

Translated excerpt

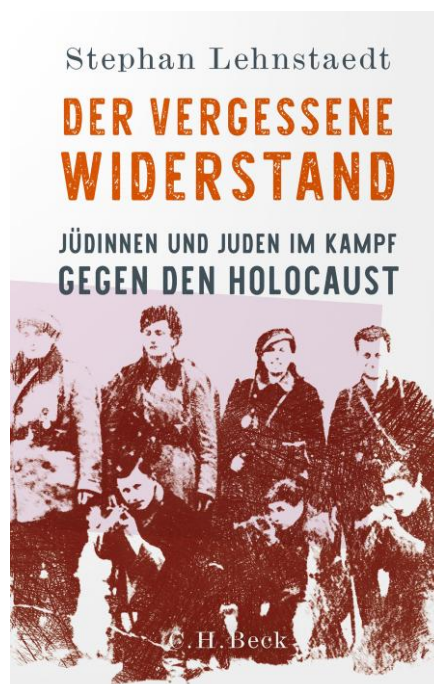
Stephan Lehnstaedt
Der vergessene Widerstand.
Jüdinnen und Juden im Kampf gegen den Holocaust

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Stephan Lehnstaedt
The Forgotten Resistance.
Jews in the Fight Against the Holocaust

Translated by Allison Brown



The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising

O German God,
How the Jews pray in their “wild” houses
Clenching a bar, a pole in their fists.
We beg You, Lord, for a bloody battle,
We implore You for a violent death.
Before the end let our eyes
Not see the rails dragging away
But give the hand unerring aim, Lord,
To stain the blue uniform with blood, ...
This is our spring, our counterattack!
The wine of battle mounts to the head!²²

With these words, Władysław Szlengel – a Jewish poet from Warsaw who was born in 1912 – expressed his pride in the uprising of January 1943. He titled his poem “Counterattack” and his longing for a continued battle against the Germans was to be fulfilled, although he himself did not survive the next uprising.

The hopes of Warsaw Jews to be spared deportation if they were employed proved to be a fallacy. By 1943 the Germans had long since resolved to clear all the ghettos; only the precise date for the final deportations to the extermination camps had not yet been decided for each location. In Warsaw it was April 19, 1943. In the Jewish Fighting Organization, ŻOB, Mordechai Anielewicz meanwhile held the position of commander, and Yitzhak Zuckerman had completely moved to the “Aryan” side in order to maintain contact with the Polish underground and thereby attain further support.

The organization had access to two rifles, several hundred pistols with no more than 10–15 shots per person, a few hundred hand grenades, a few machine guns captured from the Germans, and small amounts of explosives, Molotov cocktails, and similar self-made devices. It could not be determined precisely how many combatants, both men and women, they had in mid-April. In the presumably seventeen units there were probably more than 300, almost all of whom were between nineteen and twenty-five years old. A list of 222 names was compiled by Zuckerman, Zivia Lubetkin, and Marek Edelman in their shared hideout in the summer of 1943, after the uprising in the ghetto. Aside from their impressive memory capacity, this also shows how closely linked the various groups of young people were with each other.²³

They all confronted the Germans, who wanted to liquidate the Warsaw Ghetto in a final, major operation. The Germans’ aim was to relocate the various workshops operated by German companies to the Poniatowa labor camp and at the same time murder the Jews who did not work there in Treblinka. With this plan they incidentally set the date for the uprising. They still couldn’t surprise the resistance, however, since it did not go

unnoticed that the SS – particularly well prepared after the events in January – had mustered additional men. Consequently, already the evening before, the underground warned the people in the ghetto, calling for them to go to the bunker hiding places some had prepared. At the same time, all armed men and women took their positions.

So April 19 turned out not to be a good day for SS and Police Leader Ferdinand von Sammern-Frankenegg. It had all looked like a wonderful, warm spring day, when everything in the numerous parks turns green and starts blossoming, and the boulevards and cafes are so inviting to go for a stroll. But the two SS convoys coming from the south that passed the entrance gates of the ghetto at Nalewki and Zamenhof Streets early in the morning did not get very far. They had barely reached the squares beyond the gates when they came under fire from the surrounding buildings and were pelted with hand grenades and Molotov cocktails. They held out on Nalewki Street for almost two hours before starting to retreat in a rather chaotic manner, even leaving behind their casualties. One of their two tanks was set on fire on Zamenhof Street so they were forced to leave the ghetto after only half an hour.

Only a few hours later, Jürgen Stroop relieved the hapless Sammern-Frankenegg. That had long since been planned, since Stroop was actually supposed to lead the operation in the ghetto, but he was delayed a bit due to communication problems. The new SS and Police Leader had his men attack again the same morning, also on Nalewki Street. Units also advanced to Muranowski Square from the north. Both times the result was the same. The SS had to leave the ghetto under heavy fire. On Zamenhof Street, however, the attackers had forced the rebel fighters to retreat to the ŻOB headquarters at 29 Miła Street.²⁴

The resistance at Muranowski Square, which brought the Germans the most casualties, was carried out by the Betar Underground of the ŻZW.* It was still independent and had communicated with Anielewicz's fighting organization that it would defend the ghetto area around its own headquarters. Together with independent units that joined more or less spontaneously, Betar had about 250 members.²⁵ The organization suffered due to the fact that its actual leader Menachem Begin – the later minister president of Israel – had already in 1939 gone to Vilna (Vilnius) and was later arrested by the Soviets. Paweł Frenkel assumed the leadership in Warsaw. All that is known about him is that he was around 20 years old.²⁶ His group was in fact far better equipped than the left-wing underground and was able, for instance, to bring a machine gun into position against the attackers. The ŻZW strategy centered first and foremost around defending their posts.²⁷

They were able to hold their position at least until April 22 or even 23, which Emanuel Ringelblum and others noted respectfully. On April 20, Betar raised two flags on the building, a blue-and-white one with the Star of David, which later found a place on Israel's national flag, and the Polish flag. Not until it became senseless to continue the fight or when they ran out of ammunition did Frenkel and his men decide to withdraw and flee the ghetto. They were presumably discovered by Germans on the Aryan side or perhaps they were even denounced.²⁸ There is much about this story that is uncertain,

* Translator's Note: Betar was the Revisionist Zionist youth movement founded in 1923 in Riga, Latvia. ŻZW (Żydowski Związek Wojskowy) was the Jewish Military Union, an underground resistance organization.

because none of the participants at Muranowski Square survived, and also from the other, smaller ŻZW groups only two men survived, and it is not even known for sure if they were in fact involved in the fighting. There is hardly any assured knowledge, especially since it was the memories of ŻOB members that were predominant in the postwar period in Israel.²⁹ This in turn led within the Betar camp – from which the Likud party emerged – to some mythmaking and, for example, the invention of the commander Dawid Apfelbaum in the Warsaw ghetto.³⁰

On that first day of the uprising, the SS had not deported anyone, but were lamenting twelve of their own casualties, whereas only one fighter on the ŻOB side had fallen. That evening, one unit of the Polish Home Army tried to help the fighting ghetto. This had been planned, but the intended breakthrough failed. Other attempts as well, such as the aforementioned attack by a group around Niuta Teitelbaum (or Tajtelbaum), brought only short-term relief.³¹ And so, despite the relaxed, almost enthusiastic atmosphere among the Jews in Warsaw, the command team of Mordechai Anielewicz's fighting organization was well aware that this was merely the calm before the storm. This victory would necessarily be followed by annihilation. Marek Edelman commented on a meeting with Anielewicz on April 20:

He was already a different man. ... I think that all along he had actually convinced himself of the possibility of some sort of victory. Obviously, he never spoke about it before. On the contrary. "We are going to die," he would yell, "there is no way out, we'll die for our honor, for history..." All the sorts of things one says in such cases. But today I think that all the time he maintained some kind of a childlike hope.³²

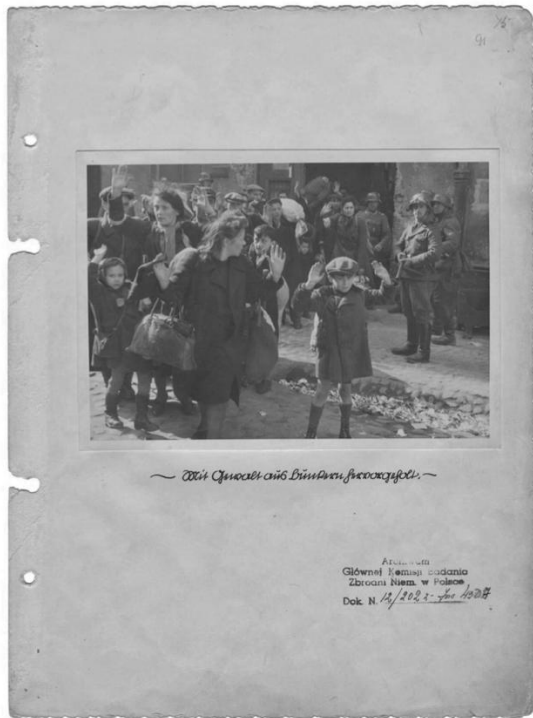
The resistance managed to carry out additional strikes against the Germans on the second day of the uprising. Six units of the underground had holed up at the large Brushmakers' Workshop, and most importantly they had mined the entrance gate with explosives. When the SS men arrived there, there was a large explosion and an estimated dozen of them were killed. After a temporary withdrawal, the attackers changed their tactics and no longer marched forward in columns, but instead were cautious and had covering fire. There was a fierce battle without a clear outcome – and bombs were even dropped by German air force planes.³³

It was clear that the Germans were surprised by the resistance since they demanded that the insurgents lay down their arms, but they were ignored. Stroop then had water, electricity, and gas cut off from the ghetto and also got some police dogs to better locate hiding places. The SS led about 500 people out of the ghetto.³⁴ Jürgen Stroop noted later in his final report:

During the armed resistance, females belonging to fighting groups were armed just like the men. Some of them were members of the He-halutz movement. Not infrequently, these females fired pistols from both hands. Repeatedly, they concealed pistols or hand grenades (oval Polish hand grenades) in their underpants to use at the last minute against the men of the Waffen-SS, Police, or Wehrmacht.³⁵

When the Germans started to act more cautiously and at the same time the ŻOB's ammunition supplies were rapidly diminishing, they also had to change their tactics on the evening of April 21. It was out of the question to consider anything like a frontline; instead, they had to strike quickly and then just as quickly disappear into their bunkers.

Stroop in turn had the contested Brushmakers' Area systematically searched and ordered it to be completely blown up, because the existing passageways and deliberately made wall openings could be skillfully used by the insurgents. Only then did it become possible for the SS to deport most of the 750 workers who were hiding there. Of the almost 4,000 workers, only twenty-eight had voluntarily responded to the call to be relocated to the Poniatowa labor camp.³⁶



Caption: Jewish resistance in the eyes of the Germans: A propaganda photo from Jürgen Stroop's report on the quashing of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising, 1943.

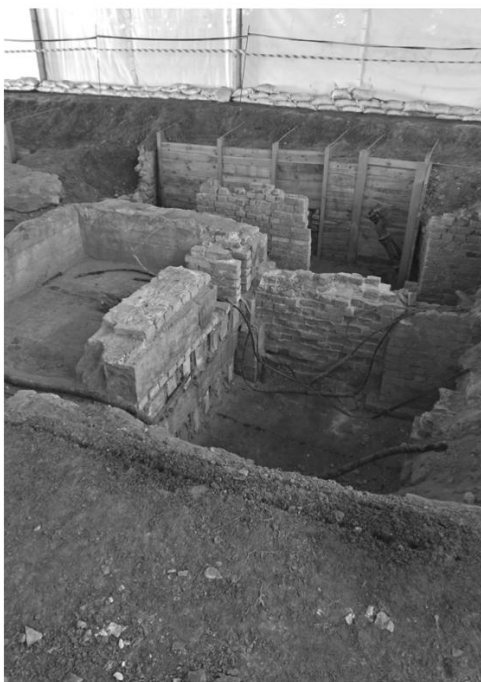
At that point at the latest, the surviving ŻOB members could only try to make the deportations as difficult for the Germans as possible. Eliezer Geller brought the first forty fighters to the Aryan side on April 29, leading them along the dangerous path through the sewer system. With the help of the People's Guard (Gwardia Ludowa), they managed to reach the forest near Łomianki, northwest of Warsaw. The ŻOB was simply no longer able to fight, especially since the ŻZW allies had already completely withdrawn from the ghetto. The fighting men and women, all told at most 600, had nevertheless accomplished something amazing from a purely military perspective. Until May 1, namely, the SS, with its 24 combat units, felt forced to leave the ghetto at night, only resuming its attacks the next morning, which meant a short breather for those locked in the ghetto. In May, then, smaller groups of German volunteers were out and about at night in the Jewish quarter, ambushing those wandering around and shooting them from behind, a tactic that was not particularly successful. Jürgen Stroop referred to the action as their "partisan night," admitting that the insurgents had forced him and his SS units to "resort to guerrilla tactics."³⁷

In the next few weeks, the focus was on the fate of the roughly 50,000 unarmed people in the ghetto. The underground waged a short battle, but the uprising lasted for more than three weeks due to the many thousands of Jews who refused to be deported. They withdrew into the hiding places they had prepared, and the Germans could only take them away by using direct force. And even then there was often resistance, attacks, and

spontaneous assaults against the Germans. Therefore, it was in fact the residents of the Warsaw Ghetto who collectively resisted between April 19 and May 16, 1943.

More than had previously been the case, after the first days of the struggle, fighting erupted at individual hideouts, which had often been built into actual bunkers, and the SS had to seize one after the other.³⁸ They leveled the above-ground parts of the buildings to the ground and burned them down with flame-throwers, so that the Jewish quarter was transformed into a veritable hell on earth. Rows of buildings collapsed in the flames since the roofs and stairwells were made of wood. The infernal temperatures and the smoke forced people out onto the street, as the attics became life-threatening and even the bunkers had to be abandoned due to a lack of oxygen. Jürgen Stroop reported:

It was not unusual for Jews to remain in the burning houses until the heat and their fear of being cremated forced them to jump from the upper floors. They did so after throwing mattresses and other upholstered items into the street. With broken bones, they still tried to crawl across the street into housing blocks that had not yet been set on fire or were only partly in flames.³⁹



Caption: In 2022, there were excavations at a bunker at 20 Miła Street in Warsaw. The lower level of a house is shown, with water and electrical lines that were laid by the insurgents. The bunker of Mordechai Anielewicz's group at 18 Miła Street could probably be reached through a passageway, but it cannot be excavated due to Jewish burial practices.

Wherever the far more than 600 underground hideouts were not directly attacked, iron discipline prevailed. There were overseers for all matters, such as for quiet time, food distribution, or scheduling of guards at the exits. Other posts worked as firefighters for the above-ground buildings—and sometimes they themselves had to burn down the stairways down to the cellars for purposes of camouflage or their own security. The daily routine was reversed – they slept during the day, and at night, when the Germans hardly dared to enter the ghetto, so noise did not increase the danger of being discovered, the Jews could at least sometimes go outside. But the longer the fighting continued and the people had to survive in the close quarters of the bunkers and with dwindling food supplies, the more the mood worsened. The situation was aggravated by refugees from

other hiding places who sometimes created new underground passageways through cellar breakthroughs. The insurgents had long ceased to have electricity and water, which drastically intensified the hunger. Basic foodstuffs stored in many bunkers took up very little space, but meals could no longer be prepared. Together with the often poor ventilation, in early May at the latest the mood in the bunkers had become fatalistic.⁴⁰

Maryla, a Warsaw Jew whose last name is not known, described the fear in such a bunker in her diary, which was later found on the grounds of the Majdanek concentration camp:

First I heard above me the rumble of hundreds of soldiers' legs marching in lockstep, which then stopped abruptly. Every footstep echoed an obsessive fear in our half-crazed minds, already twitching with a single thought! Will they strike us, will they find our bunker? After that we heard sounds and noise that weren't identifiable, which we interpreted as preparation for fighting that was supposed to take place here. And again and again we hear artillery, the sound of grenades, the rattle of a machine gun and some strange sounds resembling thunder in a summer storm, now moving away, now coming closer again with alarming speed. ... We buried ourselves in the stillness; and the smallest rustling from inside, a whisper or cough, sounded to us like a hurricane that could lead the enemy directly to us.⁴¹

But still: Their self-organization remained intact to the end; people surrendered almost only if the Germans used direct force, which sometimes turned into flooding the bunkers or throwing flares into them, so the resulting smoke drove those inside out into the open. Again and again, there were tragedies:

Wherever they [the Germans] heard voices, where something moved, or where they presumed a bunker, they started to dig open the ground with picks and if they found a bunker, all those inside were forced to come out. If they resisted, a hand grenade or something similar was thrown in. In our bunker we once heard the sound of picks very nearby. We sat there without a sound and were incredibly scared. It was pitch black in our bunker since we had blown out the candles. A young woman had a small child that suddenly started crying. The mother and the others in there tried to calm the child and hissed at the mother that she had to quiet her child. All of a sudden the child was quiet. When we later went out, since our bunker was not yet discovered that time, the child was dead. The entire tiny face was cleaved and scratched. I don't know who could have done that. The mother was out of her mind; she left our bunker.⁴²

The perseverance of the ghetto nevertheless made a great impression on contemporaries. In England, the BBC broadcast the first news of it in early May 1943. The French Underground press took it up and circulated it further, but didn't limit itself to reports, but also noted in commentaries and editorials with full admiration: The courage of the Jews is outstanding, whereas any passivity would only mean annihilation.⁴³ The German press ignored the subject – hardly surprising – but in faraway Berlin, Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels wrote lines in his diary that were representative of the impression of all the die-hard antisemites who heard of the Jewish resistance:

The only noteworthy item is the exceedingly serious fights in Warsaw between the police and even a part of our Wehrmacht on the one hand and the rebellious Jews

on the other. The Jews have actually succeeded in making a defensive position of the Ghetto. Heavy engagements are being fought there which led even to the Jewish Supreme Command's issuing daily communiqués. Of course this fun won't last very long. But it shows what is to be expected of the Jews when they are in possession of arms. Unfortunately some of their weapons are good German ones, especially machine guns. Heaven only knows how they got them.⁴⁴

These words express the amazement that the women and men defending the ghetto were even armed. Their equipment was not substantial, however, and that would not change for the duration of the uprising. Although the People's Guard (Gwardia Ludowa) had offered twenty-eight rifles with ammunition, Zuckerman felt unable to smuggle it into the ghetto, which was surrounded by a cordon of guards.⁴⁵

In the first week of May, Simcha Rotem and two friends were on the "Aryan" side checking out the possibilities of helping the remaining members of the fighting organization escape. Yitzhak Zuckerman told German investigators about this after the war:

In our plans after the great operation to annihilate the Jews in Warsaw in 1942, we did not plan any base camps on the Aryan side, since we did not think that anyone would still be alive after the uprising. At the time it was viewed as a human weakness to even think that it would be possible to flee to the Aryan side or into the forests. So we didn't think at all about preparing any camps outside, which now had become so vitally necessary.⁴⁶

The resistance had also not prepared any of its own bunkers even inside the ghetto – after all, they wanted to fight and not hide. Once it became clear that additional resistance could only function from the bunkers, and ŻOB members sought protection, the reactions were often perplexing. When they arrived it triggered panic among some people who feared being discovered by the Germans. Others did not want these men and women to ever leave since they anticipated protection from them.⁴⁷ Mordechai Anielewicz therefore withdrew with his remaining followers to a bunker at 18 Miła Street and never considered giving up, despite the disastrous situation. With several hundred people and a few supporters, he found refuge with Szmul Oszer's smuggler gang, which prevailed over a large underground realm and gladly took in the ŻOB.

On May 8, the Germans began their attack on that bunker. Earlier, on May 1 and 2, they had besieged the hiding place of Marek Edelman's Bund [General Jewish Workers' Union] group on Franciszkańska Street. They ultimately took it over, although those inside had been able to flee. On Miła Street, the SS blocked five entrances and demanded that those in hiding come out. In view of the hopeless situation, more than two hundred followed the orders. Anielewicz and his group did not want to surrender and resolved to commit suicide together. Arie Wilner and Mordechai Anielewicz were already dead when the small group around Tosia Altman discovered a hidden, sixth exit and were able to escape.⁴⁸

Simcha Rotem, who did not manage to return to the ghetto until the night of May 8, was only able to lead a few scattered members of the Underground through the labyrinthine sewer system, which increasingly became a life-threatening undertaking, as the Germans placed explosive booby traps there and had welded some of the manhole covers shut on the Aryan side. Ziviah Lubetkin wrote about the tunnels:

We all knew how large and complicated they were, how easy it was to enter them but how difficult to find an exit. How many had sought escape through them, had wandered fruitlessly for days and perished at last from hunger, thirst, and terror?⁴⁹

A group of thirty-two ŻOB fighters, including Marek Edelman, nevertheless made it to the other side on May 10. In broad daylight, two trucks drove up and picked up the men and women as they climbed out of the sewer one by one.⁵⁰ Of the ŻOB leadership group, Edelman, Zivia Lubetkin, and Yitzhak Zuckerman survived. The last named assumed the leadership for the remaining roughly seventy men and women, many of whom fought on the side of the Polish insurgents in the Warsaw Uprising in 1944.⁵¹ Less than thirty of them survived and were liberated by the Red Army.⁵²

Shortly after 8 p.m. on May 16, 1943, SS-Group Leader Jürgen Stroop ordered the blasting of the Great Synagogue in Warsaw. With that symbolic act he declared the end of the uprising. Stroop systematically had the ghetto laid to waste, though there continued to be smaller gunfights in the ruins of the ghetto with hidden Jews, some of whom managed to remain in the rubble until the summer of 1944. Almost 50,000 people had been deported to various labor camps, but especially to Treblinka to be murdered. Stroop estimated the German losses at 16 dead and 85 wounded. The Polish Home Army (Armia Krajowa), which did not necessarily tend to celebrate Jewish victories, assumed 86 dead and 420 wounded.⁵³ As in every war, enemy casualties were hard to estimate, but for one thing, the Polish Underground was well-informed from various hospitals, and, for another, it can be assumed that Stroop's figures did not include his non-German auxiliaries.

After Warsaw

The legend of a successful revolt in Novogrudok was circulated in Warsaw and had become an inspiration for the Underground there, but that was “fake news” – efficacious, but without any true background. In contrast, the uprising in Warsaw was real and soon everyone was talking about it, not least thanks to the foreign news service of the Allied forces in East and West. Within a short time, it developed into the main reference for Jewish resistance in all of Europe, inspiring them to take the reins. In occupied Eastern Europe alone, there were twenty-nine other uprising attempts.⁵⁴ None of them even came close to being comparable with the uprising in Warsaw, neither with regard to the extent nor the attention it received. The intentions behind the actions were also different, as it often concerned mass escapes, which continued to take place in smaller towns. But especially as an effective signal to save oneself, Warsaw cannot be overestimated.⁵⁵ This was true, for example, for: Novogrudok.

In the spring of 1943, a radio was successfully smuggled into the ghetto, bringing news from the capital. The news spread like wildfire and reinforced two certainties: (1) that annihilation by the Germans was inevitable and (2) that that could not be accepted. At the time, the Jewish community in Novogrudok had dwindled to only 237 people, because the occupiers had already murdered more than 6,000 of them.⁵⁶ In the former court building there, which then served as lodging for all survivors, an escape committee was formed in late May that wanted to dig a tunnel to freedom. By August there was a tunnel about 100 meters long and 70 centimeters in diameter. The work

continued around the clock, whereby obtaining the wood for the supports and the floor slats used to carry out the excavated dirt presented a great challenge, which is why the Jews took apart their plank beds little by little. They also laid electrical lighting that was not connected to the rest of the installation in order to shut down the electricity during the escape, leaving the Germans without their searchlight. The guards should not notice any of that of course, so the accumulated soil, for instance, was stored in the attic and hidden behind double walls.⁵⁷

When the planned length of the tunnel had been achieved, the grain harvest took place – the field with high wheat plants that was supposed to be the exit no longer offered any cover. So the work continued until the tunnel was ultimately more than 250 meters long. But the escape was not undisputed; some of those locked in were afraid of the narrow tunnel and the uncertainty that awaited them on the other side. It came to a vote: 165 to 65 was the result supporting an escape, and on September 26 all of the Jewish women and men crawled through. Although the Germans' searchlight did not shine, however, as was planned, the guards noticed those fleeing and started shooting. Of course they assumed it was a partisan attack, which is why they didn't notice the escape until the next morning and started a search. Roughly 170 Jews escaped and most of them were able to join the Bielski partisans.⁵⁸

Jack Kagan was one of them. In an earlier escape attempt in the winter, he suffered serious frostbite, which is why all his toes had to be amputated, which made it very difficult for him to walk. That September his wounds opened up so together with another physically impaired friend he could only move during the day, which dramatically increased the risk of being discovered. They were on the move for five days, drinking water from puddles and they only asked for food once, until October 1, when they finally met Jewish partisans of the Ordzhonikidze Brigade and could join them.⁵⁹

The events in Novogrudok cannot be regarded as an uprising, but especially the vote there on the mass escape does show that more and more Jews resisted the Holocaust. The Underground's calls no longer remained unheard. Not only in the city of Novogrudok, in today's Belarus, but also in southeastern Poland, where Gusta Davidson-Drenger – the "Justyna" who was mentioned earlier – wrote and circulated a widely read, illegal magazine together with her husband. Now they could also make references to Warsaw.

They gave practical tips for building bunkers⁶⁰ and on August 13, 1943, they wrote very explicitly about "uniting" with the heroes of the Warsaw ghetto,

even if in the face of inevitable death, in the struggle for the future. Every one of our actions paves the way to freedom for the nation and promotes the reconstruction of our independent homeland. Our resistance is a protest against the evil that is flooding the world. Out of revenge for the violence that destroyed our people, we are prepared to struggle for justice and freedom, which should serve as a good example for all of humankind. We want to die so the future Judaism will not be burdened by the shame of the slaves' death. We want to prevent people from remembering European Judaism shamefully because it let itself be led to the bloodbath without resistance. If we were not meant to establish the creative structure, then we should at least fulfill our historic mission. We must improve the reputation as a fallen people and wash away the brand of slavery.⁶¹

The protests usually developed as in Novogrudok, however, not as a symbolic torch of the Jewish people, but as a practical attempt to survive, which escaping or hiding would make possible. The latter was the option for all those, for whom an escape did not seem very promising. In 1943, the Germans repeatedly determined in occupied Poland:

As the number of Jews still remaining decreased, their resistance became the greater. They used weapons of all types for their defense, and in particular those of Italian origin.⁶²

NOTES:

²² Władysław Szlengel, “Things” and “Counterattack,” trans. John and Bogdana Carpenter, in *Voices from the Warsaw Ghetto* (Yale Univ. Press, 2019), 221–222, as cited in *Chicago Review* 52, no. 2/4 (2006): 282–91.

²³ Krzysztof Persak, “Insurgent Fight and Polish Aid,” in *Around Us a Sea of Fire*, ed. Polin Museum (Warsaw 2023), 103–132, here: 106–108. For short biographies of 308 ŻOB members in January 1943, 246 of whom fought in the ghetto uprising in April, see Hanka Grupańska, *Die Liste lesen. Erzählungen über die Warschauer Aufständischen der Jüdischen Kampforganisation* (Berlin: Metropol, 2023).

²⁴ Barbara Engelking and Jacek Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto: A Guide to the Perished City*, trans. Emma Harris (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press, 2008), 776–778.

²⁵ Dariusz Libionka and Laurence Weinbaum, *Bohaterowie, hochsztaplerzy, opisywacze. Wokół Żydowskiego Związku Wojskowego* [Heroes, Hucksters and Storytellers: On the Jewish Military Union in the Warsaw Ghetto] (Warsaw: Stowarzyszenie Centrum Badań nad Zagładą Żydów, 2011), 446.

²⁶ Maciej Wójcicki, “Żydowski Związek Wojskowy w getcie warszawskim – Synteza,” in *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów* [Jewish History Quarterly] 217 (2006), 35–47.

²⁷ Moshe Arens, “The Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. A Reappraisal,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 33 (2005): 101–142, here: 142.

²⁸ Moshe Arens, “The Jewish Military Organization (ŻZW) in the Warsaw Ghetto,” in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 19, no. 2 (2005): 201–225.

²⁹ Dariusz Libionka and Laurence Weinbaum, “Deconstructing Memory and History: The Jewish Military Union (ŻZW) and the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising,” *Jewish Political Studies Review* 18, no. 1/2 (2006): 87–104.

³⁰ Libionka and Weinbaum, *Bohaterowie* [Heroes], 190–192.

³¹ Yitzhak Zuckerman, “Twenty-Five Years after the Warsaw Ghetto Revolt,” in *Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust*, ed. Yad Vashem, 28.

³² Hanna Krall, *To Outwit God*, trans. Jarosław Anders, Lawrence Weschler, Joanna Stasinska, in *The Subtenant and To Outwit God* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern Univ. Press), 134–135.

³³ Simcha Rotem (Kazik), *Memoirs of a Warsaw Ghetto Fighter: The Past Within Me*, trans. Barbara Harshav (New Haven, CT: Yale Univ. Press: 1994), 33–35.

³⁴ Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, 778–779.

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- ³⁵ Jürgen Stroop, *The Stroop Report: The German Account of the Destruction of the Warsaw Ghetto* [original dated May 16, 1943], ed. and trans. Sybil Milton (New York: Pantheon: 1979), N50.
- ³⁶ Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, 781.
- ³⁷ Kazimierz Moczarski, *Conversations with an Executioner*, ed. Mariana Fitzpatrick (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1981), 150.
- ³⁸ Cf. Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, 781–786.
- ³⁹ Stroop, *The Stroop Report*, N52.
- ⁴⁰ For an impressive written account on this, see Havi Dreifuss, “‘Hell Has Risen to the Surface of the Earth’: An Anonymous Woman’s Diary from the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 36, no. 2 (2008), 13–43, here 19–20.
- ⁴¹ Diary entry of Maryla, April 27, 1943, in Friedrich (ed.), *Die Verfolgung und Ermordung der europäischen Juden durch das nationalsozialistische Deutschland 1933–1945*, vol. 9, p. 632; English translation taken in part from the Warsaw Ghetto Museum website: <https://1943.pl/en/artykul/now-i-live-mostly-in-the-darkness-of-the-cellars-the-warsaw-ghetto-uprising-in-civilian-accounts/>
- ⁴² Undated statement by Herman A. for the German judicial investigations, in Wolfgang Scheffler and Helge Grabitz (eds.), *Der Ghetto-Aufstand Warschau 1943 aus der Sicht der Täter und Opfer in Aussagen vor deutschen Gerichten* (Munich, 1993), 57.
- ⁴³ Adam Rayski, “The Impact of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising on Jewish Resistance in France,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 19 (1988): 389–402.
- ⁴⁴ Diary entry of May 1, 1943, in *The Goebbels Diaries 1942–1943*, ed. and trans. Louis P. Lochner (New York: Doubleday, 1948), 350–351.
- ⁴⁵ Krzysztof Persak, “Insurgent Fight and Polish Aid,” in *Around Us a Sea of Fire*, ed. Polin Museum (Warsaw, 2023), 117.
- ⁴⁶ Scheffler and Grabitz (eds.), *Der Ghetto-Aufstand Warschau 1943*, 28–29.
- ⁴⁷ “Debate,” in *Jewish Resistance During the Holocaust*, ed. Yad Vashem, 248.
- ⁴⁸ Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, 786–787.
- ⁴⁹ Zivia Lubetkin, “The Last Days of the Warsaw Ghetto: A Survivor’s Account of a Heroic Chapter in Jewish History,” *Commentary* 3, no. 5 (May 1947): 401–411.
- ⁵⁰ See the description in Jacob Pat, *Henech: Ein jüdisches Kind, das dem Ghetto entkam*, ed. Frank Beer, *Studien und Dokumente zur Holocaust- und Lagerliteratur* 13, (Berlin: Metropol, 2024), 138–139.
- ⁵¹ Maria Ferenc, “When the Ghetto is no more, Anielewicz shall live on,” in *Around Us a Sea of Fire*, ed. Polin Museum, 170. Engelking and Leociak, *The Warsaw Ghetto*, 789.
- ⁵² Yisrael Gutman, *The Jews of Warsaw, 1939–1943*, trans. Ina Friedman (Bloomington, IN: Indiana Univ. Press, 1982), 392–394, 425.
- ⁵³ Persak, “Insurgent Fight and Polish Aid,” 115.
- ⁵⁴ Evgeny Finkel, *Ordinary Jews: Choice and Survival during the Holocaust* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2017), 213.
- ⁵⁵ Eli Tzur, “From Moral Rejection to Armed Resistance: The Youth Movement in the Ghetto,” in *Resisting the Holocaust*, ed. Ruby Rohrlich (New York: Berg, 1998), 39–58, here: 40.
- ⁵⁶ For a detailed description of Jewish life in the shtetl see: Yehuda Bauer, “Nowogródek: The Story of a Shtetl,” *Yad Vashem Studies* 35 (2007): 35–70.

⁵⁷ Jack Kagan and Dov Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust with the Russian Jewish Partisans* (Chicago: Vallentine Mitchell, 1998), 77–84.

⁵⁸ Bauer, *Der Tod des Shtetls*, S. 272 f.

⁵⁹ Kagan and Cohen, *Surviving the Holocaust*, 85, 181–182.

⁶⁰ Jochen Kast, Bernd Siegler, and Peter Zinke, *Das Tagebuch der Partisanin Justyna* (Berlin: Elefanten Press, 1999), 292–293, citing *Hechalutz HaLochem*, no. 32 (3 Sept. 1943), trans. Anna Jozwiak.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 277, citing: *Hechalutz HaLochem*, no. 29 (13 Aug. 1943).

⁶² “From the Final Report by Katzmann, Commander of the SS and Police in the District Of Galicia, On ‘The Solution of the Jewish Problem’ in Galicia,” Lvov, June 30, 1943, see Yad Vashem website: <https://www.yadvashem.org/docs/report-on-jewish-problem-solution-galicia.html>