaper cuttings, photographs, *bibuła*,[372] proclamations and posters of organisations, house committees, Jewish and non-Jewish authorities, and the like.
– At the beginning of their entries, contestants shall give details about their age, social origin, education, and present economic situation.

ARG I 9 (Ring. I/640)
Description: duplicate, typewritten, Yiddish, 208×296 mm, minor damage and fragments missing, 3 sheets, 3 pages.

23 *Early 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Questionnaire for Jewish youth in Warsaw. From the collection of materials entitled* צוויי און אַ האַלבע יאָר המחלמ *["Two and a half years of war"].*[373]

[1] *Survey of Jewish Youth in Warsaw*
(covering young people from 14 to 21 years of age)

1. Personal and family circumstances
   1. Sex....., 2. Age....., 3. Marital status....., 4. Do you have children? ....., 5. How many? ....., 6. Do you have parents? ....., 7. How old are they? (father....., mother .....), 8. Where are they? ....., 9. If they are not with you, when were you separated? ....., 10. If they are no longer alive, when did they die? (father....., mother.....), 11. Cause of death (if death occurred after the outbreak of the war) .....

2. Movements
   1. On what street did you live before the outbreak of the war in 1939? .....,

372 (Pol.) "blotting paper", a slang term for underground publications, pamphlets, etc.
373 The youth questionnaire is placed here within the context of the other materials on the subject. It is also possible that fragments of the same questionnaire or its other version are in Doc. 24.

2. On what street did you live after [. . .]
3. [. . .] did you change flats?.....

[2] 16.[374] Where to? ....., 17. When did you return? .....

3. Milieu

1. What were your parents' occupations before the war? (father....., mother), 2. Did they own houses, factories, estates, banks, or the like?....., 3. What position did they occupy in their profession? ....., 4. What are their occupations now? (father....., mother), 5. Were they socially active? ....., 6. In what area? ....., 7. Do you or your family receive social or other assistance? ....., 8. From whom? ....., 9. Of what kind....., 10. Do you use a soup kitchen? ....., 11. Since when? ....., 12. Why have you [. . .] not used [. . .]? ....., 13. Do you or your family go to social [. . .] .....your parents or relatives [. . .][375]

[3] your family before the war.....

5. Employment

1. Were you employed before the war? ....., 2. Where? (in a shop, workshop, factory, office, as a *chałupnik*,[376] etc.)....., 3. In what capacity (junior apprentice, *terminator*,[377] qualified worker, etc?) ....., 4. If not employed, were you studying? ....., 5. What is your present employment? ....., 6. How much do you earn (daily, weekly, monthly)? ....., 7. How many hours a day do you work? ....., 8. How long have you been working at your present occupation? ....., 9. What was your occupation in the initial period after the outbreak of war?.....,10. Have you worked in a work battalion?[378] ....., 11. How many times a month? ....., 12. Are you [. . .] (organised by whom?) [. . .][379]

[4] [. . .] are you socially active? ....., 9. Where (youth group, house committee, choir, drama studio) ....., 10. What illnesses have you suffered since

374 The page number is original. Probably half of the page is missing, hence the break in numbering (p. 2, then p. 16).

375 Half of the page is missing.

376 (Pol.) cottage industry worker.

377 (Pol.) apprentice.

378 A *Judenrat* unit established on 19 October 1939, in which workers were enlisted for forced labour.

379 Half of the page is missing.

the outbreak of the war? ....., 11. Where were you treated? ....., 12. How many times have you been in the *parówka*?[380] ....., 13. Do you go to the baths? ....., 14. How often? .....

7. Education and culture
1. Can you read? ....., 2. What language? ....., 3. Can you write? ....., 4. In what language? ....., 5. What languages can you speak? ....., 6. What is your level of education (primary school, *powszechna*[381] school, secondary school, higher education)? ....., 7. In what year did you leave school?.... [. . .] also vocational education? [. . .] now vocational training courses [. . .]

ARG I 5 (Ring. I/105)
Description: duplicate, handwritten, Yiddish, 114×205, 207x292 mm, major damage and fragments missing, 4 sheets, 4 pages.

24 *No date, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Questionnaire concerning the life situation and attitudes of Jewish youth.*[382]

[1] Union [. . .]
How long have you been a member of the union?
Do you occupy any post in the union?
Has the union improved your wages through [. . .]?
Why do you not belong to the union? Are you afraid of the boss? Do you think the membership fee is a waste of money? [. . .] that the union will not be able to accomplish anything for you anyway?)
What mistakes do you see in the [. . .] how they could be rectified?

380 (Pol.) steam bath.
381 (Pol.) "general". The *szkoła powszechna* (general school) was a form of elementary school in pre-war Poland and in the first few years after the war. In small localities such schools often took all children irrespective of age.
382 Seems to pertain to the situation in Łódź; see p. 12 of this document.

[2] [. . .]
To what youth movement do you belong? For how long?
What position do you occupy there?
Did you formerly belong to another movement or movements? For how long?
If you do not belong to any [. . .] movement do you sympathise with? Why do you not join the organisation if you sympathise with [it]? [a]prison, posts[a][383]
[Did you] belong to a children's organisation? Which one? For how long?
Have you been held in investigative detention because of your political convictions? For how long?
Have you been imprisoned? For how long? For how many months or years were you sentenced? How many have you served? Are you facing trial at the moment?
[3] Instructions [. . .][384]
5. [. . .] (list [. . .] 10 young ones)
6. He was attached to some [. . .] challenge ([. . .] member of the association).
7. To prepare the commission immediately for [. . .] to work [. . .] ?
8. While printing [. . .] because [. . .] they write [. . .] capital letters.

[4] [. . .] culture
[x][385]
State which [. . .] primary school, state school, craft training school, *heder*
I attended from [. . .] when I was ___ years old [. . .]
I attended state school (*powszechna*)[386], TSYSHO school, *Tarbut* from year _____ to [. . .] classes
I attended [x][387] [. . .] is it called?) [from] year _____ until [. . .] classes
How many classes of middle school did [. . .]? Which?
Are you attending supplementary courses at present? Which ones? From what time till what time?

383 [a-a] Annotation off the line; written at an angle after the question and may not be directly connected with it.
384 The whole page is badly damaged and very faint so as to render it illegible.
385 [x] Which [. . .] Which school or *heder* did you attend?
386 (Pol.) "general", i.e. primary.
387 [x] Craft training.

[5] [. . .][388]
If you work how much do you earn per week?
Apart from wages, do you get [. . .] from the boss? Clothing? Accommodation? Or only wages?
How much have you earned for [. . .] during a week?
[. . .]

[6] How does the boss tr[eat] you?
[. . .] to the work or does he tell you to do other jobs? Which ones?
Relate actual cases from your life of bad treatment by your current or former boss.
Has the master [. . .] you [. . .] the trade or was it of little concern to him?
Did you pay anything [. . .] to start your apprenticeship? How much?
Does the boss interfere with your life outside the workshop? (for example, talk you out of belonging to a union, or not let you belong to a union, force you to pray, etc.)

[7] [. . .]
How many brothers [. . .]
The occupation [. . .] your parents [. . .] small traders, craftsmen; brothers, sisters
Do you help [. . .] (what trade), [. . .] the trade)
Do you help [yo]ur parents? What [. . .] earnings do you give to your parents?
Do you get on well with your parents? Or do you get into fights with them about your political convictions (your parents not allowing you to go to meetings); religious convictions (your parents wanting you to pray every day, or at least on the Sabbath and Jewish holidays); material issues (your parents complaining that you give them too little money for upkeep, refusing to make you any clothes); or for other reasons?
How do you get on with your brothers and sisters? If there are conflicts, for what reasons?

388 Top half of page too damaged to distinguish any words or phrases with certainty. Approximately nine lines are missing.

[8] [. . .] Since when? How many [. . .]?
[. . .] religious? Do you go to pray on the Sabbath? On Jewish holidays? On Yom Kippur? Did you [. . .] of your own free will or did someone ** (your pa[rents,] [. . .] boss) force you to do so?

[9] Emigration
Would you like to stay in Poland or leave? Why (for economic reasons, [. . .] reasons; do you have well-to-do relatives in another country, who would help you to [. . .])?
Where would you go?
To *Eretz Yisrael*? For what [. . .]?
What occupation would you wish to [. . .]? Your former trade or agriculture? [. . .]? Kibbutz? In a big factory?
If you would not like to go to [. . .], what are your reasons?
In [. . .] would you like to be employed?
Would you like to emigrate to another country? To which?
Have you saved some money for your future journey?
If not, who will give you money for the journey?

[10] [. . .]?
[x][389] Do you read a newspaper every day? Which one? Do you subscribe to a non-Jewish daily newspaper?
Which weekly paper do you read? Which monthly paper?
What interests you most in the newspapers? Political issues, economic affairs, everyday events?
Which books have you read [. . .] in the last six months?
If you cannot remember [. . .] none at all? [x][390]
From which library do you borrow [. . .] Which one? [x][391]
How many books or brochures of your own do you [. . .]? Name the books and brochures which you [. . .]?
Are you a member of a reading room?

389 [x] Which newspapers?
390 [x] Do you also read Polish books?
391 [x] Name the ones you have read.

Choice of occupation
Are you satisfied with your occupation, or would like to pursue a different occupation?

Where do you [. . .] spend your evenings? At the union? How often do you go there? How often do you go to the theatre? To which theatres have you been in the last six months? If you cannot remember, then in recent months? How much did you pay on average for a ticket?
Do you go to dance halls? How often? How much do you spend per month, per week?
How often do you go to the cinema? What films have you seen in the last six months or recently? How much do you pay for a ticket?

[11] Living accommodation
Do you live with your parents? How many rooms do you have?
How many people are there in the house? How big is the house?
Do you sleep alone [. . .] or with a brother? a relative? a lodger?
How many windows are there in the [. . .] where you sleep?
Do you have a separate room?
If you live by yourself, how much rent [. . .] do you pay?
You can [. . .] measure it. If you have a ruler, measure the length and the breadth of the room. If you do not have a ruler, measure it by steps, just normal steps, not too big and not too small, just ordinary steps.
[12] To be filled in [. . .] new arrivals
Who are you living with in Łódź? Relatives or strangers?
How much do you pay for accommodation?
How long do you plan to stay in Łódź? From what shtetl or town [. . .]?
What is forcing you to [. . .]?
Name [. . .] in Łódź[?] and in which [. . .]?

ARG I 10 (Ring. I/127)
Description: original or duplicate, handwritten, Yiddish, 177×175, major damage and fragments missing, 12 sheets, 12 pages.
Written on reverse side of printed order forms (Yiddish).

25 *No date, Warsaw ghetto, [Emanuel Ringelblum]. Outline for a study of Jewish youth (fragment).*[392]

[1] Young people
Working-class youth and working youth, economically active youth [J. Zylberberg][393]
School youth – Gutkowski
Youth in technical colleges – Kiełbik[394]
"Golden" youth
Street youth
Refugee youth
Pioneer youth[395]
Religious youth – Kl . . . [[?][396]
Youth in [. . .]
Young people's leisure activities
Youth circles in courtyard committees
Young females
Young people's social involvement
Differences in the life of the young today
Changes in the life of the young as a result of the war
Material and intellectual changes
Attitude to parents
Intellectual changes [. . .] life of the young ([. . .], interest in books)
[2] The work [. . .] written on the basis of conversations with individual young people according to the outline indicated – on the basis of conversations with

392 A typed copy of this document is in the collection "Two and a half years of war"; see Doc. 29. The manuscript is fuller and has therefore been taken as the basis for the edition, but all additions based on the typescript are inserted in square brackets. See ARG I 596 (Ring. I/46), a study of Jewish youth in the Warsaw Ghetto.

393 Yankev Zylberberg, see Doc. 1.

394 Felicja Kiełbik was working in the Vocational Training Department in the institutions for children and youth of the ŻSS KOM. See ARG II 196c (Ring. II/78).

395 The Yiddish term used here is *khalutsish*, which denoted people preparing for settlement in Palestine, but not necessarily members of *Heḥalutz*.

396 The reading of this surname is uncertain (possibly "Kleinroth"), and the person in question has not been identified.

parents, [. . .] of youth circles, investigation of young people in [. . .] circles (for example, school).
The work shall be based on materials from at least one courtyard of one Warsaw[?][397] [. . .].
Economically active youth – The work shall be written on the basis of surveys of representatives of individual trades and branches, for example, cigarette vendors, street vendors.
Do young people enter economic life earlier now than before the war? The causes – the earnings of the young in individual branches of trade – with whom are their earnings shared?
Young people in social institutions
Lifestyle of the working youth
Behaviour of the young in [. . .]

ARG I 14 (Ring. I/507/3)
Description: original, handwritten (ER*), ink, Yiddish, 150×115 mm, 1 sheet, 2 pages.
ARG I 5 (Ring. I/105)
Description: duplicate, typewritten, Yiddish, 114×205, major damages and missing fragments, 2 sheets, 2 pages.
Edition based on the original, 1 sheet, 2 pages; gaps filled in by fragments from the duplicate.

3.4. Research on the Warsaw Ghetto

26 *[After 15 November 1940], Warsaw ghetto. [Eliyahu Gutkowski]. List of topics for a study on various domains of life in the Warsaw ghetto.*

[1] Historical overview
Legislation
Demography – flats, housing conditions

397 Reading uncertain.

Economy
- Workers
- Crafts and small industry, guilds
- Trade and industry under commissary management
- Liberal professions: doctors, lawyers, teachers, engineers
- Trade
- Smuggling
- House ownership
- Workshops
- Employees of social institutions
- Wages and income
- Finance (money changing)
- The ghetto as an economic phenomenon
- How Jews make a living (survey: legal and illegal [occupations])
- Trade-union movement; co-operative movement

Social aid (general overview)
- Organisations: ŻTOS, CENTOS, TOZ, ŻKOM.[398]
- House committees
- Food provision: soup kitchens (Leszno St 40, Nalewki St 23, Twarda St 15, Leszno St 29, Zamenhofa St 15, Nowolipki St 22, Nowolipki St 68, Karmelicka St 29)
- Displaced persons and refugees
- Refugee centres
- Child protection
- Epidemics
- Sanitary sector
- [2] Clothing provision
- TOPOROL[399]

398 (Yid.) *Yiddisher Hilfs-Komitet,* (Pol.) *Żydowski Komitet Opiekuńczy Miejski w Warszawie, ŻKOM* [Warsaw Jewish Municipal Welfare Committee], to which ŻTOS, CENTOS, and TOZ were formally subordinate.

399 *Towarzystwo Popierania Rolnictwo* [Society for the Support of Agriculture], a pre-war JDC-sponsored organisation resuscitated in Warsaw with the help of ORT towards the end of 1940.

- Aid to relatives
- The class factor in the *kehilla*
- Constructive aid – interest-free loan institutions
- Hospital system
- Religious Affairs Department

Social and cultural life
- General overview
- Social life
- Literature
- Scholarly activity
- Folklore: sayings, jokes, letters
- Music, choirs
- School system: school complexes
- Vocational school system
- School students concerning their courses
- Religious life
- "Them"[400] – attitude to Jews
- Converted Jews
- Converted Jews in the *kehilla*
- Converted Jews in the artistic world
- Youth
- Libraries
- Women
- Demoralisation and corruption
- Lodgings Department
- Lofty moments in Jewish life
- Polish–Jewish relations

Kehilla
- Organisation of the Jewish quarter
- Legal situation of the *kehilla*
- Development of the *kehilla*

400 See Docs. 17 and 18.

[3] Territorial changes, changes of the boundaries of the Jewish quarter (topography, geography, names)
Provisioning[401]
Coal Commission[402]
Post
Police (Jewish converts in the police)
Insurance[403]
Bank
Pharmacies
Health
Labour
Cemetery
Refuse[404]
Insured Buildings[405]
Industry and Trade
Finance Department
Social Welfare
Statistics Department
Lodgings Department

Displaced persons and refugees (as a sociological problem of uprootedness)
Artists
Painters
Musicians
Lifestyle of workers, craftsmen, smugglers

401 This and the following sixteen items appear to be *kehilla* departments. The supplies for the ghetto went through the *Zakład Zaopatrywania* (Provisioning Department), an agency of the *Judenrat*.

402 Within the Provisioning Department there was at first a Coal Commission, and later the Heating Department of the *Judenrat*.

403 Department XXIII of the *Judenrat,* the Social Insurance Collection Office.

404 The refuse collection service of the Real Estate and Public Utilities Department (Wydział Nieruchomości i Urządzeń Użyteczności Publicznej).

405 Probably a reference to the *Judenrat* 's Department for Secured Properties, later the Real Estate and Public Utilities Department.

The Jewish child
Workshops

ARG I 554 (Ring. I/98)
Description: original, handwritten (LEG*), ink, Yiddish, 220×350 mm, 2 sheets, 4 pages.
Printed in: Kassow, *Who will write out history?*, pp. 393–395.

27 *After 1 February 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous, "Plan monografii 'Sytuacja dzielnicy żydowskiej w Warszawie w 1941 r w liczbach'" [Outline of monograph "The situation in the Jewish district in Warsaw in 1941 in numbers"].*

Outline of Monograph

The situation in the Jewish district in Warsaw in 1941 in numbers[32]

1. The total number of inhabitants
2. Population according to sex and age
3. Population according to denomination
4. Movement of the population
   a) deportation and arrivals
   b) births
   c) deaths
5. Supply of food to the Jewish district population
   a) allocation of food coupon rations
   b) rations for Jews in comparison with rations for "Aryans"
   c) market prices of necessities
   d) the cost of living for a four-person family
   e) expenses on rationed articles
6. Pauperisation
   a) the number of the unemployed

b) the number of people apprehended on the "Aryan" side
c) the number of exemptions from payment for food coupons[406]
d) the number of petitioners in social institutions
e) the number of applications for lunch rations

7. Health and sanitary situation
a) the total number of hospital patients
b) the number of patients of infectious diseases hospitals
c) the total number of typhus cases
d) the number of typhus patients in hospital
e) hospital patients' weight
f) shelters, centres, quarantine, boarding houses
g) diseases in centres
h) spread of tuberculosis in the Jewish district

8. Mortality
a) overall mortality
b) mortality in refugee centres
c) causes of death in refugee centres
d) deaths on the street

9. The Jewish child
a) the number of children in child-care institutions
b) the situation in the Main Shelter Home[407]
c) the situation in children's hospitals
d) children's weight in hospitals and shelters
e) mortality among children in the Jewish district

10. Welfare
a) expenses on charity (incurred by the *Judenrat*, JHK, and ŻTOS)
b) soup kitchens
c) individual help
d) clothing aid
e) medical and sanitary help

406 Upon receipt of a food coupon one had to pay a fee in the amount of approximately 2.7 zlotys. It was a tax for the *Judenrat*, the Supply Section, and social welfare. See Engelking, Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto. A Guide to the Perished City*, p. 413.

407 The Main Shelter Home (*Główny Dom Schronienia*) for foundlings was located at 127 Leszno Street. Before the war it was provided for by the Municipal Board, while in late 1939 it was taken over by CENTOS.

f) aid to displaced people
g) child care

11. Social self-help
    a) the network of House Committees
    b) the activity of House Committees (collection of money, tributes, collection of clothes)
    c) care sections
12. [2] The economic situation in the Jewish district
    a) the vocational and social structure
    b) economic potential (professional potential, machines)
    c) the number of entrepreneurs according to branches and vocations
    d) the number of professionally active people according to branches and vocations
    e) the number of employees registered at the Social Insurance
    f) employment at the German authorities' work details.
    g) employment in workshops
    h) wages, salaries and earnings
    i) the turnover of the Bank Clearing Office (the Co-operative Bank of the Jewish District)[408]
    j) traffic at the *Umschlagplatz*
13. Economic self-help organisations
    a) Interest-Free Provident Society
    b) ORT
    c) Toporol
    d) food products co-operatives
    e) manufacturing co-operatives

Plan of an informative conversation with specialists of a certain occupation

1. The structure of the occupation (a) factories, b) independent workshops, c) cottage workshops, d) co-operative workshops – mechanised, manually operated
2. The approximate number of workers in particular categories of companies
3. The names of major German and Jewish companies (addresses)
4. The character of production (what is manufactured, in what quantity, are these ersatz articles, if so, what)

408 See Doc. 26.

5. The chain of sales and production (financing entities, middlemen, and producers)
6. The character of contracts (employment contracts or specific task contracts)
7. The source of raw materials (name, types, ersatz product) and the conditions of purchase
8. Driving forces (issue of fuel)
9. The financing of production (credit, advance payments, etc.)
10. Consumers' profile
11. The place of consumption
12. Producers' profits, workers' wages (in cash or in kind), middlemen's commission
13. Prosperity criteria (in comparison with earlier periods)
    a) the duration of employment taking into account the categories of (the number of days per week, per month)
    b) the increase of unemployment among professionals and unqualified forces
    c) the number and character of new companies (roughly speaking)
    d) "Aryan" employers' opinion on the possibility to spread the need for a given profession in the Jewish district.
14. Difficulties in development of a given industry: a) lack of commissions (reasons), b) lack of precision machines, c) lack of professionals, d) lack of raw materials, e) lack of fuel
15. Interpellators' views regarding constructive aid in a given profession

ARG II 294 (Ring. II/169)
Description: duplicate (2 copies), typewritten, Polish, 200x293 mm, minor damage and missing fragments, 2 sheets, 4 pages.
Based on the 1st copy of the duplicate, 1 sheet, 2 pages.

28 *Early 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. "Ulica" ["Street"]. Plan for a study about the ghetto street, its appearance, the life of its inhabitants, etc.*

Street[409]

1. External appearance. First impressions. A comparison with the pre-war Jewish street. Exoticism and Europeanness.
2. Tenements (as seen from the street). Gates. Windows. Shops. Shop windows.
3. Walls. Gates. *Wachas*. Gates and exits. Bridges. Holes. Smuggling.
4. Street traffic. Pedestrian traffic. Obstacles in pedestrian and vehicle traffic (walls, bridges, blocked streets, detours). Vehicle traffic: cars, trams, *kohnhellerkas*,[410] hearses, carts transporting corpses, ambulances, carriages, rickshaws. People standing on the street.
5. People on the street. Clerks, vendors, the unemployed and beggars, functionaries. Women; children. "Aryans".
6. Street vending. Shops, cafés, restaurants, open-air cafés. Markets, stalls, shelves. Used merchandise. Junk vending. Sale of food products. Bread, cigarettes, sweets, books. Agency. The oriental character of street vending.
7. The aesthetic aspect of the street. Sounds and colours. Sounds: hum, shouts, beggars' moaning, vendors' calling. Music, singing, and recitations on the street. The hum of conversations and arguments of the sellers and buyers. Colours: motley, variety, non-uniformity of clothing. Armbands, caps, uniforms. Bills, leaflets. The stench. The contrast between wealth and poverty in external appearance. Theatres, cabarets, open-air cafés. Exoticism.
8. Social life on the street. The "aristocratic" streets and their *splendid isolation*.[411] *Mekhes*' churches and clubs. Lords and paupers. Slavers and

409 Cf. Stanisław Różycki's study "Ulica" [Street] in *Warsaw Ghetto. Everyday Life*, Doc. 4.

410 (Pol.) *Konhellerkas* – horse-drawn trams driving in the Warsaw ghetto from June 1941. The name is derived from the names of the owners of the transport company: Moryc Kohn and Zelik Heller.

411 In the orginal in English. Reference to 19th-century British diplomatic practice of avoiding permanent alliances.

slaves. Productive workers and the remaining "unproductive" population. Proletarian and semi-proletarian streets. *Alle glaykh*.[412] Downward equalisation. Social differences indicated by means of clothing, language, religion, "employment armband", work record, good price and less emaciated body. The search for favouritism and work. Street entertainment: performances of paupers, a walk and a moment's rest, open-air cafés, megaphone, gossips by the walls, cafés.

9. Morality of the street. Theft and fraud. Healthy and pathological impulses. Lynching. Indifference and compassion. Alms. Sanctions. Shameless behaviour. People relieving themselves [on the street]. Prodigality. Drunkenness. Prostitution. Corruption. Contrasts in the standard of living.
10. [2] Emotions of the street. Optimism and pessimism. Joy and sadness. Hope and resignation. Illusions and apathy. Fear and terror: killings, beating, imprisonment, the capturing of people for forced labour and camps. Panic and gossip. Compassion and mercy. Revenge and hatred. Cowardice and courage. The loftiest and the basest feelings: humanitarianism, sacrifice, martyrdom, heroism, religiosity, nationalism, antisemitism expressed by Jews, egoism, bestiality. The general dulling of emotions.
11. Poverty of the street. Beggary. Stench. Hunger. Lack of [fresh] air or a park. Lice, dirt, disease, death on the street.
12. Individual streets and districts. The Large and Small Ghetto. Districts and areas. Central and exterior streets. Main arteries. The liveliest streets and the deserted ones. Torn, halved, cut-off, and excluded streets. Streets as prisons.

ARG I 567 (Ring. I/135).
Description: original or duplicate (2 copies), typewritten (H*), pencil, Polish, 2, 220x350 mm, 2 sheets, 4 pages. Published in: *Selected Documents*, pp. 153–154.
Edition based on the 1st copy of the original (duplicate?), 1 sheet, 2 pages.

412 (Yid.) Everybody is equal.

29

Early 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Collection of materials entitled "צוויי און אַ האַלבע יאָר מלחמה" *["Two and a half years of war"]. Questionnaires, lists of names, outlines for a study on the life of the Jewish population during the war and occupation (1939–1941)*

[1] *Two and a half years of war*

What has been our experience of two and a half years of war? What dark sides of our life have revealed themselves in that time?

Are those aspects apparent to the same extent in Warsaw and in the provinces, or do the examples from the provinces show something else as well?

What bright sides of our life have revealed themselves during the war?

The prospects for the [. . .]

What form will be taken by the resolution of [. . .] issue of *Eretz Israel* [. . .] [t]wo and a half [. . .] go our [. . .] work of the [. . .]

[2] home. But what will this unavoidable future look like? What place will the Jewish people occupy in the post-war world? How and where will the two-thousand-year exile of the Jews find its solution? Will there finally be an end to bestial antisemitism, the nightmare of civilised humanity? What will the Jewish territorial centre in *Eretz Yisrael* look like? What sort of social system will govern the new post-war world? These and dozens of similar questions plague and torment every thinking Jew. And above all, what must we do now [. . .] to be ready for the times to come? [. . .] torture each of [. . .]

[3] [. . .]The first made [. . .] our life, it brought [. . .] power of the fists in the ghetto [. . .] autonomous life [. . .] and too late [. . .] obedience [. . .] further [. . .] complete [. . .]

[4] At the moment, when the regular policy in economy is directed at exclusion of the Jewish population from the economic process, it gives [. . .] to the Jewish will to live not only the stopping [. . .] professional status, but it also makes possible [. . .] to create new possibilities for Jewish workers [. . .] at the time of everybody's striving [. . .]

[5] [Eliyahu] Kahan[413]
Rogen
[Menkhem] Kirshenbaum
[Zisha Aleksander] Frydman
Giterman
Sak
Eck
Bloch
Ekerman
Huberband
M. Kon
H[. . .]il[. . .]
[6] Nowogrodzka
Brajtsztajn
Rogowy
Mazo
Weichert
Jaszunski
Rabbi Nissenbaum
Orzech
Hirszfeld
Dr Stein
Yitskhok
A[. . .]

[7] The life of Jewish scholars[414]
Survey among scholars on the following topics:

1) their occupations, family circumstances, housing conditions (before the war and now),

413 Information about the people noted in this document, if identifiable, are in the biographical notes.

414 Originally the questionnaire was addressed to Jewish writers. Later it was used as a basis for compiling a questionnaire for scholars. In the original typed version the word *writers* was crossed out and replaced by *scholars*, although not consistently. Some items were crossed out, some supplemented. Here, each version is given separately; the version for writers follows this one.

2) present sources of income,
3) subject and content of their research,
4) what they had in their portfolios before the war; 4a) what they have now 4b) what has been lost and under what circumstances (contents of the lost work),
5) the connection between their present occupations and their research,
6) whether they have the necessary premises and other conditions to continue their work,
7) experiences of those who "left" and returned,[415]
8) scholarly plans for the future,
9) whether the material has already been collected (indicate the content of the work to be produced) in written form or memorised,
10) what the scholars think of the present time, of the experiences and future of the Jews,
11) what edifying aspects they have observed in Jewish ghetto life,
12) what ignominious aspects,
13) Warsaw Jews and Jews from the provinces,
14) how scholars live their lives at the present time (meetings, scholars' monthly budget),
15) the attitude of social welfare institutions to Jewish scholars,
16) war suffering (housing, family casualties)

The survey also includes deceased scholars and should explain what has happened to a deceased scholar's legacy.

Some of the questions in the survey should be answered on the basis of interviews with friends and relatives of the deceased. Photographs of all the scholars from before the war and at the present time should be attached.

[8] The names of the scholars to be approached for the purpose of the survey must be confirmed in advance by the editorial board.

The author of the articles must familiarise himself with the works of the individual scholars and on that basis portray the nature of current Jewish scholarship in comparison with the pre-war period. Given the risk that work may be lost, an accurate summary of the content

415 Most probably refers to those who fled from the occupied territories to the Soviet Union and returned after the outbreak of the German–Soviet War.

of the work should be appended to the articles – particularly valuable works should be copied.

Scholars from the provinces

Rising stars in the field of scholarship

Jewish scholars writing in the Polish language – the same survey with the following addition: their opinion of Jewish life, scholarship, and so on – whether they have drawn closer to Jews during the war – whether that has affected their work – scholarly bodies – what is happening in the Polish scholarly world – what they think of Jews or write about them.

[9] The lives of Jewish writers

Survey among writers on the following topics:

1) their occupations, family circumstances, housing conditions (before the war and now),
2) present sources of income,
3) subject and content of their creative works,
4) what they have in their briefcases from before the war; 4a) what they have now? 4b) what has been lost and under what circumstances? (contents of the lost works),
5) the connection between their present occupation and their creative work,
6) whether they have the necessary living space and other conditions to continue their work,
7) experiences of those who "left" and returned,
8) literary plans for the future,
9) whether the material already been collected (indicate the content of the work to be produced) is in written form or memorised,
10) what the writers think of the present time, of the experiences and future of the Jews,
11) what edifying aspects they have observed in Jewish ghetto life,
12) what ignominious aspects,
13) Warsaw Jews and Jews from the provinces,
14) how writers live their lives at the present time (meetings, public readings, writers' monthly budget),
15) the attitude of social welfare institutions to Jewish writers,
16) war suffering (housing, family casualties)

17) Changes in "credo" in general and literary credo in particular under the influence of the war.[416]

The survey also includes deceased writers and should explain what has happened to a deceased writer's literary legacy.

Some of the questions in the survey should be answered on the basis of interviews with friends and relatives of the deceased. Photographs of all the writers from before the war and at the present time should be attached.

[10] Has the war enriched or impeded literary activity?

The names of the writers to be approached for the purposes of the survey must be confirmed in advance by the editorial board.

1) Prose, poetry, drama.

2) Memoirs and reportage.

The author of the articles must familiarise himself with the works of the individual writers and on that basis portray the nature of current Jewish literature in comparison with the pre-war period. Given the risk that works may be lost, an accurate summary of the content of the work should be appended to the articles – particularly valuable works should be copied.

Writers from the provinces

Rising stars in the literary firmament

Jewish writers in the Polish language – the same survey with the following addition: their opinion of Jewish life, literature, and so on – whether they have drawn closer to Jews during the war – whether that has affected their creative work – literary bodies – what is happening in the Polish literary world – what they think of Jews or write about them.

[11] Impressions from their public appearances.

How they are received by the Jewish public.

The activity of literary associations and entitlement to aid for Jewish writers.

[a]Skałow

Smolarz[a][417]

E. Tseitlin

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416 Item 17 is added in handwriting.

417 [a-a] Added in handwriting. I. Smolarz performed in the "Godzina żydowskiego pisarza i artysty" (Jewish writer and artist's hour) concert on 15 February 1941. See ARG I 379 (Ring. I/601).

H. Tseitlin
Kirman
Lerer
Feld
Gilbert
Perle
Marwil
Kipnis
Kacenelson
Forlerer[418]
Sztern
Szternberg
Rachel Auerbach
Rumelt
Korczak
Szymel
Łozowski
[a]Roza Jakubowicz, Nowolipie 36/6
Lea Rotkop
Icchak Bunin
Bruno Winawer[a419]

Hebrew writers
Czudner
Borensztejn
J. Warszawski

Deceased
Kacyzne
Horończyk
Hershele[420]

418 Jonas Turkow mentions a journalist with that surname. Jonas Turkow, *C'etait ainsi. 1939–1943, la vie dans le ghetto de Varsovie* (Paris, 1995), p. 204.
419 [a-a] Added in handwriting.
420 Probably Hershele Danielewicz.

Lehman
Dr G. Lewin
M. Braun
[a]Flaks[a]

Memoirs
Lejpuner
Kaplan
Opoczynski
Berenson
Lejzerowicz[421]
Forlerer
Wigdorowicz

Whereabouts of the remaining Jewish writers from Warsaw and the provinces, what is known of their fate, their present livelihood and their literary work – their pre-war literary legacy and creative work during the war.

[12] Jewish theatre, Jewish actors, entertainment[422]

1) The actor's life
2) Repertoire
3) Legal situation of the theatre
4) Material situation
5) Statistics
6) The public – attitude of society
7) The language question: Polish in Jewish theatre
8) Amateur troupes – activity, programme, language, social circles in which amateur troupes are concentrated
   Amateur troupes in the courtyards

421 Perhaps Moyshe Lejzerowicz.

422 See also ARG I 662 (Ring. I/90), a study by Jonas Turkow, "Warsaw entertains itself" and studies by Stanisław Różycki, "Theatre in the ghetto" and "Cafés" in *Warsaw Ghetto. Everyday Life*, Docs. 5 and 6.

[13] Jewish theatre and entertainment venues

1) The life of the Yiddish, Polish-Jewish, and Hebrew actor (main or secondary occupation – rise or decline of the Jewish actor)
Actors who are converts and in general those who perform on the Polish stage (whether the Jewish theatre has benefited from these new forces – their interaction with Jewish actors and the Jewish stage – positive or negative influence.
New forces on the Jewish stage

On the pattern of the survey of Jewish writers, a similar survey of the stars of the Jewish theatre and certain performers should be carried out among the stars of the Jewish theatre and individual artists in order to have a general picture of the living conditions of the Jewish actor.

Which Jewish actor is enjoying the greatest success?
Stars in decline and those on the rise.

2) Repertoire
Rise or decline – reasons – is a better Jewish theatre possible?
Repertoire of (a) Yiddish (b) Polish-Jewish theatre, (c) Hebrew studios.
Repertoire of cafés and cabarets (role of Yiddish).
Repertoire of community performances, sponsored performances, and the like.
Current aspects of the Jewish repertoire (all songs evoking current issues should be appended).

3) Orders issued by the authorities concerning repertoire in theory and practice.
Legal situation of the Jewish theatre – fees paid to the town hall and the *kehilla*.

[14]

4) Material situation of the theatre – on the basis of interviews with theatre entrepreneurs and actors, determine the material situation of the theatre in comparison with the pre-war period.

5) The public – have there been changes in the composition of the Jewish audience? Which productions are hits with Jewish audiences and why.

Attitude of the nouveaux-riches[423] to the Jewish theatre.
The Warsaw assimilated intelligentsia.
Converts to Christianity.
The underworld.

On the basis of interviews [. . .] (according to a certain blueprint) [. . .] the attitude of the various social strata [. . .] should be determined [. . .] to the Jewish [. . .]

[15] Entertainment venues
Statistics regarding number of venues.
Who are the owners of the venues (overt and secret)?
The new public: composition.
Takings: (purchasing one [ticket?]).
Programme: what goes down well with the public.
Earnings of employees and waiters.
Accounts of the undertakings.
Describe the main characteristics of the entertainment venues and the public that frequents them.
Night clubs – describe night club life.
Attitude of society and the *kehilla* to the night clubs.

ARG I 5 (Ring. I/105)
Description: original and duplicate, typewritten (with handwritten corrections and additions in ink and pencil), Yiddish, 114×205, 207x292 mm, major damage and fragments missing,12 sheets, 12 pages.
Published in *Selected Documents*, pp. 29–31, 452–3 (fragments)

423 Perhaps a reference to those who broke their ties with traditional Jewish culture after they became wealthy.

30 *After September 1941, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Outline of a study on libraries, bookshops, and reading among the Jewish population of Warsaw from September 1939 to September 1941. Outline of a questionnaire for library and bookshop owners in the ghetto.*

Libraries, bookshops, book collections, and readers in the Warsaw ghetto during the war

I. From September 1939 to September 1941.
   1. Reading during the siege of Warsaw.
   2. Number and condition of Yiddish libraries after the siege.
      a. public: how many destroyed, hidden, confiscated.
      b. private: how many destroyed, sold, functioning again.
   3. Situation in reopened private libraries: condition of premises (dirty), books, censorship, books thrown out, appearance of the library, catalogues (with books erased), readers: frequent exchange (despite insufficient light in homes).
   4. First restrictions on Jews, expulsion of Jewish employees from municipal libraries (20 December 1939), readers (January, 1940); total ban on the use of Polish libraries by Jews and on the sale of books to Jews in Polish bookshops (date?).
   5. Closure of all Jewish libraries – circumstances, dates.
   6. Situation after closure of libraries; terrible lack of books, thirst for books in people who are completely cut off from all cultural enjoyment and entertainment; especially sad plight of children and young people. Attempts to solve the problem. Emergence of illegal libraries: their genesis, examples (Leszno Street 77, owner collects books borrowed by readers and exchanges them in his home). The beginning of book-selling from carts. First Yiddish books on the streets (sets of *Kinder Fraynd*[424] on Zamenhofa Street and others). Arrests of booksellers. Travelling libraries created by former owners and new people:

424 (Yid.) "Children's Friend"; bi-weekly published in Warsaw in Yiddish from 1936 till March 1939.

their stocks – a hundred books in a small suitcase. No interference with their activity. The same books are read many times over. Random individuals take to lending books – former owners and employees of book warehouses who happen to have a few books left. Often Christians carry books round the buildings, exchanging them every day for a small charge (1 zl. a month). Tenants of apartment buildings, youth groups, clubs, collect books at home and exchange them with the residents. All libraries are of course in private flats; the books lie in sideboards, on shelves, often in small shops [1a] which sell completely different goods (Majzelsa Street 5, Franciszkańska Street 14).

7. Attempts to obtain permission to run a legal library.
   a. Appeals of former owners to *Judenrat* – documents!
   b. Attempts to obtain permission for a children's library – documents!
8. Organising the start of a children's library. First book collection for poor children – toys and books collected together with clothes collection. Appeal: 1st appeal, 2nd appeal. Results: numbers, material, selection. First travelling sets for boarding schools. Book corners.
9. After the closure of the ghetto. Rumours about legalisation of the book trade. Less control. Setting out books in the street: Orla Street, Solna Street, Leszno Street, Nowolipki Street. Taking over the premises at Leszno Street 67, in the hope that it would shortly be possible to legalise a library. The beginning of the organisation of a library.
10. Winter 1940. New restrictions: closure of all bookshops selling sacred literature and shops selling *dewocjonalia;*[425] news about arrests of clandestine librarians (in Twarda Street?).
11. Spring 1941. Rumours that sacred literature bookshops have reopened – roaming the streets in search of such shops: the first swallows in Nalewki Street with the sign "Sprzedaż przedmiotów religijnych"[426] (Cejlingold). Beginning of activity of the children's library (1 April), for the time being as an internal library of CENTOS, available only to boarding schools and children in kitchens; no charges. Fear of admitting children off the streets (the little girl from Sosnowa Street). Further memos concerning

425 (Pol.) devotional objects.

426 (Pol.) "Sale of religious objects", in Latin script in the original.

authorisation. Broadening of activity from 15 June. Fake IDs for children, who are supposedly from CENTOS. Confirmations by district inspectors, charges.

12. Order concerning reinstatement of libraries and bookshops (precise dates). Efforts to obtain a licence. Policy on the granting of licences. How many and who received them. Attempts to create a people's library.

II. Present state of Yiddish libraries and bookshops in the Warsaw ghetto (based on a questionnaire).
    1. Number of libraries: (a) public: legal, illegal; (b) private lending libraries; (c) bookshops; (d) bookselling on the street.
    2. Overall quantity of books in the ghetto. Breakdown by language.
    3. Number of readers – characteristics: who reads what.
    4. Which former libraries have remained active: their history so far.
    5. What became of the other libraries – what are all the "book people" doing now?

[2] Questionnaire addressed to owners of libraries and bookshops (draft)

1. Firm.
2. Address.
3. Owner.
4. Number of books (general, Yiddish, Polish, other languages; fiction, non-fiction, for children).
5. Premises (stop, flat, number of rooms, state).
6. Staff (how many, what qualifications).
7. Lending and book-return hours.
8. Charges (standard, concessionary).
9. Readers (total number, breakdown by sex, age, occupation).
10. Condition of books (bound, unbound, complete, damaged).
11. Provenance of books (from which libraries, one or many).
12. Did the library (bookshop) exist before the war, under which firm, and where? Possibly: did the the owner or any of the staff run a library (bookshop)?
13. Financial aspect. Budget.

14. Reminiscences about working conditions in the period after the siege (censorship, books thrown out, movement of readers). When and under what circumstances was the library (bookshop) closed down.
15. What happened to the library up to reinstatement. Possibly: what did the owner do during the time when the library was closed down (orally!)

What does the present-day reader (adult, youth, child) [. . .]
Have there been changes in readers' interests since before the war?[427]

ARG I 11 (Ring. I/128)
Description: duplicate (4 copies, partly in fragments), MS (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 220×350, 220×155 mm, major damage and fragments missing, 8 sheets, 12 pages.
On p. 3 (2nd copy) (questionnaire), end of text supplemented in a different handwriting (ink).
Inv: "The author is Barbara Berman".
Fragment on p. 2 in ARG I 568 (Ring. I/1220/54).
Edition based on 2nd copy of duplicate, 2 sheets, 3 pages.

31 *Early 1942, Warsaw ghetto, Anonymous. Outline of a study on House Committees in the Warsaw ghetto.*

[1] *House Committees – main topics*[428]

General information
A. Emergence of the HCs
1. The bombardment period

427 These last two questions are in a different handwriting from the rest of the document and were written only on the second copy.

428 The document has survived in two, slightly different versions: Polish and Yiddish. This publication is based on the Yiddish version, with more substantial annotations or differences in the Polish version specified in the footnotes. Cf. ARG I 652 (Ring. I/66), general study on House Committees, and ARG I 653 (Ring. I/297), ARG I 654 (Ring. I/68), ARG I 655 (Ring. I/106), ARG I 656 (Ring. I/67) – monographs of individual committees.

2. End of 1939
3. Beginning of 1940 – founding of the Coordinating Commission.[429]
4. Nature of HC activity during the bombardment period

Significance of the HCs[430]

B. Social significance of the HCs (the HC as the representative of all liquidated social institutions)[431]

Activity

C. Aid activities (various forms)
1. Monetary support (*matan beseter*).[432]
2. Courtyard soup kitchens.[433]
3. Constructive help (*gm"h*,[434] work).
4. Help for a refugee station.
5. Children's corner.[435]
6. Clothes collection.[436]
7. Help for camp labourers.
8. Burial of the dead.

D. Sanitary activity

E. Other areas of activity
1) Arbitration.[437]
2) Cultural activity.[438]

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429 In January 1940 the German authorities separated the Jewish welfare organisations from the Polish ones. This was how the Jewish Social Self-Help Coordinating Commission (*Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna-Komisja Koordynacyjna*) was formed. Its aim was to manage various autonomous welfare organisations, including House Committees.

430 Phrase omitted in the Polish manuscript.

431 Polish manuscript: charitable social institutions.

432 (Heb.) "anonymous giving", the traditional precept of anonymous charity in Jewish tradition. Polish manuscript: Monetary support (benefits and discretional aid).

433 Polish manuscript: residential building's soup kitchens.

434 Hebrew acronym for *gemilut hesed*, "acts of loving kindness", commonly referring to the grant of interest-free loans. Polish manuscript: Interest-free Provident Society (Kasa Pożyczek Bezprocentowych).

435 Polish manuscript: Corner.

436 Polish manuscript: Collection of clothing for their own charges and for others.

437 Polish manuscript: Mediations and arbitration courts.

438 Polish manuscript: Cultural and educational activity.

3) Neighbour disputes.[439]

F. HC activity in connection with other organisations and institutions:

1) *Kehillah*.
2) Police.[440]
3) LOPP and others.

[1a] G. Internal activity of the HCs and their mutual relations[441]

1. Women's circles.
2. Youth commissions.
3. Sanitary commissions.

H. Negative sides of the HC

1. Protecting own tenants against ŻTOS.[442]

I. Self-sacrifice

1. Did the HC stimulate an increase in self-sacrifice? Examples, evidence![443]

J. Sources of income of the HCs:

1. Members' fees.
2. Businesses.
3. Cards.
4. Other sources of income (arbitration, and the like).

K. HC expenditure

1. Aid activity.
2. ŻTOS.
3. Refugee stations.
4. Sanitary expenses.
5. *Parówki*,[444] **etc.**

L. Elections and composition of the HCs
Social structure of HC members.

439 Polish manuscript: Housing matters and other matters related to co-existence of residents.

440 Polish manuscript: Police and [Jewish] Order Service.

441 In the Polish manuscript two separate points G and H: G. Mutual, neighbourly relations between House Committees; H. Activation of all social forces in a given residential building.

442 Omitted in the Polish manuscript.

443 Last phrase omitted in the Polish manuscript.

444 (Pol.) steam baths.

M. Historical significance of the HCs
N. Combating malevolent individuals in the HCs and their methods.

ARG I 561 (Ring. I/138)
Description: original or duplicate, handwritten (ink, Polish) and (LEG*, pencil, Yiddish), 190×300, 195×295 mm, minor damage and fragments missing (handwritten in Yiddish), 2 sheets, 4 pages.
Edition based on the Yiddish manuscript.

32 *No date, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Plan of a study regarding the origin and operation of soup kitchens.*

I. Introduction
1. The history of soup kitchens.
2. The division of the soup kitchen's history into periods.
3. The authorities' attitude towards soup kitchens. Various phases.

II. The first soup kitchens
4. The first soup kitchens, their establishment, organisation and purpose.
5. First consumers.
6. Types of soup kitchens, funds for their operation.
7. The number of kitchens, their productivity during the initial period.
8. Technical equipment and organisation of work in the kitchens.
9. Types and quality of meals.
10. The first kitchens for children.

III. Development and unification of soup kitchens
11. The number and type of soup kitchens.
12. The number of lunch rations issued daily.
13. The total number of dinner rations issued in particular months.
14. Consumers. General data.
    a. Registration and verification
    b. The system of allocation of dinner rations to customers
    c. The system of provision of discounted dinner rations

d. Specification of dinner rations issued according to collected payments

15. Expenses connected with the running of the kitchens.
    From allocation.
    Products purchased on the free market.
    From allocation.
    Products purchased on the free market.
    Administration.
16. Sources of the money to cover the expenses. Fees. Central organization. Care sections
17. The Central Office of People's Kitchens (the Supply Section and the Department of Soup Kitchens). Supervision of the kitchens. The struggle against embezzlement.
18. [2] Kitchens for children.
19. Dinner rations for refugees.
20. Organisation of work in the kitchens.
21. Kitchen personnel.
22. The premises and kitchenware.
23. Products obtained through allocation. Quantity, quality, and use.
24. Description of the meals issued (against the background of the overall standard of nourishment and level of prices).
25. The issue of fuel in the kitchens.
26. Sanitary supervision over kitchens.

IV. Special kitchens

27. Kitchens in the suburbs, district kitchens, *landsmanshafts*' kitchens, House Committees' kitchens, kitchens for the resettled, two-course kitchens, experimental kitchens, etc.
28. Coffee houses.

V. Monographs of particular kitchens, more or less following this model:
The date of the opening. Who were the founders? Profiles of individual persons.
The initial and later productivity of the kitchen.
Description of the premises and its appliances.
Funds spent on the opening and running of the kitchen. Sources of these funds.
Other uses of the locales aside from issuing dinner rations.
Consumers. The milieu they are from. Contact with consumers.

VI. Various reports, e.g.
Standing in a line for soup.
The kitchen is closed today.
The ceremony of the opening of the kitchen.
Dinner at the refugee centre.

ARG I 563 (Ring. I/139).
Description: original or duplicate (4 copies, in fragments), typewritten, Polish, 205x290, 203x100 mm, major damage and missing fragments, 8 sheets, 8 pages. Based on the 1st copy of the duplicate, 2 sheets, 2 pages.

33 *Early 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous.* – "טעזן צו דער טעמע: קאָרופּציע – גנבֿות" *["Topics on the subject: corruption – theft"].*

Topics on the subject: corruption – theft[445]

1. Corruption in the *kehilla*.
2. Work battalion.
3. Accommodation Office.
4. Provisioning.
5. Falsification of provisions (bakers, consignment articles, shoemakers).
6. Heating Commission.
7. Weights and Measures Office.
8. Theft of parcels at the post office in the ghetto – speculation with postage stamps immediately prior to the price rise.
9. Corruption in the *Ordungsdienst* (police).
10. Corruption in the Health Department (concealment of typhus patients; epidemic *parówki).*
11. Denunciation of Jews by Jews.

445 There is an identical document in the collection "*Dwa i pół roku wojny*" [Two and a half years of war], but it is badly damaged. See Doc. 23.

12. Extortion of money and valuables.
13. Office to Combat Usury and Profiteering, the "Thirteen".
14. The commissioner for secured houses on Leszno Street.[446]
15. Positions in the *kehilla*.
16. Interventions by "them" in Jewish institutions.
17. "Kohn and Heller".
18. "Legal" corruption (partnership of councillors in various bakeries, marmalade and honey factories) – the grant of franchises.
19. Malversation of bread coupons by administrators and *rządcy*.[447]
20. Housing committee *łapówki*.[448]
21. Corruption among the doctors and feldshers.[449]
22. Corruption among rabbis (the most recent scandal – the citron affair).
23. Thefts from parcels for refugee stations.
24. The matter of the parcels for Pesach 5701.[450]
25. Payment of protection money by firms.
26. Corruption and demoralisation of porters.
27. Corruption in the Polish police: which firms have to buy off the Polish police? – their share in the *parówka* racket, etc.
28. Cases of corruption in ŻTOS.
29. Cases of corruption in TOZ.
30. Cases of corruption in CENTOS.
31. Corruption in JEAS.
32. Institutions in which there is no corruption.
33. How can corruption be combated and in what way?

The work should provide a comprehensive picture of corruption in the ghetto. Profiles should be given of: fixers, brokers, middlemen vis-à-vis various institutions. The reasons for corruption, for example – low pay of employees in

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446 Perhaps a reference to the *Judenrat*'s Department for Secured Properties (*Wydział Rady Żydowskiej do spraw Zabezpieczonych Nieruchomości*). Its office was on Grzybowska Street.

447 *Rządca meldunkowy* (Pol.) – registration clerk, responsible for making lists of residents of a given building. The position was independent of the administrator of the building, but the two could be held by the same person.

448 (Pol.) bribes.

449 Someone with very basic medical training who can perform simple medical procedures.

450 Pesach 5701 fell on 12–18 April 1941.

various institutions; patronage in appointing staff; lack of social control; pressure from external power factors on the various institutions.

Is corruption systemic or exceptional in a given institution? – Corruption at the top and among lower-level officials.

Size of *łapówki*: is there a price for each "service": for example – what is the average cost of a *parówka*, a job in the *kehilla*, getting a flat through the accommodation office, a franchise from the Z.Z.[451]

Dichtung und Wahrheit:[452] – How much truth is there regarding *łapówki* in the various bodies, and what do people on the street say? Exaggerations regarding the size of *łapówki*.

Method of taking *łapówki* in each institution.

The pedigrees of the main bribe takers: their origins, pre-war occupations, and so on; the involvement of German Jews. Characteristics of the main bribe-takers; who is the biggest bribe-taker in the ghetto?

[3] Each area should be researched on the basis of interviews with the employees of the various departments – both those who take *łapówki* and those who know about it.

Interviews should also be conducted with the middlemen, whose trust must be won in order to find out about their affairs. – Finally, with the victims of corruption, and with people who have received various services from the institutions thanks to corruption.

The various forms of corruption: "loans" until after the war, gifts, "favours", taking into partnership.

451 (Pol.) abbreviation of *Zakład Zaopatrywania* (Provisions Department).

452 (Ger.) "Poetry and Truth", phrase from the title of Goethe's autobiographical work *Aus meinem Leben: Dichtung und Wahrheit* [From My Life: Poetry and Truth].

Facts and figures should be provided, and the authenticity of the data should be specified.

Parallel with Łódź – other provincial towns.

The information from the Aryan side must be based on interviews with the relevant individuals.

The materials collected are of a confidential nature and must not be employed in current use.

ARG I 562 (Ring. I/136)
Description: original or duplicate (2 copies), typewritten, Yiddish, 205×295, 145x292 mm, major damage and fragments missing, 6 sheets, 6 pages.
Edition based on 1st copy of duplicate, 3 sheets, 3 pages, with additions from 2nd copy.

34 *After December 1941, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. "Biuro kwaterunkowe (tezy)" ["Housing Office (theses")]. Draft of a study regarding housing issues in the Warsaw ghetto.*

Housing Bureau[453]
(theses)

I. The overall housing situation in the Jewish District in November 1940
   a. The border of the ghetto. Changes of the borders as one of the main causes of housing problems.
   b. The housing situation at the moment of the establishment of the closed district. Three censuses. The aim of the censuses. The censuses'

453 The Housing Office (*Biuro Kwaterunkowe*) of the *Judenrat* supervised housing allocation in the ghetto. In December 1941 it was transformed into the Department of Housing (*Wydział Kwaterunkowy*) of the *Judenrat*.

organisation and methods. The role of the social factor. Analysis of the data obtained through the censuses. Imprecise outcomes. Did the censuses have the desired effects?

II. The organisation and activity of the housing department during the initial period of its operation.
   a. The establishment of the Housing Commission. Its structure.
   b. The Commission's activity.
   1. The issue of adding more inhabitants into Jewish flats. Rules and norms implemented during the process of adding more inhabitants into flats. Lack of guidelines or strong organisation. Corruption. The cases of "victims". The effects of the activity of the subtenant section during the initial period of its operation according to reports and in reality.
   2. The activity of the section dealing with allocation of residential and industrial-commercial premises. Its chaotic operation resulting from the Aryan receiverships' ignorance of the *Judenrat*'s powers. The results of its operation.
   3. The activity of the section dealing with tenement superintendents' housing. Objectives and goals. Lack of effects of the activity caused by ignoring [2] the *Judenrat* chairman's ordinance regarding appointment of tenement superintendents.
   4. The activity of the executive section. Lack of guidelines as a characteristic feature. The issue of corruption during intromission.
   5. The activity of the control section. Objectives. Method of working. Do the controllers' reports reflect the actual state of affairs? Basic importance of the Control Division.

III. The second period of the activity of the Housing Office.
   a. The declining activity of the Housing Office.
   b. The issue of "legalisation of commercial premises". The results of the activity.

IV. The Housing Office during the resettlement campaign in the autumn of 1941.[454]

454 In October 1941 the following parts were excluded from the Warsaw ghetto: the southern side of Sienna Street, parts of Krochmalna, Rynkowa, Skórzana, Graniczna, Elektoralna, Przechodnia, Zimna, Ptasia, Mirowska, Solna, Świętojerska, Bonifraterska streets and

a. The resettlement of Sienna Street. The change of the subtenant section operation system. Housing blackmail. Night-time controls. The role of the social factor.
b. The second and third phase of the resettlement.
c. Allocation of premises in the newly attached districts.
1. Work method.
2. The activity of the Citizens' Committee. Privileges of the more influential strata.
3. Favouritism and corruption as a consequence of the work system.
4. The results of the activity of the Housing Office.

V. The reorganisation of the Housing Office. Lack of specification of competences.

ARG I 557 (Ring. I/140).
Description: original or duplicate (4 copies, in fragments), handwritten (H*), pencil, Polish, 205x290, 205x160 mm, substantial damage and missing fragments (copies 2, 3, 4), 4 sheets, 8 pages.
Based on the 1st copy of the original (duplicate?), 1 sheet, 2 pages.

35 *After November 1941, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Outline of a study of the Order Service in the ghetto (fragment).*

[1] Names and short vocational profiles of the "big shots" of the Order Service. Has the "Thirteen" become acclimatised in the Order Service?[455]
Do former "Thirteen" staff members stand out from the rest of the Order Service members?
How to explain the fact that the illegal periodicals follow the rule of no maintenance of contacts with Order Service members marked with (Roman) IV,[456] etc.

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the Jewish cemetery. Fragments of Wolność, Chłodna, Żelazna, and Przejazd streets were included in the ghetto. The resettlement affected a few dozen thousand people.

455 The "Thirteen" was dissolved by the German authorities in August 1941.

456 The station of area IV of the Order Service was located at Gęsia Street 4.

The date when an Order Service "officer" was engaged to work full time for the Community.
How much income has the Order Service fund generated so far (analysis of expenses!).
The evidence for and examples of changes in the attitude of the officers' cadre at the beginning and during the next period.
The examples and evidence of "vigour" and spirit.
The attitude of the Polish Police towards the Order Service – to be illuminated and illustrated with documents.
The actual attitude of the German authorities towards the Order Service (examples!).
What was the goal of the two reorganisations of the Order Service?
What do the different colours of armbands (reddish, etc.) worn by certain members of the Service mean?
The date of the formation of platoon A (jail)[457] and the scope of its activity in the jail, during executions,[458] etc. (illustrate with facts and evidence).
The beating of the arrested (Who beats them? What for? Is there a punishment of solitary confinement?).
Remuneration and supply of food to the [platoon?] Servicemen and the jail.
The anti-epidemic platoon: who is it subordinate to? (Order Service authorities – sanitary authorities).
[2] The scope of the activity of the anti-epidemic platoon, particularly during the infamous "steamings" and isolation.
Co-existence of members of the anti-epidemic platoon with members of the medical and disinfection personnel.
Remuneration of and supply of food to the anti-epidemic platoon; duty hours.
Precise data regarding the Order Service structure according to: age, education, place of origin (Warsaw – the provinces), etc.
Sources of income and earnings of members of the Service

a. before the war
b. during the war until their entering the service

457 The Central Jail (*Areszt Centralny*) at Gęsia Street 24 constituted a separate Order Service unit. The functionaries assigned to it wore badges with the letter *A* (for *Arrestanstalt*).

458 The first execution in the Central Jail was conducted on 17 November 1941. Eight people captured outside the ghetto were executed that day. See ARG I 583 (Ring. I/112).

The special detachment assigned to the Resettlement Commission.[459]
Role during collection of taxes for the benefit of hospitals and the healthcare system.

ARG I 565 (Ring. I/137/2)
Description: original or duplicate, handwritten (H*), pencil, Polish, 205x295 mm, 1 sheet, 2 pages.

36 *After December 1941, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. "Służba Porządkowa (tezy)" ["Order Service (theses)"]. Outline of a study.*

[1] *Order Service*
(theses)

1. The establishment of the ghetto, the establishment and origin of the Order Service
2. The legal situation of the Order Service
3. The organisation of the Order Service in Warsaw; centralisation or decentralization?
4. Map – a sketch of the organisation of the Order Service
5. A police system or a citizen approach?
6. Does the civic attitude come to the fore?
7. Manifestations of the police spirit
8. Ranks and hierarchy in the Order Service
9. To what social class do higher-rank and lower-rank Order Service functionaries belong?
10. Antagonisms on social grounds between certain groups in the Order Service
11. Social-occupational statistics regarding Order Service functionaries

459 A reference to the resettlement within the ghetto in the autumn of 1941. See Doc. 34.

12. Lawyers in the Order Service and the "judiciary"[460]
13. Three trials
14. The disciplinary court
15. "The Jędrzejewicz Brothers" of the Order Service[461]
16. Bureaucracy frenzy
17. The Colonel[462] and his milieu
18. Ali Baba and his 40 thieves
19. The influence of the social groups among/social background of the Order Service functionaries on the activity of the Order Service (examples)
20. Are religiously minded people among Order Service functionaries? How do they react to certain facts?
21. The attitude of the Order Service towards the Polish and German police – official and unofficial
22. The attitude of the Order Service towards smuggling; roundups to forced labour, labour camps, and fight against beggary
23. Voluntary and paid service in the Order Service
24. The introduction of the police tax and the ways of its collection
25. The term and scope of the term "The wheels have been greased!"[463]
26. How could the Order Service function and how does it actually function?
27. How much truth is there in the general public's claim that [2] Kupczykier had a hand in giving nominations for servicemen?
28. How much truth is there in the claim that the Order Service is a band of gangsters (facts!)?

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460 The meaning and symbolism of some of the entries and highlights is unclear to us today. The author used them to describe various phenomena and figures connected with the Order Service in the Warsaw ghetto.

461 A reference to two pre-war ministers: Janusz Jędrzejewicz (1885–1951) – minister of religious denominations and public education during 1931–1933, Prime Minister during 1933–1934, and author of educational reform; and Wacław Jędrzejewicz (1893–1993) – military intelligence officer, and minister of religious denominations and public education during 1934–1935. The "Jędrzejewicz brothers" of the Order Service were the Czapliński brothers, Stanisław and Marian, who were close collaborators of Józef Szeryński. Cf. ARG I 646 (Ring. I/502).

462 I.e. Józef Andrzej Szeryński.

463 *Szafa gra* (Pol.) – the wheels have been greased. A popular expression used in the ghetto to describe the bribery-based methods that the *Judenrat* administration, and particularly the Order Service, used towards the population. Jerzy Jurandot mocked them in his revue *Szafa gra* (1941), staged in the *Femina* theatre.

29. The "ethic" of the gangster bands in the Jewish Service
30. The method and ways of distribution of "collective earnings"
31. Are the earnings distributed in areas, in platoons, or perhaps in other units of the Order Service?
32. Details of the activity of Erlich's group (cemetery); are there any analogous groups?
33. Did any external or internal factors cause the establishment and existence of these groups? If so, what were those factors?
34. Evaluation of the activity of the Order Service in the sphere of:
    maintaining order (vehicle traffic regulations, etc.)
    anti-epidemic service (the anti-epidemic platoon)
    service in the central jail
    counteracting smuggling
    counteracting usury
    counteracting beggary
    anti-aircraft defence
35. The Order Service and the "Thirteen": tensions during the 1st and 2nd period; was co-operation only in the central sphere or also among functionaries?
36. How many functionaries of the dissolved "Thirteen" transferred to the Order Service and what was the official procedure?
37. How many Order Service functionaries died on duty and under what circumstances?
38. Folklore of the Order Service: its jargon, superstitions, etc.
39. The image of the Order Service in songs, satire, caricature
40. Financial-economic activity of the Order Service. Provision of food products to functionaries (additional food coupons)
41. Central jail (special platoon) and arrests in the police districts. Beating
42. Map of individual servicemen's beats
43. [3] The "Community"[464] police district – its activity – going astray
44. Detailed description of the Headquarters
45. Converts in the Order Service and their importance
46. A day in the area
47. Well-known Order Service functionaries (Fürstenberg)

464 I.e. the *Judenrat*.

48. Favourites
49. The "fur" period[465] and the participation of the Order Service
50. The attitude of the Jewish society towards the Order Service

ARG I 564 (Ring. I/137/1)
Description: original or duplicate (2 copies), handwritten (H*), pencil, Polish, 220x350 mm, 200x160 mm, minor damage and missing fragments (2nd copy), 6 sheets, 6 pages.
A note in ink on the back of sheet 3 (1st copy): "Goldberg Krako[w]ska[466] 9".
Based on the 1st copy of the original (duplicate?), 3 sheets, 3 pages.

37 *After November 1941, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. "Areszt przy Gęsiej (tezy)" ["The jail on Gęsia Street (theses)"].*

The Jail on Gęsia Street
(theses)

1. When was Platoon A[467] formed? (Date, circumstances, the German authorities' orders, preparation of the building to be used as a jail). Type of detention: penal, remand, preventive?
2. Appointment of jail commander and choice of policemen (Was it voluntary or compulsory? What was the attitude of servicemen at large towards the order given by the KSP[468] regarding reporting for service?)
3. The composition of Platoon A according to standard of living, sex, age, and education.
4. Division of duties on the premises (office personnel, female employees, wardens, "officers", servicemen).

465 On 25 December 1941 the commissioner of the Jewish district in Warsaw issued an order regarding confiscation of all fur, fur collars, and fur coats belonging to Jews.
466 Perhaps a name of a street.
467 See Doc. 35.
468 Abbreviation for *Komenda Służby Porządkowej* (Pol.) – Order Service Command.

5. Remuneration of platoon members – officers and servicemen (official and extra income on the side. Are "the wheels greased"? How?)
6. Have the jail personnel done a prison management training course?
7. Rules and regulations in the jail.
8. The scope of the activity of platoon A on the premises as well as during executions and deportations of detainees.
9. Jail practices: the beating of detainees (Who beats them? What for? Is there a punishment of solitary confinement? What for? For how long?)
10. The official attitude of the headquarters and functionaries towards the Order Service Command, the Polish Police and the Germans.
11. 24 hours on the premises.
12. Inspections conducted by the authorities and civic organisations.
13. Inspections conducted by chairman Czerniakow and the District commissioner.
14. Provision of food to the jail (By whom? The amount and quality of food rations? Is there a jail kitchen on the premises?)
15. "Food parcels" – By whose agency and for whom are they provided? The importance and role of the Care Section. Contents of "food parcels".
16. The execution period[469] on the premises: the behaviour of the "officers" and servicemen. Cases of leaving the service in connection to executions. Jail personnel's morality.
17. Class differences among detainees: the "large" and "small" jails. Major smugglers, black market currency traffickers, bakers – as inmates.
18. [2] Detainees: sex, age, cause of arrest.
19. Are there "visits"? – delivery of "food parcels" (By whom? How? Inspection of contents? Secret messages?).
20. Population density in the jail: the men's ward and the women's ward. What is the attitude of the commandant and wardens of both sexes towards detainees and other ranks?
21. What happens with arrested children in the jail?
22. The activity of the Care Section for jail.
23. Functionaries' and detainees' daily timetables. Do detainees walk in the yard? How many times a day? How long are such walks?
24. How long is the (average) detention in the jail?

469 See Doc. 35.

25. The procedure of admission and release of detainees (Who gives orders?).
26. Detainees' conditions. Hygiene in the jail (Bath? Washing of the body? Changing of underwear? Are there jail uniforms? Physiological needs).
27. Bribery and corruption in the jail (What do people pay for? To whom? How much? How?)
28. The issue of children on the premises.
29. Special language: used by detainees, used by functionaries.
30. Jail folklore.

ARG I 555 (Ring. I/103).
Description: original or duplicate, handwritten (H*), pencil, Polish, 220x350 mm, 1 sheet, 2 pages.

38 *No date, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. "Tezy do pracy o rzemiośle żydowskim" ["Theses for a study on Jewish craftsmanship"].*

[1] *Theses for a Study on Jewish Craftsmanship*[470]

I. Jewish craftsmanship and its role before the war
   1. Its quantitative and qualitative share in particular branches of craftsmanship
   2. Jewish craftsmanship in towns and cities, particularly in Warsaw
   3. The percentage of Jews in small-scale craftsmanship and in major handicraft workshops
   4. Co-operation with Polish craftsmanship

II. Changes in Jewish craftsmanship resulting from the war
   1. Structural changes
      a) resulting from deportations and the influx of refugees

470 Cf. ARG I 621 (Ring. I/59), study "Procesy przystosowania wojennego rzemieślnika żydowskiego w Warszawie" (Processes of wartime adjustment of Jewish craftsmen in Warsaw).

b) almost complete disappearance of cottage workers (reasons)

2. The shrinking outlet
3. Difficulties in obtainment of raw materials and their consequences
   a) almost complete disappearance of certain [1a] branches of craftsmanship
   b) adjustment of Jewish craftsmen to the new conditions of productions – alterations, working with new raw materials
4. Emergence of new masses of the unemployed

III. Craftsmanship branches in the ghetto

1. Craftsmen working officially – outwardly – to fulfil the Germans' needs
   a) what is produced and in what quantity
   b) work conditions
   c) skilled and unskilled labour
   d) the financial situation of workers
   e) is this work their only source of income?
2. Handicraft workshops operating unofficially, mostly to meet non-ghetto demand
   a) their number, size, and craftsmanship branch
   b) sources of raw materials
   c) [2] the share of work rendered by hired workers and its conditions
   d) work conditions, earnings, financial conditions
3. Small scale craftsmen working for the ghetto
   a) number, size, types
   b) the share of work rendered by hired workers and its conditions
   c) work conditions, earnings, financial conditions

IV. The financial situation of craftsmen

   a) in what branches and for what type of workers is it the only/additional source of income
   b) welfare dependence
   c) the mortality rate among craftsmen and their families (in comparison with the overall mortality rate in the ghetto, percentage of deaths by starvation)

ARG I 16 (Ring. I/131)
Description: original or duplicate, handwritten, ink, Polish, 155x196 mm, 2 sheets, 3 pages.

39 *No date, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. "Rzemiosło i drobny przemysł (tezy)" ["Craftsmanship and small industry (theses)"]*

[1] *Craftsmanship and Small Industry*
(theses)

I. Jewish craftsmanship during the period directly preceding the war (general description, attempts at exporting)
II. The outflow of craftsmen and small-scale industry labourers in September 1939
III. The situation of craftsmanship right after the arrival of the Germans in Warsaw (chaos on the market, off-and-on employment, unemployment, labour shortage)
IV. Craftsmen employed at German work details
V. Processes of individual adjustment (to the establishment of the ghetto)
   a) in particular branches
   b) how did craftsmen obtain raw materials
   c) the new type of client; establishing contact with the market
VI. See below[471]
VII. Organisation of craftsmen.
   a) the Germans' attitude to craftsmen at large
   b) organisational issues in Polish craftsmanship
   c) causes and sources of the establishment of the Union of Jewish Craftsmen[472]
   d) Union directors (old activists and new people)
VIII. First manifestations of the activity of the Union of Jewish Craftsmen
   a) internal-organisational issues
   b) production for the contingent market (footwear)
   c) the sending of craftsmen to work details

471 See point XIV.

472 *Związek Rzemieślników Żydów w Warszawie* (Pol.) – official organisation that united all owners of handicraft workshops in the ghetto; membership was compulsory. Its tasks included: control of raw materials' distribution, organisation of collective workshops, and fee collection. It also provided aid in various forms, mostly to displaced people.

IX. "Aryanisation" of craftsmanship and its influence on Jewish handicraft production
   a) Polish craftsmanship's attempts to take over the branches controlled by Jews
   b) handicraft courses
   c) big workshops on the "Aryan" side
   d) Was Polish craftsmanship's production of contingent articles entirely impossible without co-operation [2] with Jewish craftsmanship?
   e) the range of prices of craftsman services between Polish and Jewish craftsmanship
   f) German companies [. . .] Jewish craftsman. Causes:
      i. cheap labour
      ii. vocational qualifications

X. General description of the activity of the Union of Jewish Craftsmen
   a) guidelines and the Union's policy
   b) registration
   c) attitude towards workshops
   d) attitude towards and support of private production
   e) contacts with other economic organisations
   f) various manifestations of organisational-trade union activity
   g) backstage matters (contingent privileges, commissions from the Supply Section issue and others issues)

XI. The situation of small industry
   a) organisational affiliation of minor industrialists (the Union of Merchants Headquarters,[473] Union of Craftsmen, Union of Small-Scale Merchants)[474]
   b) contacts with the "Aryan" side (deliveries for private companies, the indispensability of Jewish small industry for the Polish market, work rendered for German companies).
   c) new branches of small industry (condition-dependent branches)
   d) the role of small industry in the exports from the ghetto

473 *Centrala Związku Kupców* (Pol.) – organisation representing major and medium-sized Jewish merchants in Poland, established in 1919.

474 *Związek Drobnych Kupców* (Pol.) – organisation analogous to the Union of Craftsmen associating owners of minor trading companies in the ghetto.

XII. Mass deliveries of goods made by Jewish craftsmen
  a) sources of deliveries (backstage matters)
  b) branches active in the deliveries
    i. carpentry (short monographs of individual branches)
    ii. brush manufacturing
    iii. upholstery
    iv. sheet-metal work
    v. other branches [. . .]
  c) financial conditions
    d) [3] craftsmanship organisation (cottage industry structure)[475]
    e) technology [. . .]

XIII. Export of crafted goods onto the private market
  a) connections with the Aryan district (backstage)
  b) the attitude of the Aryan entrepreneur to the Jewish supplier ("Aryanisation" and the simultaneous necessity to make use of the Jew)
  c) the Jewish craftsman's competitiveness
  d) method of export
  e) financial conditions
  f) the role of certain Jewish companies in the export of crafted goods (Kohn and Heller, Szternfeld)

XIV. Craftsmanship and the internal ghetto market
  a) work rendered for and deliveries to Jewish institutions
  b) general remarks concerning the internal market of the ghetto

Comments: efforts should be made to include estimates in chapters XI, XII, XIII, and XIV (number of workshops, production in terms of quantity and quality, the number of employed labourers)

VI. Material losses of big and small Jewish industry (machinery, tools, merchandise)
  a) [. . .]
  b) Schrup & Gwanc (the activity of the Binder company)[476]

475 A system of commission of work to people working in their own flats or workshops.

476 At the beginning of the occupation Georg Binder, a German company, received a license from the authorities to buy back machines. It used this as an occasion to conduct mass requisitions. R. Sakowska, *Ludzie z dzielnicy zamkniętej*, p. 41.

ARG I 17 (Ring. I/132)
Description: original or duplicate, handwritten (H*), pencil, Polish, 205x290 mm, minor damage and missing fragments, 2 sheets, 3 pages.

40 *No date, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. "Plan pracy o nominalnych i realnych zarobkach rzemieślnika, chałupnika i robotnika żydowskiego" ["Outline of a study on nominal and actual earnings of the Jewish craftsman, cottage worker, and labourer"].*

Outline of a study on nominal and actual earnings of the Jewish craftsman, cottage worker, and labourer in the following occupations: a) b) c)

1. The number of craftsmen[477]

I. Craftsmen
   a) The size of workshops according to the number of workers, mechanical forces
   b) The number of workdays per month
   c) Productivity of an average workshop during a specified period (according to the type and quality of the manufactured product)
   d) The volume, quality, price and circumstances of purchase of raw materials necessary to produce a specified quantity of a given product
   e) The amount of labour for the above product quantity
   f) The machinery (cost and obtainment conditions)
   g) Credit (cost and obtainment conditions)
   h) Other expenses (on the locale, maintenance of machines, etc.)
   i) Consumer profile, saleable price of the product, sale conditions
   k)[478] Wage differential. Average nominal remuneration

II. Cottage workers
   a) The number of cottage workshops

477 Point 1 is a handwritten annotation.
478 Wrong letter in the original.

b) The size of cottage workshops according to the number of employed workers and mechanical forces
c) The character of the cottage worker's [production?] and the conditions for obtaining commissions
d) Labour costs (*lon*)[479] per product unit
e) Cottage workers' prime costs (locale, machine maintenance, labour amount, [. . .])
f) Average workshop's productivity
h)[480] Wage differential. Unpaid wages. Average nominal remuneration

III. Labourers
a) The number of labourers according to qualification, sex and age
b) The labour-cost calculation system (for a period of time, piecework, bonus)
c) Forms of payment for labour (in cash, in kind – the cost of labour)
d) The cost of labour according to qualification and productivity
e) Average productivity of a team, labourer (remuneration division key)
f) Daily or weekly wages of a labourer (depending on category, sex, and age)
h)[481] Wage fluctuations, wage differential. Average remuneration of a labourer

IV. Cost of living
a) Minimal cost of necessary consumption of a consuming unit
b) Cost of living of an average family
c) Overall monthly cost of living for an individual

V. Real value
a) Earnings of craftsmen, cottage workers and labourers before the war
b) The increase in the cost of living
c) Real value of earnings and wages

Comment. Descriptive study. Data from informers from various strata. Cross-checked.

479 Derived from *Lohn* (Ger.) – worker's remuneration, salary.
480 Wrong letter in the original.
481 Wrong letter in the original.

ARG I 18 (Ring. I/42).
Description: original, typewritten (with handwritten annotations, pencil), Polish, 205x296 mm, 1 sheet, 1 page.

41 *1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous.* "יידישע האַנדל אין וואַרשע 1939–1942" *["Jewish trade in Warsaw 1939–1942"]. Study outline.*

Jewish Trade in Warsaw[482]
1939–1942
Main Topics

1. Overview of Jewish trade on the brink of the war.
   Number of commercial enterprises, size, proportion of Jews and Christians, result of boycott.
2. September 1939.
   Active commercial branches and commercial enterprises
   speculation, etc.
3. Destruction caused by the siege.
4. Confiscation of Jewish stocks (Gęsia St, Franciszkańska St, Nalewki St – denunciations)
   end of 1939 – beginning of 1940.
5. Extent of *Arisierung*[483] *(Kommissarisierung*[484] – *Treuhändertum*[485]*)* of Jewish trade.
6. Legislation on Jewish wholesale trade:

482 Cf. ARG I 630 (Ring. (I/55), ARG I 631 (Ring. I/56), ARG I 632 (Ring. I/57), ARG I 633 (Ring. I/509), ARG I 635 (Ring. I/51) – studies regarding trade in the ghetto and exchange with the companies outside the ghetto.
483 (Ger.) Aryanisation.
484 (Ger.) (introduction of) management by commissioners.
485 (Ger.) Receivership.

a) textiles
b) leather goods
c) other

7. What is left of Jewish trade?
   a) registration of Jewish and Aryan commercial enterprises in connection with [the establishment of] the ghetto
   b) stocks of goods
   c) commercial contacts
8. Trade in the Jewish precinct
   1) The regulated market – distribution points network:[486]
      a) emergence before establishment of the ghetto – December 1939, mutations
      b) number and type of distribution points
      c) clientele, profit margin, calculation
      d) trade practices: taking bread ration cards as security, substituting inferior goods, etc.
      e) role of regulated market in supplying the ghetto
   2) Free trade – the free market:
      a) free market orders via the *Transferstelle*
      b) deliveries from the provinces and from abroad – special items market
      c) smuggling
      d) number of commercial enterprises – franchises, patent licences, industry certificates
      e) types of enterprises – branches, time of establishment, etc.
      f) street trading and other (house-to-house trading, trade in old clothing)
9. Prices in the Jewish precinct: free and regulated
   (for comparison – on the Aryan side)
   Speculation, price hiking – examples of price rises in the course of one day, in the course of one hour)
   Concealment of goods
10. Jewish trade organisations
11. Situation in individual branches

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486 Distribution points – shops where one could register one's food coupons and exchange them for rationed food products.

ARG I 559 (Ring. I/133)
Description: original or duplicate (2 copies), typewritten, Yiddish, 205×287 mm, 2 sheets, 4 pages.
Based on the 1st copy of the original (duplicate?), 1 sheet, 2 pages.

42 *After December 1941, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. "Shopy (tezy)" ["Workshops (theses")]. Outline of a study.*[487]

Workshops
(theses)[488]

1) The origin of workshops[489]
2) Collective workshops run by German and Polish private companies but employing Jewish labourers
3) The history of the Labour and Production Commission as presented by its members
4) The activity of the Production Department[490] as presented in official reports
5) The metamorphoses of the issue of organisation of production in the ghetto
   a) The Labour and Production Commission
   b) The Department of Production

487 This document has survived in two slightly different versions. Version (a) is the basis for this publication. Differences are specified in the footnotes.

488 The title of version (b) is: "Tezy do monografii shopów" (Theses for a monograph on workshops).

489 Version (b) contains the following text: "(a short description of workshops in Łódź and other phenomena in large workshops in the General Government)".

490 *Wydział Wytwórczości* (Pol.) – department of the *Judenrat*, established in February 1941; its purpose was to organise large workshops in the ghetto.

c) Jüdische Produktion GmbH[491]
d) The W.C. Toebbens Company

6) The legal and actual form of workshops
7) The Department's relations with groups of entrepreneurs and shareholders
8) The scope of workshops' production
9) Workshops as a form of cottage industry
10) The Union of Jewish Craftsmen[492] and workshops
11) The internal organisation of workshops
a) the hiring of labourers
b) the issue of machinery
c) premises and their adaptation
12) A look at the organisation of major workshops on the "Aryan" side
13) The number of workshops, addresses, the number of licences granted
14) The budgets of workshops, the components of production costs, administration, bookkeeping, transport of raw materials
Mechanisation of workshops (assembly line system)
16) Workshops in numbers
a) the current number of commissions
b) the average daily number of employed labourers
c) dinner rations } check the mutual relations
d) paid out labour costs } between these points
17) Conditions of labour and remuneration of workshop labourers
a) piecework
b) daily wages
c) the differences between individual earnings
d) work performed by women
18) [2] Workshops as presented by labourers
19) Workshop kitchens
20) Products issued to labourers
21) Hunger and its effects among workshop labourers

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491 (Ger.) Jewish Production Ltd. A company established on 16 August 1941, which took over production workshops from the Department of Production. It was also licensed to trade with companies outside the ghetto. Its shareholders were employees of the Department of Production: Mieczysław Orlean, Beniamin Gliksman, and Salomon Eiger. See Engelking, Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto. A Guide to the Perished City*, p. 395.

492 See Doc. 39.

22) Workshops and forced labour (camps)
23) The issue of ownership of machines in workshops
24) Workshops and the *Transferstelle*
25) Workshops and *Deutsche Firmengemeinschaft*[493]
26) Work commissioned outside workshops
27) The backstage activity of the Többens Company and the campaign against groups of shareholders
28) Workshops during the "fur" period[494]
29) Earnings of workshop shareholders
30) Workshops as a tool to exploit workers
31) Was the Jewish artisan adapted to working in workshops?
32) The suspension of the Department of Production (December 1941)

ARG I 566 (Ring. I/129).
Description: original or duplicate (a) (handwritten – H*, pencil, 220x350 mm), copy (b) (typewritten, 200x295 mm, minor damage and missing fragments), Polish, 2 sheets, 3 pages.
Based on the original (duplicate?) (a), 1 sheet, 2 pages.

43 *After September 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Outline of a study on workshops in the Warsaw ghetto.*

[1] *Workshops*

Emergence – The workshop prior to the resettlement
History of the workshop and its development

Production – What did the workshop produce until the resettlement – what after the resettlement? What new articles or new categories of goods

493 (Ger.) German Union of Companies, established in April 1940 by private German entrepreneurs. Its purpose was to invest in the Warsaw ghetto.
494 A reference to the confiscation of furs among the Jewish population. See Doc. 36.

does the workshop produce? Who is the buyer? The conditions of sale previously and now?

Work regulations and work discipline – Describe the daily practice of the Jewish and German managers in relation to the workers with respect to late arrival, absence from work, illness and the like. List the penalties for the abovementioned "sins", as well as for low productivity.

Supplies in the workshops – Categories of workers – by what criterion are they determined. How much and what products does each category receive?
Supplies from the *Rüstungskommando*[495]
Supplies from the *kehilla*
What share of all this does the worker receive and what share do the managers – German, Jewish – take for themselves?
In what way does all of this happen?
Distribution shops.[496] Policy with regard to acquisition on the free market. Trickery involving the ration coupons of persons actually present in the workshop as well as those of persons previously at the workshop site (so-called dead souls).
Other trickery with supplies.

Earnings of the Germans in the workshop prior to the resettlement, today. Of what do the earnings consist?
Earnings from production: previously, today
Earnings from supplies
Earnings from "cattle" trading (for admission to the workshop)
All kinds of selection, segregation, switching of numbers,[497] [2] as a source of income. Who got most of the income?

495 (Ger.) Military Armaments Office.

496 Shops where the products distributed could be obtained with coupons.

497 The Yiddish word is *numerlekh* (lit. "little numbers"), commonly used to refer to the numbered cards known as "life numbers", which were stamped by the *Judenrat* and for some time exempted the holders from deportation from the ghetto.

Productivity: Prior to the resettlement, during blockades, now. The reason for, and extent of, the fall in productivity.

Accommodation conditions in the workshop: lighting, electricity, gas. The accommodations office and its relations with residents in regard to the allocation of flats.

Health conditions in the workshop – Medical aid, outpatient infirmaries, hospital, the spread of various diseases. Work-related diseases in the workshop.

Social assistance in the workshop – Workers' mutual aid funds. General aid funds, budget, attitude of the wealthy to the aid fund. Aid for *vilde*.[498] Aid for children in the workshop. Aid for valuable individuals.

Cultural work in the workshop

Religious and other institutions in the workshop

Criminal elements in the workshop, thieves, informers, pimps and the like.

Illegals in the workshop. Attitude of the management and *Werkschutz*. The various phases of the issue of illegals in the workshops. Special blockades to catch *vilde*.

Social composition of people in the workshop:

Old and new workers. Restratification of the intelligentsia. What do the workers live from: *szabrunek*,[499] selling things, working for private individuals. Signs of slavery in the workshops.

Attach copies of circulars and orders regarding work discipline and working conditions in the workshops. Attach various other circulars from the shop management.

498 (Yid.) "wild ones", i.e. those without "life numbers".

499 (Pol.) looting.

Blockades in the workshop and, in general, the history of deportation from workshops.

Describe and give the date of each blockade separately. Attitude of the Jewish management to the blockades. Attitude of the German management. The behaviour of the police, the Ukrainians and the Germans. According to what criterion was selection carried out during the blockade. Number of victims during each blockade. The issue of women and children. Attempts at resistance, especially when children were being taken. Killings during blockades. Behaviour of the *Werkschutz*.

[a]The selection of 6 September.[500] The Yom Kippur selection.[501] Later internal blockades.[a][502]

Mode of life in the workshop. The shop as a separate shtetl. The characteristic traits of this shtetl. The rest day in the workshop. Recreational premises in the workshop. Mode of life of the various social strata.

The workshop in numbers. The number of workers and of employees generally prior to the resettlement. The present number. The number of those deported by sex, age, how many in the factory, how many in the administration. Other numbers relating to the workshop.

ARG II 297 (Ring. II/243)
Description: original, typewritten (annotations in ink), Yiddish, 210×295 mm, 2 sheets, 2 pages.

500 The last stage of the *Gross-Aktion*, the so-called "encirclement", was carried out from 6 to 11 September 1942. The remaining Jews were forced by the Germans into the area limited by Parysowski Square and Smocza, Gęsia, Zamenhofa, and Szczęśliwa Streets, where, following a selection, only 32,000 people received "life numbers". The others were deported to the death camp in Treblinka.

501 Yom Kippur fell on 21 September 1942. On that day, a group of Jewish policemen was deported to Treblinka.

502 [a-a] Handwritten fragment of the text.

44

After September 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Study entitled "ווערקשוץ" ["Werkschutz"]. Outline of a study on the Jewish factory guard in the workshops.

[1] *The Werkschutz*

When was the *Werkschutz* first set up in the workshop?

Number of *Werkschutz* personnel in relation to the overall number of workers in the workshop at the time when the workshop was established? Today? (Provide monthly figures and give the reason why the number has increased or decreased.)

The tasks of the *Werkschutz* according to the workshop's written regulations and in actual practice.

What changes have occurred in the tasks of the *Werkschutz* personnel in the period since resettlement?

Social composition of the *Werkschutz*? Of what social classes does the *Werkschutz* consist? (If possible give the occupations of the *Werkschutz* personnel prior to resettlement and before the war. If this is too difficult, a rough assessment should be given of the *Werkschutz* with respect to its social origins.)

How many of the *Werkschutz* personnel come from the *Ordnungsdienst*, how many from other occupations?

Role of the *Werkschutz* during blockades. What role did the *Werkschutz* play during blockades? Co-operation of the *Werkschutz* with the Germans, Ukrainians, and the Jewish *Ordnungsdienst* during the blockades. What part of the blockade work was performed by the *Werkschutz*? Names of *Werkschutz* personnel who distinguished themselves in the blockades by their savagery towards the deportees. Cases of the uncovering of hiding places by the *Werkschutz* and similar cases. The role of the *Werkschutz* in blockades organised by management and by the German workshop administration.

Activity of the *Werkschutz* in regard to people without numbers – hush money – the level of the charge per head – weekly or monthly charge.

Activity of the *Werkschutz* in regard to theft prevention; looting by the *Werkschutz*.

The *Werkschutz* as a partner in smuggling.

The *Werkschutz*'s daily income – the common *pula*[503] – how it is shared out – the *Werkschutz*'s main protagonists and their biographies.

Pay and provisioning of the *Werkschutz*.

Werkschutz jargon.

Werkschutz work regulations.

[2] What was a *Werkschutz* man's day like during the blockades?

The *Werkschutz* man's day now.

The workshop workers' opinion of the *Werkschutz* personnel.

Legal situation of the *Werkschutz*, relationship to the *Ordnungsdienst*.

The *Werkschutz* in the factory or plant. (In some workshops the *Werkschutz* is required to perform certain work tasks – which?)

Other remarks concerning the *Werkschutz*.

The article about the *Werkschutz* shall be accompanied by the originals of all ordinances from or about the *Werkschutz* that have appeared in the block. The originals are desirable, but if this is not possible, exact copies should be made.

Describe and append the various *Werkschutz* insignia.

ARG II 298 (Ring. II/242)
Description: original, typewritten (additions in ink), Yiddish), 210×295 mm, 1 sheet, 2 pages.

45 *After September 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Outline of a study on the Aktion in the Warsaw ghetto.*

1. On the eve of the "resettlement"[504]
2. The day of 22 July 1942
3. The first stage of the "resettlement": 22 July–28 July

503 (Pol.) pool.

504 The first seven items listed (numbered 1 to 7) are in Polish. The remainder (dated from 6.9) are in Yiddish.

4. The second stage of the "resettlement": 28 July–5 September
5. The third stage of the "resettlement": 6 September–21 September
6. On the ruins of the Warsaw ghetto
7. Treblinka

6.9 Sunday
7. Monday
8. Tuesday
9. Wednesday
10. Thursday
11. Friday
12. Saturday
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21 (Yom Kippur)
22
23
24
25
26[505]

ARG II 296 (Ring. II/194)
Description: original, handwritten (H*, LEG*), Polish, Yiddish), 156×217 mm, 1 sheet, 1 page.

505 Numbers 12, 13, 21 in boxes. Number 21 crossed out.

46 *After September 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Anonymous. Study entitled* "טעזן צום באַריכט *["Topics for the Report"]. Outline of a study on the preparations for and course of the Aktion in the Warsaw ghetto in 1942.*

[1] *Topics for the Report*[506]

A. On the Eve of Resettlement

Worrying rumours about impending deportation. – A week before the events (before 22 July): news about it from Kohn/Heller (Piaseczno *rebbe*)[507] – echoes from the provinces: the provinces knew – Lublin (the Lublin extermination brigade); letters: from Kłodawa[508] – from Majdan.[509] – The total disorientation and unpreparedness of Jewish Warsaw for the events – failure to realise what was going on.

– Precise records of efforts and attempts made shortly before the events as well as during the first days, regarding what could not be organised.

– Characteristics of the Warsaw *kehilla*: its complete disorientation and depression.

– What were the *kehilla* bigwigs busying themselves with just before the events? (opening kindergartens in Nalewki Street, Nowolipki Street, and Grzybowska Street; speeches by Czerniakow at end-of-school-year ceremonies)

B. The Resettlement

– A chronological and numerical review of daily events in the ghetto starting from 22 July (Wednesday).

– The rapid creation of workshops; houses, blocks – How was the deportation carried out? Sort the material according to issues.

506 See Doc. 68.

507 According to Yekhiel Gorny's diary, two collaborators Kohn and Heller asked the rebbe of Piaseczno and Kock to pray for Warsaw Jews not being deported from the ghetto. The rebbe assured them that there would be no deportation. See ARG II 247 (Ring. II/288), note from July 20th.

508 Kłodawa (Koło district).

509 The Lublin Jews who remained alive after the first *Aktion* and deportation-to the death camp in Bełżec in March–April 1942 were resettled in the ghetto at Majdan Tatarski.

1. The announcement regarding deportation.

2. The behaviour of the *kehilla* – it assumed some of the responsibility for the subsequent events. – An evaluation – ought it to have acted in that way?

3. The *Ordnungsdienst*: an account of the full extent of its activities during the round-up operations: cruelty, depravity, brutality; also emphasise exceptions (Kapłański – killed while saving *Hanoar Hatzioni* comrades).

[2] – How did the members of the *Ordnungsdienst* turn into real manhunters? (one policeman bragged that he had already loaded 1,000 Jews onto the boxcar); point to some justification: it was thought that the Germans intended, first of all, to deport the handful of paupers . . .

– The social makeup of the *Ordnungsdienst*: mostly the rich spoilt sons of manufacturers, who wanted to save themselves by serving in the police and now handed over to the Germans even their nearest and dearest: friends, parents, brothers, sisters; their exceptional zeal and dedication in the perfect execution of the manhunt; their chasing after money, extortions, robberies, looting of dwellings; their close co-operation in robbery with the Ukrainians. – The release of Szeryński by the German authorities in exchange for efficient and swift execution of the round-up operation. – How are people freed from the hands of the murderers: at home, in the courtyards and streets, on the *Umschlagplatz*?

– The attitude of the police to the Jewish social organisations: to the JHK – revenge. – The tacit order from the KSP not to honour identity papers issued by the KOM. – Failure to spare anyone during the round-up operations: neither rabbis nor writers (Hillel Tseitlin, Stupnicki, Gilbert), world-famous people.

– Chapter: *Hilfspolizei* (*Umsiedlungsaktion*)[510] – reaction of ŻTOS staff to the KSP's order to help in the round-up operation (out of 3,000 employees only 40 reported voluntarily) – explain how the 40 were recruited for that fine job . . .)

– Stress the collaboration of the Jewish police with the Ukrainians (300 in all).

– Various legends about the goodness and humane behaviour of the Jewish police.

– Chapter: Szmerling (profile and characteristics) – Szmerling – *komendant placu*[511] – bribery – social institutions forced to set up a liberation fund

510 (Ger.) resettlement operation.

511 (Pol.) commander of the *Umschlagplatz*.

(ransoming of prisoners) – legend, in Jewish police circles, about sharing bribe money with the Ukrainians.

[3] 4. Anxiety in the Jewish community caused by the deportation; pros and cons; what should be done to avoid the great disgrace? – Various opinions and suggestions.

5. Did the Jewish police know in the beginning that those rounded up were going to their death? Seizure by Jewish policemen of a certain quota of "heads" per day (5–6)

6. The workshops – a brief overview of their nature, emergence, development. – The appearance of the street; the workshop as an ideal. – Enterprises: popular names: Schultz[512] – Többens – whose capital? (Schultz – Hendel)[513]

7. The hostages question.

8. How did the deportation actually take place? – 15,000 killed: who did the killing? How were old people and children treated? – Executions at the Jewish cemetery. Part played by the Ukrainians. – The Ukrainians search the dwellings. The Latvians – at the ghetto walls.

6a. Workshops [. . .] Többens

9. Nature of a blockade – of a house, of a workshop. Ridiculing of Jewish workers by German officers . . .) – cutting off beards and sidelocks of rabbis and ordinary pious Jews.

10. Fate of the Jewish masses in the ghetto: in the hands of minor officials.

11a. The *Umschlagplatz* – a thorough description.

12. Simultaneous deportation and resettlement of Jews in Warsaw (almost no one remained in their own home) – humane and inhumane resettlement – the problem of: women, children, aged parents (children poisoning their parents!).

13. Destruction of colossal cultural assets: destruction of libraries, manuscripts, sculptures, and paintings. – Destruction of colossal material assets.

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512 Schultz's workshops – one of the major factory complexes in the ghetto, employing a few thousand Jewish workers: tailors, furriers, and cobblers; property of Fritz Emil Schultz and Karl Georg Schultz, located on Nowolipie, Ogrodowa, and Leszno Streets. In the spring of 1943 the workers were deported to the labour camp in Trawniki, where they were murdered during *Aktion Erntefest* in November 1943. For a list of workshops in the Warsaw Ghetto see: Engelking, Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto. A Guide to the Perished City*, pp. 482–489.

513 Possibly a reference to Abraham Hendel, one of the directors of Schultz's workshop.

[4] The present appearance of the Jewish courtyard (piled up with various pieces of furniture, items, utensils, etc.); the rubbish bins!

14. The grotesque in the ghetto: churches as workshops (basements). – in Schultz's workshop, a prayer and study house(!)

15. The role of Jewish Gestapo men in the current events: arrival of Shmaye Grajer from Lublin; Żelazna Street 101–103,[514] (telephone call from 101 to 103 and informing the *Vernichtungskommando*[515] of everything that goes on in ghetto. The Gancwajch case (!) – informing (probably!) 103 about tens of thousands of Jews hiding in Schultz and Többens' workshops and in other workshops – consequences thereof – "combing through" – Brandt's role – beats sadistically, especially women.

16. Resistance: (in Pańska Street, a Jew threw himself at a Ukrainian; 13 people from that house shot; an incident in Zamenhof Street).

17. The other side: saving children, women – buying up Jewish possessions for groszes.

18. Why did the Jewish intelligentsia suffer most of all? (Easier for the wealthy to buy themselves out. Those who suffered: teachers, writers . . .)

19. A list of scum: Wielikowski, Lichtenbaum, First (Wielik[owski] wouldn't intervene even on behalf of his closest co-workers).

11b. Deportation of Jews at the *Umschlagplatz*: to the left – those released; to the right – *Dulag;*[516] straight ahead – to the boxcars. (If a Jew accidentally went to the right or to the left, a Jewish policeman would drag him back!)

– a Jewish policeman with an axe on his shoulder – to hack locks open – dragged a Jewish woman – robbery by the Jewish *Ordnungsdienst*.

ARG II 295 (Ring. II/193)
Description: original or duplicate, handwritten (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 191×257, 2 sheets, 4 pages.

514 This was the address of the SS jail and the SS headquarters that managed the *Gross-Aktion*.

515 (Ger.) destruction squad.

516 (Ger.) abbreviation of *Durchgangslager* (transit camp).

Chapter 4

Oyneg Shabes Bulletins and News

47

After 27 March 1942, Warsaw ghetto, Oyneg Shabes bulletin: "מיטטיילונגען
[News], issue 1, "די יידישע באַפֿעלקערונג אונטערן צייכן פֿון פֿידישער אויסראָטונג
["Jewish population in danger of physical extermination"], which included information about the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland in March 1942.

News Reports – No. 1[517]

The Jewish population under the mark of physical extermination!

The following are reports of the situation of the Jewish population in the territories of the former Polish republic. The information is from the last few weeks and days:

517 The first issue of Oyneg Shabes's press bulletin has survived in two language versions: Yiddish (Doc. 47) and Polish (Doc. 48). They differ little in content, but the style underwent significant changes. Because of the great significance of these documents for the history of the circulation of news about the Holocaust in the Jewish and Polish underground we publish both versions.

Lublin

During the second half of March the Germans began mass local resettlement in the Jewish residential district, as well as deportation of the Jewish population in an unknown direction.[518] The operation was carried out swiftly, with all the savagery of which the SS and Gestapo are capable, and with the help of Ukrainian auxiliary units. The Germans opened fire on Jews on a whole series of Jewish streets. They also forced their way into Jewish houses and flats, causing a veritable blood bath: they spared no one, neither the sick or the elderly, nor women or children; rivers of blood flowed in the streets and in the houses. Hundreds of corpses still lie scattered in the cellars of the abandoned homes. The epidemic hospital, the orphanage, and the old people's home were all evacuated and the residents were sent on the path of no return. Jewish property is entirely abandoned. Jews were driven from most streets in the ghetto and crammed into three or four narrow streets (Grodzka Street, among others). More than 1,400 Jews were expelled from Lubartowska Street alone.

That was the first stage. Soon afterwards there began mass deportations of Jews by train in an unknown direction:[519] the first transport of captured Jews numbered 6,000 (six thousand). The Jews were packed into boxcars to which no one was allowed access. To the question of where they were being sent, the gendarmes answered with gunfire.

According to corroborated information, the Jews of Lublin – along with those from other small towns in the Lublin district – are being sent to Bełżec, to the camp there.[520] The camp is still well known to the Jewish population from 1940, when a large number of young Jews were tortured there by the camp commander at the time, SS man Dolp, and his accomplices. The rumour

518 The first *Aktion* in the Lublin ghetto started on the night of 16–17 March 1942. The Jews were sent to the death camp in Bełżec.

519 The deportations to Bełżec started on the first day of the *Aktion*, with approximately 1,400 people deported every day. The number of victims of the first *Aktion* is estimated at 26,000.

520 In May 1940 a labour camp for Jews was established in Bełżec. Its prisoners were building a fortification belt on the border with the USSR. Between March and December 1942 in the same locality approximately 450,000 Polish Jews and a few thousand Roma people were killed in gas chambers.

is spreading among the Jewish population of the Lublin district that the Jews in the Bełżec camp are being murdered in the same manner as in Chełmno, that is to say they are being poisoned with gas.[521]

[2] After the first transport an additional 2,000 Jews were deported, of whom we have no news whatsoever to this day.

There are now 20,000 (twenty thousand) Jews awaiting deportation: 2,000 each day. The Jewish population is so terrorised that people are voluntarily reporting for deportation. Each deportee is allowed to take 15 kilos of luggage. The Jews for each transport have to assemble in the synagogue. On their way to the synagogue, and in the synagogue courtyard itself, they are attacked by Ukrainians, who beat them savagely and rob them of what few belongings they have left. The Germans tell the deportees that they are being sent to . . . Yekaterinoslav. There is a rumour going around that all the Jews in Lublin are to be deported without exception, even those with a letter "J", i.e. those who work for the Germans.[522]

Izbica Lubelska[523]

On Thursday 19 March 1942, SS men and gendarmes arrived out of nowhere and drove some 1,000 Jews out of town in an unknown direction. A week later, also on a Thursday, 26 March, the rest of the Jewish population, around 7,000 Jews, were deported, altogether over 8,000 people. There can be no doubt that the Jews of Izbica were also driven to the camp in Bełżec, where the physical mass extermination of the Jewish population is carried out in the same fashion as in Chełmno. We are endeavouring to obtain further, comprehensive information concerning the continuing course of these murderous events.[524]

521 News about the operation of the death camp at Chełmno nad Nerem (Kulmhof) reached the Warsaw ghetto in February 1942.

522 For information about the deportation from the Lublin ghetto, see *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 675–678; Robert Kuwałek, *Obóz zagłady w Bełżcu* (Lublin, 2010), pp. 95–98; Tadeusz Radzik, *Lubelska dzielnica zamknięta* (Lublin, 1999).

523 Izbica (Krasnystaw district).

524 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 639–643.

Rawa Ruska and Biłgoraj

Similar reports of the extermination of Jews are also reaching us from these two Jewish communities, which have already been completely liquidated.[525]

Lvov

By March 1942 the Jews of Lvov had gone through various stages: mass murders, plunder, levies, ghetto. At the beginning of March a decree was issued announcing the "evacuation" of 33,000 Jews from Lvov, 1,000 a day. In the first half of March, 5,500 Jews were evacuated from the city, soon followed by another 8,000: in all, 13,500 Jews. It is not known what has become of them, or where they have ended up. Further reports from Lvov are alarming![526]

Okuniew[527] (near Warsaw)

On 26 March the gendarmes drove the entire Jewish population into the market square. From among the assembled Jews, the gendarmes selected ten strong men, who were made to carry away all the Jews' possessions, especially furniture. The local Poles had to chop up the furniture in the square. Several Jews were shot dead by the gendarmes, including some who were sick in bed. One of those shot was a certain Budnik, a refugee from Kalisz, who left four orphans. The gendarmes drove the mass of Jews to Warsaw. They shot many people along the way, particularly those who could not keep up with the pace. Thus, for example, 18-year-old Mates Powsinoga was shoved into a ditch by a gendarme and shot; Yeshaya Zysman, seventy years old – shot on the way. Also three youngsters: Stanisławski, Dawid, aged 14; Stanisławska, Fejge, aged

525 Incorrect information. In March 1942 the Germans deported approximately 1,000 Rawa Ruska Jews to Bełżec, but most of them remained in town. The first deportation from Biłgoraj was conducted in August 1942. That news might have been included in Oyneg Shabes's bulletin under the influence of a letter from Shloyme Winer, who was in Zamość in March and April 1942 and reported about the deportation of Jews to Bełżec. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 619–621, 818–821; ARG I 1481 (I/596).

526 The order to deport 33,000 Jews from Lvov, who were deemed "antisocial elements", was given on 7 March 1942. Between 14 March and 1 April 1942 approximately 15,000 Lvov Jews were murdered in Bełżec. Cf. Kuwałek, *Obóz zagłady w Bełżcu*, pp. 100–101.

527 Okuniew (Warsaw district).

15; Bursztyn, Shloyme, aged 14; Rotsztejn, Leye, paralysed, aged 55; Rubin, Dvoyre, shot in her home; Rzeleny, Yankev Osher, aged 70, shot not far from Rembertów when the gendarmes started forcing the Jews to walk faster.[528]

Wawer[529] (near Warsaw)

The Jews of Wawer were also driven out on 26 March. The Germans allowed carts to be used for the children and the sick. There were three fatalities. The gendarmes engaged in beatings along the way.[530]

Miłosna[531] (near Warsaw)

On the morning of 27 March they started to "evacuate" the Jews of Miłosna. The people there already knew about the horrors that had befallen the Jews in Okuniew. At six o'clock in the morning the Jews of Miłosna assembled in the town square with their luggage. They were divided into three groups: men, women and children. The Germans did the segregating. Then the Germans robbed all the Jews, shooting the wealthy merchant, Shimen Zylberman, on the spot because they found five zlotys hidden on his person. After that, the march to Warsaw began. The carts with the children went in front, followed by the women, and finally the men.[532]

Wąwolnica (near Kazimierz)[533] – Lublin area

In mid-March the persecution of Jews began in Wąwolnica. A bell was rung to inform the Jews that they had to assemble in the market square. There the Germans began shooting them, and already on the first day up to 120 Jews

528 Information based on the testimony of Berek Proza from Okuniew. See ARG I 938 a (Ring. I/501). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government, 1939–1942*, ed. A. Bańkowska (forthcoming).

529 Wawer (Warsaw district).

530 Manes Puterman's testimony regarding a deportation from Wawer has survived in the Ghetto Archive, but it does not mention any casualties. See ARG I 938 a (Ring. I/501). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government*.

531 Miłosna (Warsaw district).

532 Note based on Maria Edelman's and Mala Wiszna's testimonies, which do not, however, mention the surname of the man who was shot. See ARG I 938 c (Ring. I/501) and ARG I 939 (Ring. I/875). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government*.

533 Wąwolnica, Kazimierz Dolny (Puławy County).

were murdered. That was repeated several times. An eyewitness describes the massacre which the Germans carried out there on Sunday 22 March 1942: "Three cars full of Germans descended on the village and started rounding up Jews, including the *Judenrat*, brought them to the market square and shot them there. Since many Jews had hidden in Christian houses, the Germans went round to all the Polish houses and wherever they found a Jew they dragged him outside and shot him on the doorstep". Thus the entire Jewish community of Wąwolnica was killed.[534]

Mielec (Lvov County)[535]

The Jews were driven out of Mielec towards Sosnowica near Parczew[536] (Lublin area). Some of the Jews – young people – were sent to the labour camp in Pustków[537] near Dębica. During the expulsion, many Jews were shot.[538]

ARG I 23 (Ring. I/259)
Description: original, handwritten (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 208×293 mm, 4 sheets, 4 pages.
See HWC, 60/7 (another version of this document in a form of a copied typescript, 3 pages).

534 The quotation is from Abraham Lewin's diary. See A. Lewin, *A Cup of Tears. A Diary of the Warsaw Ghetto*, ed. Antony Polonsky, transl. Ch. Hutton (Oxford, 1989), p. 61. For more on deportations from Wąwolnica, see *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 726–728; R. Kuwałek, *Obóz zagłady w Bełżcu*, pp. 99–100.

535 Mielec (Dębica County, Kraków District of GG).

536 Sosnowica (Chełm County), Parczew (Radzyń Podlaski County).

537 The camp in Pustków (Dębica County) – labour camp for Jews established in 1940; its prisoners were building an SS range; central SS camp in the Kraków District from the autumn of 1942.

538 For more on the deportations from Mielec, see Andrzej Krempa, *Zagłada Żydów mieleckich* (Mielec, 2012).

48 *3 April 1942, Warsaw ghetto, Oyneg Shabes bulletin on the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland in March 1942.*[539]

[1] 3 April 1942
The information presented below regards the situation of Jews in the territory of the Republic of Poland. It comes from the last couple of weeks and days.

Lublin
Late March this year the Germans launched a mass resettlement campaign in the Jewish residential district in Lublin, deporting the Jewish population of the city in an unknown direction. The campaign is being conducted faster than usual and with all the savagery the oppressors from the SS and the Gestapo can muster with the help of their brutal Ukrainian menials. It began with a large-scale fusillade on the streets of the Jewish district. Armed with rifles and SMGs, the fascists stormed into Jewish homes, where they then spilt Jewish blood. They had no regard for women, the old, the sick or children. The blood of the murdered Jews gushed in spurts on the streets and in their homes. During less than a week 1,500 Jews died at the hands of the savage torturers during the *Aktions*. Hundreds of corpses were lying in alleys and basements of tenements, which the Jews had abandoned in panic. The patients of wards removed from the epidemic hospital, the orphanage and from the old people's home were then murdered by the fascists. The Jews were deprived of everything they had. The Jews were removed from most streets in the ghetto and squeezed into three or four lanes. More than 1,400 Jews were removed from Lubartowska Street.

It was just the first phase. Soon afterwards mass deportations began of Jews from Lublin in sealed boxcars and in an unknown direction. The first transport of the captured Jews encompassed 6,000 people, who were squeezed into boxcars. Nobody was allowed to approach the deportees. The gendarmerie opened fire when the Jews asked where they were being deported to.

539 A typewritten duplicate of this document in two slightly different versions is stored in AAN, Delegatura Rządu na Kraj, 202/II/29, pp. 13–16. The document published here is a Polish version of Doc. 47, but with certain alterations. The factual footnotes are the same as in Doc. 47.

According to confirmed information, the Jews from Lublin and other localities in the Lublin area were deported by train to the camp [2] in Bełżec – a death camp. This camp was known to the Jewish population of the General Government as early as in 1940, when many young Jews deported to forced labour died there at the hands of the Hitlerite torturers. The director of the camp was then the infamous Hitlerite *Obersturmführer* Dolp. Persistent rumours are circulating among the Jews in the Lublin region that the Jews murdered in Bełżec were killed in the Chełmno fashion, that is, with the use of poisonous gas.

Another 2,000 Jews were deported after the first transport. They disappeared without trace. Now 20,000 Jews are to be deported. 2,000 per day! The Jewish population of Lublin is already so terrorised that they answer the first summons of the German authorities to come to the municipal slaughterhouse (a symbolic place), from where the transports depart. Everybody without exception (men, women with children) arrives at the specified time, even though they are perfectly aware that they are going to die. They are allowed – the Teutonic perfidiousness! – to take 15 kilograms of baggage. Some of the Germans tell the departing people that they are going to … Yekaterinoslav, while others do not prevaricate and tell them directly that the Jews are going to heaven. There is a rumour that all Jews without exceptions will be deported from the ghetto, even those who have the "J" badge, that is, those who work for the Germans.

Izbica Lubelska

On Thursday, 13 March 1942,[540] the SS-men and the gendarmerie arrived in the town and drove 1,000 Jews in an unknown direction. After a week, also on Thursday, 26 March, the remaining Jewish population, approx. 7,000 people were expelled. The total number exceeds 8,000. There is no doubt that the Izbica Lubelska Jews were also deported to the death camp in Bełżec.

Efforts were made to obtain new exhaustive information regarding the ongoing campaign of physical extermination of Jews.

540 The Yiddish version of the bulletin provides another date: 19 March (Thursday). 13 March was a Friday.

[3] Rawa Ruska and Biłgoraj
Similar information about mass extermination of Jews comes from Rawa Ruska and Biłgoraj, whose Jewish communities were already wiped off the face of the earth.[541]

Wąwolnica near Kazimierz nad Wisłą
On Sunday, 22 March, SS-men arrived in the town in three cars. The Jews were assembled on the market square and a fusillade began. 120 Jews died on the spot. Those remaining were transported out of town, where they were murdered.[542]

Mielec (Lvov voivodship)
In the second half of March all Jews were deported from Mielec. About a dozen Jews were shot during the deportation, mostly the old or sick. Some of the young Jews were sent to the concentration camp in Pustków near Dębica, while the remainder was deported to Sosnowica near Parczew.

Lvov
Until this March the Jewish community of Lvov had endured much: mass murders, robberies, levies, the ghetto. Early March brought announcements regarding evacuation of 33,000 Jews from Lvov, 1,000 each day. In early March 5, there were 500 Jews expelled from Lvov and then another 8,000, amounting to a total of 13,500 people. There has been no information whatsoever about the fate of those expelled. The incoming letters and news regarding the fate of the remaining Lvov Jews are positively alarming!

Deportation of Jews from localities near Warsaw
Okuniew
On 26 March the gendarmerie ordered all the Okuniew Jews to assemble on the market square. 10 strong Jews were selected from among those assembled. They had to bring furniture [4] from Jewish flats and make a big pile on the market square. The gendarmes then forced Poles to chop up the furniture.

541 False information. See Doc. 47.
542 For an extended version of this note see Doc. 47.

The Germans executed several of the Jews, including some bedridden or old people. They also executed a certain Budnik, a refugee from Kalisz, which orphaned 4 children. They then rushed the Jews to Warsaw. On the way many of the Jews were shot, particularly those who could not keep up with the pace due to weakness or illness. The following people were shot dead: Matys Powsinoga, aged 18; Szyja Zysman, aged 70; Dawid Stanisławski, aged 14; Fajga Stanisławska, aged 15; Shloyme Bursztyn, aged 14; Leja Rotstein (paralysed), aged 55, Dwojra Rubin – shot at home; Jakow Oszer Rzetelny, aged 70, shot by a gendarme near Rembertów when the gendarmes began to force the Jews to hurry.

Wawer

Similarly, the Jews from Wawer were expelled on 26 March. The Germans allowed them to rent carts for the sick and children. What magnanimity! There were "only" 3 victims. On the way the Jews were severely beaten by the gendarmerie.

Miłosna

On 27 March at dawn the Germans began an "evacuation" of Jews from Miłosna. The news regarding the maltreatment of the Okuniew Jews had already reached Miłosna. The Jews assembled at 6 a.m. on the market square. The Germans took away their money and more valuable possessions. They shot the trader Szymon Zylberman because they found 5 zlotys on him even though he had said he had no money. In Miłosna the Germans also allowed the sick and children to be put on carts.

ARG I 24 (Ring. I/262)
Description: original (2 copies), handwritten (H*), pencil, Polish, 165x86, 205x148, 206x294 mm, very serious damage and missing fragments (2nd copy), 8 sheets, 8 pages.

49 *12 April 1942, Warsaw ghetto, Oyneg Shabes bulletin containing information about the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland in the period July 1941 to March 1942.*[543]

[1] 12 April 1942 1.
Further information on extermination of the Jews:

Lublin.

Until recently, the Lublin ghetto contained more than 50,000 Jews. Although they lived in a ghetto, the subsistence possibilities were not dire.

On Monday 16 March, in the middle of the night, all the houses in Lubartowska St, Nos. 15–59, and the intersecting streets, Ruska and Czwartek, were blocked off by Ukrainian auxiliary police, two to a house. The Ukrainians stood guard outside the houses to prevent any Jews from leaving. Then the *Sonderdienst* (the so-called SD) arrived and drove all the residents out of the blocked houses during the night, around five thousand Jews. Up to 200 were killed in the process. All those unable to comply quickly with the brutal order to leave their homes at once and go with the murderers were shot. Seriously ill people who were unable to get out of bed, cripples and children, died in that way.

The Jews in the other streets, learning of the slaughter, started to hole up in the various hiding places which existed in almost every house in the Lublin ghetto. These hideouts had been very useful to the Jewish population in the previous months during the nightly raids in which Jews were seized for labour. At the first sign of danger, the men would disappear into the hideouts and escape with a fright.

But in the middle of January of this year, the Germans seized 5,000 to 6,000 young Jews and herded them into Majdanek, the terrible

543 The bulletin was compiled in Yiddish and Polish. The Polish version (Doc. 50) contains the same information as the Yiddish version (Doc. 49), but is much shorter. Both are published here; both survived in the Ghetto Archive only in short, damaged fragments, but copies of both versions are in the AAN, Delegatura Rządu na Kraj, 202/II-29, pp. 17–19 (in Polish), 26–32 (in Yiddish). The translations published here are based on the AAN copies. Both versions are dated 12 April 1942.

concentration camp on the outskirts of Lublin.[544] There, the Hitlerite criminals stripped them down to their shirts, giving them instead *paper* "clothes" formed of strips of paper glued together, and wooden clogs. This was in January at the time of a severe frost, and all the captives simply froze to death.

[2] The Jewish population in the ghetto, who soon learned what had happened, was gripped by mortal fear. From then on, the Jewish night watchmen kept guard with even greater vigilance.

But on the night of 16 to 17 March, no one knew what to do. Should they give themselves up into the hands of the murderers, and perhaps meet the same end as the youngsters had in Majdanek? Or stay in their hideouts? And if those remaining in the house were expelled, who would let them out of their blocked-off hiding places? Meanwhile, the Jews who had been seized were led by the Ukrainians to an empty square off Targowa Street and segregated there by the SD. Jews whose work books (only Jews who work for the Germans or are employed in the *kehilla* have such books) were stamped by the SD with the date 8 April 1942 were freed and taken from there, in just the clothes they stood up in, to Grodzka and Kowalska Streets (two small, narrow streets, the very smallest in the Lublin ghetto), where the Germans planned to bring all the Lublin Jews and establish a new ghetto. In Lublin approximately 25,000 Jews have work books, including their family members. The Jews who were rejected, i.e. those without work books, were taken to the Maharshal Synagogue[545] and from there to the slaughterhouse. A branch of the railway line leads to the slaughterhouse so that the carriages come up right to it. The place was chosen by the German sadists quite deliberately, as a sure symbol of the bestial extermination of the Jewish population. It soon turned out, however, that the Germans were unable to transport more than 1,000 people

544 Majdanek – camp in Lublin. Its construction began in autumn 1941, and it was initially a POW camp. In 1943, it was transformed into a concentration camp. During Operation Reinhardt the camp also functioned as a death camp. The total number of its prisoners was 150,000 people of various nationalities. Approximately 60,000 Jews were murdered in its gas chambers.

545 A sixteenth-century synagogue on Jateczna Street in Lublin. Its name is an acronym of: Moreynu ha-Rav Rabbi Shlomo Luria. During 1940–1942 it housed a refugee centre and a soup kitchen.

a day. So they began carrying off the Lublin Jews in stages, "in an unknown direction", to their deaths.[546]

The next day, the Jews themselves began rushing to two streets, Grodzka and Kowalska, which together hold about 50 small houses. With a great deal of string-pulling it was possible to get into a room already [3] containing 70–80 people. The Jews who were still in hiding could not get out by themselves and must have died of hunger and lack of air. And even if a Jew got out onto the deserted streets, he was immediately shot by the Germans.

On Wednesday 18 March, i.e. on the third day, the *Aktion* (this is how the massacre of the Jews was labelled) was taken over by the Jewish police (the Jewish *Ordnungsdienst*, the Jewish *Arbeitsamtsdienst*,[547] and the SK – *Sanitätskommando*[548] – a total of 300 men). The Jewish police treated the Jews very badly.

On Saturday 21 March, the news that Jews in possession of work books were also being deported began to be confirmed. The panic was indescribable. People sought various expedients to avoid being deported from Lublin. Jews attempted to save themselves in two ways: either by hiding in carts carrying corpses out of town or by getting accepted as residents in the old people's home or as patients in the hospital.

On the morning of Monday 23 March, an order came from the German authorities to expel all the orphans, a total of 105, from the orphanage in the *kehilla* building and assemble them down in the courtyard. The order was carried out with the utmost severity. The sound of screaming, wailing and convulsions rose to high heaven. The orphans knew what such an expulsion meant! Half an hour later, they were driven back to their rooms, but they did not escape their bitter fate. The next day, Tuesday 24 March, the orphans were again forced onto German lorries, taken out of town, and were shot and buried in a common grave.

That same day, the Germans liquidated the old people's home [4] – 70 residents were shot in the courtyard – as well as the provisional hospital (after

546 For more on the number of victims of that *Aktion*, see Doc. 47.

547 (Ger.) Labour Department Service.

548 (Ger.) Sanitary Squad; or Sanitary Commission. According to another testimony it was a subsidiary body of the German Disinfection and Delousing agency headed by Bolesław Tenenbaum. See ARG II 351 (Ring. II/305).

the first deportations, the hospital building remained outside the new ghetto). 17 patients were shot.

At 2 p.m. on Monday 30 March, 4 Germans from the SD and 15 Gestapo men came to the *kehilla* and each of them took away a member of the *Judenrat*; the member's family also went with him. Their homes were sealed off. They were all taken to the Maharshal Synagogue. Those taken away included the chairman of the *kehilla*, Engineer Bekker, and two board members, Dr Siegfried (a German Jew) and Shloyme Halbersztat (a Hasid). From the Maharshal Synagogue they were all taken out of town and shot.

After that, the Germans seized the J-books[549] of the *kehilla* employees (approximately 400 people), allowing only 12 people – later reduced to 6 – and 8 members of the *Judenrat* to keep theirs. To date, about 2,500 people, including the Jewish police, still possess such J-books, but their number too is decreasing from day to day.[550]

Hancewicze (near Baranowicze)[551]

Hancewicze, a small town on the Baranowicze–Lida[552] railway line, had never been a sizeable Jewish settlement but, as a result of the rapid advance of the German forces right at the beginning of the war with the Soviet Union, it contained some 6,000 Jewish refugees from various places who had not managed to flee further east together with the retreating Russian army.

In the first days of July 1941, the Germans ordered all the Jews in Hancewicze to assemble in the town square with their baggage (up to 25 kg). The official reason was that the German authorities supposedly intended to send them back to the General Government.

549 Identity card and work records for Jews, with a capital J on the first page, with stamps confirming their being employed.

550 The note on the *Aktion* in Lublin is based on the testimony of a Lublin refugee, Kronenberg. The interview was conducted by Hersh Wasser in the Warsaw ghetto on 5 or 6 April 1942. See Wasser's notes in ARG I 850 (Ring. I/1172). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government.*

551 Hancewicze was the capital of *Gebietskommissariat Ganzewitchi*, while Baranowicze was the capital of *Gebietskommissariat Baranowitsche* of *Reichskommissariat Ostland*. Now in Brest *Oblast* (Belarus).

552 Lida – capital of a *Gebietskommissariat* in *Reichskommissariat Ostland*. Now in Hrodna *Oblast* (Belarus).

[5] On the appointed day all the Jews did in fact assemble in the marketplace and from there were taken out of town to a place surrounded by gendarmes and Gestapo men. Machine guns were soon set in motion and the murderous task was carried out in full. Almost all of the Jews perished. Only a handful survived, i.e. the lightly wounded who still had the strength to crawl out from under the pile of corpses. When the few survivors appeared in town, they were received as if they had risen from the dead. The Christian population provided them with all they needed so that they could rapidly leave the slaughter town.

Równe[553]

In the second half of October 1941, the local *Gebietskommissar*[554] ordered a count of Jews employed by the Germans in workshops or at other German worksites. The count indicated that approximately 2,000 Jews were so employed. At that time the whole Jewish population of Równe numbered around 19,000.

At the beginning of November 1941, an announcement appeared on the building of the Równe *Judenrat* ordering all unemployed Jews together with their families to assemble on 6 November in Sosenki, a village 2 km from Równe.

The Jewish population felt no forebodings and dutifully obeyed the order. All 17,000 presented themselves in Sosenki. It is a marshy place, and the Jews had to stand up to over their ankles in mud and water.

The whole mass of Jews was surrounded by gendarmes. Several senior officers arrived, introduced themselves [6] as military court judges, and one of them read out a death sentence on all the assembled Jews. The death sentence was allegedly passed because two (!) months earlier something belonging to a German soldier had gone missing and the Jews were accused of the theft.

After the sentence was read out, the execution began. Men, women, and children, young and old, were mercilessly despatched from this world. The execution lasted three days and nights. It was carried out as follows: four wooden booths were erected alongside mass graves dug by Soviet POWs.

553 Równe (*Kreisgebiete Wolhynien und Podolien*, *Reichskommissariat Ukraine*, now in Ukraine).

554 (Ger.) district commissioner.

A German soldier with a handgun stood in each booth. The unfortunate victims, in their shirt sleeves, had to walk past the booth on a plank stretched over the pit so that, when they were shot dead or only wounded, they fell straight into the grave. The soldiers were dressed in warm coveralls – the days were cold – and were frequently relieved in the course of their murderous work. Almost all of the 17,000 Jews were killed.[555]

Opole[556] (Lublin region)

On Thursday 23 March, the Germans expelled all the Jews from Kazimierz, Wąwolnica (those who were still there after the massacre of 22 March), and Puławy, and drove them to Opole.[557] Most of those driven out could not take even the bare essentials because they were all forced along on foot. Only those who could afford 200 zlotys hired a cart on which to put their few possessions.

[7] More than 15,000 Jews were crammed into Opole, as well as 2,500 Jews from Vienna.[558] The situation of the Jews is appalling. They are all locked up in a ghetto which no Christian enters, so no food at all is brought in from outside. Prices are sky high: a kilo of potatoes costs 3 zlotys, a kilo of bread, 12 zlotys, and even then you can't get any. The unfortunate Jews are starving and swollen from hunger and cold.

They live in barracks and sleep on the bare floor, without any bedding. "Dear brother", someone writes from there on Sunday 29 March, "imagine [x][559] our situation, how miserable we are. I go around naked and barefoot. My dear brother, send me some jacket or other and a pair of trousers. I'm ashamed to go around like this . . ."[560]

555 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 1459–1461.

556 Opole (Puławy County).

557 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 700, 726–728.

558 See Robert Kuwałek, "Getta tranzytowe w dystrykcie lubelskim", in *Akcja Reinhardt. Zagłada Żydów w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie*, ed. Dariusz Libionka (Warsaw, 2004), p. 140.

559 [x] my.

560 Quotation from a letter written by Pesach Goldbaum, sent from Opole on 29 March 1942. See ARG I 943 (I/587).

ARG I 28 (Ring. I/217)
Description: original, handwritten (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 170×110 mm, major damage and fragments missing, 2 sheets, 2 pages .
ARG I 37 (Ring. I/220/38)
Description: original, handwritten (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 189×134 mm, major damage and fragments missing, 4 sheets, 4 pages.
A copy of this bulletin survived in its entirety (original, handwritten (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 6 sheets, 6 pages) in AAN , Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj, 202/II-29, pp. 26–32.
This edition is based on the AAN copy, 6 sheets, 6 pages.

50 *3 April 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes's bulletin containing information on the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland in July 1941–March 1942.*[561]

[1] 12 April 1942
Lublin

At midnight on Monday, 16 March 1942, the tenements on Lubartowska Street – No. 15–59 – and on the transverse streets – Ruska and Czwartek – were surrounded by posts of Ukrainian auxiliary forces. 2 Ukrainians stood by each tenement, their duty to ensure that none of the Jews living there escaped. Policemen from the SD (*Sonderdienst*) then came and removed all the residents of the blockaded buildings throughout the night. Some Jews managed to hide in nooks or hideouts but then they could not escape due to the absence of their household members. They died there of starvation, thirst and lack of fresh air. That night approximately 5,000 Jews were arrested and the SD used that occasion to execute 200 Jews, mostly children or bed-ridden, old or crippled people. The Jewish deportees were escorted by the Ukrainians to the empty square on Targowa Street, where the Jews were segregated by the SD police. Those Jews who had an SD stamp dated 8 March 1942[562]

561 It is a Polish abridged version of Doc. 49 – see above. The factual footnotes are the same as in Doc. 49.

562 The Yiddish version provides a different date: 8 April 1942.

in their work records were released and immediately transported to [Ma-Ha] R-Sza-L's[563] synagogue (16th century), and from there to the slaughterhouse, where the railway side track[564] is. There they were loaded into boxcars, which were then sealed and sent off "in an unknown direction".

On Wednesday, 18 March, that is on the third day of the *Aktion* [2], the procedures were handed over to the Jewish Order Service.

Saturday, 21 March, brought confirmation of the news that the deportation from Lublin also included the Jews who had work records. Sheer panic broke out among the Jewish population. People began to look for ways of rescue to avoid compulsory deportation from Lublin. Some had themselves taken away from Lublin in hearses, while others sought admission to the Old People's Home or hospital.

Monday morning, 23 March, the Orphanage (operated by the Community) received an order to transport all the orphans out of town. The order was executed on Tuesday, 24 March. 105 orphans died at the hands of the Gestapo functionaries. The same day 70 inmates of wards of the Old People's Home were executed with 17 patients from the provisional Jewish hospital.

On Monday, 30 March, the Gestapo and the SD shot 15 members of the *Judenrat* and their families. The Jews were escorted out of town and executed there. Victims included the chairman of the *Judenrat* engineer Bekker and two members of the presidium: Dr Siegfried (a Jew from Germany) and Salomon Halberstam.[565] The Germans then collected work records – those with the letter "J" – from Community clerks (400 people), letting only 6 clerks and 8 members of the *Judenrat* keep theirs.

Hancewicze near Baranowicze

In early July 1941 the Germans ordered the entire Jewish population to assemble [3] out of town for purported "deportation" to the General Government. 6,000 Jews assembled on the specified day. The Germans murdered them and buried them there in a mass grave.

563 See Doc. 49.

564 A secondary track next to the main track.

565 A reference to Shloyme Halbersztat. See Doc. 49.

Równe

In late October of last year the German authorities compiled a list of the Jews employed in workshops working for the Germans. The census encompassed 2,000 workers among the 19,000 inhabitants of Równe. In early November an announcement was posted on the walls of the Jewish Community building, calling on all unemployed Jews to come with their families and baggage to the locality of Sosenki (two kilometres out of town) on 6 November. 17 thousand Jews assembled on the specified day. In Sosenki they heard from a court-martial judge that all the Jews would be executed for supposed theft of money belonging to a German soldier, which had purportedly taken place two months earlier. The executions took three days and nights. Almost all the Jews died at the hands of the Gestapo functionaries.

Opole Lubelskie

On Thursday, 26 March, the Germans expelled all Jews from Kazimierz nad Wisłą, Wąwolnica (the survivors of the massacre on 22 March), and Puławy. All those Jews were driven to Opole, where 15,000 Jews and 2,500 Jews from Vienna are now living in a closed ghetto, accommodated in barracks and sleeping on the bare ground. The prices are exorbitant: 3 zlotys for a kilogram of potatoes, 12 zlotys for a kilogram of bread, both in short supply, as nobody is allowed to cross the ghetto boundary.

ARG I 38 (Ring. I/1220/39)
Description: original, handwritten (H*), pencil, Polish, 206x113 mm, very substantial damage and many missing fragments, 3 sheets, 3 pages.
A complete copy of the bulletin is in AAN, Delegatura Rządu RP na Kraj, 202/II-29, pp. 17–19.
Based on the AAN copy, 3 sheets, 3 pages.

51

5 May 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes bulletin on the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland in March and April 1942.

[1] 5 May 1942
Lublin region

Wąwolnica – On Sunday 22 March, the shtetl was surrounded by gendarmes armed from head to foot. The entire Jewish population was driven in a very brutal manner into the marketplace and there the Germans divided the Jews into two groups: Jews working for the Germans and Jews not working. The first group of Jews were left there, while the second group was promptly driven further, just as they were, to the nearest railway station. There the Jews were locked into sealed carriages and taken away in "an unknown direction". About 100 Jews remained in the shtetl; over 300 were deported. On the way to the railway station, the gendarmes shot 52 Jews who had lagged behind for various reasons. From the remaining Jews, the Germans appointed a new *Judenrat* consisting of 3 men.

On Tuesday 24 March, the new *Judenrat* received a demand from the authorities that, because the Germans had shot 52 Jews from Wąwolnica, and each bullet had cost 55 groszes, the *Judenrat* had to pay the full amount within 24 hours.

The money was paid . . .[566]

Rejowiec – In Rejowiec there were of late about 800 Jews. Their material situation was satisfactory.

On Tuesday 7 April, on the eve of the last two days of Pesach, a large number of German police arrived in the shtetl. The mood in the shtetl quickly grew very anxious. People ran to the *Judenrat*, which reassured them that nothing would happen. [2] However, a few hours later, the Jewish population received an order from the *Judenrat* that all Jews without exception – men, women, children, the elderly, the infirm – must assemble immediately at the

566 See Doc. 47.

gate outside town. A terrible panic ensued in the shtetl. About 80 per cent of the Jews obeyed the order and presented themselves at the gate; the others hid, laying low in various hideouts and holes.

As soon as the Jews assembled at the designated place, they were surrounded by gendarmes. The surrounded Jews included all the members of the *Judenrat*, headed by the chairman. The Germans ordered the chairman to leave the place and then began driving the remaining few hundred Jews in the direction of Bełżec. They were forced along at a fast pace and all who lagged behind were shot on the spot. The murderers wrenched babies from their mothers' arms, grabbing them by their tiny feet and tearing their bodies in two. Other murderers grabbed the babies by the feet and, with all their strength, split their heads open against a wall or tree. As a result, 200 of the 500 hounded Jews fell victim to brutal murder.

On Wednesday 8 April, the seventh day of Pesach, rigorous house searches took place in the entire shtetl: the Germans searched and rummaged everywhere, looking for Jews who were hiding. They discovered close to 200 Jews, dragged them out of their hiding places, beat them thoroughly and sent them to the labour camp in Krychów.[567]

After this mass search, only a small number of Jews remained in the shtetl, hiding in attics and holes. The hidden Jews survived only on what Polish acquaintances brought [3] them secretly, for money or even without cost. From their acquaintances, they learnt of the bitter fate of the 200 Jews who were sent to Krychów.

On Friday 10 April the Polish local council in Rejowiec announced to the Jews remaining in the shtetl – in their various hideouts – that they were all to present themselves at the council building that very day. Any Jew who showed himself in the street after that deadline would be summarily shot. Having no choice, close to 140 Jews crawled out of their hiding places and presented themselves at the council building that same day. There they were detained and spent six days in custody. Later they were put in carts – 10 people to a cart with a gendarme as a guard – and taken to Chełm, where they were freed.[568]

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567 Camp in Krychów (Chełm County) – water-management labour camp established in March 1941; the prisoners were Jews and Poles. See Józef Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie w latach 1939–1945* (Lublin, 1998), p. 145.

568 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 703–705.

Szczebrzeszyn[569] – In the first half of April the situation of the Jewish population of Szczebrzeszyn deteriorated sharply.

The following excerpts from letters sent on 14–16 April give us an idea of the full nightmare: "Death is looming large before the eyes of the entire Jewish population. We are in need of *rachamim gedolim*.[570] To live through the day is for us an achievement. Food is impossible to get because everything is closed. You can't get food for any amount of money. May the Almighty have mercy on us, especially the children. . . . You cannot imagine our plight. . . . We keep on saying, whatever happens, may we all be together . . ."

"We thank God that we are still alive; if we have survived till today, we hope to stay alive. Life is full of terror, you cannot imagine. We have just heard – praise be to God – that the train for the Jews has been cancelled".[571] [4] "If God helps and we see you again, that will be something to write about in the history books . . ." "For eight days now, we haven't undressed or slept . . ."[572]

On Thursday 16 April, 30 wealthy Jews attempted to leave Szczebrzeszyn, but the Germans seized them on the way and shot them all.[573]

Międzyrzec Podlaski[574] – On Friday 17 April the Germans demanded that the local *Judenrat* hand over the rabbi, whom they intended to shoot. Unless their demand was met, they would shoot 50 Jews. When the rabbi heard of the sentence passed on him, he immediately informed the *Judenrat* that he was ready to go to his execution, and he did in fact go straight to the SS. It was not long before the SS included in their demand not only the rabbi but also

569 Szczebrzeszyn (Biłgoraj County).

570 (Heb.) "great compassion" (cf. Isaiah 54:7), i.e. Divine mercy.

571 Zygmunt Klukowski wrote on 8 April 1942 that news about Bełżec as a place of mass extermination of Jews had reached Szczebrzeszyn. Klukowski called the trains headed for Bełżec "Jewish trains" (*Judenzüge*). See Zygmunt Klukowski, *Dziennik z lat okupacji* (Lublin, 1958), p. 254.

572 These are fragments from Fishl Fryda's and Sore Wulf's letters from Szczebrzeszyn to Moshek Wulf in Warsaw, dated 14, 16, and 17 April 1942. See ARG I 1022 (I/545).

573 On 14 April Klukowski wrote that eight Jews were arrested at the train station in Szczebrzeszyn as they were attempting to go to Warsaw. Five of them were apparently executed in Zwierzyniec. See Z. Klukowski, *Dziennik*, p. 255.

574 Międzyrzec Podlaski (Radzyń Podlaski County).

the *moreh hora'ah*[575] and the local *rebbe*, and all three were hanged in the marketplace.[576]

News is coming in from Łuków and Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski (near Kielce)[577] that massacres of Jews took place there between 26 April and 1 May. For the time being, there are no details.[578]

Wisłowiec (near Lublin)[579] – On Thursday 23 April the whole shtetl was surrounded by SS men. They took all the men, as well as women and youths aged 12 to 60 and sent them to labour camps in the vicinity. They left only women who had young children in their care.

Kraśnik[580] – On one of the days of Pesach, the German gendarmes assembled the whole Jewish population of the shtetl in the marketplace: men, women and children. Then they divided the assembled Jews into two groups: those working for the Germans and those not employed by the Germans. In the second group were more than 400 people (men, women and children), and the Germans began to drive them, with the utmost brutality, to the railway station. Those who lagged behind on the way were shot immediately. There were several dozen victims.[581]

[5] Dubienka (on the Bug)[582] – On Monday 13 April the shtetl was surrounded by SS men, and a mass slaughter of the Jewish population ensued. Jews who managed to hide saved themselves; the others were shot on the spot or sent to various labour camps. Jews seized on the way in the surrounding area were

575 (Heb.) "teacher of rulings", a scholar appointed by the community to adjudicate on halakhic matters.

576 On 8 May 1942 a letter from Masza Altman reached the Warsaw ghetto, in which she described the execution of the rabbi, the *moreh hora'ah* and the elders on 18 April 1942. See ARG I 926 (I/558).

577 Łuków (Radzyń Podlaski County), Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski (Opatów County).

578 Oyneg Shabes received two letters about these events from the Dror kibbutz in Ostrowiec. They are probably the source of the information in this bulletin. See ARG I 945 (I/553); *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 270, 679; Krzysztof Czubaszek, *Z dziejów społeczności żydowskiej w Łukowie* (Łuków, 2007).

579 Wisłowiec (Zamość County).

580 Kraśnik (Janów Lubelski County).

581 On 7 April 1942 approximately 2,400 Jews were deported from Kraśnik to the death camp in Bełżec, where they were murdered. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, p. 660; R. Kuwałek, *Obóz zagłady w Bełżcu*, p. 99.

582 Dubienka (Hrubieszów County).

immediately transported to the labour camps. Over 100 Jews, mostly men, died at the hands of the murderers.[583]

Solec[584] – One day in the week of 19 to 25 April gendarmes entered the home of the local rabbi, told him to dress in his best clothes, led him to the marketplace and shot him there.

Kraków region

Mielnik[585] – Until Monday 23 March the Jewish population in Mielnik lived quite well. Hardly any Germans were to be seen. No fewer than three thousand Jews were living in the shtetl.

On Monday 23 March the Jewish population received an order to be ready immediately for resettlement to the eastern territories of the province. The Jews thought that the expulsion applied specifically to the Jewish male population. Therefore most men hid, but to no avail. The whole Jewish population was expelled, and in the process about 800 Jews – men, among them the local rabbi with his daughter – were shot dead. The Germans deported more than 1,200 women and children to Dubienka on the Bug, as well as to other Jewish settlements in that area.

Warsaw region

Grodzisk Mazowiecki[586] – All the Jews had already been expelled from Grodzisk in February 1941. [6] No Jew was allowed to be there. Nonetheless, four Jews had managed to remain, obviously with no great pleasure. The four Jews were: two Rozman brothers, 18 and 12 years old, and a brother and a sister (surname unknown); his name was Moyshe (aged 18), hers was Masha (aged 20).

On Thursday 23 April the Germans caught all four "offenders" – probably as a result of a Polish tip-off – and shot them in the middle of the marketplace.

ARG I 34 (Ring. I/317)
Description: original, handwritten (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 205×288, 6 sheets, 6 pages.
Second copy in HWC, 2/6 (handwritten, pencil, 6 pages).

583 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 630–632.
584 Solec nad Wisłą (Iłża County).
585 Should be: Mielec.
586 Grodzisk Mazowiecki (Sochaczew-Błonie County).

52

20/22 May 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes bulletin on the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland in the period April to May 1942.

[1] 20 May 1942[587]
Hrubieszów

Until just before Pesach,[588] the situation of the Jewish population was quite good. The local German authorities did not harass the Jews and even got on well with the *Judenrat*.

Before Pesach, terrible news arrived of the extermination process spreading like an epidemic through a whole series of Jewish communities in the Lublin area, and the apprehension of the Hrubieszów Jewish population about their own fate began to grow. The local authorities solemnly announced that, if it depended on them, no harm would come to the Jews. Things would be worse if instructions were received from the central authorities to "put in order" the situation of the Jews.

In the meantime, there began to be cases of murder of individual Jews by *pizhakes*,[589] i.e. the black-coated men of the *Sonderdienst* (Volhynian Germans who were [2] drafted into the SD). In one case a *pizhak* murdered a man and a woman in a field outside the town. The German authorities supposedly carried out an investigation, the murderer was even seen in shackles, but after some time the whole affair was smoothed over. The first mass murder took place on 1 May, when eight people were shot by the Gestapo: Finkelsztajn (aged 38), Blonder (aged 37), Sztern, an unknown man, 2 brothers, and 2 other unknown persons. Gestapo circles circulated the idea that those executed were communists, proof being that for the two months during which the Soviets had been there, those men had worn red armbands. It was obviously the work of a malicious informer, and suspicion fell on the Polish shopkeeper Wolach, a former communist and left-wing activist. They were all [3] ordinary people,

587 Date on first copy. Date on second (carbon) copy is 22 May 1944.

588 Pesach fell on 2–8 April 1942.

589 (Yid.) "[men in] jackets", from Russian *pidzhak* (jacket), as *Sonderdienst* functionaries were called in Hrubieszów. See testimonies in ARG I 773 (Ring. I/812), ARG I 770 (Ring. I/814), ARG I 768 (Ring. I/810). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government.*

family men, while the real communists had gone into hiding. They were shot [x][590] in the Gestapo courtyard in the following sadistic manner: they were all ordered to run and, while running, they were badly beaten. In the corner of the courtyard, there was a kind of *pułapka,*[591] through which the hounded men had to pass, and it was there that the bullet of a Hitlerite murderer, specialising in shooting moving targets, caught up with them. After the execution, the Gestapo men reported the eight deaths to the Jewish *kehilla*. The *kehilla* had to provide a refuse cart, on which the martyrs were slung with great disrespect for the dead. A mass grave had already been prepared in the cemetery; the cart drove up to the grave, the Gestapo men ordered the cart to be tipped over, so [4] that the corpses rolled down into the grave by themselves. A Jewish gravedigger filled the grave in.

On 15 May, drunken Gestapo men murdered a Jewish informer. On 11 May, large transports of Ukrainians arrived in Hrubieszów, probably being sent to forced labour in Germany. They were deloused in the Hrubieszów delousing station. Because there were not enough shirts and other underwear for 100 Ukrainians, the [Jews] had to collect three times that number of underwear items from their own possessions.

On 16 May, 15 Gestapo men arrived in the shtetl. Again, bedding had to be provided for them.

At the same time, gypsies, brought from the Reich, were packed into the ghetto.

[5] Recently, a representative of the *Kreislandwirt*[592] committed suicide by hanging. It happened soon after he returned from leave in Cologne, where he had learnt that his whole family had died in one of the English air raids on the city. *Ken yovdu . . .*[593]

Pabianice[594] (near Łódź).

On Saturday 16 May the Germans put an end to the Jewish settlement (5,000 people) in Pabianice. Children up to 10 years of age and people aged

590 [x] On Friday 15th.

591 (Pol.) trap.

592 (Ger.) District Agricultural Officer.

593 (Heb.) "So let them perish", the first words of Judges 5:31, which reads: "So let all Thine enemies perish, O Lord". For more information on Hrubieszów, see *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 634–636.

594 Pabianice (Łask County, Warthegau).

60 years and over were sent away "in an unknown direction". The rest were thrown into the Łódź ghetto.[595]

The same thing happened to the Jews of Łask and Brzeziny.[596]

In Koluszki[597] 40 Jews were murdered by the Germans.

ARG I 32 (Ring. I/813)
Description: original (2 copies), handwritten (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 150×195, minor damage and fragments missing, 10 sheets, 10 pages. On p. 1 (first copy), the words "2 pages" in Yiddish, added (in ink) by H.W.

53

29 May 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes bulletin entitled "די מגילה פֿון פּיין און אויסראָטונג" *["Chronicle of Torment and Extermination"] containing information about the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland in April and May 1942.*

[1] 29 May 1942

Chronicle of Torment and Extermination

Otwock[598] – Soon after Pesach there began a savage hunting of Otwock Jews by the Germans, which continued, with some interruptions, until Shavuot.[599] More than 500 Jews were seized on the streets and from their houses and sent to Treblinka to the death [x][600] camp (there are two camps in Treblinka: a labour camp and a murder site). In the execution site the murderers do not kill by shooting because it is a "waste of bullets"; instead, the executions are

595 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 88–90.
596 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 44–47, 72–74.
597 Koluszki (Tomaszów Mazowiecki County).
598 Otwock (Warsaw County).
599 In 1942 Passover fell on 2 and 8 April, and the Feast of Weeks on 22 May.
600 [x] labour.

carried out with a truncheon – the death truncheon.[601] Some of the 500 Jews seized were sent to a labour camp for some type of work. 12 Jews were murdered at the time in Otwock itself for crossing the boundary of the ghetto without a permit or for evading work. The first category of "offenders" were killed by the [. . .]; the others, by the head of the labour office [. . .].[602]

Tłuszcz[603] – On Tuesday, in the night of 25 to 26 May, at 4 o'clock in the morning, the shtetl was surrounded by gendarmes, and they began to drive all the Jews, young and old, into the marketplace. When the entire Jewish population – 600 people – was assembled in the marketplace, the gendarmes ordered all the Jews to hand over all their money, jewellery and various valuables; each Jew was allowed to keep only one zloty. If any Jew was found with money on him, he would be shot on the spot. Gold, silver, diamonds, wads of banknotes began pouring onto the square. Everybody tried to get rid of their money as quickly as possible to save themselves from death. The murderers immediately carried out a body search of the Jews, and one Jew was killed on the spot because he was allegedly found with … 2 zlotys! After that, the Germans shot old people over age 60 and children under 10 years of age, as well as all the sick and some of the women. The rest of the women were loaded onto carts and sent away from the shtetl in the direction of Radzymin. An hour after the carts left the shtetl, the Germans began, savagely and with colossal brutality, [2] to drive the remaining Jews along the highway to Radzymin in order to catch up with the carts that had set off. It is about 20 km from Tłuszcz to Radzymin. On both sides of the road stood Poles with red armbands, ready to dig graves right away for Jews who, because of their weakness, were to be shot by the German murderers. And that is exactly what happened: due to weakness, illness, or other causes, a large number of the forced marchers lagged behind and were shot on the spot. The Poles immediately buried them by the roadside. Only a fraction of the

601 It seems that by the "death camp" in Treblinka the author meant the construction site of the Treblinka II death camp, which began to be built in May 1942. That site was notorious for numerous instances of Jewish labourers having been tortured to death by the German guards. See Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, "Treblinka – obóz śmierci 'akcji Reinhard'" in *Akcja Reinhardt*, p. 219.

602 See Sylwia Szymańska, *Ludność żydowska w Otwocku podczas drugiej wojny światowej* (Warsaw, 2002).

603 Tłuszcz (Warsaw County).

expelled Jews reached Warsaw, in the direst state of utter physical exhaustion and mental collapse.[604]

Włodawa –In the second half of the month of May, a terrible massacre took place in the shtetl, carried out by the Gestapo. More than 100 Jews were shot, among them the Radzyń *rebbe*, Rabbi Lajner,[605] and the town rabbi, Rabbi Morgensztern. There is a report of a case of *kiddush hashem* in which a Jewish young man, in reply to the murderers' question "where is the *rebbe*", pointed to himself in order to spare the *rebbe*. He was shot immediately, but that did not save the rabbi from death.

Dęblin (Irena)[606] – At the beginning of the second ten-day period of the month, the Germans expelled the whole Jewish population from the shtetl; on their way, 42 Jews were shot by the Polish police.[607]

Ryki[608] (near Dęblin) – On the same day, the whole Jewish population of Ryki was also expelled in an "unknown direction". The whole Jewish community has disappeared without a trace. Before the expulsion, many local Jews were shot.[609]

Końskowola[610] – On Friday, 8 May, the Germans killed the rabbi and twenty or so shtetl Jews, as well as a few members [3] of the *Judenrat*. There are reports that the Germans herded many Jews together by the Vistula and told the rabbi to be "Moses" and divide the waters of the Vistula for himself and his Jews. They drove all the Jews into the water, with the rabbi at their head, and the Jews drowned or were shot by the Germans while in the water. The shtetl numbered about 1,300 Jews, of whom 800 were expelled by the Germans. Children under age 10 and the elderly over 60 were sent away in an "unknown direction". 500 men have remained in the shtetl, employed by the Germans in

604 Note based on an anonymous testimony; see ARG I 1027 (Ring. I/922). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government.*

605 Shmuel Shloyme Lajner. Yitzkhak Katzenelson wrote a poem in his honour entitled "Dos lid vegn Radziner" (Poem on the Radziner [rabbi]); see ARG II 395 (Ring. II/350).

606 Irena (Puławy County, formerly Garwolin County) – urban settlement established in the mid-nineteenth century in the suburbs of Dęblin, now part of this town.

607 The Jews were deported from Dęblin to the death camp in Sobibór on 6 May 1942. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 636–638.

608 Ryki (Puławy County).

609 The deportation took place on 7 May 1942. The Jews of Ryki were murdered in Sobibór. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 708–710.

610 Końskowola (Puławy County).

three labour camps. Recently, 1,000 Jews arrived from Slovakia and the Czech protectorate. A new *Judenrat* comprising 11 people has been set up: 6 locals and 5 "Germans". In recent days, the Jewish population has been seized by a new panic, fearing that all the Jews are going to be expelled. For that reason, many are fleeing from the shtetl. Those who have fled include members of the *Judenrat*.[611]

Chełm – On Saturday, 23 May, the Germans demanded that the *Judenrat* supply 3,000 Jews for work. The *Judenrat* managed to produce only 1,700. The Germans took the "opportunity" to settle some accounts with the Chełm Jews and, accusing them of sabotage, shot some 200 Jews and themselves rounded up more than 5,000. Where this mass of Jews was driven is unknown; there are rumours that they were sent to Baranowicze to work on fortifications.[612]

Międzyrzec Podlaski[613] – On Saturday, 23 May, the Germans rounded up 600 Jews, led them out of town and killed them. According to the latest news, the entire Jewish [community] is facing expulsion. The Jewish population is in deep despair and helpless.[614]

Kraśnik – In the latest information that has arrived from the shtetl [4], it is reported that in mid-April 2,000 Jews were expelled in an "unknown direction"; they probably all perished.[615]

Chodel[616] – During the first ten days of May, there was a massacre of the Jewish population in the shtetl. Many were killed. A large part of the Jewish population was taken away "in an unknown direction".[617]

In the first half of May, the Jewish communities of the following shtetls were destroyed: Sielce, Wojsławice, Wólka Leszczańska, and Kumów,[618] all in the

611 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 654–657.

612 Those people were murdered in the death camp in Sobibór. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 623–626. Zygmunt Klukowski wrote about deportations of Jews from Chełm to Bełżec as early as 11 April, cf. Z. Klukowski, *Dziennik*, p. 254.

613 Międzyrzec Podlaski (Radzyń Podlaski County).

614 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 684–688.

615 See Doc. 51.

616 Chodel (Lublin County).

617 On 19 May approximately one hundred people were deported to Opole. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 626–628.

618 Sielce, Wojsławice, Wólka Leszczańska, Kumów (Chełm County).

Lublin region. All the Jews from those localities were brought together in one place, from where they were driven towards Chełm. On the way, they were "liquidated" by the gendarmes. 600 people died.

ARG I 29 (Ring. I/1062/1)
Description: original (2 copies), handwritten (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 206×292, minor damage and fragments missing, first page missing (in second copy), 7 sheets, 7 pages.
Edition based on 1st copy, 4 sheets, 4 pages.
Cf. HWC, 2/2 (3rd copy, MS, pencil, 4 sheets).

54

8 June 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes bulletin on the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland in May and June 1942.

[1] 8 June 1942
Dubienka – The situation of the Jews in Dubienka is catastrophic. At the end of May the Germans carried out a massacre of the Jewish population: over 100 died. A large number of Jews were expelled to Chełm, then back to Dubienka, where they were crammed into a camp in the open air. In the camp, enclosed with barbed wire, there are 4,800 Jews at present: men, women and children. Some Jews still remain in the town itself. Here is what people write from there: "4 June 1942. Dear F., I'm back here in Dubienka. We've survived once again: myself, Volf, and the children. For how long, I don't know. Write how things are with you. Everyone has been expelled, I don't know where, whether to the same place as Yoysef (he had been killed earlier)[619] or somewhere else, no one knows. All trace has disappeared. Volf's whole family has been deported. Write what I should do: should I try to come to you or get the children to you? Ptasznik's wife and daughter have been deported. So have Levin's and

619 In brackets, an annotation of the bulletin editors to the quoted letter.

the family. Mrs Rozenberg's mother too. Almost everyone has been expelled, about 200 people. Those who received special residence permits have remained. Write back quickly. L".[620]

The Germans are telling those interned in the camp that they will be sent to Russia (a new term for the hereafter . . .)

Zawiercie – In the past week the situation of the Jewish population has become unbearable: persecution and oppression at every turn. The Jews there are under threat of total expulsion.[621]

Kraków – On Friday 5 June an official pogrom took place in Kraków; shots were fired in the streets of the ghetto; there are more than 100 Jewish martyrs. Apart from that, the Hitlerite murderers massacred Jewish babies. Eyewitnesses recount that the murderers smashed the children's heads on the cobblestones. Several thousand Jews were deported.[622]

[2] Międzyrzec – On 18 May the *Judenvernichtungsbrigade*[623] arrived in Międzyrzec. They promptly shot 53 Jews in the street; those shot included *klei kodesh*.[624] The murderers left in return for 5 kg of gold.

Kock[625] – In the second half of May members of the *Sonderkommando* shot 12 Jews. They left the shtetl in return for 2 kg of gold.

Piotrków – On 18 May 23 Jews were shot, among them a *kehilla* official (Szternfeld) and Michał Hertz's daughter.

620 Quoted in full here is a letter of Luba Rozenberg from Dubienka to Frania Zalcman in the Warsaw ghetto. The information preceding Luba's letter comes partly from earlier correspondence (letters of 23 May and 1 June 1942; see ARG I 710 (I/568/1), I 727 (I/568/2).), as well as from other sources unknown to us. Noteworthy is the similarity between the first sentences of the note and the information regarding Dubienka included in the bulletin of 5 May (Doc. 51). For more information on the deportations from Dubienka, see *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 630–632.

621 On 16–17 June, a total of 1,650–1,800 Jews were deported from Zawiercie to Auschwitz. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 174–176.

622 The first deportation from the Kraków ghetto to the death camp in Bełżec took place from 1–8 June 1942. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 527–530.

623 (Ger.) "Jew-destruction brigade", another name of the *Einsatzgruppen*.

624 (Heb.) "instruments of holiness", i.e. rabbis and other religious functionaries, such as cantors.

625 Kock (Radzyń Podlaski County).

Tomaszów – That same day, a pogrom took place in town; more than 100 Jews were killed, including Szternfeld (a lawyer)[626] and two Markiewicz brothers (manufacturers).[627]
Sosnowiec – In mid-May deportations of Jews began. Several thousand Jews were deported and their whereabouts are unknown.[628]

ARG I 34 (Ring. I/317)
Description: original, handwritten (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 205×288, 2 sheets, 2 pages.

55

11 June 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes bulletin containing information about the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland in the period February to May 1942.

11 June 1942

Łęczyca – Until February 1942 the situation of the Jewish population in Łęczyca was bearable. On 10 February the Germans began deporting Jews from the town to Poddębice and Grabów;[629] by the beginning of March up to 1,000 Jews had been thus deported. On 10 April 1,750 Jews were deported from Łęczyca to Chełmno, where they were killed. Prior to deportation, the group of martyrs were locked up in the Łęczyca church.[630]

626 Attorney Szmul Józef Szternfeld lived in Tomaszów Mazowiecki (Kościuszki Square 15) until 1939; see *Kalendarz Informator Sądowy na rok 1939* (Warsaw, 1939), p. 375.
627 In late April and early May there were executions of Jewish intelligentsia in Tomaszów Mazowiecki. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 335–338, 718–720.
628 Deportations to various concentration camps took place at that time. See ibid., pp. 162–166.
629 Poddębice, Grabów (Łęczyca County). The deportations in question took place a year earlier, in January and February 1941.
630 The deportation to Chełmno took place on 11–12 April 1942. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 74–75.

Brzeżany – On 30 and 31 May the Germans dragged out of town 2,000 (two thousand) Jewish women who were not working for the Germans, took them to a place outside the town and killed them. In a letter written from Brzeżany, a 16-year-old girl tells that she is employed in sweeping the streets.

Włodawa – on Sunday 24 May the Germans shot 100 Jews. In addition to the mass murder, the Germans deported Jews in two groups, a couple of hundred altogether.[631]

ARG I 30 (Ring. I/1062/2)
Description: original, handwritten (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 147×206, 1 sheet, 1 page.

56

13 June 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes bulletin containing information on the situation of Jews in various countries in Western Europe.

13 June 1942

Holland

The robbing of the Jews of Holland by the Hitlerite authorities continues. According to a Dutch Hitlerite leaflet, the "Aryans" have appropriated Jewish property worth half a billion guilders. Out of 21,000 registered Jewish firms, ten thousand agencies have already been closed down. Eight thousand Jewish firms have themselves "voluntarily" handed their property over to Aryans. The remainder will be transferred to Aryans by the "government" itself. The land ownership of Jews in Holland and their participation in various share-holding companies are also being liquidated, and their cash accounts in the banks are also being seized.

631 From 18 to 23 May 1942, 1,300 Jews from Włodawa were murdered in the death camp in Sobibór. See ibid., pp. 730–733.

In the larger cities in Holland, Jews are prohibited from visiting cafés, restaurants, theatres and public recreation places. They are allowed access to only a couple of cafés.[632]

Switzerland

At the end of last year there were more than 5,800 Jewish refugees in Switzerland, who were waiting for relevant visas so that they would be able to leave the country. Over 1,220 Jewish emigrants have succeeded in moving to America. The Swiss government have set up special labour camps for the remaining male refugees; in 1941 there were 10 such camps. The refugees in five of the camps were employed in road building; those of the other five, in renovation work. In each of the camps there were up to 800 Jewish refugees. The Hitlerite newspaper reports that "of late there is noticeable intensive activity in the camps by communists, who often visit the refugees, distribute brochures and give lectures".

Occupied France

From 23 May all Jews, including children over 6 years of age, must wear a yellow patch in the shape of a Star of David with the inscription *Juif* (Jew). Jews who fail to comply with the order will be punished by imprisonment and a fine. More severe punishments can also be imposed, such as deportation to a labour camp for Jews. All Jews have to go in person to local police stations to collect their yellow patches, in exchange for which one point is deducted from their textile ration coupons.[633]

ARG I 31 (Ring. I/1062/3)
Description: original, handwritten (LEG*), pencil, Yiddish, 206×292, 1 sheet, 1 page.

632 See Tomasz Szarota, *Życie codzienne w stolicach okupowanej Europy* (Warsaw, 1995), pp. 105–117.

633 Szarota, *Życie codzienne w stolicach okupowanej Europy*, pp. 115–117.

57

June 18, 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes bulletin on the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland during April–June 1942.

[1] Below we provide [. . .] Polish [. . .] regarding the location [. T]his information pertains to the period of the last [. . .] months.

18 June 1942[634]

Warsaw area
Warsaw – Night-time massacres in the ghetto conducted by functionaries of the Gestapo and SD do not cease. So far the number of the brutally murdered (mostly smugglers) amounts to 250.
Treblinka[635] (camp) – An eyewitness provided the following news: "We were digging enormous pits for graves. Every day the Germans would bring groups of 30,000 Jews, whom they ordered to strip naked and walk into the grave. The grave was then covered up with the living people in it. I was in the camp for 3 weeks (May)".
Tłuszcz – On Tuesday night of 25–26 May the gendarmerie and SD surrounded the ghetto. In the morning the entire Jewish population (600 people) was assembled on the market square. At first, all the Jews were robbed of all their money, valuables and baggage. The Jews had to drag their own furniture onto the market square and burn it. A Jew on whom 2 zlotys were found was executed. The Germans then murdered the old, sick, children under the age of 10 and some of the women. The Germans gave carts to the remaining women and ordered them to drive along the road to Radzymin. After an hour the Germans brutally rushed the men towards Radzymin. A few hundred Jews were executed on the road. The total number of people to reach Warsaw was 150.[636]

634 Each page of the bulletin is marked with the date of the recording. The upper part of page 1 is damaged, while pp. 2 and 3 bear the date 18 June 1942.
635 "Treblinka" in the original.
636 See Doc. 53.

Otwock – In late April the Germans organised a roundup of Jews. 500 Jews were sent to the camp in Treblinka. During the roundup 12 Jews were murdered [. . .] personally by the commanding officer [2] Schlicht and the *Arbeitsamt* director Dietz.[637]

Kraków voivodship

Kraków – On Friday, 29 May, the Germans organised a general registration of the Jews in Kraków combined with the stamping of their [work records?]. The registration was to end at 4 p.m. on Sunday, 31 May. The *Judenrat* stamped only 14,000 [work records?] of the 20,000. On the night from Sunday to Monday the ghetto was surrounded with SD posts and the Germans removed 2,000 Jews from their flats. Each person could take 10 kilograms of baggage and 20 zlotys. The Germans took their remaining money. The Jews were assembled in Prokocim (3 kilometres out of Kraków), from where they were deported in sealed boxcars. The Germans executed the old on the way in the Niepołomice forests. The chairman and [. . .] members of the *Judenrat* were also deported in that first transport. On Tuesday, 2 June, 14 Jews were shot dead and 15 were wounded on the streets of Kraków. At 6 a.m. on Thursday, 4 June, the SD captured Jews in accordance with a list and with the help of the Jewish police. 80 Jews were murdered and 76 were wounded. The operation lasted the whole day and affected 4,000 Jews. The captives were driven on foot to Prokocim, with many killed on the way. ("The road was stained with blood", said an informer). The transport passed through Brzesko-Słotwina[638] at 9:30 in the evening. The local *Judenrat* had prepared bread and coffee for the Jews, but the German guards did not permit the food to be handed over. The same thing happened at the station in Tarnów (12:30 at night). On Friday, 5 June, the Germans removed 250 patients from the hospital. There has been no news about their fate. A new registration of 2,000 Jews was carried out throughout Saturday, 6 June, and on Sunday [. . .] 500 people aged 18–24 from that transport were deported [. . .] to the camp in Kleszew[639] [. . .]. At the destination [. . .] 8 June the operation [3][640] ended. Before that operation the

637 Cf. Doc. 61.

638 Brzesko-Słotwina (Tarnów County).

639 A reference to the camp on Wielicka Street in the area of the Jewish cemeteries in Płaszów. Forced labourers of the Eastern Railway (*Ostbahn*) detail were quartered there.

640 Mistake in the original pagination.

Kraków ghetto had 20,000 Jews. Now there are only 12,000 Jews, also unsure of their future.[641]

Tarnów – Murders of Jews combined with deportations "in an unknown direction" have been continuous in Tarnów since Wednesday, 10 June. So far the Germans have murdered 4,000 Jews and deported 9,000 of them to die.[642]

Lublin area

Włodawa – At the end of May the Gestapo functionaries brutally executed 100 Jews.

Końska Wola[643] – On Friday, 8 May, the Germans executed the rabbi and 27 Jews, including a few members of the *Judenrat*. 800 of the 1,300 Jews were deported in an unknown direction.

Chełm – On Saturday, 23 May, the Germans executed 200 Jews. 5,000 were deported in an unknown direction.

Kraśnik – In mid-April 2,000 Jews were deported from the town in an unknown direction.

Chodel – In early May the majority of the Jewish population was massacred. Many were deported.

Turobin[644] – On 31 May the entire Jewish population was deported in an unknown direction. Only a handful managed to remain in Turobin.

Zamość – On 11 May[645] the Germans deported 2,500 of the 7,500 Jews in an unknown direction and murdered 500 Jews. On 27 May they deported another 2,500 people, including even those employed on German work details (at the airfield, at drainage works, etc.).[646]

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641 This note is based on the anonymous testimony "Wydarzenia w Krakowie (29. 05–8. 06)" [Events in Kraków (29 May–8 June], dated 14 June 1942. See. ARG I 827 (Ring. I/833). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government*; *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 527–530.

642 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 584–587.

643 Końskowola (Puławy County).

644 Turobin (Krasnystaw County).

645 It should be: 11 April.

646 The first deportation from Zamość to Bełżec was conducted during 11–12 April 1942 and the second on 27 May 1942. This note is based on an account of escapee Fiszelzon of 6 June 1942. See ARG I 1059 (Ring. I/946). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government*; Adam Kopciowski, *Zagłada Żydów w Zamościu* (Lublin, 2005).

Hrubieszów – During the week between 26 May and 2 June the Germans rushed all the Jews from the neighbouring localities into town. On 2 June there were more than 10,000 Jews in Hrubieszów. The first "campaign" took place on 2 June – a few dozen Jews [4][647] were murdered, while 2,000 others were deported in sealed boxcars in an unknown direction. The subsequent "campaigns" lasted several days beginning on 7 June. 200 Jews died, while 5,000 were gradually deported in an unknown direction. 1,500 people remained in town.[648]

Grabowiec[649] – On 8 June the Germans rushed all the Jews from Grabowiec and other small towns (a total of 5,500 people) to the railway station in Miączyn. 4,500 Jews were loaded into boxcars and sent to the new death camp in Sobibór (a railway station 36 kilometres from Chełm).[650]

Dubienka – A number of operations took place in this small town in late May and early June. 200 people working on German work details remain, of the entire Jewish population (4,000 people). Many were murdered, while a few thousand were deported (Sobibór?).[651]

Eastern Lesser Poland

Kołomyja – On 3 May the Germans captured [. . .] people in the ghetto. They did the same over the following days. At the same time they fired and set Jewish homes ablaze. The Gestapo and the Ukrainians burnt 109 buildings, murdered 600 Jews and deported 4,000 Jews, probably to Bełżec.[652]

Brzeżany – On 30 and 31 May the Germans murdered 2,000 Jewish women.

Podlasie

Biała Podlaska

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647 Mistake in the original pagination.

648 This note and the following one about the events in Grabowiec were probably based on reports from 14 June 1942 of two Dror messengers, Fruma Plotnicka and Chava Folman. See ARG I 769 (Ring. I/811). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government*; Cf. *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 634–636.

649 Grabowiec (Hrubieszów County).

650 Cf. *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 632–634.

651 On 2 June Jews from Dubienka were resettled to Hrubieszów, whence they were deported to Sobibór and killed. See ibid., pp. 630–632.

652 During 3–6 April 1942 approximately 5,000 Jews from Kołomyja were deported to the death camp in Bełżec. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 790–793; R. Kuwałek, *Obóz zagłady w Bełżcu*, pp. 102–103.

On 6 June the Germans deported 2,000 Jews in an unknown direction (Sobibór?).[653]

Dąbrowa Basin

In late May nearly 4,000 Jews were deported from Będzin and Sosnowiec in an unknown direction.[654]

Kujavia

Łęczyca – We have learned with delay about the fate of the [Jewish?] population [. . .].

ARG I 35 (Ring. I/472, II/487)
Description: original, handwritten, ink, pencil, Polish, 220x353 mm, damage and missing fragments, 4 sheets, 4 pages. Page 2 from Ring. II/487.
The bulletins of June 18, 1942 and July 3, 1942 were paginated together (ink): 1–6.
Ring. I/472 – attached is Hersz Wasser's note: "News bulletins of June 18, 1942, July 3, 1942, July 18, 1942".

58 *24 June 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes bulletin on the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland during April–June 1942.*[655]

[1] 24 June 1942[656]

The campaign to exterminate Jews in Poland is proceeding at a fast pace. In addition to Chełmno near Koło and Bełżec, a new death camp was opened in Sobibór, 36 kilometres from Chełm Lubelski. In this report we deliberately

653 Note based on 8 June 1942 account of Mr and Mrs Z. See ARG I 873 (Ring. I/973). To be printed in: *General Government*; Cf. *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 615–619.

654 On 12 May 1942 approximately 3,200 Jews from Będzin and 5,000 Jews from Sosnowiec were deported to Auschwitz. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 140–143, 162–166.

655 Most entries in this bulletin repeat or develop information from the bulletin of 18 June. See Doc. 57.

656 The date is handwritten.

omit the official reasons and describe only the actual course of individual "liquidations". We emphasise that the Germans are exterminating the unproductive population, that is, children up to the age of 10 and the elderly above the age of 60, almost without exception, as well as women and men who do not possess J-cards, which confirm one's employment on a German work detail. A characteristic feature of the Hitlerite reality in Poland is that the Germans always set a contingent of "the employed", which usually constitutes 30–50 per cent of the local Jewish population. The most horrible crime of all times is being committed under the pretence of exploiting the Jewish workforce.

Kraków

20,000 Jews – craftsmen and labourers – remained in the Kraków ghetto after the 1941 deportation. Nonetheless, Kraków has suffered the same fate as other towns. On 27 May of this year the ghetto was surrounded with gendarmerie and SD posts. Overnight Sunday to Monday 2,000 Jews were removed from their homes. They were assembled in Prokocim (3 kilometres out of town) and then deported in sealed boxcars. The elderly were executed in the Niepołomice forests. On Tuesday, 2 June, another roundup was conducted. 4,000 Jews were captured. The victims were ordered to walk to Prokocim. Many were killed on the way. On 5 June the Germans deported 250 patients from the Jewish hospital. Those people were probably murdered. On Sunday, 7 June, 500 men aged 18–28 were sent to the labour camp in Kleszew,[657] while the remaining 1,500 men were deported in an "unknown direction". The result was that 8,000 Jews were killed. That *Ausrottung*[658] campaign was accompanied by killings and robberies committed by the local authorities.

Tarnów

The pogrom of Tarnów Jews has continued since Wednesday, 10 June this year. The city is surrounded by gendarmerie and SD troops. So far the Hitlerite beasts have murdered approximately 4,000 Jews, while more than 8,000 Jews have been deported in an "unknown direction", that is, to die. According to eyewitnesses' accounts, the Germans have not spared anybody, taking particular pleasure in killing the women and children. The act of destruction and murder has been completed with truly Teutonic passion and meticulousness.

657 Should be: Płaszów.

658 (Ger.) extermination, annihilation.

12,000 helpless Jewish victims – this is the fruit [of the deeds] of those "knightly" bandits.

Włodawa (Lublin area)

In late May this year approx. 1,500 Jews were murdered in the death camp in Sobibór. 100 people were brutally killed on the spot.

Końskowola (Lublin area)

800 Jews of the total of 1,300 have been deported in an "unknown direction" (to Bełżec?).

Kraśnik (Lublin area)

In mid-April 2,000 Jews – children, women, and the elderly – were deported in an "unknown direction" (Bełżec).

Turobin (Lublin area)

On 31 May the entire Jewish population was deported in an "unknown direction" (Bełżec). Only a handful managed to obtain permission to stay.

Zamość

On Saturday, 11 April, the *Landrat* accompanied by the local Gestapo announced to the assembled members of the *Judenrat* that 2,500 Jews must assemble on the market square within 45 minutes to be "deported". 3,000 Jews assembled within the specified time with "help" from the gendarmerie and SD troops, who murdered approx. 60 people. The assembled Jews were hurried to the railroad siding near the local airfield. Approximately 400 people, mostly children, were shot on the way, with another 153 people shot as they were being loaded into the boxcars. The victims of the German brutality during the march were buried in the cemetery, while those killed during the loading were "simply" thrown into the boxcars.

Immediately after that campaign (as far as is known the victims were deported to Bełżec) 2,000 Czech Jews were deported to Zamość.

The second phase of the *Ausrottung* took place on 27 May. All the Czech Jews (2,000 people) and 500 from the nearby towns were deported, probably to Bełżec. The perfidy and insolence of the Germans towards the Czech Jews, who purportedly enjoyed decent treatment, knew no bounds.

[...] the narrow ghetto streets they brought the Jews [...] labourers employed on German work details and craftsmen [...] amounted to 8,000 souls. On 6 June this year [...] clerk for ethnic affairs at the district council offices accompanied by the police chief Debus [announced the following?] to the members of the *Judenrat*: ᶜ*Ja, erst haben wir Gelegenheit hier*

ein bischen Luft zu machen. Also, alles was nicht arbeitet muss von hier weg. Hier bleiben nur die Arbeiter mit ihren zugehoerigen. Bums. Los.[c659] (authentic).

On Wednesday, 10 June, 2,003 people were assembled and hurried to the train platform.

On Thursday, 11 June, they were loaded into boxcars and deported, as far as is known, to Sobibór.

Chełm Lubelski

Between mid-April and the end of May approx. 6,000 "unemployed" Jews were deported to Sobibór. Up to 500 people were murdered on the spot. The Jewish population is completely terrorised and incapable of any confrontation, particularly because those who leave town can be "legally" shot (it is the same in other towns). The town is swarming with snoops and denouncers, whose only task is to detect instances of sympathy of Polish neighbours towards the miserable Jews.

Hrubieszów

Between 26 May and 2 June this year the Germans drove all Jews from the neighbouring localities to Hrubieszów. On 2 June there were more than 10,000 Jews in Hrubieszów. The first *Aktion* was conducted on 2 June. A few dozen people were murdered, with 2,000 deported in an "unknown direction" (Sobibór) in sealed boxcars. The subsequent *Aktions* lasted until 10 June. 200 Jews died on the spot, with 5,500 deported in groups to an "unknown direction". 2,000 people remain in the town.

Sosnowiec

In-mid May 4,000 Jews were deported to die. For now the *Aktion* has been discontinued.

Grabowiec

On 8 June the Germans drove all the Jews from Grabowiec and other small towns (a total of 5,500 people) to the railway station in Miączyn. 4,500 Jews were loaded into boxcars and deported to the death camp in Sobibór.

Dubienka (Lublin area)

Between mid-May and early June this year almost the entire Jewish population of the town was murdered and deported to Sobibór. Only 200 souls of the 4,000 Jews remain.

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659 [c-c] (Ger.) Yes, this is the first time we can blow off some steam. So all those who do not work need to get lost. Only labourers and their families can stay. Away!

At the last moment we have learned from a Polish inhabitant of Grabów (*Warthegau*) that Poles over the age of 60 were deported in an "unknown" direction, while those able to work are being deported to labour camps and German factories. Indeed, the Teutonic hydra knows no mercy. What is human is alien to it. The *Herrenvolk*[660] is conducting the *Ausrottung* not only of the helpless Jews, but also of the Polish population, who are incessantly maltreated and oppressed. We will remember it in the hour of revenge.

ARG I 33 (Ring. I/261)
Description: original, typewritten, Polish 208x284, minor damage and missing fragments, 2 sheets, 2 pages. Date "24 June 1942" on the 2nd page. Roman number I written on pages 2 and 3 (pencil).

59

25/30 June 25/30 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes bulletin on the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland during May–June 1942.

[1] 25 June 1942[661]
From the country
Tyszowce[662]
We have learned the details of the *Aktion* conducted in Tyszowce. The Jewish population, consisting mostly of refugees and deportees, was scattered on various streets and alleys of the town (Tyszowce did suffer during the 1939 military operations). The Jews earned their living mostly through craftsmanship and working on army details. The SS-man Schultz, the town commandant and an active murderer of Jews, was trying to appease the Jewish population, assuring it that he would not hurt "his" Jews, as they did not engage in smuggling or any other "prohibited" activities. The day of the *Aktion* in Tyszowce showed how

660 (Ger.) master race.
661 The date is handwritten. Date "30 June 1942" is written on copies 2 and 3.
662 Tyszowiec Lubelski in the original. It should be Tyszowce (Zamość County).

much that "gentleman's promise" was worth. On Tuesday, 22 May this year, the first day of the Shavuot holiday (Pentecost), the Jewish population of the town was massacred. Approximately 200 children and the elderly (it remains impossible to provide the exact number of victims in Tyszowce and other towns due to the pace of the *Aktion*, its circumstances and the explicit ban on recording the names of the victims in the departments of cemeteries' registers of deaths) were killed in a particularly barbarous way. Another 600 people were deported in an "unknown direction", possibly to Sobibór (a killing centre for Jews). Approx. 800 Jews fell victim to the *Ausrottung*. The only survivors were those who managed to hide. 120 men employed on German details were given the right to live. The remaining Jews dwell "illegally" in horrible conditions as far as housing, hygiene and food provision are concerned. Today Schultz increased the number of Jews permitted to stay, and therefore live, to 300 souls. The Jews are living from day to day, uncertain if they are going to survive and long deprived of their property.[663]

Trawniki[664]

On the Lublin–Chełm route there is the small railway station of Trawniki and a locality by the same name. A camp for Soviet citizens and POWs was established in Trawniki with the outbreak of the German–Soviet War. The Germans quickly "liquidated" that camp, killing most of its prisoners and using that occasion to liquidate the entire local Jewish population (a few hundred souls). A larger gas chamber and a primitive crematorium have been operating in the camp for a while. Trains with Jewish deportees, mostly from Slovakia and the Czech Republic [in 1942 Bohemia and Moravia had been annexed to the Third Reich, leaving Slovakia as a dependent state], have been arriving in Trawniki almost every day since the inauguration of that chamber and crematorium, bringing approximately 1,500 people per day. After their arrival the deportees are deprived of everything they have, are stripped naked and then hurried to the said chamber. When the chamber is packed full it is hermetically sealed and poisonous gas is introduced into it with the use of suitable appliances. After 15–30 minutes everybody in the chamber is dead. When the remains of the gas have been removed from the chamber the suffocated Jews

663 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 720–722.

664 Trawniki (Lublin County).

are burned in the crematorium. Once in a while the victims' clothing, underwear and footwear is loaded into boxcars and transported to the SS clothing workshops, one of which is located at the former aircraft factory[665] in Lublin, where it is segregated and altered. The personnel of the Trawniki chamber and crematorium consists almost exclusively of SS-men.[666]

Komarów Lubelski[667]

On Saturday, 23 May this year, almost the entire Jewish population of Komarów was "liquidated". Only a few dozen people survived.[668]

Zawiercie

In late June this year 1,600 Jews from Zawiercie were deported in an "unknown direction". No further details available.[669]

Tłuszcz near Warsaw

On the night of 25–26 May the ghetto was surrounded by the gendarmerie and SD. Early in the morning the entire Jewish population was assembled on the market square. Before the "deportation" to the Warsaw ghetto the Germans robbed each and every Jew of money, valuables and baggage. The Jews were forced drag their own furniture onto the market square and burn it there themselves. A Jew was executed on the spot, because 2 zlotys had been found on him. The Germans then murdered the old, crippled, and some of the women and children. The Germans provided carts for the remaining women, who were then transported towards Radzymin. After an hour the Germans began to brutally rush the men along the Radzymin road to "catch up" with the carts. The maltreated mass of "deportees" was not spared the worst: the Germans fired their machine guns at the crowd at random. The corpses and the wounded were buried in roadside ditches. The "deportation campaign" took a toll of more than 100 victims. Fewer than

665 The labour camp for Jews (*Flugplatz*) at the Plagge & Laśkiewicz aircraft factory in Lublin (Wrońska Street) was established in February 1942 and operated until autumn 1943.

666 The labour camp, some of whose prisoners were Jewish, was established at the sugar factory in Trawniki in May 1942. Emanuel Ringelblum was one of its prisoners in 1943. There were no gas chambers nor crematorium in Trawniki.

667 Komarów (Zamość County).

668 Between 20 and 23 May 1942 some of the Jews from Komarów were deported to Zamość, and then to the death camp in Sobibór. The last Jews of the Komarów ghetto were killed on 15 October 1942. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 650–652.

669 See Doc. 54.

600 arrived in the "Warsaw paradise", condemned to times of adversity and certain death.[670]

ARG I 33 (Ring. I/261, II/486).
Description: original (3 copies), typewritten, Polish, 218x284 mm, minor damage and missing fragments, 3 sheets, 3 pages.
Date "25 June 1942" on the 1st copy (Ring. II/486) and pagination "6" (ink). This sheet was paginated and buried with other bulletin and report (see Docs. 62 and 65, respectively). Date "30 June 1942" on the 2nd and 3rd copies handwritten (LEG*) in pencil. Handwritten Roman number II (pencil) on the 3rd copy (LEG* [?]).
File Ring. II/486 was included into the second part of the Ringelblum Archive after 1955 by mistake.

60 *2 July 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes bulletin on the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland during April–July 1942.*

[1] 2 July 1942
From the country
The methods of terrorising and intimidating the Jewish and Polish population used by the Hitlerite thugs without mercy and with precision are not only incessant, but are also evermore frequent and becoming routine, with the scope of their implementation spreading across the entire territory of Poland.
Warsaw
The night of 17–18 April this year was the beginning of the "era" of day-time and night-time murders.[671] The following system is used: the victim – man or

670 See Docs. 53 and 57.

671 On the night of 17–18 April 1942 in the Warsaw ghetto the German police dragged 52 people out of their homes and murdered them on the spot. The victims were political and social activists, smugglers and Gestapo collaborators. Cf. ARG I 584 (Ring. I/293), ARG II 299 (Ring. II/158).

woman, could be either Jewish or Polish (as it quite often happens recently) – who does not suspect anything bad will happen, is brought by car into the ghetto, escorted into any odd gate, and killed with a shot in the back of the head. Toeplitz, who was active in the housing co-operative in [the district of] Żoliborz, was murdered this way in the last week of June. The victims of the Hitlerite murderers are usually buried in the Jewish cemetery on Gęsia Street, without stating their surname or denomination. Throughout June a few dozen Poles were murdered in the ghetto in this manner.[672]

Each night brings, in the best-case scenarios, about a dozen or often a few dozen Jewish corpses. In the official terminology this is called "an anti-smuggling campaign". The culmination of that "campaign" (Oh, faultless knight!) was the official, ordered massacre of 110 (one hundred and ten) Jewish inhabitants, innocent as lambs, conducted on 2 July this year.[673] According to the announcements of the Jewish District Commissioner Auerswald posted on 2 July, it was the German authorities' retaliation against the Jewish population for its purported, and even active, resistance offered to the German police and for its failure to fulfil its "duties" (*sic*!). The commissioner threatens further sanctions in cases of new acts of resistance. 100 people, mostly doing time for administrative offences, were removed from the Central Jail at Gęsia Street 24 (Jewish prison) along with 10 functionaries of the Order Service. Early Thursday morning all prisoners were dragged out of their cells (including some who were to be released that day) and arranged in a row. Every fifth person, regardless of sex, was selected to die. That "easiest" way to counteract "smuggling" has taken a toll of at least 600 Jewish victims in Warsaw. The victims of the massacre [. . .] were transported to Babice near Warsaw, where they were killed and buried.

Last week 230 prisoners of the Central Jail on Gęsia Street were deported to Treblinka to a certain death.

Treblinka

The camp in Treblinka, both the penal and the regular one, is another place of ill repute aside from Oświęcim and the camp on Janowska Street

672 On 30 June 1942, 15 Poles were murdered in the ghetto and buried in the Jewish cemetery. See Władysław Bartoszewski, *Warszawski pierścień śmierci 1939–1944*, 3rd edition (Warsaw, 2008), p. 198.

673 These people were executed in Babice near Warsaw. See ARG I 687 (Ring. I/436).

in Lvov.[674] Hundreds of murdered Soviet prisoners and peasants, who are killed later on account of e.g. failure to deliver contingents, are the reason for that assessment of Treblinka. The mass execution of Jews was conducted in early May. The camp received 300 victims daily. The Germans captured Poles to bury the victims. The Germans executed many of the Polish gravediggers.[675]

Łęczyca

We received the news regarding the gassing of the Jewish population of Łęczyca with a delay. On 11 April this year the entire Jewish population of the town numbering 1,750 souls was sent to Chełmno near Koło, where it was exterminated.[676]

Bełz

On 2 July a train with the entire Jewish population of Bełz (3,500 people) stopped in Hrubieszów. Only 500 Jews received cards allowing them to stay (the people referred to the documents as "life cards"). The remaining Jews set out "into the unknown", probably to Sobibór near Chełm Lubelski.[677]

Kołomyja

The "deportation campaign" among the Jews of Kołomyja lasted several days, beginning on 3 May this year. Approximately 600 people were murdered on the spot. 109 Jewish houses were set ablaze. 4,000 children, women, sick, and men were sent to die, probably to Bełżec.

Brzeżany

During the final days of May this year 2,000 women aged 12–60 without work records were sent into "the unknown". (The informant is a 16-year-old girl, who sweeps streets in the town).

Włoszczowa[678]

On 29 June a priest was executed by 2 Gestapo functionaries on a railway station platform. Persecution of priests and intelligentsia, mostly teachers, who

674 The camp on Janowska Street in Lvov. See also document Doc. 67.

675 Cf. Doc. 57.

676 See Docs. 55 and 61.

677 This event took place on 2 June 1942, which is clarified in the next bulletin of 3 July. The entry was probably edited on the basis of an anonymous letter that contained a testimony regarding the deportation from Hrubieszów on 26 June 1942. See ARG I 773 (Ring. I/812). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government.*

678 Włoszczowa (Jędrzejów County).

are being deported to Oświęcim in large numbers, has recently intensified in the entire district.[679]

ARG I 36 (Ring. I/471)
Description: original, typewritten, Polish, 206x270 mm, minor damage and missing fragments, 1 sheet, 1 page.
Date "2 July, 1942" (handwritten – H*, ink, pencil).
Attached is Hersh Wasser's note: "News bulletin. The Archive comissioned E. Gutkowski, M.A., and H. Wasser to prepare and announce news bulletins for the Jewish and Polish underground press. Three bulletins: 2 July 1942, 8 July 1942 – 4 pages".

61

3 July 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes bulletin on the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland during February–July 1942.[680]

[5] 3 July 1942

Łęczyca

We learn with a delay about the horrible fate of the Jewish population in Łęczyca. Between 10 February and 1 April, 1,000 Jews were deported to Poddębice and Grabów. On 10 April another 1,750 Jews were deported to Chełmno (an infamous death camp) to die.

Bełz (Lesser Poland)

On 2 June a transport of 3,500 Jews from Bełz passed through Hrubieszów. 500 of them remained in Hrubieszów (they received red residence cards).

679 The entry is based on an anonymous testimony. See ARG I 718 (Ring. I/440). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government*. The date there was read incorrectly as 2 July; the correct date is 29 June, as above.

680 This bulletin is a draft. The entries were written in a careless manner, with four styles of handwriting, including Hersh Wasser's (comprising the entries on p. 5 regarding Radom, Olkusz, Zelów, Kołomyja, Kock and the ones on page 6 regarding Kock, Ozorków, Grabowiec, Miączyn, and Uchanie); some information is repeated or crossed out and then supplemented. Cf. document 62.

Rzeszów

On 24 June the Germans executed 17 Jews, purportedly for failure to pay due taxes, including 10 representatives of provincial *Judenrats*, which had recently been liquidated (e.g. in Jawornik),[681] 5 Jews from the local *Judenrat*, and 2 servicemen of the Order Service ([c]1 million[c][682] of contribution). [d]We have just learned that Jews are being deported from Rzeszów [...] in an "unknown direction".[d][683]

Radom

In the course of the anti-smuggling campaign the Germans murdered all Jewish butchers (several dozen people).

Olkusz

In May the Germans assembled the entire population of the town (5,000 souls) and assembled them in the courtyard of the Polish junior high school building. Many victims. The detainees received neither food nor water. Lots of children [were] among the detainees. The Polish population provided dinner rations to the Jews. After 3 days everybody was deported in an unknown direction.[684]

Zelów[685]

In mid-June the entire Jewish population was deported in an unknown direction.[686]

Kołomyja

For several [days?] beginning with 3 May the Germans deported 500 Jews from the ghetto per day. At the same time Jews were executed on the streets and Jewish homes were set ablaze. 600 Jews were murdered and 109 buildings were burnt. 4,000 people were deported, probably to Bełżec.

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681 Jawornik (Rzeszów County).

682 [c–c] Annotation in Hersh Wasser's handwriting.

683 [d–d] Written in a handwriting different from that of the main text. The first deportation from Rzeszów to the death camp in Bełżec was conducted during 7–18 July 1942. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 567–569.

684 The events described here took place on 10 June 1942. Some Jews were deported from Olkusz to Sosnowiec, while most were sent to concentration camps in Germany, including Buchenwald and Gross-Rosen. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 157–160.

685 Zelów (Łask County).

686 In June 1942 a number of Jews were murdered in the death camp in Chełmno. A part of the transport ended up in the Łódź ghetto. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 124–126.

Brzeżany
On 30 and 31 May the Germans murdered 2,000 Jewish women.
Jaworzno[687] Eastern Lesser Poland
In early May the Germans deported almost the entire Jewish population in an unknown direction. [. . .] – many victims.[688]
Płońsk
In some locality between Płońsk and [5a] Nowy Dwór[689] the Germans have established a concentration camp for Jews, where executions are conducted by means of hanging. Gallows were erected. Executions are conducted by a special detachment of Jews. Most of those hanged are Jews captured in the area.[690]
Jawornik near Rzeszów
In May the Germans rushed the entire Jewish population to the market square, where many of the Jews were murdered, while the remainder, including the *Judenrat*, were deported to Rzeszów.
Otwock
In the second half of April the Germans organised roundups of Jews. 500 Jews were deported to the penal camp in Treblinka. 12 Jews were murdered during the roundups; the implementation was conducted personally by the *Stadtkommandant* Schlicht and the *Arbeitsamt* director Dietz.[691]
Kock[692]
Early July, 21 Jews, 21,000 zlotys
Ozorków[693]
Grabowiec 1,200 died of the 2,000. Miączyn 8 June.[694]

687 Probably a reference to Jaworów (Lvov County, now in Ukraine).
688 On 5 May 1942 approximately 500 Jews were deported from Jaworów to the labour camp in Płuhów. Some of the Jews were killed on the way. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 784–786.
689 Nowy Dwór Mazowiecki (Płońsk County).
690 The information regarding deportations from Zelów is repeated after the entry on Płońsk and then crossed out.
691 See footnote in document 57.
692 Kock (Radzyń Podlaski County).
693 Ozorków (Łęczyca County).
694 On 8 June the Germans conducted a selection of the Jews (including some from Grabowiec or Uchanie) who had already been assembled at the railway station in Miączyn. The entry is based on an anonymous testimony of 26 June 1942 (the numerical data have been taken

U[c]hanie[695] 2,000 died of the 2,300

From the country

The destructive machine of the Hitlerite thugs is operating non-stop and with precision. The murders committed on a mass scale on the Jewish population, and recently also on the Polish one, are multiplying every day.

Ostrowiec Kielecki

On the night of 21–22 June this year the enraged, bestial German soldiery leaving for the front line conducted a pogrom on the Poles waiting for a train at the local railway station. Led by 3 drunk thugs, the German soldiers hit all the passengers with rifle butts, bayonets, and their fists. The Teutonic "knights" tortured the Polish women with particular sadism, especially those whose hands were not toil worn. They also made offensive comments regarding Polish women's reluctance to work for the Germans and their passion for smuggling. That brutal abuse of the helpless lasted from 11:30 to 3 a.m., until the departure of the army train. The floor and walls of the railway station were profusely splashed with blood of the maltreated victims.

Włoszczowa

On 29 June a priest was executed by 2 Gestapo functionaries on a railway station platform. Persecution of priests and intelligentsia, mostly teachers, who are being deported in large numbers to Oświęcim, has recently intensified in the whole district.

Warsaw

Nocturnal massacres in the ghetto conducted by functionaries of the Gestapo and SD have not ceased. The number of the brutally murdered victims has reached 300 (smugglers, private persons). Moreover, on the night of 1–2 July 100 prisoners of the Jewish prison and 10 servicemen of the Order Service were murdered for their purported collaboration in smuggling. All the victims were buried in a mass grave in Babice. At the end of last month a well-known activist of a housing co-operative in Żoliborz, Toeplitz, was dragged out from the Pawiak prison and executed. Last week 230 prisoners were deported from the Jewish prison on Gęsia Street to the camp in Treblinka.

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from the testimony). See ARG I 773 (Ring. I/812). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government.*

695 Uchanie (Hrubieszów County).

Treblinka.
Each day in the first half of May 300 Jews were brought to the camp, where they were executed. Poles were captured and forced to dig and cover up the pits. Many of the gravediggers were then murdered by the Germans.

ARG I 35 (Ring. I/472)
Description: original, handwritten (different styles of handwriting, including Hersh Wasser's), ink, pencil, Polish, 220x353 mm, damage and missing fragments, 2 sheets, 2 pages.
Bulletins of 18 June 1942 and 3 July 1942 were paginated together (ink): "1–6".
Attached is Hersh Wasser's note: "Press service, bulletins of 18 June 1942, 3 July 1942, 18 July 1942".

62

8 July 1942, Warsaw ghetto, Oyneg Shabes bulletin on the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland during May–June 1942.

[1] 8 July 1942
Ostrowiec Kielecki
On the night of 21–22 June this year the German soldiers leaving for the front line conducted a pogrom on Poles waiting for a train. Led by 3 thugs, the German soldiers abused all the passengers, hitting them with rifle butts and bayonets. The Teutonic "knights" tortured the Polish women with particular sadism, especially those whose hands were not toil worn. They also made offensive comments regarding Polish women's reluctance to perform any work, particularly for the Germans, and their "inborn" passion for smuggling. That brutal abuse of those helpless people lasted non-stop from 11:30 to 3 a.m., until the departure of the army train. The floor and walls of the railway station were profusely stained and splashed with blood of the maltreated victims.[696]
Rzeszów
The Jewish population was ordered to pay a levy in the amount of 1,000,000 zlotys for their purported "messing up" of the town. After it was paid on 11 June

696 This entry is the same as the one in the previous bulletin.

the Jews were called to pay all amounts due: state and communal taxes, sums due to public utilities (the power stations, gasworks, sewerage system), and all private debts they actually owed Aryans for the period between 1933 and 1943. Failure to comply was punishable with death. The enormous impoverishment of the population, particularly the Jewish population (the Jews had received 100,000 zlotys from Poles to pay the first levy) made it unable to bear that draconian strain on its finances. On 24 June, that is, on the day of the deadline for payment of the said "amounts due", the Germans executed 17 Jews. The *Kreishauptmann* personally selected 10 members of provincial *Judenrats*, 5 members of the Rzeszów *Judenrat*, and 2 policemen. The execution was public, as is "customary" for the Germans. We have just learned that the *Aktion* in Rzeszów has already begun. The Jews are being gradually deported "in an unknown direction".

Olkusz

[. . .] the Germans assembled the entire Jewish population of the town, numbering five thousand people [. . .] initially they put them in the former building of the Polish junior high school. After three days of detention without food or even water everybody was deported "in an unknown direction". The local Polish population showed much kindness to the miserable victims of the Hitlerites through provision of dinner rations and bread.

Zelów

In mid-June this year the entire Jewish population was deported "in an unknown direction".

Jaworzno.[697] Eastern Lesser Poland

In early May this year a "resettlement campaign" was conducted among the Jews. There were many Jewish victims during that campaign. The population was deported "in an unknown direction".

Grabowiec (Hrubieszów County)

On 8 June 2,000 Jews from Grabowiec were rushed to a square in Miączyn (railway station). 800 people were released as unfit for physical labour, while the remainder, particularly children and old people, as well as women, were loaded into boxcars, which were then sealed and sent away, probably to the death camp in Sobibór (36 kilometres from Chełm).

697 See Doc. 61.

Uchanie[m] (Hrubieszów County)
The Jewish population of Uchanie (2,300 people) was also rushed to Miączyn. 2,000 people were deported to Sobibór.
Biała Mazowiecka[698]
On 9 July this year Warsaw received a transport of approx. 400 Jewish deportees. All the deportees, who by the way were not permanent residents of Biała Mazowiecka, were deprived of all their property except for 15 kilograms of baggage.
Warsaw
A large-scale roundup to camps has continued in the Jewish District since July 1. The roundup is being conducted both during the day and at night. The number of Jewish men captured and deported each day exceeds 500. This *Aktion* is being carried out by the Jewish Order Service.

ARG I 36 (Ring. I/471)
Description: original (2 copies), typewritten, Polish, 206x290 mm, minor damage and missing fragments, 2 sheets, 2 pages.
Date "8 July 1942" (handwritten – H*, ink, pencil). The sheets have original pagination (ink).
Attached is Hersh Wasser's note: "Press service. The Archive commissioned E. Gutkowski, M.A., and H. Wasser to prepare and announce news bulletins for the Jewish and Polish underground press. Three bulletins: 2 July 1942, 8 July 1942 – 4 pages".

63

18 July 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes bulletin on the situation of Jews in various localities in the territory of the Republic of Poland during February–July 1942.

[1] 18 July 1942
Warsaw
Throughout last week (12–18 July) the Germans continued their murderous activity in the ghetto. At night, and even in the afternoon, they

698 A reference to Biała Rawska (Tomaszów Mazowiecki County).

murdered a few dozen Jews and Poles brought by cars into the ghetto from the Aryan side.

Lvov

In early July the Hitlerites conducted another massacre of the Jewish population in Lvov. Elderly Jews and Jewish women were captured on the streets of Lvov. They had to strip to their shirts on the spot and then were transported out of the city, where they were all executed by the Hitlerites and buried in mass graves. This is how 6,000 people died. In the vicinity of Lvov one can smell the horrible stench of the decomposing bodies of tens of thousands of murdered Jews, who were not buried deep enough.[699]

Bełżec

According to eyewitnesses, when a train passes through the Bełżec station the conductors order [the passengers?] to close the carriages' windows for 6 minutes, so that the stench of the decomposing bodies of the murdered Jews does not pollute the air inside the train.

Kiev

In Kiev there is not even a single Jew, as the Germans have thrown the entire Jewish population into the Dnieper River.[700]

Chmielnik Kielecki[701]

The chairman of the local *Judenrat* was shot on 18 June. The execution was carried out by the same SS-men who had been visiting him every day and drawing from his generous purse. Afterwards the attitude of the German oppressors towards the Jews visibly worsened. Terror has spread all over the town. Jews caught red-handed while smuggling or outside the town borders are executed on the spot. By 18 June there were at least 15 victims. Travelling on the Jędrzejów train is punishable with a summary death penalty. There are already a few victims.[702]

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699 On 27 June 1942 approximately 2,000 Jews were executed, mostly women. See Tatiana Berenstein, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w dystrykcie Galicja (1941–1943)", *BŻIH* 1 (61) (1967): table 1.

700 The Kiev Jews had been killed in mass executions in Babi Yar from September 1941.

701 Chmielnik (Busko County).

702 This entry is based on an anonymous testimony of 15 July 1942. See ARG I 1003 (Ring. I/1220/18). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government*. The same pertains to the entries on Chmielnik and Janów. For more details about Chmielnik, see *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, 209–211.

Skarżysko-Kamienna[703]

In Skarżysko there is a large arms factory catering for the wartime needs of Germany.[704] This April and May all the Polish workers employed at the plant were deported to the Reich by the Germans, [8] who then brought Jewish replacements (approximately 3,800 people) from the neighbouring towns, both small and larger ones. The camp has recently been enlarged. The number of prisoners of the camp is expected to reach 5,000. The camp is strictly isolated, while the many escape attempts have resulted in the escapees' execution.[705]

Janów Podlaski[706]

The economic situation of the Jews is very difficult because they cannot leave the town and go to the countryside, as capture on the suburban roads is punishable with death. The Hitlerite terror has recently intensified. A former Polish policeman, Andrzejczuk, is their zealous helper. It was because of him that the Germans executed 10 Jews, purportedly communists, in early June. On Monday, 8 June, a rumour spread in town that a deportation of Jews would begin. Sheer panic broke out among the Jewish population and many fled on their own from the town. As the rumour was groundless, the Hitlerites dealt summarily with the escapees on suburban roads.[707]

Kowel

The situation of the Jews in Kowel had been almost bearable until mid-May this year. On 27 May, 2 ghettos were established in Kowel. Craftsmen (4,000 people) were put in the first one and the unemployed (up to 10,000 people) in the other. On 1 June the Gestapo functionaries executed all members of the *Judenrat*, while unemployed Jews were ordered to assemble on Brzeski Square. 8,000 Jews assembled. Several dozen were murdered on the spot by the Gestapo functionaries, while those who remained were rushed by the oppressors to the village of Bachów,[708] where they were all executed. The corpses were

703 Skarżysko-Kamienna (Kielce County).

704 It was a part of the Hugo Schneider Aktiengesellschaft (HASAG) concern.

705 Cf. Krzysztof Gibaszewski, *HASAG. Historia obozu pracy przymusowej w Skarżysku-Kamiennej* (Skarżysko-Kamienna, 2011).

706 Janów Podlaski (Biała Podlaska County).

707 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 643–645.

708 Bachów (Kowel County, now in Ukraine).

dumped into prepared pits. The former Warsaw councillor Maurycy Majzel was among the victims. On 9 June the Germans ordered the Jewish population to pay a levy to the amount of 1,500,000 roubles by 15 June. In addition to the money, the Jews were to submit their valuables too. The Jews were allowed go out onto the street between 5 and 8 a.m. and between midday and 2 p.m., at lunchtime. All Jews have to be indoors after 7 p.m.[709]

In early July all the remaining Jews of Kalisz (a few hundred people)[710] and Kamionka near K.[711] were deported (in an unknown direction).

Łomazy (Podlasie)[712]

The situation of the Jews is extremely difficult as they cannot leave the town to go to the countryside. In town they are oppressed by Gestapo functionaries.

ARG I 35 (Ring. I/472, I/1063)
Description: original (2 copies), handwritten, ink, pencil, Polish, 220x353 mm, damage and missing fragments, 2 sheets, 2 pages.
Ring. I/472: attached is Hersh Wasser's note: "Press service, bulletins of 18 June 1942, 3 July 1942, 18 July 1942". Ring. I/1063 – attached is Hersh Wasser's note in Yiddish: "Ringelblum's Archive organised press service for the Jewish and Polish underground press. The news section was run by E. Gutkowski, M.A. and H. Wasser, M.A.. It is one of such weekly bulletins.
Published in: *Selected Documents*, pp. 31–33.
Based on the 1st copy, 1 sheet, 2 pages.

709 The entry is based on an anonymous testimony of 16 July 1942. See *Accounts from the Borderlands*, Doc. 46; *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 1388–1391.

710 During 6–8 July 1942 approximately 120 of the last Jews remaining in Kalisz were resettled to the Łódź ghetto. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 60–61.

711 There is no locality by this name in the vicinity of Kalisz. Possibly a reference to Kamień (Kalisz County).

712 Łomazy (Biała Podlaska County).

64 *14 November 1942–15 January 1943, Warsaw ghetto. Wiadomości [News], issues 1–6. The underground periodical of the Coordinating Commission of the Jewish National Committee and the Bund, edited by Oyneg Shabes members.*

[1] Wiadomości [No. 1]
14–21 November 1942

During the reported period an ordinance was issued on the "Aryan" side of Warsaw regarding the establishment of six Jewish residential districts – including one in Warsaw – in the Warsaw District.[713] The ordinance permits all Jews staying outside the Warsaw ghetto to return with all their property to the Jewish District, unpunished, by 30 November 1942 (it pertains to the several thousand Jews who fled to the Aryan side during the "resettlement" campaign). After the said date all Jews captured outside the ghetto are to be executed. Poles and Germans who shelter Jews are to be subject to the same punishment.[714] The decimated Jewish population of the ghetto treats the said ordinance with the utmost scepticism. It suspects that it is a new trick of the Germans intended to concentrate the remaining Polish Jews in several centres in order to facilitate their annihilation and make it more effective.

The Germans are not trying to conceal their murderous agenda towards Jews. For example, *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*[715] of 16 November 1942, issue 550–551, reaches the following conclusion in an article titled [c]*Jüdische Botschaft an Stalin*[c716]: "*Diesen Weltherrschaftsansprüchen des Judentums gilt der Kampf Europas, der auf dem Wege der Vernichtung des Judentums in Europa schon sehr weit vorangeschritten ist*" – "The answer to the Jews' plans to

713 A reference to the ordinance of the police and SS chief in the General Government issued by Friedrich Krüger on 28 October 1942, allowing Jews in the Warsaw District to live in the ghettos in Warsaw, Kałuszyn, Sobolew, Kosów, Rembertów, and Siedlce.

714 The first ordinance regarding capital punishment for Jews staying outside the designated districts without permission and to those who were helping them was issued on 15 November 1941. Thereafter it was repeated several times.

715 (Ger.) German daily published between 1861 and 1945, nationalised in the 1920s.

716 [c–c] (Ger.) Jewish message to Stalin.

rule the world is the ongoing war in Europe, which is very much advanced, intended to destroy European Jewry".

To tell the truth, it should be stressed on the margin of the ordinance regarding ghettos that, unfortunately, Poles largely have a passive and unfriendly attitude towards Jewish citizens, who are only trying to save their lives. Exorbitant remuneration is the only thing that persuades Poles to provide shelter to Jews. Only some individuals show due compassion for the tragedy of the Jews. Jews who live outside the ghetto have led the lives of hunted animals. [Though] relevant propaganda spread by reliable elements could change the Poles' attitude to Jewish refugees.

(–) On Saturday, 14 November, a conference was held at Auerswald's, the commissioner of the Jewish District in Warsaw. It was attended by General Himmler and, on behalf of the Jews, the *Judenrat* Chairman Marek Lichtenbaum, Councillor Abram Sztolcman, and Councillor Gustaw Wielikowski. The conference was held with all participants standing. The Germans announced the following to the representatives of the *Judenrat*:

1) They are expecting at least 5,000 Jews to enter the ghetto from the Aryan side. 2) Food will be distributed equally to employed and unemployed Jews. 3) They wish a work plan to be presented for the population of the ghetto for the period until May 1943.

The conference further deepened the mistrust of the Jewish general public towards the Germans. So severely tried by fate, the Jews can have no illusions about the actual state of affairs.

(–) Most of the area between the ghettos[717] – so far a kind of "no man's land", partly inhabited by Jews – was thoroughly cleared last week. The clearing of the remaining Jews from tenements was conducted simultaneously with the *Werterfassung* campaign, that is, collection of all property abandoned by the Jews (carried out by the SS). This campaign is being conducted by 400 *Schupo* functionaries. A few dozen German policemen with clubs, hatchets and crowbars are thoroughly searching each tenement in the area between the ghettos. The searched buildings are marked with chalk and then are watched by *Schupo* posts.

717 That is, between the central ghetto and the workshop area. After the *Gross-Aktion* the ghetto consisted of six unconnected areas. Movement between them was prohibited.

(–) Throughout last week two announcements of the Department of Labour of the *Judenrat* were posted in the ghetto. They obliged unemployed men and women aged 16–50 to register in order to be directed to a *Werterfassung* detail. The Jewish general public has drawn negative conclusions from this fact, as it thinks that after this thorough clearing of the former Jewish district Warsaw would become entirely emptied of Jews.

[2] (–) News about the "resettlement" conducted in the provinces is slowly coming in. The campaign in Częstochowa was directed by the *Stadtkommandant* (*Hauptmann*). On 18 November only 4,500 Jews remained of the 40,000 who used to live there. Occupation and age were the only criteria. Most of those who remained are metalworkers and representatives of similar occupations, up to age 35. All the remaining Jews were ordered to take off their shoes when they were still on the market square and then were escorted to boxcars [going] to Treblinka. The fate of those Jews who are still alive remains unknown.[718]

(–) This October the entire Jewish population of Annopol[719] (Lublin region) and Ćmielów was "deported".[720] In both these towns Jews constituted a labour force – they worked in the chemical industry. That fact, however, had no beneficial influence on their fate. All Jews without exception were loaded into boxcars [going] to Treblinka.

(–) Jews from Zawichost[721] were "resettled" this November. Zawichost was the assembly point for its nearby towns. Approximately 5,000 Jews were "resettled".

(–) The campaign to destroy Jews in the Białystok and Grodno area has continued incessantly since 1 November 1942. In Czerwony Bór there is a killing centre for Jews from these areas.[722] The information already received takes

718 The deportation of Jews from Częstochowa to the death camp in Treblinka was conducted between 21 September and 7 October 1942, with the number of victims estimated at 33,000–40,000. It was directed by Paul Degenhardt, the commander of the *Schutzpolizei* in Częstochowa. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 214–217.

719 Annopol (Kraśnik County).

720 Ćmielów (Opatów County). See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 213–214.

721 Zawichost (Opatów County). See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 352–354.

722 On 2 November 1942 the inmates of almost all the ghettos in the Białystok district (except for those in Białystok, Jasionówka, Prużany, Grodno, Krynki, and Sokółka) were deported to transit camps in Bogusze, Białystok, Kiełbasin, Wołkowysk, and Zambrów. After

note of "resettlement" campaigns in the following towns: Białystok, Czyżew, Zambrów, and Wysokie Mazowieckie.[723] The campaigns are directed by the gendarmerie.

The above shows that the planned campaign to destroy European Jewry has been extended from western Poland (*Warthegau*) and central Poland (General Government) to the eastern regions of Poland (*Ostland* and *Ostpreussen*).

(–) Last week all Jews from Płońsk, Mława and Ciechanów were "resettled". Those were the only existing Jewish centres in the Pomeranian Province.[724]

[3] *Wiadomości No. 2*
22 November–5 December 1942

Contrary to the rumours about discontinuing the liquidation campaign in Treblinka, it should be stressed as strongly as possible that the death camp in Treblinka continues to operate at full capacity. Transports of Jews from eastern Lesser Poland and recently probably from Romania, keep filling the graves of their brothers in Treblinka.

Terror in the Warsaw ghetto. The final days of this November were marked by the intensified terror campaign in the Warsaw ghetto. On 25 November, 26 Jews, men and women, were executed on the streets of the ghetto, while the next day, 26 November, 9 Jews were killed. The circumstances of these executions show that the campaign was not random or lawless on the part of the murderers. On the contrary, it was planned

a few days or weeks they were deported to Treblinka. Czerwony Bór (Łomża County) – village and forest, the site of executions of groups of Jews from Łomża, Śniadowo, and Zambrów in the summer of 1941. See Szymon Datner, "Eksterminacja ludności żydowskiej w okręgu białostockim", *BŻIH* 4(60) (1966): 3–52; *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 918, 954, 984.

723 Czyżew, Zambrów, and Wysokie Mazowieckie (Łomża County).

724 These towns are located in Warsaw Province. The inmates of the ghettos in Ciechanów, Mława, and Płońsk were murdered on 5–6 November 1942, between 20 November and 10 December, and on 16 December respectively. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, 10–12, 17–19, 24–26.

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by the *Umsiedlungsamt*. The victims were executed under the pretext of their walking in the ghetto during work hours. The Jews of Warsaw have to live and work in an atmosphere of constant animal fear. Since the beginning of December there have been several victims of Hitlerite murderers' bullets each day.

Fürst's assassination. On Sunday evening, 29 November, there was an attempt to assassinate Izrael Fürst – the director of the Economic Department of the *Judenrat* in Warsaw. The assassination attempt was politically motivated.[725]

Resettlement? The ghetto is "electrified" by a rumour about the coming continuation of the partial liquidation of the Jews of Warsaw, to take place between 7 and 15 December. It is to affect those employed on smaller details on the Aryan side and in some unspecified factories – workshops. People are saying that 10,000 of the 40,000 Jews remaining in the Warsaw ghetto will be deported to die in Treblinka.

Forcing in. Since 1 December the transports of Jewish prisoners from camps near Warsaw are brought to the Warsaw ghetto. More than 3,000 people from the camps in Karczew, Kuflów, Wilanów, and Klimonty[726] have been brought in. The camp inmates suffered torture and physical abuse. Starving, emaciated, haggard, ragged, and covered with ulcers, these new residents of the ghetto are a pitiful sight.

The walling in of the ghetto. The operation to wall in the ghetto and the Jewish workshops in the area of the former ghetto is almost finished. In the best-case scenario these walled-in factories might be sites of a race between work and death.

From the country. News about the *Aktion* conducted in Jewish towns in Poland continues to stream in.

On 19 August this year 7,000 Jews were "resettled" from Otwock[727] to Treblinka. An SS officer gave a speech to the Jews who had been loaded

725 See Doc. 46.

726 Karczew, Wilanów (Warsaw), Kuflów (Mińsk Mazowiecki County), Klimonty (Siedlce County). Water-management camps for Jews existed in these localities. Cf. Marta Janczewska, "Obozy pracy przymusowej dla Żydów na terenie dystryktu warszawskiego". In *Prowincja noc. Życie i zagłada Żydów w dystrykcie warszawskim*, ed. Barbara Engelking, Jacek Leociak, Dariusz Libionka (Warsaw, 2007), pp. 317–318.

727 Otwock (Warsaw County).

into boxcars. He assured the "resettled" that they would be sent east via Warsaw. Throughout the subsequent days 3,000 hiding Jews were executed by the gendarmerie from Rembertów,[728] commanded by Cavalry Sergeant Lüppschau.[729] The incentive came from Gadomski, the Polish mayor of Otwock.[730]

On 20 August the entire Jewish population of Falinica,[731] numbering 8,000 souls, was "resettled" to Treblinka. The only Jews allowed to remain were the workforce of a local sawmill, a maximum of 100 labourers. The desperate Jews killed 2 *junaks*.

In late August of this year the Germans liquidated the Jewish populations of Mińsk Mazowiecki, and Kałuszyn[732] (5,000 souls each). The destination of the "resettlement" – Treblinka.[733]

On 27 September the entire Jewish population of Kołobiela[734] (2,000 souls) and Sobin[735] (6,000 souls) was rushed to Pilawa,[736] and were loaded into boxcars [departing] to Treblinka. The blue police participated in the campaign with the use of clubs and [4] machine guns.[737]

On 28 September the Jewish population of Parysów,[738] numbering 10,000 souls, was liquidated via Treblinka.[739]

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728 Rembertów (Warsaw County).

729 A reference to Karl Liebscher, chief of the gendarmerie for Warsaw, Garwolin, and Ostrów counties.

730 Perhaps the note was based on an anonymous testimony; see ARG II 355 (Ring. II/308). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government*; S. Szymańska, *Ludność żydowska w Otwocku*; Jacek Andrzej Młynarczyk, "Akcja Reinhard" w gettach prowincjonalnych dystryktu warszawskiego 1942–1943, in *Prowincja noc*, pp. 61–62.

731 Falenica (Warsaw County). See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 368–370.

732 Kałuszyn (Mińsk Mazowiecki County).

733 See J. A. Młynarczyk, "Akcja Reinhard", pp. 64–66; *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 382–385, 406–408.

734 I.e. Kołbiel (Mińsk Mazowiecki County).

735 Yiddish name for Sobienie-Jeziory (Garwolin County).

736 Pilawa (Garwolin County).

737 See J. A. Młynarczyk, "Akcja Reinhard", pp. 59–61; *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 387–389, 436–438.

738 Parysów (Garwolin County).

739 See J. A. Młynarczyk, "Akcja Reinhard", p. 60; *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 418–419.

On 30 September the Jewish centre of 14,000 people in Żelechów[740] was liquidated via Treblinka.

On 5 October most of the population of Łuków,[741] numbering 7,000 Jews, was "resettled" to Treblinka.[742]

At the beginning of this December 900 Jews from Radom (after the last *Aktion* only 4,000 Jews remained of the 40,000 Jews) were deported to Treblinka.[743]

Liquidation of a Jewish hospital. Immediately before the beginning of the "resettlement" campaign in Warsaw the Czyste Jewish Infectious Diseases Hospital was at the height of its development. After half a year of efforts all three units (the infectious diseases-internal units at Stawki Street 6/8 and 21 and the surgical unit at Leszno Street 1) were not only made usable and adapted to hospital needs, but were also significantly refurbished and equipped with modern furnishings and a sufficient amount of previously missing equipment.

The hospital became not only a most important medical institution, but also a scientific-pedagogical one. Aside from treatment of the sick, much time and energy was devoted to research (particularly on typhus, starvation and tuberculosis) as well as to the training of physicians (scientific meetings and specialist courses) and medical students (supplementary training courses).

The buildings of the former Holy Spirit Hospital at Elektoralna Street 12, which had survived bombardment, housed the Czyste Hospital's exemplarily organised pharmacy. It was also the location of the Fuks Company's ampoule factory[744] and Filskraut and Gurwicz's oil refinery.

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740 Żelechów (Garwolin County). See J. A. Młynarczyk, "Akcja Reinhard", pp. 59–61; *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 469–471.

741 Łuków (Radzyń Podlaski County).

742 The note was based on the testimony of the Finkelsztajn siblings. See ARG II 352 (Ring. II/306). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government*; *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 678–682.

743 On 4 December 1942, 800 Jews were transferred from Radom to the ghetto in Szydłowiec. See Sebastian Piątkowski, *Dni życia, dni śmierci. Ludność żydowska w Radomiu w latach 1918–1950* (Warsaw, 2006); *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 289–293.

744 Henryk Fuks owned a pharmaceutical wholesale store at Orla Street 11. See Engelking, Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto. A Guide to the Perished City*, p. 240.

At 13:30 on 21 July the hospital's financial director Ignacy Sztabholc was arrested and taken hostage in the hospital at Stawki Street 6 (in the director's absence).

At 11 o'clock on 22 July the hospital director was summoned by Chairman Czerniakow. An order [was given] to conduct an evacuation of the hospital by 4 p.m. the next day. All less serious cases were to be discharged and only serious ones were allowed to remain. The director of the Czyste Jewish Hospital was then responsible for the enactment of that ordinance.[745]

The hospital management decided to transfer the infectious cases to the hospital at Leszno Street 80 and all others to Leszno Street 1. The number of patients at Stawki Street was 761. There were no means of transport. Aryan carts were delivered and the evacuation began at a frantic pace. This was remarkable due to the extremely tight deadline. All personnel were engaged in the evacuation effort: physicians, nurses and the auxiliary personnel, who worked non-stop for 24 hours. The hospital guard detachment of the Order Service and the 100 people sent by the Department of Labour were busy too.

The building at Stawki Street 8 was evacuated by midnight on the first day of the evacuation (21 July),[746] while the building at Stawki Street 6 was evacuated by 4 p.m. the next day. In the meantime the management managed to prolong the evacuation deadline until midnight on 24 July.

The evacuation ended. Emptied and tidied up, the buildings were handed over to the authorities at midnight on 24 July. The equipment was transported to Leszno Street 1, Leszno Street 80, Elektoralna Street 12, and Dzika Street 3.

The end of the evacuation was followed by the organisation of the hospital under the new conditions. Space for more than 700 beds needed to be found in the building at Leszno Street 1, which had had 350 beds. Three internal [diseases] wards were organised in addition to the existing surgical wards. Infectious diseases wards were organised at Leszno Street 80. During that period most of the patients were surgical (mostly gunshot wounds) or internal (severe heart conditions etc.) cases. The strenuous organisational work was complicated by additional ordinances, such as two major reductions of personnel, moves of hospital employees and numerous blockades of Leszno Street. But apart from a few instances, the representatives of the authorities

745 A reference to Dr. Józef Stein. See Doc. 29.

746 As in the original. It should be 22 July.

enforcing those blockades did not enter the hospital area, which was clearly being [5] spared.

On 13 August the authorities ordered the immediate evacuation of the hospital at Leszno Street 80, which, by the way, housed the previously evacuated Bersohn and Bauman children's hospital, to the former hospital building at Stawki Street 6. In the meantime the building at Stawki Street 6, which held temporary accommodations for "the resettled", had been awfully soiled by them, the fittings had been damaged, and the whole building looked like one big manure pit. In the end, the building was brought back to a state of relative order and the sick found bearable living conditions there. But the work of the personnel became extremely hard and dangerous as they had to pass across the *Umschlagplatz* every single day, risking their lives and often having to squeeze through the crowd of countless "resettled" swarming on the square outside the hospital. Representatives of the authorities often entered the hospital premises to search for hidden "resettled".

At 1:30 at night on 6 September an order was given to immediately evacuate the hospital at Leszno Street 1 and Elektoralna Street 12 by 10 a.m. The sick were to be transported to the building at Stawki Street 8, while personnel were to be taken to the hospital at Stawki Street 6 and to the assigned building at Zamenhofa Street 21. Consent was granted to postpone the deadline until 3 p.m. the next day. At 6 o'clock the rest of the sick and the personnel left the hospital, leaving all the equipment in the building. That [was the] day of the final and radical reduction of the personnel. The next morning in the hospital at Stawki Street 6 there were more than 1,100 patients and a certain number of reduced personnel, as the authorised personnel had gone to the Community by order of the authorities.

The conditions in that temporary hospital were simply tragic. Over 1,100 beds had to be squeezed in where a month and a half earlier there had been [only] 278. It was impossible to arrange the beds and organise the wards. Most wards looked like huge pallets, with patients lying against the walls of the rooms.

All of a sudden, at 5 p.m. on 10 September, the hospital received an order to submit a certain number of patients to the *Umschlagplatz* to be "resettled". 156 patients departed that day.

Finally at 11 o'clock on 12 September an order was given to "resettle" the hospital. Representatives of the authorities and the Order Service entered

the hospital premises. Approximately 950 people – the sick together with about 50 personnel – were all "resettled" and the hospital was closed. The Jewish district was now without a hospital. But the injured or sick kept coming from more and more work details and shops, and there was nowhere to put them. On 17 September a temporary infirmary with 12 beds and a tiny dressing-surgical room was organised at Pawia Street 6.

Due to the intervention of an official physician, the buildings at Gęsia Street 6–8 were assigned for a hospital. The hygienic-sanitary conditions are dreadful.

Post. All outgoing posts as well as incoming undeliverable letters addressed to resettled persons are handed over to the authorities.

Since 20 October the delivery of parcels has decreased from 2,000 parcels (e.g. 2,446 on 21 July) to a few a day, all domestic.

Incoming telegrams – 24 July – 276, now – a few a day.

Outgoing telegrams – 31 July – 206, now – 0.

Outgoing money orders [–] 21 July – 211, now 1–2 a day. Incoming money orders: in late July approximately 400. Now 10–15 a day.

Outgoing registered letters: in July 120–150 per day, now a few a day. Postcards from abroad: in late July 250–300 a day, now – about a dozen. Ordinary letters: outgoing – 21 July – 4,030, now – 100–150 per day; incoming: in late July 4,000 a day, now – 500 a day.

[29] *Wiadomości No. 3*
22 December 1942

From the Warsaw ghetto.

To supplement the news in *Wiadomości* No 2, a list is provided of closed labour camps in the Warsaw District. Throughout last month the groups of Jews from the closed camps in: Tarchomin, Kołbiel, Słomczyn near Grójec, Karbów, and Częstoniew[747] got to the gheto, while on 10 December came

747 Tarchomin (Warsaw County), Kołbiel (Mińsk Mazowiecki County), Słomczyn (Grójec County), Częstoniew (Grójec County). Karbów – an unidentified locality. There were water-management camps for Jews in these localities. M. Janczewska, "Obozy pracy przymusowej", pp. 317–318.

83 male and female Jewish labourers from the closed agrarian work detail in Czerniaków (Warsaw suburb).[748]

All these people are in their prime. Still full of life not long ago, they are a pitiful sight now. Ragged, dressed in rags, wearing tattered shoes or wooden clogs, with sunken cheeks and a subdued stare, they walk along the streets of the deserted district, [creatures] suitable for a city after pogrom. Quartered in various labour camps – infamous places of torment – in conditions of physical labour beyond human endurance, hunger and bestial treatment, they performed works of a public or military character. The Oświęcim practice of degradation, eradication of all humane impulses, stigmatisation of labourers with the disgrace of slavery and cruel torture of the helpless people at the mercy of the Germans is typical of almost all labour camps for Jews in Poland. To better illustrate the conditions in the camps a handful of facts are provided to show the Germans' extreme barbarity.

And so, in mid-November 32 (thirty-two) Jewish labourers were tortured to death in the Modlin shipyard for being five minutes late to work. The men guilty of that "crime" were beaten to death with clubs by German soldiers (not by SS-men). It is enough to say that after less than an hour 32 bodies of "criminals" were lying in puddles of blood, smashed to pulp on the square of torture. Their arms and legs had been separated from their trunks, their faces tragic masks of horror and torture while they were yet alive. Their empty eye sockets were glimmering with blood and pieces of brain. Their intestines had spilled out. And all that was witnessed by the Jewish prisoners and the German personnel, who were clearly at ease with such behaviour.

The event which took place in Siedlce can be comprehended only by those familiar with the "ways of the *Herrenvolk*". Reckermann – the German construction company, which "normally" and on a daily basis eliminated those Jews who were no longer able to work – indulged in the following novelty: three Jewish labourers were concreted alive in one of the buildings under construction. The screams of the suffocating victims put the murderers in a state

748 A Hehalutz farm (kibbutz) was established during the occupation on Bernardyńska Street in the area of Wojciech Zatwarnicki's pre-war horticultural farm in Czerniaków (now the district of Warsaw). The Germans closed the kibbutz in December 1942 and made its inhabitants move into the ghetto.

of sheer bliss. Let it be stressed that this act was perpetrated by German civilians (neither the SS or *Wehrmacht*).

The third event took place in the camp in Karczew, where Luppschau[749] – the infamous commander of the gendarmerie in Rembertów – executed one of the Jewish camp prisoners. What is characteristic of this event is not the fact that Jewish labourers were murdered, but the circumstances surrounding that event, as prior to the execution the murderer gave a highly antisemitic speech. Each delinquent had to undress and assume a position convenient for the murderer. All the Jewish labourers were forced to assist at the execution and then circle the corpse of the murdered man and spit on it. During that show Luppschau kept his foot on his victims' smashed head.

Every day Warsaw receives more and more human wrecks, that is, the Jewish labour force working for the cruellest thugs of all times – the "victorious" German Army.

Jews captured on the Aryan side of Warsaw are brought into the ghetto almost every day. For example, on 6 December the number of such "criminals" escorted to the *Befehlstelle*[750] at Żelazna Street 103 (SS headquarters for the Warsaw ghetto) and then transferred to the Jewish district amounted to approximately 200 people. On 12 December, 36 Jews were transferred to the ghetto. Their crowding in is in progress. Police agents keep capturing more and more Jews or people of Jewish origin staying outside the ghetto. Under threat of immediate execution the latter are forced to leave their homes, after which they are rushed into the ghetto without clothes or bedding.

[30] In contrast to the "liberal" policy of the SS towards such criminals, it should be stressed that in the provinces of the "General Government" this practice has assumed truly tragic forms. It is the case particularly in the Kraków District, where roundups of "illegal" Jews are organised in villages in the form of round-ups with dogs. The captured "game", mostly women and children, are then escorted to the nearest town, where they are publicly executed in the local Jewish cemetery. The following may serve as an example of this German practice. On 5 December this year an execution was conducted in

749 I.e. Karl Liebscher, see above.

750 (Ger.) Command headquarters. During the 1942 *Aktion* it was the seat of the German command called the Resettlement Office.

the cemetery in Wolbrom.[751] A group of 29 people was escorted to the cemetery, surrounded by blue police functionaries and a crowd of local onlookers. Each of the convicts had to strip naked and lie down on the frozen ground, which was covered with snow and ice. A shot in the head ended the victims' suffering. The murderer was a German gendarme. 29 boys, girls, women, men and children were killed this way. Those victims' thoughtless and tragic deaths were accompanied by laughter, ridicule and loud offensive comments made by the crowd of local mob.

Similar executions also took place in Pilica,[752] Miechów, and a number of other localities. One should stress the following recently confirmed circumstance: after the revelation of the Treblinka tragedy the German authorities launched a propaganda campaign to murder every Jew regardless of age and sex, under the pretext of removing future avengers of the German crimes.

Echoes of Fürst's assassination. During the condolence visit after Fürst's assassination paid by the SS *Oberscharführer* Mende to the *Judenrat* chairman Lichtenbaum, the former expressed his grief over the loss of "such an excellent colleague as Fürst". Later during the conversation Mende stated that he knew that the murder was committed by Poles with help from Jewish perpetrators. Obviously, he knew the names of the assassins and [promised that] the perpetrators would not escape punishment. The matter was settled at that.

Cain's act of kindness. As per the German authorities' ordinance, due to the absence of the actual addressees all sums transferred from abroad to the Warsaw ghetto are to be paid out to relatives up to the third degree. The above fact explicitly exposes the German perfidy. On the one hand, the Germans want to "keep up appearances" to convince foreign states that life in the ghetto continues normally. On the other hand, they openly admit that the "resettled" addressees no longer exist, for otherwise the money would surely be sent to the addressees' new place of residence.

German gratitude. In early December this year a German soldier, who had been severely wounded on the eastern frontline, was brought by the Germans to the Jewish hospital on Gęsia Street. The doctor on duty was told that the soldier was not a German but a Jew and thus he could not be with German patients. The soldier came from a tiny village in Austria and was probably of

751 Wolbrom (Miechów County).

752 Pilica (Miechów County).

Jewish origin but had no ties with Jewry. He had been raised Catholic since childhood and during his stay in the Jewish hospital he mourned the fact that there was no Catholic church in the ghetto, as he wished to visit one and pray.

Miscellaneous. Currently the number of functionaries of the ghetto police in service in the Warsaw ghetto amounts to 240.

This November in the Jewish district there were 9 open distribution shops, serving approximately 7,000 clients.

This November 55 boxcars with products such as potatoes, Swedes, and peat for various *Rüstungsbetriebes*[753] passed through the reloading square (*Umschlagplatz*).

This November the number of letters posted was 5,094
the number of postcards sent abroad was 387
no telegrams were accepted for sending
incoming letters 8,403
incoming telegrams 18

Mortality rate. In the month of November there were 414 deaths (1.2% of the Jewish population) including:

241 men
173 women

Number of people with gunshot wounds was 124: 81 men
43 women

[31] Below are three tables clearly illustrating the extent of the extermination of the Jewish population of Warsaw as a result of the "deportation".

TABLE 1. *Division of the population of the Jewish district in Warsaw by sex and age. (As of the end of October 1942)*

Age group	Men	Women	Number of women per every 100 men
0–9	255	243	95.3
10–19	2,183	2,263	103.7
20–29	3,851	4,581	119.0
30–39	6,748	4,791	71.0

753 (Ger.) companies working for the army.

Age group	Men	Women	Number of women per every 100 men
40–49	4,319	2,564	59.4
50–59	2,019	948	47.0
60–69	353	143	40.5
70–79	30	15	50.0
No information	179	48	-
Total	19,937	15,696	78.7
15–24	3,626	4,244	117.0

TABLE 2. *Percentage of the population of the Jewish district in Warsaw by sex and age (as of the end of October 1942)*

Age group	Men	Women
0–9	1.3	1.6
10–19	11.1	14.5
20–29	19.5	29.5
30–39	34.1	30.8
40–49	21.9	16.5
50–59	16.2	6.1
60–69	1.8	0.9
70–79	0.1	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0

TABLE 3. *Resettlement coefficient among the population of the Jewish district in Warsaw*

Age group	Men			Women		
	In late October 1942	In early 1942	Resettlement coefficient	In late October 1942	In early 1942	Resettlement coefficient
0–9	255	25,759	99.0	243	25,699	99.1
10–19	2,183	35,283	93.8	2,263	39,790	94.3
20–29	3,851	19,747	89.5	4,581	36,041	87.3

Age group	Men			Women		
	In late October 1942	In early 1942	Resettlement coefficient	In late October 1942	In early 1942	Resettlement coefficient
30–39	6,748	29,155	76.9	4,791	40,892	88.3
40–49	4,319	21,128	79.6	2,564	30,652	91.6
50–59	2,019	14,758	86.3	948	20,812	95.4
60–69	353	8,881	96.0	143	12,335	98.8
70–79	30	2,553	98.8	15	4,361	99.7
80 and older	–	287	100.0	–	603	100.0
No info	179	59	–	148	107	–
Total	19,937	157,610	87.4	15,696	211,292	92.6

[32] Hospital. The ghetto hospital is completely filled due to the liquidation of various labour camps and the labourers' return to Warsaw, a substantial percentage of whom are sick.

Health. This November there were 20 cases of typhus and 40 cases of typhoid fever. In the first half of December there were 94 cases of typhus.

Even though the Warsaw ghetto seems calm now, the tension has not subsided, with nerves still tense. The Jewish population is subject to all probable and improbable rumours, which keep it awake. Everybody is perfectly aware that the current period of relative stabilisation is only temporary. The threat of ultimate destruction of the Warsaw Jewry has not vanished.

From the country. Information provided by survivors of the massacre in Treblinka confirm undeniably and indubitably that: 1. At the beginning of the "resettlement campaign" in Warsaw and in the provincial localities the Germans were murdering their victims in a very simple way, possibly due to insufficient technical preparation of the death machine in Treblinka. Murderous machine-gun fire was directed at the crowd of men, women and children who arrived in Treblinka, and all the victims were killed. A crew of gravediggers then threw everybody – the dead, the severely injured and the less severely injured – into the prepared pits, where those who were still alive breathed their last in agony. 2. In the month of August and later, when the intensification of the "resettlement campaign" exceeded the capacity of

the Treblinka steam chambers,[754] the Germans came up with the following solution: transports of people from the towns where the *Aktion* took place were loaded into boxcars with a layer of lime and chloride on the floor. After the train had covered the distance to Treblinka, the cargo unloaded from the boxcars at the transport's destination consisted only of corpses, swollen and in characteristic bluish-purple colour. All those people died in agony while being suffocated in the boxcars of death. For these transports of people (e.g. a group from Międzyrzec Podlaski and from Kielce) Treblinka was nothing more than a cemetery. The above shows that the Germans were eager to carry out an arranged plan, on schedule and with precision. These ways of mass murder were treated as auxiliary when, for whatever reasons, the effectiveness of the machine of death in Treblinka failed.

Profanation of corpses. The "scientific" method of exploiting the Jews condemned to death is also used for the corpses dragged out of the Treblinka steam chambers. Before throwing the corpses into the pits, the Germans check their teeth and remove all gold teeth and dental bridges, using dental tools. The profanation of corpses is total and complete.

According to reliable testimonies, on 8 September this year approximately 500 Poles were executed in Treblinka. The executions were conducted twice – in the morning and the afternoon. All the convicts – both men and women – were escorted to the execution site near the dug graves. Stripped naked and arranged along the pits, they were executed with machine-gun shots. The bodies of the victims were bluish, probably from earlier torture and beatings.

Table. Data regarding some of the towns in the "General Government", where the "resettlement campaigns" were conducted this September, October, and November.

Town	Before the "resettlement"	Remaining
Siedlce	5 000	500
Radom	30 000	2 000
Parczew	4 000	–

754 Incorrect information. In Treblinka the victims were suffocated with Diesel exhaust fumes.

Town	Before the "resettlement"	Remaining
Pilica	2 700	30
Piotrków	23 000	1 500
Opoczno (conc[entration])	10 000	180
Skarżysko	4 000	200
Opatów	10 000	*Aktion* continues
Sandomierz (concentration)	10 000	300
Bodzentyn	4 000	–
Kielce	27 000	1 580
Suchedniów–Bliżyn	3 000	–
Częstochowa	40 000	4 500
Tomaszów Mazowiecki	10 000	1 000
Końskie (conc[entration])	10 000	300
Szydłowiec	4 000	150
Ostrowiec (concentration of several towns)	15 000	*Aktion* continues

[74] *Wiadomości No. 4*
23–31 December 1942

Despite the great agitation caused in the entire civilised world by the revelation of the German atrocities and crimes committed against the helpless Jewish nation in Treblinka, it is stated once again that the murder site in Treblinka continues to operate. According to information obtained during the report period, Treblinka is currently the site for the liquidation of the last Jewish centres in the Grodno and Białystok areas. The victims are brought over twice weekly from the concentration camps in Kiełbasin (Grodno area) and Zawłodaw[755] (Białystok area). On average, the Jews spend 3 weeks at transit camps. Having gone through this "quarantine", the beaten-up,

755 I.e. Zabłudów. In fact, there were five transit camps for Jews from the ghettos in the Białystok district: in Bogusze (Grajewo County), Białystok, Kiełbasin (Grodno County), Wołkowysk, and Zambrów (Łomża County).

tortured and emaciated masses are then transported to the execution site in Treblinka to die.

The entire scientific concentration camp system "tried out" so far is put to full use in said camps, where the human masses are "prepared" to go on their last earthly journey.

It is known from a Polish eyewitness that the regime in these transit camps is so horrible that all the people arriving in Treblinka are solely human wrecks. In Kiełbasin the Germans constantly shoot at the herded crowds. The circumstance must be emphasised is that the system of arousing and intensifying fear and utter helplessness is methodical and planned down to the most minute details. The camp area is devoid of barracks, latrines and other essential facilities. Surrounded with barbed wire entanglements and watchtowers from which machine guns are constantly fired, the camp square is subject to frost, snowstorms and wind. One can only dream about cots or even planks to sleep on. Mothers with babies at their breast, children, the elderly, the sick and everybody else all lie on the snow and ice. Gunshots and moans fill the air. Red stains of human blood, which streams in torrents, contrast with the white snow. The well-aimed shots hit babies, children cuddled up to their parents and those looking for rescue and freedom. Corpses of the desperate and hopeless daredevils who dared look for freedom are impaled on the barbed wire fence. They found freedom but only after being shot in the stomach, chest or genitals. The horrible pain caused by these sophisticated shots accompanies the desired, dreamed-of death, which finally liberates these poor human beings from the torment of life. Their faces contorted by pre-mortal agony, the corpses are standing, leaning or lying on the ground, next to their spilt intestines, bowels and frozen blood. More and more people seek freedom beyond the wire surrounding the camp hell. The alert watchmen, the "heroic" SS-men, know their duty – the SMGs control the entire square. Horrible nights follow no less horrible days. Enormous searchlights light the site of mass torture. Small, multi-shaped stars of snow dance in the beam of light coming from the lights, their whiteness becoming clearer, richer. They fall down slowly to cover, like a symbol, those who are the most miserable due to their helplessness. The packed, tight mass of people makes a shocking impression in the flood of nocturnal light. Sleep, full of hallucinations, interrupted by moans and screams of the wounded victims as well as by the miserable whining of the chilled babies and children and above all, the piercing

cold, which fills all intestines and nerves, stifling all willingness to rebel and fight. Each night brings a number of new victims of frost and hunger – they seem the most fortunate ones from among the crowd of one thousand people. No, for these "camp inmates" Treblinka means just a formal ending to the process of gradually advancing death.

The daily meal is one big nightmare. The camp inmates (babies, children, mothers, the elderly, and cripples) eat the food, a mixture of cooked potato and swede peels, from pig troughs using their hands. The 21 days of compulsory stay in the transit camps kill the victims' instinct for life and their desire to fight. Typhus, dysentery, cholera, mental diseases, and the watchtowers cause a marked decline in the number of people transported to Treblinka. Madness, but a methodical and logical one – Hitlerism.

[75] The hospital in Treblinka. Treblinka has its own hospital and its own "orderlies". The horrible hospital is worthy of the camp where it is located. The German management entrusts the people unable to work (*sic!*), the elderly, the infirm, the sick and children without carers, to the Jewish "orderlies", who, by the way, wear armbands and the sign of the Red Cross. The latter are to take the former to the "hospital". It is a strange hospital. An enormous pit surrounded with evergreen trees, with vapours belching out – a product of the activity of various caustic substances – and wisps of smoke coming from burning waste and rubbish. The people are escorted to the pit. Before death the victims must strip naked (why, the Jewish clothes and money should not go to waste). They then have to stand in a row by the pit. A shot in the head and a kick in the stomach conclude the "treatment procedure". It very often happens that the victims fall into the grave with a head or neck wound and that they burn alive in the "hospital" pit. Such incidents were typical during the period of destruction of the Jews of Warsaw. Suffice to say that all the patients of the Jewish hospital in Warsaw who were "resettled" on 12 September this year concluded their "treatment" in this hospital.

[c]*Utile cum dulce.*[c][756] In line with Treblinka's utilitarian objectives the Germans freely dispose not only of Jews' property, but also of their bodies. What this means is the confirmed fact that the Germans cut out the dead Jews' body parts, prepare them in a special way and then send them to army hospitals for transplantations during surgical operations.

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756 [c-c] (Lat.) The useful with the agreeable.

What for? This November the German management of Treblinka introduced the following innovation: before undressing all women have their hair cut and the hair is packed into sacks.

Unfortunately. Many Jewish escapees from Treblinka do not reach their destination because the local peasants capture most of the encountered Jews and then either rob them of everything and let them go or tie them up and send them back to Treblinka, where they finish their life in horrible agony.

The liquidation of Jews in the Ciechanów district. The final pogrom of the remaining Jewish settlements in the Ciechanów district began on 23 November and ended on 16 December this year.

The liquidation affected approximately 25,000 Jews as presented below:

Nowy Dwór (including Jews from from Czerwińsk)	6, 000 people
Płońsk (including Jews from from Nowe Miasto	8, 000 people
Ciechanów	5, 000 people
Mława	6, 000 people

All Jews from the said towns, except for approximately 300 Jews from Mława, were resettled to die in execution sites in Szczawnica or Oświęcim.[757] The resettlement passed quietly and peacefully. As they usually do, the Germans officially assured the *Judenrats* of the said towns that "of course" the resettlement would affect only refugees and the unemployed and that all of the resettled would be sent to work. A passenger train arrived to transport the "resettled".

Below are quoted a few letters sent the day before or on the day of the "resettlement":

Płońsk, 13 December 1942

Our Dearest Róża,

Unfortunately, I do not know if we will manage to do something to see you, our one and only. Your advice to hide is not possible here. We are rather aware of what, unfortunately, awaits us. Perhaps we will also be among the chosen ones and they will send us to work. Why, one should not lose hope. We hope that God will not punish us so severely. He has already taken from

757 The Jews from *Regierungsbezirk Zichenau* were murdered in Auschwitz-Birkenau. Szczawnica – unclear, see below.

us what was dearest and the most priceless. Is He also going to take this only chance from us? No, this simply cannot be! We need to see one another, at least once more in our lifetime. God, how we yearn for this! Farewell, our beloved, our one and only!

Loving

Płońsk, 14 December 1942

[76] Our dearest Róża!

You see, we thought that we would stay until Friday, but unfortunately this evening is already our last. All our attempts to go to you have failed and now there is no longer time for this. We need to accept the current state of affairs. We are perfectly aware that tomorrow we are to depart into the unknown. If we are meant to live, that is fine, if not, then it is a pity. We have already lost what was dearest and most precious to us so we have nothing to mourn. I know that it will be difficult for you to be reconciled with the thought that you have already lost us, but what can we do about it?! It is fate and it has to be this way.

Your S.

Płońsk, 14 December 1942

Our dearest Róża!

We are writing the last postcard. Everybody is to depart on Wednesday, at 5 a.m. Our modest luggage is already lying packed in front of us and the boxcars are waiting for us at the train station. We think with a heavy heart that we will sleep only one more night at home.

Love, D.[758]

Płońsk, 16 December 1942

It is morning. We are on the train with the entire family. We are departing with the last group. Płońsk has been cleared.

W.

758 These are fragments of the letters to Róża sent by her sisters Sala and Dyna. Ruta Sakowska identifies the addressee as Róża Kirshenbaum, a relative of Menakhem Kirshenbaum (see Doc. 5). For entire letters see ARG II 357 (Ring. II/238).

(On the address side) Drop this postcard into the nearest letter box, please.

(The postcard was probably thrown out of the train)[759]

Post stamp: Częstochowa 17 December 1942

My dearest!

We are passing through Częstochowa with the entire family. We do not know where we are going.

I bid you farewell. Kisses,
G.F.[760]

The massacre in Węgrów.[761] The Jewish centre in Węgrów (12 kilometres from Treblinka) numbering 14,000 souls did not escape its horrible fate even though the Treblinka commandant most solemnly promised that the Jews would not be hurt in any way. The entire town was surrounded on Tuesday, 22 September 1942. Formations of the SS, gendarmerie, and *Schupo* entered all Jewish homes, sadly with the active help of the Polish Fire Brigade. 2,000 people were loaded into boxcars, predominantly the elderly and the sick. All the others had either escaped into the nearby forests or taken shelter. The thousands of people who were dragged out of their hideouts were murdered then and there. The clearing campaign took four weeks and it resulted in up to 10,000 Jews being killed immediately. The passive resistance of the 10,000, who did not want to go to Treblinka to die, did not alter their fate in any way. All flats, attics and cellars were splashed with the blood of children and women. The four weeks of murder and fire are the Teutonic oppressors' reaction to the attitude of the Jewish population of Węgrów. There is no information regarding the fate of the remaining 2,000 Jews.[762]

[77] But still. The fact of the liquidation of the ghettos in Kałuszyn and Siedlce best illustrates the worth of German ordinances and dispositions regarding Jews. It has now been stated that the population of the said towns

759 A fragment of an anonymous letter. See ARG II 358 (Ring. II/274/1).

760 A fragment of Guta Fuks's postcard sent to Rotblat to Warsaw. See ARG II 360 (Ring. II/274/4).

761 Węgrów (Sokołów Podlaski County).

762 See J. A. Młynarczyk, "Akcja Reinhard" w gettach prowincjonalnych", p. 67; *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 462–465.

was "resettled" to Treblinka at the beginning of December, after the "stabilisation of conditions". Particularly in Siedlce the Jews went through a real "Gehenna". After several "resettlements" the remaining Jews (approximately 2,000 people) were sent to Gęsiborek,[763] a suburb of Siedlce. In Gęsiborek the displaced people were assigned three half-ruined houses, one of which was given to Gypsies. The entire ghetto was surrounded with barbed wire. The congested Jews were living in truly dreadful conditions – the attics, cellars, backyards and streets were crammed full with the resettled. After four days everybody without exception was loaded into boxcars. One should not forget that the ghettos in Kałuszyn and Siedlce were established on the basis of the ordinances regarding establishment of ghettos (see below).[764]

Gnadenschoss.[765] During the first "resettlement" of Jews from Skarżysko, which took place on 3 October this year, the resettlement crew (obviously the Germans) went to the local Jewish hospital and executed all 35 patients. The hearts of the murderers did not so much as tremble.

List of Jewish Ghettos in the "General Government" (according to [c]*Polizeiverordnung über die Bildung von Judenwohnbezirken in den Distrikten Warschau und Lublin vom 28. 10. 1942*[c][766] and the supplement of 10 November 1942)

A. Warsaw District:
1. Warsaw-ghetto
2. Kałuszyn
3. Sobolew
4. Kosów
5. Rembertów
6. Siedlce
7. Zaklików
8. Izbica on the River Wieprz

B: Lublin District
1. Łuków
2. Parczew
3. Międzyrzec
4. Włodawa
5. Końskowola
6. Piaski

763 Gęsi Borek (Siedlce County) – the rump ghetto established there was closed on 30 November 1942.

764 See J. A. Młynarczyk, "Akcja Reinhard" w gettach prowincjonalnych", pp. 57–59; *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghetto*s, pp. 382–385, 428–432.

765 (Ger.) shot of mercy.

766 [c-c] (Ger.) police ordinance regarding establishment of Jewish residential districts in Warsaw and Lublin districts of 28 October 1942.

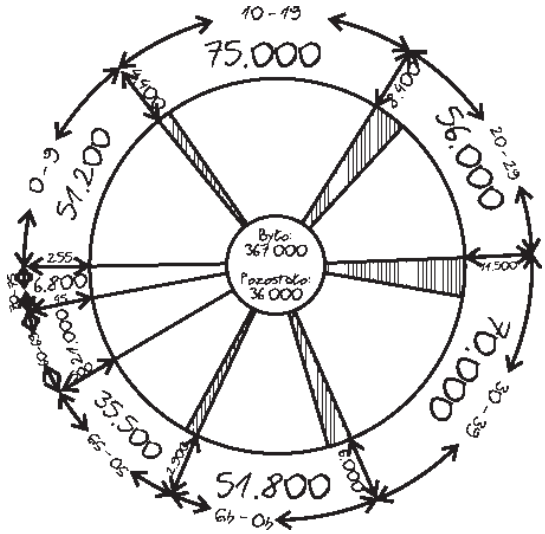
C. Radom District
1. Sandomierz
2. Szydłowiec
3. Radomsko
4. Ujazd
5. Kraków-ghetto

D. Kraków District
1. Przemyśl
2. Rzeszów
3. Tarnów
4. Bochnia

E. Galicia District:
1. Lvov-ghetto
2. Bóbrki[767]
3. Jaryczów Nowy
4. Gródek Jagielloński
5. Rudki
6. Jaworów
7. Złoczów-ghetto
8. Przemyślany
9. Brody
10. Rawa Ruska-ghetto
11. Lubaczów
12. Busk
13. Sokal
14. Brzeżany-ghetto
15. Bukaczowce
16. Podhajce
17. Rohatyn
18. Tarnopol-ghetto
19. Skałat
20. Trembowla
21. Zborów
22. Zbaraż
23. Czortków-ghetto
24. Buczacz
25. Borszczów
26. Kopyczyńce
27. Tłuste (town)
28. Stanisławów-ghetto
29. Stryj-ghetto
30. Drohobycz-ghetto
31. Borysław-ghetto
32. Sambor-ghetto

[78] Comparison draft: Jewish population of Warsaw: the "resettled" and the remaining.

767 I.e. Bóbrka (Lvov County, now in Ukraine).



Figures on the external circle mark the age groups

Hatched sections of the circle mark the remaining population

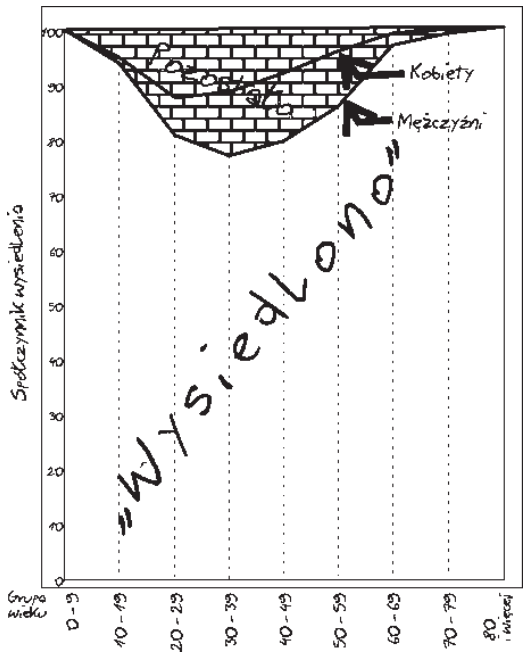
Segments between the arrows mark the number of the „resettled"

Figures outside the circle show the numbers before [in big font] and after [in small font] the „resettlement"

[In the middle:] There was 367,000
Remained 36,000

Copied from the original
by Tomasz Owczarek

[79] The coefficient of the "resettlement" of the Jewish population of Warsaw between 22 July and 21 September 1942



[on the left margin]
Resettlement coefficient

[diagonally] **„Resettled"**

[on the „brick" area]
Remained
- Women
- Men

[below the chart]
[left] age group [right] and more

Copied from the original
by Tomasz Owczarek

[80] Population of the Warsaw ghetto according to place of residence and sex:

Place of residence	Total	Men	Women
Jewish district	13,384	8,240	5,144
Shops outside the ghetto	22,249	11,697	10,552
Total	35,633	19,937	15,696

Observance of international agreements "Made in Germany".

Information has recently been received about the increasing numbers of murders of foreigners committed in the infamous Pawiak prison, where foreigners had been kept from early July this year. Most of them are hanged after being tortured to unconsciousness but many are executed with the use of firearms. It is a real-life illustration of the German statement that international agreements are sacred.

Banditry in the Warsaw ghetto.

With regret information is given about the intensification of the plague of banditry in the Warsaw ghetto. Aside from banditry, extortion of all forms and kinds and also with firearms thrives there. At nightfall bands begin to prowl the ghetto streets, beating and robbing late passers-by of everything they possess, after the German fashion. The victims are often left without clothes and shoes, not to mention money. Every so often the bands act in league with uniformed Germans, as it was e.g. in the evening of the 29th of this month on Nalewki Street, when a German robbed a few Jews in league with *szmalcowniks*.

At 7 p.m. on the 29th of this month armed Jewish robbers burgled a flat at Niska Street 35.

The bandits and robbers come from social scum and elements depraved by the German example.

Ursus again.[768]

At 12 o'clock on Tuesday (the 29th of this month) a lorry from the Ursus factory pulled up in front of the block of flats of Jewish labourers employed at this factory. Three German *Werkschutzes* alighted from the lorry and at once commenced a search of the entire building. Aside from the fact that they stole

768 The factory was located in the Warsaw ghetto. See Doc. 68.

everything they could, it should be stressed that they beat all the encountered labourers to unconsciousness. The executions went as follows: one German would hold a Jew's head in between his legs, another would hold his legs, and all three of them would beat a Jew on his naked body. The executions lasted until 4 p.m. Having meted out the punishments, the Jewish labourers were transported in an unknown direction. Women and children had been ordered to leave the building at once. This is the second time this month that a building has been blockaded by the Ursus factory authorities.

[51] *Wiadomości No. 5*
ARG.

1 January–8 January 1943

The incidents, which took place during the *"resettlement campaign"* in Białystok, Krynki, and Jadów,[769] clearly and indisputably confirm the slow yet gradual passing of the inertia, apathy, listlessness and first and foremost the paralysis of the activity centres of the few remaining Jewish communities. The Jews' attitude is significantly influenced by the awareness that the Hitlerite mass murderers are conducting a total annihilation of all Jews on Polish lands. The awareness is accompanied by the deepening conviction and even certainty that the leadership of the National Socialist party has sentenced all Jews to death (contrary to signed and binding international conventions forbidding oppression of civilian populations of occupied countries), and more importantly by the fact that this sentence is being carried out constantly and incessantly. Masterfully implemented on battlefields by German strategists, the *Blitzkrieg*[770] tactic yielded unexpectedly "good" results in the sphere of liquidation of national groups. Aside from using merciless violence, the power of the fist and efficient organisation, the *Vernichtungskommando* has another asset – the circumstance that physical annihilation, murder of entire societies, is in the category of acts beyond human comprehension. Brought up in the spirit of certain defined mental categories and a current cultural level and civilisation, the peoples of Europe do not take into consideration

769 Krynki (Sokółka County), Jadów (Warsaw County).
770 (Ger.) sudden and overwhelming military attack.

the possibility that entire nations could be liquidated, not even during wartime. Never before has the feeling of hatred, repulsion, or disgust towards people (Jews, Poles, or Germans) led to acts as [those in] Chełmno, Oświęcim, Bełżec, Sobibór, and Treblinka. What were needed to achieve the objective of destruction of a nation were the contemporary debauchery of instincts and the extraction of all inimical forces from the layers and recesses of unconsciousness.

A proper evaluation of what is being done to the tormented Jewish nation, and now also to the Polish nation, has inevitably and unavoidably to lead to conclusions dangerous to the Germans. While leaving this matter to responsible politicians, educators, and psychopathology experts, once again it is stressed and underlined that throughout the entire human history from the Stone Age until this day there has been no, even slightly similar, precedent at any longitude or latitude, in any civilisation, or on any continent. What was needed was a tragic combination of specific factors – the spiritual breakdown of the Germans after the lost war of 1914–1918, the depreciation of all established moral and ethical norms and the national megalomania strangely combined with an inferiority complex – under the aegis of modern mechanisation to create the atmosphere needed for mass murders.

Despite being so severely tried by fate, not long ago Polish Jews still did not believe in the tragic possibility of the total annihilation of their nation. Neither did Poles, and some still disbelieve it. The allied nations did not believe it either. The same thing can be said about Germans.

The continuous blows suffered by the Jewish nation severed whole parts of the national organism, precisely and even down to the cornerstones of synagogues and gravestones in Jewish cemeteries, making one more and more "used to" the thought of massacres of babies in cribs, and of women.

Still covert not long ago, the partitioner's true objectives and intensions are slowly becoming apparent. Jews constituted, among others, experimental material for the new German "population policy" in Poland and presumably [52] also in other occupied territories. The system of stunning the masses and paralysing them spiritually was tried on Jews and Jews are the first to regain relative balance and an ability to act.

The events in Białystok, Krynki, and Jadów are a real illustration of the process of the Jews' regaining strength to resist and fight after such unheard of and unprecedented bloodshed.

In Białystok the first reaction of the Jews to the "resettlement campaign" was to flee into the forests. Both the young and the old ran away, taking only the most indispensable objects. Nobody cared about rescuing their possessions or property. Nobody paid any attention to winter, snow, and ice. The people went into the unknown, ready for hunger, wandering, perhaps even for death, yet with a faint chance perhaps if not of surviving the war, then at least of fighting the berserk invader. Mothers blessed their sons and daughters. Sometimes entire families set out to fight and die in the name of freedom. Loaded into boxcars, the remaining Jews (mostly women, children and the sick), made a desperate effort to force open the boxcars' doors. They jumped out from the rushing train and ran just anywhere, ignoring the shots fired by the Ukrainian guards. The infirm old people and children arrived at the transit camp.[771]

The Jews from Krynki, located in the vicinity of Białystok, responded differently. Late November of last year (as we know from our informer, a functionary of the former Polish Police) 12 German gendarmes and 25 *junaks* arrived in Krynki to conduct a "resettlement". They used a tactic customary on such occasions, one of surprise and intimidation by means of inciting panic. Instead of the normal reaction of the masses, the German campaign encountered revolver and machine-gun fire from the Jewish self-defence. Every last German was killed as a result. After three days a SS platoon arrived but it found no Jews in the town. Everybody from babies to the elderly had taken shelter in the nearby forests.[772]

A Jewish partisan group commanded by MOSZE ZIELENIEC, aged 26, is active in the Jadów area. All members of this group are young Jews, former soldiers of the Polish Army who managed to escape from the German murderers' hands. The objective of the said partisan group, or actually Jewish self-defence, is to ensure the safety of the Jewish population hiding in forests and blackmailed by the demoralised local Polish population.[773]

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771 It remains unclear what events this is a reference to. The deportation from the Białystok ghetto to Treblinka was conducted on 5–12 February 1943. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 866–871.

772 Other sources do not confirm this story. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 911–913.

773 The entry is based on an anonymous testimony ARG II 362 (Ring. II/302). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government.*

The above events are reported with particular satisfaction, as the hounded Jewish population is being transformed, right before our eyes, into a group of people who fight as much as they can.

We believe that, taught by the tragic experience of the Jewish masses, the Polish population of the areas included in the "resettlement campaign" will grasp the torch of resistance and struggle in its hands.

The Lublin region. In the course of the "holy" war against the Jewish survivors of the massacres, the *Umsiedlungsamt* (Office for Resettlement Affairs) in Lublin resorted to a deceitful system of capturing the hiding Jews – the Germans set a reward for those peasants who captured Jews and brought them to the nearest gendarmerie station. The reward is 3 litres of vodka and a financial gift. The Germans appeal to the most basic instincts just to achieve their objective. No spiritual inhibitions or moral imperatives exist. Depraved by the reptilian press and the constant, overt anti-Jewish campaign and at the same time devoid of [53] proper guidelines and instructions from trustworthy elements, the peasants rise to the bait of the propaganda and Hitlerite tricks. It seems needless to say that all captured Jews are killed and then buried at the execution site – in the courtyard, on the square, next to a toilet or in the roadside ditch.

The Kielce region. The campaign to clear the area of Jews and put a small number of them in one of the four ghettos of the Radom District is almost over. There is not a single Jew in Chmielnik, Pińczów, Busko, Bodzentyn, and Suchedniów[774] or in other localities. The post-Jewish real estate, e.g. in Chmielnik, was sold at auction to Poles moved from other regions at prices ranging from 100 to 450 zlotys.

It is with real joy and satisfaction that one may state that in comparison with the stance of the Polish population in other parts of the country the attitude of Poles from the said areas of the Kielce region towards the hiding Jews is characterised by actual kindness and warmth.

The "resettlement" in Lvov. On 6 January this year the Germans "resettled" 3,000 (three thousand) Jews from Lvov. It is the eighth German campaign intended to liquidate the Jews of Lvov. Not long ago there were approximately 20,000 Jews surviving in the Lvov ghetto located in the Kleparów district (in July 1941 Lvov had approximately 140,000 Jewish inhabitants), where the

774 Chmielnik, Pińczów (Busko County), Bodzentyn, Suchedniów (Kielce County).

housing, sanitary, and material conditions differed little from those in labour camps. Even though detailed information is still lacking regarding the ongoing "resettlement" and the pretext that the Germans used to carry out their plans, one may be sure that they took it from their arsenal of lies and deceptions.

Litzmannstadt-Ghetto. In September 1942, 16,000 (sixteen thousand) Jews were "resettled" ([to] Chełmno – Oświęcim?) from the Jewish concentration camp in Litzmannstadt-Ghetto (Łódź). According to the German ordinance regarding resettlement it affected people (men and women) above the age of 60 (the element most suitable for departure), people unable to work, and unemployed children (child labour is a common phenomenon in the ghetto).[775]

Approximately 90,000 Jews are vegetating in the Łódź ghetto, hermetically sealed and devoid of any possibility to communicate with the outside world. No letters or newspapers reach the ghetto. The emerging letters have the same character as those from the infamous camps in Oświęcim or Dachau. Attached is the typewritten text of a postcard from the Łódź ghetto with a signature of the *Judenrat* chairman Chaim Rumkowski.[776]

There has been no information whatsoever about the life, problems and struggle of the Jews of Łódź. From time to time only scraps of information are received at unspecified but usually very long intervals, which tend to last a few months. But one should not forget that Łódź is only 140 kilometres from Warsaw. It should be restated that the complete closure of the Łódź ghetto took place on 1 May 1940.

[54] Text of the postcard from the Łódź ghetto:

Litzmannstadt-Ghetto 1942

To

.....

in.....

Street ..... No .....

775 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 75–82.

776 Chaim Mordecai Rumkowski (1877–1944) – before the war a Łódź industrialist, chairman of the board of the orphanage in Helenówek; on 13 October 1939 the Germans appointed him the chairman of the Jewish Community in Łódź (in April 1940 he became the Chairman of the Council of the Elders); he held that position until the destruction of the Łódź ghetto in August 1944, and he was murdered in Auschwitz-Birkenau.

Name ..... *lives here*
Street ..... *in good health*

(-) Ch. Rumkowski
the Elder of Jews in Litzmannstadt

Much has been written and said about the torturing of Jews by the Germans. The fact described below will constitute one more contribution to learning of the methods the Hitlerites use on the "guilty" Jews.

The victim, 18-year-old E. H., was apprehended on a train. Suspected of being a member of an underground organisation, the girl was tortured: kept in a dungeon, starved and beaten in a sophisticated way. The tortures did not bring the desired effect (that is, her giving away the other members of the purported organisation). On the fourth day of the "investigation" she was stripped naked, while her legs were tied with a thick cord and attached to a hook in the ceiling. Every couple of minutes a torrent of freezing water was poured on her. Specially trained dogs then began to worry her breasts and hair, gradually pulling it out. Moreover, she had her breasts pierced with red-hot pins. Consequently, a suitable confession was forced out of her, after which she was shot.

Łuków. Mr I. F.[777] testifies: on 5 October last year began a cycle of "resettlements" of Jews from Łuków. In order to mislead the Łuków Jews, the Gestapo in Radzyń gave convincing guarantees and promises that the Jewish population of this town (numbering 10,000 souls), the majority of whom worked in German work details, would not be subjected to "resettlement". But these guarantees did not prevent the tragedy. The "resettlement", that is, the loading of separated groups of men, women and children into boxcars and sending them to die in Treblinka, took place with the use of all the typical methods – shouting, beating and shooting. The Polish Voluntary Fire Brigade assisted by removing the hidden Jews, doing its job eagerly, zealously and willingly. Intimidated and shocked, the Polish general public treated the ongoing ethnic purge with sympathetic indifference. How different, unfortunately, was the attitude of the local peasants! Unfortunately, it must be said that they were unfriendly and even actively hostile. Testimony was given

777 Finkelsztajn. It is a quotation from a testimony of the Finkelsztajn siblings. See ARG II 352 (Ring. II/306). To be printed in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government.*

by a man who jumped out of the Łuków–Treblinka train near the village of Krynka.[778] A group of a few dozen [55] peasants who were at the railroad tracks attacked him, beat him up, robbed him of his money, shoes, and jacket and then made him join a larger group of Jews who had been captured (one cannot forget that these Jews were fleeing imminent death in Treblinka). The peasants then called the *Bahnpolizei*[779] station in Łuków, and when the Germans arrived all the captured [Jews] were taken to Łuków, where more than two hundred of them were put in jail (it was Saturday, 8 November). On Tuesday, 11 November, executions of all the captured Jews were carried out at the local Jewish cemetery. At the end the informer stated that in late November, perhaps at the end of the first "resettlement" cycle (of 9 stages), all that remained of the ghetto in Łuków were a few damaged houses.

Treblinka. The fourth issue of *Wiadomości* provided information about an innovation introduced at Treblinka, consisting of cutting women's hair before they were sent to die in the steam chambers. The hair is carefully collected, packed into sacks and sent away. Knowing Germans' thrift and frugality, there is no doubt that the hair is also put to some use.

With reference to the above information, the following was printed in a Warsaw rag[780] on 18 November 1942 (No. 273), but without comment:

"FABRIC MADE OF HUMAN HAIR". Sensational Hungarian invention.

A certain Budapest factory of Loden dresses has recently surprised the general public with news that it has tried out a new method designed by a certain Hungarian textile expert consisting of manufacturing thread and fabric from human hair. The tests had positive reviews, so the factory developed this production on a larger scale. Further details have been provided in connection with this interesting news. It turns out that human hair is mixed with 25 per cent wool and 20 per cent artificial fibres. Fabric produced from fibres composed of these three ingredients is particularly suited for winter coats and outerwear.

In order to obtain a sufficient amount of human hair, collection centres were established in the most important regions of Hungary, currently numbering 40 venues. 100,000 kilograms of this valuable material has been

778 Krynka (Radzyń County).

779 (Ger.) railway police (guard).

780 That is, in *Nowy Kurier Warszawski*.

collected from barbers in Transylvania, while in northern Hungary, southern Hungary and Budapest the amount of collected hair has totalled 40,000, 55,000, and 23,000 kilograms respectively. The above outcome of the collection is enough to produce 10,000–12,000 metres of fabric per month. It is understandable that before being utilised in industry the hair undergoes a carefully controlled process of washing and disinfection. According to obtained information, the method proved so advantageous that a number of other countries have expressed keen interest in this new invention". – *Sapienti sat* . . .[781]

From the Warsaw ghetto. The atmosphere of panic, uncertainty and constant fear has not subsided. The Warsaw ghetto focused on three ordinances passed over the last couple of days by order of the German authorities. The first ordinance regards "Sanitation Week" and the relevant campaign, which is to be conducted between 3 and 9 January this year.[782] The second ordinance pertains to pedestrian traffic restriction, while the third is devoted to making the infamous *Umschlagplatz* usable. Fearing all changes, and rightly so, [56] the population of the ghetto sees the new ordinances as a campaign against it. The population of the ghetto perceives the first ordinance (Sanitation Week) as analogous to the period preceding the complete liquidation of the ghetto that transpired for the remaining Lublin Jews located at Majdan Tatarski. There too, the authorities ordered a clearing campaign to be conducted in the said ghetto. It would be naive to suspect that when it comes to the Jews of Warsaw the *Vernichtungskommando*, to which the entire ghetto is subordinated, is driven by concern for their hygiene and health!

The second ordinance is as follows:[783]

The *Judenrat* in Warsaw Warsaw, 5 January 1943

ANNOUNCEMENT

The *Judenrat* in Warsaw announces once again that moving from the current Jewish district to the area of the former district, as well as going from the former area to the area of the current Jewish district, is permitted only with passes issued to individuals or groups by the *Sonderkommando der Sicherheitspolizei* at Żelazna Street 103.

781 (Lat.) a word to the wise is enough.

782 See ARG II 56/1-3 (Ring. II/262/1-3) and ARG II 57 (Ring. II/263).

783 See ARG II 56/4 (Ring. II/262/4).

All violations of this regulation (particularly instances of groups being joined by people who are not members of the group) will be severely punished.

The *Judenrat* in Warsaw

Moreover, the superior SS authorities have ordered a renovation of the *Umschlagplatz*. Those who have experienced the terror of "resettlement" from Warsaw will comprehend what these major changes, particularly those regarding the *Umschlagplatz* – this exit gate towards Treblinka, mean for the surviving Jews of the ghetto.

Letters again. Letters from the "resettled" with postmarks from Bobrujsk, Smoleńsk,[784] etc., have recently been made public in the Warsaw ghetto. The contents of the letters – in various versions and variations – are widely commented on. While noting this fact, we wish to indicate that this appears to be another German attempt to make the masses comfortable, with the objective known only to the Germans. The Jews are to believe that a certain, though not large, group of the "resettled" is working in labour camps, and are well treated. But even just a cursory analysis of these letters leads to the conclusion that they are forged. The Germans shall not manage to trick us a second time.

Falenty. The infamous labour camp for Jews in Falenty near Warsaw was closed on 5 January this year. All prisoners, human wrecks, were sent to the Warsaw ghetto.[785]

The Pawiak prison. On 31 December last year the German oppressors conducted another massacre of 16 Jews captured on the Aryan side of Warsaw. Prior to being executed, the poor souls were inhumanly tortured. This was why the Germans called the Jewish Hospital for an ambulance to transport the wounded. [But] when the ambulance arrived at the Pawiak Prison the physician was told that medical assistance was not needed. The departing ambulance passed the arriving cemetery cart.

[57] The profaned church on Leszno Street. The church at Leszno Street 34, which the *Werterfassung* turned into a venue to store furniture, is being profaned by the Germans overtly and shamelessly. The Jewish labourers employed in the church testify that the German directors were mocking

784 Bobrujsk, currently in Belarus; Smoleńsk, currently in Russia.

785 Falenica (Warsaw County). Site of a labour camp for Jews. Its prisoners worked at road construction. See M. Janczewska, "Obozy pracy przymusowej", p. 319.

ecclesiastical objects. For instance, they were shocked by the sight of a statue of Virgin Mary decorated with a ghetto armband. Yet another trick from Hitler's stock.

Mortality rate in the ghetto. Below, we present a table comparing the mortality rates in the Warsaw ghetto in 1941 and 1942.[786]

Month	1941	1942
January	898	5,123
February	1,023	4,618
March	1,608	4,951
April	2,061	4,432
May	3,818	3,636
June	4,290	3,356
July	5,550	3,672
August	5,560	4,515
September	4,545	4,244
October	4,716	423
November	4,801	414
December	4,366	334
Total	39,719	43,236

[63] *Wiadomości No. 6*

9 January–15 January 1943

During the report period the Warsaw ghetto once again went through desperate days of anxiety, fearful expectations, and terror bordering on madness. Sleepless nights were spent watching, and days were passed in vigilant observation. It would not be much of an exaggeration to compare the ghetto to a bundle of nerves, tense as a cord, ailing from the emotions experienced and consequently oversensitive to the slightest external injury. News about

786 The mortality statistics prepared by Oyneg Shabes counted only deaths that occurred in the ghetto. Therefore, the data for July–September 1942 do not include thousands of victims murdered in Treblinka.

constant deportations of the Jewish population to Treblinka or other execution sites and about local massacres comes from every direction – from Vilna, Białystok, Sandomierz, Lvov, Opoczno, Radom, and Częstochowa. This intensifies the horrible, primeval fear seen in the eyes of all ghetto residents.

Regardless of the said ghetto "themes", and rather simultaneously, the Warsaw ghetto is going through a drama rooted on the one hand in the conviction that the German thugs will not leave the ghetto and the rest of its residents intact, and on the other hand, feeling desperate, which is manifest in hopeless heroism. Not looking for an analogy in other periods of barbarity and savagery throughout history, we would like to stress a highly characteristic and telling symptom, which is seen in the Jewish district in Warsaw. We provide a short digression before getting to the heart of the matter, which is the new German propaganda campaign against Jews, which has already been signalled. It has been even further developed this week and is being conducted on a broad scale, albeit discreetly.

The law of the jungle – the primal law of the backwoods and primeval forests – states as follows: devouring a victim to satisfy physical hunger, the entire struggle for survival, for life, expressed even in the most drastic form, with the use of fangs, claws, and talons is natural and as such is neither concealed nor denied. A conflict in which everything, that is, life is at stake, continues with full heat and fury. But the law of the jungle does not accept death merely for the sake of the idea of death. On the contrary, it is guided by the overwhelming instinct of survival. Even the fiercest beast does not murder without need. Satisfaction of hunger is enough for it to refrain from searching for new prey. And one more thing – no animal covers the traces of struggle afterwards, be it a defeat or a victory. It acts in accord with the law of the jungle.

This has been said to better comprehend the German "idea" of war against nations. By contrast, the law of the jungle seems like a baby's babbling compared to a roar of rollers, a light touch of the zephyr compared to the roar of the gale. For the two are separated by wantonness of thought, unleashed fury, sophisticated sadism, deep moral corruption and perfection of technical means. *Furor teutonicus*[787] in all its diabolical glory.

Having reduced the Jewish population to 10 per cent of its original size, the oppressors did not cease their acts of destruction. On the contrary,

787 (Lat.) Teutonic fury, German belligerent frenzy.

everything seems to suggest that the tragic fate of the tormented, crushed Jewish nation in Poland is being completed. Hence, the new deceits of the German propaganda intended to lull the Jewish masses in the desired frame of mind should be approached with all the more suspicion and caution.

[64] Germany is known for its inclination to present the world with accomplished facts. *Fait accompli, which was successfully used in the occupation policy but only for so long,* is now widely used in the sphere of war against the Jewish "enemy". Chełmno was an accomplished fact and so was the horrifying massacre in Lublin and the dreadful liquidation "campaign" in the Warsaw ghetto. For some reason Hitler and his companions have chosen not to publicise, both among their fellow countrymen and abroad, the accomplishments and progress in the sphere to annihilate Jews and other nations. Those who think that crimes on such a scale can be committed only under special, favourable conditions – in conditions of complete secrecy – are right. Even though Treblinka and Bełżec would be considered a significant success from the point of view of militant antisemitic ideology, to publicise the anti-Jewish accomplishments would be inconvenient and disadvantageous for three reasons: 1) because of the reaction of the Jewish public once it became aware of its doom and thus [realised that it] had nothing to lose; 2) because of the negative response of both the subjugated and the allied nations, which simply do not suspect such a "solution" to ethnic problems; and 3) because of the allied nations' reaction towards their citizens of German origin.

The above reasons have resulted in a crime, whose viciousness and scale surpass everything known from the history of wars, migrations of people, and epidemics. It was committed in total isolation. The murder of three million Jews in Poland shook the entire structure of German propaganda. Suddenly, the remaining Jews became aware of the unprecedented massacre, whose victims were their loved ones. The scales fell from their eyes. Consequently, the news of death camps and all the German activities linked to the destruction of Jews began to permeate first into the Polish and the German societies and then abroad. The Declaration of a dozen Allied governments regarding punishment for the perpetrators of this crime[788] was inconvenient for the

788 The declaration of 11 Allied governments of 17 December 1942, condemning Nazi Germany's extermination policy towards Jews and announcing punishments for all those responsible for this crime.

Germans despite the total insufficiency of the declaration and the fact that it followed the path of least resistance, as the meting out of justice was postponed until after the war. The German government replied with a semi-formal statement, which claimed that the removal of Jews from German territories would remain one of the main objects of German policy. It was implied to both German and foreign public opinion that it was about removing living Jews from the territories under German occupation. The intension is clear.

Spread of [knowledge about] the "German deeds" might have had unpleasant consequences for the occupier, so it should be avoided. Suddenly a lot of "confirmed" news about the "resettled" surfaced, particularly in the Warsaw ghetto. During the report period, the letters "came" to Warsaw from a women's camp near Smoleńsk along with the news that 40,000 Jews were living and working in Treblinka and that a camp with 120,000 Polish Jews was located near Równe.[789] Properly embellished, the news spread in the ghetto, giving rise to new hope in the hearts of the desperate. The aim of that propaganda campaign is clear. A reaction of the Jewish masses would be disadvantageous to the Germans, who fear their stance and response. This is why the occupier is clearly trying to create a calm atmosphere in the ghetto by means of a sophisticated "tranquilising" propaganda campaign. The SS and Gestapo offices are the source of these rumours. It is not about truth or even about partial truth, but about only a semblance of truth.

The above illustrates only one "achievement" of the Hitlerite thugs. It is desirable to emphasise another aspect of the "resettlement" issue – today nobody has any illusions that the German campaign will end with the Jews. The reality of the recent period proves beyond doubt that it is neither a theory nor a fantasy, but a fact. The Poles have awoken: the underground press reports the crimes committed by the German perverts. The German propaganda attempts to counteract this campaign in many ways, last but not least [65] with stating purportedly authentic news from the ghetto. One is familiar with the sophisticated, amoral methods of German propaganda. There is no doubt that with regard to "resettlements" German propaganda will use all means and tricks to finally "solve" the Polish problem. The Germans are

789 Reference to a letter sent on 5 October 1942 by Hersh Lepak from the Treblinka II to his wife in the Warsaw ghetto. The sender wrote that he had been working in the camp carpenter's workshop since 31 August. See ARG II 383 (Ring. II/273/2).

fully aware of the importance and gravity of the news from the ghetto, which reaches the "Aryan" side. According to it, Jews were not eliminated after all but were used as a labour force in the east, something the Jews themselves "state". As for Poles who are Aryans, the Germans [purportedly] have no intension of liquidating them. They just want to "resettle" them somewhere else. The real intention of deportations or resettlements is too well known. But the Germans care little about this. They follow the tried-and-true principle that a lie repeated frequently and presented in a varied manner begins to seem true. According to this saying the Germans release a mass of various pieces of information from the ghetto in order to "kill two birds with one stone" – to "prepare" the Jews for further "resettlement" and to use the repercussion on the Aryan side to cause disorientation and confusion there.

This is the edge of the precipice. There is no sign of help or rescue. But we need to stress again how much the fate of the Jews is connected with the fate of the Poles and to the extent that it is subject to the same mechanisms. Continued German occupation will be tantamount not only to the extermination of the remaining Polish Jews, but also to the physical annihilation of the Polish nation.

Warthegau. A number of letters have been received from our Polish friends from Koło, Dąbie, Grabów, Kłodawa, Izbica Kujawska, and Krośniewice,[790] clearly and explicitly confirming the extent to which the fate of Poles is similar to that of Jews. The difference lies perhaps not in the extermination policy principles but in the greater intensity of the anti-Jewish campaign. Information from correspondents in the above towns states that the only remaining Poles are men in their prime employed in workshops operating for the German Army. All the others – predominantly the elderly and minors – were deported in an unknown direction. The German campaigns that have already been conducted are too well understood for us not to fully comprehend the actual situation of the Polish population in *Warthegau*.

To complete the picture it should be added that the atmosphere in which the Poles in Koło and its vicinity live their lives of slavery is identical to ours, that is, the Jewish one.

790 Dąbie, Kłodawa, Izbica Kujawska (Koło County), Grabów (Łęczyca County), Krośniewice (Kutno County).

The same may also be said of the conditions in the towns of the Ciechanów district, that is, Nowy Dwór near Modlin, Płońsk, Czerwińsk, Nowe Miasto near Płońsk, Ciechanów and Mława. The refugees from these areas who have been our informants talked about the fate of the Polish population with great compassion and sympathy.

This is the "new order in Europe".

Official German note regarding the Jewish issue (*Corriere della Sera*)[791]

Berlin, 19 December 1942

This official German note deals with the general declaration regarding the Jewish issue formulated a few days ago and signed by the English, American and Soviet governments as well as by various governments in exile. It says, among other items, that for Germany the Jewish issue was solved as early as on 30 January 1933.

The expulsion of Jews from Germany became a foundation of the national socialist platform as early as a decade before their rise to power. This point has not changed. If the Jews hoped that the national socialism would change their platform or fail to fully implement it as far as the Jewish question was concerned, then it is all the worse for them.

[66] Anyhow, it should be stressed that the German Jews had a decade to draw appropriate conclusions from the national socialist platform and to leave the country.

Jews in other European countries had even more time at their disposal and many of them could still emigrate even a year or two ago. Jews in certain European countries still have such an opportunity.

Finally, one should recall the Führer's emphatic reminder uttered shortly before the outbreak of the conflict: "If the Jews cause the outbreak of a new world war they will be the first to feel the consequences of this crime".

Częstochowa. After the liquidation of the ghetto in Częstochowa conducted at the end of last year, almost 4,600[792] people remained, quartered at various factories and in a few alleys. The ghetto officially ceased to exist, while the entire Jewish community is referred to as a labour camp – *Arbeitslager*.

791 *Corriere della Sera* – a major Italian daily, published beginning in 1876.

792 The figure is difficult to decipher. In January 1943 in the Częstochowa ghetto there were approximately 5,000 Jews.

But the remaining Jewish population was not destined to enjoy relative peace. In early January various rumours about another "resettlement" of Jews and its schedule began to circulate in the city. Then only women and the elderly were to fall victim to the campaign. According to a statement of the local gendarmerie chief Degenhardt, these two categories of Jewish population simply could not exist in the labour camp in Częstochowa because they were unable to work. The resettlement was to encompass 800 people, but in his "magnanimity" Degenhardt announced that he was able to protect 500 of the 800 "illegal" individuals. He also said that the resettlement was necessary for the well-being of the working people, as the "illegals" were consuming their food.

The "resettlement" began on Monday, 4 January. At 10 a.m., after the work details had left for their workplaces, the ghetto police escorted many Jews – men, women, and children – to the place known as little market square, where 6 (!) gendarmes conducted a selection in the absence of Degenhardt, who was replaced by gendarme Rohn. Many Jews were released, while the elderly and children were taken away.

Something significant happened during that selection, casting a stark light on the change of the stance of young Jews, who are beginning to be actively engaged in the hopeless fight against the Hitlerite thugs to protect their honour and life.

A certain group of young people arrived late on the square where the selection was being conducted. Consequently, the director of that "campaign", gendarme Rohn, ordered everybody to walk to the boxcars. At that moment 20-year-old Mendel Fiszlewicz flung himself at him with a revolver, but the weapon jammed after the first shot. The young man then flung himself at the gendarme with a knife, cutting the latter's coat and severely roughing him up. During the tussle Rohn could not take out his revolver, but another gendarme, a certain Sapport, helped him by handing him his. Rohn fired thrice at Fiszlewicz, wounding him severely. The latter continued to defend himself by kicking his oppressor even when he himself was lying on the ground, bleeding.

His friend, 19-year-old Ajzyk Fajner, came to his help as he flung himself at gendarme Sapport with a revolver in hand. Fajner fired twice at the gendarme. When he saw that the man was unhurt, he attacked him, punching away. During the tussle the gendarme broke his arm but managed to shoot his victim before that.

[67] It is symptomatic that during the entire incident the other gendarmes stood on the side without providing any help to their colleagues, even though Rohn kept shouting: [c]*Habt kein Angst, Euch wird nichts passieren, schiesset!*[c][793] The situation was finally brought under control by another gendarmerie platoon that was called. 25 people were shot on that occasion for resisting the authorities.

The above fact caused great and understandable interest throughout the town, arousing contentment and satisfaction. Even the Germans talked with admiration about that act of Jewish resistance and self-defence ([c]*Die Juden haben einen Aufstand gemacht*[c]).[794]

The group of "resettled" was walked to the boxcars under a strong escort of many gendarmes and blue police functionaries. It turned out that the resistance of the desperate Jewish youths inspired a lot of interest in the relatively small number of victims and forced the thugs to concentrate a relatively large group of gendarmes (more than 60 strong) to guard the Jewish "resettled". The group was deported to the assembly point in Radomsko.[795]

Radomsko. The officially designated Jewish ghettos in the Radom District are in a state of total liquidation. During the first ten days of January almost all Jews from the ghettos in Sandomierz, Szydłowiec, Radomsko, and Ujazd[796] were "resettled".

The "resettlement" from Radomsko was conducted on 6 January. The campaign involved 8,000 (eight thousand) people who had been concentrated there after the earlier "resettlements" from nearby towns and Częstochowa. The number of Jews who purportedly remained in Radomsko totals 30 (thirty).[797]

Before everybody boarded the boxcars the Germans forced them to surrender their coats, sweaters, and other warm clothes. Nonetheless, very many Jews escaped from the boxcars despite the constant fire of the Ukrainian escort. A small number managed to return to the Jewish settlements.

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793 [c-c](Ger.) have no fear. You'll be fine. Fire!

794 [c-c](Ger.) the Jews have rebelled.

795 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos,* pp. 214–217.

796 Sandomierz (Opatów County), Szydłowiec (Radom County), Ujazd (Tomaszów Mazowiecki County).

797 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos,* pp. 293–295.

Further liquidation of the Jewish centres. On Thursday, 8 January, a 40-wagon train transporting the remainder of the Jewish population (approximately 60,000 people) of Końskie, Skarżysko, Opoczno, Tomaszów Mazowiecki, and Ujazd passed through Warsaw on its way to Treblinka.

Szydłowiec. All Jews from Szydłowiec were "resettled" at the end of last week.

Vilna. At the beginning of January this year a train with Jews deported from Vilna was seen at the Eastern Railway Station in Warsaw. The Jewish labourers working in Vilna were told by the Germans that they were heading for Upper Silesia, where they would be provided with employment – employment at the site of murder in Oświęcim or Szczawnica.[798]

Treblinka. Another macabre German idea: Music in Treblinka.

We provide the following fact as yet another piece of evidence for German cynicism in the Treblinka site of murder. The parade of naked men and women heading for the steam chambers is often accompanied by a Jewish band, which plays various lively Jewish melodies and cheerful marches. Not long ago performances of Salwe,[799] an artist and a poetry reciter popular in the Warsaw ghetto, were still held at the local quarters of the German camp personnel.

[68] German perfidy [in] Radom-Opoczno. Last week another "resettlement" campaign was conducted in Radom. Over 1,000 people were "deported", while the 1,200 Jews who had registered last week for departure to Palestine were allowed to stay.

The "resettlement" from Opoczno was conducted simultaneously. The SS-men assured their victims that they were leaving for Palestine and even helped them load their baggage into the boxcars.

Mińsk Mazowiecki. On the "occasion" of Christmas the Germans from Mińsk Mazowiecki conducted a massacre of Jewish camp prisoners. After numerous and thorough "resettlements", only one Jewish detail of more than 300 labourers remained in Mińsk Mazowiecki. On 24 December 1942 the Germans dragged out 218 Jews and shot all of them in the local Jewish cemetery. 15 Jewish camp prisoners from Fort Wola in Warsaw, who were especially brought to Mińsk Mazowiecki, were used as gravediggers. Some of the Jews hid in the nearby forests.

798 The reference to a place or perhaps a camp remains unclear. Cf. above.

799 Izaak Salwe – actor at the Nowy Azazel Theatre in the Warsaw ghetto.

News has been received that at the beginning of this week another massacre was conducted on the remaining 100 Jews. They were all burned alive without exception. This is no novelty in the anti-Jewish practice of militant German rage. The example of Chełm Lubelski and the camp in Lublin, where hundreds of Jews were burned alive, shows the method of behaviour for reigning Hitlerism.

Sandomierz. On Saturday, 9 January this year, 8,000 (eight thousand) Jews were "resettled" from Sandomierz to Treblinka. It should be stressed that Sandomierz was the site of one of the approved Jewish ghettos.[800] Most of the victims – not only the young, but also the elderly – jumped out of the boxcars under most unfavourable circumstances, at [minus]15 degrees, in danger of being shot by the first encountered German and often at the mercy of the hostile, terrorised, and intimidated Polish population.

Staszów.[801] From what we are told, the final act of the Staszów Jews' tragedy has already taken place. On Saturday 9 January this year, the remaining Jews, numbering 300 souls, were "resettled". Not even one Jewish inhabitant remains in the town.

The conference in Kraków. On Monday, 11 January, a conference devoted to the Jewish issue was held in Kraków by order of the central SS authorities. Its outcome remains unknown.

Himmler in the Warsaw ghetto. On Saturday afternoon, the 9th of this month, the Warsaw ghetto was inspected by the SS-*Reichsführer* Himmler – the leader of the Hitlerite band, stained with the blood of the destroyed Jewish nation. A macabre sight accompanied His Excellency – the murderer of Europe. Two armoured vehicles arrived in advance, their crew on alert. The motorcade was closed by another two armoured vehicles spiked with machine-gun barrels. Himmler travelled in a passenger car, escorted by armed SS officers. The motorcade sped along the empty, deserted streets, looked upon by the windows of the looted post-Jewish flats, emptied of everything of any value and deprived of their rightful residents. It seemed that Himmler's inseparable companions, the Horsemen of the Apocalypse – War, Famine, Pestilence, and Death – were riding along with the motorcade.

800 As per the ordinance regarding the establishment of rump ghettos of 10 November 1942.
801 Staszów (Opatów County).

In the ghetto Himmler visited the *Werterfassung* storehouses at Dzielna Street 35 and 69 (not the only collection depots for looted Jewish property). He had no interest in Jewish workshops or factories. The only thing that interested him was his achievement – the *Werterfassung*.

[69] Residents of the ghetto have the worst premonitions on account of the visit of their murderer: a "resettlement" *à la* Treblinka or another similar campaign.

His departure from the ghetto was as horribly quiet and unceremonious as his arrival. This is how the visit to the first conquered European capital – the one most severely tried by the fate of the war – appeared.

Miscellaneous. The influx of Jews into the Jewish district in Warsaw in the month of December last year was as follows:

1 December 109 people
2 December 122 people
3 December 42 people
and less than 40 people per day over the subsequent days.

The number of labourers reporting to work in *Werterfassung*:

in early December	– approximately	3,200 people per day
in the second half of December	– approximately	3,700 people per day

Technical works. Throughout last December approximately 340,000 bricks were brought in, including approximately 320,000 to wall in the workshops.

Health. Last month 205 cases of typhus and 12 of typhoid fever were registered. Of the 205 cases of typhus as many as 171 cases were among the newly arrived former prisoners of labour camps.

Deaths. The total number of deaths throughout last December was 334.

men	218
women	116
wounded by gunshots	65
men	52
women	13

ARG II 423 (Ring. II/338/1).
Description: original; No. 1 and 3 in 2 copies, No. 2 in 9 copies (including 1 incomplete copy, p. 1 missing), No. 5 in 4 copies (including 1 incomplete copy, pp. 1, 4, and 7 missing), No. 6 in 3 copies, typewritten, Polish, 218x290 225x288 mm, minor damage and missing fragments (No. 1), 94 sheets, 96 pages.
"ARG" written in the right top corner of all pages.
"Complete" written on p. 1 (No. 1 in the 1st copy) (handwritten – H*[?], red pencil).

Chapter 5

Oyneg Shabes Reports

65 *March 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes report "Wypadki chełmińskie" ["Events in Chełmno"] on the mass murder of Jews in Chełmno death camp.*[802]

[1] Dear Sir,
We feel obliged to inform you about a series of undoubtedly authentic events, which took place in the western territories incorporated into the Reich, the news of which unfortunately still has not reached the Polish general public. We trust that you, dear Sir, will not keep this news to yourself.[803]

802 Five copies of *Wypadki chełmińskie* (Events in Chełmno) are in the Ringelblum Archive: four with substantial missing fragments: ARG I 25 (Ring. I/473, I/937) and the fifth undamaged copy, ARG I 26 (Ring. I/665). The copy from ARG I 26 does not have a title; it is only visible on the 1st copy in ARG I 25. The text edited in Doc. 65 was attached to the *Drugi Etap* (the second stage) report of April 1942 (see Doc. 66). Another version of this text was copied in a report of June 1942 (see Doc. 67). Copies 2, 3, and 4 from ARG I 25 are mostly identical to the text of the copy from ARG I 26. The file ARG I 26, fully legible, was used as the basis for editing. Significant differences between the copies are specified in the footnotes. For more on the origin and history of this report, see Introduction.

803 According to Ruta Sakowska, these introductory words are directed to Aleksander Kamiński, active member of the Polish underground; they are included only in ARG I 26 (Ring. I/665).

Events in Chełmno.

In the second half of November 1941 news spread in the towns of Koło County (*Kreis Warthebruecken*) that all their Jewish residents would be resettled to the Pińsk area or to eastern Lesser Poland. The German authorities imposed a poll tax on all Jewish inhabitants to the amount of 4 *Reichsmarks* per person, while all men aged 14–60 and women up to the age of 50 were subjected to an examination to determine if they were able to work. Upset by such news, the Jewish communities endeavoured to obtain at least some details about the resettlement but their efforts proved unsuccessful. The only thing that they managed to discover was that similar preparations had preceded the transport by lorries of the 3,000 residents of the Jewish centre in Zagórów (Konin County) to the nearby Kazimierzowskie forests, after which they disappeared without a trace.

The entire Jewish population of Koło (2,000 souls) and Dąbie on the River Ner (1,000 souls) was resettled in mid-December of last year. The resettlement included all Jews without exception. Babies, children, the elderly, and the bedridden were all loaded onto lorries. They were all transported with their possessions to the village of Chełmno, located 12 kilometres from Koło on the way to Dąbie. The Jewish communities in Kłodawa, Izbica Kujawska, Bugaj, and Sempolno[804] sent messengers to find out what had happened with the resettled. The only thing that they managed to learn was that the resettled were placed into a palace in Chełmno, from which they never emerged. According to the local peasants, no food was brought to the palace and a grey lorry pulled up in front of it a few times per day and then left in the direction of the Luborodz forests.[805]

Further details about the events in the Chełmno palace could not be obtained until later. Jews were brought over in groups of 60 and then 90 people. Their luggage was put in the church and the surrounding buildings requisitioned by the Gestapo. Lorries pulled up in front of the palace. The resettled alighted and walked into a designated room. The Chełmno palace is a ruin of a single-storey little palace destroyed during the previous war.

804 I.e. Sępolno. Today this locality is called Sompolno.

805 "Lubrodz" in the 1st copy in ARG I 25. It is a reference to forests near Ladorudz (Koło County).

The room, into which the people had to walk, was a larger one, well heated and fitted with wooden bars on the walls. There were stairs, also fitted with bars, leading from the room to the basement. There was a corridor in the basement, at the mouth of which was a platform with stairs. The front gate led to the courtyard, while the other gate led to the other, proper courtyard of the "palace".

At this point an SS officer and a 60-year-old German, whom the "resettled" liked because of his highly cordial behaviour during the unloading from the lorries, gave a speech to those assembled, assuring them that they would be resettled to the ghetto in Łódź, where they would all find employment and where their children would be able to attend school. But before their departure to Łódź they must go through disinfection and wash themselves in the baths especially installed in the palace. By way of preparation for the disinfection, the men had to strip down to long underwear and women to shirts. The people were ordered to wrap their IDs[806] and valuables in handkerchiefs and to rip out the money they had sewn into their clothes to avoid its destruction during the disinfection.[807]

After this preparation the assembled people were escorted out to the "baths" through the door leading to the stairs going down. There was a rapid drop of temperature, as the corridor was completely unheated. When the assembled people began to complain, they were politely asked to be patient until they reached the baths. The "baths" turned out to be the prepared platform, onto which all the poor souls were rushed, using whips, rifle butts and machine guns. They were then being loaded into an execution lorry parked on the other side of the platform.

The vehicle into which the unfortunate victims were rushed was the size of a larger lorry. It was grey, hermetically sealed and equipped [2] with a close-fitting door with a bar on the outside. The walls of the vehicle were laid with sheet metal, while the floor was laid with bars and covered with straw mats. Below the bars, on both sides of the vehicle were two gas pipes' exhausts covered with a grid. Both pipes went to the cab, where they were attached to a gas appliance equipped with a certain number of buttons.

806 "Documents" in the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and in Doc. 67.

807 "Steaming" in the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and in Doc. 67.

After the vehicle had been loaded and the door had been hermetically closed, the lorry went to the execution site in a forest 7 kilometres in the direction of Koło. It was a clearing surrounded with gendarmes armed with machine guns. A mass grave – 5 metres deep, 1.5 metres wide at the bottom, and 5 on top – had been dug across the clearing. The vehicle pulled up approximately one hundred metres from the grave. The driver/executioner[808] then pressed the button on the device installed in the cab and alighted. [f]The drivers were uniformed SS-men with skulls on their caps.[809] At this point muffled screaming and pounding on the walls[810] would come from the vehicle. After about a quarter hour all the noise would cease. The driver/executioner then entered the cab and looked [g] inside through a special small window.[g][811] Having made sure that all the victims were dead, he drove closer to the grave and after five minutes ordered the door to be opened wide.

A few dozen Jews were forced to work as gravediggers. By order of the execution site commandant, an SS officer, they would begin to throw out the tangled corpses, which reeked of gas and excreta. The corpses were brutally and quickly dragged out[812] by the hair, arms, and legs.[hi] The execution site commandant shouted incessantly and tortured the gravediggers.[i] [Removed f]rom the vehicle,[h][813] the bodies were thrown onto a pile. Afterwards two Germans civilians frisked the still warm bodies[814] to remove all valuables. The search was very meticulous. Necklaces were torn off from the necks, golden teeth were removed using pincers, and, finally, rectums and female genitals were carefully checked for hidden valuables.

Only then[815] were the bodies thrown into the grave, where two Jewish gravediggers laid them face down in such a way that one person's feet were next to another's head. From 6 to 9 lorry loads of victims were buried every

808 "SS-man" added in the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and in Doc. 67.

809 [f-f] Not included in the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and Doc. 67.

810 "Thin walls" in the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and Doc. 67.

811 [g-g] In the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and Doc. 67: "he looked through the window between the gas chamber and the cab into the lorry, using an electric lamp".

812 "Pulled up" in the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and Doc. 67; "dragged out" in the 2nd copy in ARG I 25.

813 [h–h] Not included in Doc. 67 . [i–i] Not included in the 1st copy in ARG I 25.

814 "Corpses" in the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and Doc. 67.

815 [j-j] "Only after the examination" in the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and Doc. 67.

day. Each layer of bodies was covered with soil and beginning on January 17 also with chloride. 8 gravediggers who handled the corpses did not leave the grave during day.[816] Before the day[817] was finished one of the officers ordered them to lie down with their faces to the corpses and he shot through their heads with a hand-held machine gun. The others quickly covered the grave and, [k]following the gendarmes' order, went to their special room in the palace.[k][818]

People killed[819] in Chełmno aside from Jews from Koło and Dąbie: between 2 and 9 January – Gypsies brought from the Łódź ghetto, between 10 and 12 January – Jews from Kłodawa, on 13 January – Jews from Bugaj, during 14–15 January – Jews from Izbica Kujawska and beginning on 16 January – Jews from the Łódź ghetto.[820]

There is no doubt that the action had been prepared[821] in advance. The local gendarmerie stations had been well informed about the fate that awaited the "resettled". Even so, they not only did not inform the poor souls about it, but on the contrary, they lied to them perfidiously, claiming that they did not know anything about any resettlement. The Gestapo, which directed the executions in the palace, acted according to a precisely[822] devised plan. The key principle of its implementation was total secrecy. Aside from a given transport of victims there were never any other people at the premises. Not once was there an instance of two groups of the "resettled" having any contact with each other.

The above details come from testimonies of local inhabitants. Despite all the precautions, they still heard the echo of the tragedy that occurred in the Chełmno palace and [they learned about it] mostly from the descriptions

816 "Week" in the 3rd and 4th copy in ARG I 25 (a mistake).

817 "Workday" in the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and Doc. 67.

818 [k–k] In the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and Doc. 67: "by order of the gendarmes and under their constant escort they went to their quarters in the palace basement".

819 "Gassed" in the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and Doc. 67.

820 The author of *Gehenna Żydów polskich* (Doc. 67) made the following annotation here: "while from 16 January until as late as the beginning of April – Jews from the Łódź ghetto, and, most probably, also from Krośniewice, Żychlin, and Kutno".

821 "And meticulously planned" added in the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and Doc. 67.

822 "Carefully" in the 1st copy in ARG I 25 and Doc. 67.

thrown out of the palace windows[823] by the miserable gravediggers. As it has been said, their authenticity is beyond any doubt.[824]

ARG I 25 (Ring. I/473, I/937).
Description: Ring. I/473 – original or duplicate (a) (typewritten, 195x290 mm, many minor damage and missing fragments); original or duplicate (b) (typewritten, 205x270 mm, major damage and missing fragments, beginning missing), Polish, 3 sheets, 3 pages; Ring. I/937 – original or duplicate (2 copies), typewritten, 195x275 mm, major damage and missing fragments, 4 sheets, 4 pages.
Ring. I/473: documents (a) and (b) contain the same text. Surviving pagination in copy (a) (ink): "7" (p. 1) and "8" (p. 2), both sheets were paginated and stored (buried) together with p. 1 (1st copy – Ring. II/486) with surviving pagination (ink): "6;" see Ring. I/261. Copy (b) was presumably a part of the bulletin from ARG I 27 (Ring. I/469) (2nd copy), judging from the identical format and damages of the two documents.
Ring. I/937: the document was stored together with a report on Vilna and other localities, see ARG I 27 (Ring. I/937).
Attached is Hersh Wasser's note in Polish: "1942. Events in Chełmno. H. Wasser, M.A., prepared a summarised description of Chełmno within the Underground Press Service Section".

ARG I 26 (Ring. I/665).
Description: duplicate, typewritten, Polish, 207x290 mm, 2 sheets, 2 pages.
Attached is Hersh Wasser's note in Yiddish: "At the beginning of 1942 (February/March) a decision was made in the Warsaw ghetto to send a report on the tragedy in Chełmno to the prominent political activists by the agency of Oyneg Shabes. Hersh Wasser prepared the materials.
Published in: *Selected Documents*, pp. 683–686.

823 "From the car windows" in Doc. 67.

824 The authors of the report used testimonies of Shloyme Winer and Uszer Taube as a source. For Winer's testimony see *Dwa etapy*, pp. 112–133; for Taube's testimony see ARG I 1057 (I/394).

66 *April 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes report "Drugi etap" ["The second stage"] on mass destruction of Jews on Polish lands.*[825]

[1] *The Second Stage*

During the first 20 months of the war the anti-Jewish policy of the Hitlerite occupier in Poland basically assumed the form of "administrative" ordinances against the Jewish population, such as the following:

1. The broad-scale transfer ("resettlement") of Jews from the territories incorporated into the Reich to the General Government on the one hand, or to Belarus and western Ukraine on the other, without being allowed to take the most necessary items or clothes and with constant incidents of terror and other atrocities;
2. The ruthless removal of Jews from all employment posts after their dispossession from factories, enterprises, and agricultural estates, thus pushing them down to the lowest level of slavish vegetation;
3. The establishment of ghettos, either hermetically closed (Łódź, Kutno) or with a clear tendency to impose total isolation (Warsaw, Kraków, Lublin). The noose around the maltreated Jewish population was tightened by means of bans on leaving ghettos under threat of the death penalty (by the way, widely used), constant changes of the ghetto boundaries and their reduction, strict bans on using public roads, let alone means of transport, beginning with trains and ending with peasant carts. All the groups of the anti-Jewish ordinances, which glisten with a multitude of variations and many deviations depending on the whim of the local authorities, or often of individual persons, led to the terrible pauperisation of Polish Jews, and indirectly to the catastrophic spread of epidemics and

825 Four copies of this report have survived in the Ringelblum Archive, but only the 1st copy is complete. Moreover, it contains handwritten amendments made by Hersh Wasser during the preparation of the text to be copied in *Gehenna Żydów polskich* (see Doc. 67) in June 1942. This text is based on the 1st copy, while Wasser's amendments are included only in the footnotes to show the original version of the report.

tuberculosis as well as to an unprecedented mortality rate (43,239 funerals in Warsaw in 1941).

The German invasion of the Soviet Union brought in the most horrifying link in the chain of the endless suffering of the Jewish masses – the *Ausrottung*, that is, the physical destruction of Jews, who are purportedly "responsible" for the war, with the campaign conducted on a scale unknown to past generations. The second stage strikes one with its ruthlessness and unparalleled consistency, which is worthy of a better cause.[826]

In this report we desire to provide a chronologically and factually accurate overview of some of the campaigns conducted during the second stage. It shall serve as only an excerpt from the brown book of the Hitlerite beast's crimes, which have already taken a toll on 700,000 Polish Jews.

Vilna

The commonplace looting of Jewish flats, already known from areas of German activity in other occupied territories, this outright robbery and plunder combined with the raping of Jewish girls, other sex offences and massacres of the entire civilian population – this marked the beginning of the Hitlerite administration in Vilna in the second half of last year. Along with the introduction of the disgraceful yellow patches, the period of night-time round-ups of men began, who were dragged to "work" or actually to be subjected to various and sophisticated tortures. The Germans did not fail to impose levies in the order of a few million, which the Polish population significantly helped to pay.

But a minor incident was enough for Jewish Vilna to be reduced to rubble and for almost all of its residents to be brutally murdered. In early November, in a moment of inattention the *šauliai*[827] shot German soldiers who happened to be passing by, instead of Jewish labourers. The Germans used that incident as a pretext to set the destructive machine in motion, that is, to launch the campaign to physically destroy the Jews. According to testimonies by

826 Meaning that Germans were killing Jews with ruthlessness and consistency worthy of a better cause.

827 *Šauliai* (*šaulys* – Lithuanian for rifleman) – members of the Lithuanian Riflemen's Union, which was a voluntary paramilitary organisation established in 1919. During the German occupation the Union played a significant role in the capturing of Jews in ghettos and their transport to execution sites.

eyewitnesses who miraculously survived, the occupier commenced mass roundups of Jews and established two ghettos (the "small" one for Jews employed by Germans and the "large" one for the remaining population) to thoroughly "clear" the area.

The victims – men, women and children – were transported to Ponary, where they were shot in pits which had been dug to serve as fuel reservoirs for the Red Army. Mothers were forced to hold their babies at head level to facilitate the killing process. Some "transports" were put in the pits, splashed with petrol and set ablaze. Some pits, which were full of the tangled bodies of the dead and the wounded, were covered up, thus becoming "moving" graves. The Lithuanian *šauliai* blindly obeyed the German officers' orders.

Throughout the month of November the number of Jews in Vilna dropped from 70,000 to 13,000. According to cautious estimates, the number of victims in Vilna totals 30,000[828] souls.[829]

The bestial Hitlerite soldiery destroyed one of the most important centres of Jewish culture in Poland.[830]

Massacres in the remaining cities and settlements in the Vilna area and in the Lithuanian Republic [2] took place simultaneously with the events in Vilna. According to various estimates, the total number of Jews who were brutally murdered in Ostland-Generalkommissariat Littauen[831] amounts to 300,000 people.

Słonim

In September last year a Lithuanian gang began to prowl, or actually officially operate, in the area of Słonim. It visited villages and small towns, murdering every Jew without exception. Jews from Żyrowice, Lachowicze, Mir,

828 "50,000" in the 2nd copy and in *Gehenna Żydów polskich*.

829 The number of victims of the first stage of the destruction of Vilna Jews is estimated at between 27,000 (German sources) and 48,000. In late 1941 there were 12,000 people officially staying in the Vilna ghetto, along with approximately 15,000 "illegals". See *Accounts from the Borderlands, 1939–1941*, pp. 235–248.

830 A few testimonies regarding the first period of the German occupation in Vilna have survived in the Ringelblum Archive. This note was probably based on testimonies of Aryeh (Jurek) Wilner (he provides numerical data) and a delegate of the Betar Movement: either Israel Kempner or Yehuda Pińczowski (he mentions the German provocation). See *Accounts from the Borderlands, 1939–1941*, Doc. 22.

831 Lithuania was a part of *Reichskommissariat Ostland* as *Generalbezirk Litauen*.

Kosów,[832] etc., were all killed. News about these massacres reached Słonim, but people thought that such action could not occur in a Jewish centre as large as Słonim. In the evening of 14 October the Jews who maintained contacts with Germans already had been informed about the forthcoming pogrom. They had learned about the arrival of a "penal expedition", about the mobilisation of the Gestapo, military men and gendarmes, about the appointment of 60 Polish militia men, and about the invitation of Polish workers from Todt[833] to arrive especially for that entertainment.

The next day, 15 October,[834] was frosty (minus 15 degrees C) and sunny. As early as at 6 a.m. the first groups of the "pogromers [destroyers]" appeared in town. They consisted of two Germans or Lithuanians assisted by Polish militia men or men from Todt. They began their activities in the centre of the ghetto, gradually moving to its limits. Each group of "catchers" walked from flat to flat, removing all Jews and handing them over to the militia men, who escorted them to the gathering points. Throughout the roundup the ghetto was surrounded by armed Gestapo functionaries, who shot at everybody who tried to leave. They also shot incessantly to incite fear. The roundup lasted until 6 p.m. Lorries departed continuously from the gathering points, taking the Jews in the direction of the fortification ditches. The execution, of which the Gestapo functionaries had taken full control, began at the pits, which were 10 metres wide and 6 metres deep. The Jews were plainly told what awaited them. A huge bonfire was then lit and everybody was ordered to undress. Shabby items of clothing were thrown into the fire, while the better ones were put aside. The Jews had to stand stark naked throughout the selection even though it was minus 15 degrees. The execution was conducted in two ways: 1) a few dozen people were arranged in a row by the edge of the pit, and everybody was shot individually and the dead fell into the pit, or 2) the entire pit was filled with people who were told to lie down on top of one another. The Gestapo functionaries then threw grenades onto that heap

832 Lachowicze, Mir (Baranowicze County, now in Belarus), Żyrowice, Kosów Poleski (Słonim County).

833 (Ger.) *Organisation Todt* – German paramilitary organisation established in 1938 to protect military objects. It employed both Polish and Jewish workers.

834 The execution of the Jews of Słonim was conducted on 15 November 1941. See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 1273–1277.

of bodies, observing with interest the fountains and gushes of flesh, blood, and severed extremities.

The total number of victims amounts to 9,200 souls.[835]

[836] *Warthegau*

It should be added to the report on the events in Chełmno[837] that according to estimates, the total number of victims between mid-December last year and this March,[838] including the 35,000 gassed Jews of Łódź, exceeds 40,000.[839]

Krośniewice (*Warthegau*)

On 1 March this year the Jews assembled in the ghetto were informed that they would be resettled to Bessarabia the next day, that is, 2 March. The next day the entire population – 900 souls, mostly women, children, and the elderly, because men are in a number of German labour camps – was loaded into boxcars.[840] Despite the persistent endeavours of their families living in the General Government there has been no news from them whatsoever.

Żychlin[841] (*Warthegau* – Kutno County)

The complete closure of the ghetto took place in late February. Looting began. 204 Jews were murdered. On 3 March all the Jews were put on hired carts (a total of 3,200 souls) and taken in the direction of Krośniewice. The gendarmes who were escorting them announced simply that they would all be killed. There has been no news about the Jews deported from Żychlin either.[842]

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835 This note is based on an anonymous testimony of 10 December 1941. See *Accounts from the Borderlands, 1939–1941*, Doc. 14. These events (yet shifted to 15 September 1942) were also described in the anonymous testimony recorded by Yehezkiel Wilczynski, (HWC, 21/1). Abram Gliklich, author of another testimony regarding Słonim, dates these events as 15 November; see *Accounts from the Borderlands, 1939–1941*, Doc. 16. According to the *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 1273–1277, the correct date is 15 November 1941.

836 "F1" written on the margin.

837 See Doc. 65.

838 Wasser crossed out "March" and wrote "April".

839 Wasser corrected the figures to 48,800 and 54,000, respectively. These figures are also in Doc. 67

840 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos,* pp. 68–69.

841 The typewritten text was crossed out and the name "Żychlin" was handwritten by Hersh Wasser.

842 "F_2" and "x" handwritten by Hersh Wasser, the first in pencil and the other in ink.

[3] Hancewicze (near Baranowicze)[843]

At the beginning of last July the entire Jewish population, without exception, was ordered to come to a place outside the town in order to the "resettled" into the General Government. The weight of luggage could not exceed 25 kilograms. On the designated day 6,000 men, women and children arrived at the square, which is located out of town. It was surrounded with a thick cordon of German soldiers. Machine guns were placed there demonstrably and everyone died in the crossfire.

Równe

In the second half of last October the *Gebietskommissar*,[844] who was staying in Równe, ordered a detailed census to be conducted among all Jews working in workshops and other German details. The census encompassed 2,000 male and female labourers of the 19,000 Jewish inhabitants of Równe.

Early November brought a new ordinance calling on all unemployed Jews to come with their families and all their luggage to Sosenki[845] (2 kilometres out of town) on 6 November. Not suspecting that anything bad would happen, everybody – 17,000 people – arrived at Sosenki at the set time of day on the specified day (it is boggy terrain and at that time the mud was up to people's knees). How terrified they were when they heard[846] from a court-martial judge who arrived there that all those present had been sentenced to death by execution for some offence (purportedly a Jew had stolen money from a soldier). The entire area was cordoned with soldiers. Everybody had to undress and surrender their entire luggage. The execution then began.

The Germans had prepared deep pits – common graves for the Równe Jews, dug by Soviet prisoners of war. Wooden footbridges had been placed across the pits. That was the execution site. As the convicts walked along the footbridge, the soldiers (Gestapo), who were positioned in specially installed booths, shot at them with ordinary rifles. Of course, in the best-case scenario, [that is,] when one was only wounded, one also fell into the pits, from which almost none emerged alive. The execution continued non-stop for 72 hours.

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843 The note on the execution in Hancewicze is an exact copy of the note from Oyneg Shabes's bulletin of 12 April 1942. See Doc 49.

844 (Ger.) district commissary.

845 Crossed out in the 1st copy, "out of town" handwritten by Hersh Wasser.

846 Crossed out in the 1st copy, "they were told" handwritten by Hersh Wasser.

[People standing o]nly in their underwear, up to their knees in the boggy mud, devastated spiritually and physically, waiting for three days for their turn – this is the image of the unprecedented tragedy in Równe.[847]

Lublin

The *Ausrottung* policy could recently be noted also in the General Government. The best evidence is demonstrated by the history of the events in Lublin, [c]which are still in progress at the time of writing this report.[c57]

At night on Monday, 16 March this year, all buildings on Lubartowska Street and on its cross streets (Ruska and Czwartek) were cordoned off by Ukrainian auxiliary police functionaries. A totally unexpected "resettlement campaign" began. The entire population was rushed out onto the floodlit streets and escorted to the gathering point. That was where the first selection took place. Holders of work records, that is, those professionally active, were released and ordered to move to the newly established ghetto consisting of two streets – Grodzka and Kowalska (a total of 50 half-destroyed little houses). The rest were sent to the synagogue on Jateczna Street, which served as a transit camp. From there, larger groups were directed to the municipal slaughterhouse in the Wola [town] district, where a train was waiting on a railway sidetrack.

The first night the toll of the *Aktion* was over two hundred brutally killed men, women, and children who were massacred by the German slaughterers. The clearing of the original Jewish ghetto was conducted non-stop. Every day different streets were cleared and then surrounded with barbed wire. Jews were forbidden to go there under threat of death. Each day increased the number of the victims of the Hitlerites.

All those with permits were squeezed into the new ghetto. The housing and sanitary conditions, not to mention the provision of food, became truly dreadful if one considers that the number of card holders and their relatives [4] was 25,000.

After only a few days it became apparent that possession of work records did not mean exemption from resettlement. The panic and commotion became unbearable. To avoid imminent death the desperate people hid in hideouts in backyards, risked crossing the ghetto border illegally, or had people transport

847 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 1459–1461.

them out in meat lorries in which victims of the German massacre were transported to the cemetery.

On the third day of the *Aktion* the Jewish Order Service replaced the Ukrainian Auxiliary Police.

For transportation considerations the Germans could not deport more than 1,600 people per day. Loaded with Jewish victims, the sealed boxcars waited for entire days at the station, to which nobody had access.

On Tuesday, 24 March, all orphans (more than 100 children) from the communal orphanage were loaded onto lorries, transported out of town, and were killed and buried in a common grave.

This was also how the Old People's Home (70 wards) and the provisional hospital at Lubartowska Street 9 (17 patients) were "liquidated". On Thursday, 26 March, all of the Jewish patients (600 people) at the epidemic hospital and the Jewish hospital were killed.

On Monday, 30 March, 15 members of the *Judenrat* were deported with their families. The number of the *Judenrat* clerks was reduced from 400 to 6. The Germans announced that only those Jews who could show a J-card (issued by *the Polizei-praesidium*[848] to people working at German details) had a right to stay in Lublin. The number of J-card holders does not exceed 2,500.

According to estimates, the "resettlement" campaign has embraced 23,000[849] Jews. The number of the murdered exceeds 2,000.

There have been no signs of life from the deported.[850]

ARG I 27 (Ring. I/469, I/937).
Description: (a) Ring. I/469 – original or duplicate (2 copies, typewritten, amendments (H.W.*) in the 1st copy, ink), Polish, 205x295 mm, minor damage and missing fragments, major damage and missing fragments (2nd copy), 8 sheets, 8 pages; (b) Ring. I/937 – original (number of copies: 2), typewritten, Polish, 195x287 mm, major damages and missing fragments, 8 sheets, 8 pages.
In document (a) pages 1–2 (1st copy) have original pagination (ink): "1" and "2". They were paginated and buried together with p. 1 of doc. 58 (1st copy), and with

848 (Ger.) police board.

849 In version (b) the figure is 25,000. In the 1st copy Hersh Wasser corrected it and wrote 32,000; this is also the figure provided in Doc. 67.

850 The note on the *Aktion* in Lublin is an exact copy of the note from the Oyneg Shabes's bulletin of 12 April 1942, which was based on Kronenberg's testimony. See Doc. 49.

the other bulletins (see Docs. 60 and 65. Documents (a) and (b) contain the same text typed on different typewriters.
Edition based on the 1st copy of version (a), 4 sheets, 4 pages.

67 *June 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Oyneg Shabes report "Gehenna Żydów polskich pod okupacją niemiecką" ["Gehenna of Polish Jews under the German Occupation"].*[851]

[1] *GEHENNA OF POLISH JEWS UNDER THE GERMAN OCCUPATION*

Before an analysis of the means and methods of the anti-Jewish policies of the Hitlerite occupier in Poland aimed at the "liquidation" of the Jews, let us devote some attention to its theoretical and programmatic premises.

The short yet horrifying *Ausrottung des Judentums* weaves like a red thread through all the speeches of the *Führer* and his ministers. But it showed its real face during the ongoing war, reaching its highest intensity, both in theory and practice, during the German–Soviet War and the German–American war.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that the attitude of the German occupation authorities in Poland (as well as in other conquered countries) towards Jews is functionally connected to their attitude to the national socialist system of government. Their attitude towards Jews is the only measure and criterion of their loyalty to the Hitlerite regime.

So it is no wonder that in the conditions of the occupation, both the military and civilian authorities compete with each other to devise and use the most sophisticated spiritual, physical and economic tortures against the three

851 There are two copies of this report in the Ringelblum Archive (ARG). The 3rd copy is in YIVO, HWC, 2/1, while the 4th, which was sent to the Delegate Office of the Government in Exile, is now stored in AAN, 202/II-30, pp. 1–38. This text is based on the AAN copy, which includes Hersh Wasser's handwritten annotations; here the significant ones are quoted in the footnotes.

million people of the Jewish community in Poland. Their propaganda influence on the degraded Polish, Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Lithuanian elements, intended to harness these masses to the military machine of the Third Reich, was an incentive for antisemitic activity.

[2] During the first 22 months of the current war, that is, until the German invasion of the USSR, the anti-Jewish policies in Poland were implemented by decrees, which had an "administrative" character.

The Jewish individual has thus been an outcast almost since the beginning. Sadistic oppression of Jews, regardless of sex or age, was a sanctioned and accepted privilege of the torturers. The following remark made by SS-man Schultz, a director of a German detail in the Dynasy district of Warsaw, is an outright classic: *Du bist kein Mensch, kein Tier, du bist Jude.*[852] The raping of girls and driving people crazy were not the full extent of their activity. Much more "interesting" excesses can be found in their repertoire, such as: 1) forcing Jews to eat excrement (Hercko Ferszt from Lipno, the winter of 1940, Chłodna Street), 2) throwing people into cauldrons of boiling water (the camp on Janowska Street in Lvov, 1942), 3) forcing Jews to have sexual intercourse in order to photograph them (Łódź, Warsaw, 1940). Besides, the diversity of ideas is so great that it is impossible to present it in the narrow framework of this outline. The personal tragedies of dozens of thousands of Jews, both men and women, are intentionally omitted. The focus will be solely on ordinances directed against the entire Jewish population.

Despite the multitude of types and variations of individual ordinances, they may be presented in a framework, classified into certain groups.

As has been said, during the said 22 months of the war the "administrative" restrictions dominated. A distinction should be made between economic ordinances (the economic extermination policy), [3] those aimed at the population (the policy of constant resettlements from one area to another), those pertaining to food provision (the food-provision policy intended to starve the Jews) and those intended to culturally and morally obliterate the Jews (the policy of reactionism and spiritual degradation of Jews).

The intention of the economic policy implemented in the Jewish sector in Poland was to eliminate Jews from all economic positions after they had been deprived of factories, commercial enterprises, and agricultural estates

852 (Ger.) You are not a man, not an animal. You are a Jew.

and to push them down to the lowest level of servile vegetation. The legislation of the General Government is full of laws designed to reach this objective, for instance, the law forbidding Jews to trade in textiles and leather, the law forbidding legal practice, the ban on possession of more than 2,000 zlotys, the obligation to take stock of all enterprises and their subsequent confiscation, and the placing of Jewish real estate in receivership. One should remember that aside from these ordinances sanctioned by law there is a range of means to loot Jewish property in a less than legal manner. The Jewish badges ("patches") in the form of yellow stars or triangles with or without the word "Jude" worn on the chest and on the back ([in] Łódź – Litzmannstadt) or only on the chest, or in the form of 10-centimetre[-wide] white bands with a blue Star of David worn on the right arm throughout the General Government were introduced to brand Jews, thus degrading them morally, and before the establishment of ghettos, separating them from non-Jewish citizens. One objective of the law obliging Jews to wear patches was to detach them from the economic life of the country.

[4] The authorities established ghettos, that is, "Jewish residential districts", throughout the Polish territory for the purpose of completely exterminating Jews economically. The establishment of ghettos in the General Government was preceded by the establishment of the ghetto in Łódź (its population used to total nearly 200,000 souls, along with Jews resettled from Germany, whereas now it has less than 100,000 due to the skyrocketing mortality rate and the murder of nearly 50,000 Jews of Łódź in Chełmno), which was hermetically closed in May 1940, and the ghetto in Kutno (*Krepierlager für Juden*,[853] as the Germans called it) located within the walls of the old abandoned sugar factory "Konstancja", into which 8,000 Jews were squeezed. Both the *Litzmannstadt* Ghetto (the official name of the Jewish district in Łódź) and the ghetto in Kutno were ideal from the Hitlerite point of view because they ruled out any chance of contact with the outside, non-Jewish world and enabled precise implementation of the antisemitic policies. The ghettos of the General Government, particularly the Jewish district in Warsaw (established 16 November 1940), exhibit a constant tendency towards total isolation (Pallfinger, the former director of the *Transferstelle* in Warsaw, claimed that all commercial transactions between the ghetto and the Aryan side should be

853 (Ger.) a death camp for Jews.

treated as international economic relations, and he called them *Beziehungen des jüdischen Wohnviertels mit der Umwelt*).[854]

It is commonly thought that the Germans have revived the institution of medieval ghettos. But this is not so. All medieval ghettos were open residential districts for Jews and were closed only at night. Besides, the Jews there had freedom of movement. By contrast, all the publications by national socialist theoreticians and [5] practitioners on the topic of ghettos clearly show that they depart from the liberal medieval idea of open Jewish ghettos. On the contrary, they intend total separation of the ghettos from the outside world, making them into concentration camps in the full sense of the word. The only difference, which is to the disadvantage of the ghettos, is that their congested population also must provide its own sustenance. To add insult to injury, the Germans introduced bans on leaving the ghettos under threat of death, which, by the way, is commonly used in all towns and cities of the General Government (at the end of 1941, first 8 and then another 17 "Jewish criminals" were executed for the said offence),[855] absolute bans on using public roads, also under threat of immediate execution, not to mention the ban on using means of transport, from trains down to peasants' carts.

The labour camps organised in August 1940 were intended to exploit Jews as a cheap labour force. The history of labour camp prisoners will hold the most important place in the history of the martyrdom of Jews in Poland. In reality, the Hitlerite camps proved to be actual murder sites. Dozens of labour camps scattered throughout the General Government served extermination rather than economic purposes. Deportation to the infamous labour camps – the murdering of Jewish elements not accustomed to digging, roadwork and drainage work, lacking necessary clothing, starved (an average daily food ration was 20 decagrams of low-quality bread, soup without fat, usually made from swede or cabbage, plus unsweetened black coffee) and terribly maltreated – [6] led to widespread cases of death by starvation and to

854 (Ger.) the Jewish districts' contacts with the outside world.

855 The ban on leaving the designated district under threat of death was introduced on 15 November 1941. Eight Jews were executed on 17 November 1941 in Warsaw for breaking this ban. On 15 December another 15 people were killed for the same reason. See ARG I 583 (Ring. I/112).

a typhus epidemic. Thousands of random graves or actually ordinary pits into which the victims of the German murderers or diseases were thrown are the only trace of those nameless martyrs. (When in the summer of 1941 a typhus epidemic broke out in the labour camp in Siedliszcze[856] the Germans did not hesitate to execute all the Jewish prisoners). The death centres such as Mordy *(nomen omen)*,[857] Dzików, Pustków, or Treblinka[858] became a synonym of Hitlerite cruelty.

But the labour camp prisoners were mostly craftsmen and qualified labourers. If the German authorities wanted to purposefully make use of the experience and professional qualifications of Jewish workers they would have attempted to set up workshops, which would have brought them excellent economic results.

Now, the organisation and running of labour camps for Jews (aside from penal camps, such as Treblinka near Lublin,[859] considered "reformatory" institutions) have been practically discontinued. For what would be their purpose? *Judeneinsatz*[860] is used in a small number of local workshops, factories and details, or the Jews are "eliminated" in a direct manner, by bullets, poisonous gases or electric currents.

One cannot forget the ignoble role of *Volksdeutsches* in the anti-Jewish campaign in Poland. As a result of the military victory of Germany the *Volksdeutsches*, often without any knowledge of German, mostly peasants and petty traders – owners of small farms or landless citizens, were made leaders of the local administration. Thus people without [7] appropriate qualifications, who could only boast of their membership in the Hitlerite party, received substantial executive power. That abnormal phenomenon led to a spread of boorishness and barbarity, predominantly towards Jews. Polish *Volksdeutsches* have distinguished themselves forever as the shadiest characters and lackeys of the Hitlerite thugs. It was the *Volksdeutsches* who guarded the infamous

856 The name of the camp was handwritten by Wasser only on the AAN copy. The labour camp in Siedliszcze (Chełm County) was a water-management labour camp for Jews. See J. Marszałek, *Obozy pracy w Generalnym Gubernatorstwie*, p. 152.

857 (From Lat.) the name is a sign. The town name can mean mugs, or murders.

858 "Tremblinka" throughout the text. Mordy (Siedlce County), Dzików Nowy, Dzików Stary (Biłograj County), Pustków (Dębica County), Treblinka I (Sokołów Podlaski County).

859 Treblinka is not located near Lublin. Most likely a reference to Trawniki.

860 (Ger.) here: Jewish workforce.

execution site in the forts of Pomiechówek[861] (near Nowy Dwór), where in July 1941 they massacred more than six hundred Jews – men, women, babies and the elderly – who had been deported for an "illegal" stay from Płońsk, Nowe Miasto, Nowy Dwór, and Zakroczym. The *Volksdeutsches* also headed labour camps for Jews and in most cases proved to be downright thieves, vermin, and degenerates. The conscious and intentional killing, or, in the best-case scenario, crippling of thousands of young Jews should be attributed to them and their race companions – the *Lagerschutzes*, which consist of *Volksdeutsches*. The labour camp prisoners who did not die during their stay in a camp, died of starvation after they had returned home as human wrecks.

The population policy towards Jews is characterised by constant resettlements, not only from area to area and town to town, but also from street to street, within the ever changing ghetto borders. Initially, that is, between November 1939 and April 1940, the resettlements, or simply speaking expulsions of all Jews from a given locality or area to a different area, encompassed the Polish lands incorporated into the Reich, that is, [8] *Warthegau* (a part of the Łódź voivodship, Kujavia, and Greater Poland) and Pomerania. The Jews were resettled in the General Government established in November 1939, which initially consisted of four districts (Kraków, Warsaw, Lublin, and Radom) and was later enlarged by the Galicia District. The resettlement campaign was usually preceded by intensified waves of political and economic terror. (Besides, terror is a completely "regular" element of Jewish life in the conditions of the German occupation.) The local Jewish intelligentsia, social activists, and people holding any office in the municipal and communal government were murdered. Those who could flee did. But few people managed to do so. The majority of the professional intelligentsia – physicians, attorneys, engineers, and teachers – died during this period.

The Polish rabble was allowed to loot Jewish enterprises and all property. (For instance, in the winter of 1940 in Płock over just one day Jews were

861 The camp in Pomiechówek – a transit camp for Jews deported from *Regierungsbezirk Zichenau*, established in early 1941 in Fort III of the Modlin fortress. The total number of its prisoners was 6,000, of whom 2,500 died in the camp as a result of tortures and executions. The surviving prisoners were transferred to the General Government in September 1941. Many of them were killed near Jeziorna. Some of the survivors ended up in the Warsaw ghetto. For their testimonies, see ARG I 1163 – 1166 (Ring. I/374, I/301, I/956, I/374, I/415).

dispossessed of all property, including bedding). Irrespective of this, the Jewish population was constantly forced to shell out new levies. For example, the city commandant Cramer (former commandant of the concentration camp in Dachau) forced the Jews of Włocławek to pay a "fine" amounting to 200,000 zlotys for purportedly setting the synagogue ablaze.[862] The whole period preceding the clearing of the city of Jews was filled with roundups of Jews for forced labour, or actually to various tortures. On the day of the resettlement, that is, the expulsion of Jews, the entire population was a terrorised en masse, unable to resist and resigned.

Most of the Jews were transported to the General Government or, depending [9] on the whim of a given commandant,[863] to the other bank of the River Bug, which was the border between the Soviet Union and the General Government. The expulsion was often conducted with an accompaniment of military orchestras (Żuromin).[864] It was common for those who had been resettled to be abused and subjected to physical torture. For instance, Jews from Serock and Nasielsk[865] were forced to immerse themselves half naked up to their necks in especially installed pits filled with mud. Body searches were also conducted with total disregard for the human dignity of the Jews (gynaecological examinations of women were conducted for sadistic purposes). The most important factor here was the "ingenuity" of the local authority leader, usually a *Volksdeutsch*, who gave vent to his degeneration in this or some other way. The journey in cattle cars, unheated, without food or drink, without a toilet, at minus 30 degrees and sometimes for as long as ten days (normally several hours) was yet another source of the Jews' suffering. Such were the conditions of the resettlement of Jews from Kalisz, Włocławek, Poznań, Suwałki, Rypin, Nasielsk, Serock, Sierpc, Konin, Grudziądz, Zgierz, Aleksandrów near Łódź, and partly also from Łódź and many other localities. Most of the resettled were brought to Warsaw and to small towns in the Lublin and Radom districts (a thesis that the Lublin region would be a Jewish reservation was promoted at that time). It is estimated that the first resettlement wave resulted in an influx of more than 100,000 refugees

862 The information comes from a testimony in ARG I 1050 (I/936).

863 "Of the commandant himself" in the ARG copy.

864 Żuromin (Sierpc County).

865 Serock, Nasielsk (Pułtusk County).

to Warsaw alone. The campaign conducted during the first period involved nearly 400,000 Jews.[866]

Devoid of resources, the groups of Jews transplanted to the alien Warsaw soil were unable to achieve economic stabilisation. During the winter of 1939–1940 [10] and during the period preceding the establishment of the ghetto, Warsaw was one big economic ruin. What the Germans bombs failed to destroy was looted by thieves and bandits – *Volksdeutsches* and *Reichdeutsches* – in the form of legal and illegal confiscations, requisitions, Aryanisation of Jewish enterprises and other forms of robbery. The exchange of necessities was conducted in secret, illegally and based on pre-war connections and contacts. Under these conditions it becomes understandable that the resettled masses were completely unable to economically acclimatise in Warsaw due to their lack of capital, reserves, work tools, and even the most necessary clothing and bedding and also most importantly, their complete unfamiliarity with the area. The situation of the resettled in provincial towns was no better.

The second resettlement wave occurred in February 1941, encompassing most of the localities in the Warsaw District, such as Żyrardów, Łowicz, Sochaczew, Mszczonów, Grodzisk Mazowiecki, Grójec, Góra Kalwaria, and Piaseczno. It was conducted under totally different circumstances from the first one back when the Jews were still allowed relative freedom of movement in the General Government. The intensification of the anti-Jewish policies forced more than 50,000 new resettled people to remain within the Warsaw ghetto walls. During that period it became very difficult to leave Warsaw and move to the provinces. The provinces in the General Government, also victims of the loot-hungry German administration, lost all their absorption capacity. The resettled masses joined the ranks of inmates of refugee centres, from where the path usually led through beggary [11] to a cemetery. So it is no wonder that, proportionally speaking, the resettled constitute the largest percentage of deaths in Warsaw – in certain months the mortality rate in the refugee centres amounted to 20 per cent of the population of residents.[867]

866 See *Wysiedlenia, wypędzenia i ucieczki 1939–1945. Atlas ziem Polski*, ed. Witold Sienkiewicz, Grzegorz Hryciuk (Warsaw, 2008), pp. 110–115.

867 See Andrzej Żbikowski, *Żydowscy przesiedleńcy z dystryktu warszawskiego w getcie warszawskim, 1939–1942 (z pogranicza opisu i interpretacji)*, in *Prowincja noc*, pp. 223–269.

In the meantime, other minor resettlement campaigns were conducted, e.g.: 1) the expulsion of Jews from Płock to Częstochowa, Bodzentyn, Suchedniów, and other small towns in the Kielce area,[868] 2) [the expulsion] of Jews from Kraków into the Lublin area,[869] 3) [the expulsion] of Jews from Miłosna, Marki, Okuniew, Pustelnik, and recently (May 1942)[870] also of those living in Tłuszcz near Warsaw.

No less effective are the constant changes of the ghetto borders or actually the constant reduction of its area. Even though the Warsaw ghetto borders have been changed three times, the Germans have still not uttered their final word. Aside from the nervous exhaustion of the Jewish population there has also been a deepening of pauperisation, intensified by the uncertainty of the roof over one's head. The Germans need this constant uncertainty to effectively exercise their power. Thus they wish to crush the Jews' moral resistance, their only weapon in the struggle against the occupier. (The length of the walls circling the Warsaw ghetto is 16 kilometres.)[871]

The German administration's food-provision policy for the Jewish population of the General Government is intended to starve the Jews to death by means of strict bans on bringing in food products, particularly fat and with the use of the existing closed ghettos, which are constantly watched and controlled by the gendarmerie and *Sonderdienst* members. The most horrible consequences of this policy are the steadily increasing prices and hunger.

Hunger as a social problem – hunger manifested in the most dramatic ways possible, leading from exhaustion, through tuberculosis or hunger oedema, [12] to death by starvation – is one of the most dangerous threats to the existence of Jews in the General Government. The sight of swollen children and adults covered with ulcers is "normal" in larger ghettos. Over the last 6 months the problem of hunger also appeared in the provinces, mostly in the Galicia District. To illustrate, a table is provided that compares the prices of basic foodstuffs before the war and in April 1942 (these are free market

868 See Michał Grynberg, *Żydzi w rejencji ciechanowskiej 1939–1942* (Warsaw, 1984), pp. 90–97.

869 See Janina Kiełboń, "Deportacje Żydów do dystryktu lubelskiego (1939–1943)", in *Akcja Reinhardt*, pp. 161–181.

870 "1940" in the ARG copy (a mistake).

871 "11 kilometres" in the copy in the ARG.

prices, and one should stress that prices in ghettos are 20–25 per cent higher than on the Aryan side).

Product	August 1939	Warsaw, April 1942	Kołomyja, April 1942	Łódź, April 1942
	Zlotys	Zlotys	Zlotys	Zlotys
Wholemeal bread, 1 kg	0.25	12	50	70
Potatoes, 1kg	0.10	5	20	-
Sugar, 1 kg	1	60	-	-
Meat, 1 kg	1.50	40	40	no data
Fatback, 1 kg	2	100	80	no data
Butter, 1 kg	3	140	-	no data
1 egg. 1 piece	0.12	2.40	2	no data

One understands how catastrophic the food-supply situation of the Jewish population is through comparing prices with average earnings in the ghetto. The prices of food products have increased 40 times on average in comparison [e]with the pre-war level,[e][872] while the salaries and wages of a small group of people increased only 2 times. (Binding German regulations require earnings to be [f]kept on the level[f][873] at which they were before the war.) Besides, most ghetto inhabitants do not live on what they earn but subsist on selling the remainder of their spare clothes and furniture. (The Warsaw ghetto exports clothes and furniture to the Aryan side for 17 million zlotys per month.)

The official issues (contingents) are: two kg of bread per month [13] per person (in the Warsaw ghetto), small amounts of sugar, plus other articles, with complete omission of meat and fats. The caloric value of these articles is a little more than 100 per day. (According to German norms, a minimum requirement for an adult is 2,200 calories per day.)

With regard to food provision the situation of Jews under the ghetto conditions is clearly tragic. On the one hand, Jews are isolated from economic life, and are forbidden to operate commercial or industrial enterprises and

872 [e–e] Hersh Wasser's handwritten annotation on the AAN copy; fragment not included in the ARG copy.

873 [f-f] "Maintained on the level" in the ARG copy.

their labour force and craftsmanship potential remains unused (aside from several workshops for tailoring, shoemaking, etc. which employ the total of 8,000 Jews, the occupation authorities have failed to make economic use of Jews in Warsaw). On the other hand, restrictions are introduced for the importation of foodstuffs. Combined with absurdly small contingent rations, all this causes an increase in prices and a spread of its inseparable companions: hunger and disease.

According to the Hitlerite press, the epidemics result from Jews' inherent slovenliness and fondness for dirt. The Warsaw ghetto was established under the pretext of protecting the population from epidemics. The official data disprove similar nonsense. Until the establishment of the ghetto in Warsaw, that is, until November 1940, there were almost no cases of typhus among the Jews and their mortality rate differed little from pre-war levels. It was the ghetto, the squeezing of the Jews into a small area, the pauperisation and the unemployment that caused living conditions, which fell short of the most elementary hygienic and sanitary standards and which [g]led to[g874] a catastrophic spread of typhus and tuberculosis as well as to an unprecedented mortality rate. [14] To illustrate this, a table is provided to show the mortality rate in Warsaw in 1941. At the same time it is emphasised that the situation in the provinces does not differ much from that in Warsaw.

The number of funerals in 1941

Month	Total	Men	Women	Children
January	898	454	350	94
February	1,023	587	378	58
March	1,608	838	641	129
April	2,061	1,206	709	146
May	3,821	2,536	1,111	174
June	4,290	2,614	1,321	355
July	5,550	2,809	2,101	640
August	5,560	2,592	2,249	719

874 [g-g] Hersh Wasser's handwritten annotation in the AAN copy.

Month	Total	Men	Women	Children
September	4,545	2,196	1,907	442
October	4,716	2,511	1,803	402
November	4,801	2,452	1,939	410
December	4,366	2,183	1,737	446
Total	43,239	22,978	16,246	4,015

In 1941 on the Aryan side the mortality rate was 21.3 ‰, while in the ghetto it was 118 ‰.

Registered cases of typhus among Jews in Warsaw in 1941

Month	Number of registered cases	Month	Number of registered cases
January	57	July	1,742
February	129	August	1,805
March	201	September	2,492
April	241	October	3,438
May	367	November	2,156
June	841	December	1,980[875]

[15] To comprehend the significance of the figures pertaining to the spread of typhus, it is enough to say that according to physicians, the actual number of typhus cases treated in secret at homes was seven times higher.

The German occupier may boast considerable success in the sphere of destruction of Jewish cultural values in the General Government. Almost all values and relics of the Jewish culture in Poland were destroyed with the "German punctuality and precision". No city or town, particularly in the territories incorporated into the Reich, has avoided that. Prayer houses, some of which were genuine memorials of historical architectural art, were burned or dismantled with particular "assiduousness". In most cases Jews were

875 The total figures were handwritten (hand not identified) on the bottom of each column in the AAN copy: 1,836 for January–June and 13,613 for July–December.

accused of burning houses of prayer, purportedly to spread *Greuelpropaganda*.[876] This pretext was also used to impose exorbitant levies (e.g. on the Jews in Włocławek, Rypin, and Zgierz). In Łódź, as explained in *Lodscher Zeitung*, the burning of the synagogues was a Polish act of retaliation for the Jews' purported removal of the Kościuszko monument from Wolności Square ([while in fact] the Germans destroyed it "on the occasion" of Independence Day on 11 November 1939). In Zgierz the-then [Jewish] community was obliged to pay the bill for the petrol used to set the synagogue ablaze. In Płock one of the synagogues was converted into a garage for cars. Aside from paying "compensation" in many towns the Jewish population was also forced to dismantle the walls of the destroyed synagogues. In addition, all devotional objects, particularly Torah scrolls, were looted and destroyed. The Jewish population had to dance on those occasions, doing the local German luminaries' bidding. Priceless from the point of view of past architectural art, the houses of prayer in Wyszogród, Pińczów, Przedborze, Gombin,[877] [16] Szydłów, and Mława[878] were destroyed with particular vandalism. The Germans did not treat Jewish cemeteries any better. Most of them were ploughed over to remove all Jewish traces. For instance, in Rypin the Jews had to plough the cemetery themselves. The one in Kalisz, which was one of the oldest Jewish cemeteries in Europe, was used to cover up a channel. All the soil from the cemetery including the tombstones and even the skeletons of the dead were used for that purpose. In Ciechanów the grave of a famous tzaddik was converted into a public toilet.

The museum collections and libraries of scientific works (e.g. the Library of the Institute for Judaic Studies in Warsaw)[879] were either taken to Germany, usually to the antisemitic institute in Nuremberg, or destroyed

876 (Ger.) vile, atrocious propaganda.

877 Official spelling: Gąbin.

878 Wyszogród (Miechów County), Pińczów (Busko County), Przedbórz (Końskie County), Gąbin (Gostynin County), Szydłów (Piotrków County).

879 The Institute for Judaic Studies in Warsaw – academic institution established in 1928 for the education of Reform rabbis and teachers. The document probably alludes to the collection of the Library of the Great Synagogue, with which the Institute shared the building. At the beginning of the German occupation both the Library and the Institute's collections (approximately 40,000 and 3,000 books, respectively) were taken to Berlin and most of them were lost.

on the spot (the world famous collection of the Yiddish Scientific Institute in Vilna, YIVO).[880]

The reports above show that the process of destroying all of value in Jewish culture has been conducted everywhere with iron consistency. Moreover, the occupier has done everything to prevent Jews, who are living in appalling conditions, from creating new cultural values. A few primary schools were opened only in Warsaw, while functional illiteracy and narrow-mindedness are spreading in provincial towns.

This rapid moral degradation of the Jewish population has been conducted, among other ways, through the employment of *Judenrats* established by the Germans, the organs of the "local Jewish government", and all their subordinate structures, in which corruption reigns supreme. It is no wonder that the *Judenrats* have been reduced to bodies that carry out the Hitlerites' orders. Moreover, most of their employees are new people – marginal, peripheral, of weak character and lacking moral fibre (the infamous "king" of the Łódź ghetto Chaim Rumkowski). Despite this the ghettos are filled with all types of Jewish denunciators, provocateurs, schemers [17] and other Gestapo agents.

Before describing the second stage of the anti-Jewish policy of the Hitlerite regime, we should say a few words about the Germans' attitude towards Jewish prisoners of war. Contrary to international conventions and officially adopted declarations, Jewish prisoners of war have been treated in a way that is beyond description, both in stalags (POW camps) in Germany and in the territory of the General Government (Majdanek near Lublin). To illustrate these conditions it is enough to say that when a group of approximately 600 Jewish prisoners of war was released and transported to Lublin in February 1940, the Germans organised a "death march" from Lublin to Biała Podlaska, during which almost 300 of the innocent men were executed solely on the basis of their origins. The practice during the German–Soviet War ignores all rights of Jewish prisoners of war, who are as a rule killed. The commandant of the camp at Majdanek *SS-Sturmbahnfuhrer*

880 The stolen YIVO collection was sent to the Institute for Study of the Jewish Question (*Institut zur Erforschung der Judenfrage*) in Frankfurt. See David E. Fishman, *Embers Plucked from the Fire: The Rescue of Jewish Cultural Treasures in Vilna* (New York, 1996). A substantial part was retrieved after the war.

Dolp[881] boasts to have single-handedly killed or tortured to death the first thousand Jews (POWs).

The German invasion of the Soviet Union forged the most horrifying link in the chain of endless suffering of the Jewish masses – the *Ausrottung*, that is, the physical destruction of Jews, purportedly "responsible" for the war, conducted on a scale unknown to past generations. This second stage is striking in its ruthlessness and unparalleled consequence worth of a better cause.

All binding anti-Jewish ordinances from the period of the 22 months of the ongoing war grow pale in comparison with this second stage, that is, with the *Ausrottung*. The murder of entire Jewish settlements was not a result of military operations but was conducted entirely on the basis of [18] national considerations, completely without pretext or even without the offering of one. Such are the features of the second stage, which still continues after twelve months, that is, in June 1942. It has already taken a toll of at least 1 million Jewish lives (excluding the massacres in the indigenously Soviet territories, e.g. Kiev – 70,000 Jewish victims), as the table below shows.

Preliminary figures regarding the Ausrottung between July 1941 and June 1942

[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5][882]	[6]
[Town]	**Number of victims**	**[Town]**	**Number of victims**	**[Town]**	**[Number of victims]**
Łódź	48,800	Włodzimierz Woł[yński]	1,000	Łęczyca	1,750
Vilna	50,000	Sosnowiec	3,000	Zamość	6,000
Vilna area except Vilna	320,000	Zagórów[883]	3,000	Uchanie	2,000
Lvov	25,000	Kłodawa	1,300	Bełz	3,000
Stanisławów	15,000	Izbica Kuj[awska]	1,000	Hrubieszów	4,000
Rohatyn[884]	2,000	Bugaj by Koło	800	Tarnów	12,000

881 See Doc. 47.

882 Columns 5 and 6 were handwritten by Hersh Wasser on the margin of the AAN copy. This fragment is not included in the ARG copy.

883 Zagórów (Konin County).

884 Rohatyn (Brzeżany County).

[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5][882]	[6]
[Town]	**Number of victims**	**[Town]**	**Number of victims**	**[Town]**	**[Number of victims]**
Brzeżany	4,000	Dąbie on the Ner	1,000	Ozorków	10,000
Jaremcze[885] everybody killed	1,000	Koło	2,000	?	
Tatarów[886]	1,500	Krośniewice	900		
Kołomyja	5,000	Żychlin	3,200		
Chełm Lub[elski]	5,000	Kutno	6,500		
Rejowiec by Chełm	3,700	Ozorków	2,700		
Równe	17,000	Pabianice (children up to 10 and elderly over 60)	1,500		
Słonim	9,200	Hancewicze	6,000		
Lublin	32,000	Baranowicze	3,000		
Izbica Lub[elska]	6,000	Przemyślany	400		
Lubartów	800	Tłuszcz	160		
Końska Wola[887]	1,000				
Tarnopol	6,000				
Delatyn[888] (all)	1,200				
Stryj	8,000	1st column	563,100		
Tomaszów Lub[elski]	800	2nd column	37,460		
Chodel by Opole Lub[elskie]	100	TOTAL	600,560		
			600,560		
The estimated increased mortality (resulting from starvation and epidemics) among Jews in the General Government in 1941 and during the first six months of 1942			300,000		

885 Jaremcze (Nadwórna County).
886 Tatarów (Nadwórna County).
887 Końskowola (Puławy County).
888 Delatyn (Nadwórna County).

Due to lack of information the table does not include the following [19] Jewish communities: Augustów, Sokółka, Zambrów, Zaręby Kościelne, Lida, Iwie, Mołodeczno, Wołożyn, Szczucin, Wołkowysk, Łuniniec, Janów, Pińsk, Sarny, Łuck, Dubno, Uhnów, Sokal, Brody, Złoczów,[889] and hundreds of others.

The second stage may be divided into individual sub-periods. Jews in the *Ostland* states (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) were "liquidated" by December 1941. No Jews remain there with the exception of the ghetto in Vilna (15,000) and the ghettos in Kaunas and Šiauliai (a total of 15,000).

The second sub-period on average marks the liquidation of 60 per cent of Jewish population in Podlasie, Volhynia and Eastern Lesser Poland. This campaign is still in progress. Only a small percentage of Jews remain in towns, mostly employed on German details, that is, those necessary for the efficient functioning of the military structures.

From December 1941 to April 1942 all Jews from Koło, Kłodawa, Izbica Kujawska, Bugaj near Koło, Krośniewice, Łęczyca,[890] Żychlin, and Kutno were killed by means of gassing in Chełmno near Koło, along with approximately 50,000 Jews from Łódź.

The campaign to murder Jews of the Lublin District in Bełżec has continued since mid-March 1942. According to the information obtained, the Jews are killed using electric currents[891] and are then burnt in the installed ovens. (Bełżec is a locality near Tomaszów Lubelski.)

Jewish Lublin, home to 40,000 Jews, has ceased to exist. Only 2,500 Jews are left. They were accommodated in barracks in Majdan Tatarski. A number of other localities in the Lublin District (Izbica on the River Wieprz, Zamość, Tomaszów Lubelski, etc.) [20] are also almost *Judenfrei*.

The *Ausrottung* conducted in the entire General Government (the Galicia and Lublin districts) proves that the methods thus far used against Jews in the Reich are also being introduced into the General Government. It is

889 Augustów (Grajewo County), Zambrów (Łomża County), Zaręby Kościelne (Przasnysz County), Iwje (Lida County, currently in Belarus), Mołodeczno, and Wołożyn (county towns, currently in Belarus), Szczucin (i.e. Szczuczyn) and Wołkowysk (county towns; Wołkowysk is currently in Belarus), Łuniniec (county town, currently in Belarus), Janów (Sokółka County), Pińsk (currently in Belarus); Sarny (Jaworów County), Łuck, Dubno, Uhnów (Rawa Ruska County), Sokal, Brody, and Złoczów (now in Ukraine).

890 The word "Łęczyca" in the copy in the AAN is Hersh Wasser's handwritten annotation.

891 In fact, they were killed in gas chambers.

characteristic of this period that a large number of Jews (also those Jews who practice other religions) were resettled from Germany, the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and also from Slovakia to small towns in the General Government (Opole Lubelskie, Izbica on the River Wieprz) to be liquidated.[892]

Looking back at the 33 months of Jewish life under the Hitlerite occupier's heel, one can conclude that the immediate prospects for Jews under the existing conditions are utterly doomed. Everybody is aware that the Jewish nation inhabiting the Polish lands shall cease to exist if events are left to follow their current course. Even the currently largest Jewish reservation in the General Government – the ghetto in Warsaw – with its approximately 400,000 residents will certainly be liquidated. The appalling terror used by the Gestapo towards Jews (and Poles, too) and expressed in nocturnal mass murders (e.g. on the night of 17–18 April this year 52 people were dragged out of their flats and murdered on the street),[893] the atmosphere of constant fear and uncertainty and the roundups of men day and night – all this makes one think that Warsaw will also be subjected to the *Ausrottung* campaign. The example of Łódź is classic in this regard. The Litzmannstadt ghetto, which had in fact been a Jewish labour camp in which virtually all families were employed in the district's workshops and factories, is experiencing an extreme form of the *Ausrottung*.

[21] Between the second week of January 1942 and early April this year 48,800 Jews – men, women, children, the elderly, and the crippled – were sent to the Chełmno execution site. During a short break in April all the remaining unemployed residents of the ghetto were subjected to a special physical examination to assess their ability to work, and were then marked with special stamps on their chests (truly!). Alarming news has been received about a forthcoming deportation of Jews from Łódź. This time it will include children up to the age of 10 and people above 60 (the non-working element!). These alarms are not a product of overactive imagination. In early May this year the Germans did the same thing to Jews from Pabianice and Ozorków (centres of 6,000 Jews each) – those able to work were deported to the Łódź ghetto, while children and the elderly were deported in an unknown direction.

892 See R. Kuwałek, *Getta tranzytowe*, pp. 138–160.

893 See Doc. 60.

Only a reaction from the international forum would worry the Germans, and could save the existing Jewish centres from total physical destruction.

The [surviving] Jewish mass in the General Government owes the fact that it lives, works and functions to its extreme endurance, perseverance, energy, and hope for swift liberation.

The list below faithfully reports and describes some of the second-stage campaigns. It contains but a small extract from the brown book of Hitlerite crimes, which wild beasts in the jungle have never dreamt of.[894]

[30] Kutno (*Warthegau*)

On 26 March this year the entire population of Kutno in the number of 6,500 people was deported in the direction of Chełmno.[895]

[35] Rohatyn

On 10 March 1942, that is, 10 days before the massacre, the *Landkommissar* (*starosta*) demanded that the *Judenrat* in Rohatyn provide 120 men, who in groups of 60 were to dig pits out of town (1 kilometre from the train station, on a hill), purportedly for air defence. The pits had the following dimensions: 12 metres long, 9 metres wide, and 3 metres deep. On 20 March, which was an exceptionally frosty day, a group of 50 men went to work out of town.

At about 7:30 a.m. on the said day, 20 March, eight German lorries arrived at the market square. SS-men emerged from the vehicles along with Ukrainian and Polish auxiliary police functionaries, all fully armed. The detachment that arrived surrounded the entire ghetto. The *Aktion* began at 8 a.m. precisely. SS functionaries marched into the ghetto with the Poles and Ukrainians, simultaneously and from every direction. Walking from flat to flat, they dragged out the Jews, irrespective of age or sex, from babies to frail old people. The Jews were rushed out onto the street, half or completely naked and barefoot. [35] Those who followed the hangmen's orders too slowly were killed on the spot. The situation was all the more tragic as it was commonly

894 At this point the author(s) copied, on pp. [22–25] a fragment of the *Drugi etap*, on the events in Vilna and Słonim (not included here; see Doc. 66), and then, on pp. [26–29] the entire report *Wypadki chełmińskie* (not included here; see Doc. 65), followed by notes, on p. [30] on "Warthegau" towns from the *Drugi etap*, of which only one, on Kutno, is included here. The numerical data are changed.

895 At this point the author(s) copied, on pp. [30–34] a fragment of the *Drugi etap* on the events in Hancewicze, Równe, and Lublin (not included here; see Doc. 66), changing the numerical data in the note on Lublin.

thought that only men would be captured and sent to a forced labour camp. Consequently, they were the first to hide in cellars and attics. Thus it was mostly women, children, and the elderly who filled the victims' ranks. The whole *Aktion* was conducted rapidly, so it was difficult to orientate oneself in the situation that developed. Besides, all attempts to escape ended in death. The victims were rushed to the market square, where they were ordered to lie face down in the snow. Dozens of people were beaten to death with rifle butts. Those who were holding buckets or pitchers had those utensils put on their head and were hit with rifle butts until they died in horrible agony. If the mouth of the milk pitcher was too small to fit a Jew's head the procedure went as follows: his skull was crushed with rifle butts and when a fragment of it fell off along with some brain substance, the pitcher was put on the thus "reduced" head. Such and similarly macabre scenes took place on the Rohatyn market square.

The transport to the execution site was conducted with the use of cars. The gathered victims were transported to the previously dug ditches, with the children loaded before adults. The children were thrown in like chunks of wood, held by the hair, arms or legs (none of the oppressors shed a tear or had any qualms). The entire ghetto was filled with weeping and moaning, mixed with rifle fire, shouts and the murderers' vulgar curses.

[36] The cars stopped half a kilometre from the pits. All the Jews were rushed onto the hills of death using machine guns. Those who were unable to keep pace or tried to escape were executed on the spot. On the hill the SS-men selected a few robust Jews to collect valuables, money, and better items of clothing from all the Jews. Many men and women were left stark naked. Those assembled were then ordered to stand along the edge of the pit and were shot by machine guns. There were almost no wounded as the Jews were shot at with dumdum bullets.[896] Most children were thrown into the grave alive. Many people jumped into the grave before the burst of machine-gun fire. Many were covered by the falling corpses. Some emerged from the grave after the end of the massacre, completely psychologically exhausted, with a layer of dried blood [h]on their bodies[h][897] and with second- and third-degree

896 Dummdum bullets – expanding bullets, designed to expand on target to produce a larger wound.

897 [h–h] Handwritten by Hersh Wasser on the AAN copy.

frostbite. The Jewish workers who went to work that day were compelled to arrange the corpses evenly lengthwise and widthwise in the graves. The final salvo at the labourers was fired at 6 p.m. More than 2,000 innocent Jews died martyrs' deaths. A little more than a 1,000 Jewish inhabitants remained in Rohatyn. The surviving Jews left their homes throughout Saturday, 21 March, to collect the corpses of the murdered lying about the market square, streets, and on the road to the hill. Those bodies were buried in the common grave upon the hill. This is how the *Ausrottung des Judentums* was conducted in Rohatyn.[898]

Lvov

The campaign to "cleanse" the city of Jews was conducted in several stages. There is every reason to claim that it has not [37] ended.

Organised pogrom campaigns were conducted alongside looting, extortion of levies, individual acts of murder, rapes, and deportation to the worst penal camp located on Janowska Street (where the commandant himself strangled the victims). The history of the martyrdom of the Jews of Lvov would require an extensive study, but to demonstrate all its horror we present a few examples to demonstrate its most infamous stages so far. The first pogrom in Lvov took place on 2 July 1941, that is, a few days after the city had been seized by the Germans. The inspiration was German, while the implementation was Ukrainian. A few thousand men were dragged out of their flats and offices to bury Ukrainian nationalists who had purportedly been murdered by Jews. The Jews had to walk between two rows formed by the killed Ukrainians' families and by the Ukrainian and Polish rabble. They were mercilessly abused on that occasion. They then were compelled to load the corpses onto a lorry. More than 2,000 Jews were murdered there.

The second massacre began on 25 July and lasted a week, taking a toll of approximately 10,000 Jewish victims.

150 Jewish attorneys, engineers, and physicians were murdered on 1 August.

During the establishment of the ghetto in Lvov in November 1942, an appalling massacre took place under the "bridge of death". Approximately

898 On 20 March 1942, a total of 1,820 Jews were executed in Rohatyn. The Ringelblum Archive contains a testimony which probably pertains to these events but is difficult to decipher. See ARG I 988 (Ring. I/559); *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos*, pp. 821–823.

4,000 Jews, mostly elderly, were assembled and arranged in such a way that cars transporting singing Ukrainians were moving in front of them, while cars with armed Germans were moving behind them. All the Jews from that group were "liquidated" out of town.

[38] The fourth pogrom period was in March of this year, held under the pretence of resettlement and deportation to a camp. The macabre reached its zenith. The Germans set in motion the entire machinery of sophisticated mental and physical tortures, beginning with forcing all clerks of the *Judenrat* to capture their brothers and sisters and ending with the torturing of the assembled Jewish victims. Many families were separated – wives, children, and parents were sent into the unknown. A total of 10,000 men, women and children were loaded into boxcars and deported in an unknown direction, as far as is known to the infamous murder site in Bełżec.

The *Ausrottung* has taken a toll of more than 26,000 Jews in Lvov.[899]

ARG I 45 (Ring. I/144).
Description: original or duplicate (2 copies), typewritten, Polish, 210x290 mm, 75 sheets, 75 pages.
Page 15 missing from the 2nd copy.
Inw.: "Submitted by Jerzy Winkler".
HWC, 2/1 (3rd copy, typewritten, 38 sheets).
AAN, 202/II-30, pp. 1–38 (4th copy with amendments and annotations (H.W.*, ink).
Based on the AAN copy, 202/II-30, 38 sheets, 38 pages.
Pages [22-34] are not included.

899 See *Encyclopedia of Camps and Ghettos,* pp. 802–805.

68

15 November 1942, Warsaw ghetto. Report "Likwidacja żydowskiej Warszawy" ["Liquidation of Jewish Warsaw"] prepared by underground organisations in the Warsaw ghetto and sent to the Polish Government in Exile in London and Allied governments. Description of the Aktion in the Warsaw ghetto during 22 July–21 September 1942 and of the Treblinka II death camp.

[1] *Liquidation of Jewish Warsaw*

A layer of snow shines and sparkles in the bright sunshine of a golden Polish autumn. This snow is nothing else but feather and down from Jewish bedding abandoned together with all other possessions – from wardrobes, chests, suitcases full of underwear and clothes, to bowls, pots, plates, and other household objects – by the 300,000 Jews who had been "evacuated east". These ownerless objects – tablecloths, coats, eiderdowns, sweaters, books, cribs, documents, and pictures – lie discarded in flats and backyards, piled on squares, covered with this "snow", the ripped-out stuffing of Jewish bedding, from the period of mass murder committed by the Germans on the Jews of Warsaw.

The eerie silence is interrupted by revolver shots, the clatter of SMGs, the sound of engines of cars and motorcycles of German patrols, the crack of crushed doors and furniture, the hoarse shouts *Alle Juden raus*,[900] the macabre parade of the Jewish victims sentenced to death and the rhythmical stamping on the pavement of the boots of the international Fascist band – Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukrainians, and ghetto policemen commanded by SS officers. The deserted or almost empty buildings, the streets covered with barbed wire entanglements, the wooden fences separating individual blocks of flats and most of all the complete lack of people, who only two months ago had filled the main arteries of the ghetto, running their every-day errands, buying and selling, working – a depopulation without precedent even during the centuries of Black Death and other epidemics – this is how the Jewish streets in Warsaw look in September 1942. A human wreck sneaking along the walls, the cobblestones splashed with blood, the smoke rising from the smouldering,

900 (Ger.) All Jews out!

dying street fires, the strong smell of something burning – all this colours this city of death, where before the horrible day of 22 July nearly 370,000 Jews were vegetating within the ten-kilometre-long wall surrounding the ghetto.

Jewish Warsaw ceased to exist.

Within only two months the modern Huns have committed a crime whose atrocity is simply beyond comparison. During the summer of 1942 before the eyes of the whole world 300,000 Warsaw Jews and at least 1,000,000 Jews from the provinces of the "General Government" were deported to Treblinka, where all of them, from babies to the elderly, were murdered through suffocation in the steam chambers. It is difficult to comprehend the full atrocity of this act. It seems a nightmare but it is reality. A crime conducted with such meticulousness and precision required ideal co-operation between the commanding, executive, and technical factors.

Millions of Jews from Poland and from abroad filled the mass graves in Treblinka. The *monstre*[901] murder site in Treblinka – this modern Moloch – absorbed in its depths the secrets of millions of those deceived, lied-to people, who were promised life but were given a disgraceful death instead. Brought over in boxcars or in carriages, they were unaware that they would die. All of them – fathers, mothers, children, the young, the old, craftsmen, factory workers, office workers, scholars, artists, physicians, attorneys, professors, musicians, and pedagogues – suffered the same fate.

The rattle of the steam machine pushing the overheated steam into the execution chambers did not cease even for a moment. The murder machine in Treblinka continues to operate. A storm is coming to the rest of Europe's Jews. It will strike other conquered nations with its destructive power, but the Poles will be the first. Once set in motion, the momentum of this devilish machine of destruction cannot be stopped; perhaps only after Hitlerism has been suppressed.

[2] The report below illustrates the course of the "resettlement campaign", including the attitude and reaction of the Jewish masses – their spiritual condition, hopes, disappointments as well as the full strategic plan of the Germans intended to achieve the fastest possible destruction of 90 per cent of the Jewish population with the use of perfected modern technology and deception.

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901 (French) monster.

During the period of the classic *Ausrottung* of the Jewish population of *Warthegau* (a part of the Łódź, Kalisz, and Poznań voivodships) conducted between the end of 1941 and May 1942 in the Chełmno forests, there could be no doubt whatsoever that every resettlement conducted by the Germans, no matter when and where to, signalled nothing but liquidation of the Jews and not their deportation. This report, based not only on documents and official instructions, but also on oral and recorded testimonies of eyewitnesses – gravediggers from Treblinka, who managed to flee from the execution site – fully confirms the above thesis.[902] The report primarily describes the course of the "resettlement campaign" in Warsaw, as it is considered typical (with regard to both content and form) of all provinces in the "General Government".

Even a rough analysis of the period preceding the tragic day of 22 July – the beginning of the destruction of the Jews of Warsaw – provides enough to conclude that Berlin had sentenced the Jews of Warsaw to death.

There can be no doubt that the hopes which the German authorities had in establishing the Warsaw reservation – the Warsaw ghetto – either were not fulfilled or the expected process proved to be too slow to keep to the calendar set by the Party. The economic life of the Warsaw ghetto not only did not halt under the heavy blows struck by the authorities, but it adapted to the abnormal conditions of isolation and, more importantly, achieved the best results possible under such conditions. The period when the spectre of death haunted the Jews of Warsaw was the period when the process, which might have brought about a solution to one of the most difficult problems of the ghetto, that is, an economic solution to the issue of refugees, began. Eventually though, that problem (along with many other problems organically connected with living in the ghetto, such as the issues of sanitation, education, export of labour and products) could not be solved. The victory of the purely political factors in the Party put the advocates of economic exploitation of Jews in the shade. Preparations began as soon as that decision was made.

On the one hand, appropriate steps were taken to establish the "workshop". Infamous for the penal camp for Poles (detained for failure to deliver

902 Five testimonies of escapees from the death camp in Treblinka have survived in the Ringelblum Archive, including those of Dawid Nowodworski and Jakub Krzepicki. See ARG II 378–382 (Ring. II/295–299).

quotas and sabotage in factories), the locality of Treblinka was chosen by the occupation authorities as the site to construct the largest murder site in the world. The murder site in Treblinka, which was to cater to Warsaw and the territories of the former Warsaw and Kielce voivodships, followed the pattern of similar institutions operating in the General Government, such as Bełżec or Sobibór (a small train station between Chełm Lubelski and Włodawa). It was just designed to murder significantly larger groups of Jews.

Simultaneously, the Germans began to prepare the Jewish population for the coming deed with the use of terror, administrative ordinances, and propaganda. Theoretically, both the Warsaw ghetto and the provincial ghettos are being closed. Special gendarmerie formations ensure that this ordinance is obeyed to the letter. Moreover, the possibility of individual Jewish centres communicating with one another has been limited to a minimum. Consequently, the Warsaw ghetto knows little or nothing about the raging liquidation of Jews conducted in the [3] Lublin area (April, May 1942).[903]

The Jewish masses were then terrorised and completely disoriented and their action centres were paralysed. The period of terror began on the memorable night of 17–18 April, when 52 people were dragged out of their flats and killed at night under a wall or in a gutter, for no reason. The Jews were kept awake from then on. Each night brought a few dozen new victims. Those included smugglers who sneaked food products into the ghetto or people taken apparently completely at random, living in this or that building. Nobody was certain if they would survive. The murders were committed under the pretence of anti-smuggling activity. The culmination of that campaign came with the "retaliatory" murder of 110 Jews in Babice near Warsaw in June this year for their purported defiance to the German authorities.[904] The mental endurance of the Warsaw Jews was significantly reduced. Their disorientation was increased particularly by fabricated general and local news. Jewish agents of the Gestapo – Kohn, Heller, Erlich, and hundreds of others – spread various credible and incredible rumours. Citing "reliable sources", they claimed that

903 Oyneg Shabes press bulletins featured information on this topic, which came from letters and escapees' testimonies. Due to these sources the team members had some, though limited, knowledge of the course of Operation Reinhardt in the Lublin region. See Docs. 47–63.

904 See Docs. 60–61.

the "General Government" authorities had decided that the Warsaw ghetto would not be closed because it was high-profile and work-oriented. News about the extermination of entire Jewish centres in the Lublin region, which was spread by the agency of Jews who had miraculously survived (Lublin, Zamość, Końskowola, Izbica on the River Wieprz, Hrubieszów, and Włodawa),[905] were compensated for with dozens of fabricated pieces of news regarding letters purportedly sent by deportees from Bessarabia, Ukraine, or other places.

Nonetheless, positive ordinances were still implemented: the *Judenrat* was allowed to open new elementary schools for children. The department of technical training of Jews was allowed to start new courses. Children theatre performances were organised, many playgrounds for children were opened in the ghetto and here and there one heard favourable comments regarding Jewish labour. It was even said that the Warsaw Jews, with their vocational qualifications in all branches of production, constituted an entirely different type of Jew. So familiar to Jews of Warsaw from the past years, this year's roundups to forced labour camps did not have the stamp of randomness and lawlessness. An appropriate document – a registration card with a seal of the Department of Labour – was a guarantee of safety.

The fact that some groups of Jews resettled from Germany were left in Warsaw made the institution of the Warsaw ghetto seem inviolable and permanent.[906]

In mid-June 1942 the ghetto was reduced by blocks of flats enclosed by the border running along Bonifraterska, Muranowska, and Pokorna Streets. That strengthened the widespread conviction that the Germans would let the Warsaw ghetto survive. The curfew was moved from 9 to 10 p.m. The Warsaw "idyll" was disturbed by the recording of a film about the life of the Warsaw ghetto in the style and spirit of *Stürmer*.[907] Its purpose was all too clear and explicit. Its aim was to prove that all Jews were but a band of idlers, loafers, thieves, and smugglers, while Jewish women were depraved and corrupt and all they did was participate in sexual orgies.

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905 Testimonies of refugees from Lublin, Zamość, Izbica, and Hrubieszów to be published in: *The Ringelblum Archive. Accounts from the General Government*.

906 In April 1942 approximately 4,000 Jews from Germany, from Frankfurt, Hannover, and Berlin arrived in the Warsaw ghetto. See ARG I 445/4 (Ring. I/503/1).

907 *Der Stürmer* – German propaganda weekly of the Nazi Party, published 1923–1945.

That truly Machiavellian policy was enjoying great success when a week before the beginning of the *Aktion* news broke about a forthcoming resettlement of Jews from Warsaw. Having fully official guarantees from the German authorities, the *Judenrat* did not believe the news from the Polish milieux that the Jewish population of Warsaw was [4] in grave danger of experiencing the liquidation of at least 300,000 Jews. The Council denied that news, branding it as harmful and preposterous. On Saturday 18 July, chairman Czerniakow officially informed the Order Service and the clerks that the German authorities had flatly denied all news about the forthcoming resettlement. The anxiety intensified particularly after the discovery that rolling stock consisting of 60 cattle cars had been sent to the *Umschlagplatz* near the *Transferstelle* in order to cater for an *Aktion*.

Though tense and anxious, the population of the ghetto rejects the thought of a "resettlement", understood as nothing more than deportation, that is, transfer to other areas or towns as had occurred in 1939, 1940, and 1941. The people replace this thought with the authorities' purported intention to counteract smuggling in a more efficient way (through motorised patrols, the closing of certain gates and the increased number of victims of terror). The Germans took advantage of the fact that such a large group of helpless people as the Warsaw ghetto population was unable to contemplate the possibility of physical destruction.

On Tuesday 21 July the ghetto population became deeply depressed. Approximately 60 hostages were imprisoned at Pawiak throughout the day. Councillors of the *Judenrat* J. Jaszunski, Sh. Winter, and A. Gepner were among them, along with physicians, engineers, and others. Murders were committed too. A number of people were shot on the streets and in private flats under highly traumatic circumstances. Everybody feels an ominous atmosphere. The streets became deserted. Trams were running empty. Food products disappeared from shop windows. The *Community* continued to deny the news about the resettlement, but nobody took those reassurances seriously.

The *Aktion* began on Wednesday the 22nd of July. Early in the morning it was seen that the ghetto walls had been surrounded with blue police posts as well as with Ukrainian, Lithuanian, and Latvian soldiers. The masses were unaware of how hopeless and tragic their situation was. Both the beginning and end of the *Aktion* were characterised by the same mysteriousness, uncertainly, and lack of knowledge about the Germans' plans. The moment of

surprise, so characteristic of the Germans' war tactic, was used in this case as well. The ghetto was hermetically closed and surrounded by the enemy army.

A report from the *Aktion* is nothing else but a report regarding a military campaign to clear the area. The only difference in favour of the military campaign is that in its case the conquered enemy surrenders, is disarmed, and is then detained in a POW camp. By contrast, the dismantling of the Warsaw ghetto meant the unprecedented terrible death in Treblinka.

The following directions[908] were presented by Höfle, the Plenipotentiary for Resettlement Affairs during a meeting of the *Judenrat* held on 22 July in the morning:

[7] On 22 July the Plenipotentiary for Resettlement Affairs gave the following instructions during a meeting of the *Judenrat*:

The *Judenrat* was notified of the following:

1. All Jews living in Warsaw are to be deported East, regardless of age or sex.
2. Eligible for exemption from resettlement are:
   a) all Jews employed by the authorities or in German enterprises who can present relevant proof of employment;
   b) all Jews who are members and employees of the *Judenrat* as of the day of the issue of this ordinance;
   c) all Jews employed in companies owned by the German Reich who are able to present relevant proof of employment;
   d) all Jews able to work who have not been incorporated into the employment process; they are to be quartered in the Jewish district;
   e) all Jews belonging to the Jewish Order Service;
   f) all Jews belonging to the Jewish hospitals' personnel or Jewish disinfection teams;
   g) all Jews who are immediate family members of the persons mentioned in subsections a–f. Only wives and children are regarded as family members.
   h) All Jews who on the first day of the resettlement are in one of the Jewish hospitals and do not qualify for release. Impossibility of release must be confirmed by a physician to be appointed by the *Judenrat*.

908 The original includes both the German (pp. 4–7) and Polish (pp. 7–9) versions.

3. Every resettled Jew has a right to take 15 kilograms of his possessions as luggage. All baggage over 15 kilograms will be confiscated. All valuables such as money, jewellery, gold, etc. may be taken. It is necessary to bring food for three days.
4. The resettlement begins on 22 July 1942 at 11 o'clock.

The following instructions are given to the *Judenrat* for the resettlement period. Members of the *Judenrat* shall vouch with their lives for their close observance:

[8] 1. The *Judenrat* will receive orders regarding the resettlement exclusively from the Plenipotentiary for Resettlement Affairs or his deputy. During the resettlement the *Judenrat* may elect a special commission for resettlement affairs, with the *Judenrat* chairman as chairman and the Jewish Order Service commissioner as deputy chairman.
2. The *Judenrat* will be responsible for the presence of the Jews to be loaded on a given day.
   The *Judenrat* shall use the Jewish Order Service (1,000 people) to carry out this task. The *Judenrat* is to ensure that 6,000 Jews are brought to the gathering point each day no later than 4 p.m., beginning on 22 July 1942. The Jewish hospital on Stawki Street shall be the gathering point for the entire evacuation period. On 22 July 1942 6,000 Jews are to be delivered directly to the *Umschlagplatz* located by the *Transferstelle*. For now the *Judenrat* may draw the quotas of Jews who are to be delivered daily from the general population. Later, however, the *Judenrat* will receive specific guidelines regarding stretches of streets or blocks of flats to be emptied.
3. On 23 July 1942 the *Judenrat* is to empty the Jewish Hospital on Stawki Street and move the patients and equipment to a different suitable building in the ghetto so that in the evening of 23 July 1942 the Hospital will be ready to take in Jews delivered daily for resettlement.
4. The *Judenrat* is also to ensure that the objects and goods left by the resettled Jews, provided that they are not infected, are collected and registered in gathering points, which will be designated. For this purpose the *Judenrat* is to use the Jewish Order Service and a suitable number of Jewish labourers. The *Sicherheitspolizei* will monitor this activity and give the *Judenrat* special guidelines in this regard. Illegal appropriation of these objects and goods shall be punished with death.

5. The *Judenrat* shall also ensure that during the resettlement the Jews employed in German enterprises or by the German authorities continue to perform their work. In order to carry out this order, the *Judenrat* is to issue a suitable ordinance to the Jewish population under threat of most severe punishment. The *Judenrat* is also to make sure that the Jewish provision enterprises operate non-stop in such numbers as to ensure food provision to both the Jews assembled in the gathering points and to all others.
6. Moreover, the *Judenrat* is responsible for burial of Jews dying during the resettlement period on the day of their death.
7. The *Judenrat* shall post the following announcement to the Jewish population of Warsaw: "By order of the German authorities all Jews are to be resettled to the East (etc., from point 1 to point 4)".
8. Punishments:
   a. every Jew belonging to groups mentioned in points 2a) and 2c) and so far not eligible shall be executed if he leaves the Jewish district after the beginning of the resettlement;
   b. every Jew who acts to circumvent or disturb the carrying out of the ordinances regarding the resettlement shall be executed;
   c. every Jew who assists at an act which could circumvent or disturb the implementation of the resettlement ordinances shall be executed;
   d. [9] all Jews encountered in Warsaw after the resettlement who do not belong to the groups mentioned in point 2, subsections a) to h), shall be executed.

The *Judenrat* is hereby informed that whenever it fails to fully carry out the above orders and guidelines an appropriate number of hostages detained in the meantime shall be executed.

Warsaw, 22 July 1942.

Dictated by the Plenipotentiary for Resettlement Affairs.

Additional remarks to the ordinance.

I. During a meeting in the main building of the *Judenrat* in Warsaw on 22 July 1942 the Plenipotentiary for Resettlement Affairs appointed Jakub Lejkin the director of the Order Service, now responsible for matters connected with commanding the Order Service.
II. At a meeting held on 22 July 1942 in the main building of the *Judenrat* in Warsaw the Plenipotentiary for Resettlement Affairs gave an order as

a result of which all institutions in the Jewish district such as the Supply Section, Jewish Social Self-Help, Delivery Association,[909] Co-operative Bank,[910] Health Chamber,[911] Craftsmen Union,[912] St. Heyman & Co. Waste Removal Enterprise,[913] etc. were subordinated to the Chairman of the *Judenrat* in Warsaw. Employees of these institutions are treated on a par with employees of the *Judenrat* in Warsaw. The same pertains to people employed by the Secured Real Estate Executive Committee Board in Warsaw in the area of the Jewish district in Warsaw.

In the afternoon of 22 July crowds assembled by the resettlement announcements (see Appendix No. 1). The first day passed dominated by the issue of delivery of the set quota of the "resettled" to the *Umschlagplatz*. The quota partially consisted of residents of refugee centres and people imprisoned for various offences – mostly administrative – in the Central Jail at Gęsia Street 24.

The unforgettable treason committed by the *Judenrat* in Warsaw, which was apparent in its consent to the "resettlement" and consisted of total ignorance or purported unawareness of the actual state of affairs, shall remain, with the treason committed by the Jewish Order Service (ghetto police) an indelible stain on the honour of the Jewish ghetto administration. While condemning this fact it should be stressed that the Jewish administration of the ghetto – that product of the occupation circumstances – did not by any means reflect the popular mood. The councillors and their advisors – the nominees, careerists and dignitaries in the occupier's favour – could not face the truth. They gave in, knowingly or not, to the *Umsiedlungsamt*'s tactic: *divide et impera!*[914] Having received some licences for certain groups of workers and clerks (point II in the additional remarks to the resettlement ordinance), they

909 TODOS Delivery Association – company of Jewish enterprises with a special licence to trade with companies outside the ghetto.

910 See Doc. 26.

911 Perhaps a reference to the Central Health Council of the *Judenrat*.

912 See Doc. 39.

913 Max Heymann & Co. – Jewish company; in April 1941 received a licence from the *Judenrat* for rubbish removal from the ghetto; engaged in smuggling on a large scale. Dustmen were exempted from deportation until the end of the *Aktion*. See Engelking, Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto. A Guide to the Perished City*, pp. 444–446.

914 (Lat.) divide and rule.

consented to the campaign to annihilate the Jews. At least 70,000 residents of the ghetto (the rough number of the people officially not eligible for exemption from the process of the "resettlement" of Jews) were given as prey to the Germans with full premeditation.

Thought out to the tiniest details and based on scientific foundations, the German campaign perfectly combined an accurate grasp of the spirit of the moment, comprehension of the psyche of the man of the street[915] and his instinct of survival, and, worthy of a better cause, the tactic of surprise, of an unexpected attack from the rear.

[10] At first, the participation of the Germans in performance of the "resettlement" was non-existent. At any rate, at the beginning the Germans acted covertly to avoid a too violent reaction of the crowd. That was why they let the Jews decide freely on the composition of the daily "resettlement" quotas. Refugee centres, the prison and "houses of death" (houses with the highest mortality rate) were the first to be deported. The intention was to convince the population that elements from the lowest social strata were being "resettled", that the "resettlement" affected the social ballast. The *Judenrat* thought that those hecatombs would pacify the Germans. Convinced that only the "superfluous" element would be resettled, the ordinary man slowly regained spiritual balance. That was why the entire population of the ghetto surrendered to a psychosis, which stemmed from trust in the German promises and consisted in finding employment in German workshops.

Rarely powered with electricity and usually using manual labour, workshops and factories became the most desired dream of the ghetto residents. The first period of the resettlement from 22 July to the end of the month was a time of frantic quests for *Ausweises* – factory IDs certifying one's employment in an old or new German factory. It is thus no wonder that during the first days of the *Aktion* crowds of people could be seen on ghetto streets rushing to tailoring workshops with sewing machines. Nobody sits at home. Everybody is rushing, running, storming workshops, doing everything just to obtain a right to live. The first days pass almost imperceptibly, even though the preliminary resettlement quotas are delivered. The general public still does not fully see the abyss into which it is gradually sinking, hour after hour, day by day. Even the news about the suicide of the *Judenrat* chairman

915 In the original in English.

Adam Czerniakow did not shift the Jews from a state of anxiety, busily trying to ensure their own survival. He committed that act in a state of a mental breakdown after he had received instructions from the Plenipotentiary for Resettlement Affairs to deliver more quotas of the "resettled" to total 7,000 on Friday 24 July and 10,000 on Saturday 25 July. The few who carefully followed the course of the events condemned that act as unworthy of a leader, at least the official one, of the Jewish district. Having comprehended the inevitable course of these tragic events, it was his duty to call society to active and passive resistance against the occupier. Such a bold and courageous appeal might have woken the Jewish masses from lethargy. Unfortunately, even that ultimate sacrifice of Chairman Czerniaków, the sacrifice of his own life, proved pointless and disappeared in the whirlwind of swiftly succeeding events. The fact of the chairman's death accelerated the process of taking over the initiative by the Jewish Order Service. The *Judenrat* has become a useless shell without executive power, lacking the opportunity to influence the issue of ordinances. The ghetto police assumed the actual power. Marek Lichtenbaum – a wretched creature, troublemaker, and boor, who has not matured in his role, particularly at such a dramatic moment for the Jews of Warsaw – has become the chairman of the *Judenrat*.

The *Judenrat*, or the already omnipotent ghetto police, that is, the Jewish Order Service, forces the Council clerks to work on the resettlement campaign, that is, to capture victims or be delivered to the *Umschlagplatz* in case of reluctance to do so. The newly appointed servicemen received special numbered white armbands saying *Judenrat in Warschau Umsiedlungsaktion*.[916] The social institutions boycotted the order of the *Judenrat*, inducing the clerks to refrain from carrying out that immoral work. The employees of the *Judenrat* who had been taken on by the agency of the Gestapo or the SS and those who lost ideological orientation throughout the occupation years were the only ones to participate in that murderous activity.

[11] After the non-stop massacres conducted after the Germans' assumption of power in Warsaw the survivors of various social groups began to hold meetings in order to oppose the resettlement, but their voices calling for passive resistance disappeared in the chaos and very rapidly worsening lack of

916 (Ger.) *Judenrat* in Warsaw, Resettlement Campaign.

discipline. The *Umsiedlungsamt* (with its seat at Żelazna Street 103)[917] quickly came to terms with that social opposition. Too sophisticated and experienced, it immediately began to mould public opinion. Using its agents, it spread plenty of "reliable" news, such as that only the poorest and the unemployed would be "resettled", that the resettlement would last only three or five days, that "the campaign would certainly end" on 31 July, that after the "resettlement" of 50, 60, or 70,000 the *Aktion* would certainly cease. The next group of rumours concerned the destination of the "resettlement". Mysterious letters written by the resettled came from the vicinities of Białystok, Pińsk, and Brześć on the River Bug, delivered by some policemen and railwaymen. As was shown later, they were either shabby fakes or they were dictated by the Germans and written by actual "resettled" at the execution site in Treblinka. The Germans also appealed to [the Jews'] irresistible survival instinct. Jewish informers explained that "resettlement" was not tantamount to death, that they would "surely" be located in the territories beyond the River Bug or somewhere in the interior of Russia, where they would survive, while useful Jews, that is those who were or would be employed in workshops or on military details, would remain in Warsaw.

Maltreated and decimated over almost three years of the brutal occupation, the Jewish mass took the bait. The voices of the few who called for resistance, explaining the Germans' real intentions, and showing the actual intention of the "resettlement" provoked no response among the masses. The miserable vegetation, the life of pariahs and the inferiority complex left their slavish imprint on the Jewish masses. The leaflets that reveal the intentions and plans of the Germans are treated as a German provocation.

The Germans compensated for the death of Chairman Czerniakow in the following way. On the third day of the "resettlement" SS officers came to the main building of the *Judenrat* and gave their word as officers that the "resettled" Jews would not be harmed in any way, for they would really be deported to the eastern territories. As a result of these declarations an announcement was issued on 24 July, denying all the worrying news (see Appendix No. 2).

The thought and action centres were paralysed. The workshop frenzy spread to everyone. People become convinced that it was enough to have a factory ID to avoid the "resettlement". New enterprises are being set up, often

917 See Doc. 46.

by swindlers, for the purpose of extorting the last groszes from the impoverished population. People are ready to do anything just to put themselves and their immediate family in a workshop. It was not a matter of the professional experience but only of [obtaining] the coveted *Ausweis*. The Germans did their best to maintain this state of confusion as long as possible, thus diverting the attention of the masses from the coming destruction. The *Umsiedlungsamt* gave the ghetto police specific guidelines to unconditionally honour all IDs, even temporary *Ausweises*. During the first stage of the *Aktion* those instructions were strictly followed.

The appearance of the ghetto streets changed depending on the intensification of the *Aktion*. During the first stage the ghetto looked as follows: during the hours [12] when the *Aktion* was on, that is, from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., the streets were deserted, while before 8 a.m. and after 6 p.m. they were filled to the brim, crowded with people. The method of capturing victims underwent a series of changes. In the first period it consisted of blocking residential buildings and then streets, with the exclusive use of ghetto police groupos.

A blockade of a residential building began with surrounding it with a group of 15–25 ghetto policemen commanded by an Order Service officer. The gate and all the exits were then closed and all the residents regardless of sex and age were ordered to come downstairs, where a document control was held. Groups of ghetto policemen walked from flat to flat to check if all the residents had fulfilled their duty. The group leader, usually an Order Service officer, checked the *Ausweises*, after which he released the holders of valid IDs and ordered the rest to climb onto the carts parked by the gate of the building. The latter were transported to the *Umschlagplatz*.

A street blockade consisted of placing ghetto police posts at all junctions of a given stretch and a subsequent document control among all the captured people. People without valid *Ausweises* were put onto carts and taken to the *Umschlagplatz*.

During the "resettlement" the command of the Order Service requisitioned almost all means of transport in the district to be used during the *Aktion*.

As has been said, at first the Germans barely participated in the capturing of Jews. They embodied an implicit threat of intervention in case of failure to deliver a quota or to carry out an order. Police cars speeding wildly along the empty ghetto streets and their passengers shooting at windows and

gates of buildings, plus SS patrols opening fire at pedestrians under any pretext – that was the Germans' involvement during the first stage of the operation. The *Umsiedlungsamt* did intervene in several cases. For instance, on the second day, 23 July, all residents of the building at Muranowska Street 44 were "resettled". Their "crime" was that a pane, which fell out from a front flat, hit some passing gendarmes. Several days later all Jews living at Żelazna Street 80 were resettled for a similar offence. Moreover, threats were made to bomb the entire ghetto.

Prices of foodstuffs are skyrocketing. Shops are closed. All trade takes place on the streets in the morning and evening. The prices are as follows: 1 kilogram of bread – 45 zlotys, 1 kilogram of potatoes – 15 zlotys, 1 kilogram of butter – 180 zlotys. Moreover, it is extremely difficult to find food sources in the ghetto, which is surrounded by multi-national troops. Hunger and the impossibility of selling clothes and valuables had quite an influence on the fate of the Jews, particularly in the month of August 1942.

The Order Service – the ghetto police, which conducted the "resettlement" almost until its end, either alone or as an auxiliary factor, showed its real face as early as during the first stage. For some it posed yet another opportunity for enrichment through extortion, while for others it was the perfect stage for displaying their ruthlessness, lawlessness and cruelty. These features developed and intensified later during the *Aktion* only to then transform [13] into outright banditry and evil.

The Jewish population and the ghetto policemen, who refused to participate in the *Aktion*, were terrorised by the *Aktion* director Jakub Lejkin (lawyer) assisted by the Jewish Order Service commander Józef Szeryński (former Polish police functionary; as a result of the launch of the *Aktion* he was released from prison, where he was serving a sentence for fraud), Szmerling (former hotel owner, sadist and animal in human form), and Rode (former non-commissioned officer of the Foreign Legion).

[c]The moral corruption, which stemmed from the "education" effected by the German administration, to which the ghetto police was subordinate, harassed the Jewish masses throughout the entire period of the existence of the ghetto, both in Warsaw and in the provinces of the "General Government". The occupier did his best to properly "select" the ghetto policemen, so it is no wonder that during the "resettlement" these servicemen also proved those brutal murderers' most faithful servants. An impenetrable wall was

erected between the Jewish masses and the ghetto policemen. There was hatred of these ghetto lackeys of the Germans in the eyes of all the residents of the Jewish District. The Germans boosted their eagerness through issuing a large number of certificates to the servicemen's closest and more distant relatives confirming their exemption from resettlement (the stamp said: *Unterliegt nicht der Umsiedlung*).[918] As with a number of other promises, that one too was broken, and at the right moment; that is, at the end of the *Aktion*, hundreds of policemen were deported to Treblinka together with their wives and children.[c919]

The Jews designated for "resettlement" were escorted to the *Umschlagplatz*. The Jewish hospital (the Czyste [Hospital]) on Stawki Street became a transit camp, where "the resettled" were detained before being loaded into boxcars. The hospital had been evacuated to Leszno Street 2 specifically for that purpose and its [new] location was in the immediate vicinity of the *Umschlagplatz* by the *Transferstelle*. There is a railroad siding on the *Umschlagplatz* – [d]during the *Aktion* it was from there that the boxcars, loaded with Jewish victims, departed.[d920]

A transport of on average 5,000–6,000 "resettled" left every day. The boxcars were loaded in the afternoon, around 4 or 5 p.m. Everybody was rushed out of the hospital building, while being brutally hit with rifle butts and clubs [e](that duty was carried out by the Ukrainians).[e921] The "selection" of people was conducted on the first square (the *Umschlagplatz* consists of two squares: the first is adjacent to the *Umschlagplatz* office on one side and on the other [f] by means of a gate[f922] to the other square, which is in the immediate vicinity of the railroad siding). The stream of people – mothers with babies in their arms, people carrying heavy bundles on their backs, people

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918 (Ger.) exempted from resettlement.

919 Page [13] was corrected by the Oyneg Shabes editors. The fragment marked with [c-c] is the final version (a), which was an integral part of the report sent to the Polish Government-in-Exile. The original version (b) of this fragment is included at the end of this document. Further slight differences between version (a) and (b) on page [13] are specified in the footnotes.

920 [d–d] In version (b) this fragment is a separate sentence: "During the *Aktion* boxcars loaded with Jewish victims departed from that sidetrack".

921 [e–e] This fragment is included only in version (a).

922 [f–f] In version (b): "through a gate".

from various social strata – went past two or more SS-men[923] standing on both sides of the stream. Some of those capable of physical labour[g] were sent to a *Dulag* (*Durchgangslager*),[924] from where they were deported[g][925] to various labour camps. Holders of valid *Ausweises*, usually after vigorous interventions of workshop directors, were released, while the rest of the people (at least 90 per cent) were directed to boxcars[926] waiting on the siding. During the first days of the *Aktion* the Germans selected those[927] "incapable of labour" and executed them in the Jewish cemetery. The intention was to convince [14] the Jews that unlike those incapable of physical labour who were killed as useless ballast, everybody else would really be deported.

The number of people loaded into one cattle car was usually one hundred. The loaded boxcars were locked from the outside. The transports always headed in the same direction – the murder site in Treblinka was their destination.

The second period of the *Aktion* began with the first combined blockade of the residential buildings on Nalewki and Gęsia Streets conducted on Wednesday 29 July, under the command of SS-men. The blockade was accompanied by shots and casualties, which was so characteristic of the entire later period. That day as a result of this *Aktion* a series of workshops and small factories were closed, while all the workers including masters were incorporated into the group escorted by the ghetto police. The rights of certain groups of workers began to change. IDs of the Municipal Help Committee,[928] some departments of the *Judenrat* (Department of Education), and a number of factories actually become invalid. It becomes a rule that all handicraft workshops are considered superfluous and useless to German industry. Consequently, people begin to storm the "safe companies" such as Többens, Schultz, AHAGE[929] etc.

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923 In version (b): "SS officers".

924 (Ger.) transit camp.

925 [g–g] This fragment in version (b): "escorted to a *Dulag* (*Durchfuhrlager*), from where they were deported".

926 In version (b): "boxcars".

927 In version (b): so-called.

928 A reference to the ŻSS.

929 The AHAGE-Zimmerman paper industry workshop was located at Miła Street 43. In the first half of 1942 it employed 1,000 people.

On 29 July announcements (such as the one in Appendix No. 3) were posted on the walls and at gates of buildings.

As has already been explained, the economic situation of tens of thousands of Jews deprived of work places had grown catastrophic. It is thus no wonder that a prospect of receiving three kilograms of bread and one kilogram of marmalade per person was the reason why [many] decided to come to the *Umschlagplatz* voluntarily. One should also consider the effect of the "authentic" letters from "the resettled" and the reassuring announcement of 24 July.[930] If one also considers that some family members had already been "resettled" and that the rest, unaware of the actual situations, wanted to join them, then it becomes understandable that initially hundreds and then thousands of people went alone or in groups to the gathering point, on carts or rickshaws, holding their resettlement bundles or carrying them on their backs. It was a common sight to find minors, aged 8, 9, or 12, walking to the *Umschlagplatz* to set out to join their parents.

The German authorities allocated 180,000 kilograms of bread and 36,000 kilograms of marmalade to be distributed among the "volunteers". Further appeals to the population of the Jewish District were posted on 1 August. They announced that the "resettlement" would continue and called on the people who did not manage to be taken on by the "safe" workshops, to come to the *Umschlagplatz* voluntarily (see Appendix No. 4).

The numbers of deaths during the relatively calmest period of the "resettlement" are highly telling.

The total number of deaths in the month of July	3,672
of those	1,822 men
	1,519 women
	331 children
	3,672 in total
[15] Between 22 and 31 July the number of deaths was	1,620
of those	975 men
	645 women
	1,620 in total

930 See appendix No. 2.

Date	Total number of deaths	Gunshot wounds
22 July	88	22
23 July	144	25
24 July	250	94
25 July	Saturday	
26 July	164	74
27 July	173	87
28 July	198	92
29 July	196	26
30 July	202	21
31 July	205	57
Total	1,620	498

The percentage of deaths resulting from gunshot wounds between 22 and 31 July was 30.7.

"Resettled" in the month of July

Date	"resettled"	sent to a *Dulag*	deemed unable [to work]	total
22	6,250	17	22	6,289
23	7,300	490	25	7,815
24	7,400	–	44	7,444
25	7,350	130	50	7,530
26	6,400	250	41	6,691
27	6,220	130	74	6,424
28	5,080	91	70	5,241
29	5,480	225	17	5,722
30	6,430	181	40	6,651
31	6,796	98	-	6,894
Total	64,706	1,612	383	66,701[931]

931 The statistical tables included in the report were prepared earlier by Oyneg Shabes and were included in ARG II 307 (Ring. II/195), where they are much more legible than in this

The figures in the individual cells of the table above come from German sources, which err towards tendentious understatement, so they should be regarded as minimal and diverting from the actual state of affairs.

Blockades of residential buildings and streets are typical of the second stage of the "resettlement". They were conducted by members of *Einsatz Reinhardt*,[932] commonly known as *Vernichtungskommando*, which actually commanded the entire *Aktion* in Warsaw (it also conducted the "resettlement" in Lublin). The course of the *Aktion* was entirely different from before. Two operations were conducted every day, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. The crew usually consisted of 10–20 SS-men in cars or rickshaws, 50–100 Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Latvians, along with 250–300 [?] ghetto [16] policemen, moving on foot or on bicycles. The action plan was revealed at the last moment. The marked stretch of the street was first carefully blocked and then the residential buildings were emptied.

A typical blockade of a residential building conducted by Germans, Ukrainians, and Jews was fast and rapid. All entrances were hermetically sealed. Armed with rifles, SMGs and revolvers, the Germans and the soldiers (Ukrainians, Lithuanians) ran from one staircase to another and shouting and yelling, urged everybody to go downstairs into the courtyard (*Alle Juden raus – alle Juden runter*).[933] The sick and those in hiding were unceremoniously executed. In the courtyard everybody without exception was forced to join the steadily swelling group on the street. When the number of people reached 2,000 or 3,000 they were brought under strong escort to the *Umschlagplatz*. Sometimes everybody was rushed into the hospital building or, very often, directly into the boxcars. It was impossible to obtain an individual release or a release of an entire factory or workshop staff on the basis of employment certificates (*Ausweis*, *Meldekarte*). Documents issued by the "General Government" authorities were torn up as invalid. But those who were actually employed could stay in the area of the German workshops. Consequently, entire families were beheaded, leaving

report. After comparing these two documents it was possible to decipher the numerical data correctly. See ARG II 307 (Ring. II/195), pp. 2, 6.

932 The German crew of Operation Reinhardt from Lublin had been in Warsaw preparing the *Aktion* since 15 July 1942.

933 (Ger.) All Jews out. All Jews downstairs.

one or two people out of dozens. Sometimes literally entire families went to the *Umschlagplatz*.

Endless groups of the resettled could be seen each day before midday and in the evening, without even as much as bundles, escorted out of their homes in basic attire, surrounded by the resettlement crew, walking miserably to the *Umschlagplatz*. The escorting soldiers and SS-men fire non-stop, either to incite fear or shoot those who try to escape. The sight of the terrorised, abused, and maltreated people with mad expressions on their faces, sometimes confused and resigned and most of all the sight of groups of children removed from dormitories, nurseries and shelters for orphans, accompanied by the director and ward staff, cries for vengeance.

The streets are gradually dying out.

Between 10 and 16 August four subsequent announcements regarding changes in the ghetto border were posted (see appendices 5, 6, 7, and 8). The Jewish ghetto fell into a trap of internal relocations. Again the Germans managed to fully achieve the set aims: a) to divert the ghetto residents' attention from the ongoing "resettlement", b) to force the Jews to leave intact almost all their property and belongings in their abandoned flats through reducing the deadline for internal relocation to a minimum. Wanting to save their property, many people manage to reach the *Umschlagplatz*. Many completely give up on their property and remain with their families in the factory areas.

Simultaneously the staff of recognised companies were allotted a residential area. The streets of the gradually shrinking ghetto become separated by planks and barbed-wire fences. Besides, those residential areas are also subject to constant fluctuations, and making matters worse, they do not offer protection from a blockade. Nobody is sure of the roof over their heads.

Mass murders and robberies are conducted on the occasion of clearing the allotted residential areas of the elements unauthorised to stay there. For instance, the clearing of Nowolipie Street from Smocza to Karmelicka Streets conducted on 11 August brought [17] 2,000 "resettled" and dozens of casualties.

The remaining Jews become gradually aware that all "resettled" are sent by the Germans to Treblinka, where they die in horrible agony. That news began to come particularly from Treblinka, initially apprehensively whispered from ear to ear, and then was increasingly spread overtly. Dozens of

survivors from this gigantic death centre talk about their tragic experiences. But in the atmosphere of constant uncertainty, constant changes of place of abode, the physical and spiritual terror the Germans no longer care about hiding the facts from the Warsaw Jews. In this second stage of resettlement when the Jewish masses are already completely disintegrated and unable to resist (except under sporadic instances of active or passive resistance) the German executive only wishes to conceal the truth from those abroad, and in that they have been successful.

The *Umschlagplatz* becomes a synonym of death. Volunteers for "resettlement" vanish. The people hide wherever they can: in basements, shelters, abandoned buildings, and ruins.

In the second week of August factory IDs become invalid and are substituted by registration cards stamped by the *Sicherheitsdienst*. Initially, the Germans honoured those new proofs of employment, thus convincing people that that new document guaranteed exemption from "resettlement". The people do everything to obtain a *Meldekarte* with an SD stamp and sometimes also with an additional stamp saying *Unterliegt nicht der Umsiedlung*. They spend their last savings on equipping themselves and their family in these new "safe" documents. The history of that period, so dramatic for the ghetto residents, abounds in tragicomic scenes of quest for these saving *Meldekartes*. The Germans again managed to create the impression that there was a division into better and worse groups of workers. The lie about the effectiveness of the stamped registration cards grew and swelled until it burst, resulting in large groups of newcomers who believed the German officers arriving on the *Umschlagplatz*.

The second stage of the "resettlement" may be divided into three phases. The first consisted of blockades of residential buildings and streets with participation of the Germans, *junaks,* and Jews and in the liquidation of certain workplaces (Waldemar Schmidt, Karl Heinz Müller,[934] Astrawerke and T. Tepicyn and M. von Szaniawska)[935] combined with sending the workers

934 Karl Heinz Müller's workshop, which manufactured metal accessories, was located at Mylna Street 11. It employed many fine artists. The workshop was closed on 25 August 1942.

935 The T. Tepicyn & M. von Szaniawska workshop, which manufactured wooden goods, was located at Gęsia Street 69.

to the *Umschlagplatz*. The second phase of August abounded in relocations within the ghetto. The largest relocation was the liquidation of the small ghetto. Within 24 hours all Jews (except for workers of C. Többens and Wilhelm Doering's[936] companies) living in the Jewish district south of Chłodna Street had to leave their homes. With one stroke of a pen the Germans obtained the property of tens of thousands of resettled Jews worth millions of zlotys. A special institution, *SS Werterfassunng*, handled the fate of the Jewish property. It has been operating non-stop ever since (mid-November 1942). Moreover, the allotted residential areas were blocked and all the people who were in there were deported to Treblinka. The third phase consists of workshop blockades plus the earlier activities.

Blockades of the so far recognised German factories in the ghetto shattered the remainder of Jewish hopes. People expected a total liquidation of Jews and openly assumed that no Jew would get out of Warsaw alive.

[18] In the meantime the Labour Office issued an internal circular letter. It specified the number of Jewish workers allocated to individual German workshops and details in the Aryan district. The circular letter mentioned approximately 30,000 souls, because as per the announcement of 16 August relatives of the employed were also recognised as unemployed. Consequently, as per binding regulations, only the actually employed had a right to live.

The Germans would unexpectedly rush into the workshops, drag all the employees and workers away from the machines and workstands, and assemble them in three parallel rows in the factory courtyard. Next, with an accompaniment of wild screams, shots, and terrible beatings a selection was conducted, during which the people were divided into lucky ones, that is, those deemed able to work and those to be "resettled". Among the assembled workers and their families were many people who had survived by risking their lives after being captured twice, thrice, or even five times to be [delivered to] the *Umschlagplatz*, either during street roundups or in their homes. [For instance, s]ome jumped out of the moving boxcars to save their lives. During factory blockades they once again faced death. It is characteristic that the Germans ignored the needs of the factories. In many cases they took away the workers

936 This workshop, which was a part of the *Wilhelm Döring Apparatenbau* concern, was located at Grzybowska Street 26, with a branch on Komitetowa Street. It manufactured precision instruments, motors, and machines.

who made up the core of the workshop, the best professionals impossible to replace. Interventions of the German managements proved effective only in a small number of cases, as most of the time the factory workers went directly into the boxcars departing to death in Treblinka.

Throughout the month of August all nurseries, dormitories, boarding and day schools, crèches, pupil's hostels and orphanages were liquidated. The children – the future of the nation – were destroyed with utter ruthlessness and meticulousness. Almost every group sent to the *Umschlagplatz* included larger or smaller groups of children from various children's institutions. The children walked with their heads shaved, wearing shirts, short trousers, or skirts, their tiny bare feet shod in wooden clogs. All the children were resettled, without baggage and sometimes even without food.

Throughout the whole second stage of the *Aktion* the Germans gave nobody any time to rest or think. The blows were dealt one after another. Consequently, the Jews' fear of the Germans grew greater than their fear of death.

The work on the *Umschlagplatz* changed character entirely. All pretence of selection disappeared. Aside from a few exceptions, everybody was loaded into boxcars.

In late August it seemed that the *Aktion* was ending. The Jewish hospital received an order to move back to Stawki Street. Apart from the fact that the seriously ill people were treated inhumanely, it should be stressed that the Jews were misled again. The Germans were trying to "prove" that the return of the hospital to Stawki Street indicated the end of the *Aktion*. The "registration" period from 6–10 September, when virtually all patients of the hospital (approximately a thousand people) and the entire medical and technical personnel were loaded into boxcars with thousands of other victims, revealed the illusoriness of the Jewish hopes for the end of the resettlement.

[19] The table below shows the intensification of the *Aktion* in the month of August.

Date	"Resettled"	Sent to *Dulag*	Total
1	6,220	45	6,265
2	6,276	49	6,325

Date	"Resettled"	Sent to *Dulag*	Total
3	6,458	99	6,357[937]
4	6,588	140	6,728
5	6,623	160	6,783
6	10,085	1,369	11,454
7	10,672	154	10,826
8	7,304	351	7,655
9	6,292	1,920	8,212
10	2,148	1,531	3,679
11	7,725	452	8,177
12	4,688	–	4,688
13	4,513	–	4,513
14	5,148	331	5,479
15	3,683	174	3,857
16	4,095	408	4,503
17	4,160	–	4,160
18	3,976	220	4,196
19-24	probably 20,000	?	20,000
25	3,002	–	3,002
26	3,000 ?	–	3,000
27	2,464	–	2,464
28-31	Break		
Total	135,120	7,403	142,523[938]

The above figures should be regarded as minimal as they derive from biased German sources.

937 It should be: 6,557.

938 Cf. ARG II 307 (Ring. II/195), p. 6. The people who prepared these statistics had no accurate data for 19–24 and 26 August. Consequently, they omitted these dates from the sum and added estimated numerical data.

Table of deaths among Jews in the month of August[939]

Date	Total			Gunshot wounds			Suicides			Natural causes		
	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total
1-10	1,033	894	1,927	632	553	1,185	11	15	26	388	328	716
11-20	876	811	1,687	448	397	845	46	45	91	382	369	751
21-31	489	414	903	157	118	275	24	14	38	309	281	590
Total	2,398	2119	4,517	1237	1,068	2,305	81	74	155	1,079	978	2,057

Of the total number of deaths 51 per cent result from gunshot wounds, 45.6 per cent from natural causes, and 3.4 per cent from suicide.

The average number of deaths resulting from gunshot wounds in the month of August is 74.3 per day.

[20] This report must include an evaluation of the activity of the ghetto police and the auxiliary service, that is, the Jewish Emergency Service (a Gestapo unit in the Jewish district) during the second stage of the "resettlement". The features, which became evident as early as at the beginning of the participation of the ghetto police and Jewish Emergency Service in the *Aktion*, were more marked and developed during the course of the "resettlement".

[h]The constant machinations with the German and blue police plus the joint robbing of the Jewish masses gave rise to such a situation that the masses separated themselves completely from the ghetto police, as if from total strangers. Only the functionaries of the Order Service who came to their senses during the *Aktion* and refused further participation in the dirty dog-catching work often acted heroically, disinterestedly and sacrificially while saving dozens of women and men from the *Umschlagplatz*. Their sacrifice was all the greater as it often ended in death from a German bullet (e.g. Constable Kapłański and others). The rest continued to do their "duties" but in the auxiliary capacity.

The first evident reactions to the Warsaw massacre were observed in the second half of August. A whole series of warehouses and storehouses in the

939 Cf. ARG II 307 (Ring. II/195), p. 3.

ghetto (approx. 100)[940] were set on fire and there was an unsuccessful attack on the Resettlement Office (*Umsiedlungsamt*) staff at Żelazna Street 103. One should also mention the assassination attempt on Szeryński, which rendered him harmless. More importantly, a quiet yet intensive campaign to make the masses aware of the real meaning of the "resettlement" has begun. A number of recent publications discuss the Warsaw events and the death camp in Treblinka and also call for anti-Hitlerite activity. The efforts of [certain] social groups encountered enormous objective obstacles, such as, above all, the impossibility to communicate with one another and move about. It has become problematic to move from one building to another, let alone to walk from street to street. These are the conditions and atmosphere in which the underground activity has to be conducted.

The final days of August passed relatively calmly, but it was obvious that the end of the *Aktion* in the ghetto was still to come.

On Thursday and Friday (3 and 4 September) in the Warsaw ghetto there were intensified blockades of workshops. The SS-men assisted by *junaks* (Ukrainians, Lithuanians) escorted a few hundred people to the *Umschlagplatz* from among those working in various divisions of factory labour, usually ignoring their vocational qualifications. The SS-men arrived with a fixed "quota" for a given workplace and conducted the selection, picking victims according to their whim. It should be stressed that as early as during that period workshops became almost exclusively reservoirs of victims for slaughter. Outside the workshops life still flickered in the basements and catacombs of the ghetto. After that new "selection" the number of Jews employed in given workshops decreased by 25–30 per cent.

The Saturday of the 5th of September also passed under the omen of further intensive blockades of workshops. The crews of B. Hallman's[941] and W. C. Többens factories underwent particularly drastic reductions.[h][942]

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940 It is known that the ŻOB set empty buildings ablaze in the ghetto to stop the property of those murdered from falling into the Germans' hands.

941 Bernard Hallmann's carpentry workshop located at Nowolipki Street 59. Before the *Aktion* it had employed 900 people.

942 Page 20 was corrected by Oyneg Shabes editors. The fragment marked [h–h] is published in its final version (a), which is an integral part of the report. The original version of this fragment, version (b), is provided at the end of this document.

At 2 a.m. on the night from Saturday to Sunday the Order Service command received an order from the *Umsiedlungsamt*, popularly called [21] *Vernichtungskommando*, to be ready for action at 6 a.m. At the same time the command learned the contents of a memo, which was to be printed in the form of an announcement in the German and Polish languages and posted at dawn on the ghetto walls (see Appendix No. 9).

Following the order, at dawn the Jewish servicemen took up their new posts in the middle of the streets listed in the announcement. The new and significantly reduced ghetto area was temporarily surrounded with string. It was there that the final act of the great tragedy of the Warsaw Jewry, called "resettlement", was soon to begin.

All Jews without exception had to be within the new borders by 10 o'clock, so the streets leading to the new ghetto soon filled with crowds of men, women and children rushing in that direction. The remainder of Warsaw Jewry was once again surprised by that last announcement and it was to pay dearly for that. Aside from food, the people took the most necessary objects and valuables. A small number of Jews carried on their backs large bundles, rucksacks and suitcases stuffed with their possessions, as they knew that property abandoned in the open, and unlocked flats would be looted during their absence. Some pushed handcarts to transport their modest possessions, salvaged from the streets and residential buildings threatened with "resettlement". This time the number of Jews who were transporting their junk and bundles to the new place was much smaller. Taught by the bitter experience of a few weeks ago, they cared little about the fate of their possessions. They walked, alone or in groups, their faces showing deep worry and panicky fear of that new "registration" which boded ill.

Before 10 a.m. numerous columns of Jews employed in workshops and living together in the residential blocks marched along the streets leading to the new ghetto. Staff of the workshops of Schultz & Co., K.G. Schultz, Curt Roehrich,[943] OXACO,[944] Schilling,[945] Többens from Leszno Street (the

943 The saddlery workshop at Nowolipie 72 or 80 employed approximately 500 people.

944 The saddlery workshop located on the corner of Lubeckiego and Sochaczewska or Szczęśliwa Streets. It employed approximately 500 workers.

945 The carpentry workshop of the Oskar Schilling company located at Nowolipie Street 54. It employed 600 people.

workforce of Többens workshop on Prosta Street were not there, as the registration had been conducted there as early as on Saturday), Hallman,[946] Hoffmann,[947] Oschmann,[948] Hermann Brauer,[949] *Heeresuntenkunftverwaltung*[950] workshops: *Werk* 1, 2, 3, brush makers, metal workers, paper factory workers, Judeks, Feliks,[951] Doering, and employees of the *Judenrat* all arrived that way. Some tens of thousands of people were squeezed into the few streets of the new ghetto, where they awaited their fate. Miła Street, Niska Street, Parysowski Square, and Lubeckiego Street were crammed full with crowds of men, women, and children.

Germans with Ukrainians and Latvians, who were to guard the new border of the ghetto – the enlarged *Umschlagplatz* – appeared by the Jewish posts at 10 o'clock. Immediately afterwards numerous rifle shots could be heard on the other side of the border. It was the Germans carrying out their threat and executing the Jews who had not managed to move to the new area. Around 11 o'clock SS-men launched a "registration", which lasted an entire week, that is, from Sunday the 6th to Saturday the 12th of September inclusive. The purpose of that "registration" was to catch *(Durchkaemmung – combing out) a new quota of victims for Treblinka from among the masses of workshop workers and the unemployed*. Throughout that week the Germans sent up to 50,000 Jews to Treblinka: men women and children. According to news coming from Treblinka during that period, the local house of death[952] operated almost 24 hours a day, because the constant machinations with the German and blue police plus the joint robbing of the Jewish masses gave rise to such

946 "Fallemann" in the original; probably a mistake.

947 Wilfried Hoffmann's workshop at Nowolipki Street 49 and 51a. In the summer of 1942 it employed 1,200 people. It produced SS uniforms and did upholstery.

948 Oschmann–Leszczyński's workshop at Nowolipie Street 18. It housed a factory that produced caps for the army and a laundry for uniforms. In the summer of 1942 it employed 2,000 people.

949 A complex of factories, which included a metal, shoemaking, saddlery, tanning, and tailoring workshops. It was located in the block of buildings at Nalewski Street 28–38 and employed 2,000 people.

950 *Heeresunterkunftsverwaltung* (HUV) – department of the German Army dealing with accommodation of troops. It employed Jewish labourers to prepare and deliver supplies to military quarters.

951 Perhaps Anna Melita Feliks's small textile workshop on Nowolipie Street 80.

952 Meaning: gas chamber.

a situation that the masses separated themselves completely from the ghetto police, as if from total strangers. Only the functionaries of the Order Service who came to their senses during the *Aktion* and refused further participation in the dirty dog-catching work often acted heroically, disinterestedly, and sacrificially while saving dozens of women and men from the *Umschlagplatz*. Their sacrifice was all the greater as it often ended in death from a German bullet (e.g. Constable Kapłański and others). The rest continued to do their "duties" but in the auxiliary capacity.

Transports from Warsaw were arriving with large numbers.

[22] The figures below best illustrate the actual state of affairs.

Date	"Deported"	Sent to *Dulag*	Total
3 September	4,609	-	4,609
4 September	1,669	-	1,669
5 September	Break		
6 September	3,634	-	3,634
7 September	6,840	-	6,840
8 September	13,596	-	13,596
9 September	6,616	-	6,616
10 September	5,199	-	5,199
11 September	5,000 ?	-	5,000 ?
12 September	4,806	2,100	6,906
Total	51,969	2,100	54,069[953]

The "registration" was conducted as follows. An SS officer assisted by Ukrainians came to the assembled workers of a given workshop and began a "selection" in the presence of a German commissioner or the workshop owner. He ordered those who were to be deported to Treblinka to stand on the right, paying no attention to the worker's usability. He stopped the "selection" at a certain moment, ordering the rest to join the group designated for

953 Cf. ARG II 307 (Ring. II/195), p. 6. The people who prepared the statistics lacked data for 11 September.

"deportation". The course of the "selection" was the same almost everywhere, with a few exceptions; for instance, in one workshop everybody was ordered to kneel on the street. The sluggish ones were executed on the spot and their corpses were left lying in the row next to the living. All that took place accompanied by German curses. No objective criteria were applied.

The fate of women and children was the most tragic. The Germans were implacable towards them. In exceptional cases fathers managed to rescue their children in sacks. It was done in the following way: a father put the sack with his child on his back and, having bribed a Ukrainian guard, he carried the precious burden outside. After the "registration" the incomplete crews returned to their workshops and quarters. On the streets, in residential buildings, on squares, and among the rubble there were still many Jews who had gone into hiding and thus avoided deportation to Treblinka. They were trying to leave that area and sneak back into their workshops, hoping to obtain legalisation after some time; that is, to be re-entered on the list of the workshop workers. On Wednesday, after the registration had officially concluded, Ukrainian patrols began to traverse the streets of the new ghetto with the explicit order to shoot Jews on any pretext. The clatter of SMGs and rifle salvos could be heard non-stop. There were also blockades of residential buildings and they were extremely brutal. Jews in hiding were shot unceremoniously and mercilessly, irrespective of sex or age. [23] On Friday a German patrol rushed into a certain hideout on Niska Street, where 60 people were hiding, all of whom were killed.

During that period many Jews died of hunger and thirst because they had no food supplies and feared leaving their hideouts lest they revealed these places to the Ukrainians.

Table of deaths among Jews in Warsaw during the "registration" period.[954]

Date	Total			Gunshot wounds			Suicides			Natural causes		
	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total
6	272	223	495	216	176	392	15	12	27	41	35	76
7	346	274	620	313	248	561	3	8	11	30	18	48

954 Cf. ARG II 307 (Ring. II/195), p. 4.

Date	Total			Gunshot wounds			Suicides			Natural causes		
	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total	M	W	Total
8	425	360	785	392	334	726	4	4	8	29	22	51
9	275	205	480	252	189	441	-	-	-	23	16	39
10	202	124	326	174	84	258	6	3	9	22	37	59
11	109	72	181	89	56	145	2	1	3	18	15	33
12	96	64	160	76	49	125	1	1	2	19	14	33
Total	1,725	1,322	3,047	1,512	1,136	2,648	31	29	60	182	157	339
6 September												
12 September												

It is seen from the table that during the "registration period" between 6 and 12 September the total number of deaths was 3,047:

2,648 (86.8 %) from gunshot wounds,

60 (2.1 %) suicides,

339 (11.1 %) from natural causes,

3,047 in total.

The average number of deaths resulting from gunshot wounds during the said period was 378.3 per day.

During the "registration" period Jewish flats outside the area of the new ghetto had to be opened as per point 4 of the announcement regarding the registration (see Appendix No. 9). The above was also true of flats within the border of the new ghetto, as during the "registration" their owners had to be either in their workshop groups or in a hideout. To summarise, all Jewish flats without exception were left unprotected and fell victim to looting. Returning to their homes, people usually found them looted clean. The lack of food and clothes put the survivors in danger of death by starvation.

During the "registration" days prices were exorbitant. 1 kilogram of brown bread cost 100 zlotys, 1 kilogram of potatoes 40 zlotys, and 1 kilogram of fatback 500 zlotys.

The last chord of the mass murder and destruction of the Warsaw Jews faded away on 21 September (Yom Kippur). [24] That day the Germans blocked the Jewish Order Service's residential buildings on Ostrowska and Wołyńska Streets. They removed the servicemen who had not been engaged anew by the Order Service after the reduction (the number of ghetto policemen had been

reduced to 380 people). Two hundred young men were deported with their wives to death to Treblinka. This was done using Jewish Order Service servicemen commanded by the Order Service officers Jakub Lejkin and Szmerling, assisted by a small number of Germans from the *Vernichtungskommando*. This is German gratitude, the Teutonic faithfulness to the traitors of their own nation.

TREBLINKA

The monument of eternal disgrace of the German nation

"From the moment when the Geneva Convention, signed in 1864 by representatives of 35 states but ratified by only 21 states, came into being, Germany has precisely abided by its provisions intended to guarantee that a certain humanitarian element would permeate into military operations despite their brutal nature.

Care for the wounded enemy, humanitarian, dignified treatment of the prisoner of war – enemy, respect for sanitary facilities, care for the civilian population, particularly women and children, who are considered sacrosanct – all this has always constituted the noble and sacred concepts of honour for the German command and the German soldiers, both on the front line and in the occupied territories. It is an undeniable fact, which even an enemy has to admit in his hatred and even against his own will".

Max Gröters, "[c]*Ein Fetzen Papier? Genfer Konvention und Soldaten Christi*[c]",[955] *Warschauer Zeitung*[956] 255, 28 October 1942 (see Appendix No. 10).

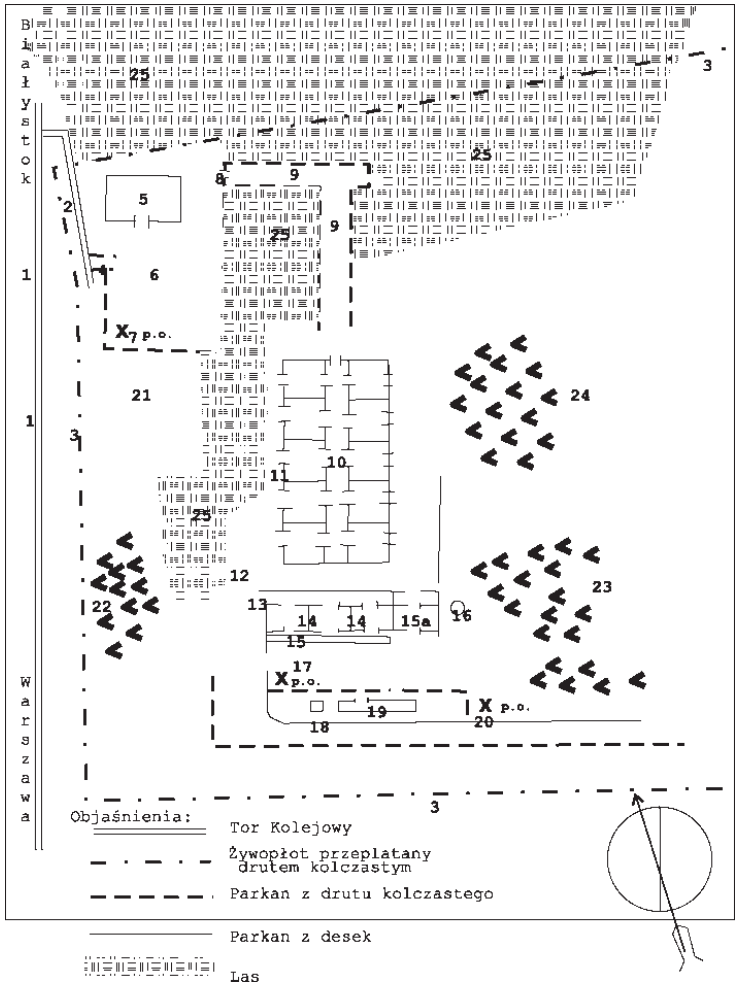
The village of Treblinka is located near the Warsaw–Białystok railway, several kilometres from Małkinia, in a forested and sandy area. The village is inhabited by Poles – peasants and forest labourers. In 1940 in the vicinity of Treblinka the Germans established a penal concentration camp, Treblinka I, for Poles who had committed certain offences against the occupier, for instance, they had failed to deliver levies of produce or had been captured smuggling. The discipline in that camp was very strict and the prisoners are executed for any given reason. The infamy of that camp matches that of the penal camp in Oświęcim.

In March 1942 the Germans started to construct a new camp, Treblinka II, in the vicinity of Treblinka I. The camp was designated as an execution site for

955 [c-c] (Ger.) a scrap of paper? The Geneva Convention and soldiers of Christ.

956 *Warschauer Zeitung* – German daily published by the General Government authorities from November 1939.

Jews from Poland and other European countries. Poles from the nearby camp and Jews captured in nearby towns carried out preparation works and levelled the [25] ground. Those works lasted to the end of April, when the house of death No. 1 (14), the central part of the camp, was completed.[957]



Treblinka II.
Orientation draft.

Explanations:

======= Railroad tracks

-.-.-.-.-. Hedge with barbed wire

- - - - - Fence of barbed wire

———— Fence of planks

II= II= II Forest

Copied from the original
by Tomasz Owczarek

957 The figures in parantheses in the text refer to the relevant places marked on the site plan of Treblinka "II".

The new camp, Treblinka II, is located on the sandy hills among the copses. The area of the camp is relatively small, approximately 5,000 hectares. The entire area is surrounded with a hedge, thickly interwoven with barbed wire entanglements (3). A stretch of the fence runs through the young forest in the north (25). There are vantage points for the *Lagerschutz* on all four corners of the plot. The *Lagerschutz* consists mostly of Ukrainians armed with SMGs. Bright searchlights were installed at the vantage points to light the entire plot. There are observation posts on the inside of the plot too, on the hills by the copses. The western border of Treblinka II is formed by the railway embankment with a railway siding that connects the camp with the main line (1). The siding (2) was constructed during the last months for the purpose of delivering the boxcars with transports directly to the execution site. The northern border of the camp is adjacent to a young forest, while the eastern and southern borders run among sandy hills. The forest inside the camp area stretches in a long line parallel to the railway, beginning with the northern border (25).

The platform (4), by which the trains with transports stop, is adjacent to the siding. By the siding is an entrance to a square, where 2,000–3,000 people can be squeezed (6). This square is surrounded with a separate barbed wire fence. On the square, near its northern border, is a large wooden barrack. There is a watchtower in the south-western corner with a military sentry post, which is on duty 24 hours a day (7). On the southern side of the square, beyond the fence, there is a clothes-sorting point (*Lumpensortierungsplatz*) (21), and further south an execution site for the camp commandant/chief and the graves of his victims (22). The arrival square (6), which has already been mentioned, is connected with the rest of the camp area with a gate in the north-eastern corner of the fence (8). From there a forest path leads east for approximately 200 metres (9) only to turn south at a right angle and run along the copse parallel to the western border of the arrival square. This road comes to an end by a large, unusual building (10): it is the body of an unfinished one-storey brick building, 40 metres long and 15 metres wide. (In the first half of September, when information regarding Treblinka II was received, the construction of this building was coming to an end). The Germans began its construction as early as during the *Aktion* – probably in mid-August – using Jewish craftsmen selected among Jews who had been brought to Treblinka to die. Oddly enough, the bricks for the construction were transported from as

far as Warsaw in boxcars attached to each transport. The bricks were loaded by Jewish labourers at the *Umschlagplatz* in Warsaw. According to an eyewitness's testimony, the interior of this building is as follows: a three-metre-wide corridor divides it in half and on each side there are five rooms or chambers, each chamber approximately two metres high. Each chamber is approximately 35 square metres.

The execution chambers are windowless but they have doors to the corridor and a type of hatch in their exterior walls. Next to those hatches are platforms, slightly concave, similar to large kneading troughs. The labourers fixed pipes there for the steam to come through. It is to be house of [26] death No. 2.

The forest road (9) leads past this building and runs along its western wall, among the trees in the forest, to come to an end by the next building (12) – house of death No. 1 (14), perpendicular to house of death No. 2. It is a brick building, much bigger than the other one. It consists of only three chambers and a boiler room. Along its other wall is a corridor, from which the chambers can be accessed through the doors. The exterior wall of the chambers is equipped with hatches (not long ago there were doors, but they were changed for hatches for utilitarian considerations). Here too there is a platform shaped like a kneading trough on the level of the hatches (15). The boiler room (15a) is adjacent to the building. Inside the boiler room is a large boiler to produce vapour, which goes into the chambers through the pipes with a sufficient number of holes running through the death chambers. When this deathly machinery operates the doors and hatches are hermetically sealed. The floor in the chambers is lined with terracotta tiles, which become very slippery when covered with water. Next to the boiler room is a well, the only one in the entire Treblinka II area. Near the death house, on the south side, beyond the barbed wire entanglements and the fence, is a camp for gravediggers, who live in a barrack (19), next to the kitchen buildings. There are two watchtowers (17, 20) on both sides of this camp. The remainder of the Treblinka II area has been designated as the burial site of the murdered victims. An enormous cemetery (22, 23 and 24) already constitutes a large part of the area. Initially, the graves were dug by Poles employed in the camp. Later on, with the intensification of the murder activity and increased demand for pits, special digging machines were brought and they dig graves day and night. Powered by diesel engines, their clatter is a typical sound of the Treblinka II murder site.

The supervisory and execution staff is very small. The murder site is commanded by an SS-man with the rank of gendarmerie captain (surname Bauer?).[958] The German personnel, consisting of SS-men, are terrified of their "boss". Whenever they spot him from afar they begin to hurry the working Jews and the victims on their way to death with even more eagerness. There is a total of ten Germans and the number of Ukrainians is thirty.

The German crew members change from time to time. Sometimes SS-men from various towns in the "General Government", where they work at the "resettlement", come to the camp.

Aside from the German–Ukrainian *Lagerschutz* there is also the Jewish auxiliary service, some of whose members are employed on the square where clothes of the murdered are sorted (*Lumpensortierungsplatz*), while others work as gravediggers, emptying the execution chambers and burying the dead. The remainder attend to the newly arrived on the arrival square. Team leaders, whom the Germans call *kapos*, lead the individual groups of the Jewish auxiliary service. They are better nourished, [27] and for distinction they have yellow triangular patches on the knees of their trousers. The number of people in the Jewish auxiliary service changes almost every day. It is very unusual for a Jew to last more than two weeks in this service due to the inhumane treatment by the Germans. The Jews are incessantly maltreated and whipped. Corporal punishments (25 blows) are frequent and the weakened, no longer able to work, are shot. The boss himself usually takes care of that. Every day after lunch there is a roll call for those unable to work. When the German asks who no longer feels able to work, a few step out of the row and notify the commander about their inability, asking him, as if for mercy, to shoot them. The executions are conducted at a special site, where the victim has to stand upright at the edge of the grave. The commander then shoots from a revolver at the back of the individual's head. The next victim has to approach and push the murdered man's body into the pit only to share his successors' fate a few moments later. These young Jews are so overworked that all their will to resist is suppressed and the German terror is so terrible that it forces them to swiftly give up their life to avoid further inhumane torture. In early September the Treblinka commandant murdered 500 young Jews in one day,

958 The first commandant of Treblinka II was Irmfried Eberl, followed by Franz Stangl from August 1942 to August 1943 and Kurt Franz from August to November 1943.

shooting them one by one with a rifle. Oddly enough, nobody among that group of a few hundred men attacked the German to avoid death. The executions lasted from 7.30 a.m. to 3 p.m.

The relatively easiest work in the execution site is the sorting of clothes of the murdered. It allows one to eat one's fill, as the "resettled" Jews take large supplies of food, bread, marmalade, fat, and sugar for the road. But the boss does not let people work there long and after several days he orders the workers to be transferred to work as gravediggers.

Shortages in the auxiliary Jewish service are met using the transports arriving at Treblinka. Normally there arrived two transports every day: one in the morning and another in the evening, while there are several during periods of particular intensification of the *Aktion*. Each train consists of a few dozen boxcars. Some of the boxcars halt at the siding opposite the arrival square, while the rest are taken to the side, where they wait until the first group has been exterminated. The boxcars are emptied quickly. The maltreated and extremely anxious mass of people sighs with relief when it walks out onto the arrival square. The auxiliary Jewish service led by *kapos* takes over right away. Orders in Yiddish are given to instruct the newcomers about what they should do. Women and children are immediately ordered to enter a barrack, while the men remain on the square. Looking around, they see a poster on a tall pole informing them in large letters: *Achtung Warschauer*,[959] even though large numbers of transports of Jews from many other towns in the General Government, Germany and Western European countries arrive to Treblinka. "Do not worry about your fate!" the poster goes on. "Everybody is going east to work. You will work and your wives will run your households. But before departure you need to wash yourselves and your clothes need to be deloused. Valuables and money must be deposited at the local safe upon receipt. After the shower and the delousing all the property shall be returned intact".

During the first period of the murder in Treblinka an SS officer with an angelic face, which inspired complete trust, used to come to the square and give a similar speech to those assembled. [28] But when in the course of the *Aktion* more transports from various directions began to arrive and a large

959 (Ger.) attention, Varsovians.

number of newcomers had to be quickly liquidated, the Germans cancelled those speeches as needless.

Boards saying "tailors", "cobblers", "carpenters", etc. were displayed in certain spots on the square to convince the Jews that segregation according to vocations was really taking place on the arrival square for the purpose of sending vocational groups to work. Obviously, no such segregation has ever been conducted.

Instead, the *kapos* quickly arrange the men into rows of 10 and order them to take off their shoes, strip naked, and prepare for shower. Each man is allowed to take a piece of soap and documents. In the meantime, the sorting-square workers carry the laid-down clothes to their facility. Women and children have to strip naked too. This is when the final act of the Treblinka tragedy takes place. The terrorised mass of men, women and children sets out on their last walk to death. A group of women and children walks first, incessantly rushed forward with blows and nudges dealt by the escorting Germans, who are holding whips. The escort hurries the group faster and faster. The blows falling on the women, who are mad from fear and pain, are increasingly powerful. The screams and moans of the women and the curses of the Germans pierce the silence of the forest. The people finally realise they are walking to death. The boss himself, a whip in hand, appears at the entrance to house of death No. 1 and in cold blood rushes the women inside. The floor of the chambers is slippery. The people slip and collapse but cannot get up because many other victims, also rushed in by force, collapse on them. The boss throws little children over the women's heads into the chambers. When the execution chambers become full to the brim, the door is hermetically closed and the people begin to suffocate with vapour coming out of numerous holes in the pipes. The stifled screams, initially coming from the inside, slowly die out and after 15 minutes the execution is completed.

Now it is the gravediggers' turn. Screaming and cursing, the German supervisors rush the gravediggers to work, which consists in removing corpses from the execution chambers. The gravediggers stand on the platform opposite the hatches. The hatches open up, but none of the bodies fall out. The vapour has fused all the corpses into one solid mass, stuck together with the sweat of the murdered victims. In their pre-mortal agony, before breathing their last, the people became interlocked in one big macabre tangle of arms, legs and trunks. To enable the gravediggers to remove individual corpses,

the mass is splashed with buckets of cold water brought from the nearby well. The bodies come unstuck and it is easier to remove them. Generally speaking, aside from heads and buttocks which become purple, the bodies are unchanged as far as their external appearance is concerned. Constantly beaten and hurried by the Germans, the gravediggers place the corpses on the platform until the chambers are empty. The bodies lie there like cattle meat and the burials begin. Not long ago (in early August) the Jewish gravediggers had hand carts at their disposal to transport the corpses to the pits, which had to be done at a frantic pace. Recently, however, that convenience has been cancelled by the boss. *Ein Mann zwei Leiche* – one gravedigger, two corpses, which means that one gravedigger must bury two corpses. The gravediggers tie the arms or legs of the corpses with trousers belts, drag them from the platform into the pits, throw them in, and have to return running for the next burden. Graves used to be in the immediate vicinity of the house of death, so the burial of the murdered proceeded more quickly. But with the increasing number of the victims the border of the graves gradually moved east and the dragging of corpses to their eternal resting place is becoming increasingly time-consuming. Having filled [29] the grave, the gravediggers quickly cover up the buried, while a digging machine digs another grave nearby.

The execution of the men proceeds in the same way. They are also rushed along the forest road to death. People react differently to all this, while being rushed towards the house of death. Some recite penitential psalms out loud or confess their sins, while others curse God, but a sudden scream of a German and the blows falling on the *morituri's*[960] backs immediately pacify the whole crowd. Sometimes when some of the victims cannot fit in the packed chambers, the Germans order them to stop in a copse by the house of death. Even though these people see and hear everything, they exhibit no self-preserving reflexes. This fact is irrefutable evidence for the brutal terror used by the Germans on their victims.

The new house of death has been designed for the extermination of 8,000–10,000 victims. If one takes into account that currently up to 2,000,000 (two million) murdered Jews[961] (the majority of Polish Jewry) are buried in Treblinka, then one should ask a disturbing question: For whom have the

960 (Lat.) *Morituri* – those who are about to die.

961 The number of victims of the death camp in Treblinka is currently estimated at 870,000.

SS-men intended the new house of death? Who is to breathe his last in that execution site? In all likelihood, once set in motion, the machine of death will not limit itself to killing only Jews. The spectre of death in vapour chambers[962] is hanging over the Polish population. There have been certain harbingers: according to an eyewitness's testimony, in the second half of August the Germans executed a group of Poles in house of death No. 1.

On the Ruins of Jewish Warsaw

The last blockades and the sending of people to the *Umschlagplatz* took place, as said above, on 21 September, at Yom Kippur (the Day of Atonement). 2,196 people were "resettled" that day.

After that day the mass round-ups and deportations were not repeated, even though the *Umschlagplatz* still existed – until 25 October, when it was renamed *Sammelstelle*. Jewish Warsaw lost everything it held dearest in all the fields of work, science and art. Sztern Izrael, Gilbert Szlomo, Lerer Jechiel, Skałow (Pluskałowski) Lejb, Słapak Luba, Lazowert Henryka, Tseitlin Hillel, and many others died from among the writers and poets. From the journalists: Chilinowicz Bencjon, Hirszhorn Samuel, Einhorn Aaron, Gawze, Stupnicki, I. Bunin, and Israel Winnik. From the painters and sculptors: Frydman Feliks, Wajntraub, Cyna, Rabinowicz, Ostrzega, and Rozental. From among stage artists: Chana Braz, Maks Bryn, Aneta Rajzer, Ajzensztat Marysia, and the conductor Ajzensztat. From among historians: Rabbi Shimon Huberband. From among pedagogues: Janusz Korczak, Stefa Wilczyńska, Aaron Koninski, Mostkow, Dr. Markin, reader Stawska, Kapłan Chaim Aron, Cytrynowski, Director Bragiński, Dr M. Tauber, and almost all high school and elementary school teachers. From among co-operative movement activists: Michelson Lejb, Dr Szalman, Goldfarb[963] and many others. From among social activists: Sagan Shakhne, Sztajn Rachela, Nowogrodzka Sonia, Josef Lewartowski-Finkielsztajn, Segał, Bortensztejn Abram and Rabbi Yitzak Nysenbaum. From among youth movement activists: Breslav Samuel, Kaplan Joseph, Kaplan S., Laufer Sz., and Koziebrodzka.[964]

962 Meaning: gas chambers.

963 Perhaps a reference to M. Goldfarb.

964 Of those mentioned here, Lea Koziebrodzka died at Auschwitz on 18 March 1943; Joseph Kaplan and Shmuel Breslav were killed in September 1942 in the Warsaw ghetto.

The above list is incomplete and encompasses just some inhabitants of Warsaw, and completely omits the provinces.

[30] European Jewry, particularly in Poland, has been physically and morally destroyed.

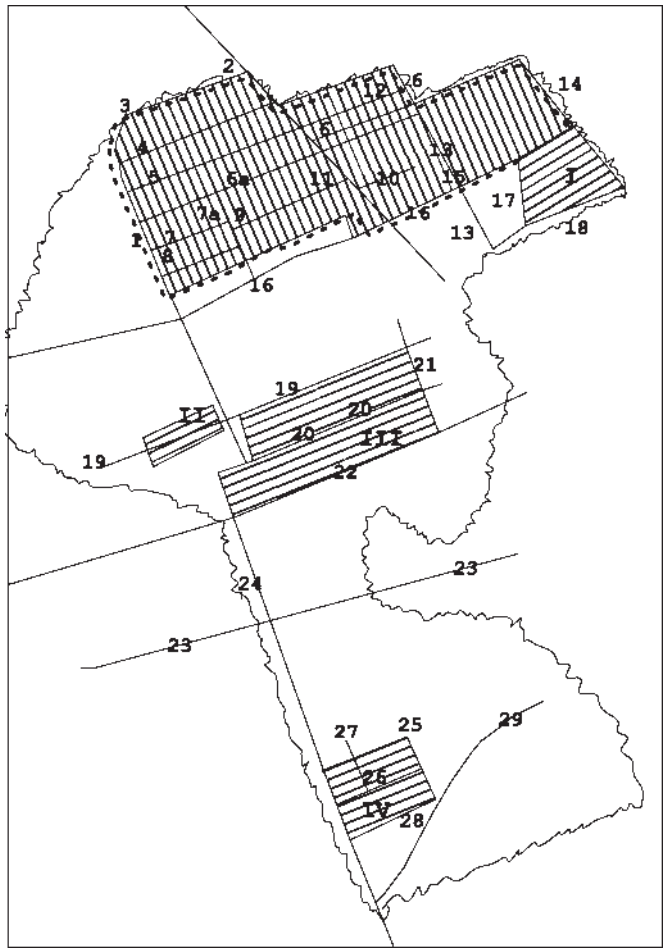
As per the final German ordinances regulating the border to the Warsaw ghetto, the wall that surrounds the district runs along the following streets: Smocza, Gęsia, Franciszkańska, Bonifraterska, Muranowska, Pokorna, Stawki, Dzika, Szczęśliwa, and Parysowski Square.

Consequently, the enterprises and institutions located beyond the borders of the new Jewish district, except for just a few, had to be relocated into the new district along with their workers and employees. Among the emptied offices and flats were those which had been occupied by certain departments of the *Judenrat* seated outside the building on Zamenhofa Street 19 and those which had been occupied by the labourers and employees of the *Judenrat* living in the housing bloc enclosed by the following streets: Pawia, Lubeckiego, Gęsia, and Zamenhofa. Such offices were relocated, while the labourers and employees were accommodated within the new borders of the district.

The relocation concluded at 4 p.m. on 27 September as per the order of the authorities quoted below:

1. The relocation is to end at 4 p.m. on 27 September. Whoever fails to move by then will lose their property.
2. Beginning on 27 September the Order Service is to take over the columns of workers coming from the Aryan district of the city at the gates to the Jewish residential district on Nalewki and Leszno Streets, from which they are to be escorted in close formations to their designated housing blocs.
3. Beginning on 27 September the Order Service is to send patrols to the area of the large ghetto south of Gęsia and Franciszkańska Streets. These patrols are to maintain order and make sure that no unauthorised persons are on the streets.
4. Beginning on 27 September the Order Service is to place guards at the sewer manholes in the large ghetto to prevent illegal trade.
5. Beginning on 28 September the Order Service will place guards along the line of the future walls of the Jewish residential district, that is, along Smocza, Gęsia and Franciszkańska Streets.
6. The Order Service is to regulate street traffic within the borders of the new residential district.

[. . .] Map of the Warsaw ghetto. November 1942



1. Smocza Street
2. Szczęśliwa Street
3. Parysowski Square
4. Stawki Street
5. Niska Street
6. Muranowska Street

6a. Miła Street

7. Libelta Street

7a. Lubeckiego Street

8. Ostrowska Street
9. Wołyńska Street
10. Majzelsa Street
11. Zamenhofa Street
12. Pokorna Street
13. Nalewki Street
14. Bonifraterska Street
15. Franciszkańska Street
16. Gęsia Street
17. Wałowa Street
18. Świętojerska Street
19. Nowolipki Street
20. Nowolipie Street
21. Karmelicka Street
22. Leszno Street
23. Chłodna Street
24. Żelazna Street
25. Ceglana Street
26. Prosta Street
27. Waliców Street
28. Pańska Street
29. Twarda Street

~~~~~~~~ Ghetto borders directly before the resettlement

- - - - - - - Borders of the new ghetto

‖‖‖‖‖‖ New ghetto area

═══ Workshops and housing blocks

I Heeresunterkunftvervaltung

II B. Hallmann

III W.C. Többens, Schultz&Co.,C. Roerich,W. Hoffmann, O. Schilling

IV W.C. Többens, W. Doering

Unmarked are areas between the ghettos, not inhabited so far.

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by Tomasz Owczarek
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7. The walls surrounding the Jewish residential district shall be erected up to the height of 1.6 metres during the first period of construction, after which they are to be raised to 3 metres along all their length.

The Order Service director is responsible for carrying out the first 6 orders.

A series of workshops, which were to be walled in as per the authorities' order, were established beyond the border of the Jewish district. Some of the walled-in workshops:

Heeresunterkunftverwaltung workshops along Wałowa, Franciszkańska, [31] Bonifraterska and Świętojerska Streets;

workshops of the Többens W. C., Schultz & Kurt Roehrich, W. Hoffmann and Schilling companies along Leszno, Karmelicka, Nowolipki, Smocza, Nowolipie and Żelazna Streets;

the B. Hallmann company workshops across Nowolipki Street;

the W. C. Többens company workshops along Ciepła, Twarda, Prosta and Ceglana Streets.

A given housing bloc belongs to a given shop or detail and its Jewish residents will go to work in groups every day and return in the evening. Housing blocs are usually separated from one another or from the street with a plank fence or brick wall. A gate connects a bloc with the outside world.

Order in the blocs and workshops is maintained by *Werkschutz*, which consists mostly of former ghetto policemen, who thus managed to hide out. The *Werkschutz* of Aryan details consists of *Volksdeutsches* or Ukrainians. Everybody, both Jews and non-Jews, is brutal. The Jewish *Werkschutz* in particular are lackeys to the German leadership, continuing the ghetto police "tradition".

During the current work hours, that is, from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m., Jews are not allowed to walk on ghetto streets, as per the ordinances of 25 August (see Appendix No. 10)[965] and 28 September (see Appendix No. 11).[966] Even after work it is difficult to walk from one quarter to another for fear of German patrols. The Germans patrol the former streets of the ghetto and all persons violating the ban on Jews' moving in this area are immediately punished with death.

965 A reference to Appendix No. 11. That ordinance introduced a 9 p.m. curfew.

966 A reference to Appendix No. 12.

Former houses of death are now used as housing blocs for white Jewish slaves. Most buildings lack the most basic sanitary facilities, windows, panes, and doors. A number of abandoned buildings are not assigned to any factory crew, and are uninhabited, deserted, and looted clean. Both the housing blocs and the workshops are treated as labour camps for Jews and sometimes are even penal camps with very strict discipline. Unauthorised persons without a pass are forbidden to stay in the quarters under threat of being sent to the *Umschlagplatz*. The German management of the workshops very often conducts inspections to remove illegal newcomers. There are certain communication difficulties between individuals from various quarters within the walls of the new ghetto, while moving from one workshop quarter to another outside the ghetto walls poses mortal danger. Communication with the Többens quarter on Prosta Street is the most difficult. People wait entire weeks without any news about their family (very often the wife works in one workshop and the husband in another and they must live in separate quarters), for there is no possibility to establish contact.

Life in the workshops is extremely difficult. The workshops are institutions of slave labour, where Jews need to work as much as possible, while working conditions and particularly food provisions are so negligible that after some time it becomes impossible to carry out any work [32] whatsoever. Toil in a workshop continues for 8 or 12 hours, from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m., while Többens workshop on Prosta Street operates 24 hours a day in a three-shift work system. In an effort to increase efficiency the management implements a piecework system, promising workers larger rations in return, but it does not keep its word. The piecework rule is the normal measure of efficiency, and a given workshop cannot change the rules. Food rations consist of thin soup and 180 dkg of bread per day. One needs to pay 3–5 zlotys for the soup and bread. Exorbitant prices are charged for other products from the food storeroom.

The Jews are in fact property of the SS-Umsiedlungsamt, which is free to set the number of workers in factories and dispose of their fate. A characteristic feature of the "stabilisation" period is the head tax payable by every Jewish worker. The Jews not only do not receive any remuneration for their work aside from the said food rations, but they also have to pay a head tax of 3 zlotys plus 2 [?] zlotys for their daily board. The slavish character of the work carried out by the Jewish workers in Warsaw is emphasised by the obligation

to wear an individual number or a card pinned to the chest as a sign of being assigned to a legal work detail. The people who don't have such numerals are either sent to the *Umschlagplatz* or are executed on the spot. According to the mortality table for the month of September, the total number of deaths was 4,444, including 3,158 resulting from gunshot wounds, 69 suicides, and 1,217 deaths from natural causes.

The number of deaths resulting from gunshot wounds:

from 1 to 15 September	– 94.3 per cent
between 16 and 30 September	– 5.7 per cent.

The average daily number of deaths resulting from gunshot wounds:

from 1 to 15 September	– 198.5
between 16 and 30 September	– 12.0
from 1 to 30 September	– 105.2

Between 1 and 31 October the number of deaths resulting from gunshot wounds was 58 of the total number of deaths amounting to 423.

According to official statistics, the workshops employ up to 26,000 people, or nearly [. . .] per cent of the entire population. The remainder (2,797) are employed in the *Judenrat* and on various German details located outside the ghetto.

The German authorities have retained the *Judenrat* with all of its subordinate structures, but there has been a significant reduction of the scope of its operation and its ability to act. The legal status of the *Judenrat* and the ghetto remain unregulated. The stabilisation is shaky. There is the constant threat of a new "resettlement", as during 9–12 November, when some tailoring and shoemaking workshops were ordered to deliver quotas of people. The Germans claim that the unprepared craftsmen were sent towards Lublin.

There are very loose contacts between the German authorities and the *Judenrat*. This contact did not exist during the "resettlement" period, when the civil administration and the ghetto commissioner Auerswald were obliged to step aside and let the SS-men from *Einsatz Reinhardt* operate. It has recently even been rumoured that the SS-men became interested [33] in the operation of the Community[967] in various areas, particularly in the sphere of child care, and that one of them (Brandt?) purportedly ordered the Community

967 Meaning the *Judenrat*.

to establish a boarding house for Jewish children who lacked guardians. ("One should take care of the future of Jews", were the perfidious words uttered by this "dignitary".) Almost every day the SS-men make troublesome requests of the Community, forcing it to deliver luxury products such as coffee, chocolate or other imported goods in large quantities. Not long ago the Community had to donate 800,000 zlotys to that end from its own funds.

A post office continues its pro forma operation by the Community, but in fact it ceased to perform its duties with the launch of the "resettlement". No letters are sent from the ghetto and incoming parcels are usually appropriated by SS-men.

Currently most Community clerks are busy ordering Jewish flats located outside the ghetto on behalf of the *SS Werterfassung* in order to secure the abandoned Jewish property. Aside from Community clerks, the *Werterfassung* currently employs 1,000 male and female labourers, who receive two soup rations and one-fourth of a kilogram of bread for full-day labour.

The daily schedule in the ghetto is follows: from 6 a.m. to 8 a.m. there is great commotion on the streets as groups of Jews working in various workshops assemble in threes to march to their workplaces. All this is done at a frantic pace, with a constant accompaniment of whistles, group shouting, and blows delivered by German *Werkschutzes*. Everybody walks towards the only ghetto gate at the crossroads of Gęsia and Zamenhofa Streets, where they divide to walk to their workplaces under the escort of *Werkschutz* and *Wehrmacht* soldiers. After 8 a.m. deathly silence falls throughout the ghetto. The streets are deserted – you will not see a living soul. Only a passing car or motorcycle of the SS-men animates this "ghetto cemetery" for a while. At the mid-day meal, carts from various factories appear on the streets, transporting big kettles with soup for those working at their quarters. The deserted city slowly begins to revive at 6 p.m., when groups of Jews return from the workshops and details. That animation does not last long. It soon becomes dark and the people hide in their quarters in fear of German patrols.

A spectre of death by starvation hangs over most Jewish residents of the ghetto. Considering the food-provision situation, one might ask what the Jews are living on and why they have not all died. Undoubtedly, there have already been many instances of death by starvation, but this phenomenon has not assumed a mass character compared to the period before the

"deportation". Two simultaneous processes may explain this phenomenon. First, Jews are selling what is left of their property to Polish traders. Second, the Jews employed at work details are "smuggling" certain food products into the ghetto, where they sell them at a higher ghetto price. But considering that the first source of income is drying up fast and that the other is highly uncertain, as it depends on the whim and mood of the German guards, it may easily be assumed that the material prospects of surviving even the shortest period of two or three months look very bleak. A spectre of death by starvation, in the literal sense, hangs over the entire ghetto population. All reserves are long gone. The people are at the end of their endurance.

[34] The Jews are totally devastated psychically. The spectre of another "resettlement" to Treblinka torments them non-stop. Conversations held during long, sleepless nights are focused on only one subject – when?

Each day the most fantastic news regarding the fate of the Jews spreads in the ghetto, whose residents react with every nerve. Good news followed by bad. The mould of decay and apathy is eating away the edifice of the Jewish society, with many a crack and crevice. There is no comparative yardstick by which to evaluate what has transpired over just two months. The new order in the Jewish district cannot by any means be characterised as slavery. The Jews of the new ghetto can be likened, but only to a point, to people convicted to death who await the execution, and are constantly influenced by hope and disillusion. What the new cavemen of the Warsaw ghetto are experiencing is unprecedented and unreal on an international scale.

The curtain of death is slowly being lowered on the Warsaw Jewry. The rare survivors are still vegetating, but everybody can feel that without effective counteraction from the outside their tragic fate will be sealed.

The Provinces

The tragedy of the Warsaw Jewry has not even for a moment overshadowed the tragic fate of hundreds of Jewish settlements in the "General Government". The Germans have spared not a single town, village or Jewish settlement in the Warsaw, Lublin, Radom, Kraków, and Galicia Districts. Depending on the number of Jewish inhabitants, the duration of the "resettlement", mostly to Treblinka, the main murder site in the "General Government", or sometimes to the execution site in Bełżec, took from one day to several weeks.

Everywhere the method was the same. Everywhere the Germans used lies and deception. Moreover, they also took advantage of the fact that Jews in general regarded their total annihilation as impossible. The Polish provinces – that life-giving reservoir of the Jewish nation – was destroyed, either completely or by 90 per cent.

Even though the information possessed is incomplete and discontinued, it is provided in this report. This news comes from random informers who came to Warsaw from nearer or more distant localities in the area. All of them, both Jews and Poles, unanimously claimed that the "resettlement" was raging with undiminished intensity everywhere in the provinces. Everywhere the *Aktion* was conducted by *Einsatz Reinhardt* – the formidable *Vernichtungskommando*.

Many Jews managed to escape from the provincial towns subjected to the *Aktion*, where they hid, either in forests or in villages with sympathetic Poles. But with the onset of the autumn chill the escapees are in danger of death from the cold.

Below is provided a list of cities and towns in the "General Government" from where, either orally or via telephone, information has been received regarding their total or almost total resettlement.

[35] These are: Baczki,[968] Częstochowa (only 4,000 remaining of 40,000), Hrubieszów (total liquidation), Izbica Lubelska, Kielce, Kraków (after a few "resettlements" only 6,000 of 60,000 Jews have remained), Kałuszyn (31 Jews remaining), Kosów Lacki, Lublin (Majdan Tatarski), Łochów,[969] Kołbiel, Opatów, Ostrowiec Kielecki, Opoczno, Otwock, Miedzeszyn[970] (the Medem Sanatorium[971]), Legionowo,[972] Międzyrzec Podlaski, Pińczów, Pilica, Radom, Staszów, Piotrków Trybunalski (600 of 15,000 Jews remaining), Skarżysko Kamienna, Sandomierz, Sadowne,[973] Suchedniów, Tarnów, Lvov, Stoczek,[974]

968 Baczki (Sokołów Podlaski County).
969 Łochów (Sokołów Podlaski County).
970 Miedzeszyn (Warsaw County).
971 Sanatorium for children and young people at risk of tuberculosis, functioning in Miedzeszyn near Warsaw between 1926 and 1942. It was established by the Bund and named after Bund leader Vladimir Medem (1879–1923).
972 Legionowo (Warsaw County).
973 Sadowne (Sokołów Podlaski County).
974 Stoczek (Sokołów Podlaski County).

Wołomin,[975] Sobolew, Wolbrom, Siedlce, Żarki,[976] Zamość (liquidation). This is but an excerpt of the actual list of towns subjected to the "resettlement campaign".

The Warsaw reptile press[977] – *Nowy Kurier Warszawski*[978] 262, 5 November 1942 – published the following text: "The establishment of Jewish residential quarters in the Warsaw and Lublin districts. The police ordinance regarding the establishment of Jewish residential quarters in the Warsaw and Lublin districts (*Journal of General Government Ordinances* No. 94, p. 665) came into effect on 1 November this year. By virtue of this ordinance Jewish residential quarters are to be established in the following towns and village communes.

Warsaw District: Warsaw – city (ghetto), Kałuszyn (Mińsk County administration), Sobolew (Garwolin County administration), Kosów (Sokołów County administration), Rembertów (Warsaw-Wieś[979] County administration), and Siedlce (Siedlce County administration).

Lublin District: Łuków, Parczew, Międzyrzec (Radzyń County administration), Włodawa (Chełm County administration), Końskowola (Puławy County administration), Piaski (Lublin-Wieś County administration), Zaklików (Kraśnik County administration), and Izbica (Krasnystaw County administration).

All Jews as defined by the ordinance regarding the 24 July 1940 definition of the word *Jew* (*Journal of General Government Ordinances No.* 1, p. 231) in the General Government are obliged to choose a place of residence in one of the enumerated Jewish residential quarters in the Warsaw or Lublin districts by 30 November 1942. All other people must leave the Jewish residential quarters by this date unless they receive police permission to stay. Further details will be specified by means of an ordinance issued by the relevant district governor.

Beginning on 1 December this year no Jew in the Warsaw and Lublin Districts may stay outside a Jewish residential quarter or leave it without permission from the police. Moreover, other people are allowed to stay in

975 Wołomin (Radzymin County).

976 Żarki (Zawiercie County).

977 Reptile press – popular name for Nazi-licensed press in occupied Poland.

978 *Nowy Kurier Warszawski* – high-circulation daily published in Polish by the General Government authorities between October 1939 and January 1945, condemned by the Polish Underground State for spreading German propaganda.

979 *Warschau Land*.

a Jewish residential quarter and leave it only with permission from the police. Permission is granted by the county executive officer of a given Jewish residential quarter, and for the Warsaw ghetto by the Jewish residential quarter commissary.

Jews employed in military plants and arms factories detained in closed camps are exempted from the obligation to select a place to stay in a Jewish residential quarter.

Jews who fail to abide by the provisions of this ordinance are subject to the death penalty as per binding regulations. People who knowingly shelter such Jews, that is, particularly those who place Jews outside a Jewish residential quarter, feed or shelter them, are liable to the same punishment. Police security measures will be used against those who learn about an unauthorised Jew staying outside the Jewish residential quarter but fail to notify the police.

Non-Jews who contrary to binding regulations fail to leave the Jewish residential quarter [36] on time or those who enter it without police permission will be liable as a result of penal-administrative proceedings to a fine of the amount of a 1,000 zlotys or up to three months confinement. The penal decisions shall be issued by a county executive officer".

The cities and towns, some of which have been totally cleared of Jews (Sobolew, Włodawa, Izbica Lubelska), are to become Jewish reservations. Nobody has any illusions about the actual meaning of this ordinance. The real aim is again to concentrate in about a dozen places those Jews hiding in forests and villages, and then destroy them completely.

The current political advantages of this move consist in beguiling the entire world with regard to the actual anti-Jewish plans of the Germans. Even though some European Jews could indeed be resettled to the said reservations, there can be no doubt that at a certain point they will all be destroyed.

* * *

The surviving Polish Jewry demands of the Government of the Republic of Poland and the Allied Governments:

1. Immediate dispatch of an international neutral commission to Treblinka to investigate and confirm the facts presented in this report.
2. Immediate retaliation against the perpetrators of the tragedy of Polish Jews.

3. Immediate retaliation against German inhabitants of the Allied countries' territories.

Warsaw ghetto, 15 November 1942

[37] APPENDICES

Appendix No. 1

[38] The *Judenrat* in Warsaw Warsaw, 22 July 1942

ANNOUNCEMENT

1) By order of the German authorities all Jews living in Warsaw are to be resettled, regardless of age or sex.
2) Jews exempted from resettlement:
   a. all Jews employed by the authorities or in German enterprises who can present relevant proof of employment;
   b. all Jews who are members and employees of the *Judenrat* as of the day of the publication of this ordinance;
   c. all Jews employed in companies owned by the German Reich who are able to present relevant proof of employment;
   d. all Jews able to work who have not been incorporated into the employment process are to be quartered in the Jewish district;
   e. all Jews who belong to the Jewish Order Service;
   f. all Jews who belong to the Jewish hospitals' personnel or Jewish disinfection columns;
   g. all Jews who are members of the immediate family of the persons mentioned in subsections a–f. Only wives and children are considered family members.
   h. all Jews who on the first day of the resettlement are in one of the Jewish hospitals and do not qualify for a release. The impossibility to be released must be confirmed by a physician to be appointed by the *Judenrat*.
3) Every resettled Jew has a right to take 15 kilograms of his property as luggage. All baggage over 15 kilograms will be confiscated. All valuables such as money, jewellery, gold, etc. can be taken. It is necessary to take food for three days.
4) The resettlement begins on 22 July 1942 at 11 o'clock.

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5) Punishments:

a. every Jew who belongs to groups mentioned in points 2a) and 2c) and has not been eligible to leave the Jewish district will be executed if he leaves the district after the beginning of the resettlement;
b. every Jew who acts to circumvent or hinder the performance of the ordinances regarding the resettlement will be executed;
c. every Jew who helps to perform an act, which could circumvent or hinder the implementation of the resettlement ordinances will be executed;
d. any Jew encountered in Warsaw after the end of the resettlement who is not included in the groups mentioned in point 2, subsections a) to h), will be executed.

The *Judenrat* in Warsaw

[39] Attention.

At a meeting held on 22 July 1942 at the seat of the *Judenrat* in Warsaw the Plenipotentiary for Resettlement Affairs gave an order as a result of which all institutions in the Jewish district such as the Supply Section, the Jewish Social Self-Help, the Delivery Association, the Co-operative Bank, the Health Chamber, the Craftsmen Union, the St. Heyman & Co. Waste Removal Enterprise, etc. were all subordinated to the Chairman of the *Judenrat* in Warsaw. Employees of these institutions are treated on a par with employees of the *Judenrat* in Warsaw. The same pertains to people employed by the Secured Real Estate Receivership in Warsaw in the area of the Jewish district in Warsaw.

Appendix No. 1a

The *Judenrat* in Warsaw — Warsaw, 22 July 1942

ANNOUNCEMENT

As per an order of the Plenipotentiary for Resettlement Affairs it is thereby announced that all Jews employed in German enterprises or on behalf of Germans are unconditionally obliged to continue to perform their work during the resettlement.

Those who fail to abide by this ordinance should expect most severe punishments.

The *Judenrat* in Warsaw

Appendix No. 2

[40] The *Judenrat* in Warsaw

ANNOUNCEMENT

1) As a result of false information circulating in the Jewish district in Warsaw in connection with the resettlement, the Jewish District in Warsaw has been authorised by the authorities to announce that the unproductive residents of the Jewish district in Warsaw will indeed be deported to the eastern territories.
2) The resettlement shall always be conducted for the benefit of the population. The *Judenrat* in Warsaw calls on those subject to resettlement to refrain from hiding and evading it, as it would hinder the performance of the task.
3) It is in the best interest of the Jewish population of Warsaw that those subject to resettlement living in subsequently listed buildings come voluntarily to the gathering point at Stawki Street 6/8.

A guarantee has been obtained that the families which come voluntarily shall not be separated.

Warsaw, 24 July 1942.
The *Judenrat* in Warsaw

Appendix No. 3

[41] SUMMONS

I hereby inform residents subject to resettlement as per the ordinance issued by the authorities, that each person who voluntarily comes for resettlement between 29 and 31 July this year shall receive food, that is, 3 kilograms of bread and 1 kilogram of marmalade.

The gathering and food provision point is the square on the corner of Stawki and Dzika Streets.

Commendat of the Order Service

Warsaw, 29 July 1942.

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Appendix No. 3 a

SUMMONS

to residents of the building at ..... No .....

In connection to the commenced resettlement campaign I hereby announce that all residents of this building who are subject to resettlement must come on ..... 1942 to the gathering point in the hospital at Stawki Street 6/8.

Failure to appear of persons who are subject to resettlement and are registered in this building as of 20 July this year shall result in most serious reprisals.

The families which come together shall not be separated. The baggage shall not weigh more than 15 kilograms per person.

Residents of every residential building in the Jewish district shall be informed separately about the date of their appearance.

Commendant of the Order Service

Warsaw .....

Appendix No. 4

SUMMONS

As per the ordinance of the authorities of 22 July 1942 all persons who are not employed in institutions or enterprises shall be subject [42] to resettlement.

The obligatory resettlement shall be continued non-stop. I again call on the population subject to resettlement to come to the *Umschlagplatz* voluntarily. At the same time I extend the issue of three kilograms of bread and one kilogram of marmalade to every volunteer by three more days, that is 2, 3 and 4 August 1942.

The families which come voluntarily will not be separated. The gathering point for volunteers is Dzika Street 3/Stawki Street 27.

Commendat of the Order Service

Warsaw, 1 August 1942

Appendix No. 5
The *Judenrat* in Warsaw — Warsaw, 9 August 1942

By order of the authorities the *Judenrat* gives notice that all Jews living in the southern part of the Jewish district (that is south of Chłodna Street) must vacate their flats by 6 p.m. on Monday the 10th of August 1942.

This order does not pertain to labourers working for the W. C. Többens and Wilhelm Doering companies.

Persons who fail to obey this ordinance shall be executed.

Appendix No. 6
The *Judenrat* in Warsaw — Warsaw, 13 August 1942

By order of the authorities the *Judenrat* gives notice that all Jews living in the quarters specified below must leave their current accommodation by 6 p.m. on 15 August this year. Jews not subject to resettlement must move to other parts of the Jewish district north of Leszno Street.

The quarters from which Jews must move out are: Elektoralna Street 4–34 inclusive, Chłodna Street 2–26 inclusive, Orla Street 1–14 inclusive, Solna Street 1–21 inclusive, Ogrodowa Street 1–35, 2–10, and 16–34, Leszno [Street] 1–3, 7–51, and 57–77, Żelazna Street 72–86, Biała Street.

Appendix No. 7
[43] The *Judenrat* in Warsaw — Warsaw, 15 August 1942

ANNOUNCEMENT

By order of the authorities the *Judenrat* gives notice that all Jews living in the quarters specified below must leave their current accommodation by 6 p.m. on 20 August 1942.

[42]	Nowolipki Street	22–98, 2, 4, 6, 5–17
	Nowolipie Street	4–22, 64–80, 1–17
	Dzielna Street	15–75, 2–60
	Smocza Street	12–32, 1, 3, 5, 15–39
	Pawia Street	1–51, 36–100
[43]	Więzienna Street	2, 4

Lubeckiego Street	1, 3, 5
Gaensestr.[980]	39–105, 32–50
Gliniana Street	1–6
Okopowa Street	40–56
Zamenhofa Street	2–28, 7, 9
Nalewki Street	5–29, 10–24
Wałowa Street	1–15, 8, 10
Franciszkańska Street	21–39
Mylna Street	2–10
Gerichtsstr.[981]	2–14, 18, 2, 8

The *Judenrat* in Warsaw

Appendix No. 8[982]

The *Judenrat* in Warsaw — Warsaw, 16 August 1942

ANNOUNCEMENT

By order of the authorities the *Judenrat* in Warsaw gives notice that:

1. The only Jews permitted to stay in the part of the Jewish district in Warsaw south of Leszno Street are those employed in the enterprises located there. Unauthorised persons staying in the said part of the district shall be executed.
2. All non-working Jews must voluntarily come to the *Umschlagplatz* under penalty of withdrawal of food rations and compulsory resettlement.

The above pertains also to family members of the employed.

The *Judenrat* in Warsaw

980 Gęsia Street.

981 Leszno Street.

982 In the original the document is in both German and Polish. The translation is based on the Polish version.

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[44] Appendix No. 9[983]
The *Judenrat* in Warsaw Warsaw, 5 September 1942

ANNOUNCEMENT

By order of the Plenipotentiary for Resettlement Affairs the *Judenrat* in Warsaw gives notice that:

1. All Jews without exception who are staying in the large ghetto must assemble by 10 a.m. on Sunday the 6th of September 1942 for registration in the district enclosed by the following streets:
   Smocza, Gęsia, Zamenhofa, Szczęśliwa, and Parysowski Square.
2. The Jews are also allowed to move on the night of 5–6 September 1942.
3. The Jews need to take food for two days and drinking vessels.
4. Locking flats is forbidden.
5. Persons who fail to abide by this ordinance and remain in the ghetto (outside the specified area) after 10 a.m. on Sunday of the 6th of September 1942 shall be executed.

The *Judenrat* in Warsaw

Appendix No. 10

On 28 October 1942 *Warschauer Zeitung* (issue 255) published Max Groeters' editorial "*Ein Fetzen Papier? – Genfer Konvention und 'Soldaten Christi'*". A fragment of that article:

"From the moment when the Geneva Convention, signed in 1864 by representatives of 35 states but ratified by only 21 states, came into being, Germany has precisely abided by its provisions designed to guarantee that a certain humanitarian element would permeate into military operations despite their brutal character.

Care for the wounded enemy, [45] humanitarian, dignified treatment of the enemy prisoner of war, respect for sanitary facilities, care for the civilian population, particularly women and children, who are considered sacrosanct – all this has always constituted the noble and sacred concepts of honour not only for the German soldiers on the front line and in the occupied territories,

983 As above.

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but also for the German command. This is an undeniable fact, which even an enemy must admit in his hatred, and even against his own will".[984] (our [ARG] underscore).

Appendix No. 11
The *Judenrat* in Warsaw — Warsaw, 25 August 1942

ANNOUNCEMENT

By order of the authorities the *Judenrat* in Warsaw gives notice that after 8 p.m. today, that is, 25 August 1942, rickshaws are banned from the streets and after 9 p.m. Jews are forbidden to go out, with the exception of the Jewish Order Service, which is on duty at that time of day.

The *Judenrat* in Warsaw

Appendix No. 12
The Chairman of the *Judenrat*
in Warsaw

ANNOUNCEMENT

Regarding street traffic in the Jewish residential district.

By order of the authorities I announce that beginning with 28 September 1942 the only Jews permitted in the area south of Gęsia and Franciszkańska Streets are those walking to their workplaces in organised groups. Return from work shall also be in organised groups, which are to be escorted to the gates by the Order Service. Individuals encountered in the said area without suitable passes will be subject to resettlement.

The only persons permitted in the area north of Gęsia and Franciszkańska Streets during work hours are individuals who can prove the necessity to leave their workplace. Street vending, idle standing and gatherings of pedestrians are strictly prohibited. Persons who violate these regulations will be resettled.

Warsaw, 28 September 1942 — Chairman of the *Judenrat* in Warsaw

984 Appendix No. 10 is used as an entrance paragraph to the part of the report on the death camp in Treblinka; see above.

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[46] Appendix No. 13
The *Judenrat* in Warsaw Warsaw, 25 August 1942

By order of the Warsaw Labour Office the *Judenrat* gives notice of the following:

Warsaw Labour Office
Jewish District Branch

ANNOUNCEMENT

Workplaces can be changed only with prior permission from the Jewish District Branch of the Warsaw Labour Office.

Persons who leave their workplace shall be immediately resettled.

Warsaw Labour Office
(–) Ziegler, *Regierungsinspektor*

Warsaw, 24 August 1942

Appendix No. 14
List of recognised companies in the ghetto as of mid-August 1942 and the number of allocated Jewish labourers.[985]

1. Schultz & Co.	5000	1. Ursus	400
2. W.C. Többens	5000	2. Steyer-Daimler	350
3. K.G. Schultz Co.	600	3. Asid	15
4. Ostdeutsche Bautischlerei Werkstaette[986]	900	4. G. Binder[987]	94
5. [47] Curt Roehrich	500	5. Haberbusch & Schiele[988]	1

985 The list enumerates workshops in the ghetto and "details", that is, enterprises employing Jews outside the ghetto. Some of the enterprises were identified (see also above). The addresses of the remaining ones remain unknown.

986 Carpentry Workshop on Gęsia Street 30 and 75–79. It used to be a factory of brothers Aleksander and Józef Landau. During the *Aktion* many Oyneg Shabes collaborators found employment there. See Engelking, Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto. A Guide to the Perished City*, p. 521; Kassow, *Who will Write Our History*, p. 154.

987 Georg Binder's workshop.

988 A well-known Warsaw brewery, operating since 1846.

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6. Wiśniewski–Serejski[989]	200	6. Neubrandenburg	35
7. W. Hoffman	500	7. Olympia	
8. Oxaco	500	8. Ing. St. Falecki	
9. Hermann Brauer	600	9. Schmidt & Muenstermann	
10. W. Doering	400	10. Szperkowski	
11. DAL[990]	500	11. Wasserwirtschaftinsp.[991]	60
12. B. Hallmann	900	12. Wawrzecka	10
13. O. Schilling	600	13. Kommandeur d. Sz.[992]	100
14. Astrawerke	200	14. Edmund Nolka	8
15. Oschmann	600	15. Feldluftnachricht[993]	70
16. Graethel	200	16. Jawers	1
17. Ahage-Zimmerman	1000	17. Br. Balcerowicz[994]	75
18. Felger & Co.	90	18. Schiehl A. G.	20
19. Franke-Schultz[995]	241	19. A. Dittmann	15
20. Heeresbauamt[996]	50	20. Ostbahn[997]	1200
21. W. von Schoene[998]	300	21. MIG	1500
22. G. Siegmund	400	The *Judenrat* received	1000
23. Ulrich Wentland	100		
24. Dea-Schuhfabrik[999]	237		
25. Heeresunterkunftverwaltung[1000]	4000		
[Total]	23,618[1001]		[5,121]

989 Workshop at Stawki Street 56. It manufactured lamps and metal goods.
990 Dahl company's leather assessories' workshop on Szczęśliwa Street.
991 (Ger.) Water Management Inspection.
992 (Ger.) City Commander (?).
993 (Ger.) probably a detail (workshop) of signal troops.
994 Rope manufacturing at Nowolipie Street 80.
995 Metal workshop at Smocza Street 37.
996 (Ger.) Military Construction Office.
997 (Ger.) Eastern Railways.
998 Metal workshop at Kurza Street (Majzelsa Street).
999 Dea shoe factory on Szczęśliwa or Bonifraterska Street.
1000 (Ger.) *Heeresunterkunftverwaltung* – Military Quarter Board. A reference to its workshop at Świętojerska Street 34, where the third part of Ringelblum's Archive was probably buried.
1001 In the original, only this column is summed up; both together amount to 28,739.

Attention: the above figures were not observed – they underwent a number of changes.

Appendix No. 15
The total number of deaths between 22 July and 30 September 1942 was 10,380
including deaths from gunshot wounds 5,961

Appendix No. 16

The total number of the "resettled" according to the biased German data

Month	"resettled"	sent to a Dulag
22–31 July	65,089	1,612
1–31 August	135,120	7,403
1–12 September	51,969	2,109
21 September	2,196	465
22 July 1942–21 September 1942	254,374	11,580

[13] [version (b)]

The SS *Obersturmführer* Michalsen described ghetto policemen perfectly: "*Sie sind brave Jungen aber zu brutal*".[1002]

To illustrate the servicemen's eagerness it is enough to present the following fact: on the first day of the *Aktion* they emptied the nursery and dormitory at Dzika Street 3 (on the corner of Stawki Street), with the total of approximately 150 children and adolescents from among the refugees. The ghetto police "accomplished" that even though there was no official order from the German authorities. (Child and adolescent care facilities were not closed during the first period of the "resettlement"). It was typical of the servicemen to drag the victims – elderly women, children, the sick – onto the carts by force, using fists and rubber clubs. Collection carts, enclosed with boards on

1002 (Ger.) these are brave youths but too brutal.

all four sides, waited by the blockaded tenements, of which there were a few dozen per day. Both the protesting and the resigned victims were loaded onto those carts. It was common that mothers were dragged away from their children, children from parents and wives from husbands. The Germans boosted the ghetto policemen's eagerness by means of issuing a large number of certificates for the servicemen's nearest and more distant family members confirming their exemption from the resettlement (the stamp said: "*Unterliegt nicht der Umsiedlung*"). Just as dozens of other promises this one was broken too. At the right moment, that is during the third period of the *Aktion*, the wives and children of the policemen were deported to Treblinka.

[20] [version (b)]

Unrestrained by anybody or anything, the most basic instincts have exploded with a spontaneous force. The Jewish Order Service and the Emergency Service are cruel, they treat the captured victims brutally regardless of sex or age, they discover hideouts and extort high ransoms and overtly loot the abandoned Jewish property. Scarce exceptions, such as Constable Kapłański who rescued 70 people from the *Umschlagplatz* and was shot by an SS-man, only confirm the above description. The sight of servicemen holding hatchets and rushing to loot post-Jewish flats was not unusual.

The total moral degradation of the ghetto police is best confirmed by the fact that it carried out the German order compelling each serviceman to deliver five victims for "resettlement" per day. Such orders were given several days in a row.

The first evident reactions to the Warsaw massacre could be noticed in the second half of August. The first reaction was the attempt on 25 August to assassinate the Commendant of the Order Service Szeryński, followed by a whole series of acts of arson. More importantly, a quiet yet intensive campaign to make the masses aware of the real meaning of the "resettlement" has already been launched. A number of recent publications discuss the Warsaw events and the murder site in Treblinka and also call for anti-Hitlerite activity.

The final days of August were relatively calm. But it was obvious that the ghetto, already tried by fate, was still to suffer the final chord of the campaign. The wait would not be long. The third period of the "resettlement" was the period of the formation of the infamous round-up of the enlarged

Umschlagplatz, encompassing several ghetto streets. All the remaining Warsaw Jews were assembled there and most of them were deported to Treblinka.

On Thursday and Friday, the 3rd and 4th of September, intensified blockades of workshops were conducted in the Warsaw ghetto. Accompanied by Latvians and Ukrainians, the SS-men took a few hundred people to the *Umschlagplatz* from among those employed in various spheres of factory labour. No attention was paid whether those were [indispensable] skilled labourers or the workshop could do without them. The SS-men would come to a workshop and inform the management of a fixed number of people they had to escort to death. The management often demanded an exchange of the specialists, who were already being arranged into rows in the group about to be sent to the *Umschlagplatz*, for unqualified workers. The SS-men agreed to such exchanges, for the whole thing was not about sending a specific group of people to Treblinka, but about sending a specific quota. After that new "selection" the number of Jews employed in a given workshop decreased by 25–30 per cent.

The Saturday of the 5th of September also passed with further intensive blockades of workshops.

ARG II 300 (Ring. II/192).
Description: original or duplicate (2 copies); p. 13 in 4 copies (2 copies made from a different duplicate), p. 20 in 6 copies (2 copies from a different duplicate), p. 36 in 3 copies – 3rd copy with major damage and missing parts), typewritten, handwritten, pencil, Polish, 215x143, 219x289 mm, 106 sheets, 106 pages. Appendices Nos.1, 1a, 2, 3, 3a, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13 are in German and Polish, Nos. 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 16 only in Polish, Nos. 10 and 12 only in German.
Published in: *Selected Documents*, pp. 34–54 (fragment).

Glossaries

Glossary 1 – General Terms and Organisations

American-Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), colloquially known as "the Joint"—a Jewish charity organisation founded in 1914. The Joint operated in the Warsaw ghetto legally until the United States entered the war in December 1941, and later clandestinely. AJDC provided food and financial aid to the ghetto, as well as supported the underground resistance.

Anti-Aircraft Defence of the City of Warsaw (OPL), a system for the defence of Warsaw's buildings against German air-raids in 1939, manned on a voluntary basis by civilian residents of Warsaw. The OPL was subject to the Civil Defence Commissioner of the city of Warsaw. The defence was divided into district units, and further into quadrants, areas, and blocks. The OPL was dissolved on 28 September 1939, the day Warsaw surrendered.

Arbeitsamt—the Labour Office at the Office of the District Head. The Arbeitsamt managed the Jewish labour force in the area of Warsaw by supervising the Labour Battalion, which provided workers for forced labour.

Arbeitskarte—document issued by the Labour Office, mandatory for all Jews subject to forced labour.

Armband—the white armband with a blue Star of David, which, following the Decree of Governor General Hans Frank, all Jews in the General Government over 12 years of age had to wear as of 1 December 1939. In the areas incorporated directly

into the Third Reich and in Wartheland, Jews had to wear yellow stars sewn onto their clothes.

"Aryan" Side—term used by the German authorities for the part of Warsaw which was outside the ghetto. The term was also commonly used by Jews.

Bund (Yiddish: *Algemeyner Yidisher Arbeter Bund in Lite, Poyln un Rusland*, The General Jewish Labour Union of Lithuania, Poland, and Russia), the Jewish socialist party operating in Poland from World War I until 1948. The Bund promoted the cultural sovereignty of Jews in Poland, rejecting Zionism. In the Warsaw ghetto, the Bund organised self-help activity and circulated underground publications. Bund members were also involved in armed resistance.

Care Centre (Patronat), the most common and basic form of coordinated social care, organised voluntarily or commissioned by district offices of the Jewish Social Self-help. In the ghetto, care centres established and supported kitchens, shelters for refugees and deportees, and orphanages, which organised fund-raising and donations on their behalf. The coordinating body was the Central Committee for Care Centres, consisting of representatives of the House Committees.

Centos (Central Association for the Care of Orphans and Abandoned Children), an organisation founded in 1924. In the Warsaw ghetto it supervised care facilities, including orphanages, boarding schools, and day-care centres for children of refugees and deportees, "children's corners" at House Committees, as well as libraries. Centos also organised charity support for children.

Centre (Polish: *punkt*, literally: "point"), colloquial name for a shelter for refugees and deportees. During the largest influx of refugees and deportees to the Warsaw ghetto (in the spring of 1941) there were 165 centres operating in the ghetto, providing shelter for about 17,000 people. Given the lack of premises with space, centres were established in prayer rooms, theatres, and private homes. They were constantly overcrowded, with disastrous sanitary conditions and a very high mortality rate.

Chaper (from Yiddish "to catch"), a starving person who took packages of food from the hands of passers-by on the streets of the ghetto.

Community—see Jewish Council.

Coupon (Polish: *bon*), colloquial name for a type of food stamp made available to Jews registered in the ghetto; the basis for the purchase of food officially brought

into the ghetto. The popular ghetto saying "to give one's coupon away" meant to die.

Courts at Leszno—the court building at Leszno Street 53/55 had two entrances: both to the ghetto and the "Aryan" side, which meant that it became the most famous place where the inhabitants of the ghetto could illicitly meet with people from the other side of the wall. Also, escapees from the ghetto were often carried out via the courts at Leszno. The ground floor of the building housed a branch of the Tax and Stamp Office, where personal income taxes were paid.

Department of Supply—an office founded in December 1940, responsible for supplying food to the ghetto by approving the purchase orders of shops for items from outside the ghetto. Originally, it operated as an agency of the Jewish Council; in September 1941, it became independent. It was headed by Abraham Gepner.

Disinfection Unit—a team carrying out disinfection in the ghetto to prevent the spread of infectious diseases. The unit consisted of 18 health workers (12 Jews and 6 Poles), a German disinfector, as well as a Polish and a Jewish doctor. Units were escorted by the POLISH "BLUE POLICE" and the JEWISH ORDER SERVICE.

Dror (Hebrew: freedom)—socialist Jewish youth organisation set up in Poland in 1938. During the war the organisation was in the underground. In the Warsaw Ghetto it among others set up a Hebrew school and agricultural training. Dror was among the founding organisations of the Jewish Fighting Organisation.

Forced Labour—as of 12 October 1939 all Jews between 14 and 60 years of age became subject to forced labour. Germans made the Jewish Council responsible for providing workers, and on 19 October the Council created a special agency for this purpose—the Labour Battalion. Initially, Jews were sent to work details in Warsaw, but as of the summer of 1940, also to labour camps. Hard forced labour could be avoided by paying a special tax.

Forced Labour Camps—camps established in the General Government: from August 1940 in the districts of Lublin and Kraków, and from the spring of 1941 also in the district of Warsaw. Jews between 14 and 60 years of age who were subject to forced labour worked on road construction or drainage projects. Most of the people sent to the camps who returned to the ghetto were in very poor shape, both physically and mentally. Prisoners were often beaten; in some camps, executions were carried out. As there were no volunteers for the camps, from the spring of 1941 ghetto inhabitants

were rounded up at random, typically at night, with the assistance of the Jewish Police and the blue police. The victims were usually those who could not afford a bribe, and thus the poorest among the ghetto's inhabitants.

General Government (*German Generalgouvernement für die besetzten polnischen Gebiete*), administrative-territorial entity established on 26 October 1939, covering that part of the German-occupied Polish territory which had not been annexed directly to the Reich. The GG was initially divided into four districts: Kraków, Radom, Lublin, and Warsaw. In August 1941, the fifth district was established, namely Galician.

Gęsiówka—popular name for the central prison for Jews, established in mid-1941 in the ghetto at Gęsia Street 24. The inmates were primarily people who had been found outside the ghetto in violation of German decrees. In two cases—on 17 November and 15 December 1941—prisoners sentenced to death for having left the ghetto were executed in the prison.

Gestapo (*Geheime Staatspolizei*), the secret political police of the Third Reich.

The Government Delegation for Poland (Polish: *Delegatura Rządu Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej na Kraj*), an agency of the Polish Government in Exile during World War II and the highest authority and provisional government of the Polish Secret State in occupied Poland. It was headed by the Government Delegate for Poland. It disbanded on 1 July 1945.

Goy (Hebrew: nation; plural: *goyim*), a non-Jewish person, gentile.

Grosz, Groszes—Polish currency, 1/100 of a zloty.

HACHSHARA (Hebrew: training), agricultural training course for young Jews aiming to settle in kibbutzim in Palestine.

ḤALUTZ (Hebrew: pioneer; plural—*ḥalutzim*), member of the Zionist pioneer socialist youth movement He-ḥalutz, which sought to prepare young people for aliyah (that is, settlement in the Land of Israel), especially by preparing them to work in agriculture.

HASHOMER HATZAIR (Hebrew: the young guard)—a Zionist socialist youth movement, founded in 1913. During the occupation, the members of Hashomer Hatzair played a significant role in organising civil and armed resistance against the Germans.

HIAS, Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society — a Jewish American non-profit organization established in 1881 to provide humanitarian aid and assistance to refugees. During the Holocaust HIAS provided help to Jews, aiding their flight from occupied Europe.

Hilfspolizei—auxiliary police, a general term for various organisations subordinated to the German Order police, also used for various military and paramilitary units in German-occupied Europe.

The Home Army (Polish: *Armia Krajowa*, AK), Polish resistance movement formed in February 1942 in Poland, occupied by Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. Subordinated to the Polish government-in-exile, it was the armed wing of the Polish Underground State. The Home Army was disbanded on 19 January 1945.

House Committee (Polish: *komitet domowy*), representation of inhabitants of one (or more) apartment buildings, set up with an aim of organizing mutual social aid. They were first set up during the defence of Warsaw in September 1939 on the basis of anti-aircraft defence units and later subordinated to the Social Work Section of the Jewish Self-Help. There were over 1000 house committees functioning in the ghetto.

Jewish Cemetery at Okopowa Street—cemetery established in 1806 and operating until today; during the ghetto period, the majority of the deceased were buried in anonymous mass graves. The cemetery was also used as a route for smuggling goods, by taking advantage of its shared border with the Powązki Catholic Cemetery and the Lutheran Cemetery, both outside the ghetto. The cemetery was excluded from the ghetto when its border was moved in December 1941.

Jewish Council in Warsaw (German: *Judenrat*), administrative body of the Jewish community instituted by the Germans on 4 October 1939. Its responsibilities included supervising the observance of German regulations in the ghetto, which involved providing workers for forced labour. Jewish Council was also responsible for ensuring order in the ghetto, as well as social care, education, and health care. The Jewish Council in Warsaw carried out its tasks through a very extensive administration; it also supervised the Jewish Order Service. For many residents of the ghetto, the Jewish Council was the very symbol of the German occupation. However, it also included activists who, within the limits imposed by the Nazis, tried to pursue the most effective social policy possible. The Jewish Council in Warsaw consisted of 24 members, with engineer Adam Czerniakow as the chairman. After his suicide on 23 July 1942, this function was assumed by his deputy, Marek Lichtenbaum.

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Jewish Emergency Service, the so-called "Red Ambulance"—an institution affiliated with "Thirteen", the OFFICE TO COMBAT USURY AND SPECULATION. The official aim of the Emergency Service was to provide medical assistance to the poorest inhabitants of the ghetto, but the organisation had a very bad reputation in the ghetto and was seen as collaborating.

Jewish Emigration Aid Society, JEAS—institution operating in Poland from 1924, aimed at providing financial and organisational aid to Jewish emigrants.

Jewish Fighting Organisation (Polish: *Żydowska Organizacja Bojowa*), Jewish resistance movement in occupied Poland, first set up in July 1942 by youth Zionist movements, re-formed on a wider basis in October 1942. Jewish Fighting Organisation numbered around 500 members and was instrumental in organizing and launching the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising.

Jewish National Committee (Polish: *Żydowski Komitet Narodowy*), coalition of Jewish political organisations set up in the Warsaw Ghetto in October 1942 by Zionist left and communist parties. In December 1942 together with Bund it set up the Jewish Fighting Organisation (ŻOB)

Jewish Order Service (German: *Jüdischer Ordnungsdienst*), also known as the "Jewish police"—an organisation established in the ghettos in Poland, officially accountable to the Jewish Councils, but in fact subordinated to the German authorities. Its tasks included guarding the gates of the ghetto, carrying out forced labour, and participation in the prevention of epidemics. During the first period of the large-scale deportation to the Treblinka death camp in the summer of 1942, the Jewish police escorted inhabitants of the ghetto to the train station Umschlagplatz. In Warsaw, the Order Service became synonymous with corruption and abuse of power. However, a numer of pre-war social activists and people of high moral authority were involved in its operation, especially at first. The Commander of the Jewish Order Service was Józef Szeryński.

JOINT—see AMERICAN JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE; AJDC.

Judenrat—see the Jewish Council.

Jüdische Hilfskomitee (JHK, official German-language equivalent of the Jewish Municipal Welfare Committee), Warsaw branch of the Jewish Social Self-Help in Kraków, established on 17 September 1940, approved by the Germans. In March

1942, the JHK formally absorbed social institutions operating in the ghetto, including Centos and TOZ (The Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population in Poland).

Junak (Polish, literally: brave youth), a Polish or Ukrainian worker of a *Baudienst* (German: Building service).

Kennkarte (German: identity card), identity document issued in the General Government from the first half of 1942. It replaced the Polish identity card.

Kibbutz (Hebrew, literally: gathering; plural—*kibbutzim*), Jewish collective community, usually grouping members of youth Zionist movements.

Kohnhellerka—popular name for a horse tram belonging to the Kohn and Heller Transport Society Omnibus franchised by the Germans, which was running in the ghetto from June 1941.

Labour Column (Polish: *kolumna robocza*), an organised group of workers going to a work detail outside the ghetto.

Landsmanshaft (plural: *landsmanshaftn*), organisation associating people from the same town or region of the country; in the ghettos it usually consisted of refugees or displaced persons from the same city. In the Warsaw ghetto, *landsmanshaftn* were represented by the Central Commission for Refugees.

Main Shelter Home (Polish: *Główny Dom Schronienia*), the largest child-care institution in the Warsaw ghetto, with more than 500 live-in charges. It was located at Dzielna Street 39.

Meldekarte (German: registration card), a document issued by the Labour Office, which confirmed employment, thus providing exemption from forced labour.

Office to Combat Usury and Speculation—an institution with offices at Leszno Street 13, commonly known as the "Thirteen". A Gestapo agency in the Warsaw ghetto, operating from the autumn of 1940 until July 1941, "Thirteen" was modelled after the Jewish Order Service. Although its official duties included fighting against profiteering in the Warsaw ghetto, in fact its members were mostly involved in extortion and smuggling. A number of agencies operated under the "Thirteen", whose tasks overlapped with the institutions of the Jewish Council, including the Appointed Administration

of Secured Properties and Jewish Emergency Service. The "Thirteen" was led by a refugee from Łódź, Abraham Gancwajch.

OPL (*Obrona przeciwlotnicza*—the Anti-aircraft Defence) block commandant—person responsible for carrying out the OPL instructions in the building.

PAWIAK—colloquial name of the remand prison of the Security Police and Security Service of the District of Warsaw, on Dzielna Street in Warsaw. When the ghetto was sealed, Pawiak was inside its walls. German guards escorting prisoners to Pawiak often attacked ghetto inhabitants they were passing on their way. Jews arrested outside the ghetto were also imprisoned at Pawiak.

POALE ZION (Hebrew: Workers of Zion), Marxist–Zionist Jewish workers movement founded in Eastern Europe in the beginning of the 20th century. In Poland it was active between 1906 and 1950.

POLISH POLICE (German: *Polnische Polizei*), colloquially known as the "blue police"—a formation subject formally to the German Order Police (Ordnungspolizei), consisting of pre-war State Police officers, mainly responsible for keeping order. Members of the Polish Police served as guards along the walls of the ghetto, along with the German and Jewish policemen.

QUARANTINE—places where the inhabitants of the ghetto were temporarily isolated as part of the fight against epidemic diseases. All refugees and displaced persons who arrived in the ghetto were also quarantined.

SCHOOLS—schools for Jewish children and youth were closed on 4 December 1939. However, from the outset of the occupation, clandestine classes were taught at all levels of education. After the autumn of 1940, public vocational education at the secondary school level was operating in the ghetto. Schools at the primary level were established in October 1941 and supervised by the Education Department of the Jewish Council. Supervision of the educational content and the choice of the language of instruction belonged to the school care centres. These schools, however, addressed the needs of only about 20 per cent of the overall number of children living in the ghetto.

SMUGGLING—sneaking goods into and out of the ghetto. Goods smuggled out from the ghetto for sale included the pre-war property of inhabitants of the ghetto, as well as products manufactured in unofficial enterprises run within its walls. Items smuggled into the ghetto mostly included food and medicine. Smuggling took

on many forms—from large-scale operations, to sneaking food by individuals (often children begging on the other side of the wall). "Big-time smuggling", which yielded huge profits and was carried out together with the Germans, the Jewish Order Service, and Polish smugglers, was widely condemned because of the lavish lifestyle of its organisers, who represented the financial elite of the ghetto. At the same time, however, food smuggled into the ghetto was the basis for its existence, saving its people from starving to death.

Soup Kitchens—kitchens run by Jewish welfare organisations, where the inhabitants of the ghetto were given free or cheap soup. The first kitchens were organised as early as during the siege of Warsaw. At the peak of their operation, in August 1941, people's kitchens gave out 128,000 portions of soup a day in the ghetto.

Steaming (Polish: *parówka*), a colloquial name given to forced disinfections imposed by the German authorities, carried out in the Warsaw ghetto as a preventative measure against typhoid. During the disinfection campaigns, houses where typhoid fever occurred were isolated, the residents were placed in quarantine, and their possessions disinfected. In practice, this had little effect on preventing a typhus epidemic. Rather, it became a seedbed for corruption, as the ghetto inhabitants, in order to avoid quarantine and destruction or theft of disinfected property, paid bribes to members of disinfection units.

Tarbut (Hebrew: culture), a network of secular, Hebrew-language schools in parts of the former Jewish Pale of Settlement, mainly in Poland, operating between the world wars. In 1939 Tarbut had 270 institutions and 45,000 students.

Tkuma (Hebrew: rebirth), cultural-educational association in the Warsaw Ghetto, promoting Hebrew language and culture.

Toporol (Society for the Support of Agriculture)—an association founded in 1933. In the ghetto, it was primarily responsible for the agricultural education of youth, organising courses in farm work, agricultural training, and fruit and vegetable horticulture. Such agricultural work was carried out on all available vacant spaces in the ghetto as well as on spaces where debris was cleared away by its students. Toporol also arranged gardens for schools and day cares.

TOZ (The Society for the Protection of the Health of the Jewish Population in Poland)—an organisation founded in 1922, dedicated to the prevention of diseases. It was the basic organisation coordinating social health care in the ghetto.

Transferstelle (German: Transfer Office), the office which, from December 1940, controlled the trade in goods between the ghetto and the "Aryan side". Until May 1941, the Transferstelle was part of the Department of Deportations (German: *Umsiedlung*), then subject to the Office of the Commissioner for the Jewish Housing District (i.e. the ghetto).

Wacha (German: *Wache*—guard post, sentry post), guard unit at the gates of the ghetto (the "outlets"). It consisted of the so-called Gendarmerie (Schutzpolizei), a municipal formation of the German Order Police. From the outside, it guarded and escorted units of the blue police along the walls of the ghetto, and the Jewish Police on the inside.

Warsaw Ghetto—officially called *The Jüdische Wohnbezirk* (German: Jewish residential district)— the largest Jewish ghetto in Nazi-occupied Europe. It was established on 2 October 1940 and sealed on 15 November1940. The ghetto comprised an area of 3.4 km² (1.3 sq mi) and at its peak held 460,000 Jews. They lived in immensely overcrowded conditions, and were ravaged by starvation and illnesses. The liquidation of the Warsaw ghetto began on 22 July 1942, when over a two-month period approximately 280,000 ghetto inhabitants were deported to the Treblinka death camp. The last chapter in the history of the Warsaw ghetto was the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising, which broke out on 19 April 1943 and was the largest Jewish revolt of World War II. The suppression of the Uprising and the destruction of the Great Synagogue of Warsaw on 16 May 1943 marked the end of the ghetto. Thereafter its remaining buildings were razed to the ground.

Work Detail (Polish: *placówka*), forced labour sites located outside the ghetto in Warsaw, for example in factories and at train stations. Work at such facilities was very exhausting physically, and workers were often subject to beatings. At the same time, however, going to a work detail involved leaving the ghetto, which for some people was an opportunity for smuggling.

Workshop (Polish: *szop*), a German company that had taken over smaller Jewish companies and manufactured products for the Germans. The first workshops were opened in the Warsaw ghetto in 1941. The largest of these, Walther Többens's workshop, employed 18,000 people.

Yikor (Jewish Culture Organization), clandestine group founded in December 1941 in the Warsaw ghetto to promote Yiddish language and culture. It supported underground schools held concerts, theatre prefomances and lectures.

YIVO, The Jewish Scientific Institute in Vilna (Yiddish: *Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut*, YIVO), academic institution established in 1925. It carried out sociological, historical, and philological research on the Jewish community in Europe as well as collected documents and artefacts. The YIVO Library had a collection of more than one hundred thousand volumes and as many manuscripts. In 1940 the central office of the Institute was moved to New York. Most of the YIVO collection, taken away by the Germans, was found after the war.

Zionism—ideology of the Jewish national revival, advocating establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, championed most memorably by Theodor Herzl in the late nineteenth century.

ŻSS (Jewish Self Help, Polish: *Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna*; German: *Jüdische Soziale Selbsthilfe*), an organisation set up in Kraków in May 1940 by the German administration to coordinate aid for Jews in the General Government. It was dissolved in July 1942 and re-established in October 1942 as JUS (*Jüdische Unterstutzungstelle für das Generalgouvernement*), an organisation considered by the Jewish underground to be an attempt by the SS to take charge of relief supplies intended for the Jews, as well as to conceal the mass murder of Jews in Poland.

Żydowska Samopomoc Społeczna-Komisja Koordynacyjna (Jewish Self Help. Coordinating Committee), social aid organisation set up in Warsaw in September 1939, grouping Jewish aid organisations such as TOZ or Centos. Dismantled on 30 October 1940.

Żtos (also "Żytos") (Jewish Social Welfare Association, from October 1940) and ŻOS (Jewish Social Welfare, from November 1941), also commonly referred to as ŻSS (Jewish Self Help), though separate from the ŻSS in Kraków—an organisation developed from the Coordinating Commission for Jewish Social Welfare Institutions in the Warsaw ghetto. Under the guise of such social self-help, many underground organisations operated in the ghetto.

Zloty, Zlotys—Polish currency.

Glossary 2 – Terms Pertaining to Jewish Religion and customs.

ALIYAH (Hebrew: ascent), immigration of Jews from the dispora to the Land of Israel.

BET MIDRASH (Hebrew: house of study), place for studying religious texts, often a place of prayer as well.

CHUPPAH (Hebrew: canopy, tent), wedding canopy.

ESN TEG (Yiddish: eating days), the practice of providing meals to poor students by members of the community.

ETROG—Yellow citron used as one of the four spices during the holiday of Sukkot.

GEMARA (Hebrew: to complete, to explain), rabbinical comments to Mishna; part of the Talmud.

HANUKKAH (Hebrew: dedication, renewal), Festival of Lights, celebrated on the 25th day of the month of Kislev (in December) to commemorate the victory of the Maccabees over Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 164 B.C.E. and the rededication of the Temple in Jerusalem.

HEDER (Hebrew: chamber), a traditional religious school for boys between the ages of 3–5 to 13.

KADDISH—one of the oldest, most important, and frequently repeated prayers, praising God, his greatness and holiness; traditionally regarded as a prayer for the dead; requires a MINYAN.

KEHILLA—self-governed community of the Jews of a given town; also the community board.

KVITLECH—a card game played during the Hanukkah season.

MAGEN DAVID (Hebrew: Shield of David), six-pointed star, from the late nineteenth century a symbol of the Jewish national movement.

MATZEVAH—gravestone, headstone at the cemetery.

MATZO—unleavened flatbread eaten during Pesach.

MELAMED—teacher in a heder.

MELAVE MALKA (Hebrew: Escorting the Queen), name of a meal held by observant Jews after the Sabbath.

MENORAH—seven-branched candlestick from the Temple in Jerusalem; also those patterned after it; also the term for the eight-branched Hanukkah lamp.

MINYAN (Hebrew, literally: number), quorum; prayer group of at least ten adult men (over 13), required for public prayers, such as for reciting Kaddish or reading the Torah.

MISHNA—repetition, searching, also oral tradition; dating to 2nd century C.E. collection of comments to written Torah, legal rules, and parables; basic part of the Talmud.

PESACH (Hebrew, literally: passage), referred to also as Passover; festival commemorating liberation of the Jews from Egyptian captivity; it starts with the sunset on the 14th day of Nissan, and lasts seven days in Israel and eight days in the diaspora.

PIDYON HABEN (Hebrew: redemption of the first-born), practice of "redeeming" the first-born son by giving five silver coins to a Kohen, a member of the priestly order in Judaism.

RABBI—Leader of a Jewish community, expert on Jewish law.

REBBE—Hasidic spiritual leader, also called *tzaddik* (the just).

ROSH HASHANAH (Hebrew: beginning of the year), Jewish New Year, celebrated on the first and second day of the month of Tishrei (September/October); it commemorates the creation of the world and the Day of Judgement.

SHABBAT, SHABES (Hebrew: rest), the 7th day of the week, commemorating the Creator's day of rest. It begins on Friday at sunset and lasts until the following sunset on Saturday.

SHALOSH SEUDOS (Hebrew: three meals), the third meal eaten by observant Jews on each Shabbat.

SHAMMASH (Hebrew, literally: servant), an usher in a Jewish community, in a synagogue; also an additional candle in a Hanukkah lamp, which serves to light the other candles.

SHEKHITA—ritual slaughter.

SHEMA ISRAEL (Hebrew, literally: listen oh Israel), first words of the most important profession of faith in God.

SHOKHET (Shoykhet), ritual slaughterer.

SIMCHAT TORAH (Hebrew, literally: joy of Torah), the last festive day of Sukkoth, when all the Torah scrolls of a given synagogue are carried in a procession, sometimes in dancing.

SUKKOTH (Hebrew: huts, tents), Feast of Tabernacles, celebrated between the 15th and 22nd days of Tishrei (September/October); it commemorates sheltering of the Israelites in the wilderness.

TAHARAT HAMISHPACHAH (Hebrew: family purity), observance of the halakhic rules concerning sexual relations; here specifically, post-menstrual purification by immersion in the ritual bath.

TALMUD (Hebrew: study), recording of the oral tradition of Judaism, compiled in the 3rd–7th century C.E.; a collection of commentaries on the Torah.

TALMUD TORAH (Hebrew: teaching Torah), religious school at primary level, typically for children from poor families.

TORAH (Hebrew: teaching, law), the first five books of the Bible; also the parchment scroll on which the Pentateuch is written.

TZADDIK—see: rebbe.

YOM KIPPUR OR DAY OF ATONEMENT, on the 10th day of the month of Tishrei (September/October), concluding the celebration of the Jewish New Year.

YOM TOV (Yiddish: *yontev*; plural—*yomim toyvim*)—any Jewish holiday/festival.

YORTSAYT—in Judaism, the anniversary of a person's death.

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